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Name your enemy: Lysias the metic vs the social network of power

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ABSTRACT

The speech *Against Eratosthenes* was composed for a private case in which Lysias sought retribution for the killing of his brother Polemarchus at the hands of the Thirty. Eratosthenes, Lysias' target, belonged to the moderate faction of the regime at the time of the events, but was one of the two surviving members who had remained in Athens, where he was not particularly unpopular. Lysias thus needed to portray the Thirty as a close-knit, corporative group whose members were all to be held responsible and liable for collective crimes. In this connection, a striking feature of this speech is the high number and frequency of personal names. The high density of prosoponyms contributes to painting a vivid picture of the events and their context. In particular, the large cast of villains portrays the oligarchs as an extended but well-defined social network, cornering Lysias into a position of isolation. Theramenes, their mastermind, is in turn portrayed as a well-connected but ultimately solitary villain—the mirror image of the persecuted metic.

KEYWORDS: Thirty, Theramenes, Eratosthenes, Cognition, Personal names

I. CHARACTERIZATION IN LYSIAS 12?

Around 403 BC, Lysias brought to court Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty Tyrants who ruled Athens after the Peloponnesian War, on the charge of the murder of his brother Polemarchus. The prosecution speech for this trial (*Against Eratosthenes*) is one of the most famous[1] and, possibly, the most important texts in the Lysianic corpus—it is the only forensic oration of Lysias written for delivery by the author himself,[2] and it is a fundamental piece of primary contemporary evidence for a complex and dramatic period in the history of classical Athens. From a rhetorical point of view, the speech has been recognized as exemplary as regards the deployment of *pathos*[3]. At the same time, it appears to fall short of other speeches when it comes to dramatic characterization, one of the features that, since Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[4] has been regarded as the hallmark of Lysias' writing.[5] This is a point that has been noted by critics. Usher, for instance, observes:

> The speech is political, in that the speaker from the outset treats the crime as but one of many committed against the state. In thus regarding his case as a public matter and assuming the role

[1] Todd 2000: 113 and 2020: 1.
[2] Cf. Todd 2020:, 1. It is debated whether Lysias did deliver the speech (so e.g. Usher 1999: 58) or whether he was impeded from doing so by his non-citizen status; see Todd 2020: 36–38, cf. Carey 2007: vii.
[3] See *e.g.* Carey 1994: 30–31; *cf.* de Bakker 2018: 409.
[4] D.H. *Lys.* 8. See esp. de Bakker 2018: 410, Dover 1968: 76–77, van Emde Boas 2022, and Bruss 2013 on the difference between Dionysius' notion of ἠθοποιΐα and the common understanding of individual characterization.
[5] Cf. Usher 1965: 99; Carey 1994: 40–42, with further references.

> of spokesman for the whole state, Lysias renders self-characterization inapposite beyond the establishment of his *bona fides*. Apart from saying that he and his family had lived as law-abiding members of a democratic community, he reveals nothing of his own character. [...] The defendant Eratosthenes is accorded similarly impersonal treatment. The Thirty are mentioned in the proemium before any individual, and other individual malefactors before Eratosthenes. [...] In the vivid narrative [...] Eratosthenes is but one of the criminals.[6]

As is well known, Eratosthenes belonged to the moderate faction of the Thirty and was not particularly unpopular at the time of the trial. As a consequence, Lysias needed to remind the judges of the corruption and violence of the oligarchs as a whole while presenting the defendant as individually responsible. For this purpose, Lysias endeavoured to portray the Thirty as a close-knit, corporative group, sharing collective guilt combined precisely with individual agency.[7]

If the true target of the speech is the Thirty as a group, it should not surprise us that little effort is put into the characterization of Eratosthenes' personality as that of a villain. This, however, does not mean that the speech is altogether devoid of characterization. If anyone, it is the Thirty as a whole whom we should expect Lysias to have portrayed in a dramatic and emotionally compelling way. As a matter of fact, the group is collectively presented as the bearer of heinous traits (such as cruelty, lawlessness, violence, and greed), as de Bakker has recently noted.[8] Overall, the Thirty emerge from this speech as a multi-headed monster, and with every individual member sharing in its monstrosity. Eratosthenes himself is thus characterized, along with his associates, by mere group membership.[9] The negative image of this gang of villains is Lysias' family, whose public conduct is openly compared and contrasted with that of the Thirty (Lys. 12.20) and whose civic virtues are indirectly presented as defining elements of the profile of good-minded Athenian citizens. Members of the audience that identify as such would then be naturally drawn to siding with Lysias.[10]

Characterization in *Against Eratosthenes*, however, is not limited to groups and is achieved not only by means of the explicit presentation of the deeds and motives of the historical actors appearing in the speech. Arguably, a striking but underexamined feature of this oration may be interpreted as a subtle rhetorical device in this connection, namely, the number of individuals mentioned by name throughout the oration.[11] In addition to contributing to the characterization of both the injured party and the Thirty, this feature may also be shown to play a role in the individual characterization of both Lysias and Theramenes, the man that Lysias presents as his own (and the city's) ultimate enemy.[12]

II. WHAT'S IN A NAME?

By a curious coincidence, Lysias names as many as thirty individuals in *Against Eratosthenes*—the largest cast of characters in a Lysianic forensic speech.[13] In addition, some passages in this text rank among the densest with personal names in the Lysianic corpus, even though other speeches display a higher average frequency of personal names.[14] Such highly dense passages include Sections 10–14 (in the *narratio*) and 66–67, where the density of character names peaks at five words out of fifty (or one out of ten), and Sections 54–55, where the short lists of individuals make up what possibly is the highest density of personal names in the corpus—seven in fifty words

[6] Usher 1965: 114. Cf. also Carey 1989: 147–48; Murphy 1989: 40; Todd 2020: 38–39.
[7] Cf. also Giannadaki 2024: 483–84. A similar monolithic image of the supporters of oligarchy (and the Thirty) as a compact group under the leadership of Theramenes emerges from Lys. 13, see especially sections 6, 12, 17, 37, and 44; cf. Todd 2020: 331 (on section 12).
[8] de Bakker 2018: 423.
[9] Cf. Todd 2020: 40.
[10] Cf. also de Bakker 2018: 425.
[11] This feature of the speech is briefly noted by Todd (2020: 40–41), who sees it as a feature of individual characterization building up the collective characterization of the Thirty as a group.
[12] Cf. Bearzot 1997: 171; Giannadaki 2024: 484–85.
[13] See Appendix 2 for a complete quantitative survey of the corpus.
[14] See Appendix 1.

(about one word out of seven).[15] In principle, nothing compelled Lysias to name such a high number of persons in *Against Eratosthenes*. Individuals, for example, could simply be referred to by means of some generic or definite description (*e.g.* 'a friend of', 'the brother of', and the like), and groups could be introduced as such (*e.g.* 'three men', 'the companions of', and the like).[16] Choosing a name over other referring expressions has a bearing on the way in which information is communicated from the speaker to the audience. This triggers cognitive mechanisms that produce specific pragmatic and rhetorical effects.

In general, referring expressions such as names, definite descriptions, common nouns, or pronouns are linguistic signs linked to entities in the minds of the speaker, and their use in discourse is meant to evoke the same entities in the minds of their addressees.[17] Such entities are to be retrieved by the addressees from the 'mental context' that they share with the speaker. This includes their mutual general knowledge of the world, their immediate physical surroundings (in case of a face-to-face conversation), and the linguistic material (discourse context) already produced and communicated over the course of their interaction. Not all referring expressions are equally effective in identifying unequivocally the entity the speaker has in mind. If a Londoner uses the expression 'the river' to refer to the river Thames, for instance, the correct identification of the referent requires either that listeners are fellow Londoners (who would also habitually refer to the Thames as 'the river'), or that they know both that the speaker is a Londoner and that Londoners refer to the Thames as 'the river', or that the linguistic exchange takes place in London (which would encourage the assumption that the river in question is the Thames), or that the topic of the conversation is London, or at least that the Thames itself was mentioned not much earlier in the linguistic interaction (and is still 'active' enough in discourse to be identifiable by the hypernym 'river' accompanied by the definite article).[18] On the whole, proper names like 'the Thames', especially if accompanied by a descriptive expression ('the river Thames'), are the most explicit way to refer to specific entities that are presumed to be the least easy for addressees to identify, and would be used by speakers who do not presuppose that their addressees share much relevant information with them. Conversely, a more generic expression such as 'the river' would, in principle, be used with addressees presupposed to be able to interpret its implicit reference correctly. Expressions of this type may thus be read as markers of the fact that the entities they refer to are relatively 'accessible' to the minds of both the speaker and the addressees—they are easy to retrieve from one's knowledge/memory or picture in one's mind, so to speak.[19] Thus, the use of more rather than fewer generic expressions reflects what the speaker presupposes about the audience and is a matter of choice on the part of the speaker in each specific context of communication.[20]

Personal names, just like toponyms, may be taken as markers of low accessibility.[21] That is to say, a speaker would use a proper name to refer to a person that is not immediately identifiable by simply using a pronoun ('she', 'he') or a definite descriptor ('my cat', 'the president', and 'that man'). Names may be used on their own in any of the forms in which they are used in each culture. In modern European cultures, for instance, names may be used in either full or 'minimal' versions. A full name consists of the concatenation of an individual's given and family names (*e.g.* 'Francesco Totti'), whereas 'minimal' versions consist of either of these onomastic elements. Well-known public figures may be referred to simply by their family name ('Totti'), which marks

[15] See Appendix 3. The high-density passages in Lys. 13 are in fact interrupted by readings of decrees.

[16] Just to give one example, Lysias omits the names of Agoratus' brothers at 13.65. Todd (2007: 348–49) compares and contrasts Lys. 3 and Lys. 4, which deal with the same type of legal dispute, precisely on the grounds that the former names many more participants and the latter only includes the names of two witnesses who were unable to testify. However, the speech lacks the *narratio* altogether and is likely to have been mutilated; see Todd 2007: 349–51.

[17] Cf. Kibrik 2011: 32.

[18] See Allerton 1996 for a full discussion of this example.

[19] See Ariel 1988: 68 on the concept of 'accessibility'.

[20] A collaborative speaker (in a Gricean sense) would choose the most effective referring expression based on his/her presuppositions about the audience. Alternatively, a non-collaborative speaker may use expressions that presuppose being an 'insider' (such as 'the river' to refer to the Thames among Londoners) in order to (a) select the audience, (b) construct and project an in-group identity on the audience, and/or (c) construct his/her own persona as one that stands out from (part) of the audience. From the point of view of rhetorical strategy, (a) and (c) are risky steps to take and, in principle, they would not be an option in forensic contexts in classical Athens.

[21] See Ariel 1988.

higher accessibility than the full name. Using the given name alone ('Francesco') denotes intimacy and an even higher level of accessibility for both the speaker and the addressee; its use in a public context (*e.g.* in a TV interview) would be possible if the person referred to by name is either participating in the conversation (or physically present) or the topic of the conversation. From a rhetorical point of view, the use of an informal designation has the twofold effect of both characterizing the speaker as someone close to the referred individual and 'humanizing' the named individual.[22] Personal names may also be used in combination with a definite description ('the footballer Francesco Totti'), which provides more lexical information. This way of referring to an individual is normally used when such extra information is needed in order for the addressee to identify the referent. Using a definite description alone to refer to a person (*e.g.* 'the footballer' to refer to 'Francesco Totti') presupposes that the addressee knows what individual one is talking about and, accordingly, marks higher accessibility than the full name. Conversely, the combination of the full name and a definite description indicates that the referent is presented as not immediately retrievable by the addressee at all and marks the lowest degree of accessibility.

When it comes to classical Athens, each person had one name, which could be used both to address and to refer to individuals. Combinations of a given name and either the patronymic or a word referring to the place a person came from (a demotic or ethnic designation) were also frequently used as referring expressions, but not as addresses.[23] In particular, the indication of the deme became compulsory in public documents since the restoration of democracy in 403/2[24] and its combination with the name may be regarded as functionally analogous to modern European full names. Definite descriptions were also added to the name if necessary for the identification of the individual. These expressions probably marked higher accessibility than the combination of name and demotic designations but lower accessibility than the name alone.

Going back to *Against Eratosthenes*, we can observe that the only individual introduced with a demotic—a rather formal designation—is Epichares of Lamptra (12.55), while the name of an otherwise obscure character like Archeneos is accompanied by the definite description ὁ ναύκληρος (12.16). Similarly, Lysias introduces his father as οὑμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος (12.4). Using the definite description 'my father' as a referring expression would have been sufficient in a forensic context, unless the speaker wished to make sure that the audience would identify exactly who his father was.[25] The addition of the name 'Cephalus' points in this direction and, for one thing, it suggests that the identification of Lysias as a member of his family could reflect well on him.[26] For another, it implies that Cephalus—who must have died at the very least a decade before the trial[27]—must have been known to at least part of the audience. The visibility (and high repute) of Lysias' family[28] seems to be underlined by the fact that he refers to Polemarchus first as ὁ ἀδελφός (12.16) and only later by his name (12.17). The first reference implies higher accessibility than the second one—in other words, Lysias presupposed his listeners knew both who Polemarchus was and that Lysias was his brother. All the other individuals named in the speech are introduced simply by their name, which indicates that he expects that everybody knows who they are. This expectation, of course, may or may not correspond to the truth. However, listeners who are not able to identify the men Lysias mentions just by their name are prompted at least to create and 'access' a distinct mental image of those men as specific individuals rather than picturing generic, 'faceless' and depersonalized participants as the events are narrated. This mental process would, in all likelihood, make listeners immerse themselves even deeper in the world evoked by Lysias' narration and argument.[29]

[22] Cf. *e.g.* Chaemsaithong 2019: 195.
[23] See Dickey 1996: 45.
[24] Guarducci 1969: 7.
[25] In principle, identification without naming would have been possible if the speaker was a member of a well-known family.
[26] Cf. Giannadaki 2024: 474–75 on the high repute Lysias' family enjoyed in democratic Athens.
[27] Cf. Nails 2002: 84.
[28] See Dover 1968: 52 for a reconstruction of the social relations of Lysias' family based on Plato.
[29] On the notion of immersion see Ryan 2001. On the immersive effect of mental imagery on how recipients experience narratives see recently Mak et al. 2020. See also Allan 2022 for a study of immersive techniques in Lysias.

III. EVOKED INDIVIDUALS AND GROUP CHARACTERIZATION

Let us now survey the individuals named by Lysias. The first ones we encounter in the speech are his father Cephalus and Pericles, who are mentioned as Lysias outlines the background to the tragic events narrated in the speech (Lys. 12.4). In the narrative section proper (12.6–17), the *dramatis personae* include members of the Thirty (Theognis, Peison, Melobius, and Mnesitheides); Damnippus, an otherwise unknown close friend of Lysias' connected with the Thirty;[30] and the sea captain Archeneos, another friend and helper of the orator. The deeds and fate of Eratosthenes and his victim, Lysias' brother Polemarchus, are not witnessed by Lysias and are reported by Archeneos. Other figures appear in the speech as Lysias outlines the profile of Eratosthenes. These include a number of Eratosthenes' partners in crime, such as Iatrocles (an otherwise unknown anti-democratic conspirator involved in the military events that preluded the rise of the Four Hundred, 12.42), Critias (12.43), the corrupt informers Batrachus and Aeschylides (12.48), Theramenes (12.50), and other members of the Thirty (Pheidon, 12.54, Charicles, 12.55). Lysias also gives the names of Hippocles and Epichares, who served along with Pheidon on the infamous council of the Ten[31] (12.55). Eratosthenes was not himself a member of this council, but Lysias underlines that he shared the political background and purposes of its members.[32] In this connection, Lysias mentions Pheidon's dealings with Lysander (12.59), thus taking the opportunity to name another enemy of the Athenian people. As Lysias moves on to attack the late Theramenes, for whom—as he admits—Eratosthenes is but a proxy as far as the prosecution is concerned (12.62), he names some of the politician's associates (Aristocrates, 12.66 and Dracontides, 12.73) as well as rivals in the oligarchic field at the time of the Four Hundred (Peisander, Callaeschrus, Antiphon, and Archeptolemus, 12.67). The Spartan commanders Philochares, Miltiades, and—once again—Lysander (12.72) are mentioned as Lysias recalls the humiliating approval of the peace negotiated, and purposely delayed, by Theramenes. On the opposite side of the political and ethical spectrum, Lysias mentions Themistocles (12.63) and Thrasybulus, a positive figure whom Eratosthenes failed to associate himself with when it would have been timely to (12.52).[33]

In *Against Eratosthenes*, characters presented under a positive, or at least non-negative, light include (1) friends and relations of Lysias, (2) public figures not directly involved in the facts under discussion (such as Pericles and Thrasybulus), and (3) the enemies or fellow victims of Lysias' enemies (such as Peisander, Callaeschrus, Antiphon, and Archeptolemus).[34] Conversely, Lysias populates the enemy camp with the Thirty and their associates, along with other internal and external well-known enemies of the Athenian people.

Overall, this categorization indicates that Lysias' antagonists are defined by being public enemies rather than merely hostile to Lysias' family and that this is what characterizes them as a group. Accordingly, the injured party amounts to the whole democratic citizen body, which includes the judges (cf. *e.g.* 12.57) and identifies with the political and civic tradition linking Themistocles and Pericles to Thrasybulus. In this connection, it is remarkable that Lysias employs the first person plural not only to refer to his own family as a cohesive group,[35] but also to refer to the democrats at Piraeus.[36] Lysias thus presents himself and his family as fully integrated in the Athenian democratic tradition in spite of their own metic status.[37] As such, it is an emblematic counterpart to the evil and cannibalistic social network of the Thirty,[38] the sort of people who would not refrain from the fratricidal elimination of members of their own faction, as Theramenes did with Antiphon and Archeptolemus. Meaningfully, and tendentiously, Lysias presents Theramenes' execution as a just

[30] Cf. Avezzù 1991: 119.
[31] See Bearzot 1997: 154–56 and 158 on the negative reputation of the Ten in early sources of all political orientations.
[32] See Bearzot 1997: 160.
[33] Lysias does not always think highly of Thrasybulus, cf. Bearzot 1997: 171.
[34] On Lysias' relatively positive attitude towards the enemies of his enemies cf. 12.64: ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ ‹ἦν› καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Θηραμένους προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐτύγχανεν ἐκείνῳ τἀναντία πράττων.
[35] *E.g.* at 12.4, 12.18–20 (ἡμῖν, ἡμετέρων, ἐτυγχάνομεν, *etc.*).
[36] At 12.53. Cf. Todd 2020: 165; Giannadaki 2024: 482–83.
[37] Cf. Giannadaki 2024: 477 on the rhetoric of 'over-eagerness' in the self-presentation of 'cives novi' and metics.
[38] Cf. Bakewell 1999: 7.

punishment (12.78) and abstains from naming any perpetrator (with Critias being an obvious candidate).

IV. A SOLITARY HERO AND A SOLITARY VILLAIN

Another feature that can be interpreted as rhetorically charged is the sheer number of 'goodies' and 'baddies' named by Lysias. As I argued above, naming characters forces the audience to recall (or create) mental images of each of them. A large number of names would thus generate a striking number of such images and convey the sense of a possibly overwhelming multitude more effectively than mere group designations or generic references. From this perspective, the oligarchs in particular would strike the listeners as an extended but well-defined social network that operated as such under everybody's eyes and at the same time consisted of specific well-known individuals who were actively involved in its devious enterprises.

In this speech, Lysias seems quite keen on providing exact figures when it comes to quantification, especially when numbers are large. For example, Lysias tells us that Peison misappropriated from him three talents of silver, 400 cyzicenes, 100 darics, and four silver cups (12.11). The goods confiscated by the Thirty from his family amounted to 700 shields, 120 slaves, along with an indeterminate large quantity of silver, gold, copper, jewellery, furniture, and women's clothing (12.19). We also learn that the Thirty targeted exactly eight rich and two poor metics (12.7)—or twenty-eight rich and two poor metics, if we are to believe Xenophon's report that the Thirty picked a metic each (*HG* 2.3.21) and envisage a slight corruption of numeral symbols in the early transmission of the text, as Meriani has argued.[39]

The ancient rhetorical tradition ascribes no specific function to numbers; as van Berkel puts it, numbers were seemingly considered 'merely informative and rhetorically 'inert''.[40] However, this does not mean that quantification had no rhetorical effect in the oratorical practice. For one thing, accurate quantification increases the amount of detail presented in a speech and may run the risk of conveying the impression of bookish or bureaucratic ἀκρίβεια[41]—the tedious ἀπαριθμεῖν dreaded by Isocrates (5.26). At the same time, tallies of people, goods, and money could appeal to the common sense and everyday experience of the audience,[42] could sound authoritative (if the speaker was perceived to be trustworthy),[43] and may contribute to the effect that Demetrius calls ἀκριβολογία ('speaking with precision'), a manner of expression that he regards as conducive to ἐνάργεια—the vividness of a narrative or description (*Eloc.* 209).[44] Presenting exact figures—so long as they were relatable and believable—may thus be a means to add realism to the narration and impress the audience. This expedient is by no means an invention of Greek oratory. One may think, for instance, of Telemachus' ἀρίθμησις of the Suitors at his father's request (*Od.* 16.245–53)—a passage in which exact numbers have the effect of increasing the suspense and instantiate what de Jong calls 'the one against many motif',[45] a common *topos* in epic poetry.[46] Of course, in *Against Eratosthenes* Lysias

[39] Meriani 2006. Todd (2020: 97) accepts the transmitted text and sees the divergence between Lysias' and Xenophon's numbers as a reflex of their respective motives: 'for Xenophon, it is the requirement for each member of the Thirty to arrest one metic that is the sticking-point for Theramenes, whereas Lysias' account implies that multiple members of the regime were present at his own initial arrest'.

[40] van Berkel 2017: 325.

[41] Cf. van Berkel 2017: 334–35.

[42] van Berkel 2017: 330.

[43] Sing 2022: 195–96.

[44] It must also be noted that Demetrius calls ἀκρίβεια in composition a μικροπρεπές ('petty') feature at *Eloc.* 53. In this passage, Demetrius uses this notion to describe the meticulous, fastidious correspondence between particles. The term ἀκριβολογία at *Eloc.* 209 refers to the contents rather than to composition and consists in not omitting any detail. In general, Demetrius presents accuracy at both levels (composition and contents) as only appropriate to the plain style. See Salomone 1998: 85, Marini 2007: 191–92; Vatri 2017: 102–04.

[45] de Jong 2001: 398.

[46] See *e.g.* Fenik 1968: 110. The idea that solitary deeds are worthy of praise also seems to make its way into Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as one of the means of amplification (αὔξησις): χρηστέον δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐξητικῶν πολλοῖς, οἷον εἰ μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ἢ μετ' ὀλίγων ἢ καὶ ὃ μάλιστα πεποίηκεν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα καλά 'One should also use many means of amplification, such as if the subject has done something alone, or first, or with few, or what he has performed most especially (see Grimaldi 1980: 218); for all these things are admirable' (*Rh.* 1.9.38 1368a10–12). Admittedly, it is not crystal clear if Aristotle intends μόνος as qualifying a specific event ('to have acted *alone*', so *e.g.* Dorati 1996: 77, Cannavò 2014: 91, and Dufour 1932: 113) or an achievement of the subject ('*the only one* to have done

does not embark in diffuse enumerations of the individuals involved in any of the actions he describes or refers to. Still, he does seem to deploy a form of this *topos* in his narrative.

When Lysias' house is visited by the Thirty, he is with guests but they are rapidly sent away (12.8). Lysias finds himself alone with Peison and two of his servants (12.9–10); Lysias is then handed over to Melobius and Mnesitheides (12.12), and brought to Damnippus' house, where another antagonist, Theognis, appears (12.13). The other captives held there are not named by Lysias, who thus still presents himself as desperately alone against a host of enemies. He does manage to talk to his friend Damnippus (12.14), but this man is not in a position to help him to the full, and only after he escapes does he manage to get some real support from another friend, Archeneos (12.16). As I have argued, personal names are highly evocative of the narrated world, and their use may be read as a form of ἀκριβολογία. By giving the names of as many as four antagonists and only one, neutralized friend at the peak of narrative tension, Lysias makes the listeners experience his own isolation and builds a powerful characterization of himself as 'one against many'—a solitary 'hero' of sorts. He is physically and psychologically cut off from both his persecuted family and the collapsed democratic institutions and civic body that constituted his material as well as psychological environment—what he would naturally refer to by 'we'. His heroic enterprise is not that of singlehandedly defeating his enemies, but that of managing to escape and survive against all odds in an extraordinary and serendipitous manner (12.15).

If we now briefly look at how names are used in the portrayal of Theramenes, we can observe how Lysias plays with their rhetorical effect to characterize his target in the opposite direction to his own self-characterization. Apart from holding him personally responsible for the demolition of the walls (12.63, 12.70), the rise of the Four Hundred (12.65), and the deferral of the assembly that was to discuss the terms of the peace (12.71),[47] Lysias describes Theramenes as single-handedly conspiring against Peisander, Callaeschrus, and others (12.66), as well as putting his friends Antiphon and Archeptolemus to death (12.67). Theramenes' only named helpers are the Spartan chiefs Lysander, Philochares, and Miltiades (12.72). Like Lysias, Theramenes has 'friends' (12.64), but instead of being alienated from them by the action of his enemies, he does not hesitate to turn himself into their enemy, as his riddance of Antiphon and Archeptolemus demonstrates.

Theramenes is not alone, in that he is a charismatic leader, but his only true interlocutors are hostile foreign agents. His most notable rivals and victims are identified one by one by their name, and no accomplice is mentioned as Lysias describes how Theramenes hit them. Conversely, his associates are presented as a compact and depersonalized group of followers[48] and, accordingly, are not named—except for Eratosthenes, whose name nevertheless is not mentioned in a large part of the speech.[49] This is in stark contrast with what we have seen in the narrative of Lysias' capture and escape, where members of the *very same group* are named individually. Lysias, a metic, is a victim who faces, alone, a multitude of persecutors. Theramenes, instead, is the head of a powerful social network, whose ramifications even reach Lysias' inner circle (Damnippus), but is portrayed as the one persecutor of a multitude of victims. If Lysias names his antagonists and helpers to characterize himself as a solitary 'hero' who can count on true friends, his use of names as he talks about Theramenes underlines how the oligarchic leader was a 'scheming opportunist'[50] and, ultimately, a solitary villain.

The rich cast of named individuals in *Against Eratosthenes* thus serves as a subtle and indirect means to characterize both the speaker and his targets in an almost subliminal way, without resorting either to explicit character portrayal or to the development of the orator's own *ēthos* (in an

something', so *e.g.* Kennedy 2007: 81; cf. also *Rh.* 2.7.2 1385b21). The Greek of Aelius Theon, (εἰ μόνος ἔπραξέ τι ἢ πρῶτος, *Prog.* 110.22–26 Patillon) and the Latin of Quintilian (*quae solus quis aut primus aut certe cum paucis fecisse dicetur, Inst.* 3.7.16), who repeat Aristotle's point, are equally ambiguous. The translations of Theon by Patillon (Patillon and Bolognesi 1997: 75) and Kennedy (2003: 51) support the interpretation 'to do something *alone*'. The adjective *solus* in Quintilian may also be read in this sense—perhaps *unus* would have be used to convey the meaning '*the only one* to do something'?

[47] Cf. Bearzot 1997: 190, 199.

[48] Cf. Bearzot 1997: 173 and Murphy 1989: 46.

[49] Cf. Usher 1965: 114.

[50] Buck 1995: 16.

Aristotelian sense) through his self-presentation both as the man delivering the speech and as an actor in the events he narrates. This is a clever strategy for the negative characterization of the opponents, in a situation where the defendant in fact stood for a whole group, and it was not necessary, and probably not advisable, to delve into his individual personality traits.

When it comes to self-characterization, the use of this technique—deliberate or instinctive as it may have been—is even more remarkable if we consider that Lysias composed this text for his own delivery. While he does not refrain from deploying emotional, pathetic effects, Lysias the metic emerges from the speech as a solitary hero without even trying too hard to present himself as such (and we may not know whether this would have been a good idea for a metic at all anyway). By simply exploiting the immersive power of evoking a large number of named individuals, Lysias brings his audience along through his plight and dramatically boosts the emotional load of his nail-biting narrative.

APPENDIX 1. FREQUENCY OF PROPER NAMES IN THE FORENSIC SPEECHES IN THE LYSIANIC CORPUS

The following table displays the raw counts and frequencies per hundred words of proper personal names in the forensic speeches in the Lysianic corpus. These statistics have been computed on the basis of the *TLG* digital texts. The counts only include the names of individuals that play a role in narrative passages and/or have a direct connection with the facts discussed in each speech and thus excludes the names (a) of eponymous archons (in dates), (b) of historical figures when mentioned solely for their authority (Pericles at 6.10, 30.28, Diocles at 6.54, Solon at 10.15, 30.26, 30.28,[51] Themistocles at 30.28) or as positive/negative examples (Diagoras the Melian at 6.17), and (c) those occurring only as patronymics. All of the excluded names are recorded in Appendix 2.

The last column of the table shows the highest density of personal names (with the exclusions just detailed) in any sequence of fifty consecutive words in each text. The method employed here is analogous to the first steps in the calculation of moving averages: names of characters are counted for the first fifty words in each text, then for the fifty words starting with the second word in the text, then for the fifty-word window starting with the third word, and so on until the final fifty words in each text are reached. The table records the value of the highest-scoring fifty-word window in the text. The values of all fifty-word windows are displayed visually as a heatmap in Appendix 3 (Fig. 1).

Text	Word count	Proper names (raw frequency)	Frequency per 100 words	Peak density per 50 words
Lys. 1	2416	10	0.41	2
Lys. 3	2186	25	1.14	5
Lys. 4	955	2	0.21	2
Lys. 5	279	2	0.72	1
Lys. 6	2619	31	1.18	4
Lys. 7	2030	11	0.54	4
Lys. 8	1038	18	1.73	7
Lys. 9	878	5	0.57	4
Lys. 10	1498	10	0.67	2
Lys. 11	548	0	0.0	0
Lys. 12	4869	78	1.6	7

(*continued*)

[51] On Lysias' mentions of Solon, see Todd 2007: 678.

Continued

Text	Word count	Proper names (raw frequency)	Frequency per 100 words	Peak density per 50 words
Lys. 13	4868	116	2.38	8
Lys. 14	2420	18	0.74	3
Lys. 15	605	7	1.16	3
Lys. 16	1144	5	0.44	2
Lys. 17	584	14	2.4	4
Lys. 18	1350	14	1.04	4
Lys. 19	3117	56	1.8	5
Lys. 20	1919	5	0.26	2
Lys. 21	1295	10	0.77	3
Lys. 22	1124	2	0.18	1
Lys. 23	772	17	2.2	4
Lys. 24	1435	0	0.0	0
Lys. 25	2025	5	0.25	3
Lys. 26	1390	8	0.58	3
Lys. 27	752	2	0.27	1
Lys. 28	912	8	0.88	3
Lys. 29	664	14	2.11	3
Lys. 30	1887	27	1.43	5
Lys. 31	1818	5	0.27	2
Lys. 32	1705	19	1.11	6

APPENDIX 2. PERSONAL NAMES IN THE FORENSIC SPEECHES IN THE LYSIANIC CORPUS

This appendix lists all personal names mentioned in Lysianic forensic speeches along with their raw frequency and references to the sections in which they occur in each speech. All names included in the statistics presented in Appendix 1 are listed alphabetically under 'Characters', whereas the names of eponymous archons, of individuals only mentioned as patronymics, and of historical figures are listed under their respective subheadings.

Lys. 1

- Characters: 4
  - Eratosthenes: 6× (at 4, 16*, 19, 23, 40, 43)
  - Euphiletus: 1× (at 16)
  - Harmodius: 1× (at 41)
  - Sostratus: 2× (at 22, 39)

Lys. 3

- Characters: 9
  - Aristocritus: 1× (at 8)
  - Theophilus: 1× (at 12)
  - Protarchus: 1× (at 12)
  - Autocles: 1× (at 12)

- Molon: 1× (at 16)
- Laches: 1× (at 45)
- Theodotus: 3× (at 5, 11, 22)
- Lysimachus: 2× (at 11, 12)
- Simon: 14× (at 3, 4 × 2, 10, 12, 14, 20, 21, 29, 32, 34, 38, 40, 48)

Lys. 4

- Characters: 2
  - Diocles: 1× (at 4)
  - Philinus: 1× (at 4)

Lys. 5

- Characters: 1
  - Callias: 2× (at 1, 3)

Lys. 6

- Characters: 6
  - Andocides: 22× (at 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11 × 2, 21 × 2, 32, 38 × 2, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53)
  - Archippus: 2× (at 11, 12)
  - Batrachus: 3× (at 45 × 3)
  - Cephisius: 2× (at 42 × 2)
  - Dionysius: 1× (at 6*)
  - Euagoras: 1× (at 28)
- Historical figures: 4
  - Diagoras: 1× (at 17*)
  - Diocles: 1× (at 54§)
  - Pericles: 1× (at 10)
- Patronymics: 1
  - Zacoras: 1× (at 54)

Lys. 7

- Characters: 8
  - Alcias: 1× (at 10†)
  - Anticles: 2× (at 4 × 2)
  - Apollodorus: 1× (at 4*)
  - Callistratus: 1× (at 9)
  - Demetrius: 1× (at 10)
  - Nicomachus: 3× (at 20, 36, 39)
  - Peisander: 1× (at 4)
  - Proteas: 1× (at 10)
- Archons: 2
  - Pythodorus: 1× (at 9)
  - Souniades: 1× (at 11)
- Masters: 1
  - Antisthenes: 1× (at 10)

Lys. 8

- Characters: 8
  - Autocrates: 1× (at 15)
  - Cleitodicus: 1× (at 13)
  - Diodorus: 3× (at 10, 14 × 2)
  - Euryptolemus: 2× (at 15 × 2)
  - Hegemachus: 1× (at 10)
  - Menophilus: 2× (at 15 × 2)
  - Polycles: 4× (at 10, 11, 12, 16)
  - Thrasymachus: 4× (at 14 × 2, 15, 16)

Lys. 9

- Characters: 5
  - Callicrates: 1× (at 5)
  - Ctesicles: 1× (at 6)
  - Philius: 1× (at 5)
  - Polyaenus: 1× (at 5)
  - Sostratus: 1× (at 13)

Lys. 10

- Characters: 4
  - Dionysius: 2× (at 24, 30)
  - Lysitheus: 2× (at 1, 12)
  - Pantaleon: 1× (at 5)
  - Theomnestus: 5× (at 1, 8, 16, 26, 31)
- Historical figures: 1
  - Solon: 1× (at 15)

Lys. 12

- Characters: 30
  - Aeschylides: 1× (at 48)
  - Antiphon: 1× (at 67)
  - Archeneus: 1× (at 16)
  - Archeptolemus: 1× (at 67)
  - Aristocrates: 1× (at 66)
  - Batrachus: 1× (at 48)
  - Callaeschrus: 1× (at 66)
  - Cephalus: 1× (at 4)
  - Charicles: 1× (at 55)
  - Critias: 2× (at 43, 55)
  - Damnippus: 3× (at 12, 14, 15)
  - Dracontides: 1× (at 73)
  - Epichares: 1× (at 55*)
  - Eratosthenes: 15× (at 16, 23, 31, 32, 34, 43, 46, 54, 58, 62, 79, 81 × 2, 87, 89)
  - Hippocles: 1× (at 55)
  - Iatrocles: 1× (at 42)
  - Lysander: 5× (at 59, 71, 72, 74 × 2)
  - Melobius: 2× (at 12, 19)

- Miltiades: 1× (at 72)
- Mnesitheides: 1× (at 12)
- Peisander: 1× (at 66)
- Peison: 6× (at 6, 8 × 2, 10, 12, 13)
- Pericles: 1× (at 4)
- Pheidon: 3× (at 54, 55, 58)
- Philochares: 1× (at 72)
- Polemarchus: 5× (at 17, 19, 25, 26, 34)
- Themistocles: 1× (at 63)
- Theognis: 5× (at 6, 13, 14, 15 × 2)
- Theramenes: 12× (at 50, 62 × 2, 63, 64, 69, 73, 74 × 2, 76, 78, 79)
- Thrasybulus: 1× (at 52)

Lys. 13

- Characters: 26
  - Aesimus: 4× (at 80, 81 × 2, 82)
  - Agoratus: 41× (at 1, 3, 4, 16, 18 × 2, 19, 22, 23, 24 × 2, 26 × 2, 29, 30, 32, 33, 38, 41 × 2, 42 × 2, 43, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 64, 71, 72, 86, 92, 93 × 2, 95 × 2, 96)
  - Anticles: 1× (at 64)
  - Anytus: 3× (at 78, 82 × 2)
  - Apollodorus: 4× (at 71*, 71, 72 × 2)
  - Aristophanes: 2× (at 58*, 60)
  - Cleophon: 3× (at 7, 8, 12)
  - Critias: 1× (at 55)
  - Dionysius: 3× (at 41, 86, 90)
  - Dionysodorus: 5× (at 1, 2, 13, 40, 41)
  - Eumares: 2× (at 64 × 2)
  - Hagnodorus: 1× (at 55*)
  - Hippias: 3× (at 54*, 54, 61)
  - Lamachus: 1× (at 67)
  - Lysander: 1× (at 34)
  - Menestratus: 8× (at 55 × 5, 56, 57 × 2)
  - Nicias: 1× (at 23)
  - Nicocles: 1× (at 64)
  - Nicomenes: 1× (at 23)
  - Phaenippides: 1× (at 68)
  - Phrynichus: 14× (at 70 × 2, 71 × 2, 72 × 2, 73 × 2, 74 × 2, 75 × 3, 76)
  - Strombichides: 1× (at 13)
  - Theocritus: 4× (at 19§, 19, 21, 22)
  - Theramenes: 3× (at 9, 13, 17)
  - Thrasybulus: 4× (at 71*, 71, 72 × 2)
  - Xenophon: 3× (at 54*, 54, 61)
- Patronymics: 1
  - Elaphostictus: 1× (at 19)

Lys. 14

- Characters: 9
  - Adeimantus: 1× (at 38)
  - Alcibiades: 10× (at 10, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32, 37, 39)
  - Archebiades: 1× (at 27)

- Archedemus: 1× (at 25)
- Archestratides: 1× (at 3)
- Hipponicus: 1× (at 28)
- Lysander: 1× (at 38)
- Megacles: 1× (at 39)
- Theotimus: 1× (at 26)

Lys. 15

- Characters: 3
  - Alcibiades: 5× (at 5 × 2, 6, 10, 12)
  - Archestratides: 1× (at 12)
  - Pamphilus: 1× (at 5)

Lys. 16

- Characters: 3
  - Agesilaus: 1× (at 16)
  - Orthobulus: 3× (at 13 × 3)
  - Satyrus: 1× (at 4)

Lys. 17

- Characters: 3
  - Erasistratus: 4× (at 3 × 2, 5, 6)
  - Erasiphon: 3× (at 3, 5, 6)
  - Eraton: 7× (at 1, 2^, 2, 3 × 2, 4 × 2)
- Archons: 1
  - Xenaenetus: 1× (at 3)
- Sons: 1
  - Erasiphon: 1× (at 2)

Lys. 18

- Characters: 7
  - Diognetus: 1× (at 9)
  - Diomnestus: 1× (at 20)
  - Eucrates: 1× (at 4)
  - Niceratus: 2× (at 6, 10)
  - Nicias: 2× (at 1, 6)
  - Pausanias: 6× (at 10 × 3, 11, 12, 22)
  - Poliochus: 1× (at 13)

Lys. 19

- Characters: 19
  - Alcibiades: 1× (at 52)
  - Aristophanes: 14× (at 7, 8, 15, 18 × 2, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 38, 42, 44)
  - Callias: 1× (at 48§)
  - Cleophon: 1× (at 48)
  - Conon: 10× (at 12, 19, 28, 35 × 3, 36, 39, 41, 44)
  - Critodemus: 1× (at 16*)
  - Demus: 2× (at 25§, 26)

- Dionysius: 3× (at 19, 20, 20)
- Diotimus: 2× (at 50, 51)
- Euagoras: 3× (at 20, 23, 27)
- Eunomus: 2× (at 19, 23)
- Ischomachus: 1× (at 46)
- Niceratus: 1× (at 47)
- Nicias: 1× (at 47)
- Nicophemus: 8× (at 7, 11, 12, 35 × 2, 36, 41, 44)
- Phaedrus: 1× (at 15*)
- Philomelus: 1× (at 15*)
- Stephanus: 1× (at 46§)
- Timotheus: 2× (at 34§, 38)

- Archons: 1
  - Eubulides: 1× (at 28)
- Patronymics: 4
  - Conon: 1× (at 34)
  - Euripides: 1× (at 14)
  - Hipponicus: 1× (at 48)
  - Pyrilampes: 1× (at 25)
  - Thallus: 1× (at 46)
  - Xenophon: 1× (at 14)

Lys. 20

- Characters: 4
  - Leon:[52] 1× (at 29)
  - Phrynichus: 2× (at 11, 11)
  - Polystratus: 1× (at 1)
  - Tydeus: 1× (at 26)

Lys. 21

- Characters: 8
  - Alcibiades: 1× (at 6)
  - Archestratus: 1× (at 8*)
  - Cephisodorus: 1× (at 4)
  - Cinesias: 1× (at 20)
  - Erasinides: 1× (at 8)
  - Nausimachus: 3× (at 9*, 10, 11)
  - Phantias: 1× (at 10)
  - Thrasyllus: 1× (at 8)
- Archons: 5
  - Alexias: 1× (at 3)
  - Diocles: 1× (at 2)
  - Euclides: 1× (at 4)
  - Glaucippus: 1× (at 1)
  - Theopompus: 1× (at 1)

Lys. 22

- Characters: 1
  - Anytus: 2× (at 8, 9)

[52] Conjectured by Wilamowitz; Carey (OCT) prints ἐνθάδε ὄντες.

Lys. 23

- Characters: 5
  - Aristodicus: 3× (at 13, 14 × 2)
  - Euthycritus: 2× (at 5, 8)
  - Hipparmodorus: 1× (at 6)
  - Nicomedes: 3× (at 9, 10, 11)
  - Pancleon: 8× (at 1, 3, 5*§, 6, 7 × 2, 9, 12)
- Patronymics: 1
  - Hipparmodorus: 1× (at 5)

Lys. 25

- Characters: 5
  - Cleisthenes: 1× (at 25)
  - Demophanes: 1× (at 25)
  - Epigenes: 1× (at 25)
  - Peisander: 1× (at 9)
  - Phrynichus: 1× (at 9)

Lys. 26

- Characters: 3
  - Leodamas: 4× (at 13, 14, 15 × 2)
  - Thrasybulus: 2× (at 13, 21)
  - Euandrus: 2× (at 15, 24)

Lys. 27

- Characters: 2
  - Epicrates: 1× (at 16)
  - Onomasas: 1× (at 4)

Lys. 28

- Characters: 3
  - Ergocles: 4× (at 4, 5, 10, 12)
  - Seuthes: 1× (at 5)
  - Thrasybulus: 3× (at 4, 5, 8)

Lys. 29

- Characters: 3
  - Ergocles: 10× (at 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 × 2, 11, 12, 14)
  - Philocrates: 3× (at 1, 3, 5)
  - Thrasybulus: 1× (at 7)

Lys. 30

- Characters: 7
  - Calliades: 1× (at 14)
  - Chremon: 2× (at 12, 14)

- Cleophon: 4× (at 10, 12 × 2, 13)
- Nicomachus: 15× (at 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 33)
- Satyrus: 3× (at 10*, 12, 14)
- Strombichides: 1× (at 14)
- Teisamenus: 1× (at 28§)

- Historical figures: 3
  - Pericles: 1× (at 28)
  - Solon: 4× (at 2 × 2, 26, 28)
  - Themistocles: 1× (at 28)
- Patronymics: 1
  - Mechanion: 1× (at 28)

Lys. 31

- Characters: 3
  - Antiphanes: 1× (at 21)
  - Diotimus: 1× (at 16*)
  - Philon: 3× (at 1, 4, 7)

Lys. 32

- Characters: 7
  - Alexis: 2× (at 24§, 26)
  - Aristodicus (brother of Alexis): 1× (at 26)
  - Diodotus: 3× (at 4 × 2, 5)
  - Diogeiton: 9× (at 2 × 2, 4 × 2, 7, 9, 12, 19, 26)
  - Hegemon: 1× (at 12)
  - Phaedrus: 1× (at 14)
  - Thrasyllus: 2× (at 5, 7)
- Patronymics: 1
  - Aristodicus (father of Alexis): 1× (at 24)

Legend:
* = with ethnonym/demonym
§ = with patronymic
† = with name of (ex) master (for slaves)
^ = with name of son

APPENDIX 3. PERSONAL NAME DENSITY IN THE FORENSIC SPEECHES IN THE LYSIANIC CORPUS

The figure below displays the frequency of personal names (with the exclusion of the categories defined in Appendix 1) in each sequence of fifty consecutive words in each text (as described in Appendix 1) as a heatmap. Each row in the figure corresponds to a forensic speech in the Lysianic corpus (identified by its speech number). Each shaded bar in a row corresponds to a text segment through which the density of personal names per fifty words is constant (the number of words in the text each bar represents may thus vary). Brighter bars indicate lower densities, with the colour white representing a density of zero personal names in the corresponding segment. A series of windows where the number of personal names per fifty words does not drop under two and which include at least one window containing at least five personal names are annotated with letters in the figure. Their exact location and peak values are presented in the table below.

Area in figure	Sections in text	Peak character density per 50 words
a	Lys. 3.11–14	5
b	Lys. 8.13–16	5
c	Lys. 12.10–14	5
d	Lys. 12.53–56	7
e	Lys. 12.65–67	5
f	Lys. 12.71–74	5
g	Lys. 13.53–58	8
h	Lys. 13.63–65	5
i	Lys. 13.69–72	7
j	Lys. 19.18–21	5
k	Lys. 19.34–37	5
l	Lys. 30.11–14	5
m	Lys. 32.2–5	6

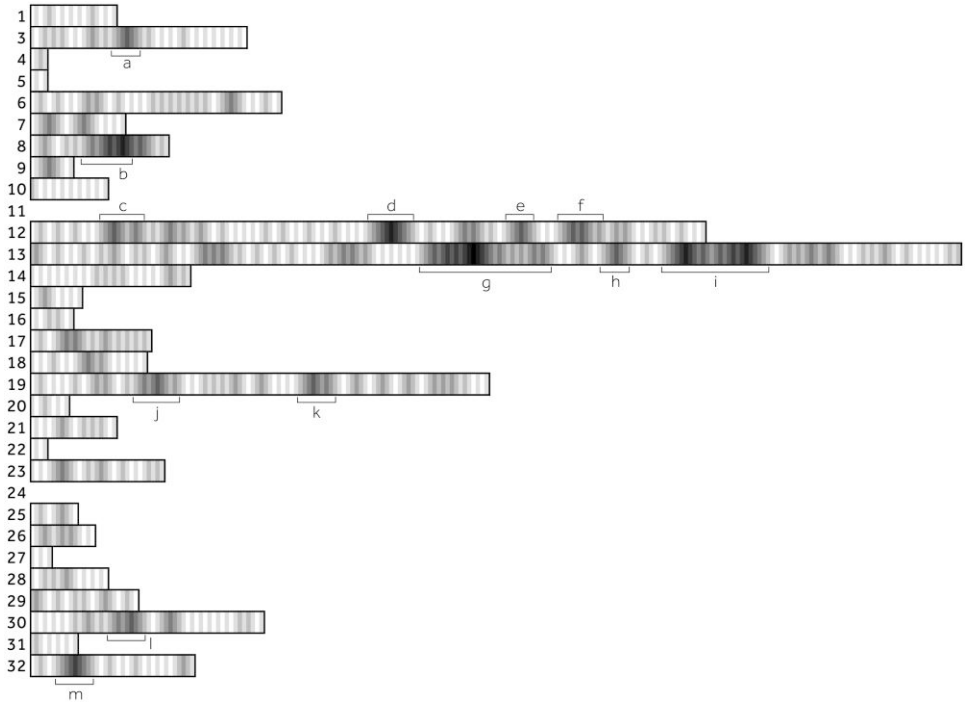

Figure 1 Heatmap of personal name density in the Lysianic corpus.

Note that areas g, h, and i (in Lys. 13) are all interrupted by the reading of decrees (at the end of Sections 55, 64, and 71), which entails that their respective densities are lower than what is computed on the basis of the transmitted text.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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