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THE CLASSICAL PARTHENON

Recovering the Strangeness of the Ancient World

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Cover image: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, transl. C. Zevort (Paris: Librarie Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1898), pp. 20–21. Cover design by Anna Gatti.

5. 'On the Temple dedicated to the Divine Minerva, vulgarly called the Parthenon'

O Men of Athens.[1] It is a time-honoured custom for the traveller who sets out on a perilous journey by land or by sea to swear an oath that he will set up an offering to the gods if he arrives safely. When we walk round the Acropolis, we admire the dedication made by the great Nikias, although it has lost its gilding.[2] Your city, all men know, honours the gods more than any other.[3] And we have more [*the speaker by his tone of voice and gesturing toward the Acropolis, indicates that he is about to repeat a conventional phrase*] 'things worth looking at' than any city in the Greek-speaking regions of our Roman imperium, in which the two great cities of Rome and Athens have long been allies and friends, united by our shared past.[4]

1 The speaker repeats the standard exordium expected in an oration in Athens. However, he also reveals his inexperience. A study that compared the usage of the phrase 'Men of Athens' with the alternative version that uses the vocative adverb 'O Men of Athens' has revealed that the latter was almost always used by Plato and that there are over a thousand examples in the Attic orators that our author is studying. However, by the time our author was writing, the vocative adverb implied a deliberate archaizing, and since in his case it is evidently not parodic, it is also an example of the many hazards that faced practitioners of rhetoric as they attempted an artificial form. Summarized from Dickey, Eleanor, *Greek Forms of Address from Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 177. Paul of Tarsus, as reported by the narrator of the Acts of the Apostles, omits the 'O', one of many indications that he was competent not only in the Greek language, but in the conventions in his time.

2 Plut. Nic. 3.3. The speaker confirms that, as with the Seated Athena of Endoios, the Acropolis presented images that together showed the astonishing continuity over many hundreds of years.

3 This too is part of the conventional exordium, and was also factual. See the list in Chapter 1.

4 The speaker is careful to note that, formally, Athens remained an independent city, not part of the Roman province of Graecia, and that its classical-era institutions

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I am certain I will have the sympathy of all here when I say that the vow this poor apprentice sophist made when he embarked on his journey was that, as one who is still unversed in the arts of persuasion, he might survive the ordeal of making his oration.[5] No old woman in Athens is going to accuse me of not being an Athenian because my Greek is [*pause for quotation*] 'too Attic for Athens'. [*Polite laughter at an old joke*].[6] Let me say, however, that although I come from a land more cold and more distant than that of Anacharsis the Scythian, ever since I was a boy, I have studied your Attic ways, and although I will always be your guest, Athens is now my city too.[7]

My chosen topic today, men of Athens, is our magnificent although out-of-sight Parthenon that amazes all who come to our city, as we all see with our own eyes.[8] Today the great work of Pheidias is still in the

still functioned, in name at least. As discussed in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 7, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.07, in the context of the Roman-era inscription on the front of the Parthenon, although that had probably already been removed, but not forgotten, by the time of the speech.

5 Oliver, James Henry, *The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), 1. The comparison is so disproportionate that a modern reader might think that the speaker is mocking the conventions of rhetoric, but the evidence suggests that the display and performance of what to modern ears is obsequiousness were in the speaker's time regarded as normal, while also becoming ever easier for audiences, who were themselves trained in rhetoric, to discount and ignore.

6 The speaker, shifting from the solemnity of referring to himself in the third person, repeats the joke told about Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor, noted by Kennerly, Michele, *Editorial Bodies: Perfection and Rejection in Ancient Rhetoric and Poetics. Studies in Rhetoric/Communication* (Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 2018), 11, from Cicero, *Brutus*, and Quintilian 8.1.2. The audience had heard boasts pretending to be modesty before, and some may have used the device in their own compositions. Although apparently joking, the speaker reveals that he is worried that his attempt to use pure classical Attic Greek may let him down. In his time a number of lexica aimed at addressing the problem had been produced, of which one, known in modern times as *The Antiatticist*, has survived. Discussed by Valente, Stefano, *The Antiatticist: Introduction and Critical Edition* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110404937.

7 The speaker deploys the double meaning of the Greek word ('xenos') as both stranger and guest.

8 The speaker repeats sentiments made explicit by a later travel writer who was, it seems likely, himself not saying anything original, set out in Heracleides of Crete, 'A view of Athens.' A fragment by an author of the third century BCE, previously attributed to Dicaearchus of Messene of the fourth century BCE. Translated into English by Stambaugh, John E., in 'The Idea of the City: Three Views of Athens' in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 69 (4) (Apr.–May, 1974), 309–321, from Pfister, Friedrich,

Parthenon and, since the year of destruction that father Herodotus recounts, our citadel has never been plundered. It was our own Cicero who taught us that, with images, [*he quotes*] 'their beauty puts them in danger, but their size keeps them safe'.[9]

It was one of our city's founders, Theseus, who decreed that Persuasion ('Peitho') should be honoured with an image dedicated to her on the Acropolis, and the sacred woman appointed to superintend her shrine and the ceremonies that take place there was assigned a seat of honour at the theatre.[10] I know, as one who has chosen to pursue my studies amongst so many ancient [*quotes*] 'things that make us remember', that I can never aspire to an oration that is worthy of the majesty of our city, as many famous men have done in the past and

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Die Reisebilder des Herakleides (Vienna, Rohrer, 1951). I have altered Stambaugh's translation to avoid his word 'costly' that may imply that readers and others judged the building against the price of constructing it, I also suggest that the rare word ἀποψιον, that Stambaugh translates as 'conspicuous' refer to the fact that the building was not visible from the town but came into view on special occasions, such as festival processions. The Greek phrase is transcribed by Davison, Claire Cullen, with the collaboration of Birte Lundgreen, ed. by Geoffrey B. Waywell, *Pheidias: The Sculptures and Ancient Sources* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2009), ii, 794. The speaker, without implying that the building does not have other uses, notes that its former purpose in promoting Athenian arete, as discussed in Chapter 2, has largely gone and it is now 'heritage' with a tourist economy as a reference to the good inns in the full version also suggests. By adopting the device of appealing to the sense of sight, 'autopsy', as a way of coopting listeners and later of readers, partly in order to attempt a paradox, the speaker risks appearing to be trying too hard to impress. He was however commended for stating the subject right at the beginning as the rhetorical handbooks recommend.

9 The speaker repeats a phrase used by Cicero in his case against Verres who removed innumerable artworks from the sacred places where they were used in the celebration of the gods into his private possession in his own houses, but who found some too costly to remove. Pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Cic. Ver. 2.4.110. The thought, presented as a general truth, helps to explain why the Parthenon and other buildings were over-engineered, possibly something that Cicero had learned while a student in Athens.

10 The speaker repeats the story reported by Pausanias 1.22.3, that the art of rhetoric ('Peitho' {'Persuasion') had been established in Athens in mythic times by Theseus, a late example of the practice discussed in Chapter 2, of conferring antiquity and authority on institutions and practices by claiming that they already existed in mythic times, the ancient equivalent of the invention of tradition. Peitho had both a statue and at least one priestess to service what we can guess was some regular commemorative ceremony involving processions, prayers, and the communal consumption of the food and drink shared with the gods. The special seat is recorded in an inscription CIA, iii. 351.

others will do in the future.[11] And we have all learned how wise it was of Euripides to warn that [*quotes*] 'speaking well can be a terrible thing if it brings harm'.[12] I will not just say whatever occurs to me at this moment.[13]

The last and greatest of the many gifts that our teacher Isocrates gave to our city in the darkest days of war was his warning to the intellectual men of that never-to-be-forgotten classical age against employing their skill with words not for the public good, but for what they themselves, or their faction, might expect to gain.[14] And as we know from the great Aristides, who also learned his craft here in Athens, any speaker who aims to please his audience rather than to lead them to what is in their best interests, is guilty of profaning the sacred mysteries of our profession.[15]

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11 The speaker refers to the long tradition of speeches in honour of Athens, delivered by prominent men by invitation, of which a number survive and of which many more were available to be read in the speaker's time. He reminds his audience that the numerous memorials to be seen in Athens were not just material objects that, if paid attention to, reminded potential viewers of famous historical figures and episodes in the past, but performed the rhetoric function of instantiating a civic ideology, as in the concluding phrase of the treatise on how to achieve dignity in rhetoric by Aelius Aristides περὶ σεμνότητος. 'ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ ὀνόματι, ἵν' ἐκεῖναι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἤθους μνημεῖον ὦσιν.' By the time these speeches were composed, much of the purpose of images, namely to influence minds and behaviour as was assumed at the time of the Thucydidean speech in Chapter 2 was giving way to a Roman notion that they should be treated as mobile, plunderable, and copyable objects for displaying the 'taste' of the appropriator, an episode in the history of the modern western notion of ancient 'art' that was adopted from the Roman authors in the early years of the revival of interest in the fifteenth century CE and that, in a modern garb, continues to stand in the way of any attempt to understand the ancient past.

12 The candidate, quoting the remark of a character in Euripides fragment 253, earns approval for acknowledging that rhetoric is a dangerous skill, a thought that the judges always have to confront. The thought is made more explicitly in Euripides fragment 56, where the character notes that skill in rhetoric can lead to injustice.

13 The speaker shows that he knows the advice in rhetorical manuals as satirised by Lucian in the dialogue known in 'The Professor of Public speaking' by turning round the advice to appear spontaneous and therefore sincere, caught by a chreia of an unknown poet that was to become proverbial 'λέγε ὅττι κεν ἐπ' ἀκαιρίμαν γλῶτταν ἔλθῃ' Luc. Rh. Pr. 18, while in fact plastering the speech with conventional references to Marathon and so on. Again the speaker shows the judges of rhetorical skill that he understands the rhetorical devices for pretending not to be resorting to rhetoric.

14 The speaker invokes the long semi-autobiographical, at once self-pitying and pugnacious, defence of rhetoric as a truth-telling or as at least a sincere, discourse and of his own life as a successful member of the trade, that is itself an example of what he condemns, in the *Panathenaicus*, especially Isoc. 5 12.

15 The speaker refers to a remark in Oration 34, noted by Trapp, Michael, ed., *Aelius Aristides Orations. 1–2* (Cambridge, Mass and London: Loeb, 2017), xvi. Aristides

You will hear many say that the graphic and plastic arts are like the verses that we learn and that we recite. Like Aristodemus of Caria, they tell you how light and shade show whether a man is mad or in sorrow, and how the different colour of the garments of heroes match the trees and the mountains and shimmer in the clear or the misty air in which they are wrapped.[16] But I do not wish to offer just a display piece ('epideixis') but something that will be of benefit.[17] And here, O men of Athens, allow me to say that, though a stranger, in Athens I have found men – as Euripides wisely says, [*pause*] 'Able to inspire one, though he were speechless before, to eloquence and skill'.[18] [*Murmurs of approval that the speaker has got off to a good start with his exordium*].

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appears to refer to the trade secrets of the guild of which one, in this case, is the need to persuade an audience to a particular point of view, even at the expense of truth. Since the Panathenaic teems with examples of exaggeration, fake history, and absurdity, the speaker's praise of spin over truth may not have played well with judges who disliked any remark that suggested that they employed tricks of their trade. According to the author of a rhetorical manual known as Menander Rhetor, the Panathenaic of Aelius Aristides was the best model for a eulogy of the city. Noted by Loraux, Nicole, *The Invention of Classical Athens, The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*, *translated by Alan Sheridan* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard UP, 1986), 256.

16 The speaker boldly distances himself from a type of rhetorical exercise that was gaining in popularity, a commentary on an image, sometimes on one that does not exist. His words follow or anticipate the defence of the genre offered by the elder Philostratos. To judge by the extant examples, these exercises in 'ekphrasis' were much like more elaborate versions of the stories that the women visitors to Delphi are reported as telling one another in the *Ion* of Euripides noted in Chapter 3 and they may have been appreciated by listeners who had few opportunities of seeing images of any complexity. The speaker may have been right that it was likely to have been chosen as the easiest option by other candidates but at the risk of boring the judges.

17 The speaker uses the formula that, on the surface, claims modesty but is also boastful, employed by Isocrates in his *Letter to the Children of Jason* Isoc. L. 6.5. Since the speech is intended to display the speaker's ability to compose a display piece, the contradiction is not made explicit. The speaker has adapted the rhetorical device of claiming not to be using rhetoric, as the judges might commend or dismiss but would certainly have noticed, with some even recognizing the source in a little-known work.

18 The speaker repeats in the same slightly archaic form sentiments deployed as the opening words of Aelius Aristides in his Roman oration that is, in some ways a companion piece to his oration in praise of Athens. Aristides, *Roman*, Oliver edition, 895, in which he adapts a quotation from a play of Euripides, now lost. As was becoming normal the speaker attributes the sentiments in his quotation to 'Euripides', rather than to a character in a play by Euripides. The speaker also lets slip that he has 'read' the quotation from Euripides not heard it in a live performance of the play, perhaps an indication that he may not even have read the whole play but

We who are privileged to be citizens of Rome as well as of Athens have much that makes us justly proud. As one of our own great poets who knew the history of our shared past declared... [*The speaker signals by his change of tone of voice that he is about to give a quotation in Latin*] 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio' ('Captured Greece took her savage conqueror captive and brought her artistic skills to rustic Latium').[19] And long before Horace, our priests had understood that the Greek Olympians are also our Roman gods, and that Athena and Minerva, Zeus and Jupiter, are only different names for the same deities. Today throughout our world we also all pay reverence to [*pauses*] 'Tyche' and to [*pauses*] 'Fortuna' and I am sure she will favour me today.

It was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul who saved Rome, who taught us that the laws of man must conform with the laws of [*he emphasizes*] 'Nature'.[20] To one of the greatest orators of all time, another man who learned his craft here in Athens, and who contests for the palm of glory with Aristotle, we owe the greatest work on the science of rhetoric, both for its theory and for its practical advice. One of the lessons he taught the world is that to be a great orator is not only a matter of learning skill with words, but of mastering all branches of knowledge.[21] I could mention, too, another of our sons, the great Marcus Terentius Varro, to whose works on divine antiquities we are all indebted.[22]

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that he is repeating a tag ('chreia') from a repertoire he had learned as part of his training in rhetoric.

19 The speaker quotes in Latin the already famous tag from Horace, *Epistles*, 2.1.156 that celebrates how Roman writers, dramatists, architects, sculptors, painters, and others adopted Greek models, adapting them to their own circumstances and to their Roman verbal and visual languages and purposes. He demonstrates that he is familiar with both Greek and Latin, the two languages of the Roman Empire. And he makes a veiled allusion to the classical era development from brutishness narrative discussed in Chapter 1.

20 The speaker refers to Cicero's role in defeating the conspiracy of Catiline in 63 BCE and to his work *De Officiis* ('on Duties'). Discussed by Callanan, Keegan, *Montesquieu's Liberalism and the Problem of Universal Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), 54–61, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108617277, as influencing Montesquieu's critique of Plato and Aristotle, and therefore on the search for a philosophy of history as discussed in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 8, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.08.

21 The speaker, flattering his audience, refers to Cic. de Orat. 1.20.

22 The speaker, who trails the topic of antiquities, had no need to mention Varro's description of the west pediment of the Parthenon that was mainstream, as discussed in Chapter 3.

[*Pauses and looks unhurriedly at the hour glass*] I could mention others, but none of us ever has enough time to perfect our discourse. I have therefore followed the wise practice of Demosthenes to lay out my thoughts like a moulder in clay who tries out his compositions to ensure that he chooses only the best version to be made into bronze or marble.[23] As we all know, the great Isocrates was still improving his matchless *Panegyric* in his ninety-first year, and when Plato died at the age of eighty, after a lifetime spent combing, curling, and his re-plaiting his dialogues, his heirs found a writing tablet in which he had arranged and rearranged the first words of his dialogue on government in deciding which would make the richest tapestry of effects.[24] But hear me, dear listeners, when I say that if I win the prize, I will devote the rest of my life to building on the sound foundation that Athens is giving me.

We Romans, like children who have been taught well by worthy parents, are now more Greek than the Greeks, more Athenian than Athens was at the height of her glory.[25] We owe a mutual debt ('charis') to those who rescued our divine art from the intruders from Asia who, like shameless whores, pushed their way into our households, took over our most precious possessions, and corrupted our ancient Attic purity.[26] You will not hear an untoward word from me, any more than

23 The speaker repeats a comment by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his critical essay on Demosthenes, cited in the next footnote.

24 The speaker repeats the stories given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Usher, Stephen, trans., *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Critical Essays* (London: Harvard UP, 1974, 1985), ii, 223–225, in which the art of rhetoric is compared to other arts, including music, not mentioned here. I have slightly altered Usher's translation to bring out the notion of multicoloured, as in the word ποικίλως. Whether the judges approved of the speaker suggesting that he could be the new Isocrates or Plato or thought that he was a pushy young man aiming for a political career is not known. It is possible that he was simply repeating a cliché of the schools, as the phrase, 'as is well known', that is used by Dionysius, may imply. Most probably, if we had information about how the speech was delivered, say with winks and gestures, he was playing safe in persuading the judges that he was 'one of us' who knew the conventions. The passage prides further evidence that the verbal and the visual were regarded as alternative or complementary types of rhetoric.

25 Discussed with especial reference to Dionysius of Halicarnassus by the essays contributed to Hunter, Richard, University of Cambridge, and de Jonge, Casper C., eds, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Augustan Rome: Rhetoric, Criticism and Historiography* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108647632. By jumping from you to we, the speaker presents himself as both Greek and Roman.

26 The speaker, besides flattering at least some of the judges, shows them that he is familiar with the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus who, using the prostitution metaphor, postulated a narrative of moral degeneration and regeneration not

in the works of Isocrates. I have attempted, as Thucydides did, to read what was said at the time and the writings of our modern sophists who have increased our understanding. And although this is not the right occasion to list any weaknesses in style, in arrangement, and in choice of words, which are inevitable, and, we would all agree, forgivable when an author or speaker decides to break away from the traditions of his time, we are wary of any author or speaker who shows himself to be rough, inconsistent, and impure.[27] You will not hear me beginning a discourse by calling the Athenians the children of brutes, nor attributing to Pericles, unworthy words that our greatest statesman could never could have allowed to pass through the portals of his mouth.[28] As the

dissimilar to those devised by the philosophers of history in the long eighteenth century, and that was now being applied not only to the arts of rhetoric, including visual rhetoric, usually attributed, in part at least, as Dionysius in his writing does, to indulging in 'oriental' excess and luxury and to an accompanying commercialization of rhetoric, as leaders competed to mislead the masses in a competition for civic offices and honours as well as for money. It is, as he may have realized, a risky strategy, since by playing on fears of immigrants, he undermines his general position that the Athenians of the old days, whenever they were, were so deeply imbued with 'arete' that they would not have allowed the corruption to take a grip.

27 The speaker, attempting a balancing act, but veering towards the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who at various points describes the writings of Thucydides as 'troublesome', 'affected', 'harsh', 'puerile', 'cold', 'less intelligible than the riddles and darker than the obscurities of Heraclitus', and 'as intricate as the windings of the labyrinth,' examples as translated from the Greek words that are also given, by Burges, George, A. M., late of Trinity College, Cambridge, ed., *Prolegomena on the peculiarities of Thucydidean phraseology, translated, abridged and criticized by G. Burges* ... (Cambridge: apparently privately printed, c. 1837), 1. In another passage, in his *Thucydides,* 34 that deals specifically with the Thucydidean speeches, Dionysius draws a distinction between native talent and skill in leaned rhetoric, reporting how educated opinion was sharply divided between fervid admirers who talked of 'divine inspiration' as a form of romanticism, and those, such as Dionysius himself who reserved the right to apply his own standards, that are mainly about judging the extent to which speeches and writings conform to rule-based conventions that are mainly linguistic. How far the author may have had access to primary fifth- and fourth-century documents that set out the justifications for building the Parthenon but have perished, is not knowable, but the remarks of Dionysius could, with justice, be levelled at the text of Chapter 2.

28 Like Dionysius, the speaker disowns the conventions of the Thucydidean speech, in effect advocating a polite and inoffensive blandness, such as Dionysius demonstrated in his suggested rewriting of some of the speeches and criticisms of the complex, uneven, and sometimes dense, style of Thucydides that does not conform to convention, that was now been being reduced to a set of rules and linguistic taboos. In fact Isocrates, who has become the most admired model to be followed makes plentiful use of the brutishness narrative, referring to it explicitly

poet said, among the Athenians there is nothing that cannot be talked about.[29]

Some of your speakers have been laughed at for repeating too much of what is already familiar, others for venturing too far into the new, and yet others for imitating the finches in the fields and the sparrows in the agora that pick up fallen seeds from here and there.[30] It is indeed presumptuous of me to bring, as they say, [*a pause signifies a famous phrase coming up*] 'owls to Athens', but, if you honour my discourse with a prize of a crown of olive, I will take some of them away.[31] And it

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on at least three occasions, and it remains standard, even when the wording is slightly less in-your-face. It is perhaps in response to such criticisms, that are only linguistic, that Aelius Aristides in his Panathenaic oration of 155 CE, that retells the brutishness narrative in almost the same terms as it was offered by the character of Pericles, by Thucydides himself, and by many others as discussed in Chapter 1 and whose work is among the best evidence for the astonishing durability of the discursive and rhetorical environment over more than half a millennium and longer, and therefore excellent evidence for the validity of the data on which my two experiments are based, eschews the word 'brutish' and its cognates, contenting himself with saying that Athens was the first 'city', leaving the 'oikos' stage that preceded it unspoken. In his rhetorical speech to Athena, that also avoids the word, he speaks of Athena having persuaded the prehistoric, oikos-stage, Athenians to give up 'their solitary mountain life and to assemble and dwell together in the compass of a single, common settlement.' Behr, Charles A., ed., *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), ii, 223.

29 The speaker draws authority to criticize from a line from the classical era old comedy poet Eupolis, τί δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναίοισι πρᾶγμ' ἀπώμοτον; The phrase was used as justification for saying something that needed to be said, however unwelcome, by Dio of Prusa in his thirty-second oration to the people of Alexandria, D. Chr. 32.6, and later by Aelius Aristides. It is another example of the longevity of the discursive environment. In practice, classical era politicians, notably Cleon, tried to limit the freedom that old comedy enjoyed, including being slanderous and unfair.

30 The Greek word 'spermologos' was used both literally as a bird that picks up seeds that fall from different bails of grain and other merchandise and, metaphorically, as a term of mild derision for those who hang about the agora picking up and repeating the overheard views of others without any coherence, what today might be called post-modern eclecticism. The word was used by the author of the Acts of the Apostles, imprecisely translated in the King James version as 'babbler,' in his reported summary of how the members of one of the philosophical schools described Paul of Tarsus after hearing his speech at the Areopagus.

31 The speaker, in an attempt at humour such as is recommended by the rhetorical handbooks, makes a play on the saying 'taking owls to Athens', that means both a waste of time, because there are already so many owls there, juxtaposed with the other meaning of owls, also implied by the proverb, as the silver coins he will receive if he wins the prize. It was probably already an old joke when it was made by Euelpides, a character in the *Birds* by Aristophanes, line 301, first produced in 415 BCE. Since the coins were no longer in use, his humour may have appeared forced, old-fashioned, and donnish. The ancient listeners may however also have heard an

was the same master, who after considering the many different ways in verse and in prose in which men have chosen to write, such as histories of wars, genealogies of demi-gods, and dialogues, decided that for discussing the affairs of Hellas, the discourse is superior to all others.[32] As he taught us, listening to a speech that is read from a prepared text enables orators to set forth facts in a lofty style with striking figures of speech and modulations of voice, but I promise you, honoured sirs, I will not to burst into song.[33] [*Polite laughter but also some murmurs of impatience that the speaker is devoting too much time to showing that he knows the conventions of the exordium before getting on to the arguments*].

And today I myself follow the advice of the masters to give examples of my argument not only with Greek poetry and history but with antiquities.[34] As our teacher Isocrates, whose wisdom grew deeper the longer he lived, has advised: [*quotes*] in any school of rhetoric the first question is 'what is the object of the discourse as a whole and of its parts' and, as he taught us [*quotes again*] 'it is necessary to aim direct at the mark'.[35] Although some experienced men have suggested that

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implied compliment to themselves as wise owls. The speaker's joke asserts that he wishes to be taken seriously as a promising trainee who knows something of the discursive world of the Second Sophistic. By showing that he is 'one of them', he sets up a bond as in an aside by an actor to the audience in a theatrical performance. He also signals to the audience that he knows that they will discount much of what he has already said as mere display. And like the Commissioners, to whom his speech is in the nature of a reply informed by long hindsight, he too sometimes tries too hard. But he also prepares the ground for his critique of Phidias later in his discourse.

32 Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 15. 46. It is not known whether the judges were impressed that the candidate had found such an apposite quotation that flattered their profession or marked him down for repeating a tired cliché that every student at the rhetoric school had learned on the first day if not before and repeated *ad nauseam*.

33 The judges realize that the speaker has set them up for a joke in which they can share, by alluding to the remark by Isocrates in the same passage that a good rhetorical discourse was as enchanting as listening to a sung poem. The speaker, far from being a dutiful plodder had evidently understood that, in the game in which they were all engaged, he had to show that he understood the rule that a parodist must always signal that he is being playful.

34 The speaker refers to Cicero's *De Oratore* ('on the orator') that includes what he says, although he could be accused of exaggerating the advice to bring antiquities into a speech.

35 The speaker refers to the discourse by Isocrates known as *To the Children of Jason*, 7. The judges, who were themselves teachers, were flattered at the notion that age brings wisdom which Isocrates, who lived into his nineties, often claimed as applicable to himself.

occasionally, the master was inclined to exaggerate, and may even, like Homer, have sometimes nodded.[36] Nor do I want to appear to speak on both sides of the question like the former pupil at our school who was invited to praise the beauty of Helen's womanhood but was lured into defending the actions of the scheming Lacedaimonian whore.[37] But it was the same great master, who after considering the many ways in verse and in prose in which men have chosen to write, such as histories of wars, genealogies of demi-gods, and dialogues, decided that for discussing the affairs of Hellas, the discourse is superior to all others.[38] As he taught us, one that is read enables us to set forth facts in a lofty style, but I promise you, honoured sirs, I do not intend to sing. [*Some laughter but also relief that he has now sidled up to the main question*].

Isocrates, whose works we study as models ('paradeigmata'), declared towards the end of his long life, that Pericles [*here the speaker again signals that he is quoting*] 'because he was both a good leader of the people and skilled in the arts of rhetoric, beautified the city with so many temples, dedications, and all manner of other things, that even today visitors who come to Athens think her worthy of ruling not only the Hellenes but the whole world'.[39] And it becomes a duty laid on us,

36 The speaker shows that he knows that the style of Isocrates was criticized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but since he wants to avoid offending anyone in his audience, or being drawn into making a judgment, he does not go into detail, but carries on, knowing that, with his minimum qualificatory phrase, he has protected himself against a range of comebacks.

37 The speaker refers to the story recounted by Isocrates in his rhetorical exercise known as *'To Helen'* 1 and then 14. As teachers of rhetoric and admirers of Isocrates the judges appreciated the skill with which the speaker had managed to take his discourse on to the unfamiliar ground of criticising the makers of the Parthenon, a transition that other competitors had been unable to negotiate, as those set the subject for the competition had foreseen. He at last revealed that he had boldly chosen the rhetorical genres known to the ancients as protrepsis or paraenesis.

38 Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 15. 46. It is not known whether the judges were impressed that the candidate had found such an apposite quotation that flattered their profession, or, as is more probable, they marked him down for repeating a tired cliché that every student at the rhetoric school had learned on the first day and repeated *ad nauseam*.

39 By repeating the vocative, the speaker signals that he is again serious and indeed makes one of the most important claims in the whole piece. Isoc. 15 234. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Περικλῆς καὶ δημαγωγὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων ταλάντων ἀνήνεγκε. I have modified

who are men of today, to consider, as truthfully as we can, and without falling into the conventions of a competition work, how far the success that the Parthenon was intended to encourage by word, did achieve in deed.[40] As their own wise and elegant writer pointed out when the building was still new, the Athenians of that time did not come together as a united people.[41] As the historians whom we study, and especially Xenophon, whom many regard as the greatest of them all, have shown with their well-evidenced writings, it is questionable whether the great men of that age entirely succeeded in bringing about what was intended by their much-vaunted [*he stresses*] 'paideia'. As Thucydides tells us, the demos of Athens, before they had even completed the Parthenon and the other buildings on the Acropolis, was so incensed at the desecration of some priapic old herms in the town, that they almost reverted to brutishness, an example of the wisdom of Plato and Aristotle and also, O men of Athens, a warning to us all.[42] It is a mistake that the demos of today will never make.[43]

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the translations that take the passage at face value as commending the Periclean building programme for its effectiveness. Its throwaway tone however and its choice of the word ἐκόσμησε, which implies that the changes are cosmetic and superficial, suggest that he is not inventing a notion of 'beauty' in the western romantic sense as often appears to be the case in modern translations, but is setting up a proposition to be knocked down, in which he is followed by the author of the rhetorical discourse. The translation of the phrase ῥήτωρ ἄριστος, that can also be read as disdainful, is usually taken to refer to his effectiveness as a speaker in persuading the institutions of Athens to support his plans; I have also modified it to give him credit for the visual rhetoric that influenced the visitors when the project was implemented.

40 At this point, with his absurd claim that he was not offering a rhetorical exercise, some of the judges began to worry that this candidate was at risk of copying a magician who explains his tricks, if not quite mocking the arts of rhetoric as such. The speaker and the judges however also knew that Isocrates, whose works were almost all rhetorical exercises, had claimed that they were not. For example, in *To the Children of Jason*, 4.

41 The speaker refers to Xenophon's *Hellenica*, a continuation of Thucydides, who suggested that the lack of military success was the fault of the Athenians themselves. The speaker reveals himself as a promoter of mainstream opinions, and as finding Xenophon who wrote on many subjects as easier to read than Thucydides.

42 The speaker refers to the episode recounted by Thucydides in which he endorses the brutishness narrative. ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπεδίδοσαν μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀγριώτερόν Thuc. 6.60.1 and 2.

43 The speaker knows that the accommodation that the demos of his day and earlier made with the Romans, that many commentators later presented as a

The classical Athenians thought they could turn every metic into an Anacharsis by telling them stories, showing them pictures, and allowing some to participate in some festivals. But, sadly, as we all know, they failed to turn the most talented, the richest, the most beautiful, and the most highly favoured of all the great men of that time into a well-paideia-ed Athenian.[44] But what, I ask you, could the Athenians have expected from a man who had been brought up by a Lacedaimonian nurse?[45] And although the Athenians liked to say that Themistocles, the victor of Salamis, was a hero who took our paideia to the tyrants of the East, he traitorously clothed himself in garments of gold and he smelled of frankincense and myrrh. He even ceased to speak our incomparable Attic language but babbled like a Mede.[46] He may have lived as the saviour of Hellas, but he died a satrap in an oriental court.

As we look out from our Acropolis through the Propylaia to our matchless harbour, we also remember, my dear friends, that we cannot trust images to tell the truth. And just as our historians are showing that old stories cannot be believed, so too our poets tell us that even the memories preserved in the tombs dug into our land, which we were taught when we were boys were the best ways of preserving a memory of the past, were intended to persuade us to believe that what they

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sell-out incompatible with the civic values presented on the Parthenon and in the self-fashioning literary texts of the classical period could itself be fitted into the development from brutishness story as a worthwhile new stage.

44 As his audience knew from the description, the speaker refers to Alcibiades.

45 The speaker recalls that, according to Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, 16.3, Alcibiades, as a baby, had been brought up in the Spartan custom without swaddling bands. Although some Athenians evidently saw that babies who were allowed to move their bodies were more content, the speaker upholds the traditional Athenian preference for tight constriction, as leading to a disciplined life, as shown on many images and possibly on the Parthenon. He also alludes to the standard convention, associated with geodeterminism, that the land itself was a wet nurse.

46 The speaker repeats points made in an ecphrastic rhetorical exercise composed, on allegedly looking at a statue of Themistocles, by Philostratos the Younger in his *Imagines*, ii, number 31. Gold, frankincense and myrrh, were the gifts that the Magi from the east are said to have brought to the infant Jesus in the Christian biblical story. As used by Philostratos, frankincense and myrrh are not, however, welcome gifts implying respect but oriental smells that 'pollute the air' and that, by implication in the Exercise, reveal anxieties about immigrants and the destabilizing non-Athenian, and non-Hellenic ideas and customs that they bring, that were more pronounced in Hellenistic and Roman times than in the classical era.

appeared to say was true and useful, as I am obliged to do today with the words of my mouth, although with sadness in my breast.[47]

The old Athenians paid no attention to the signs sent to warn them, the outbreak of plague described by Thucydides in one of his better passages that showed what he was capable of, in which he described how many of the common people, and some who ought to have known better, in their fear abandoned their belief that the gods could help them.[48] And even when, less than a quinquennium later, the temple itself was struck by the Earthshaker, the men of that time turned away their eyes from a proper understanding.[49] Within a generation our city had to accept a Spartan garrison into our acropolis and to submit to the rule of the Thirty Tyrants.

An outward show of grandeur, O men of Athens, when its skin is easily peeled away, turns into mere bombast. As Euripides asked the men of that age, of all the ills that Hellas has to suffer, are any men more useless to a city than the overpaid athletes whose bodies shine like the statues of heroes but who have none of the skills needed in war?[50] Our ancestors should have listened to Diodotos who told them never to

47 The speaker appears here to have some knowledge of the work of Dictys of Crete, long thought to have been composed in the fourth century, until the discovery of a fragment of papyrus reused as a tax record in 208 implied that it already existed in the second, and is picking up on ideas already current in the discursive environment.

48 While appearing to praise Thucydides, the speaker implies that his achievement was only as a stylist in the Greek language which was mainly how his work was kept current not only in the Roman period but in Byzantium.

49 Korres, Manolis, 'The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century', in Tournikiotis, Panayotis, ed., *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times* (Athens: Melissa, 1994), 138.

50 The speaker summarizes a long passage thought to be from the *Autolycus*, a lost play by Euripides, preserved by Athenaeus, X 413 ff. The judges could not fault him for attributing the sentiment to Euripides rather than to a character in a play by Euripides nor for failing to mention that the sentiment was almost certainly spoken in the play as part of a dialogue in which another character offered an opposing argument. Indeed it was as a chreia that Athenaeus preserved it. And, although the point was well made that the skills that the athletes were honoured for, running, boxing, wrestling, and throwing the discus, were of little value in war, some of the judges who understood the huge contribution that such games made to the economy, including to their own incomes as suppliers of commodities, such as olive oil, and who themselves enjoyed watching the brutality and wounding to be seen in such contests, are thought to have murmured against the continuing influence of Euripides as against the direct moralizing of Seneca.

forget what it was they were aiming to do.[51] Instead of giving the people clear and consistent lessons, their rich, out-of-touch, and pampered politicians reverted, as usual, to showing off in front of one another, competing in the complexity of the images they commissioned and the stories that they presented.[52] The birth of Athena was a good choice for one of the Parthenon pediments, but, as for the other pediment, even Pausanias, who has been so diligent in collecting the stories that the cities of Hellas tell themselves, understood that the Athenians of former times, in commissioning the picture of Theseus bestowing democracy on our city, went too far. As he notes, they departed so far from picturing our true past that it could not be accepted even by the common people whose only knowledge comes from having seen plays or hearing stories from their childhood nurses and womenfolk.[53] And, unlike those who lived and studied here, he made mistakes that are difficult to correct.[54] Only when a work pleases people from different walks of life and of different ages can it bring about the needed unanimity.[55]

None of the Athenian generals who were appointed in accordance with their [*pause*] 'democratic' customs [*signifies some disdain, although many of these customs were still being adhered to in form*] was successful, except occasionally and only for a short time. They had no Lysander who,

51 Diodotos, the otherwise unknown citizen, who successfully urged the Athenians to have second thoughts about putting the whole population of Mytilene to death in the debate recorded in the Thucydidean speech offered by Thuc. 3.36–49.

52 A point arrived at independently on general stylistic grounds by Ashmole, Bernard, *Architect and Sculptor in Classical Greece* (New York: NYU Press, 1972), 116. '... induces the uneasy feeling... that it was dictated by a kind of artistic *hybris*.'

53 The speaker refers almost verbatim to the remark by Pausanias in Paus. 1.3.1, one of many indications that Pausanias understood that the role of stories as nomismata, a word he occasionally uses in its many cognates and that, in modern translations is sometimes inadequately translated as 'believed.' The judges may have agreed with the implication that Pausanias was often naïve and uncritical, as when, for example, he declared that the Persian force that was repulsed at Marathon had brought a piece of Parian marble from which they had intended to make a monument to their victory that was used by Phidias in the making of the cult image at Rhamnous. Paus. 1.33. 2.

54 The speaker may refer to what Pausanias wrote about the west pediment of the Parthenon, discussed in Chapter 4, comparing him unfavourably with Varro who had been a contemporary of Cicero, albeit at the Academy founded by Plato, a different school from that where Cicero studied.

55 A point made by Longinus, 183, referring to verbal rhetoric, although the image that he conjures up, from *Odyssey* 11.315, is visual. It is unusual for an ancient author to criticize Homer.

over his long career as a leader of Sparta, showed the common soldiers what war must be by personally killing hundreds of enemies with his own hands. The Athenians, who followed the men of Marathon, for all their boasts about being worthy sons, produced no great conquerors like our Sulla, a new son of Peleus like our great sacker of cities, who destroyed the luxury-loving corrupted city of Corinth, famous then only for its harlots, lawfully killing, enslaving, and carrying off a great booty.[56] Sulla, although he was unfairly criticised by some jealous Greeklings at the time, ensured that statues by famous Greek sculptors now decorate the houses of rich men in Rome, not only proclaiming their wealth to the vulgar mob but giving themselves a well-deserved reputation for discernment and civility. For these noble Romans, only the best of the best age of Greece would do, whether to take them away and set them up far from here or to copy them in marble so that many more men and women can enjoy them.[57] And although Sulla has been criticized for taking too much, he left much undestroyed, including [*he gestures*] the stories on the temple of Minerva that were, some say, made by the hands of Pheidias himself.[58]

56 The speaker alludes to the opening line of the *Iliad,* where Achilles, son of Peleus, is celebrated for having sacked many cities.

57 The remark helps to explain why the many copies of Greek statues made in Roman workshops, for which we are dependent for imagining many lost 'masterpieces' that are recorded in the literary record did not include any examples of what is today often called archaic art. The Romans evidently shared the view of Socrates reported in the Hippias Major, noted in Chapter 2, that the archaic style would attract ridicule. Why the Roman versions whether of works first made in marble, apparently did not add the colour that the works being replicated mostly did, has not yet been satisfactorily explained, although it is easy to think of possible reasons. I am grateful to Antonio Corso for his advice on the first part of this note.

58 The decision of Sulla not to destroy the Parthenon could be regarded as a success for the Periclean programme of rebuilding the Acropolis that put visuality and display or permanence at its centre. As Plutarch reported: 'But after a long time, at last, with much ado, he [Sulla] sent out two or three of his fellow-revellers to treat for peace, to whom Sulla, when they made no demands which could save the city, but talked in lofty strains about Theseus and Eumolpus and the Persian wars, said: "Be off, my dear Sirs, and take these speeches with you; for I was not sent to Athens by the Romans to learn its history, but to subdue its rebels." Plut. Sull. 13.4. Although Sulla did not sack the Acropolis, a decision that the ancient historians had no difficulty in explaining, his armies pursued their normal policies of killing, rape, pillage, and destruction of monuments in the town and in Piraeus.

Some great conquerors did not live by the normal laws of men but, as Euripides teaches us: 'If one must needs do wrong, far best it were to do it for a kingdom's sake.[59] Our monuments in Rome, like those of all good rulers, are honest in displaying the sufferings of foolish peoples who, instead of recognizing our superiority and enjoying the benefits of our rule, have had to be forced to submit to our will at the point of a sword.[60] Athens, the mother and the nurse of the arts and sciences, has had excellent makers of images of battles and of wars, both the old and the more recent. I need not mention Plistaenetus, the brother of Pheidias, nor Apollodorus, who invented the mixing of colours and the virtues of shadow. We remember and honour Euphranor, who in comparing his Theseus with that of Parrhasius, declared that while his rival's dainty version only ate roses, his had fed upon beef. [*Polite laughter*] And yet I do not believe that any one will want to compare the skill of an image maker with that of a general or would seriously believe that we should prefer the image to the real trophies of war, nor admire the imitation more than the truth.[61]

The Athenians who built the incomparable Parthenon liked to think that they had an empire ('arche'), but it was never more than a few islands and peninsulas, the claws of the land not the whole body, an

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The archaeologists who excavated the Athenian agora in the twentieth century were able to identify a layer of ash and broken fragments of buildings that confirmed the fact of the destruction ordered by Sulla in 86 BCE. Noted by Miles, Margaret, M., *Art as Plunder: The Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 24, from personal observation. The providentialist explanation offered by Charles Lévêque was noted in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 16, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.16.

59 Quoted by Plutarch in Plut. Adolescens 3.

60 The speaker refers to images such as those that were to be displayed on the narrative column of Trajan. He may also have in mind the publicly displayed images of men having their tongues cut out shown in the British Museum 'BP-sponsored exhibition, I Am Ashurbanipal', which ran from 8 November to 24 February 2019, that invited viewers to regard Assyria as 'a great civilization', presenting it mainly in its own top-down, self-fashioning terms, with minimal reference to the Greek, Jewish, and other authors who offered a different story based on their own observations and experience.

61 The same sentiments were offered almost verbatim in Plutarch's On the Glory of the Athenians. Plut. De Gloria 2. The speaker, without causing offence, shows that he understands the debate that had worried practitioners of rhetoric, whether in words or images, since the time of Plato.

empire that existed more in their dreams than in any reality of power.[62] They thought that they would ensure the loyalty of the Ionians overseas by celebrating the Ionianness of the mother city, by including the overseas Ionians in their festivals, and by making them use the Athenian law-courts and Athenian currency, all measures that were intended for their mutual benefit. But the ships taking the overseas Ionians to Athens passed the ships going in the other direction, which were bringing in new colonists and extracting what they regarded as tribute, sometimes even in mid-year as new requirements arose.[63] They put the Ionian acropolises into the hands of their own men so that the people themselves gained no benefit from Athenian rule and even turned again to the Lacedaimonians.[64] In all these actions, they tried to rule by passing laws and decrees without sufficient understanding of the natural pride of their clients.

With our better knowledge, we can today all agree that, in many important ways, the old Athenians were right.[65] As our own master wrote,

62 A point made explicitly by Aristides, *Roman*, Oliver edition, 43.

63 *Ibid.* 45. The phrase that Aristides uses παρὰ τοὺς φόρους ἀργυρολόγων, appears to imply that they collected actual silver coins rather than that they incurred an obligation that could be met by altering the book entry for credit and liability. If so such an imposition would have played havoc with the local economies as the price of silver is likely to have risen sharply, relative to, say, olive oil or wine, as numerous small economies producing the same products scrambled to raise the cash. Over time, even allowing for economic benefits of increasing the money supply by credit, guarantees, and other non-cash forms of money, the tribute, however it was levied, is likely to have changed the terms of trade with harmful effects on the Ionian economies especially if the Athenian treasurers did not take active steps to recycle their surpluses, by, for example buying more of their production. We may have an example here of merchantilist thinking, of which there are many examples in the modern scholarly literature that tends to equate the 'wealth' of a jurisdiction such as the city-state of Athens by the amount of precious metal it holds in its treasury.

64 Aristides, *Roman*, Oliver edition, 46.

65 At this point the judges, sensing condescension, and that a but is on the way, assume that the formal exordium is over and that the author is sidling up to points he wishes to make on the substantial issues, although in practice, again showing that he knows his craft, the author postpones that moment with some more substantive, and indeed more interesting, words aimed at 'capturing benevolence' as the Latin writers on rhetoric called devices for encouraging the listeners to give a sympathetic hearing. The opening words of the speech of Paul of Tarsus, that were misunderstood and mistranslated by contemporaries and successors who were evidently not as fully immersed in the conventions as Paul was, not only exemplifies

in discussing how our minds can be influenced by associations: 'whether it is a natural instinct or a mere illusion I cannot say but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favourite resort of men in former days than by hearing their deeds or reading their writings'.[66] The Athenians did right to hang the shields of their dead enemies on the Parthenon for all to see. The visitors who now flock there like sparrows following a hay cart, rushing about here and there with guides who tell them the silly stories that have been collected by Pausanias and his ilk, are impressed when they see the sword of Mardonius, although, if I am being completely honest, I cannot say that it really was the one taken from the Persian general.[67] The porch of the Caryatids is a fine building but, as was predictable, in all their temples the old Athenians were more interested in showing off the skill of their designers, managers, and workers than in striking terror into enemies and rebels, actual and potential. The Athenians chose well in showing the so-called Caryatids of the Erechtheum, who represent the women of the city of Caryes in Arcadia who treacherously sided with the Persians. As we all know, the men of that city were justly put to death and their city razed to the ground, and the womenfolk, who were justly condemned to slavery, are shown as wearing the long robes of mourning, condemned for ever to carry the burden of shame on their heads.[68] But again the old Athenians thought only of themselves. Our

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the risks of assuming that words that are innocuous and appropriate, even intended to flatter, for one occasion, are easily misapprehended when repeated in another, but provides confirmation that all verbal utterances, including written utterances, are best regarded as speech acts delivered on a particular occasion for an implied audience. As discussed in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 22, Debates on Mars Hill, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.22.

66 The author, since he wishes his audience to assume that he assumes that they know the name of the famous man, and that they will be flattered at being co-opted into his illustrious company, quotes from Cicero *de Finibus* 5.1.2.

67 The judges marked down our author here, not for his celebration of state and imperial violence, which they commended but for his rhetorical mistake in trying to curry favour by apparently offering something in confidence, a rhetoric that implied that he was sometimes not honest with his audiences.

68 The author repeats the story made famous by Vitruvius, Vitr. 1.1.5. Modern authors, uncomfortable with the thought that the demos could have approved such a presentation have offered alternatives.

monuments in Rome display the sufferings of the foolish peoples who, instead of recognizing our superiority and enjoying the benefits of our rule, have had to be forced to submit to our will. Indeed, our practice is the same as that of all people who successfully hold sway over extensive territories and seas, including the kings beyond the eastern frontier.[69] The classical Athenians showed scenes of what happens to those who lose wars in their metopes but so did most other cities, and such images had already lost their power to shock or influence viewers.

It was that great philhellene, King Attalos of Pergamon, a second Maecenas, who recently showed us Athenians how educational stories can be told in stone. As we look up to our acropolis, we see a series of modern statues on our walls, that the king has generously dedicated, and that remind all visitors to our city and not just the ignorant tourists who flock to our acropolis from all over our sea, of the penalties of rebellion.[70] [*The audience can see or can remember seeing a number of human figures in the agonies of death, some of which were found during the Italian Renaissance, were unrecognized for what they were, and that made their way to a number of museums as shown in Figures 5.1 and 5.2. In the words of Andrew F. Stewart, who has recovered their history, 'they kneel, cower, sink, or sprawl in attitudes of corporeal abandon, pain, despair and death … Several are naked or half clothed … brute strength and savagery, gaping wounds, screams, snarls, gasps in pain frozen in death, blood spurts'*].[71]

69 The speaker refers to images such as those that were to be displayed on the narrative column of Trajan. He may also have in mind the publicly displayed images of men having their tongues cut out shown in the British Museum 'BP-sponsored exhibition, I Am Ashurbanipal', which ran from 8 November to 24 February 2019, that invited viewers to regard Assyria as 'a great civilization', presenting it mainly in its own top-down, self-fashioning terms, with minimal reference to the Greek, Jewish, and other authors who offered a different story based on their own observations and experience.

70 See note 61.

71 *Ibid.* 1.

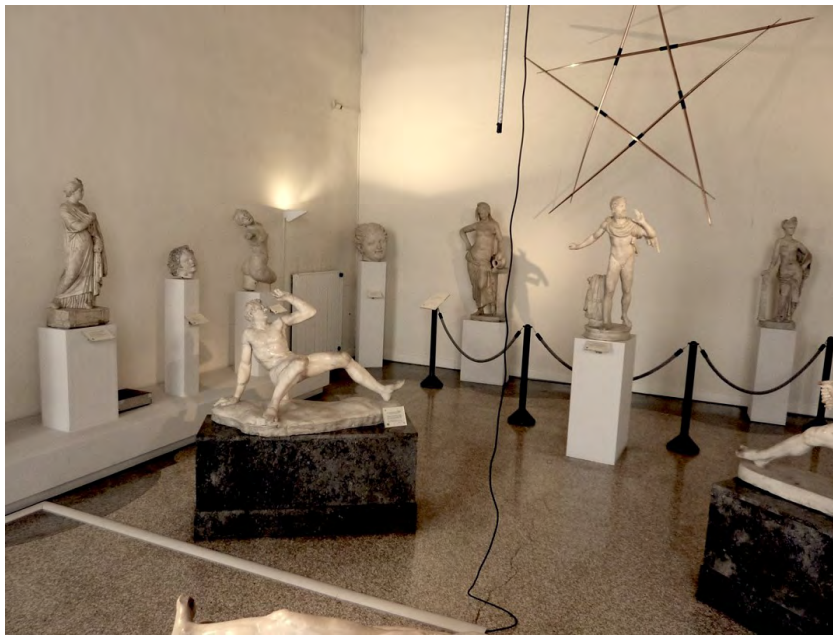

Figure 5.1. 'Little Barbarians' from the Acropolis of Athens, among other ancient statues, as foils for a modernist installation. Author's photograph at Venice Biennale, 2013. CC BY.

Figure 5.2. One of the Little Barbarians, known as 'The Persian'. Vatican Museum, Galleria dei Candelabri, 2749 no 32. Author's photograph, 17 October 2016. CC BY.

So what, I hear the judges ask, were the underlying causes that brought about the failure of the Parthenon? What, you all now want to know, was the 'truest reason'?[72] Men may change the law when it is appropriate to do so but we do not admit discussion of what Nature has made immutable. For, like old boundary stones and set-up inscriptions ('stelai'), they tell us only of the first decisions.[73] It is right to respect the ancients, but we should not be afraid of them nor appear to honour those who are famous for giving us their wisdom rather than honour the ideas themselves. I am not another Timaeus, who corrected the stylistic faults of Plato and Aristotle, for to be jealous of writers who are beyond all imitation is both undignified and stupid.[74] If someone disagrees with Plato, let him be listened to unless his arguments do not stand up in a dialogue, for as Plato himself told us, nothing comes before the truth.[75]

What I am now about to say may seem unpleasant, and if I had made my own choice, I would have remained silent, but friends who heard me conversing urged me to enter the competition and so ensure that my views are made public.[76] And now, since [*he pauses*] 'Necessity' obliges me, I am certain from what I have already learned here that I will have no difficulty in persuading you.[77] There can be much glory in making

72 The speaker quotes the famous words of Thucydides as his audience would immediately recognize, not only for themselves, but as a rhetorical signal that he is now approaching the main point of his argument.

73 The speaker reminds the audience that inscriptions in stone have their own rhetoric offered at the moment they were set up in accordance with the aims of those who authorized them, and as Socrates told Phaedrus, they do not go on saying the same things for ever. Plat. Phaedrus 275d already noted in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 1, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.01.

74 The speaker repeats the sentiment of Plut. Nic. 1.4.

75 The speaker upholds the tradition of critical engagement as against hero-worship or celebrity, using almost the same wards as those employed by Aristides in his *Defence of Oratory* 2D. An example of an actual boundary stone is shown as Figure 21.18 in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 21, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.21. His words anticipate later traditions of sacralizing selected texts and attempting to discover timeless meanings by hermeneutics.

76 Putting the responsibility on to unnamed friends and so claiming modesty and providing an exit if the views turn out to be unwelcome is one of the oldest devices in the rhetorician's repertoire, used, for example by Isocrates, Isoc. 5 7. We can be sure that members of the audience were not taken in, and indeed the speaker may have indicated with his tone that he was not claiming sincerity or spontaneity, staples of romanticism. Discussed by Kennerly, *Editorial Bodies*, Chapter 1.

77 The speaker shows that he has understood the rhetorical convention by which a transition is made from praise to criticism, a problem of 'prooemia' to which the authors of rhetorical manuals devoted much ink. The speaker here follows the

fine words and in making fine images, but only when they match the actions themselves and do not deceive. As Homer sang of Odysseus, a man of many wiles [*quotes*]:

> And many falsities he did unfold,
> That looked like truth, so smoothly were they told.[78] [*Ends quote*]

Pheidias was a great sculptor, as was Polycrates, two of the greatest makers before the hegemony of that divine art moved to Rhodes, where the Laocoon, the best of all works was made for us in Rome, as is universally acknowledged. But, as Antisthenes remarked when he was told that Ismenias, as a [*emphasises*] 'musician', played the pipes to the highest standard... [*Here the speaker adapts his tone to show he is quoting, with a pregnant pause in which a laugh can be raised and milked*] 'I agree with you but, as a [*emphasises*] 'man', he was useless [*pause*] ... for if it had been otherwise he could not have been a good piper'.[79] Those who, like his contemporary and also a master of the arts of persuasion, the venerable Isocrates, said that Pheidias was a mere doll-maker, were

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advice of Apsines of Gaza, 81 and 69, as edited by Dilts, Mervyn R. and Kennedy, George A., *Two Greek Rhetorical Treatises from the Roman Empire: Introduction, Text, and Translation of the Arts of Rhetoric, Attributed to Anonymous Seguerianus and to Apsines of Gadara* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 81 and 88, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004330313.

78 The speaker turns to *Odyssey* XIX. 203, as Plutarch does to make the same point in his essay on the glories of the Athenians, itself an example of a rhetorical exercise.

79 The speaker, who takes the anecdote from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles,* politely lays the rhetorical foundations for making two related points, first that skill at making music could not be achieved without much training and practice, and secondly, that achieving a high level of skill must necessarily have been at the expense, in terms of time and opportunity cost, of the musician's knowledge of other matters, including education in paideia. The first observation provides an apparent justification for a sneering remark that, under the apparent cover of humour, attempts to coopt the audience into sharing his social-class-based, condescension and contempt, or at least to endorse and legitimate such attitudes. The advice of the rhetorical manuals that it is gross, and ineffectual, to sneer at whole groups has been ignored here, a slip for which the judges may have marked him down. The second argument, that Phidias was highly proficient as a worker in stone but that his technical expertise did not mean he had any wider understanding, was among the arguments used, without social sneering, by Aristotle in his general theory offered in the *Eudemian Ethics,* v, 7, in Kenny, Anthony, trans., *Aristotle: Eudemian Ethics, A New Translation* (Oxford: World's Classics, 2011), 80, https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199586431.book.1. Aristotle's argument may be an attempt to forestall a proto-romantic emerging notion of artist as seer, although his appeal to Euripides as a chreia in the same work, as noted in Chapter 2, suggests either that he was inconsistent or that he gave more weight to poets, 'makers', of words, than poets of images.

unfair, and all good men will condemn attempts by Envy to chip away at Fame.[80] Pheidias, to give him his due, was always careful to respect the laws and customs of the Athenians in small matters.[81] As an artisan and a manager of workmen, Pheidias was one of the best, but as a man of Athens, I shudder as I say it, Pheidias was not to be admired. Who, indeed, would want to be Pheidias, a man who for most of his life had to stand around in a filthy apron, bossed about by uncles, never leaving home, and like all banausics, obliged by his trade to fawn over clients and bend the truth like a slave? Socrates himself, and [*emphasizes*] he knew from his own experience, that makers of statues, like carpenters and shoemakers, suffer more than other craftsmen from illnesses to their eyes.[82] Even when Pheidias became rich and famous, he was a mere artisan, compelled to do whatever the Commissioners demanded, forever excluded from the company of the well-educated. Pheidias, we could have told him, should have done what Socrates did, and give up the fashioning of bronze and stone for the fashioning of fine words that benefit all mankind.[83]

80 'as one might have the effrontery to call Phidias, who made our statue of Athena, a doll-maker ...' Isoc. 15 2. The speaker resorts to the common rhetorical device of mentioning a derogatory remark with the apparent intention of disowning it, but which gives it as much currency as if he had said that he agreed with it.

81 The speaker may have had in mind the incident noted in Chapter 3 in which Phidias is reported as having obtained the approval of the Assembly to include references to owls.

82 The speaker quotes from Plat. Alc. 1 140a, not distinguishing the character of Socrates presented in the dialogue from the historic Socrates whose father had been commissioned to make the group statue of the three Charites and would have wanted to bring his sons into the guild. The dangers the three crafts shared might be those from using sharp tools, but more probably the character of Socrates had flying fragments and marble chippings in mind, as well as marble dust. Since the word employed for 'maker of statue' is normally used for portraits, Socrates may also have had the dangers of bronze casting in mind.

83 The speaker, while flattering his audience, sneering at those who work with their hands, and repeating the observation that goes back long before the classical period that those who have to pitch for sales in a commercial relationship cannot be trusted, makes the same points as are set out in the dialogue by Lucian known as *Lucian's Dream*, especially Luc. Somn. 12 and 13, a text that, incidentally, confirms the existence at that time, imputed without risk of contradiction back to the age of Phidias, of a guild system in which kinship was an almost indispensable requirement for entry. Lucian, from what is known of his life, also abandoned the trade of stone worker for that of travelling sophist. And his piece is itself a rhetorical exercise.

As Plutarch, the greatest historian of our age and perhaps of all time, has established from his many years of careful research work among the old books of that time that we now preserve in our libraries, Pheidias broke the laws that forbid making direct allusions to contemporary politics on sacred buildings.[84] For any who have not visited the Acropolis recently, I have ordered a sketch to be prepared that shows Pheidias and Pericles depicted as taking part in the mythic battle between Giants and Amazons.[85] [*A sketch on the lines of Figure 5.3 is passed round*].

Figure 5.3. Sketch made from a detail in the 'Strangford Shield'. Line drawing.[86]

84 The texts that the speaker refers to are collected by Davison. They are discussed by Pernot, Laurence, 'Phidias à la Barre', in Pernot, Laurence, ed., *La rhétorique des arts: actes du colloque tenu au Collège de France sous la présidence de Marc Fumaroli, de l'Académie française* (Paris: PUF, 2011), 11–44. The speaker praises Plutarch, an author of his own age, who in his account of Pericles seems to have uncritically repeated satires in the comic dramatists of the 'Old Comedy' such as Aristophanes, as if they could be used as direct evidence. Like others, including some in modern times, he evidently does not sufficiently appreciate how serious a charge was being made, as discussed in Chapter 1.

85 The many ancient authors who repeat the story are noted by Davison, *Pheidias*, iii, 1081.

86 Michaelis, Adolf, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtnel, 1871), illustrations volume, 34b on page 15. A photograph of the 'Strangford Shield' was given as Figure 21.10 in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 21, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.21.

'Is this a picture of Pheidias?' I ask. Or even more shameful, is it a portrait of the living Pericles? How could Pheidias imagine that any depictions he made of Pericles, let alone of himself, would not—horrible to relate—be noticed by the [*signifies contempt*] 'sophisticated' Athenians of that time?[87] Set at eye level it distracts pious viewers from looking upwards towards the god-like image, and prevents its divine essence entering their minds even when they stand in the presence of the gods.[88] Did Pheidias forget that the gods punish deceivers and those who pollute their shrines?

Why did the great Pericles befriend such a man, a mere travelling foreman of craft-workers, who used his skills not for the glory of his city but who made himself available to be hired for pay by any city who wanted to show itself off and promote its foolish stories? How could Pericles have been so deceived? For myself, I have never believed the story that Pheidias pimped Athenian married ladies for his friend Pericles who happened to have control of the budget from the disbursements of which he grew rich.[89] But who, I ask you, men of Athens, would ever want to be a Pheidias or want his son to become a Pheidias? A worker in a trade as dirty and as despicable as that of the dyers, their arms and hands never clean, who are paid to make fine clothes for other people to

87 The speaker repeats a stadial narrative of decline, that, while Plato and Aristotle were real 'philosophers', their successors, who were more overly aware of the rhetorical element in all speech acts, as were their audiences and readers, were mere 'sophists.'

88 The speaker alludes to the mental experience that was expected by those who adhered to the cognitive theory of extramission as was still mainstream at the time

89 As on other occasions the speaker gives renewed currency to a story by appearing to dismiss it, gathering credit from his auditors for his fair-mindedness. The story is only known from a scholiast to Philostratos that suggests either that the composition is from a much later date than may at first appear, or that the story by the scholiast was circulating much earlier. A later example of a similar rhetorical device, that spreads an idea attributed to expert opinion without naming names or accepting responsibility, is in the anonymous pamphlet that was used to advance Elgin's claims when he offered to sell his collection of antiquities to the British state, where one sentence appears to have been drafted so as to appeal to those who, whether as commissioners of public works or those who accepted the commissions, were thinking of what might be included as possible content, declared: 'Some antiquaries who have examined the [Parthenon] frieze with minute attention, seem to think it contained portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens, who lived during the Peloponnesian War, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Alcibiades, Aspasia, &c.' *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.—Second Edition, Corrected* (London: John Murray, 1815), 12.

wear?[90] The Athenians of that time forgot the lesson that we all learned as boys so that we would all know how to act when we became men. [*Quotes, perhaps putting on an archaic accent and gesturing*]

> Oft-times a whole city suffers from one bad man
> whose deeds are wrong and whose aims are arrogant;
> On them from the skies Kronion launches
> dire plague and famine together joined;
> and the people perish.[91]

And it was his own actions that brought about his deserved downfall. Our best historians still discuss some points of disagreement that I need not repeat, but Pheidias used his position to embezzle from the plates of gold that had been entrusted to his care so that his men could make the statues look as if they were made entirely of gold, a deception of the kind that Thucydides and Plato had condemned. The Athenians of that time, inclined to trust too much, which as the great Pericles says was one of the characteristics of which they were so proud, should have expected no less from a mere tradesman who will tell whatever story he thinks will please the client, however exaggerated, if he thinks that his words will secure a contract. As Anacharsis said, the market place is where men go to deceive and cheat one another.[92]

But, as we learned from the great dramatists of Athens, a story does not have to be true for it to be useful. At our philosophical schools here in Athens, we learn wisdom as well as rhetoric by studying the questions raised by the life of Pheidias. Were the people of Elis right to

90 Paraphrased from Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, i, 1–4, where he makes the same point about literature. The key passage, as elsewhere, limits the type of viewer able to appreciate what is offered: καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὴς νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ἐν Ἄργει Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' Ἀνακρέων ἢ Φιλητᾶς ἢ Ἀρχίλοχος ἡσθεὶς αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν.

91 The speaker takes as authority a quotation from Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 240, perhaps knowing that it had been deployed earlier by Aeschines, an orator that was studied in the schools, in his speech against Ctesiphon, 135.

92 A typical chreia quoted by Hock, Ronald F., and O'Neil, Edward N., *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric, Volume 1. The Progymnasmata* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 4, from Diogenes Laertius, i.105. The speaker is taking a risk in making this point since he, the judges, and most of his audience know that the training they are receiving in the philosophical school is, to a large extent, aimed at enabling them to compete successfully for commissions in a market for various types of speeches. He may have already learned that contradiction is not an obstacle to success in rhetoric since the audience will generally have forgotten the point as another is made.

cut off his hands when he was found to be stealing the gold intended for the statue? Should he have been put to death as some say the Athenians decided, for blasphemously robbing the gods?[93]

There have been many cases where conquerors decided not to destroy holy places and others where they have given back holy objects that they or their ancestors have taken. Such men, even when they are barbarians, understand the meaning of 'charis' and of 'philanthropy' and are justly honoured. This much you all know. But recently we have heard a new thought and seen new practices that it is our duty to consider. The Rhodians, kinsmen of the Athenians, who had many memorials overturned by the Earthshaker, began to turn the old into new, a practice that now is becoming normal. We have even seen cases here in Athens.[94] Some say that a city that has paid for its statues has a right to do what it likes with them, provided only that the correct legal procedures have been followed and the magistrates then in office have given their consent.[95] But, we should ask ourselves, are we being just when we alter our idols to fit the needs of today by recarving the inscriptions? Our colleague Dio of Prusa raised an interesting point when he delivered a speech to the Rhodians. By changing the value that was accorded to images, he suggested, did they not convert a true currency ('nomisma') that was accepted by all into a counterfeit coin that no wise man would accept? By agreeing that the monuments that the great men of the past built long ago can be turned to any purpose that the Rhodians now choose, do they not destroy both memory and honour? Have the Rhodians forgotten, Dio asked, that the majority of men regard the 'Charites' as divine, and that if anyone mutilates their statues or overturns their altars, we justly regard him as guilty of impiety, destroying the very charis from which these goddesses received their

93 The speaker refers to the custom of which the first recorded example is the 'Controversies' of the Elder Seneca, in which, without implying that an actual past is being referred to except as a convention, such moral questions are set as topics for training exercises. Although called schools of 'philosophy' purporting to teach how truth can be searched for, by the time of the speaker they were mainly concerned with attracting fee-paying pupils who wanted to learn the arts of persuasion.

94 Examples in Athens, statues of Miltiades and Themistocles, where the names had been altered into 'those of a Roman and a Thracian', were noticed by Pausanias, at Paus. 1.18.3.

95 The speaker alludes to the practice of deliberately authorizing a new meaning discussed in Chapter 1 as 'nomismatic.'

name? What would we say, he asks, to a man who puts on his festival wreath and leads the same goat from one holy place after another, and pretends to sacrifice it to Zeus, to Apollo, and then to Athena? Is not he also a counterfeiter?[96]

These are questions that, in my view deserve to be considered at our philosophical schools and on which your opinions will be valued around our world from the snows of Scythia to the deserts of Libya, from Syria, where the chariot of the suns rises, to Gades [*modern Cadiz*] where he returns to the Ocean.[97] Let me therefore also say, since, unlike Dio, I am invited to give an opinion, in my judgement a free city must always keep control of what is seen and remembered.[98] If we had paid attention to these new ideas of Dio, we would still have statues of the rebel Marcus Antoninus and his Egyptian whore occupying the most visible site of our sacred hill, shaming us every day.[99] And it was even more recently that our Areopagus and Demos had to damn the memory of a successor to Augustus that cannot be named who falsely claimed to be a [*shows contempt*] 'philhellene'.[100]

96 The speaker, like Dio of Prusa in his long oration to the Rhodians, the thirty-first, whose key points the speaker summarises, seems itself to have been prepared as a rhetorical exercise. In his exordium Dio says that he volunteers the advice and it is not given by invitation. At times the speech is almost explicit in saying that 'the gods' are useful inventions, 'fiat gods' equivalent to 'fiat currency.' His essay raises questions that have become common in the twenty-first century. It is notable however that although he claims rights for monuments and for those who have been accorded official responsibility for looking after them, he makes no claims on behalf of artists.

97 The speaker hopes that his clichéd venture into poetic language will remind his audiences of similar expressions to be commonly found in tragedy. Setting a time and place and implying that viewers are able to see the passage of time if they choose is part of the rhetoric on the display in the pediments of the Parthenon.

98 The speaker refers to the formal political position of the Athens of his day as a free city allied with Rome, that maintained its ancient institutions, although in practice Athens was little different from a province. He uses the formulation ('opsei kai mneme') of Aelius Aristides to describe how a built heritage was thought to work. Oliver, James Henry, 'The civilizing power: a study of the Panathenaic discourse of Aelius Aristides against the background of literature and cultural conflict, with text, translation, and commentary' in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 58 (1) (1968), 15, https://doi.org/10.2307/1005987.

99 The speaker refers to the episode in which Antony and Cleopatra, before the decisive defeat of their armies by Octavian, later Augustus, had caused statues of themselves to be erected on the pedestal shown as Figure 24.3, Volume 1.

100 The speaker, choosing his words carefully to avoid making the embarrassments, humiliations, and contradictions too obvious, refers to the episode in 61 CE when the emperor Nero, or his local representatives, persuaded the institutions of Athens

And what of today, I hear you ask? As our own Euripides has justly proclaimed:

> Now, in our time, the deep has ceased resistance and submits utterly to law; no famous Argo, framed by a hand of Pallas, with princes to man its oars, is sought for; any little craft now wanders at will upon the deep. All bounds have been removed, cities have set their walls in new lands, and the world is now passable throughout its length and breadth. The Indian drinks of the cold Arazes, the Persians quaff the Elbe and the Rhine. There will come an age in the far-off years when Ocean shall unloose the bonds of things, when the whole broad earth shall be revealed, when Tethys shall disclose new worlds and Thule not be the limit of the lands.[101]

There is more that could be said. And as Dio tells us, although if a foreigner or a metic offers you a gift of money even when you have no need of any more, and the world would be improved if he had less, you accept his gift with thanks, pay him honours, and listen to his advice, for all men, as we know, have need of good advice.[102] But, as I see the sand running down, let me say in conclusion that, in my opinion, the true reason why the Parthenon failed was that the Athenians of those days thought they could make the people think and act as one.[103] And they

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to permit an inscription in his honour to be attached in bronze letters to the east pediment of the Parthenon, the most visible sight during festivals, and which was taken down some time after 68 when Nero was overthrown and disgraced. The story of how the text's inscription was recovered by the American archaeological student Eugene P. Andrews in 1906 from a study of the holes in the marble is related by Carroll, Kevin K., *The Parthenon Inscription*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs No. 9 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University, 1982).

101 The speaker quotes from the Latin version of *Medea*, beginning at line 364, written by Seneca the Younger, a play, as are most of his others, not dialogic and opening up questions like those of Euripides on whose reputation he and the speaker take an unfair rhetorical free ride, but more a series of consumerist declamations that endorse the official ideologies of his day.

102 The speaker, running some risks, repeats a sentiment in almost the same words as were used by Dio of Prusa in his Rhodian, the twelfth, oration, sheltering behind the name of a famous man who was himself a direct beneficiary of the system and whose fame enabled him occasionally to depart from the expected.

103 The speaker is so eager to show that he knows the phrase, the 'truest and most logical underlying cause, (τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ) in Thuc.1.23.6, in the summary of his findings that he, in effect, offers two, albeit related. His strictures about the ignorance of common people also echo Thucydides, who speaks of the return of old irrational ways of thinking almost immediately after the outbreak of the war.

thought they could change them by showing them pictures and telling them moralizing stories.

When we are being truthful, we have to admit that the 'demos' of that time did not consist, as the saying goes, of 'men like ourselves'.[104] Parrhasius, the greatest painter of classical Greece, who could paint cherries to look so sweet that even the birds pecked at them thinking they were real, could have told them so. In his picture, the men of Athens were shown as the they truly were, capricious, passionate, unjust, inconstant, inexorable, forgiving, compassionate, magnanimous, boastful, abject, brave, and cowardly, all at the same time.[105] Fortunately, under the guidance of the divine Sebastos [*Greek for Augustus*] and his wise successors who have loved this city and its history, those sad and shameful days are gone for ever.[106]

My speech is now approaching its ending. I know that good judges will never hand over responsibility to make their choices to others any more than a good doctor would yield the judgment of an illness to another.[107] And although many matters have come before you in the past, you have never been assembled to judge a contest as important as this.[108] Now is the time, men of Athens, to register your decision for

104 The speaker, employing the commonplace popularized later by Mahaffy, takes care not to imply that the demos of Athens of his own day were not the same as those of the past. As before, however, he shows his inexperience, sycophancy, and lack of sincerity, by suggesting that he does not normally tell the truth but is making an exception for this particular audience. They, we need hardly say, being men trained in the arts of rhetoric, are likely to have winced and marked him down as unworthy of the prize.

105 The speaker quotes from the description of the picture now lost as it was described by Pliny, *Natural History,* xxxv, 10. By the time of Pliny, painters were being lexically distinguished from sculptors, perhaps partly as a result of the Roman habit of collecting 'works of art' from the sites that gave them meaning, as a form of displaying their status, anticipating the dilettanti of the eighteenth century.

106 The speaker narrowly avoids the condescension that would have been rhetorically counterproductive for praising Athens not for what it was, but for its attractiveness to educated tourists, among whom the emperor might be included.

107 The speaker appears to be familiar with the sentiment offered by Ajax in a rhetorical exercise attributed to Antisthenes of Athens but probably prepared later. Translated by Price, Susan, ed., *Antisthenes of Athens: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 190, https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.5730060.

108 The speaker, although again by his exaggerations he shares the thought with the judges that they all know that they are engaged in a game, shows that he knows the rhetorical conventions of the game, such as the 'prooemia' that aimed at making the audience more receptive, as discussed by, for example, *Anonymous Seguerianus*

better or for worse.[109] Honoured sirs, I trust myself to Fortune, to the gods, and to your good and wise judgment. I will always pray that this city will continue to flourish until stones float upon the sea and trees cease to send forth new shoots.[110]

A Note on the Second Experiment

It is not known what the judges decided. It is thought that since they were professionally not much interested in either the substance of the argument or in its conclusions, but only in the speaker's skill in the arts of rhetoric, they commended the way in which he had linked the end of his speech with the beginning, but wondered whether he yet knew enough about how what they called the 'game', was played.[111] However in some respects the speaker does seem to have picked up an intellectual reaction against promoting a certain kind of local civic arete by resort to myth-making. As the Roman Empire faced incursions from peoples from far away, perhaps tribes forced to move as a result of climate change and population pressures in the Euro-Asian continent, classical-era paideia may have become even less trusted than it had been in the classical era itself. Half a millennium of sacrificing to 'Athena the Protector' or to 'Zeus the Savour' had not made any difference that could be historically evidenced, and arguments that, without them, things would have been even worse might have begun to sound as forced and as sophistical as some of the rhetorical contortions resorted to by the Christian apologists

at 7, with examples from famous masters. Dilts and Kennedy, *Greek Rhetorical Treatises*, 1–5, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004330313. Anonymous Seguerianus also discusses how the issues in the (invented) trial of Phidias outlined by Seneca the Elder should be summarized at the end of a speech, implying that it may have been a standard case used in training.

109 The speaker's peroration follows closely that of the Roman oration of Aristides, 109.

110 The speaker turns to what appears to be a conventional farewell, used, for example as the peroration of the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides. As rhetorical constructions of permanence, the first is human: it can be associated with the custom of ceremonially throwing the material of allegedly everlasting and un-rescindable treaties into the sea. The second links permanence to the seasonal cycles of the natural world (although it looks inadequate in an era of climate change) and shows that it was possible to imagine that the local microclimate could last for ever. Consequently, the decision to build the Parthenon (which would rely on this microclimate) had a sound basis.

111 They were following almost to the letter the comment made by the character of Clinias in Plato's Laws. Plat. Laws 6.768.

on Mars Hill.[112]In 1920, in the excavations in the Agora of Athens, a fragmentary ancient inscription dated to the time of the rebuilding of the town wall in the third century CE was found.[113] As with the many other rebuildings in ancient as in modern times, the new 'Valerian' wall made use of existing carved blocks. The inscription, consisting of two diptychs in verse, declares: 'Not by the [?singing] of Aimon were these [walls] raised, nor by the strong hand of the Cyclops, but [unreadable phrase but we can postulate "by the people of Athens"]'.[114] Although inscribed on a memorial that was made centuries after the classical period, it may derive from a famous quotation, or 'chreia', perhaps from something said by a character in a lost play by Euripides. Whatever its status, it appears to show that, by the time the wall was raised, and probably for a long time before, the old myths of the classical period had not only lost whatever power they may once have possessed over minds and behaviours, but they were being actively superseded, historical experience having continued to show the limitations of rhetoric when confronted by actuality.

112 As discussed in St Clair, *WStP*, Chapter 22, https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0136.22.

113 Described by Setton, Kenneth M., 'The Archaeology of Medieval Athens', in Mundy, John Hine, Emery, Richard W., and Nelson, Benjamin J., eds, *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 241.

114 οὐ τάδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονὶς ἤρα[ρε φόρμιγξ/ οὐδὲ Κυκλωπείας χειρὸς ἔδ[ειμε βία]. My translation, unlike Setton's, leads with the 'Not'. Quoted in *Inscriptiones Graecae* vols. II–III², Part III: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, fasc. 1 (Berlin, 1935), no 5200a.