CHAPTER 23

Aeschines and Demosthenes

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Introduction

Roland Barthes famously termed character a reflex of discourse, in order to highlight that it is embedded in language and cannot be extracted from its linguistic setting to formulate conceptions of 'real' personality.[1] Most of us struggle with the stringency of this insight, especially when analysing discourses that purport to be factual and thus to give a true picture of events and the people centrally involved in them. In such cases scholarly analyses often merge fact and fiction, historical and discursive realities, so that (e.g.) how Thucydides represents Cleon converges imperceptibly with what we know about him as an historical figure. As Aristotle was aware, oratory presents us with a further puzzle in this regard, since it borrows techniques from fiction, especially drama, while aiming to convince audiences that only truth is on offer. Thus, for instance, orators may include characteristics suggestive of tragic heroism in narratives that depict themselves or others as brave and beneficent. One of the most interesting aspects of this discursive moulding in oratory arises from the fact that it inevitably involves the body in performance, which means that, as in drama, movement and spectacle (i.e. body language) supplement speech. Not only this, but the orators' emphases on their public characters and those of their prominent opponents entail pointed contrasts between their own performances of character in the courts or assembly and their opponents' in various public settings (e.g. the agora, the gymnasium). Unlike drama, however, oratorical spectacle is radically constrained by its conceits of truth-telling, so that orators strive to emphasize palpable, well-witnessed matches between how they characterize themselves and others and how they and others appear to audiences.

Aeschines and Demosthenes are masters of such effects in oratorical narrative, repeatedly inflecting their telling of events with suggestive metonymies

1 Barthes [1970] 1974: 67–68; see Goldhill 1990, and cf. the discussion of Barthes' formulation in the Introduction (→), where De Temmerman and van Emde Boas point out that Barthes regards character and discourse as 'accomplices'.

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that mock their opponents' statures, intonations, dress, and deportments. By means of such colourful touches they aim to shape audiences' perception of what character types they are witnessing in action on the oratorical platform or in the courts. In this chapter I want to focus on these metonymic techniques as a central cluster of effects that the orators combine with other direct and indirect indications of character. These techniques tend to focus especially on dress and deportment, as well as facial expression and vocal style. In narrative and in direct invective Aeschines and Demosthenes make use of a broad array of characterization strategies, including indications of social standing (i.e. inclusion in micro-groups), significant actions in events of consequence, and comparison to figures in myth and history (i.e. metaphorical devices). While in their narratives the orators make liberal use of these techniques, at points when they focus on character assassination most concertedly their depictions pivot especially on metonymies highlighting the body in performance. And rightly so—for what could be more persuasive and damning than encouraging one's audience to recognize one's opponent for who he is by witnessing his visible traits?

In focusing thus I do not mean to suggest that orators do not litter their speeches more generally with other types of attributions and insults; they very much do. In the framing of circumstances and in narrative sequences orators usually depict themselves as upstanding and their opponents as craven and cowardly or obnoxious and aggressive, often using direct labels (e.g. *anaidēs* 'shameless', *ponēros* 'base', and *miaros* 'tainted', are common slurs).[2] They also cast their enemies' actions in the worst possible light, filling in these labels with narrative details of despicable behaviours and charging them with bribe-taking, pandering, and general depravity. My point in highlighting metonymic techniques in the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes is to draw attention to the features of oratory that are most unique to its characterization, precisely because it is like drama a performance genre, but unlike drama it purports to offer unvarnished presentations of agents and events.

The speeches of these two polished and influential orators draw into uniquely sharp focus the connections between the control of Athenian domestic and foreign policy and the traits of the good orator and his artistry. This may be why these speeches more than any others in the Greek oratorical corpus concentrate attention on details of character. Demosthenes and Aeschines go to great lengths to highlight their differences, each carefully building up his depiction of his opponent's weaknesses in sharp contradistinction to his

2 See Worman 2008: 219–221 for a fuller survey of terms and their implications.

own strengths. This attention to detail underscores the interest of both orators in the crafting of character, as well as their awareness of the delicacy with which mimetic effects would be most persuasively deployed in narrating events of civic consequence. Scholars have shown quite convincingly that these speeches were revised, perhaps repeatedly, with an eye to publication, and the images explored below strongly indicate a purposeful honing of the interconnections among certain aspects of these defaming portraits. Their fine-tuned approaches seek ultimately to discredit their opponents' lifestyles and thus their leadership, centering their depictions on cravenness and greed in the civic arena as these are mediated by theatricality and affectation.[3] While such techniques may bear a complicated relationship to strategies of characterization within conventional narrative settings (e.g. epic poetry), emphasizing them should contribute greatly to our appreciation of the highly crafted and essentially fictional quality of character depiction in ancient oratory.

'Demosthenes' and Womanly Contrivance

In recent years scholars have frequently focused on Aeschines' speech *Against Timarchus* as a primary example of the legal handling of homosexuality and prostitution.[4] From Aeschines' presentation of the case, it appears that if one could prove that a citizen had prostituted himself, the punishment was the effective removal of his citizen's rights, since he himself had treated his body in an unfree manner. While the increased interest in ancient sexual practice has contributed to the heightened attention that this speech has received, in fact the charge of prostitution (*graphē hetaireseōs*) targeted but one of many craven behaviours that could result in disenfranchisement. These included violence toward or neglect of one's parents and throwing away one's shield in battle. Although the speech for the defence is not extant, we know that Demosthenes, the real target of Aeschines' attack, defended Timarchus. And although the respective character failings of these two men, as sketched by Aeschines, are quite distinct, it is clear that the inferences proliferating from the charge were intended to taint Demosthenes' character as much as Timarchus'.

In Aeschines' narration of events as well as in his direct invective, Demosthenes' inclinations and actions together share a close association with the

3 Cf. Worthington 1991, Gagarin 1999.

4 E.g. Dover 1978, Foucault [1976] 1985, Halperin 1990, Hunter 1990, Winkler 1990, Cohen 1992, Sissa 1999.

prostituting behaviours of his client Timarchus (cf. 1.123–126). He exhibits a penchant for soft, womanly clothes (1.131), pursues wealth by preying on young men (170–175), and uses an overwrought oratorical style that is in keeping with such tastes (1.167). Let us focus for the moment on the ways in which Aeschines deploys dress as a metonymy for character. Aeschines' depiction of Demosthenes' clothing makes use of a kind of gendered diminution: If, he says, someone were to take 'these fancy little cloaks' (*ta kompsa khlaniskia*) and 'the soft little tunics' (*tous malakous khitōniskous*) that Demosthenes wears while writing his maligning speeches, and hand them around to the jury to touch, the toucher would be hard pressed to tell whether they were men's or women's wear (1.131). The diminutives are straight out of iambic poetry and thus comic and insulting, suggesting as they do a needy beggar at the door as well as a world of prostitutes and cooks.[5] It does not help matters that Demosthenes sports in addition a sobriquet in keeping with his feminine garb, since being called 'Batalos' (which Dover captures as 'Bumsy') comes from his 'effeminacy and degeneracy' (*ex anandrias kai kinaidias*).[6] Aeschines' combination of metonymic indicators (i.e. the soft, slight clothing) and the nickname with its metaphorical associations effectively frames Demosthenes' actions as suspect, since together they craft a moral disposition that any upright Athenian would disdain. Thus both figures endanger Athens, Timarchus by his shameless plying of his body, Demosthenes by his effeminate inclinations.

As I address below, Demosthenes would later come back at Aeschines for his role in the second embassy to Philip, the precise charge for which is somewhat vague.[7] In his defence Aeschines offers his narrative of what happened on the embassy, again using terms that suggest comic depictions and expanding upon his framing of Demosthenes' character as depraved, womanly, and affected. He characterizes Demosthenes as a contrived presence: 'engaging in curious deportments as usual' (*terateusamenos*, *hōsper eiōthe*, *tōi skhēmati*), rubbing his head (*kai tripsas tēn kephalēn*) and playing the role of a comically puzzled outsider who cannot understand why his fellow citizens delight in passing their time in foreign gossip (2.49). When he addresses Philip he 'squawks out some

5 E.g. Hippon. fr. 32 W. 4–5.

6 Cf. 2.88, 2.99, 2.151; also 1.181. See Winkler 1990: 176–177 on the difficulty of translating this label; also Davidson 1997: 167–182. On Batalos or Battalos, cf. Aeschin. 1.126; D. 18. 180; cf. Eupolus fr. 82. See Dover 1978: 75, Henderson [1975] 1991: 203.

7 MacDowell argues (2000: 14–22) that it was probably misconduct on an embassy (*parapresbeia*), rather than something more strictly tied to the reviewing of officials' accounts (*euthunai*) such as the taking of bribes.

murky introduction' (*phthengetai to thērion prooimion skoteinon ti*), since he is beset by stage fright (2.34–35). And when, as Aeschines tells it, Philip encouraged Demosthenes to take heart and not think it as bad as dropping lines in the theatre, the orator was too shaken and lost control of his words (2.35). Unlike his theatrically trained opponent, Demosthenes has trouble performing; Aeschines adds that he suffered a 'strangling' (*ankhonē*) from frustration that he performed so poorly (2.38). Aeschines links his graceless performance to his odd speaking style, depicting it as clearly evident in the awkwardness and pandering exaggeration he displays when trying to make up to Philip for his bad performance (2.113).

Aeschines also claims that one of the primary characteristics of this awkward, strangled panderer is that of effeminizing deceit. Both orators accuse each other of verbal trickery and Aeschines makes colourful use of the charge. At one point he depicts Demosthenes as a 'Sisyphus' who claps his hands at another's flattering portrait of Philip (2.42), while tricking his peers in the service of his own good reputation.[8] This deportment in itself broadcasts his contriving character, while also making him seem unscrupulous, like the demagogues in Aristophanes.[9] In addition, it is in keeping with Aeschines' depiction of Demosthenes as an artful schemer, an insult on which Aeschines will elaborate some years later in his speech against Ctesiphon. While Demosthenes may scorn Aeschines' imitation of Solon's formal, manly deportment as a misplaced emphasis on surface effect (see below), Aeschines mocks Demosthenes' performative contortions as indicating his effeminacy and deception.[10]

Aeschines' portrayal of Demosthenes thus invokes an association common in Greek poetry between deception and feminine or slavish behaviour.[11] Indeed, this connection is only one aspect of a larger range of scorned behaviours associated with women and slaves and used as a central underpinning for the defamation of public speakers.[12] In Aeschines' speech the insult could not be more pointed. After bringing some slaves to the *bēma* as witnesses that Demosthenes is lying, Aeschines challenges him to declare himself a 'womanly man and unfree' (*androgunos … kai mē eleutheros*) if he is found to have commit-

8 Sisyphus' famous punishment was levied for his craftiness (Hom. *Il.* 6.153); his putative parenting of Odysseus (S. *Ph.* 417, E. *Cyc.* 106, E. *IA* 524) reinforces the association with deceit.

9 See Worman 2008: ch. 2 for an analysis of this imagery.

10 Contrast Aeschines' controlled deportment and athletic metaphors. See Harris 1995: 19–21; also Ober 1989: 283 and the objections of Lane Fox 1994: 138–139.

11 See Zeitlin 1981, Bergren 1983.

12 Worman 2008: Introduction.

ted perjury (2.127; cf. 148, 179). The juxtaposition suggests that Demosthenes' effeminate contrivances contrast badly even with the behaviours of slaves.

Add to this cluster of effects that Aeschines repeatedly calls Demosthenes a *kinaidos*, one version of which includes insinuations about a physical uncleanness that extends to his mouth ('whence his voice comes,' *hothen tēn phōnēn aphiēsin*) (2.88; cf. 23).[13] The phrase suggests coyly that Demosthenes' organ may also have been used in other 'unclean' ways, those particularly related to his feminine affectations.[14] Aeschines may hint at this particular weakness earlier, when he portrays Demosthenes as a corrupt seller of his body's parts who nevertheless claims to 'spit' (*kataptuei*, 2.23) on bribes.[15] In addition, he again calls attention to Demosthenes' nickname Bat(t)alos as a joking proof of his character (cf. 1.126, 131, 164). Whether this nickname means 'chatterer' or 'bugger', Aeschines links it to *kinaidia* as well as to the ruses and pandering of the contrived speaker (2.99).[16] By imbedding such insults in his rehearsal of events from Demosthenes' past that he presents as familiar, Aeschines manages to suggest that these are attributions and labels recognized as apt and used by everyone.

At the end of his speech, Aeschines foregrounds the performance of character in a manner that further taints Demosthenes' embodied presence with suggestions of corruption and simulation. As mentioned, he represents himself as becoming entangled through his commitment to public service with a fabricator and a cheat (2.153) who possesses womanly wiles; here at the end he begs the jury not to expose his family to one so craven and womanly (*anandrōi kai gunaikeiōi*, 2.179). Soon he follows this with a more direct inhabiting of character, asking how it is not pitiful to look upon the face of one's mocking enemy and hear with one's ears his slanders (*pōs de ouk oiktron idein ekhthrou prōsopon epengelōntos kai tois ōsi tōn oneidōn akousai*). This he must endure, however, since like a brave general his body is dedicated to danger (*dedotai to sōma tōi kindunōi*) (2.182). Aeschines repeats this offering up of his body in the final line of his speech, as evidence of his stalwart character in the face of his enemy's tainted accusations, which could end in his death: 'And now this body

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13 Both passages claim that Demosthenes' body either has 'nothing unsellable' (23) or is unclean (88). Cf. Aeschin. 1.126, 131, and the remarks of Dover 1978: 75 regarding 'Battalos'; also Barthes [1970] 1974: 109–110 on lodging 'sexual density' in the throat.

14 For comic imagery see Worman 2008: ch. 2 and Epilogue. For Roman analogies, see Corbeill 1996: 97–127.

15 Cf. D. 18.196, where he deems Aeschines 'one who must be spit upon'.

16 Yunis (2001: on 18.180) thinks that Demosthenes' reference to the nickname must have to do with a speech defect, since he would not refer to it if it indicated submissive sex.

I and the law hand over to you' (*to de sōma ēdē touti paradidōsin humin kai egō kai ho nomos*, 2.184).

Both orators depict each other as imitators and fabricators, as indulging in grand pronouncements (*semnologeō*; cf. Aeschin. 2.93) and as being sophistic wordsmiths. But clear distinctions emerge in Aeschines' emphases on grotesquery and fabrication (versus his own manly embodiment), to which the dispute over whether Demosthenes should be crowned in the Theatre of Dionysus contributes some important details.

When Demosthenes' ally Ctesiphon brought forward a proposal in 336 BCE that Demosthenes be crowned in the Theatre of Dionysus for his civil service, Aeschines immediately opposed it. A primary contention that he repeats in his prosecution of Ctesiphon is that a citizen cannot be crowned as a public benefactor in the Theatre of Dionysus prior to the performance of tragedies and before a mixed crowd. Instead, he contends, the appropriate place for this is the assembly, so that the crowning takes place only before citizens (3.41–48, 176–190, 203–204). Aeschines follows each reference to law and precedent by narrating in damning terms details from Demosthenes' political career, which he repeatedly highlights with gestures he finds revealing of craven, depraved, and self-serving behaviours.

A pair of images in Aeschines' first focused indictment of Demosthenes' character provides a fitting point of entrance into this foregrounding of the mismatch between crowning and character. Here Aeschines seeks to prove Demosthenes' pandering and contrived self-promotion by zeroing in on two public gestures. First, he depicts him fawning over ambassadors from Philip, for whom he secured first seats in the theatre, furnishing cushions and rugs for them in so unseemly and toadying a manner that he was (Aeschines claims) hissed at by his fellow citizens (*hōste kai surittisthai dia tēn askhēmosunēn kai kolakeian*, 3.76). Add to this that upon the death of Philip Demosthenes celebrated publicly in crown and white robes (*stephanosamenos kai leukēn esthēta labōn*, 3.77), even though his own daughter had died only some days earlier. In what may appear at first glance to be a random story and slur, Aeschines works into his character defamation a moment of public self-crowning that renders suspect Demosthenes' claim to the benefactor's crown, since it makes him seem only too eager for this laudatory headgear and willing to come by it however he can. Note as well that Aeschines' depictions emphasize public witnessing and (in one case) public condemnation of his opponent's conduct, so that once again he (Aeschines) positions himself as merely the focalizer of a general opprobrium.

As Aeschines' condemnation of this bad citizen builds momentum, he gathers together the elements that make up this whole-body and in-costume ap-

proach to character assassination. He breaks off from his recounting of recent Macedonian advances in order to draw a connection between Demosthenes' bizarre speaking style and his despicable behaviour and deportment. He derides the 'repulsive and unruly locutions' (*ta miara kai apithana rhēmata*) that this depraved man (*kinaidos*) employs, which he calls 'strange things' (*thaumata*, 3.166–167). In keeping with this outrageous usage, Aeschines mocks Demosthenes as 'pirouetting' around the *bēma* (*kuklōi peridinōn … epi tou bēmatos*, 3.167) during an assembly speech on Macedonian policy.[17] The description is interesting for its suggestions of dance movements performed to dithyrambs, which later enter the stylistic lexicon as indicating overly elaborate styles.[18] And in fact, Aeschines quotes lines from Demosthenes' speeches as examples of chiming periodic usage and outlandish metaphors (3.166–167). Later on he ridicules Demosthenes for his melodrama and tone—'Why the tears? Why the shouting? Why the screeching voice?' (3.210; cf. 3.209)—pointing out that Demosthenes' own body is not imperilled by the charge. The focus on displays of emotion and heightened tone contributes a further detail to the cluster of effects by which Aeschines mocks Demosthenes' character as changeable and contrived.

Aeschines also repeatedly draws attention to the character effects exhibited by Demosthenes' eager head, deploying it in his invective as a metonymic device that indicates shameless self-promotion. Thus just after highlighting Demosthenes' tone and dramatic affect, he focuses in on Demosthenes' 'tainted and accountable head' (*tēn miaran kephalēn tauten kai hupeuthunon*), declaring that the man would commit any violence to it in return for damages (3.212). Aeschines makes sure that his audience will perceive that there is something unseemly about the juxtaposition of this head-beating for gain with its being crowned in the sanctified setting of the Theatre of Dionysus.

Aeschines offers as the most egregious example of Demosthenes' capitalizing on his own body the case of Midias, with which he assumes the audience will be very familiar. Aeschines seems to be playing on the image of the pious and dutiful citizen, which Demosthenes emphasized in his own narrative of events, by transforming him from victim to mercenary and revising his self-

17 The speech referred to was delivered after Macedon put down a Spartan uprising, which occurred just before Aeschines brought his case (cf. 3.163–165). Cf. Aeschines' later description of Demosthenes as 'leaping to the *bēma*' (3.173) in his speedy assent from the law courts to the assembly platform. See Pearson 1976: 8 and cf. Hall 1995: 53, who also cites Aeschin. 1.71.

18 E.g. Pl. *Phdr*. 283d3; Arist. *Rh*. 1406b2, 1409a25, Cic. *De Orat*. 3.185, Hor. *Od*. 4.2.10, D.H. *Dem*. 7.20–22. See Worman 2015: 240–242, 305–306.

depiction so radically that his audience should not only not embrace the vision of him as *khorēgos*, they should not even regard him as welcome in the theatre. Given Aeschines' own background in the theatre, this seems to be a pointed exclusion that extends from Demosthenes' supposedly craven behaviours to his failures as an orator. Throughout Aeschines' emphasis is on bodily and vocal control, habits of character trained in the body through citizens' proper exposure to and participation in performance poetry.

Further, Aeschines' portrait of Demosthenes as a grotesque and outrageous speaker who does not belong in heroic settings also makes use of metaphorical characterization by comparing him to the figure of Thersites in the *Iliad* (2.211–277). Aeschines projects this famously disruptive scene onto the Theatre of Dionysus, envisioning what would happen if some poet mounted a tragedy in which Thersites were crowned as a means of indicating how ridiculous it is to crown someone like Demosthenes.[19] He remarks wryly that no audience would accept the crowning of Thersites, since Homer depicts him as 'unmanly and a panderer' (*anandron kai sukophantēn*). He then challenges his audience with the possibility of a surreal outcome to the crowning of Demosthenes, in which Greek morals themselves would rise up in righteous indignation: 'Were you to crown such a man,' he declares, 'do you not think that you would be hissed at by the judgments of the Greeks?' (*ouk oiesthe en tais tōn Hellēnōn doxais surittesthai*) (3.231). The effect of this projection is a nightmarish drama, in which plot is so mismatched with protagonist that the audience rises up in revolt. A further implication may well be that this is the only kind of theatre of which Demosthenes is capable, one so outrageous and ill-suited that his fellow citizens should not countenance it. Although this type of metaphorical characterization is not very common in these speeches, both orators make use of them at pivotal moments in their narratives, as the examples of Creon and Solon (see below) also reveal.

Toward the end of his prosecution, as at the end of his embassy defence, Aeschines envisions for his audience another full-body oratorical drama. In this one he asks the juror citizens to deliberate not only with their ears but with their eyes as well (*mē monon tois ōsin, all' kai tois ommasin*), in order to assess those who support Demosthenes. You will not find them among companions on the hunt or in the gymnasium, Aeschines claims, since Demosthenes' only training is less physical than mercenary: pursuing men of property (255). Gazing on this man of pretence (cf. 3.256), the jurors must recognize

19 On Thersites' character, cf. Kirk 1985; Rose 1988; Thalmann 1988; Martin 1989: 110–113; Seibel 1995; Worman 2002: 66–67, 91–94; Marks 2005.

that Demosthenes assumes that they have reached such a peak of stupidity that they think they have fostered in the city the goddess Peitho rather than a sycophant (3.256). Aeschines then calls upon the jurors to imagine that the old lawmakers and leaders of Athens, beginning (as one might expect) with Solon, have crowded the speaker's platform to pass judgment on Demosthenes and his cohort (3.257–259). In his final statement Aeschines calls additional witnesses, in a move that elaborates on invocations in tragedy: Earth, Sun, Virtue, Understanding, and Education (3.260).[20]

'Aeschines' and Theatricality

In his speeches against Aeschines Demosthenes offsets in illuminating ways his opponent's portrayals of contrived oddness, effeminacy, and depravity versus manliness, moral rectitude, and an embodied solidity. While he shares with Aeschines tactics common in oratory more generally that represent one's opponent as a cheat and a deceiver, he emphasizes a set of conventions that suggest a central difference between the two orators. Demosthenes' portrayal of his opponent evidences a keen awareness of the impact that theatrical ability can have in the courtroom and the assembly, especially given that theatrical techniques are not only impressive but also familiar, since they tie the speaker to traditional plots and characters. While from Aeschines' perspective Demosthenes cuts such a strange figure in oratorical settings as to verge on the grotesque, Demosthenes reinforces this sense of his own novelty by depicting Aeschines' strengths as hinging on traditional dramatic tactics, which he reveals as fictionalizing and theatrical distractions.

Thus, for instance, when he accuses Aeschines of treacherous and un-citizen-like behaviour in the embassy to Philip Demosthenes depicts Aeschines as shouting him down with threats of indictment and theatrical exclamation (*kai iou iou*, 19.209). A clear opposition emerges in Demosthenes' speech, one that sets up Aeschines' own but in reverse: the theatrical wordsmith who only falls silent in the face of moral rectitude, versus the cautious and quiet type who chokes when faced with corruption. The imagery Demosthenes employs anticipates for his audience the fabricating powers of his voluble opponent, and how much he may achieve in dramatic impact while falling short of the truth. Demosthenes also represents Philip as a chorus leader (*khorēgos*) attendant on

20 See esp. E. *El.* 866–867; also A. *Ch.* 1–3, 399, S. *El.* 86–87, 110–112.

the performance of this actor's fellow players (19.216).[21] He cautions the audience against paying attention to Aeschines' vocal powers, which he contrasts to his own more paltry abilities. He further insists that he and his opponent are not engaged in an orators' contest (19.216–217), seeking to focus his audience's attention on the distinction between show and substance. Throughout Demosthenes' narration of events, references to *khorēgoi* and contests foreground dramatic settings, with their attendant suggestions of fiction and falsehood.

It is thus Aeschines' theatrical training that furnishes Demosthenes with the most pervasive imagistic framework for his opposition between a fine dramatic style and meagre or inaccurate content.[22] Aeschines, he says, engages in 'new' contests (*agōnas kainous*) as if they were plays (*dramata*), and is surely a 'terribly clever' (*pandeinos*) man (19.120; cf. 121). Here Demosthenes seeks to connect this dramatic cleverness to a moral and class judgment of Aeschines' type: it indicates his theatrical style on the one hand, but also the special kind of depravity (*kakian*) that results from a life of paid performance. This life involves bribe taking and the wholesale vending of oneself (19.121)—precisely the kind of debasing habits that might lead seamlessly to serving a decadent tyrant. Later in his speech (2.246–247) he returns again to this theme of Aeschines' acting abilities, now introducing another metaphorical characterization in a distinctly meta-performative manner: he has the clerk read some lines spoken by Creon from the *Antigone* (175–190) about what makes a good politician.[23] The part of Creon is one that Demosthenes claims his opponent knew well, although Aeschines himself does not quote Sophocles in any of his extant speeches.[24] Demosthenes also notes that Aeschines always played the part of the third actor (i.e. that assigned to the least talented) (19.247) and emphasizes that this third actor is often a tyrant, thus suggesting a further metonymical association with Aeschines' character.

Demosthenes also represents Aeschines as merely aping an upstanding citizen, now echoing his opponent's use of Solon as a metaphorical indication of his own upright character. He recalls Aeschines' invocation of Solon's contained embodiment of character (1.25–26) in order to mock his use of it (19.251) as a negative example of how a public speaker ought to comport himself.[25]

21 Cf. Halliwell 1991: 290, who points out that Demosthenes depicts Philip as having a taste for crude entertainments like mime and lampoons (D. 2.20).

22 Cf. Rowe 1966, Lane Fox 1994, Hall 1995, Easterling 1999.

23 Note that this play itself places emphasis on the violent effects that craven or tyrannical speech may have on the health of the city: e.g. *Ant.* 180, 505, 509.

24 Cf. Fisher 2001: 293. See also Ford 1999 on Aeschines' use of poetic texts.

25 Cf. Demosthenes' interest in deportment (Cic. *Orat.* 8.26–28), although some found his

Aeschines' imitation (*emimēsato*) of the great statesman's deportment (*tou skhēmatos*) was far less valuable to the city, says Demosthenes, than reproducing the quality of his mind and soul would have been (19.253). Aeschines' own deportment includes a debased alteration of Solon's that reveals his true motivations: he holds his hand out, but with the palm up—for taking bribes (255).[26] Demosthenes adds a curious detail to this performance, when he completes the portrait with the following image: 'Putting his little cap [*pilidion*] on his head, he struts about and abuses me' (19.255). He then has the clerk read an elegy of Solon (1.3) in which he warns Athens that not the gods but greedy men of ill counsel will be the city's ruin. Plutarch claims that Solon wore such a cap when performing his elegies (*Solon* 1.8); and Deborah Steiner has recently demonstrated the relationship of this little cap to iambic contention, the kind of invective that poets and statesmen engage when chastising their fellow citizens.[27] This character mimesis comports with Aeschines' portentous speaking style (*semnologei*) as well as his practising and honing of his 'miserable' volubility (*dustēna*) (19.255).[28]

Demosthenes' depiction of Aeschines' theatricality and dramatic vocalizing, then, indicates that such powers are inherently vulgar and untrustworthy, since they point to inbred artfulness and the selling of one's talents. As Demosthenes tells it, Aeschines transacts this self-marketing in many settings: doffing his poet's cap, traipsing around the stage, parading through the agora, or palming money in the Macedonian court. Aeschines' sheer ability has caused him to fail to distinguish between surface effect (i.e. deportment and delivery) and integrity, so that he makes a poor politician while imitating a good one. Again, the portrait is clearly cast in terms not only of dramatic devices and costume but also of class: the purely physical abilities of Aeschines look like the cheap tricks of a lowbrow wrangler in contrast to the quiet nobility of the refined Demosthenes.

As in the speech on the embassy, in the speech on the crown Demosthenes makes repeated references to Aeschines' volubility (e.g. 18.82, 132, 199) and overly emotional style (18.292; cf. 278), here also relating both to his experi-

style a 'vulgar, ill-bred, and effeminate imitation' (Plu. *Dem.* 9.4). Cf. also Cleon, who was apparently quite a mobile and gesticulating speaker (Plu. *Nic.* 8).

26 Zanker 1995: 45–49, 85–89 argues that the statues of Demosthenes and Aeschines reflect this contrast, which could suggest the influence of Demosthenes' portrayal of himself and his opponent.

27 Steiner 2014: 14–18.

28 Note that such attributions better capture Demosthenes' own fondness for rehearsing. Cf. Demades fr. 75; and see Cooper 2000.

ence as an actor. The labels that forge this connection are often colourfully abusive, as when he terms him a 'tragic ape' (e.g. *autotragikos pithēkos*, 18.242). Later Demosthenes is more ironic: toward the end of the speech, he claims that Aeschines is only an effective actor in the high tragic mode (18.313) when defending those in whose interests he toils.[29] Such a speaker chews up the scenery, in effect, indulging in the kind of tonal excesses (e.g. shouting, groaning) that are better suited to ponderous tragedy. The contrived Demosthenes is at pains to represent his opponent's powerful vocalizing and dramatic delivery as indicative of a lack of restraint, suggesting that such a practiced and overblown style is directly related to Aeschines' questionable upbringing and mercenary lifestyle.[30]

Here again Demosthenes mocks this loud, dramatic style in quasi-comic language that points to Aeschines' 'tyrannical' tendencies. He claims, for example, that Aeschines 'murdered' the part of Oenomaus (18.180) in a performance at Collytus; and he depicts Aeschines' acting with the 'Heavy Groaners' (*Barustonois*) as a 'war' (*polemos*) with the audience (18.262). Demosthenes couples these slurs with ridicule of Aeschines' family background, claiming that Aeschines' mother was really named Empousa, the licentious, child-eating monster who frightens Xanthias and Dionysus in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (285–293). This moniker is appropriate to one who 'does everything,' which suggests licentiousness or even prostitution (*panta poiein*, 18.130).[31] The son of a monstrous, scandalous mother, himself a tragic ape, Aeschines appears in Demosthenes' depiction as a dweller in some mythic borderland with few civilizing influences. And since he is a natural born actor, by parallel logic he is a 'counterfeit orator' (*parasēmos rhētōr*, 242).

Patricia Easterling has discussed whether this connection with the theatre is meant to raise questions about Aeschines' trustworthiness, since this is the realm of mimesis.[32] Although she concludes that this is not necessarily the case, it is important to emphasize again that Aeschines' connections with the theatre underscore his theatrical style, which Demosthenes depicts as

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29 I.e. Aeschines is only 'the best actor' in the worst circumstances (cf. 18.242–243, 259–260; also 19.199, 206–209). See Usher 1993: ad loc.

30 Again, this conflation of verbal technique and moral type has a long history in Greek literary culture: see Winkler 1990: 66–67, O'Sullivan 1992: 145–150.

31 On this type of female chthonic monster, see Johnston 1995. Yunis (2001: on 18.130) points out that such nicknames are common to prostitutes; the *panourgos* label ('doing everything') connotes a general profligacy and lack of scruples, cf. Worman 1999. Most commentators regard this attack as utilizing a common topos, what Harding (1987: 30) refers to as 'mother-jokes' (cf. Dover 1974: 30–32, Pearson 1976: 81, Hunter 1990: 317–318).

32 Easterling 1999; see also Harris 1995: 30–31.

one of simulation and overkill. Further, his acting involved selling his body's talents, bringing him perilously close to the behaviours of a common prostitute, labourer, or a slave.[33] Demosthenes' focusing of his character assassination on theatrical mimesis suggests that his opponent's dependence on conventional techniques does not so much elicit elevating poetic and heroic associations in his audience's assessment of his character as reveal his mimesis as limiting, stale, and debased.

Judith Butler has argued that all choices of dress and deportment, as well as intonation, facial expressions, vocabulary and phrasing are performative.[34] The dramatic stage and oratorical arena clearly redouble the sense of the body as amassed through signification, and not only because these are formal performance settings with particular conventions. What is more important for our purposes—and perhaps especially so in the case of oratory—is the fact that speakers' depictions of each other's characters involve such carefully turned narratives and techniques of depiction. From this perspective the body is a startlingly unnatural object, something not only fenced in by social delimitations but also crafted by story-telling and invective. Both the orator doing the talking and the 'orators' in his (usually mocking) portrayals show the audience who they are by their emphases on metonymies indicative of character, including mocking depictions of tonal modulations and facial expressions as well as dress and deportment.

That said, the disputes between Aeschines and Demosthenes reveal their quite different attitudes toward the theatricality of oratory. Aeschines' approach is essentially conventional, which is why Demosthenes' innovating styles appear to him to be so outlandish and difficult to characterize. This is in keeping with Aeschines' attachment to traditional civic education, as well as his own well-trained actor's approach to persuasive performance, which assumes implicitly that a well-flowing, full-throated dramatic style should win the day and that audiences should worry less about the fabricated qualities of the performance and be comforted by its familiarity. Demosthenes' emphasis on this very conventionality reveals aspects of it that Aeschines' more mainstream approach seeks to circumvent—that is, the connections between dramatic mimesis and simulation or deception, since the charge of lying is such a familiar one among the orators. This theatricality also stands in sharp contrast to Demosthenes' innovations of style and delivery, which the traditionalist

33 Both orators make similar claims about such selling: cf. e.g. Aeschin. 2.127 regarding Demosthenes. Unlike Demosthenes, however, Aeschines emphasizes the sexual aspects of his enemy's salesmanship.

34 Butler 1990.

depicts as contrived, even grotesque, but not recognizably theatrical. In fact, it seems possible that had Demosthenes been a more talented actor, Aeschines would have found less to criticize in his oratorical crafting of character. But in that case Demosthenes would not have been such an innovator, nor such an effective mocker of his opponent's conventional modes.