



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Lysias

de Bakker, M.P.

DOI

[10.1163/9789004224384_022](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004224384_022)

Publication date

2012

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Space in ancient Greek literature

License

CC BY-NC-ND

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

de Bakker, M. P. (2012). Lysias. In I. J. F. de Jong (Ed.), *Space in ancient Greek literature* (pp. 377-392). (Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative; Vol. 3), (Mnemosyne. Supplements; Vol. 339). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004224384_022

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

PART FIVE

ORATORY

CHAPTER TWENTY

LYSIAS

M.P. de Bakker

The 34 speeches that have come down to us under the name of Lysias have given us a moving insight into aspects of daily life in early fourth-century Athens, a period in which the Athenians struggled to cope with their recent past, the loss of the Peloponnesian War and the subsequent political upheaval during the violent reign of the Thirty and the counter-revolution by the democrats. A number of speeches within the *Corpus Lysiacum* (12, 13, 16, 18, 19, [20], 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 34) are concerned with the aftermath of the lawlessness in this unruly period, most of them delivered by citizens who attempted to square their accounts with those who were in league with the Thirty.¹

Whereas fictional narrative allows the narrator to introduce any spatial frame, Lysias' speeches are anchored in contemporary Athens, a world thoroughly familiar to himself, his clients and his audience. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of historians, epigraphers and archaeologists, nowadays the contours of this world are familiar but caution is nonetheless needed when we study the spatial references in Lysias' oratory. We may be able to trace them on a map but can often only guess at the memories, emotions or other connotations they triggered among the members of the jury, which makes it difficult to gauge their rhetorical impact. An example of such a 'known unknown' is found in the short plea *Against Pankleon*, which concerns the citizenship status of a defendant who is being sued for another offence. Lysias makes his client present the results of an inquiry into Pankleon that led him past 'the barber in the street of the Hermae' (23.3). Although we are perfectly capable of locating this barber near the northern side of the Agora,² we can only

¹ As to the authenticity of the speeches, I will follow the traditional view that the authorship of 2 and 6 is disputed, whereas 8, 9 and 20 are probably not by Lysias. For in-depth discussion, stylistic and stylometric analysis, see Dover 1968 and Usher and Najock 1982, and the observations in Todd 2007: 26–32.

² Cf. Jebb [1888] 2005: 278.

speculate about the reason why Lysias names this particular shop in his narrative. All we can say is that its reputation as a source of information was well enough established so that it could be mentioned in the court of law.

In a similar way, we should be aware of conceptual differences in relation to the spatial environment. Whereas in the modern Western world it is felt to be merely incorrect to enter someone's property unannounced, in classical Athens such an act amounted to sacrilege, in particular when someone forced his way into the women's quarters as Simon is said to have done (3.6–7; 23; 29) or assaulted the master of the house when he was entertaining guests as happened when representatives of the Thirty raided Lysias' property (12.8).

In his essay *On Lysias*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus praised the orator for his clarity (*saphêneia*) and brevity (*suntomia*) of expression (13, cf. 4–5), especially in the narrative parts of his forensic speeches (18). 'It would appear', Dionysius claims, 'as if he even omits much information that would have helped his case' (5), which he puts down to the short amount of time that was available for the speakers to deliver their pleas. As I will show in this chapter, Lysias' handling of spatial references fits this picture in that he mostly confines himself to the bare essentials and avoids lengthy descriptions. As a rule of thumb, places are named and settings described in the narrative when they serve his argumentation or the characterization (*ethopoiia*) of the speaker. The same holds for the level of specification. The more detailed a spatial reference is presented, the greater its importance for the case. In this sense ancient forensic oratory differs from its modern counterpart where temporal and spatial references to all relevant incidents in a case are imperative. The *erôtēsis* of the defendants in the speech *Against the Corndealers* illustrates this difference, as temporal and spatial specifications are completely lacking:

Tell me, sir, are you a resident alien? Yes. Do you reside as an alien to obey the city's laws, or to do just as you please? To obey. Must you not, then, expect to be put to death, if you have committed a breach of the laws for which death is the penalty? I must. Then answer me: do you acknowledge that you bought up corn in excess of the fifty measures which the law sets as the limit? I bought it up on an order from the magistrates.³ (22.5)

³ Unless indicated otherwise I have used the translations of Lamb 1930 in the Loeb edition of Lysias' speeches, with minor alterations.

If an interrogation like this were held in a modern court, the day and place at which the excess of corn was bought up would be mentioned. In antiquity, however, the forensic value of the setting did not seem to be important unless it could be used in direct support of the case.⁴

The spatial references in the *Corpus Lysiacum* defy easy classification, which illustrates Lysias' versatility. A tendency that can be detected, however, is his heightening of rhetorical impact by referring to places of legal, religious or historical importance. Thus he makes Euphiletus in his plea *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* not only quote a law on justifiable homicide but also refer to the *stēlē* on the Areopagus on which the law is inscribed (1.30).⁵ The connection between the law itself and its visual representation in the monumental context of the most respected legislative body of Athens reinforces the authority of its contents, which support Lysias in his strategy to make Euphiletus 'present the laws as Eratosthenes' prosecutor and himself as their agent'.⁶ Lysias' practice of naming *lieux de mémoire* as a strategy of persuasion is the first path I wish to explore in this chapter. The second aspect I will discuss is Lysias' presentation and organisation of his spatial material. Pleas like the *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* or *Against Pankleon* allow us to have a valuable glimpse into daily life in early fourth-century Athens; but how did these passages function rhetorically?

Lysias' Spatial Realms: The Urban Space and Beyond

Within Lysias' speeches two major spatial realms can be distinguished. First, there is the *performative* space where the speech is delivered and its immediate surroundings: the urban space of the city that was visible from the place where the speech was held. Second, there is the *distanced* space: the places beyond the reach of sight to which Lysias makes his clients refer.⁷ I will discuss these categories individually.

⁴ Possibly this had to do with time restraints on the speakers. As the water-clock was not stopped, brevity was demanded also in the interrogation. See M.J. Edwards 1999: ad 22.5 and A.R.W. Harrison 1968: 138 n. 4 for further references.

⁵ A similar practice is found in the speeches of (→) Demosthenes.

⁶ Todd 2007: 52. Orators rarely refer to the provenance of laws, but this is an exception. See also Todd 1996: 129–130.

⁷ This distinction of oratorical space resembles that made in drama, see (→) Introduction.

Performative Space

Lysias drafted his speeches with an eye on public performance and thereby presupposed the presence of a *performative* space. In this sense, his oratory resembles tragedy; but whereas playwrights had the liberty to create their own *mise-en-scène* within the theatre of Dionysus, Lysias was bound by the ceremonial settings of the Athenian *eliastic courts* (1, 5, 6, [8], [9], 10–15, 17–19, [20], 21–23, 25–30, 32), the Council of Five Hundred (16, 24, 31), the Areopagus (3, 4, 7), the Ceramicus (2), the festival at Olympia (33) and, perhaps, the Athenian Assembly (34). All these settings were solemn and in some of them the speakers were bound by oaths, whereas others had historical, even mythical, significance which a speaker could employ to add gravity to words that were spoken *in situ*.

Within the performative space, Lysias usually identifies the audience by forms of address (*passim*)⁸ and points at the speaker's opponent(s) by the use of the deictic pronoun *houtos*, at times extended by *deictic -i*.⁹ He sometimes implies the presence of the platform (*bēma*) by asking his witnesses or defendants to 'mount' (*anabainō*) for the purpose of giving testimony or interrogating.¹⁰ In the plea *Against Panleon* reference is made to the water-clock, which should be interrupted when testimony is given (*kai moi epilabe to hudōr*, 23.4, 8, 11, 14, 15). As a response to a special plea (*antigraphē*, 23.10) by the defendant before the polemarch, the speech has a unique juridical status within the corpus and the speaker's time is more confined than in the case of the other pleas which explains his insistence on the interruption of the flow of water.¹¹

In some instances Lysias cleverly employs the performative space for rhetorical purposes. In the plea *Against Theomnestus* (10), Lysias' client prosecutes a certain Theomnestus on a charge of defamation (*kakēgoria*)

⁸ On group address in Athenian oratory, see Dickey 1996: 177–182, Todd 2007: ad 1.1, and SAGN 1: 333–336.

⁹ For an overview, see the *Index Lysiacus* of Holmes 1895. The frequency of deictic *-i* is exceptional in the speech *Against Agoratus* (13.1, 4, 17, 18, 26, 33, 38, 41, 56, 71, 73, 92, 93(2), 95), perhaps on account of the lengthy personal attacks against the defendant. Cf. Blass 1887: 560: 'der Angeklagte ist zu nichtswürdig, um etwas anderes als geringschätzigen kalten Hohn zu verdienen.'

¹⁰ 1.29, 42; 12.24, 47; 13.64; 16.8, 13, 14, 17; 20.29; 22.5, cf. 14.16; 15.2.

¹¹ See Blass 1887: 618 and Gernet and Bizos 1955: 93–96. In (→) Demosthenes, the water-clock is used in *praeteritio*: 'there is not enough water left for me to discuss all the crimes of my opponent.'

for calling him a patricide. In a preliminary arbitration, Theomnestus has apparently defended himself by pointing out that he had not used the forbidden word ‘murderer’ (*androphonos*) but a different formulation, which exempted him from prosecution. In his attack against this line of reasoning, Lysias makes his client highlight Theomnestus’ naivety in believing that he could exonerate himself by a simple play of words.¹² Uniquely, he makes the prosecutor apply a didactic tone in this speech (*boulomai ... auton didaxai*, 10.15)¹³ and thereby grants him authority and seniority, whereas it makes the defendant look young and unskilled. Mentioning the defendant on his *bēma* seems part of this strategy:

... in the hope that even now, on the *daïs* (*bēma*), he may learn a lesson, and may henceforward cease from his vexatious proceedings against us.
(10.15)

The explicit reference to the *bēma*—not mentioned elsewhere in Lysias’ speeches—helps the speaker in humiliating his opponent who is, in full sight of the jury, being taught like a child. Its role within Lysias’ rhetorical strategy emerges at the conclusion of the prosecutor’s ‘lesson’, where he expects Theomnestus to ‘leave the *bēma* in silence’ (*apiōn apo tou bēmatos siōpēi*, 10.20), thereby admitting defeat.

Another speech that employs the *performative space* for rhetorical purposes is the plea *Against Philon* (31). Here, the orator accuses a man who is undergoing scrutiny (*dokimasia*) in order to become a member of the Council of Five Hundred (*bouleutēs*). This procedure was held in the *boulē* itself and this is the place where the speech was delivered. This time, Lysias refers to the *performative space* not to put the accused to shame—as in the above speech *Against Theomnestus*—but to enhance his client’s moral prestige:

But since he [Philon] is audacious, not in one instance only, but in many, and I have taken the oath before entering the Council that my counsel would be for the best advantage of the State, and as the terms of that oath require us to expose any person appointed by lot whom we know to be unsuitable for service on the Council, I shall deliver the accusation against this man Philon.
(31.1–2)

¹² For in-depth discussion of this case, see Hillgruber 1988 and Todd 2007: 625–640.

¹³ See Todd 2007: ad loc. and 636–637 for the other features of this didactic tone in the speech and its implications: ‘Normally the Orators are extremely careful not to sound as if they possess expert legal knowledge, because of the risk that the jury will regard this as patronising. Here however the didactic tone is directed consistently and successfully against the defendant alone’ (636).

In this *captatio benevolentiae*, Lysias draws a connection between the *boulē* where the speech is held and the oath that is related to it. He makes it appear as if his client speaks in the interest of the state, obliged by the setting in which he delivers his speech and not motivated by personal enmity. He also stresses the importance of keeping the *boulē* in the hands of those of impeccable repute and subtly points out to his audience that their status of *bouleutai* obliges them to act according to the oath and to the best advantage of the state as well. Thus he tries to win the audience over and to take distance from Philon, whom he portrays in the subsequent narrative as a ruthless opportunist who supported the Thirty and acted merely in his own interest.

In the epideictic *Epitaphios* the *performative space* plays a more substantial role than in all other extant speeches ascribed to Lysias.¹⁴ It was drafted for those who had fallen in the Corinthian war in which Athens had supported Corinth against Sparta (395–386), with an eye on delivery at the *dēmosion sēma*, a public burial monument on the Ceramicus—Athens' *lieu de mémoire par excellence*—where many similar speeches had been held before. The opening words of the speech illustrate the awareness of this tradition:

If I believed it possible, friends who are attending this burial (*epi tōide tōi taphōi*), to set forth in speech the valour of the men who lie here (*tōn enthade keimenōn*), I should have reproved those who gave me but a few days' notice of having to speak over them. But as all mankind would find all time insufficient for preparing a speech to match their deeds, the city itself therefore, as I think, taking forethought for those who speak here (*tōn enthade legontōn*), makes the appointment at short notice, in the belief that on such terms they will most readily obtain indulgence from their hearers.¹⁵ (2.1)

In these opening sentences, the valour of the fallen warriors and the tradition of speaking on their behalf are immediately linked to the solemn place of worship and remembrance where the speech is delivered.¹⁶

In the course of the *Epitaphios*, this glory is more specifically attached to landmarks that are part of the surrounding urban space, some of which

¹⁴ The authorship of the speech is disputed. For a summary of the most important views on the issue, see Frangeskou 1999: 317 n. 10. She herself believes in its authenticity, as does Todd 2007: 157–164.

¹⁵ A reference to the *performative space* in the opening phrases was topical within the genre of *epitaphioi*, as witness Th. 2.35.1 and D. 60.1.

¹⁶ See Snell 1887: 10–12 for a discussion of the function of the Ceramicus in remembering Athens' past greatness.

can be seen from the Ceramicus. The mythical ancestors are praised for their successful battle against the Amazons (2.4–6), displayed on the west metopes of the Parthenon and on a painting that could be seen in the nearby *Stoa Poikilē*.¹⁷ After the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, the Athenians buried the corpses of the Argives in the sanctuary of Eleusis (2.10), connected to Athens by a sacred road which ran across the Ceramicus and could be seen from the *dēmosion sēma*. Athens is praised for its democracy (2.18–19), of which the most important venue on the Pnyx was within sight.¹⁸ The ‘ancestors of the men who lie here’ (*tōn enthade keimenōn*, 2.20) are evoked in their battles against the Persians, again immortalised in a painting in the *Stoa Poikilē*,¹⁹ while the Parthenon and the statue of Athena on the Acropolis towered above the city as lasting monuments in memory of the Athenian victory over the Persians.²⁰ The *performative* space, the public burial monument on the Ceramicus, is named again in the context of waning Greek influence in the Aegean in the years after Athens’ defeat in the Peloponnesian War (2.60) and the nearby tomb of the Lacedaemonians is pointed out (*toude tou mnēmatos*) in the context of their losses in the democratic counter-revolution of 403 (2.63). Reference is made to the walls that Conon rebuilt (2.63), a stretch of which bordered the Ceramicus, and to the grave of the *xenoi* who supported the counter-revolution of 403 (*tous xenous tous enthade keimenous*, 2.66). The speech ends on a note of praise for those who had just been buried (*hoi de nun thaptomenoi*, 2.67) before shifting to a lengthy consideration of the sorrow and pride of their relatives who attended the speech (2.71–76).

Thus we witness the strategy of the orator, which is designed to heighten the solemnity of his words by references to the immediate physical surroundings of the public burial memorial, the other monuments on the Ceramicus, and the major landmarks of the city. The acknowledgment of this strategy may help us in explaining the reference to Myronides and his Geranea-campaign of 458–457 at 2.48–53,²¹

¹⁷ Pausanias 1.15.2.

¹⁸ For a parallel to this strategy, see Aeschines’ speech *Against Ctesiphon* 3.183–190, where the orator invites the jury to join him on an imaginative (note *tēi dianoiēi*, 186) perambulation around the Agora to study monuments and inscriptions that reflect the democratic spirit by which the Athenian collective performed some of its greatest feats. See Hobden 2007: 495–497.

¹⁹ Pausanias 1.15.3.

²⁰ For the great battles of the Persian Wars as *lieux de mémoire*, see Jung 2006.

²¹ Th. 1.105–106. See Gomme, Andrewes and Dover 1945–1981: ad loc. and Hornblower 1991–2008: ad loc.

which was famous for the fact that it was undertaken by the elderly and the young, as most Athenian adult soldiers were abroad at that time. Scholars have found it difficult to explain why, in a speech to commemorate those who had fallen in alliance with the Corinthians, reference is made to a past battle in which their current allies were massacred by the Athenians.²² The possible presence of a monument nearby, however, may account for the orator's choice of topic. Fourteen marble fragments have been preserved from a pedimental *stēlē* that commemorates the Argives who fell in the battle of Tanagra.²³ This battle was fought against the Boeotians in the same year as the Geranea-campaign and under the same general Myronides. Although Lysias does not refer to this later expedition, there seems to be some evidence for a spatial context in the conjunction of which Myronides, one of Athens' famous generals,²⁴ could be evoked. Thus the *Epitaphios* was written by someone who had the topography of the place of delivery in mind and who knew what the rhetorical effects would be when he referred to entities within it.

Distanced Space

The spatial references in Lysias' speeches that lie beyond the perimeter of the ceremonial setting can be divided into specific toponyms: the Areopagus and less specific spatial concepts such as the 'walls' or the 'sea'. Both can be used to attain clarity and brevity in a narrative, as brief spatial references often suffice in the case of information that is already known.²⁵ By way of the 'Piraeus'-party and the 'city (*astu*)'-party Lysias refers to democrats and oligarchs respectively during the democratic counter-

²² Blass 1887: 440: 'doch muss es befremden, sie gerade hier so ausführlich beschrieben zu sehen, in einer Lobrede auf die, welche denselben Korinthiern Hülfe gebracht'. Walz 1936: 18–19 suggests that the author of the *Epitaphios* wanted to highlight the uncompromising nature of Athenian virtue, willing to fight on behalf of the party that had a just cause, whatever its previous alliances. The uncertainty remains, however, as witness Thomas 1989: 227–229 and Todd 2007: ad 2.52 ('I have no good explanation for the mention of Myronides').

²³ Pausanias refers to their burial in the Ceramicus (1.29.8). See for a detailed discussion of the inscription Meiggs-Lewis [1969] 1988: 35 and for the reconstruction of the *stēlē* Bradeen 1974: 7–9.

²⁴ Cf. the overview of passages from comedy that confirm Myronides' fame in Gomme, Andrewes and Dover 1945–1981: ad 1.105.4.

²⁵ Compare terms like 'Kyoto-targets' or 'Oslo-agreements' which make one think immediately of climate-change and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

revolution of 403.²⁶ Space here has a symbolic function. The toponyms were ideologically rather than topographically loaded, since an adherent to the Piraeus-party could have lived in the city (*astu*):

I shall prove that their words are nothing but lies, and that on my part I behaved as the best citizen in the Piraeus would have done, if he had remained in the city (*astu*).

(*Defence Against a Charge of Subverting the Democracy* 25.2)

A second aspect of Lysias' spatial referencing that needs to be mentioned here is his avoidance of toponyms to which painful memories were attached. Given Lysias' pro-democratic views and his role as a *logographos* in a democratic system he is careful not to mention too explicitly the defeats in the previous century that were caused by excesses of democratic decision-making. Thus, unlike the contemporary historian (→) Xenophon, he does not indicate the defeat of the Athenian navy at Aegospotami in 405 BCE by an explicit spatial reference²⁷ but instead chooses shrouded terms such as '(greatest) disaster' (*sumphora (megistē)*, 2.58; 6.46), 'the sea-battle and the disaster for the city' (*hē naumakhia kai hē sumphora tēi polei*, 12.43), 'the last sea-battle' (*hē teleutaia nau-makhia*, 18.4; 21.9), 'the loss of the ships' (*apolomenōn tōn neōn*, 30.10, cf. 13.5). or just 'the sea-battle' (*hē naumakhia*, 14.39).²⁸ Lysias takes the same approach in the case of the Sicilian Expedition which he makes his client recall in his speech *On the Confiscation of the Property of Nicias' Brother*:

... but in all that he [Nicias] was compelled to do, not of his own wish but against his will, he bore no slight part of the injuries himself, while the responsibility for the disaster (*tēs sumphoras*) ought in fairness to lie with those who persuaded you, ...²⁹ (18.2)

By this shrouded spatial referencing, Lysias tries to dissociate the Athenian democratic juries and councils that he seeks to persuade from their involvement in the more painful episodes of recent history, a rhetorical

²⁶ Piraeus: 2.61; 13.23; 19.19; city: 25.21, 29; city and Piraeus: 13.90; 25.2, 9, 28; 26.16–17; 29.12; 31.8; 32.8; 34.2.

²⁷ In 16.4 and 19.16 the wider environment of the Hellespont is mentioned as location, but the name Aegospotami itself is not used.

²⁸ A similar strategy in the *Epitaphios* has been recognised by Frangeskou 1999: 325: 'Lysias is careful not to remind Athenians of specific defeats and prefers instead to ignore them, or talk of them collectively as misfortunes.'

²⁹ In the speech *For Polystratus* (20), which is probably not by Lysias, we find a similar shrouded reference to the Spartan occupation of Decelea, a place that is not indicated explicitly but for its 'fortress' (*to teikhos*, 20.28).

ploy that comes to the surface again in the narrative of the reign of the Thirty in his speech *Against Philon*:

For this man, gentlemen of the Council, in the midst of the city's disaster (*sumphora*), which I only touch upon so far as I am forced to do so, ...
(31.8)

When the Thirty and their allies are involved, however, Lysias takes the opposite strategy in that he confronts his audience with references that are as explicit as possible. An example is found in the speech *Against Agoratus*, in which Lysias recounts how the Thirty subverted the democratic procedures in the Council when they condemned a group of opponents to death. Although his audience knows all about the Council, he portrays this setting in detail:

And the trial was conducted in a manner that you yourselves well know: the Thirty were seated on the benches (*bathrōn*) which are now the seats of the presiding magistrates; two tables (*trapezai*) were set before the Thirty, and the vote had to be deposited, not in urns (*kadiskous*), but openly on these tables ...
(13.36–37)

In a similar explicit way he refers to the promise of the Thirty to 'dismantle (*perielein*) the walls of Piraeus' (12.70) or 'raze' (*diaskapsai*) them to the ground (13.14, 34) together with the surrender of the remaining triremes and the destruction of the arsenals (13.46). He describes how the oligarchs, with Spartan commanders at their side, forced the Assembly to adopt a new constitution (12.72), and reminds the jury of the Spartans who were stationed on the Acropolis (12.94) and in the Academy (18.10, 22).³⁰

A final aspect of Lysias' spatial referencing is his use of imagery that evokes a setting. In the speech *Against the Corndealeters*, for instance, which the prosecutor delivers to stimulate action against price-fixing cartels of metics, he evokes the image of a city under siege (*poliorkoumetha*, 22.15) by a group of conspirators. In the *Epitaphios* this kind of imagery is found also for instance when Lysias describes the hubris of Xerxes:

... he made him a road across the sea, and forced a passage for ships through the land, by spanning the Hellespont and trenching Athos.³¹
(2.29)

³⁰ Not only the Thirty suffer from this exposure of their crimes. In his plea *Against Alcibiades*, Lysias blackens the reputation of the defendant by referring explicitly to the alleged misdeeds of his father, his advice to the Spartans to occupy Decelea (14.30; 35) and his role in the scandal of the Hermae and the mock-performance of the mysteries (14.42).

³¹ Compare for these topoi A. Pers. 745–750.

Thus we can detect within Lysias' vast array of spatial references a tendency to choose spatial anchor-points that are familiar to his audience so that he can use them, in a metonymical way, to refer to information that was well known. In adapting his choice of words, he shows himself sensitive to his clients, to his audience, and to the nature of the case. A similar sensitivity will be revealed in Lysias' instances of spatial description which is the last category to be discussed.

The Distribution of Space

Within the *Corpus Lysiicum*, no examples are found of extended spatial description like Homer's Shield of Achilles or Herodotus' description of Babylon. On the contrary, Lysias aimed at conciseness and selectivity in his spatial descriptions and used them in general for two purposes; either to enlighten his argumentation or to create an image of the character of the speaker or his opponent (*ethopoia*).

In general, spatial descriptions occur in the *Corpus Lysiicum* when they support the case. This happens when the *locus delicti* is at stake, which is exemplified by the speech *On the Olive-stump* delivered by a defendant who is charged for removing a sacred stump of an olive tree from his land. After producing witnesses saying that there were no olive-stumps on his plot of land (7.9–11, the *pistis atekhnos*), Lysias' client attacks the prosecutor by making his accusation look implausible in the light of his own character and the location of his land (7.12–29, the *pistis entekhnos*). Apparently, the prosecutor had portrayed the uprooting of the olive-stump in his narrative in detail:

for he [the prosecutor] says I stood by while my domestics hewed down the stems and the wagoner loaded up the wood and took it right away.
(7.19)

To counter the prosecutor's claim, the defendant inserts a similar detailed spatial description at the end of his plea where he leads his audience into a *reductio ad absurdum*, claiming that his plot of land was visible from every direction which made it impossible to secretly uproot the stump:

And how—except in all the world I were my own most malignant enemy—could I have attempted, with you supervising as you do, to clear away the sacred olive from this plot; in which there is not a single tree, but there was, as he says, a stump of one olive; where a road skirts the plot all round, and neighbours live about it on both sides, and it is unfenced and open to view from every point (*pantakhothen*)?
(7.28)

The fact that Lysias postpones the description of the *locus delicti* until the end of the argumentation shows its importance within his defensive strategy. The prosecutor has, if we believe the defendant (7.20–22), failed to produce witnesses who saw him uprooting the stump whereas this act could not have gone unnoticed given the location of his land.

A second case in which the *locus delicti* is disputed is the speech *Against Simon*, delivered by a client who is defending himself before the Areopagus court against a charge of wounding with intent to kill. The case was triggered by a row that had erupted out of erotic rivalry between the client and Simon on behalf of a certain Theodotus, a youngster from Plataea. As in the speech *On the Olive-stump*, Lysias argues in the strongest terms against the plausibility of the prosecutor's narrative whilst portraying his behaviour in the worst possible terms. Apparently, Simon had claimed that the defendant attacked and severely wounded him 'at the very doorstep of his house' (*epi tais hautou thurais*, 3.27), but Lysias, in a compelling narrative, gives an entirely different version of the course of events. According to the defendant, there were no fewer than three incidents of fighting, each of them taking place at a different location. In the first incident, Simon burst into the defendant's property, rushed into the women's quarters and when he did not find his rival at home, worked out where he was dining, called him out and beat him up (3.6–8). Thus the defendant decided to leave the city and take Theodotus with him (3.9–10). On his return, however, a second incident took place, when he had Theodotus lodged at the house of his friend Lysimachus who happened to live near the house that Simon had rented (3.11). The latter hatched a plot with his friends to assault the defendant and kidnap Theodotus when they came out of Lysimachus' house. However, the attempt failed as the youngster managed to get free and the defendant ran away in a different direction (3.12–14). Simon and his friends, however, pursued Theodotus until they caught him in the shop of the fuller Molon and, after beating up the fuller, they dragged Theodotus off (3.15–16). When the defendant met with them near the house of a man called Lampon, the third, most violent fighting incident developed in which all involved were injured (3.17–18). Of the last two incidents the defendant produces witnesses.

The concrete spatial references in this narrative, apart from those to the property-holders Molon and Lampon, are sparse, and the narrator moves rapidly from the one incident to the next. No exact location is given of where the first fight took place (3.6–8) and the defendant remains tacit about his destination when he decides to stay abroad

(3.9–10). Equally, the location of the property of Lysimachus and the house that Simon rented are left unspecified. We only gather that Simon's watchmen were able to spot Lysimachus' house from the roof (3.11). After the second incident, Theodotus and the defendant ran off in different directions but no explanation is given as to how they came to meet one another again near Lampon's place (3.17). All we are told, in the refutation, is that Simon and his friends pursued Theodotus for 'more than four stades from his house with no sign of injury' (3.27), which makes his claim that he was beaten up badly 'at the very doorstep of his house' unjustified.

One can only speculate about the reasons behind this sparseness of concrete spatial anchor-points. The locations that were mentioned were possibly familiar to the Athenians themselves so that there was no need to explain where they were.³² Alternatively, they may have been mentioned at an earlier stage of the lawsuit or in a preliminary investigation. It could also be, however, that Lysias deliberately *chose* to give an impressionistic account of Athenian topography, which enabled him to suppress spatial details that could weaken the defendant's argumentation.³³ Whatever the answer, Lysias aims at convincing his audience by a narrative with rapidly shifting settings, preferring emotive details like Simon's intrusion into the women's quarters at his house (3.6–7, 23, 29) and the shouts and screams of Theodotus (3.15) over concrete spatial referencing.

The Characterizing Function of Space

Lysias was famous for his *ethopoia* and the characterizing function of space therefore is of paramount importance in his work. A good instance is found in the speech *Against Eratosthenes*, Lysias' most personal plea about the crimes that were committed against his family by the Thirty. Eratosthenes was one of this group who sought to regain his full citizenship after the democratic counter-revolution on the basis of his moderate behaviour at the time of the Thirty. Lysias wanted to discredit him, however, as he held him responsible for the killing of his brother Polemarchus in the context of a raid on his family's property. The

³² Thus Carey 1989: ad 3.16; 3.17.

³³ Todd 2007: 277: 'how far ... was Lysias constructing a topography for his audience, and how far was he manipulating one which was already familiar for them?', with reference to Feraboli 1980.

narrative here includes spatial detail: Lysias reports how Peison, Eratosthenes' colleague, went into his bedroom (*eis to dōmation*, 12.10) to open his treasury and how his goods were carried off. At the door of his house (*pros autais tais thurais*, 12.12) they part ways, with Peison running to the house of Lysias' brother Polemarchus while his allies lead Lysias to the property of Damnippus (12.12), where they entrust him to another member of the group, Theognis. As Lysias knows that Damnippus' house has doors at the front and the back (*amphithuros*, 12.15), he decides to run away. Theognis and his friends stand guard at the front door (*epi tēi auleiōi thurai*, 12.16) so that Lysias passes through two doors within the property (dividing the front court from the inner court and the inner court from the garden) and escapes through the back door (12.16). He seeks refuge in the house of Archeneus from whom he gathers that Polemarchus has been arrested by Eratosthenes 'in the street' (*en tēi hodōi*, 12.16).

The spatial details in this narrative are used for the purpose of *ethopoia* and illustrate the brutality of the Thirty, who in their looting had no scruples about entering private rooms. In a similar way, Lysias later tells how another member of the group, Melobius, took golden earrings from the ears of Polemarchus' wife (12.19). However, as a side-effect these spatial details raise suspense and give an authentic flavour to his narrative. In doing so, they pave the way for the most important piece of spatial evidence in the speech, Eratosthenes' arrest of Polemarchus 'in the street' (12.16).³⁴ This detail turns out to be significant in the argumentation of the speech where Lysias uses it to discredit Eratosthenes' defence that he opposed the raiding activities in the Council and only acted under strict orders:

Besides, it was not in his [Polemarchus'] house, but in the street (*en tēi hodōi*), where he [Eratosthenes] was free to leave both him and the decrees of the Thirty intact, that he apprehended him and took him off to prison. (12.30)

The fact that Eratosthenes arrested Polemarchus 'in the street', where he could easily let go of him without defying the orders of the Thirty, is used as evidence that he cooperated freely with the Thirty and had no scruples about arresting an innocent victim and sending him to death. Inner and outer space here, additionally, acquire symbolic significance.

³⁴ Cf. Edwards and Usher 1985: ad loc.: 'The defendant is mentioned for the first time, together with the most damning piece of evidence against him.'

The most extensive use of spatial detail in a narrative is found in the speech *On the Killing of Eratosthenes*. Here, the narrator describes the events and encounters occurring in his house and outside, for instance on the Agora. Lysias again presents spatial details with an eye on *ethopoia*; they also help him in heightening the credibility of a narrative in a case in which the *locus delicti* is an issue, as appears at the end of the narrative section:

Thus it was, gentlemen, that this man [Eratosthenes] met the fate which the laws prescribe for those who do such things. He was not snatched in from the road, nor had he taken refuge at the hearth, as these men claim. How could he have done so? It was inside the bedroom (*en tōi dōmatiōi*) that he was struck, and he immediately fell down, and I bound his hands; moreover, there were so many men in the house that he could never have escaped; and he did not have a knife or a club or any other weapon with which to repel those who were coming at him. (1.27, tr. Todd)

In the preceding narrative Euphiletus gradually builds up the picture of the *locus delicti*, describing it as a two-storey building (*oikidion ... diploun*, 1.9) with men's and women's quarters of similar size on both floors. The house has a front door, a courtyard and a door that gives access to the rooms on the ground floor (1.17) and a staircase—possibly outside the house—that gives access to the top floor (1.9). When his wife has given birth to a child that she herself breastfeeds, he encourages her to live downstairs for practical reasons and he himself moves into a room on the top floor (1.22) where the couple has supper (1.11–13) and Euphiletus receives his friends (1.22). Apparently, the door to this floor can be locked (1.13) so that his wife can freely receive her lover in the rooms downstairs. By the detailed description of the spatial surroundings in which Eratosthenes' adultery took place, Lysias characterizes his client on the one hand as a man of modest means with an honest, naive character and on the other hand authenticates his version of the course of events in which Euphiletus stages himself, in killing the adulterer *in situ*, as a rightful executor of the Athenian laws.

Conclusion

The overview of the different ways in which Lysias employs spatial referencing in his oratory highlights his versatility as a narrator and shows that Dionysius' praise of his clarity (*saphēneia*) and brevity (*suntomia*) was justified. Lysias knows how to adapt every operative spatial realm to his aims of persuasion. He uses the performative space of the law courts,

the council, the Ceramicus and the surrounding city to characterize his speaker or opponent or to heighten the solemnity of his words, as his clever selection of examples in the *Epitaphios* indicates, most of which can be linked to a monument in the nearby surroundings. In presenting distanced space, he shows himself to be aware of his democratic audience, as he chooses shrouded terms to refer to unpleasant memories of battles, but makes an exception for the tyranny of the Thirty, which had made a huge impact upon his personal life and whose crimes he evokes through explicit spatial references. Lysias' spatial references are generally brief but neatly tailored to his argumentative or characterizing aims (*ethopoia*). In sum, space in Lysias is a matter of a few but well-chosen and effective words.