

Link to abstract: <https://bit.ly/3fUuYYO>

**“While she was drunk, many others had sex with her.”
Reexamining Violence in Dem. 19.196-98 and [Dem.] 59.33-35**

1. Demosthenes’s *On the False Embassy* (Dem. 19.196-98)¹

[196] ἐξετάσωμεν δὴ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Σατύρου τοῦτο συμπόσιον τὸ τούτων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γενόμενον, καὶ θεάσασθ’ ὡς παραπλήσιον τούτῳ καὶ ὅμοιον. κληθέντες γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς Ξενόφρονα τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φαιδίμου, τοῦ τῶν τριάκοντα, ὄχοντο: ἐγὼ δ’ οὐκ ἐπορεύθην. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἦκον εἰς τὸ πίνειν, εἰσάγει τιν’ Ὀλυνθίαν γυναῖκα, εὐπρεπῆ μὲν, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ σώφρονα, ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐδήλωσεν.

[196] Now let’s compare with this symposium of Satyros’s another **symposium which these men had in Macedonia**, and consider if it resembles this one and is like it. When they were invited to the **house of Xenophon**, the son of Phaidimos who was one of the Thirty, they went, but I didn’t go. After **they got to drinking, he brought in an Olynthian woman**; she was pretty, but a free and respectable lady, as the event showed.

[197] ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως πίνειν ἡσυχῇ καὶ τρῶγειν ἠνάγκαζον οὗτοί μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς διηγεῖτ’ Ἰατροκλῆς ἐμοὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ: ὡς δὲ προῆει τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διεθερμαίνοντο, κατακλίνεσθαι καὶ τι καὶ ἄδειν ἐκέλευον. ἀδημονούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐτ’ ἐθελούσης οὐτ’ ἐπισταμένης, ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμ’ ἔφασαν οὕτως καὶ ὁ Φρύνων καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλειτηρίων Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν τρυφᾶν: καὶ ‘κάλει παῖδα,’ καὶ ‘ἰμᾶντά τις φερέτω.’ ἦκεν οἰκέτης ἔχων ῥυτίηρα, καὶ πεπωκότων, οἶμαι, καὶ μικρῶν ὄντων τῶν παροξυνόντων, εἰπούσης τι καὶ δακρυσάσης ἐκείνης περιρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ὁ οἰκέτης ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλάς.

[197] **At first, apparently, they merely compelled her simply to drink and eat**, as Iatrokles described it to me the next day; but when the party was hotting up, they ordered her **to recline, and also to sing something**. The woman **became upset; she didn’t want to do it or know how to**. Then Aeschines and Phrynon called it a **piece of insolence, and intolerable, that a prisoner, one of the damned Olynthian captives**, should be indulged: ‘Call a boy!’, ‘Someone get a whip!’ A male slave brought a strap; **they’d been drinking**, I suppose, and small things were enough to provoke them, and **when she said something and began to cry, the male slave tore off her dress and repeatedly flogged her on the back**.

[198] ἔξω δ’ αὐτῆς οὕς’ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἡ γυνή, ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τῷ Ἰατροκλεῖ, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέπει. καὶ εἰ μὴ ‘κεῖνος ἀφείλετο, ἀπόλετ’ ἂν παροινομένη: καὶ γὰρ ἡ παροιμία τοῦ καθάρματος τουτουὶ δεινὴ. καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λόγος ἦν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις, καὶ Διόφαντος ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλεν ἃ νῦν μαρτυρεῖν αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσω, καὶ κατὰ Θετταλίαν πολὺς λόγος καὶ πανταχοῦ.

[198] **The lady was beside herself with the bad treatment. She jumped up and prostrated herself before Iatrokles, upsetting the table**. If he hadn’t rescued her, the **drunken outrage** would have killed her; the **drunken misbehavior** of this scum is terrible. This woman was discussed even in Arkadia at a meeting of the Ten Thousand; Diophantos made a report to you, which I shall now compel him to confirm as a witness; and there was a lot of talk throughout Thessaly and everywhere.

¹ Translation adapted from MacDowell (2000).

2. Apollodoros's *Against Neaira* ([Dem.] 59.33-35)²

[33] Ἀφικόμενος τοίνυν δεῦρο ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀσελγῶς καὶ προπετῶς ἐχρήτο αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἔχων αὐτὴν πανταχοῖ ἐπορεύετο ὅπου πίνοι, ἐκώμαζέ τ' ἀεὶ μετ' αὐτῆς, συνῆν τ' ἐμφανῶς ὅποτε βουλευθεῖη πανταχοῦ, φιλοτιμίαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὀρῶντας ποιούμενος. καὶ ὡς ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔχων ἦλθεν αὐτὴν καὶ ὡς Χαβρίαν τὸν Αἰζωνέα, ὅτε ἐνίκα ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου ἄρχοντος τὰ Πύθια τῷ τεθρίππῳ ὃ ἐπρίατο παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν τῶν Μίτυος τοῦ Ἀργείου, καὶ ἦκων ἐκ Δελφῶν εἰστία τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπὶ Κωλιάδι. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ συνεγίνοντο αὐτῇ μεθούση καθεύδοντος τοῦ Φρυνίωνος, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι οἱ Χαβρίου τράπεζαν παραθέμενοι. [34] καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς ὀρῶντας ὑμῖν καὶ παρόντας μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. καὶ μοι κάλει Χιονίδην Ξυπεταιόνα καὶ Εὐθετίωνα Κυδαθηναῖα. [Μαρτυρία]

[33] When he [Phrynion] came here [to Athens] with her [Neaira], **he treated her with wanton insolence, taking her with him everywhere to dinner, wherever he went drinking. He was carousing with her all the time, and openly having sex with her everywhere whenever he wanted,** making a show of his privilege in front of an audience. Amongst the many others whose houses he took her to for carousing was **the house of Chabrias of Aixone**, when he won the Pythian victory in the archonship of Sokratides with the four-horse chariot which he had bought from the sons of Mityes the Argive, and on his return from Delphi was celebrating with a victory-banquet at Colias. **There many others had intercourse with her, while she was drunk and Phrynion was asleep, including the slaves who had served Chabrias's meal.** [34] To prove that I am telling the truth I will present witnesses for you who were present and saw it. Call for me Chionides of Xypete and Euthetion of Kydathenaion. [Testimony]

[35] Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀσελγῶς προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Φρυνίωνος καὶ οὐχ ὡς ᾔετο ἠγαπᾶτο, οὐδ' ὑπηρέτει αὐτῇ ἃ ἐβούλετο, **συσκευασαμένη αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας** καὶ ὅσα ἦν αὐτῇ ὑπ' ἐκείνου περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεσκευασμένα ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία, καὶ θεραπαίνας δύο, Θρατταν καὶ Κοκκαλίην, **ἀποδιδράσκει εἰς Μέγαρα.** ἦν δὲ ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ᾧ Ἀστεῖος μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Ἀθήνησιν, ὁ καιρὸς δ' ἐν ᾧ ἐπολεμεῖθ' ὑμεῖς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον.

[35] **As she was being insolently abused by Phrynion and not loved as she expected,** and he did not serve her desires, **she gathered together some of his household belongings** and all the clothes and jewellery that he had bought for her, and two slave-girls, Thratta and Kokkaline, and **escaped to Megara.** This was the time when Asteios was archon in Athens, and the moment when you were fighting the second war against the Spartans.

² Translation adapted from Kapparis (1999).

Select Bibliography

- Carey, Christopher. 1992. *Apollodoros Against Neaira [Demosthenes 59]*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Gaca, K.L. Forthcoming. "Controlling Female Slave Sexuality and Men's War-Driven Sexual Desires." In *Slavery and Sexuality in Classical Antiquity*, edited by D. Kamen and C.W. Marshall. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Glazebrook, A. 2005. "The Making of a Prostitute: Apollodoros's Portrait of Neaira." *Arethusa* 38.2: 161–87.
- . Forthcoming. "Sexuality and Female Agency in Demosthenes 19.196–8." In *Slavery and Sexuality in Classical Antiquity*, edited by D. Kamen and C.W. Marshall. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hobden, F. 2009. "Symposion and the Rhetorics of Commensality in Demosthenes 19, *On the False Embassy*." In *Rollenbilder in der athenischen Demokratie: Medien, Gruppen, Räume im politischen und sozialen System*, edited by M. Haake, C. Mann, R. von den Hoff. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2013. *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thoughts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunter, V. 1994. *Policing Athens: Social Control in the Attic Lawsuits 420–320 B.C.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kapparis, K.A. 1999. *Apollodoros: Against Neaira [D. 59]*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- MacDowell, D.M. 2000. *Demosthenes: On the False Embassy (Oration 19)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murray, O. 2016. "Violence at the Symposium." In *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by W. Reiss and G.G. Fagan, 195–206. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Omitowoju, R. 1997. "Regulating Rape: Soap Operas and Self Interest in the Athenian Courts." In *Rape in Antiquity: Sexual Violence in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, edited by S. Deacy and K. Pierce, 1–24. London: Duckworth.
- . 2002. *Rape and the Politics of Consent in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2016. "The Crime That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Violence Against Women in the Athenian Courts." In *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by W. Riess and G.G. Fagan, 113–35. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Roisman, J. 2005. *The Rhetoric of Manhood: Masculinity in the Attic Orators*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zelnick-Abramovitz, R. 2005. *Not Wholly Free. The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World*. Leiden: Brill.