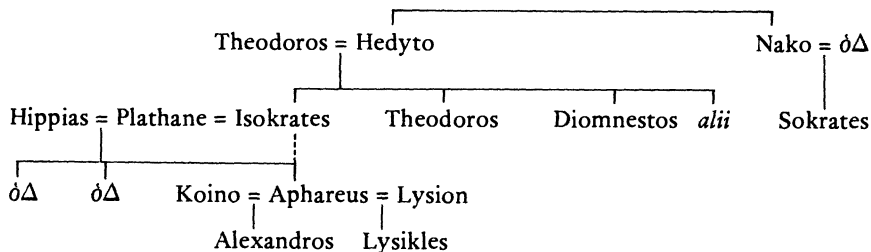


SOME EMENDATIONS TO THE FAMILY TREE OF ISOKRATES

Two standard works of reference on Attic prosopography, J. Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* and J. K. Davies's *Athenian Propertied Families*,¹ give family trees of Isokrates, part of which may be shown as follows:



There is no hint in either work that any of the information contained in this reconstruction of family relationships might be open to serious question. It is the purpose of this note to suggest that this is none the less the case.

The problem concerns the supposed wives and children of Isokrates' adoptive son Aphareus. The information presented on this subject depends on two passages of the pseudo-Plutarchan *Vitae Decem Oratorum*. The first (838B/C) is a list of members of the family buried in Kynosarges, which mentions Isokrates' grandsons (i.e. the children of Aphareus) but, in the texts of *Vitae Decem Oratorum* in modern editions, does not name this. This gap is filled by some modern versions of the second passage (839D) which call them Alexandros and Sosiles or Lysikles.² Both passages are, however, problematic and perhaps open to different interpretation.

A. The chief manuscripts³ offer the following for the relevant portion of 838B/C:

ὁ υἱὸς τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μητὴρ
αὐτοῦ ταύτης τε ἀδελφὴ τηθὺς τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἀνακῶ καὶ
ὁ ποιητὸς υἱὸς Ἀφάρειος καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ Σωκράτης

¹ Berlin, 1901 and Oxford, 1971 respectively.

² The second name is correct. See below, pp. 301 ff.

³ Viz: α = Cod. Ambros. 839 (alias C 126 inf.); A = Cod. Paris. 1671; E = Cod. Paris. 1672; γ = Cod. Vat. Gr. 139. On the MS tradition see C. G. Lowe, *The MS Tradition of Pseudo-Plutarch's Vitae Decem Oratorum* (= University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature IX, 4, Urbana, 1927). The MS readings in the text derive from my own examination of photographs of αΑΕγ, obtained with financial assistance from the Univ. of Liverpool Research Fund, for which I am most grateful. (I have corrected accentuation where neces-

sary). It will be noticed that in both the passages I discuss the apparatus criticus in the Teubner edition of J. Mau (*Plutarchi Moralia* V.2, 1 (Leipzig, 1971)) gives a false impression of the paradoxis. (a) at 838 C (line 6) Mau prints Ἀνακοῦς υἱὸς without noting that this reading is only in E; (b) at 839D (line 4) he allows the reader to assume that Σωσικλέα is in all MSS, whereas it is in fact in none. A cursory glance at other parts of the *Vitae Decem Oratorum* suggests that these are not the only occasions on which the Teubner apparatus is deficient. However, a full investigation of the matter would be inappropriate here. (Unfortunately, no full-length review of the volume seems to have appeared).

μητρός Ἴσοκράτους ἀδελφῆς ἀνακούσιος ὧν ὁ τε ἀδελφός
αὐτῷ ὁμώνυμος τοῦ πατρός Θεόδωρος καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ
τοῦ ποιηθέντος αὐτῷ παιδός Ἀφαρέως Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ ὁ
τούτου πατήρ Θεόδωρος ἥ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη μητὴρ
δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀφαρέως

5

2 τηθίς suprascr. in A 4 ἀνακούσιος aAγ, Ἀνακοῦς υἱός E 5 αὐτῷ aE, αὐτῷ Aγ
6 αὐτῷ aEγ αὐτῷ A post Ἀφαρεὺς hab. E spatium circa viii litt.

Nobody would claim that this is a very elegant sentence, but its meaning can by and large be divined and found to make sense.⁴ The exception is the clause about the grandsons (καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ . . . Θεόδωρος). (i) As it stands it speaks of the grandsons of Aphareus, Isokrates' adoptive son. That has been generally and rightly thought unlikely and Wyttenbach's υἱοὶ <αὐτοῦ> is usually printed.⁵ (ii) This still seems to leave missing some word or phrase to express the grandsons' relation to Aphareus (i.e. something to govern the genitive τοῦ ποιηθέντος κτλ.).⁶ Fowler and Matthieu/Brémond give the required sense in their translations ('the sons of . . .', 'enfants de . . .') and the latter actually print τοῦ ποιηθέντος αὐτῷ παῖδες Ἀφαρέως; since, however, there is no indication in the apparatus that this is an intentional correction, one suspects that it is merely a misprint of the MSS παιδός. In view of τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀφαρέως (sc. παιδός vel υἱοῦ) just below, τοῦ ποιηθέντος (sc. παιδός) παῖδες Ἀφαρέως might be an acceptable reading. Alternatively, οἱ υἱοὶ <αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ vel παῖδες> τοῦ ποιηθέντος . . . Ἀφαρέως or . . . παιδός Ἀφαρέως <παῖδες vel υἱοὶ ὄντες>⁷ might fit the bill. In any event the sense is clear enough. (iii) But what are we to make of Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ ὁ τούτου πατήρ Θεόδωρος? Aphareus and Isokrates' father Theodoros have already appeared earlier in the list, so they are evidently out of place here. The difficulty has been appreciated before,⁸ and two solutions found: (a) the deletion of Ἀφαρεὺς . . . Θεόδωρος;⁹ (b) the placing of a full stop after Ἀφαρέως and a lacuna after Ἀφαρεὺς.¹⁰ The latter may seem to gain some support from the state of the text at this point in E (see apparatus above), but it is not very satisfactory, since there is no obvious reason why a sentence about Aphareus and Theodoros, father of Isokrates, should intervene at this stage, with the list of the occupants of the Kynosarges graveyard still incomplete.¹¹ (a) is therefore the *better* solution. But it is perhaps a little over-drastring. It is only the words ὁ τούτου πατήρ that cause trouble, and they are in themselves objectionable for two reasons. First, if Theodoros is supposed to be Isokrates' father¹² why

⁴ With the help of Reiske's αὐτὸς for ὁ υἱός in 1 and Wolf's αὐτοῦ for αὐτῷ/αὐτῷ in 5. The mother's name should probably be Nako (cf. codd. at 839D, PA 10518). 'Anako' does not occur elsewhere.

⁵ Thus D. Wyttenbach, *Plutarchi . . . Moralia V* (Oxford, 1797), G.N. Bernardakis, *Plutarchi Moralia V* (Leipzig, 1893), H.N. Fowler, *Plutarch's Moralia X* (London/Harvard, 1936), G. Matthieu/E. Brémond, *Isocrate: Discours I*² (Paris, 1956), pp. xxvii–xxxii; Mau, op. cit. (n. 3).

⁶ Fowler and Mau however print the MS text without comment.

⁷ Cf. ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ . . . Νακοῦς υἱός

ὧν just above.

⁸ Fowler, however, prints the MS text, and translates it, without noticing any difficulty.

⁹ Thus e.g. Wyttenbach, Dübner, *Plutarchi Scripta Moralia . . .* (Paris, 1841), Westermann, *BIOGRAPHOI: Vitarum scriptores Graeci Minores* (Brunswick, 1845), Mau.

¹⁰ Thus e.g. Bernardakis, Matthieu/Brémond.

¹¹ ἥ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη . . . Ἀφαρέως surely belongs to that list.

¹² As the collocation ὁ τούτου πατήρ Θεόδωρος ἥ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη suggests,

τούτου and not αὐτοῦ as elsewhere in the list? Secondly, at first sight 'Ἀφареὺς καὶ ὁ τούτου πατήρ might mean 'Aphareus and his (sc. Aphareus') father Theodoros'. But Aphareus' father was Hippias¹³ and anyway had very little clear right to be buried in Isokrates' family graveyard.¹⁴ The simple deletion of ὁ τούτου πατήρ produces a perfectly sensible text, with Aphareus and Theodoros as the names of Aphareus' children.¹⁵ If at least one of the children was born after Aphareus' adoption by Isokrates,¹⁶ it would be quite reasonable that he might be named after Isokrates' father.

It appears therefore that Aphareus' children may have been, not Alexandros and Lysikles/Sosikles, but Aphareus and Theodoros, and, incidentally, that there is no reason to suppose that Aphareus was married twice and that his children were half-brothers.

B. But if this is so, what is to be made of *Vitae Decem Oratorum* 839D, the passage assumed by Kirchner and Davies to show that Aphareus' children were Alexandros and Lysikles? The crucial sentence is:

ἔσχε δὲ υἱοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐκ Κωωῶς οὐσικλέα
 δὲ ἐκ Λυσίου. οὗς
 κωωῶς α κωωοῦς γ κωω[.]] A om. in lac. E

In the first place there is an internal corruption. 'Alexandros' for one of the children and 'Lysias' or 'Lysion' for one of the parents are clear enough, but the other two names are controversial. Various readings have been proposed: Κοῖνου Σωσικλέα (Fowler);¹⁷ Κόννου Σωσικλέα (Mau, Keil);¹⁸ Κωωοῦς Σωσικλέα (Bernardakis, Matthieu/Brémond); Κωωοῦς Λυσικλέα (Kirchner, Davies). There is more at issue here than the mere spelling of names. The different texts offer a fundamental choice between (a) two male children (Alexandros and Lysikles/Sosikles) with the names of their *mothers* (Koino, Lysion) and the unnamed *father* as subject of ἔσχε, and (b) the same two children with the names of their *fathers* (Koinos/Konnos, Lysias) and the unnamed *mother* as subject of ἔσχε. The interpretation adopted by Kirchner and Davies is of type (a) with the unnamed father identified as Aphareus.

However, I have little doubt that (b) is the preferable type of solution. This is not so much a matter of the corruption presupposed by (b) being palaeographically easier (there is in fact very little in it), as one of context. Ἔσχε has no expressed subject. Alternative (a), as interpreted by Kirchner and Davies,

since it is of Isokrates that it is established that his father was Theodoros and his wife Plathane.

¹³ Ps.-Plut. 838A, 839B; Harpocr. s.v. Ἀφареὺς; Zosimos, *Vit. Isocr.* 253 f. (in Westermann, op. cit. (n. 9)).

¹⁴ These objections apply also to B. Snell's solution (in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I (Göttingen, 1971), 73T2), the deletion of just Ἀφареὺς.

¹⁵ Notice that in the case of nearly all the other people in the list names as well as relationship to Isokrates are given. The exception is Isokrates' mother; she, how-

ever, unlike the grandsons on the Kirchner/Davies hypothesis, is not named anywhere in the *Vita*. Ofenloch, however, proposed μητὴρ Ἡδυῶς (cf. PA 6398) for μητὴρ αὐτοῦ in 838B, which would give names to all the individuals in the Kynosarges list.

¹⁶ The meagre information bearing on the date of the adoption and the birth of the children in Ps.-Plut. 838A, *Isoc. Epist.* 8.1 does not exclude this possibility.

¹⁷ Thus also the translation in Matthieu/Brémond, which, however, does not correspond to their Greek text.

¹⁸ *Hermes* 30, 1895, 204.

requires it to be supplied from the passage in 839B–D about Aphareus. But a whole sentence on a completely different topic (the statues of Isokrates' mother and her sister Nako) intervenes between that passage and the sentence *ἔσχε δὲ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κτλ.* Alternative (b), on the other hand, allows *ἔσχε* to find its subject no further away than the end of the immediately preceding sentence, *ἡ δὲ Νακοῦς οὐ σφύζεται*. On the face of it, this is very much easier.¹⁹ To defend alternative (a) it is necessary to suppose *either* that a transposition has occurred and that *ἔσχε δὲ . . . Λυσίου* belongs e.g. after *ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκάς*²⁰ or that the author is guilty of considerable insouciance in interjecting the information about the statues of the two sisters parenthetically and irrelevantly to the passage about Aphareus. Although the author of *Vitae Decem Oratorum* does compose in a somewhat 'loose' manner, I see no clear example of the sort of illogicality presupposed by this second possibility. A textual transposition is, therefore, the best available way to defend the reconstruction of the stemma proposed by Kirchner and Davies.²¹ But granted that 838B does not leave us a free choice for the names of Aphareus' children (section A above), there is absolutely no independent reason to suppose that the order of the text at 839D has become disturbed. I suggest, therefore, that on the basis of the evidence so far examined, we are entitled to believe that Aphareus' children were Aphareus and Theodoros, and that Isokrates' aunt Nako married twice producing two half-brothers, Alexandros and Sosikles/Lysikles. One problem would remain. 838B/C, quoted above, names a cousin of Isokrates and son of Nako as *Sokrates*. Assuming that 839D gives the names of *all* Nako's children,²² there is an apparent disagreement. The solution was, however, proposed long ago by Keil,²³ viz: assume that 839D should read *Σωσικλέα* and emend *Σωκράτης* in 838B to *Σωσικλῆς*. (The corruption could be due to *Ἰσοκράτους* two words later.) It need not be disquieting that on this view only one of the children of Nako appears in the Kynosarges list. It is evident that not all of the family had their final resting place there; Isokrates' brothers, Telesippos and Diomnestos, for example, are missing as well.

The necessity of introducing a further emendation (*Σωσικλῆς* for *Σωκράτης*) may seem disturbing, especially since *Σωκράτης* in 838B is not *in itself* textually objectionable. But my reconstruction is at least no worse on this score than that adopted by Kirchner and Davies, given the transposition in 839D that their view necessitates.

A more serious issue that might be raised against my reconstruction is the suitability of Koinos and Alexandros as fifth-century Athenian names (which

¹⁹ Professor Davies writes (letter, 6.4.78) 'to extract Nako as subject of *ἔσχε* out of *ἡ δὲ Νακοῦς . . .* does not seem to run very easily'. But it is surely easier than the alternative. He goes on to suggest that the text or substance of the *ἔσχε*-sentence may be very much more disturbed and that it might be 'predicated of a late fourth century member of the family', implying either a major lacuna before *ἔσχε* or some very considerable confusion in the mind of the author of the *Vita*. If this were correct it would, of course, mean that the sentence had no relevance to 838B/C.

²⁰ Or perhaps something more drastic, e.g. that *τῆς δὲ μητρὸς . . .* belongs in a quite different context (perhaps 838D, an earlier passage about statues). There would then be no guarantee that *ἔσχε . . . Λυσίου* was not part of the section to be transposed.

²¹ Neither author, however, points out the necessity of such an expedient. Keil (op. cit. (n. 18), 204 n. 2) considered but rejected the possibility.

²² This is reasonable enough, whether or not one reads *ἔσχε δὲ <δύο> υἱοῦς* with Bernardakis, Fowler, Matthieu/Brémond.

²³ loc. cit.

is what they would be, if borne by the husband and son of Isokrates' aunt). Might not Alexandros be more fitting as a *fourth-century* son of Aphareus, and might not Koinos be better banished in favour of the female Koino?²⁴ To take the latter first: 'Koino' does not seem to occur anywhere except in one version of *Vitae Decem Oratorum* 839D.²⁵ Given the relatively low survival rate of female names, this fact may not be worth all that much, but it should not be ignored. As for 'Koinos', it is true that this name is not otherwise found in Attic prosopography. But this fact cannot exclude the possibility of its ever having been used in Athens, while it does render impossible any substantial argument for such use being less likely in the fifth century than later. The *a priori* argument that a name otherwise largely familiar as Macedonian might be more likely to appear elsewhere after the advent of Philip II and his successors to a dominant position in Greece has little pertinence since there is no evidence that the name at any time acquired a vogue in Athens or anywhere outside Macedonia. In any case, since †Κωωσουσυκλεα† is indubitably corrupt to some extent, there is no guarantee that the corruption does not extend far enough back to permit some such emendation as Κόννου, producing a name known in fifth-century Attic prosopography.²⁶

What of Alexandros? The majority of Athenian Alexandroi date from the mid-third century and later. The exceptions appear to be:²⁷

1. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Οἴου, prosecutor of Polyuktos of Kydantidai (330s).²⁸
2. Ἀλέξανδρος, the father of a *bouleutes* of Hippothontis in 303/2 whose name is lost.²⁹
3. Ἀλέξανδρος[ος] Ἀλεξίω[υ] ἐξ Οἴω[υ] (fourth-century tombstone).³⁰
4. Ἀλέξανδρος Δημητρίου a tragedian competing in 269/8.³¹

Of these only 1 and 2 can, with any certainty, be attributed a date of birth that would make their name relevant to the nomenclature of a notional son of Aphareus, while 3, the other possibly relevant case, may be identical with 1 anyway.³² These examples are hardly sufficient to establish that 'statistics' suggest that 'Alexandros' was more likely in fourth- than fifth-century Athens. Granted that in the Classical period 'Alexandros' counts as a distinctively Macedonian or north Greek name and that there may have been special reasons that led Alexias and the father of the *bouleutes* of 303/2 (or, to take another 'Macedonian' name, the fathers of Amyntas the *architecton*³³ and Amyntas, the relative of Leokrates)³⁴ to give their sons 'foreign' names, how could one logically adjudicate between the possibility of Nako and her husband on the one hand and

²⁴ Consideration of this possibility was prompted by a comment of Professor Davies's.

²⁵ This is the only ex. in Pape-Benseler's *Lexicon* (Brunswick, 1863) and I have found nothing further in the existing files of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (on that project see P. M. Fraser in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch* (London, 1976), pp. 73 f.).

²⁶ PA 8697 (and cf. 8698). For the emendation, see Keil (loc. cit.), Mau.

²⁷ Alexandros Mylles (PA 526) is excluded as being by origin a Macedonian from Beroia (was he perhaps a relative of

Alexander's naval commander Mylles Zoilou of Beroia (Arr. *Ind.* 18)?). The origin of the Alexandros in IG ii² 11614a (mid-fourth cent.) cannot be established.

²⁸ Hyper. 3, 12 = PA 512.

²⁹ SEG xxiv.162, line 164.

³⁰ SEG xxi.897. The same name, patronym, and deme should probably be restored in IG ii² 1626, 9–10 (naval list, c. 330).

³¹ PA 495.

³² See below, n. 38.

³³ IG ii² 1611, 328; 1612, 202–7; 1613, 211 (357/6, 356/5, and 353/2 respectively).

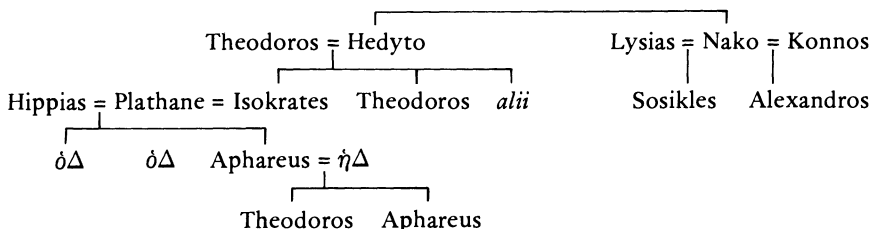
³⁴ Lyc. *In Leocr.* 22–4.

Aphareus on the other also having such special reasons? The name was in use in Sparta in the later fifth century.³⁵ How could we be sure that it did not surface in Athens as well?

A further speculation of some relevance may be added. The name Nako occurs but once in Attic prosopography, apart from the aunt of Isokrates, in the case of Nako, daughter of Phantias of Oios and *wife of Alexias of Oios*.³⁶ The name Alexias was not common in Athens either³⁷ and it is not wildly unreasonable to conjecture that the father of 'Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξίου of Oios (No. 3 above) and the husband of Nako are one and the same.³⁸ If that is so, the juxtaposition of Nako and Alexandros as names of mother and son occurs twice, first in the case of Isokrates' aunt and cousin (on my reconstruction) and second in the wife and son of Alexias of Oios. Since Alexandros and Nako are not (at least at any relevant date) common Attic names, and since there is no reason why Isokrates' aunt should not have come from Oios, one could guess (though no more) that we are dealing here with different generations of the same family.³⁹

In any event, the existing evidence does not permit the conclusion that to predicate the last sentence of the *Vita Isocratis* of Nako is to commit a prosopographical solecism.

To sum up: as against Kirchner and Davies, I suggest that Isokrates' grandchildren (the sons of his adoptive son Aphareus) were called Aphareus and Theodoros, and that the orator had two cousins, children of his aunt Nako, called Alexandros and Sosikles. The stemma will then look as follows:



Anything like certainty as to which construction of the stemma is correct is probably too much to hope for, but a recognition that the standard view is not

³⁵ The hero of Polyæn. 6,10 (set in the 390s) was probably Spartan (P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier* (Breslau, 1913) s.v.), the Alexandros killed by Argives in 370/69 (Diod. 15.64) certainly so. The latter was probably a commander and old enough to have been born in the fifth century.

³⁶ IG ii² 7000.

³⁷ Excluding the husband of Nako and the father of Alexandros Alexiou of Oios (and assuming the latter to be identical with PA 529 in accordance with the restoration mentioned in n. 30) only three examples appear: the archon of 405/4 (PA 528);

an Erechtheid casualty in 459/8 (IG i² 929 (= ML 33), line 85); Alexias of Euonymos, father of an Erechtheid *bouleutes* of 367/6 (Hesperia 11(1942), 233, line 12).

³⁸ Thus A. N. Oikonomides, 'ΤΠΕΡΕΙ-ΔΟΤ ΛΟΓΟΙ Ι (1958), 73. If the restoration mentioned in n. 30, also due to Oikonomides, is correct, then, given the date of that inscription, the identification of Alexandros Alexiou of Oios and the Alexandros of Oios in Hyper. 3,12 seems perfectly reasonable.

³⁹ Further Alexandroi from Oios appear in a Hellenistic inscription copied by Cyriacus of Ancona (SEG xxi.639).

founded on unquestionable and pellucid evidence may count as a gain worth having.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ Thanks are due to R. J. Seager and J. K. Davies for comments on an earlier draft of this note, and to M. J. Osborne for

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