

Encomium of Helen¹

1. What is becoming to a city is manpower, to a body beauty, to a soul wisdom, to an action virtue, to a speech truth, and the opposites of these are unbecoming. Man and woman and speech and deed and city and object should be honored with praise if praiseworthy and incur blame if unworthy, for it is an equal error and mistake to blame the praisable and to praise the blamable. 2. It is the duty of one and the same man both to speak the needful rightly and to refute (the unrightfully spoken. Thus it is right to refute) those who rebuke Helen, a woman about whom the testimony of inspired poets has become univocal and unanimous as had the ill omen of her name, which has become a reminder of misfortunes. For my part, by introducing some reasoning into my speech, I wish to free the accused of blame and, having reprov'd her detractors as prevaricators and proved the truth, to free her from their ignorance.

3. Now it is not unclear, not even to a few, that in nature and in blood the woman who is the subject of this speech is preeminent among preeminent men and women. For it is clear that her mother was Leda, and her father was in fact a god, Zeus, but allegedly a mortal, Tyndareus, of whom the former was shown to be her father because he was and the latter was disproved because he was said to be, and the one was the most powerful of men and the other the lord of all.

4. Born from such stock, she had godlike beauty, which taking and not mistaking, she kept. In many did she work much desire for her love, and her one body was the cause of bringing

together many bodies of men thinking great thoughts for great goals, of whom some had greatness of wealth, some the glory of ancient nobility, some the vigor of personal agility, some command of acquired knowledge. And all came because of a passion which loved to conquer and a love of honor which was unconquered. 5. Who it was and why and how he sailed away, taking Helen as his love, I shall not say. To tell the knowing what they know shows it is right but brings no delight. Having now gone beyond the time once set for my speech, I shall go on to the beginning of my future speech, and I shall set forth the causes through which it was likely that Helen's voyage to Troy should take place.

6. For either by will of Fate and decision of the gods and vote of Necessity did she do what she did, or by force reduced or by words seduced (or by love possessed). Now if through the first, it is right for the responsible one to be held responsible; for god's predetermination cannot be hindered by human premeditation. For it is the nature of things, not for the strong to be hindered by the weak, but for the weaker to be ruled and drawn by the stronger, and for the stronger to lead and the weaker to follow. God is a stronger force than man in might and in wit and in other ways. If then one must place blame on Fate and on a god, one must free Helen from disgrace.

7. But if she was raped by violence and illegally assaulted and unjustly insulted, it is clear that the raper, as the insulter, did the wronging, and the raped, as the insulted, did the suffering. It is right then for the barbarian who undertook a barbaric undertaking in word and law and deed to meet with blame in word, exclusion in law, and punishment in deed. And surely it is proper for a woman raped and robbed of her country and deprived of her friends to be pitied rather than pilloried. He did the dread deeds; she suffered them. It is just therefore to pity her but to hate him.

8. But if it was speech which persuaded her and deceived her heart, not even to this is it difficult to make an answer and to banish blame

as follows. Speech is a powerful lord, which by means of the finest and most invisible body effects the divinest works: it can stop fear and banish grief and create joy and nurture pity. I shall show how this is the case, since 9. it is necessary to offer proof to the opinion of my hearers: I both deem and define all poetry as speech with meter. Fearful shuddering and tearful pity and grievous longing come upon its hearers, and at the actions and physical sufferings of others in good fortunes and in evil fortunes, through the agency of words, the soul is wont to experience a suffering of its own. But come, I shall turn from one argument to another. 10. Sacred incantations sung with words are bearers of pleasure and banishers of pain, for, merging with opinion in the soul, the power of the incantation is wont to beguile it and persuade it and alter it by witchcraft. There have been discovered two arts of witchcraft and magic: one consists of errors of soul and the other of deceptions of opinion. 11. All who have and do persuade people of things do so by molding a false argument. For if all men on all subjects had (both) memory of things past and (awareness) of things present and foreknowledge of the future, speech would not be similarly similar, since as things are now it is not easy for them to recall the past nor to consider the present nor to predict the future. So that on most subjects most men take opinion as counselor to their soul, but since opinion is slippery and insecure it casts those employing it into slippery and insecure successes. 12. What cause then prevents the conclusion that Helen similarly, against her will, might have come under the influence of speech, just as if ravished by the force of the mighty? For it was possible to see how the force of persuasion prevails; persuasion has the form of necessity, but it does not have the same power. For speech constrained the soul, persuading it which it persuaded, both to believe the things said and to approve the things done. The persuader, like a constrainer, does the wrong and the persuaded, like the constrained, in speech is wrongly charged. 13. To understand that persuasion, when added to speech, is wont also to impress the soul as it wishes, one must study: first, the words of astronomers who, substituting opinion for opinion, taking away one but creating

another, make what is incredible and unclear seem true to the eyes of opinion; then, second, logically necessary debates in which a single speech, written with art but not spoken with truth, bends a great crowd and persuades; (and) third, the verbal disputes of philosophers in which the swiftness of thought is also shown making the belief in an opinion subject to easy change. 14. The effect of speech upon the condition of the soul is comparable to the power of drugs over the nature of bodies. For just as different drugs dispel different secretions from the body, and some bring an end to disease and others to life, so also in the case of speeches, some distress, others delight, some cause fear, others make the hearers bold, and some drug and bewitch the soul with a kind of evil persuasion.

15. It has been explained that if she was persuaded by speech she did not do wrong but was unfortunate. I shall discuss the fourth cause in a fourth passage. For if it was love which did all these things, there will be no difficulty in escaping the charge of the sin which is alleged to have taken place. For the things we see do not have the nature which we wish them to have, but the nature which each actually has. Through sight the soul receives an impression even in its inner features. 16. When belligerents in war buckle on their warlike accouterments of bronze and steel, some designed for defense, others for offense, if the sight sees this, immediately it is alarmed and it alarms the soul, so that often men flee, panic-stricken, from future danger (as though it were) present. For strong as is the habit of obedience to the law, it is ejected by fear resulting from sight, which coming to a man causes him to be indifferent both to what is judged honorable because of the law and to the advantage to be derived from victory. 17. It has happened that people, after having seen frightening sights, have also lost presence of mind for the present moment; in this way fear extinguishes and excludes thought. And many have fallen victim to useless labor and dread diseases and hardly curable madnesses. In this way the sight engraves upon the mind images of things which have been seen. And many frightening impressions linger, and what lingers is exactly analogous to (what is) spoken. 18. Moreover, whenever pictures per-

¹Translated by George A. Kennedy.

¹The beautiful Helen, wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta, was abducted by Paris, a prince of the city of Troy in Asia Minor. To get her back, the Greeks united in a war against Troy that destroyed the city. Helen returned to Greece with Menelaus. These events supposedly took place ca. 1000 B.C.E. Their retelling in the oral poetry eventually codified in Homer's *Iliad* formed a central element in Greek culture. [Ed.]

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fectly create a single figure and form from many colors and figures, they delight the sight, while the creation of statues and the production of works of art furnish a pleasant sight to the eyes. Thus it is natural for the sight to grieve for some things and to long for others, and much love and desire for many objects and figures is engraved in many men. 19. If therefore, the eye of Helen, pleased by the figure of Alexander,² presented to her soul eager desire and contest of love, what wonder? If, (being) a god, (love has) the divine power of the gods, how could a lesser being reject and refuse it? But if it is a disease of human origin and a fault of the soul, it should not be

²Alexander is another name for Paris. [Ed.]

blamed as a sin, but regarded as an affliction. For she came, as she did come, caught in the net of Fate, not by the plans of the mind, and by the constraints of love, not by the devices of art.

20. How then can one regard blame of Helen as just, since she is utterly acquitted of all charge, whether she did what she did through falling in love or persuaded by speech or ravished by force or constrained by divine constraint?

21. I have by means of speech removed disgrace from a woman; I have observed the procedure which I set up at the beginning of the speech; I have tried to end the injustice of blame and the ignorance of opinion; I wished to write a speech which would be a praise of Helen and a diversion to myself.

Isocrates

436-338 B.C.E.

Isocrates was a student of Gorgias and perhaps also of Socrates. Gorgias is depicted on Isocrates's memorial stone, showing him a globe, and Socrates praises him briefly at the end of Plato's *Phaedrus*. After his wealthy family was ruined in the Peloponnesian War, Isocrates supported himself as a logographer. Apparently he regarded this profession as rather disgraceful, for in later life he vehemently denied ever having practiced it. When he was in his early forties, ca. 393 B.C.E., he opened a school of rhetoric in Athens, anticipating by a few years the Academy of his contemporary Plato. The school, the first of its kind, was financially successful, produced many important political leaders, and strongly influenced Western education up to the present.

Isocrates is included in the canon of the Ten Attic Orators, although tradition has it that he was a poor speaker — his voice was weak and he suffered from stage fright. He was one of the first to compose political speeches primarily for publication, not delivery. His style is antithetical and symmetrical but without many of the aural devices employed by Gorgias. He developed the periodic sentence. Although politically Isocrates supported his native city of Athens, he felt that pan-Hellenism was a higher goal. Hence he sometimes exposed himself to attacks on his patriotism for courting strong leaders, such as Philip of Macedon, who showed promise of uniting Greece. Tradition has it that Isocrates died of grief upon learning that Philip had defeated and subjugated the Greek forces at Chaeronea.

Isocrates apparently viewed his efforts as an educator as patriotic. He was the first to institute systematic training for older students that would fit them to lead in public life. He admitted only adolescent boys who had already mastered the stylistic studies associated with grammar. He proposed to rehearse them in various kinds of speeches, under his critical guidance, and ultimately to pursue some of the issues in political philosophy the speeches might be expected to raise. Isocrates's success is credited by many scholars with establishing a pattern of education for well-to-do young men that prevailed throughout Greece, Rome, and then Europe, eventually becoming codified in the trivium of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic that remained unchanged until the Renaissance and was influential in liberal education thereafter.

Isocrates typically discusses rhetorical theory and education together. His "Against the Sophists" (ca. 390 B.C.E.; included here) was written to publicize his school shortly after it opened. And in the *Antidosis* (353 B.C.E.; excerpted here), Isocrates imagines defending himself against a capital charge by reviewing his whole life as an educator. His theory of rhetoric changes little from the work written early in his educational career to the one composed as an old man in his eighties.

In "Against the Sophists," Isocrates distinguishes himself from anyone who