

The extensive new fragments of Hyperides' speech *Against Diondas* (Carey et al.), which was delivered in early 334 or not long afterward, coordinate closely with Demosthenes' famous speech *On the Crown*, delivered in 330. The latter speech defends the policy that led the Greeks to defeat at Chaeronea in 338 by likening the Athenian campaign against Philip to earlier efforts to protect Greece during the Persian Wars, at Marathon and Salamis (e.g., Dem. 18.208). Hyperides' speech makes a similar comparison, but unlike *On the Crown*, which does not consider the consequences of defeat for Athens in the 330s, Hyperides provides important new evidence for Athenian attitudes regarding the League of Corinth. In contrast to the nostalgic patriotism exemplified in *On the Crown*, in the speech *Against Diondas* we can also see that already in the 330s anti-Macedonian politicians were beginning to lay to rest the ghost of Chaeronea and look forward to the revolt that would eventually break out in 323.

The success of *On the Crown*, in which Demosthenes proudly avowed the policy that brought about the death of a thousand Athenians at Chaeronea and ended its independence in foreign policy, marks a departure from earlier Athenian accounts of defeat. Aeschines' indictment of Ctesiphon's proposal to crown Demosthenes in 336 attempted to hold Demosthenes personally responsible for the policy that led to Chaeronea (e.g., Aesch. 3.158), just as the general Lysicles had been found guilty and executed for his role in the defeat (Diod. Sic. 16.88). But Demosthenes successfully avoided blame by presenting the battle as a moral obligation and attributing the defeat to the gods and fate (Yunis describes Demosthenes' "tragic way of thinking" (107)). In his prosecution speech Aeschines blames Demosthenes for missing opportunities during the 330s (Aesch. 3.159–167), but Demosthenes resolutely avoids discussing the period after Chaeronea (his promise to address the destruction of Thebes at Dem. 18.41–42 is left unfulfilled; cf. Worthington 99).

Hyperides' speech *Against Diondas* is closely related to *On the Crown*, and gives similar emphasis to the events leading up to Chaeronea. The legal issue, a *graphē paranomōn* indictment of an honorary crown for Demosthenes, is the same in each trial, and the two speeches display clear signs of collaboration between the two orators (viz., identical detailed arguments and verbatim repetitions, which are noted by Carey et al.). But unlike Demosthenes, Hyperides also draws attention to the situation in Athens in the 330s: he points to the Thebans in the courtroom and laments their destroyed city (176r-173v, 25–27); he refers to numerous failed prosecutions, previously unknown, of anti-Macedonian Athenian politicians in the 330s (145r-144v, 9–22); he decries Athens' forced contributions to Alexander's Persian campaigns (175r-174v, 21–27).

These details reveal Athenian attitudes toward the League of Corinth in the 330s. While speeches such as *On the Crown* or Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates* nostalgically look back to the lost fight for Greek independence at the battle of Chaeronea, in the *Against Diondas* we see Hyperides also looking forward to the possibility of rebellion. The discontent with Athenian subservience to Alexander is paralleled in another speech of the period, *On the treaty with Alexander* ([Dem.] 17, attributed to Hyperides by Libanius), and we can now trace the emergence of the revolutionary spirit that led to the Lamian War in 323. In the *Against Diondas* Hyperides is still focused on the moral imperative to fight at Chaeronea, but he is also explicitly conscious of the consequences of that battle for Athens in the 330s. His expression of dissatisfaction with the Macedonian hegemony anticipates his most famous speech, his *Funeral Oration* of 322, in which he fully departs from traditional narratives of past Athenian achievements and optimistically celebrates a new opportunity for Athens to win freedom for the Greeks.

Bibliography for “Getting over defeat: Hyperides’ *Against Diondas* and the battle of Chaeronea”

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