Manufacturing Descent: Adoption, Inheritance and Civic Identity in Isaios 7.33-42 [Ίσαιος] ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα παρὰ τοῖς τότε γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ὡς δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τεχνιτεῦσαι λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα...

"[Isaios] had a reputation among his contemporaries for deception and being clever at contriving arguments for the worse cause" (D. H. *Isaios* 4)

Dionysios finds a good measure of Isaios' flair for mendacity in his distinctive form of *ethopoiea*, whose artifice and subtle complexity contrast sharply with the simplicity and naturalness of Lysias' (cf. D. H., *Isaeus* 6-11). Modern critics have tended to locate Isaios' attacks and *encomia* in the realm of the extraneous (e.g. Griffith-Williams 2013:20-1; Rhodes 2004:146). The extended assaults upon the character, acts, and motives of his opponents (e.g. *Is.* 2.27-37; 4.1-6; 6.10-26) and the unstinting praise of his client's familial loyalty and civic *philotimia* (e.g. *Is.* 2.36-7; 4.27-30; 6.51-61) are more for the sake of $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ than argument.

This seems particularly pronounced in the case of Isaios 7, "On the Estate of Apollodoros." As Griffith-Williams (2013: 77) notes, fully one quarter of the speech is devoted to *ethopoiea*. This may indicate the intrinsic weakness of Thrasyllos' case, after all his alleged *inter vivos* adoption by Apollodoros was never completed (*Is.* 7.27-8). However, it may not be that Thrasyllos' case is weaker than his opponent's, but that both sides' claims are manifestly deficient (cf. Todd 1993: 38). The dispute resists resolution by careful consideration of the particulars. In order to fill the void, Isaios not only brings character to the fore, but the logographer advances a striking *variato* upon the theme of civic virtue and deficiency. Isaios manufactures a civic descent for Thrasyllos that serves as a *credible substitute* for "evidence" based arguments. The shared civic genealogy between Thrasyllos, Apollodoros and namesake "grandfather," Thrasyllos is rooted in their shared devotion to Athens past and prospective.

In 7.33-42, Isaios carefully develops a rhetorical parallelism to describe theparticular expression of their shared civic devotion to cement their shared civic identity. All three are characterized *philotimia*. Thrasyllos' modest litotes of his dedication to the *polis* ($ov\delta$ ' av à dov dov

Isaios forges an intricately intimate connection between Thrasyllos, Apollodoros and the elder Thrasyllos in order to "prove" that the younger Thrasyllos should be considered Apollodoros' son and heir. His acts and disposition reveal him to be a true son, which requires only the formal endorsement of what Apollodoros earnestly desired: to make his kindred spirit his son. More broadly, Isaios' extended "excursus" upon Thrasysllos', Apollodoros' and Thrasyllos' shared character transcends the customary and cursory enumeration of civic virtues and service. Isaios crafts his *ethopoiea* to underscore their congruent political identities. Isaios creates a political genealogy that validates the partially completed familial one. For the *dikast* confronted with competing legal claims whose merits are both deficient, Thrasyllos' political descent provides the clarity necessary to resolve the legal uncertainty. Isaios manufactures Thrasyllos' descent because he fully recognized that for the Athenians the political is personal.

Bibliography

Edwards, M. 2007. Isaeus. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Griffith-Williams, B. 2012. "Oikos, Family Feuds and Funerals: Argumentation and Evidence in Athenian Inheritance Disputes." *CQ* 62: 145-62.

Griffith-Williams, B. 2013. A Commentary on Selected Speeches of Isaios. Leiden: Brill.

- Lawless, J. M. 1991. "Law, Legal Argument and Equity in the Speeches of Isaeus." Ph.D. diss., Brown.
- MacDowell, D. M. 1989. "The Oikos in Athenian Law." CQ 39: 10-21.
- Rhodes, P. J. 2004. "Keeping to the Point." In *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, edited by E. M. Harris and L. Rubinstein. 137-58. London: Duckworth.
- Rubinstein, L. 1993. Adoption in IV. Century Athens. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Pr.
- Todd, S. C. 1993. The Shape of Athenian Law. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Wyse, W. 1904. The Speeches of Isaeus. Cambridge: University Press.