Stuttering in antiquity -
Moses and Demosthenes

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Summary
Two famous stutterers from history are considered, Moses and Demosthenes, from historical accounts. Different ways of dealing with the problem and various etiological theories are discussed. The modern relevance of these examples is reviewed.

Moses
Moses - the leader and liberator of the Hebrews from slavery, suffered probably, from stuttering. This can be inferred from the first time stuttering is mentioned in the Bible, in the following verses.

Exodus 4,10: And Moses said unto the LORD, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou has spoken to thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the LORD said unto him, who hath made man's mouth? Or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the LORD? Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say. And he said, 0 my Lord, send I pray thee, by the hand of him who thou wilt send. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses and he said is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well And also behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And thou shall speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and teach thee what ye shall do. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people; and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shall be to him instead of GOD.

As Moses stands in front of the burning bush, the Lord commands him to lead his people to freedom and Moses responds:

'And Moses said unto the LORD, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken to thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the LORD said unto him, who hath made man's mouth? Or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the LORD? Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth and teach thee what thou shalt say. And he said, 0 my Lord, send I pray thee, by the hand of him who thou wilt send. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Moses and he said is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well And also behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And thou shall speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with thy mouth, and with his mouth, and teach thee what ye shall do. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people; and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shall be to him instead of GOD.'

Moses gives a different description of his speech difficulty in another verse:

And Moses said before the LORD, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?' (Exodus 6,30).

These verses contain a large amount of information about the proposed etiology of Moses' stuttering, its duration and his ways of contending with the problem. In the first text Moses states that he is 'not eloquent', and, 'slow of speech and of a slow tongue'; (the Hebrew original uses the expression heavy mouth [kevad-pe] instead of slow of speech). In the second text Moses describes his stuttering as 'uncircumcised lips'.

Neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken to thy
Moses testifies that he suffered from the disorder for a long time. Stuttering usually appears in childhood; therefore it is possible to view this description as a reliable portrait of a continuing long-term chronic problem rather than an acute problem caused by temporary excitement.

The descriptions 'slow tongue', 'heavy mouth', 'uncircumcised lips' suggest a perception of stuttering as an organic disorder of the upper, (and most visible), speech organs - the mouth, tongue and lips. Similar theories recur throughout history until the turn of the nineteenth century, with surgery on the tongue being performed by respectable surgeons. Today, stuttering is also perceived, (by some researchers), as a biological, organic, and partially genetic disorder.

God himself declares that he is the cause of stuttering as well as other disabilities. It is interesting that stuttering is mentioned here by God, together or in comparison with dumbness, deafness and blindness.

It is notable that God's promise to be 'with the mouth of Moses,' does not satisfy Moses. Moses' reaction shows the degree of his fear, his view of the severity of the problem and his lack of confidence, caused by years of speech difficulties. Moses' claims to be 'not eloquent' may be seen as a strategy for avoiding speaking. Avoidance, the use of another person for speaking, is a common strategy for stutterers dealing with the disorder6, and interestingly enough this is the only solution that satisfies Moses.

Another account of the cause of Moses' stuttering is the interpretation of the text of Exodus [Midrash of Shmot Rabah]. Moses was raised by the daughter of Pharaoh in the Palace. One day, when Pharaoh had the little child in his lap, little Moses took Pharaoh's crown and put it on his head. The King's counsellors were shocked and feared that the foreign boy wanted to steal the kingdom, and so they constructed a test: two bowls were put in front of the boy. One with pure gold and the other with sizzling coals. If Moses was to take the gold, the greedy boy would be killed. If he touched the coal that suggests a physical (organic) origin of stuttering.

The little boy put the coal in his mouth and then only the sparkle attracted him and he would be pronounced innocent. When the bowls were set, Moses reached for the gold, but the angel Gabriel directed him to the coal. The little boy put the coal in his mouth and thereupon became a stutterer. Again we find a theory that suggests a physical (organic) origin of stuttering. Certain researchers suggest that, if the story really happened, the stuttering of Moses could have developed from the trauma of such a test. Some modern researchers think that Moses did not suffer from stuttering but from a more apparent physical defect - cleft palate for example, owing to the use of the expressions 'heavy mouth' and 'uncircumcised lips' that may describe a physical flaw and not a problem with speech itself. To our mind, this disposition seems untenable. A cleft palate is a physical imperfection, a defect. A cleft palate would be evident from birth and would cause the child to appear deformed, contradicting the fact that the Pharaoh's daughter saw a perfect baby and adopted him. It would have been unlikely for her to adopt an imperfect child. In fact, Moses was considered by many authorities to be a beautiful perfect child, so beautiful that everyone that saw him was astonished. Moreover, a cleft palate is a 'lack' of tissue, a gap in the whole, while the expression uncircumcised, suggests that something is added, or untouched, and not missing.

Demosthenes

Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.), the Athenian recognized as the greatest Greek orator of ancient times, and perhaps one of the greatest orators ever, also stuttered. His life was described by Plutarch. He was born to an honourable and rich family near Athens - 'Demosthenes the father of Demosthenes, belonged to the better class of citizens... He had a large factory and slaves... His father died when he was seven years old and left a considerable inheritance. However, the inheritance was stolen by his guardians, and Demosthenes was forced to live in poverty, pampered by his mother, deprived of the education usual for his class, and lacking physical activity and discipline. He was feeble and unhealthy and children mocked him for his stuttering and called him Battalus or Argas. The term Battalus was used as a nickname for stutterers, and was used as a scientific term describing stuttering for many years. The name Argas was given to him either because of his manners, which were harsh and savage, (Argas being one of the poetical names for a snake), or because of his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, (Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs).

As Demosthenes grew up, he left his studies, abandoned youthful games and devoted himself to the study of oratory. He stuttered badly when beginning his oratorical career, as Cicero humorously describes - 'at first stuttering so badly as to be unable to pronounce the initial R of the name of the art of his devotion (Rhetorica).'

The first time he addressed the people was a total failure. Demosthenes was interrupted by their clamours and laugh... he had a weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. Later, he met Eunomus, the Thracian, then an old man, who praised his speech, comparing it to that of Pericles. Eunomus claimed that Demosthenes' troubles as a speaker arose from cowardliness, weakness of spirit and neglect of the body.
On another occasion, following a further disgrace in the assembly, Demosthenes met an acquaintance - the actor Satyrus. Demosthenes complained that despite the tremendous effort he had invested in preparing and delivering the speeches - even fools and sailors received more attention when talking. Satyrus convinced Demosthenes to practise by reciting with him using proper expressions, pronunciation, mimicry, and emotion. Under Satyrus' encouragement Demosthenes started a relentless program to defeat stuttering. Every day he practised his voice in the basement of his house. Sometimes he stayed there for months, shaving half of his head to prevent himself from going out. Even small-talk became an exercise. Every speech he heard was dismantled into tiny fractions and repeated over and over, pronounced differently each time. It was said that: 'For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises... taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath... He had in his house a large looking glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises.'

Demosthenes succeeded in his endeavour and transformed himself into a great and famous orator. His adversary Iscines called him 'the greatest in his speeches,' saying, when he had recited one of Demosthenes' speeches in Rhodes and received applause 'what can you say if you heard the beast itself?'

In spite of his tremendous success, he was probably not cured from stuttering. He avoided speaking spontaneously, all his speeches being meticulously prepared and rehearsed well in advance. Those who opposed him mocked him for that, while even those who supported him complained, Dimades his ally, complaining that Demosthenes never spontaneously defended him in a debate. Demosthenes responded by saying 'He who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people.'

The story of Demosthenes raises a number of points for consideration. There is the connection between physical flaws or weaknesses of the body and stuttering - Demosthenes grew up as a feeble and sickly child. There is the view of Eunomus, citing fear of an audience, lack of courage, and lack of preparing the body for the speech. This suggests a more complex theory of stuttering - a connection with fears and mental weakness, and a relationship of body and speech. From the way Demosthenes confronted his stuttering, and from the way Satyrus practised with him, it appears that Demosthenes and Satyrus believed that stuttering, (and fluency), was a learned behaviour.

There is the duration of the disorder to consider, Demosthenes is clearly described as stuttering from childhood. There is the use by Demosthenes of a speech pathologist / therapist - Satyrus, perhaps one of the first speech therapists in all history, with a method of therapy that could be implemented today. Demosthenes recited from Euripides and Sophocles, and Satyrus recited after him, in a different (correct) manner. An example of a similar valid method of treatment today is the Shadow method, where 'the stutterer follows/repeats the words spoken by a speech therapist.'

There is the fact that Satyrus was an actor and not a man of medicine. Although Greek philosophers and doctors, like Aristotle and Hippocrates, did discuss the problem at length, it seems that stuttering and speech pathology throughout history has been treated by non-medical therapists. To this day, treatment is generally given by speech pathologists and not by medical doctors, an interesting and puzzling fact.

Demosthenes developed a 'self help' extensive therapy plan, which focused on relentless practice to try to make the rebellious organs of speech work properly. He also meticulously prepared his speeches, and avoided speaking spontaneously, an anxiety decreasing technique. His methods are surprisingly similar to current speech therapy, which essentially views stuttering as a learned behaviour. Therapy changes the maladaptive behaviour by reconstructing the respiratory, phonatory and articulatory gestures which generate speech. Some therapies strive to reshape completely the speech of the stutterer, making it sound fluent. Rate reduction, easy onset of voice, and smooth transition between sounds are all achieved by repetitive pronunciation, and practice.

Plutarch compares the efforts and success of Demosthenes to Laomedon the Orchomenian, who practised long distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and then after restoring his health, entered the great games and became one of the best runners. This comparison raises the interesting question - to what degree did victory in the relentless battle with stuttering, contribute to the making of the orator? Demosthenes probably believed that fluency was a learned behaviour, and that through exercise he would achieve fluency. This interesting theory of speech and stuttering as a learned behaviour, and therapy with reciting and practice, remains popular today.

Conclusions
We have presented two case studies of stutterers, Moses and Demosthenes. They both grew up in respectable families and stuttered from a very early age. In both stories there is reference to the mother's role.
Moses was raised by the Pharaoh's daughter with no mention of a father figure, Demosthenes' father died in his childhood and his mother pampered him. The two suffered from a severe stutter (Moses declared that he refrained from speaking, Demosthenes was mocked and called by names because of his stuttering). Whatever the inspiration, and despite the severity of their stuttering, they assumed a position in society that required an exceptional ability to speak and communicate - an ability unexpected from a stutterer. In discussing the two cases, we can see etiological theories that are still relevant to the theoretical debate concerning stuttering, (organically in stuttering in the case of Moses and stuttering as a psychological or neurotic problem in the case of Demosthenes). Ancient therapies are largely still relevant today.

Discussing the history of stuttering is, as Van Riper eloquently wrote, a humbling experience for the contemporary scholar. 'We see concepts born, revised, and reborn...we also see that most of our present beliefs were formulated, at least in germinal form, and even discarded long ago...[7] All this serves to emphasize the relevancy of the historical view of medicine in general and of the riddle of stuttering in particular. Finally, the cases discussed are examples of success in the face of mockery, lack of belief, and insecurity. The stuttering of Moses and Demosthenes did not limit their advancement to power and to careers in which the use of speech was so important. In our view, both cases are relevant today as they were 2000 years ago, and just as inspiring. Therefore there is great potential in these stories as a bibliotherapeutic aid in the treatment of stuttering.

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Bibliography
Demosthenes then returned to Athens and once more tried to lead a popular uprising. He failed again, but not without attracting the attention of the authorities. When he learned that he faced imminent capture and possibly death, he committed suicide by taking poison he had long kept hidden in a pen. Tragic though his end was, the story of Demosthenes’s dramatic forensic achievements continues to inspire speakers to this day. Note: This is an updated version of an article that originally appeared on Interesting Thing of the Day on October 6, 2003, and again in a slightly revised form on September