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1822
1823
1829

ΑΓΣΧΙΝΟΥ

Ὁ ΚΑΤ' Α ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ἘΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ, ἢ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Σὺν Γραικοῖς Προλεγομένοις, καὶ Ἀγγλικάῃς Σημειώσεσιν,

Ἐπὶ

Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέγρη.

Τί δέ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτά ῥήματα βοῶντος ἀκηκόοιτε;

Ἐν Βοστώνῃ.

Παρά Ἰλλιάδω, Γραίω, Λιπύλῳ, καὶ Οὐϊλκίνσῳ.

ΛΩΚΘ΄.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

Be it remembered, that on the twenty-fourth day of March, A. D. 1829, in the fifty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, *to wit* :—

“ Αἰσχίνου ὁ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος Λόγος. Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ἢ, περὶ Στεφάνου Λόγος. Σὺν Γραικικοῖς Προλεγόμενοις, καὶ Ἀγγλικοῖς Σημειώσεσιν, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέγρη.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;” and also to an act, entitled, “An act supplementary to an act, entitled, ‘An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;’ and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

JNO. W. DAVIS,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

Ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας
Μετκάλφου καὶ συντροφίας,
τυπογράφων τοῦ ἐν Κανταβριγίᾳ Πανδιδακτηρίου.

ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ.

Ἐάν τις ἀπὸ τὸ φαινόμενον κρίνη τοὺς παρόντας λόγους, πιθανὸν κατὰ πρώτην προσβολὴν νὰ στοχασθῆ συμφέροντα μόνον ἰδιαιτέρων ὑποκειμένων ὅτι περιέχουσιν· εὐρεῖν ὅμως θέλει προχωρῶν εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὅτι πρὸς τούτοις ἐναγκαλίζονται τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης ἐνὸς μεγάλου μέρους τὴν ἱστορίαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπαντήσιν εἰς κάθε βῆμα. Ὁ πρῶτος ἀπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς δύο μονάρχας, εἰκοσιτέσσαρας εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς, καθ' ὃ διάστημα συχνοὺς ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μακροὺς πολέμους, κάμνων ἀεννάως καὶ μὴ φυλάττων ποτὲ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ μὴ ὅσον εἰς τοὺς φιλοδόξους αὐτοῦ σκοποὺς τῷ ἦσαν χρήσιμοι, τὸ κατὰ τινος εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποδιδόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἀκολουθῶν ἀπόφθεγμα, Δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἐξαπατᾶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοῖς ὄρκοις. Ἡ τῶν ὀπλων τύχη ποτὲ μὲν εὐνοϊκῆ, καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἐναντία, σχεδὸν ἰσαρῥόπους μεταξὺ τῶν ἀντιμαχομένων ἐκράτησε τὰς πλάστιγγας μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, ἣτις καθυπέβαλεν ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ὅπου τριακοντακισχίλιοι Μακεδόνες κατώρθωσαν, τὸ ματαίως εἰς τὰς Πλαταιᾶς, εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, δοκιμασθὲν ἀπὸ ἑκατοντακισμυρίους Πέρσας. Ὀλίγον μετὰ τὰ Χαιρωνικὰ, τὰ ὅποια ἐφόβισαν καὶ κατεβύθισαν ἐν ταύτῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς βαθύτατον πένθος· τέσσαρας ἐνιαυτοὺς πρὸ τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος εἰσῆχθη γραφὴ, κριθεῖσα μετὰ δεκαετῆ παρέλευσιν ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος, τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημ' ὑπῆρξε γόνιμον ἀπὸ μεγάλης μεταβολᾶς, αἱ ὅποιαί-τόσον ἐγγυτάτας μὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἔχουσι σχέσεις, ὥστ' ἀμοιβαίως ὁ τε κατήγορος καὶ ὁ ἀπολογούμενος πρὸς τὸν σκοπόν των τὰς μεταχειρίζονται. Ἀπαραίτητον λοιπὸν μοὶ φαίνεται πρὸς

κατάληψιν τῶν δύο λόγων, νὰ δώσω μίαν γενικὴν ἰδέαν τῶν πολ-
 λάκις ἀναφερομένων ἀξιωματημιονεῦτων ἐκείνων συμβάντων· ὡς, Αἰ
 Θῆβαι ἀναρπασθεῖσαι ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον τῆς Ἑλλάδος·
 ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπειλημένος εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ
 μέλλων νὰ συμπατηθῆ ἀπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν ἵππον·
 καὶ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς διαγωνιζόμενος περὶ
 τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας. Ἄν καὶ σύντομος ἢ διή-
 γησις μου θέλει μὲ ὅλον τοῦτο χρησιμεύσει μεγάλως εἰς τὸν ἀνα-
 γνώστην, βάζουσά τον εἰς θέσιν ἀφ' ἧς θέλει διακρίνει τὸν τόπον
 καὶ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ βοηθοῦσά τον νὰ τοποθετήσῃ
 κατὰ τὴν χρονολογικὴν τῶν αὐτῶν σειρᾶν, ἀμελουμένην καὶ μήθ' ὑπο-
 σημειωμένην ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο ἀντιδίκους, ὡς ἀχρηστον εἰς ἀκροατὰς
 συγχρόνους καὶ οἰκείους τῶν γενομένων.

Νικητῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ τροπαιοῦχος, ἤτοιμάζετο νὰ ἐκστρα-
 τεύσῃ κατὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Φίλιππος, ὅταν ἡ τυραννοκτόνος τοῦ Παν-
 σανίου χεὶρ τὸν ἐσταμάτησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαμπροῦ του σταδίου εἰς-
 οδον. Ὁ διάδοχός του Ἀλέξανδρος εἰκοσαετῆς παρέλαβε τὴν πατριον
 βασιλείαν, καὶ δὲν ἐβράδυνεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνου νὰ εὐγάλη,
 ὅσοι κατεφρόνουσαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ νεαρὸν τῆς ἡλικίας του, ὧν εἷς ἦν
 καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅστις τὸν ἀπεκάλεε παῖδα καὶ μαργίτην· πλὴν
 αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀπήγγειλεν, ὅτι μειράκιον ἔγινε περὶ Θετταλίαν, καὶ
 πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνῆρ θέλει νὰ φανῆ. Ἄλλην μὲ ὅλον
 τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ἐκροῆν, ὁ κατὰ τοὺς μεγαλαύχους αὐτοὺς λόγους ἐπαπει-
 λῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας χείμαρρος· ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτρεψεν ἀλλαχόσε τὰ
 βλέμματά του, καὶ διὰ πολλῶν λαμπροτέρων ἀνδραγαθημάτων ἐδοξά-
 σθη. Συγκαλέσας ἔπειτα τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ
 πατρός του, κάμνει καὶ τὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν ἡγεμόνα των ἐπὶ τοὺς
 Πέρσας· ἡ Λακεδαιμῶν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν περίστασιν ἠναντιώθη μόνη,
 λέγουσα ὅτι δὲν ἦτον εἰς αὐτὴν πατροπαράδοτον τὸ νὰ ἀκολουθῆ
 τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ ναὶ, τὸ νὰ ἐξηγῆται τῶν ἄλλων· ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι νὰ τὸν ἰδῶσι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν των, ὑπεῖξαν ἂν καὶ παρὰ
 γνώμην, καὶ τῷ ἀπένειμον μεγαλητέρας ἀπὸ τὰς προλαβόντως εἰς τὸν
 Φίλιππον δοθείσας τιμάς. Πολεμικαὶ παρασκευαὶ πρὸς τοὺς σκο-
 ποὺς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦσαν ἀπαραίτητοι, καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
 ἐπανέρχεται διὰ νὰ τὰς ἐπιταχύνη· ἀλλ' ἐν ταῦτῳ μανθάνων ὅτι
 νεωτερίζουσιν ἐθέλουσιν οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκστρα-
 τεύει, τοὺς κτυπᾷ, καὶ τοὺς παιδεύει· διαβαίνει μετέπειτα τὸν Ἰστρον

ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ.

ἄνευ γεφύρης εἰς μίαν νύκτα, τρέπει τοὺς Γέτας εἰς φυγὴν, τόλμη του τόσο φαίνεται παράδοξος, ὥστε μήτε τὴν πρώτην ἐχθρικήν ἐμβολὴν δέχονται· καθυποβάλλει διάφορ' ἄλλα βάρ' ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν διὰ τοῦ πανικοῦ ὄν εἰς αὐτὰ τοῦνομά του ἐμπνέει βου, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῶν νικηφόρων αὐτοῦ ὄπλων· καὶ μ' ὅλας τὰς πρεσβείων των ἀλαζονικὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τὰ κάμνει νὰ γνωρίσωσι κίνδυνον πολὺ πλησιέστερον τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων σεως.

Ἡ ἀπουσία τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μία ψευδὴς φήμη τοῦ θαν-
του, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐγείρουσι τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων θάρρος, ὥστε σι-
θόντες ἔξω τῆς Καδμείας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς Μακεδονικῆς φρο-
ῦς Ἀμύνταν καὶ Τιμόλαον, οἵτινες δὲν εἶχον τὴν παραμικροτέραν
ψίαν, τοὺς φονεύουσι, καὶ προσκαθέζονται εἰς τὴν ἄκρην, ἀποι-
σαντές τὴν μὲ διπλοῦν χάρακα, καὶ ἀναμένοντες τὴν παράδοσιν
Τοιοῦτον τόλμημα δὲν ἔμεινε πολὺν καιρὸν ἀτιμώρητον· εἰς
ἄφισιν τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ὅστις μὲ ὑπερβολικὴν ἐπήλθε ταχύ-
τὰ ἰδιά των αὐτοὶ δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ πιστεύσωσιν ὄμματα· καὶ ἡ
ἀποτυφλοῦνται, ὥστε προτρεπόμενοι ἀπὸ τινος τῶν Βοιωτάρχων
τοὺς ὅσοι συγγνώμην νὰ εὔρωσι δὲν ἠλπιζον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἀμελοῦσι νὰ ὠφελῆθῶσι τοῦ κ-
τὸν ὁποῖον τοῖς δίδει πρὸς μετάγνωσιν. Μετὰ τριήμερον πο-
κίαν ἢ πόλις των ἐκ προσβολῆς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πίπτει τοῦ Μακεδ-
ὅστις τὴν ἀφανίζει κατὰ κράτος, ἑξακιςχιλίους τῶν κατοίκων σφε-
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τριςμυρίους ἑξανδραποδίζει, καὶ ἐναντίου
φυσικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιεικειᾶς, ἣν ἀκριβῶς σχεδὸν ἠκροάσθη κατ'
τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἐκτεταμένων του κατακτήσεων, ὡμῶς προσφέρ-
καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπει σκληρότητας ἀναγκαίας διὰ νὰ ἡ-
ναγωγῆσιν τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐκολωτέρας Ἑλληνας. Αὐτὴ δὲν ἔλει-
πολιτικὴ νὰ κάμῃ τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶχε κατὰ νοῦν ἀ-
λεσμα· πρεσβεῖαι πανταχόθεν ἐπέμποντο ζητοῦσαι τὴν ὑπερά-
σίαν του· αἱ τῆς Αἰτωλίας πόλεις ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ποία νὰ ὑποτι-
πρώτη, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦσαι τοῦ παρασχεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβ-
ἐπανάστασιν τὰ ὅσα· καὶ αὐτοὶ παρακινηθέντες ἀπὸ τὸν Δημ-
οὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχάρησαν διὰ τὰς λαμπρὰς νίκας τὸν νέον βασ-
λόγων ἀφειδοῦντες, εἰς οὓς ἡ καρδία των τὸ παραμικρότερον
λάβη μέρος δὲν ἠδύνατο. Ὁ ἡγεμὼν εὐνοικῶς μὲν τὴν πρεσβεῖαν
χεται, στέλλει ὅμως ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ταῦτῳ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ζητᾷ

τῷ παραδοθῶσιν, ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ἑπερίδης, ὁ Πολύευκτος, ὁ Χάρης, ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, ὁ Μοιροκλῆς, ὁ Δήμων, ὁ Καλλισθένης, καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ Χαριδῆμος, ὡς αἴτιοι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ τῆς τελευταίας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπαναστάσεως. Δευτέρα πρεσβεία πέμπεται παρακαλοῦσα τὴν συγχώρησιν τῶν ζητουμένων, οἵτινες καὶ τυγχάνουσιν αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἴτε διὰ τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναπολείπόμενον ἔτι σέβας του, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ νᾶποτέμῃ τὰ παραπίπτοντα τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ μέγα του ἐβράδυνον σχέδιον, καὶ μὴτ' αἴτιον μὴτε πρόφασιν νᾶφήσῃ δυσαρεστήσεως ἤθελεν ὄθεν καὶ ὑφίεται τοῦ ζητήματός του, μὲ τὴν ἐξορίαν μόνην εὐχαριστούμενος τοῦ Χαριδήμου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κατέφυγε τῶν Περσῶν.

Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤσυχος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐπικράτειάν του, καὶ χωρὶς ὑποψίαν διὰ καμμίαν γεινιάζουσαν δύναμιν, ἐτοιμάζεται νᾶ ἐπιτελέσῃ τὴν τοῦ περιφήμου μάντεως ἐρμηνείαν Ἀριστάνδρου, ὅστις, τὸ περὶ Δεΐβηθρα κυπαρίττινον τοῦ Ὀρφέως ξόانون φανέν περιχυμένον ἀπὸ ἰδρῶτα, τὸ σημεῖον ἐξήγησε λέγων ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θέλει κατορθώσῃν ἀοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους πράξεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι θὲν ἂν δώσωσιν πολὺν ἰδρῶτα καὶ πόνον εἰς ὑμνοῦντας ποιητὰς καὶ μουσικούς. Ὀλοκλήρως λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκστρατείαν προσκολλᾶται τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐπιτροπὸν του τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀποδεικνύει, καὶ ὡς ἔφθασεν ἢ ἀνοιξίς, κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πορεύεται· κατ' ὁδὸν ἐπισκέπτεται τοὺς τάφους τοῦ Αἴαντος, τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων, οὓς προαιρεῖται νᾶ ὑπερβάλῃ· τέλος εἰς τὰς ὄχθας ἀφικνεῖται τοῦ Γρανικοῦ. Οἱ σατράπαι νᾶ τῷ ἀμφισβητήσωσιν ἀποφασισμένοι τὸ πέρασμα τὸν προσέμενον ἀπὸ τὰντικρὸν μέρος Μέμνων, ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὢν ἡγεμὼν τῆς παραλίας ἀπὸ τὸν Δαρεῖον, τοῖς συνεβούλευε νᾶ μὴ ῥιψοκινδυνεύσωσι μάχην, ἀλλὰ καταπατοῦντες μὲ τὴν ἵππον νᾶφανίσωσιν ὅλον τὸν χιλὸν, νᾶ καύσωσι τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ καρπούς, μὴτε τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδόμενοι, καὶ οὕτω λιμαγχήσαντες νᾶναγκάσωσι τοῦχθρικὸν στράτευμα νᾶ ἀναποδίση. Τὰ μιᾶς παρομοίας συμβουλῆς ἀποβάντα, δοθείσης καὶ ἐκτελεσθείσης ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, κάμνει νᾶ στοχασθῶμεν ὅτι δὲν ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πολὺ νᾶ προχωρήσῃ δυνηθῆν, ἂν ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλήσποντον φρουγίας ὑπαρχος Ἀρσίτης, δὲν εἶχεν ἐναντιωθῆν εἰς τὸν Μέμνονα, λέγων ὅτι δὲν θέλει πατὲρ συγχωρήσει τὸ νᾶ καὶ μὴτε μία μόνον οἰκία τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν του ἀνθρώπων. Αὐτὴ ἡ γνώμη τὴν

φρόνιμον ὑπερίσχυσε συμβουλήν τοῦ ξένου, ὃν ὑπωπτεύοντο πρὸς μεγάλην ταν οἱ Πέρσαι βλάβην, ὅτι νὰ μηκύνῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ σκοπῷ τοῦ νὰ παρασχῇ μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἑαυτὸν του. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ ὅλον τοῦτο χωρὶς νὰκούσῃ τὸν Παρμενίωνα, ὃς τῷ παρασταίνει τὸν κίνδυνον εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἢ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ διάβασις ἔμπροσθεν πολυπληθεστέρου στρατεύματος τὸν ἐκτίθησι, τοῦπιχειρίζεται διὰ μυρίων ἀνυπερβλήτων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον δυσκολιῶν, καταβάλλει καὶ διασκορπίζει τὸ Περσικὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἵππικόν, ὃ περιεχείλωνε τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπανακάμπτει ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὸ πεζικόν, τὸ ὁποῖον εἴτ' ἀπ' εὐτολμίαν εἴτ' ἀπ' ἐμπληξιν ἔμενεν ἔμπεδον, τὸ περικυκλόνει, ἐφορμαῖ, τὸ ἀποσφάττει, καὶ πολυτελῆ λάφυρ' ἀφαιρεῖται, ὧν ἓν μέρος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στέλλει, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μὲ ταύτην ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν· Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων. Ἡ φήμη τῆς ἐν Γρανικῷ μάχης, παντοῦ διαδίδει φόβον· ἢ Ζέλεια, αἱ Σάρδεις, ἢ Ἐφεσος, ἀνοίγουσι τὰς θύρας των· ἢ Μίλητος παραδίδεται μετ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἀντίστασιν· ἢ Καρία, ἢ Λυκία, ἢ Παμφυλία, ὑποτάσσονται, καὶ εἰς μεγαλητέρας τὸν δρόμον ἐτοιμάζουσι κατακτήσεις.

Προσωπικῶς ἠθέλησεν ὁ Δαρεῖος τὸ πταῖσμα ἢ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀτυχίαν νὰ διορθώσῃ τῶν τοποτηρητῶν του· ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων πρόδρομος ἀβουλία, τὸν ἀπετύφλωσεν εἰς παραινέσεις αἰτινες εἰς τὸ νὰ τὸν σώσωσιν ἢ τοῦλάχιστον τὸν ἀφανισμόν του νὰ ἀναβάλωσιν ἔτεινον· καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις δυστυχίαις ἔχασε τὸν καλήτερόν του στρατηγόν, τὸν Μέμνονα, τοῦ ὁποίου τοὺς Πέρσας ἀφησεν ὁ θάνατος ὡς ἀφρουρήτους, καὶ τὴν πτώσιν των ἐτάχυνε. Τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀληθές, ὅτι περισσότερον ἢ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἔχει πολλάκις μεγίστην ῥοπὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν πλέον κολοσσαίων βασιλείων τύχην· ἐξήκοντα συναθροισθεῖσαι μυριάδες ἀπὸ τὸν Δαρεῖον, δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν τὸ χάσιμον ἑνὸς μόνου, τοῦ Μέμνονος, νὰ ἀναπληρώσωσιν. Ἡ πολυπληθὴς αὐτῆ δύναμις, ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα της παραγγελλομένη, μέχρι τῶν τῆς Κιλικίας ὁρίων προβαίνει. Ὅλα πρὸς ὄφελος γυρίζουσι δι' ἐκείνους ὅσοι τὸ προνόμιον ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν αὐτῶν νὰ φθάσωσιν εἰμαρμένην. Ἡ ἀπὸ κινδυνώδη νόσον εἰς Ταρσὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου προελθοῦσα διατριβὴ, παράφρονά τινά ἐμπιστοσύνην εἰς τὸν Πέρσην ἐμπνέει, ὃς εἰς δειλίαν αὐτὴν ἀπέδιδε, καὶ τὰ δύο

στρατεύματ' ἀπὸ μόνον ἔκρινε τὸ μέγεθος. Αἱ τῆς Συρίας πεδιάδες, ὅπου στρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Δαρεῖος, τὴν εὐκολίαν ἀνεμποδί-
 στως τὸ ἵππικόν του νὰ ἐξαπλώσῃ, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ νὰπολαύσῃ
 πλεονεκτημάτων τῶ ἔδιδον, ὅταν ἀπὸ τὴν οἴησίν του καὶ τοὺς κατ' οἶ-
 κον ἐχθροὺς, τοὺς κόλακας, ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἀκούων τὰς συμβου-
 λὰς τοῦ Ἀμύντου, προάγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, καὶ ἐμπλέκεται εἰς δυσ-
 χωρίας, εἰς ἃς ἀποκαταστάντα τὸ ἵππικόν του καὶ τὰναρίθμητά
 του στρατεύματ' ἀνωφελῆ, μᾶλλον τὸν ἐμποδίζουσι παρὰ τὸν χρησι-
 μεύουσιν· εἰς προὔπαντησιν ὑπάγει τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὸν ὁποῖον ἔπρεπε
 νὰ προσμείνῃ, καὶ βαδίζει ὀφθαλμοφανῶς εἰς τὸν ἀφανισμόν του.
 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθύς, συγκαλέσας τοὺς τῶν διαφόρων τάξεων ἡγεμό-
 νας τοῖς λέγει, ὅτι ἀπὸ τὰς ἐκτεταμένας τῆς Συρίας πεδιάδας, ὁ
 θεὸς διὰ νὰ τοῖς παραδώσῃ τὸν Δαρεῖον τὸν ἔφερεν εἰς στενὰ,
 ὅπου τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἴσια διάστημ' ἠύρισκετο πρὸς ἐξελιγμὸν τῶν Μα-
 κεδονικῶν φαλάγγων, ὅτι θηλυδριῆς καὶ μαλθακοὶ Ἀσιανοὶ νὰ
 πολεμήσωσιν εἶχον μὲ πολεμιστὰς Μακεδόνας, ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἀνδρά-
 ποδα ἐναντίον ἐλευθέρων, καὶ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.
 Αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλα παρόμοια θάρρος ἐνέπνευσαν ἀπερίγραπτον· καὶ
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν εἰς τοὺς παρακελευστικούς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγους, τὸ
 στρατιωτικὸν ὅλον ἔκραξεν ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ζητοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρ-
 βάρους ἀνυπομόνως νὰ ὀδηγηθῆ. Μόλις εἰς τοὺς σαλπικτὰς
 παρηγγέλθη νὰ σημάνωσι τὴν ἔφοδον, καὶ οἱ ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι
 συμμίγνυνται, πεισματώδης ἡ μάχη γίνεται, ἀλληλοδιαδόχως προς-
 κρούουσι καὶ προσκρούονται, πλὴν τέλος πάντων ἐκκλίναντες φεύγουσι
 προτροπάδην οἱ Βάρβαροι, καὶ ὅλο των τὸ στρατεύμα διασκεδασθὲν
 καὶ συντριφθὲν δεικνύει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς τόλμης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.
 Ἡ μήτηρ, ἡ γυνὴ, ἡ ἀδελφὴ, αἱ δύο θυγατέρες, καὶ ὁ νήπιος υἱὸς
 τοῦ Δαρείου, μένουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νικητοῦ· αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ
 Δαρεῖος διὰ μόνης ἀποδιδράσκει τῆς ταχύτητος τοῦ ἵππου του,
 καὶ μανθάνει δι' αὐτῆς τῆς μάχης νὰ μὴν ἀλαζονεύηται πλέον εἰς
 τὰς δυνάμεις του· ὅθεν ταπεινωθεῖς ὁ ὑπερήφανος οὗτος, εἰς δια-
 πραγματείας τρέπεται, καὶ παντοιοτρόπως πασχίζει νὰ κερδίσῃ τὴν
 τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καρδίαν, προβάλλων μύρια τάλαντα νὰ πληρώσῃ
 ὡς λύτρα τῶν ἐαλωκότων, νὰ παραχωρήσῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Εὐφρά-
 του, καὶ δίδων αὐτῶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων του νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ φίλον καὶ
 σύμμαχον. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲ τοιοῦτον ὑπεροπτικὸν ἀπορῥίπτει
 τρόπον κάθε πρόβλημα, ὥστε μόνα τὰ εὐτυχῆ δύνανται νὰ τὸν

δικαιολογήσωσιν ἀποβάντα. Ἡ Κύπρος, ἡ Φοινίκη, παραδίδονται, ἡ Τύρος πίπτει μεθ' ἑπταμηνη καὶ ἐπίπονον πολιορκίαν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς του, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος καθυποβάλλεται.

Οἱ σατράπαι μ' ὅλον τοῦτο συλλέγουσιν ὡς τάχιστα νέους στρατιώτας, καὶ φέρουσιν ἑκατοντακισμυρίους διαφόρων ἐθνῶν ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὃς εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν πλησίον τῶν Ἀρβήλων ὑπάγει νὰ στρατοπεδεύσῃ, εἰς μίαν μακροῦθεν φαινομένην πεδιάδα, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφρόντισε νὰ ἐξομαλίσῃ, διὰ νὰ δώσῃ περισσοτέραν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἵππων ἐφόδους καὶ ἀναστροφὰς εὐκολίαν, καὶ νὰποφύγῃ τὸ ὁποῖον προὔξενησεν αἷτιον, τῆς ἐν Ἰσσοῦ μάχης τὸ χάσιμον· διότι τὴν πρώτην ἀπέδιδεν ἦσαν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Κιλικίας. Οἱ πρόδρομοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲν ἤργησαν νὰ τὸν εἰδοποιήσωσι περὶ τοῦ διατρέχοντος· ὅθεν καὶ προχωρεῖ, κύριον νὰ ἰδῇ τὸν ἑαυτὸν τε ἀνυπόμονος τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ λαμβάνει θέσιν ὀλίγον μακρὰν τοῦ ἐχθρικοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐκατέρωσε παρατηροῦνται πρῶτον ἀμοιβαίως, ἔπειτα κινοῦνται, καὶ τέλος εἰς χεῖρας ἔρχονται. Τοῦ παρελθόντος ἡ ἐνθύμησις, καὶ ἦν ἔρριπτεν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν Περσῶν φρίκη, σχεδὸν εἶχεν αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς μάχης κρατήσει· διὸ καὶ ἡ νίκη, μ' ὅλην τὴν ἀσυμμετρίαν ἣτις δὲν ἐφαίνετο νὰ ἐπιτρέψῃ τὴν ἐλαχίστην ἰσορροπίαν, ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἐζυγοςάτησεν· ἡ νομιζομένη δύναμις δὲν ἐβάστασεν ἐναντίον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς τακτικῆς τόλμης, καὶ δὲν ἐχρησίμευσε τὸ πλῆθος παρ' εἰς τὸ νὰ προμηθεύσῃ πλέον ἀφθόμως εἰς τὴν σφαγὴν. Ἀπὸ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πεντακόσιοι μόνον ἐφρονεύθησαν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν νίκην, ἐν ᾧ νὰ κλαύσωσιν εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ χάσιμον ἐννενήκοντα χιλιάδων, ἔτι δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς κολοσσαίας καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ἣτις πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἤδη λάβει τιναγμούς. Ὁ Δαρεῖος σωθεὶς μόνος του καὶ φεύγων διὰ τῶν ὄρεων τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὀλίγας περισσότερον ἡμέρας δυστυχεῖς ἔμελλεν εἰς τὴν συμφορὰν του νὰ ἐπιζήσῃ· αὐτὸς ὁ νικημένος καὶ φυγᾶς βασιλεὺς, ὁ ὀνομάζων ἕως τότε τὸν ἑαυτὸν του δεσπότην ὅλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν μέχρι δυσμῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτοῦ ἐχθροὺς καλούμενος ὁ Μέγας Βασιλεὺς, εἰς τὰς πλέον ἀπομεμακρυσμένας περιεπλανᾶτο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν του, ὅταν ὁ Βῆσσος ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς σατράπας του τὸν ἐφόνευσε, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατάρατου τολμήματος, ἀπὸ πλανητικὴν δυστυχῆ καὶ ἄτιμον τὸν ἠλευθέρωσε ζωὴν. Οὕτως ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐτελεύτησε πεντηκοντούτης, λαμπρὸν παράδειγμα τοῦ εὐθραύστου τῶν ἀνθρώπινων μεγαλείων.

Αὐτὰ τὰ ἱστορικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, αὐτὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα σύγχρονα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων, τῷ χρησιμεύουσιν ὡς ἐποχή, καὶ κάμνουσιν εὐκατάληπτα πολλὰ πράγματα, τὰ ὅποια τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἕκαστος ἀναφέρει πρὸς ὄφελός του. Ἄλλως τε δὲν ἔλειπον εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην καὶ εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἔριδος ἀφορμαί· ἐξ ἐπαγγέλματος ἀντίζηλοι καὶ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας, ἀεννάως ἀπήντων ὁ εἰς τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ἀντετάττοντο· ἀντικειμένων ἀρχηγοὶ στάσεων, εἶχον τοὺς φατριαστάς, τοὺς συμπράκτορας, καὶ τοὺς πελάτας των· ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐσπούδαζον ἀμφοτέρω τιμαῖς, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐθήρευον ἀξιώματα, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἔλαστρον παρεκίνει καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν προσάλληλον νὰ ἐργάζωνται ἀφανισμόν, ἕκαστος πεπεισμένος ὅτ' εἰς μόνον τοῦ ἀντιπάλου του τὰ ἐρείπια σταθερῶς δύναται νὰ κτίσῃ. Ἡ εὐνοία τοῦ δήμου, ἣτις ἀντιτύπως ἐταπείνονε τὸν ἕνα ὅταν ὑψονε τὸν ἄλλον, ἦν τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς εὐγλωττίας, ὅθεν καὶ μὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρμὴν ἀμιλλῶνται περὶ τούτου· καὶ ἤξιζε τῶντι τὸν κόπον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸ τὸ βραβεῖον ἐβασίλευεν εἰς μίαν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπου ἢ ὑπερτάτη δύναμις ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ὅπου τις περισσοτέραν ἢ ὀλιγωτέραν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον ὅπου νὰ μεταχειρισθῇ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤξευρε, καὶ νὰ κινήσῃ τὰς καρδίας· κάθε πολίτης ὅστις τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶχε δεινότητα, ἀπολύτως διώκει πλῆθος αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐραστῶν μιᾶς τοῦνομα μόνον ἐχούσης ἀνεξαρτησίας, καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν μ' ὅλον τοῦτ' ἀμέτρως ἐξηλοτύπουν. Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔβλεπον, ἤκουον, ἤθελον διὰ τοῦ πλέον εὐγλώττε ῥήτορος, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὁ ῥήτωρ διανομεὺς ἦτο καὶ κύριος παντὸς ἀξιώματος πολεμικοῦ ἢ πολιτικοῦ, ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν θέλησίν του τοὺς ἔκαμνε νὰ πάρωσιν ἢ νὰ φήσω· ἐ τὰ ὄπλα· μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ὁ παρεισδυόμενος ἄνθρωπος εἶχε τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ περισύρῃ τὰς γνώμας των, καὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ ἀγαπητοτέρου των πράγματος, θέλω λέγειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἀτιμωρήτως νὰ τοὺς ὑστερῇ. Δὲν πρέπει λοιπὸν τις νὰ θαυμάσῃ, πῶς εἰς μίαν ἐπικράτειον ἔνθ' ἢ ἐπιστήμη τῆς πειθοῦς ἀπελάμβανε τόσον ἡδὺ προνόμιον ἐκαλλιεργεῖτο μὲ τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ὅτι καθεὶς φιλοτίμως ἀνήλωκε τὸ πολυτιμότερον τοῦ καιροῦ του, διὰ νὰ τελειοποιηθῇ κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὑπερτάτην τέχνην.

Μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥητόρων, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐγέννησεν ἄλλους ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὁμοχρόνως ἔλαμψαν ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ ὁ ἀνταγωνιστής του Αἰσχίνης· τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολικῆς

των ζηλοτυπίας μῖσος, ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἐξώργισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· σήμερον εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν πρέπει τις νὰ τοὺς ἐνώσῃ, διότι, χωρὶς ἑκατέρους νὰ κούσῃ, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀξιούς ἀκροάσεως, δὲν ἐμπορεῖ νὰ τοὺς κρίνῃ. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, εὐρυθυμὸς, γλυκὺς, ἀνθηρὸς, διαφεύγει, προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ διαλύει δεξιῶς τὰς ἐχθρικὰς ὑποφορὰς, ἠδύνει τὰς ἐκφράσεις του μὲ ὅλας τῆς καλλιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐπικοσμῆσεως τὰς χάριτας, ἐγείρει καὶ κινεῖ πολλάκις τοὺς ἀκροατὰς· πλὴν μία δύναμις ἀνωτέρω μία βροντώδης δεινότης, καταβάλλει κάποκαθίστησιν ὡς ἐμπληκτον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὅλους. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης διαγράφει λεπτοφυῶς, ἐνηδύνει τὰς ἀκοὰς, καὶ πληρεξουσίως πως εἰς ὅσων ἀπαξ φθάσει νὰ εἰσχωρέσῃ τὰς καρδίας περιέρχεται· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἂν καὶ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς τὰ ὦτα, βαθυτέρως ὅμως εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγχαράττει, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν διαπεράσει, αὐτογνωμόνως δεσπόζει. Πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰσχίνης ῥίπτει πανταχόθεν σπινθήρας· ἐν ᾧ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀκτινοβολεῖ. Ὅταν ἀκούω τὸν Αἰσχίνην εὐχέρως νὰ ἀναβάλλω τὴν κρίσιν μου δὲν ἐμπορῶ, καὶ σχεδὸν καταδικάζω τὸν Δημοσθένην μῆτε νὰ τὸν ἀκούσω θέλων· πλὴν μόλις τὸν ἤκουσα, καὶ τὸν εὐρίσκω ἀθῶον, τὸν θαυμάζω· τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτοῦ διαλύει, κάθε δυσκολίαν ἀπλῶς ἀποκόπτει, ἐκ θεμελίων ὅλας τὰς λεπτολογίας ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ σοφίσματ' ἀναιρεῖ, ὡςθ' ὡς νέφος ἀφανίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος, διαφανὲς ἀπὸ ζωηροτάτας γινόμενον διαυγείας. Ἀμφότεροι μ' ὅλον τοῦτο βροντῶσιν, ἂν καὶ μᾶνισον σφοδρότητα· μῆτε λοιπὸν ὁ Δημοσθένης πλέον ἀξιὸν ἀκτίπαλον ἠδύνατο νὰ κῆ, μῆθ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης πλέον ἀξιὸν νικητὴν. Ἄς μὴ συμβουλευθῶμεν περὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς αὐτῶν ἀξίας τοὺς ἰδίους· ἐπὶ ταύτου σέμνοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ, ἀμοιβαίως ὅτι δὲν εἶν' εὐγλωττοὶ διῆσχυρίζονται, καθεὶς ὀνομάζων τὸν ἀντίδικόν του, πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων, δεινὸν δημιουργὸν λόγων, μάγον, γόητα, καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος ὁ ἴδιος, ἀπλοῦς, εἰλικρινὴς, ἀληθής. Εἰς ἓν μόνον πρᾶγμα δὲν ἐμπορεῖ τις εὐκόλως νὰ κρίνῃ ποῖος ὑπερβάλλει τὸν ἄλλον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλευθερία των εἰς τὸ νὰ ὑβρίζωνται, καὶ νὰ μὴ μετριάξωσι τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνὸς ἀκατασχέτου θυμοῦ· φιλοτίμως ὁ εἷς καλεῖ τὸν ἄλλον, συκοφάντην, προδότην, μιαρὸν, ἀνόσιον, καὶ μὲ ἀμοιβαίαν ἀπέχθειαν ἐξαντλοῦσι τὰς ὑβριστικωτέρας λοιδορίας· τὰς προάγουσιν ἀναμφιβόλως πολλὰ μακρὰν, ἅς στοχασθῶμεν μ' ὅλον τοῦτο, πῶς εἰς μίαν δίκην πολλοῦ δι' αὐτοὺς ἀξίαν, νὰ καταπείσωσιν εἶχον λαὸν, νὰ μὲν ἀγχίνουν, ὅμως πάντα λαὸν, ὅθεν ὁ καταφατικὸς

τόνος καὶ ὁ θαρραλέος τρόπος ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἵτινες δὲν τολμῶσι σχεδὸν νὰ ὑποπτευθῶσιν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὅστις ἐντόνως ὀμιλεῖ, καὶ ἐκφέρεται, δύναται νὰ ἔχη ἄδικον· ἢ τοῦ ἁθώου δειλία, πολλάκις ὡς ἡμίσεια τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ὁμολογία ὑποτίθεται, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ πταιίστου προπετεές, ἐντελής ἁθωότητος ἀπόδειξις νομίζεται.

Πρὸς τούτοις ἤθελέ τις εἰπεῖν ὅτι διὰ νὰ καταστήσῃ τοὺς δύο δῆτορας αὐτοὺς ἢ φύσις εἰς μεγαλητέραν ἔχθραν, τοὺς ἔκαμεν ὅλως ἄνομοίους· διότι καθὼς ἢ τῶν διαθέσεων ἀναλογία μᾶς συνάπτει διὰ δεσμῶν ἀόπτων, οὕτως ἢ διαφορὰ τῶν κλίσεων δι' ἀοράτων μᾶς χωρίζει φραγμῶν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης, χαρίεις, γλυκύθυμος, εὐδιάθετος, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐφήμερος, φιλήδονος, εὐπροσήγορος, πολὺ νὰ συμφωνήσῃ δὲν ἠδύνατο μὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην, σοβαρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, ἀγαπῶντα τὴν μοναξίαν, φιλόπονον, αὐστηρὸν, βαρύθυμον, ἀνίκανον εἰς οὐδὲν νὰ ἐνδώσῃ, πάντοτε πρὸς τὰς καταχρήσεις ἔτοιμον νὰντιτείνῃ, καὶ μὲ δριμύτι ζυμωμένον τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποκρούει καὶ ἀπομακρύνει. Ἡ ἀντιπάθειά των, πηγὴ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν Φίλοστρατον, πολὺν καιρὸν μ' ὅλον τῆτο νὰ ζῶσιν εἰς ἀρετὰ καλὴν ἀρμονίαν τὴς ἄφησε· καὶ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέσπασε τοπρῶτον ἢ ἔχθρα των, ὅταν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν συμπρέσβεις, ἕκαστος τοῦ καλῶς βασιλεύειν ξεχωριστὴν ἠθέλησε μέθοδον εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον νὰ περιγράψῃ. Μετὰ τὴν τῆς πρεσβείας ἐπιστροφὴν, ὅπου δὲν ἐλαμπρύνθη ὁ Δημοσθένης ἴσως ὅσον ἐπεθύμει, μὲ τὸν φίλον του συμφωνεῖ Τίμαρχον (διότι καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσι τὰς μικροπρεπείας των), ὡς εἰς τὸ τῆ πρεσβείας ἀξίωμα παρανομήσαντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην νὰ κατηγορήσῃ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐπιτυχάνει πάντοτ' εἰς τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἢ ἀπολογία, χωρὶς ὁ Αἰσχίνης νὰ προσμένῃ τὴν προσβολὴν, ἐν ἀντιπερίσπασμα δοκιμάζει· ὑπὸ κρίσιν νὰ βάλῃ τὸν Τίμαρχον σπεύδει, ὡς ἔνοχον τῶν ἀρῆστοτέρων προαγωγειῶν, αἵτινες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὸν ἀπέκλειον τοῦ βήματος, καὶ κατορθώνει νὰ τὸν ἐλέγξῃ. Μερικοὺς ὑσερον χρόνους, ὁ Κτησιφῶν προβάλλει ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ μὲ χρυσῶν ἐμελλε σέφανον ὁ Δημοσθένης νὰ σεφανωθῇ· βραβεῖον μᾶλλον τιμὴν παρὰ κέρδος φέρον, καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς ἐκείνους ἐδίδετο τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοι μεγάλας εἶχον ἐκδουλεύσεις εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κάμει. Τοιοῦτον πρόβλημα δὲν ἔλειπεν ἐκ νέου τὸ μῖσος νὰνάψῃ τοῦ Αἰσχίνου· κατηγορεῖ λοιπὸν τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὡς παραβάτην τῶν νόμων, οἵτινες ἀπάγορεύουσι τὸ νὰ στεφανῶται ἀρχῶν ὑπεύθυνος, καὶ τὸ μεῖζον, πολίτης ὃς ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἔκαμεν ἐκδουλεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πατρί-

δα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐβύθισεν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας δυστυχίας. Τὸ ὡς ἐξ ἀντιπέμψεως πρὸς τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀποτεινόμενον κτύπημα καιρίως τὸν ἤγγιζεν· ὅθεν τόσον τὸ συμφέρον ὅσον καὶ ἡ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸν Κτησιφῶντα συνήγορον, ὃ ὁποῖος μήτε νανοίξη τὸ στόμα τὸν ἄφησεν· ὃ Δημοσθένης ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ ἐναγκαλιζόμενος ἀγῶνα κατ' αὐτὸ ἰδικόν τε, δικαιολογεῖ συγχρόνως τὸν ἑαυτὸν του καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην του.

Τὸ ὑπὲρ καὶ κατὰ τῶν δύο μας ῥητόρων σκεπτέον εἰς τὰς δικαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης ὑβρίζει, καὶ μὲ πολλὴν ἐλευθεροστομίαν κατηγορεῖ, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐν γένει δὲν ἀπαρέσκει· ὃ Δημοσθένης ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπαινεῖται καὶ καυχᾶται, καὶ τοῦθ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγανάκτησιν τινα διεγείρει. Ὁ διώκων ἔχει τὴν φιλοκατήγορον ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος του φύσιν μας· ὃ φεύγων, τὸ πολὺ πολὺ τὸν οἰκτόν μας. Ἡ θέσις των δὲν εἶναι παντάπασιν ὁμοία. Ἐτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν δικανικὴν τάξιν ὃ Αἰσχίνης ἀρχίζων πρῶτος νὰ ὁμιλή, τῆς προσοχῆς ἀπολαύει ἀκροατῶν ἀκμήτων, τοποθετεῖ κατ' ἀρέσκειαν, ἀκωλύτως ἀντιδιαπλέκει καὶ συγχέει τὴν τῆς διηγήσεως σειρὰν, καὶ προλαμβάνων τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ ὑποφορὰς, ἐγκρατῆς γίνεται τῆς τῶν δικαστῶν γνώμης, καὶ τοὺς προδιατίθησιν εἰς τρόπον ὥστε νὰ μὴ θέλωσι κανὲν εἶδος ἀπολογίας νὰκούσωσιν. Ὅθεν εἶναι μεγάλη τέχνη, καὶ τέχνη ὠφελιμωτάτη, εἰς ὁποῖον ἐξεύρει νὰ τὴν μεταχειρισθῆ, τὸ νὰ ἐμπνεύσῃ τὰς πρῶτας ἰδέας· ἡ ἀπόκρισις τὰς εὐρίσκει θεμελιωμένας, καὶ μὲ δυσκολίαν ὄχι ὀλίγην κατορθώνει νὰ τὰς κρημνίσῃ καὶ νὰ τὰς ἀποβάλλῃ, ἢ μᾶλλον δὲν τὰς ἀποβάλλει παντελῶς. Ἐμβρογμένη ἅπαξ ἀπὸ τὴν πρόληψιν ἡ κοινὴ γνώμη περιχαρακόνεται, καὶ μαχομένη καρτερώς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον νικᾷ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τὴν θέσιν της νὰ τὴν εὐγάλη πασχίζοντα· δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κερδίζει τις πάντοτε προκαταλαμβάνων καὶ τὰς καλητέρας ἀναιρῶν ἀντιλογίας· διότι ὅστις τὰς παρασταίνει πρῶτος, τὰς γυρίζει κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον του, καὶ ἂν δὲν τῶν ἀφαιρῆ τι μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, τοῦλάχιστον τὴν χάριν τὰς κάμνει νὰ χάσῃ τῆς καινότητος, ἣτις μεγάλως εἰς τὸν χυδαῖον ἰσχύει λαόν. Πλὴν ὡσανύτως ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ὃ Δημοσθένης, μ' ὅλον ὅτι εἰς καθεστηκότας ἦν ἤδη προλήψεις ἀναγκασμένος νὰ προσβάλλῃ, καὶ μιᾶς ἐκκενωθείσης προσοχῆς τὰ λείψανα νὰ συλλέξῃ, ὡμίλησεν ὃ τελευταῖος· εἶδος πλεονεκτήματος τὸ ὁποῖον διὰ νὰ μὴν εἶπω τίποτε περισσότερον, ἀντισταθμίζει καλῶς ὅλα τ' ἄλλα· ἡ νέα

εἰκῶν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἀκροατῶν ὑποσκελίζει πάντοτε τὴν παλαιάν, καὶ ἡ τελευταία τὸ προνόμιον ἐξόχως ἔχει, εἰς τὴν ἐνθύμησίν των ἐγκεχαραγμένη μόνη νὰ μένη. Κοινὸν εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλάττωμα, τὸ εἶχον εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι βαθμόν, καθὼς ὁ ἴδιος Δημοσθένης μᾶς τὸ διδάσκει, λέγων εἰς τὸν πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιακόν· Οὐκ ἄγνωσθ' ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ', ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς, οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε, ἄν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῆ. Τὸ πρὸ πάντων ὅμως βλάπτει τὸν Αἰσχίνην εἶναι, πῶς ὅλοι ἐξεύρουσιν ὅτι ζητεῖ νὰ πατήσῃ, καὶ συκοφαντεῖ, κατηγορῶν τὸν Δημοσθένην ὡς φιλιππίζοντα· ὡστ' ἔμπροσθεν ἀδεκάστῶν κριτῶν, αὐτῇ ταύτῃ συνηγορεῖ διὰ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἢ ἀλήθεια. Ὁ Αἰσχίνης εἰς περιέργους ῥητορικὰς ἀντιθέσεις ζυγοσταθμεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα· καθὲν ἐπιπολαίως ἀπὸ αὐτὰ περιτρέχει· βάζει πολλάκις πάρεργα· κάμνει χρῆσιν ῥητορικῶν τόπων, τοὺς ὁποίους τρέπει πρὸς ὄφελός του· καὶ μὲ ὄσσην τις ἐπιτηδειότητα νὰ φαντασθῆ δύναται, μερικὸν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντὶ τοῦ νὰ δώσῃ λόγον, μὲ τὴν τῶν φράσεών του γλυκύτητα θέλων τὰς ἀκοᾶς, παρεισάγει πιθανότητας, καὶ παρεμβάλλει συλλογισμοὺς ἀληθεῖς κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον. Ὁ Δημοσθένης τὸναντίον ποτὲ δὲν ἀφίνει τὸ κεφάλαιον· ἀφ' ὅλα τὸ γυρίζει τὰ μέρη, χωρὶς νὰ πομακρυνθῆ τὸ παραμικρότερον· ἀποδείξεις ἀναφέρει σαφεῖς, ἰσχυρὰς, ἀποδεικτικὰς· τίθησιν ἀρχὰς προδήλους· καὶ τραβῶν ἀναντιρῶντα συμπεράσματα, καταβάλλει τέλος πάντων διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας. Ὡσαύτως ὁ Δημοσθένης μᾶλλον ἐπαιρόμενος παρὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς εὐκαιρίας, ἣτις τὸν ἀπαλλάττει τῆς μετριοφροσύνης, καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἀπ' αὐτὸν λεπτομερῆ τῶν ἠθικῶν του ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν του κατορθωμάτων διήγησιν ἀπαιτεῖ· καὶ χωρὶς νὰ λανθασθῆ μήτ' εἰς μίαν μόνην λέξιν ἣτις ἐλάσσω φάινεται τῶν ἑσωτερικῶν ἀνεπικλήτου συνειδότος μαρτυριῶν, δικαιολογεῖται μὲ τὴν τόλμην ἑνὸς κατηγοροῦ, δὲν ἀπολογεῖται μήθ' ὡς ἱκετεύων μήθ' ὡς ἔνοχος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄλλος τις Σωκράτης, ὡς κύριος καὶ ἐξουσιαστής τῶν κριτῶν του, προστάττων τόσους κανόνας καὶ νόμους, ὅσας ἀποδείξεις καὶ λόγους ἐκθέτει· καὶ μετὰ τόνου προσήκοντος εἰς τὴν ἀθωότητα, μὲ ὑπέροχον ἐνωμένην ἀξιότητα, φαίνεται ὡς νὰ λέγῃ· Κανεῖς ἐν ἀρετῇ δὲν θέλει τὸν φθόνον ἀποφύγει καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν!

ΑΪΣΧΙΝΟΥ

‘Ο ΚΑΤΑ’

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

‘ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝ ἔγραψε ψήφισμα, “Στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανίεα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδῶν, ὅτι διατελεῖ τὰ ἄριστα λέγων καὶ πράττων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφητο Αἰσχίνης παρανόμων, καὶ εἰσάγει κεφάλαια γενικὰ τρία· ἐν μὲν, ὅτι ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφάνωσε, τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, “μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν,” περὶ οὐσίας· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνεκήρυξε τὸν στέφανον, ἀπαγορευόντος τοῦ νόμου, “μηδένα στεφανοῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ,” περὶ ποιότητος· τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, οὐκ εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἄξιον τοῦ στεφάνου· καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ παράνομον ἀνακτέον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύων τὰ ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν· ἐστὶ δὲ περὶ ποιότητος.

Ἵποφορὰς δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς, πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον δισσῶς ἐροῦντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομῆ, ἀλλὰ διακονία τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴ, τῷ γε ἐπιδεδωκέναι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ μηδὲν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος· περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφοτέρω. Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο Αἰσχίνης εἰσάγει στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μόντοι κατασκευάζει· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλ’ εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τοῦτο δέκα τάλαντα· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένου Δημοσθένους νόμον ἕτερον, κελεύοντα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων· περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος.

Οἶεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διηρηκέναι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, τὰ πράγματα καθέκαστα εἰς τούτους μερίσαντα. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φησιν εἶναι καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γενομένου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἥττης, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολιτευμάτων. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ αἴτιον αὐτὸν φησὶ γεγονέναι τῆς εἰρήνης,

αἰσχροῦς οὔσης καὶ ἀδόξου, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίου τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ὅτι τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν περὶ Φαιάκας συμβάντων αἴτιος ἐγένετο, καὶ τῆς ἥπτης τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πείσας μετὰ Θηβαίων ἀραμένους τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον παρατάξασθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐπολιτεύσατο. Μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κτησιφῶντος ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἐν οἷς ἀξιοῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐνίκα δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δημοσθένης.

Μέμφονται μέντοι τινὲς τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδιέτριψεν ἐν τῷ παρανόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κατηγορεῖ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός· αὐτὸς δὲ τούναντίον, τούτῳ μάλιστα διίσχυρίζεται, λέγων οὕτως, “Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπον μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι.” Μήποτε δὲ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔπραξεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶχε δόξαν μεγάλην παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ ὑπόληψιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς λαμπρότατα πεπολιτευμένος, εἰκότως ᾤθη ψυχροῦς καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίους φανήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν παρανόμων λόγους, εἰ μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσει τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης κακόνους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἐπιμέμπτως πεπολιτευταί· διὰ τοῦτο ἐσπούδασε περὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς κατηγορίας τὸ πλεῖστον ἐνδιέτριψε. Μέμφαιτο δ' ἂν τις τὸ προοίμιον ὡς τραγικὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιλόγῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικός.

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἐγγράφος, ὡς περὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου· τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια δηλονότι τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἄπερ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον τὸ νόμιμον τεμνόμενον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς τέσσαρας καιροῦς. Ὅρα δὲ, πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ συνηγῶρων ἐκβολῆς, ὡς περὶ καὶ Δημοσθένης.

Τινὲς εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει κατασκευὴν τὸ προοίμιον, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ συμπέρασμα δεῖ ζητεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀκατάσκευον, ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατασκευὴ, “Ἐπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.” Εἰ γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τῆς προτάσεώς ἐστὶν ἡ κατασκευὴ, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὰ μέτρια μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰ δεήσεις, κατασκευὴ ἂν εἴη. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ συμπέρασμα, “Ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω” ἕως τοῦ “μεῖζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων.”

ΤΗΝ μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηνταιί τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς 5 θεοῖς, δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος



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κρατεῖν δύνανται οὐθ' οἱ νόμοι οὐθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὐθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὐθ' ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

Τούτων δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει τοιούτων, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας (εἴ τι καὶ γὰρ τυγχάνω γιννώσκων) αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. *Εὖ* 10 γὰρ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικοῦνται δ' αἱ μὲν τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς 15 κειμένοις. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπιστάσθω, ὅτι, ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρρησίας· διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον 20 ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὄρκῳ, “Ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,” ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι, ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία· ἂν γὰρ διαμνημονεύοντας ὑμᾶς, μισεῖν τὰς παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν ἠγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι 25 τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλ' ἕκασον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τῶν ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἑάν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἳ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων 30 δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοί τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ

τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμε-
 νοι· ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνθείη τὴν
 τάξιν λιπεῖν, ἣν ἂν ταχθῆ ἔν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ
 νῦν αἰσχύνητε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἣν τέταχθε ὑπὸ
 5 τῶν νόμων, φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας εἰς τήνδε τὴν
 ἡμέραν. Κακεῖνο δὲ χρῆ διαμνημονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν
 ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται, παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν
 ὑμῖν, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες, οἱ μὲν
 πάρισι καὶ ἑπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ
 10 ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνόμενοι, καὶ
 τῶν ὄρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι, καὶ τῶν νόμων,
 εἰάν ἐλέγξω Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαν-
 τα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύετε, ὧ ἄν-
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς παρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιούτε
 15 τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κολάζετε τὰς ὑπεναντίως
 τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
 πολιτευομένους. Καὶν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν
 ἀκούητε τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι λόγων, εὖ
 οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια, καὶ εὖορκα, καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν
 20 αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι
 ἐλπίζω προειρηθῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων, οἱ
 κείνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα
 τοῦτο τυγχάνει γεγραφῶς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων
 25 εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις
 ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς καὶ
 τὰς προσόδους διοικοῦντες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ
 ἕκαστα τῶν, προσλαμβάνοντες τὲς τε ἐκ τῆς βου-
 λευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, πόρρω-
 30 θεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύναις ἐπαίνοις καὶ κη-
 ρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰς

τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγό-
 ρους, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰς δικαστάς. Πολλοὶ γὰρ
 πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δη-
 μοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι, διεφύγγανον
 ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων· εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ (οἶμαι) 5
 οἱ δικασταὶ, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
 πόλει (τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ) πρόην μὲν
 ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ὅτι στεφανοῦ-
 ται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν 10
 ἔξισιν ἐκ τῆς δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύνας
 ὠφληκῶς· ὥστε τὴν ψῆφον ἠναγκάζοντο φέρειν οἱ δι-
 κασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου. Κατιδὼν δέ τις ταῦτα νο-
 μοθέτης, τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα, τὸν 15
 διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τὰς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφα-
 νοῦν. Καὶ ταῦθ' ἔτι εὖ προκατειληφὸς τοῦ νο-
 μοθέτου, εὔρηνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς
 εἰ μὴ τις ὑμῖν ἐρεῖ, λήσετε ἔξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων
 γὰρ τινες τῶν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ 20
 τοὺς νόμους, οἱ μὲν φύσει μέτριοί εἰσιν (εἰ δὴ τίς
 ἔστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γραφόντων), ἀλλ'
 οὖν προβάλλονταί γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης· προσεγ-
 γράφουσι γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα, στεφανοῦν τὸν
 ὑπεύθυνον, ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. 25
 Καὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προ-
 καταλαμβάνονται γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ
 εὐθύναι), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψηφίσμα γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς
 ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παράνομα, αἰσχύνεται
 δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἠμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δὲ, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 30
 ναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευ-

θύνων κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν, ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν, ἀνελὼν, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

5 Λέξουσι δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ ὡς ἄρα, ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχή· ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία· ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι, ἃς οἱ θεσμοθέται
10 ἀποκληροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ, καὶ κείνας, ἃς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραγματείας προστεταγμένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων, νόμον
15 ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν ἠγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται· “Τὰς χειροτονητάς” φησὶν “ἀρχὰς” (ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβῶν ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπῶν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἃς ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ)
20 “καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας” φησὶ “τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων” (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς, ἐπιστάτης τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) “καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμβάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων.” (οἱ δὲ
25 τῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου). τί τούτους κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀρχεῖν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι, ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἀρχουσι), καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύ-
30 νας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, κελεύει. “Ὅτι

δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώ-
σεται.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃς ὁ νομοθέτης
ἀρχαῖς ὀνομάζει, οὗτοι προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας 5
καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημό-
νεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων
ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐ προσδέ-
χεσθε κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς
νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγη 10
παράνομα γεγραφῶς, τοσοῦτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύ-
ξεται. Χρῆ γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ αὐτὸ
φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ
ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίη ὁ νόμος, ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ,
τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρῆ διδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ 15
τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.

Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἀφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθέ-
νης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Δέξει γὰρ οὗτος,
“Τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει
μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασμαι· τίνοσ 20
ἔν εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος;· εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστὶν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη.”
Πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγον-
τος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ
πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὖση, καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος,
οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὅπως οὖν πρὸς τὰ 25
κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον
ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἷον, τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας
ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην
ἅπαντας, καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ
γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν 30
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδία, ἀλλὰ

καὶ κοινῇ κατὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους
 ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, οὐ τὰ κοινὰ δια-
 χειρίσαντας, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ
 5 μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους, βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδι-
 δόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα,
 ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς πατρώας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκότας φιλοτιμίαν. Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ
 τριήραρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 10 συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἔρχεται ψῆφον.
 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ
 ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον
 καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι· καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν
 μεγίστων κυρίαν ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ψῆφον.
 15 Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου
 πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἄρα
 φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάννυ γε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν, εἴαν
 τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' εἴαν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ
 κολάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι ρήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν
 20 τὴν βουλὴν, τὸς πεντακοσίους, ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν
 ὁ νομοθέτης· καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευ-
 θύνοις, ἕστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν νόμων λέγει·
 “ Ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνόν ” φησι “ μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.” Ὡς
 Ἡράκλεις (ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις), ὅτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδη-
 25 μῆσω; ἵνα γε μὴ προλαβῶν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως, ἢ
 πράξεις, δρασμῶν χρῆσθαι. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ εἶ
 τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν, οὐδὲ ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι,
 οὐδ' ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ,
 οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς οὐσίας
 30 ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀπο-
 δῶσι τῇ πόλει. Ναὶ, ἀλλ' ἔσι τις ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔτε

εἴληφεν οὐδέν τῶν δημοσίων οὔτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν. Καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τὸς λογιστάς. Καὶ πῶς ὁ γε μηδὲν λαβὼν μηδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἃ χρὴ γράφειν. 5
κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τέτοιο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι “ Οὔτ' ἔλαβον οὐδέν τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἀνήλωσα.” ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀζήτητον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “ Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων. 10

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“ Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης, λέγων ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑπεύθυνος ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε. “ Οὐκ οὐν ἐχρῆν σε, ὦ Δημόσθενες, εἶσαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν κήρυκα κηρύξαι 15 τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἐννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἔασον ἀμφισβητησαί σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴλη- 20 φώς. Μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, μηδὲ ἐξαιρῶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, μηδ' ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου. ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.”

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, ἃς οὔτοι 25 προφασιοῦνται, μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι. ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅθ' οὔτος εἰσηνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἄρχων μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχὴν, ἄρχων δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας δὲ πῶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας 30 δεδωκώς, ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ



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σιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαϊρώνδου ἄρχοντος, Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν Σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ 5 ψηφίσματι, ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἵν' ἡ πόλις ἔχη ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καί μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα. 10

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ναὶ, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθέως, λέγων ὡς οὔτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὔτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται λόγον· ὁ δέ γε 15 νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφής καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προειπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἔστι γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶδη τρία, ὧν ἓν μὲν καὶ πᾶσι φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ 20 ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται, τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, “Καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι αἵρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας.” 25 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀφέλη τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπεται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριτύες καὶ οἱ δήμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αἵρουσιν τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἵρετοὺς ἄρχοντας εἶναι· 30 τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται, ὅταν, ὡςπερ νῦν, ἐπιταχθῇ τι

ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι, ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγεῖσθαι. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

5 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἢ δὲ Πανδιονίς φυλὴν ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχοποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὅς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν
10 δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε στεφανοῦν τὸν ὑπεύθυνον, μὴ προσθεῖς “ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ,” ἐγὼ δ' ἐξήλεγξα
15 τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παρανομώτατα γεγραφότα;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου
20 παρανόμως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κελεύει, εἰ μὲν τινα στεφανοῖ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν
25 νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. Οὐ γὰρ (οἶμαι) ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν,
30 ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. Ὁ

μὲν νομοθέτης οὕτως · ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς ; ἀναγίνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΨΙΣΜΑ.

Ἀκούετε ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πνυκί τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 5 ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ 10 δήμου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφῶς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποίσει τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις, ἃς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἐξαπατηθέντες. Οὗτοι 15 γὰρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρῆσονται τῷ νόμῳ μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, 20 καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇ γραφῇ τῇδε, καὶ λέξουσιν, ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἷς μὲν, ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι, διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύων τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς 25 ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, εἰάν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος · κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς 30 τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέχομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς

νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων
 παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό
 ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν
 εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυ-
 5 ρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως
 ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τί ἂν ἔτι ταύτην εἴποι τις
 εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ἧ ταῦτὰ προστάττουσιν
 οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει
 ταῦθ' οὕτως, μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν
 10 τῶν νόμων προβαίητε· οὔτε ἡμέληται περὶ τῶν
 τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κα-
 ταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήδην προστέτακται τοῖς
 θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν
 τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ
 15 σκεψαμένους, εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναν-
 τίος ἑτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ
 εἴπου εἰσὶ νόμοι πλείους ἑνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι
 περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως· κἄν τι τοιοῦτον εὕρι-
 σκωσιν, ἀναγεγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κε-
 20 λεύει πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτᾶ-
 νεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράψαντας τὰς νομοθέτας,
 τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν
 διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναίρειν τῶν
 νόμων, τοὺς δὲ καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἢ νόμος
 25 καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. Καί μοι
 λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀληθὲς ἦν ὁ
 παρὰ τούτων λόγος, καὶ ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι
 30 περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης (οἶομαι) τῶν
 μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων, τῶν δὲ πρυτανέων

ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις, ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος
 τῶν νόμων, ἦτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκὼς ἀνειπεῖν,
 ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὁπότε δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται,
 φανερώς δήπου ἐξελέγχονται οὐ μόνον ψευδῆ
 λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι. 5
 Ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψευδὲς τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ
 διδάξω ὑμᾶς, προειπὼν ὧν ἕνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν
 οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γινομένων
 γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγωδῶν, ἀνεκκήρυκτόν τινες,
 οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι στεφανοῦνται 10
 ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν·
 ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ὑποκηρυζάμενοι, τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκέτας
 ἀφίεσαν ἀπελευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπελευθερίας
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας ποιούμενοι. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτα-
 τον, προξενίας τινὲς εὖρημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι, 15
 διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς
 ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων, ἢ Χίων,
 ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
 ἀνδραγαθίας· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας στεφανούμενοι, ἢ ὑπὸ 20
 τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ψηφίσματος,
 πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελόμενοι
 ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου
 συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγοὺς καὶ
 τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυκτομέ- 25
 νους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου στεφανουμένων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέδεικτο
 τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἧ ἤρη στεφανοῦσθαι, καὶ
 ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀνη-
 γορεύοντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ 30
 κεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὔτοι

δ' ἄνευ ψηφίσματος. Συνιδὼν δὴ τις ταῦτα νο-
 μοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦντα τῷ
 περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ, οὔτε
 λύσας ἐκεῖνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠνωχλεῖτο,
 5 ἀλλὰ τὸ θεάτρον), οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον
 κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεῖς (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ πε-
 ρὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων
 ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς
 οἰκέτας ἀπελευθεροῦντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν
 10 στεφάνων· καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην
 ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν
 ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι σεφανέμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλ-
 λου (φησὶ) μηδενὸς, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα.
 Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στε-
 15 φανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρήθῃναι, τοῖς
 δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
 τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλε-
 τῶν ἀπείπη μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα
 μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ, φι-
 20 λοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπη δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μηδ' ὑπὸ
 ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀνακηρύττεσθαι ἀπούσης βουλῆς
 καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν,—ὅταν δὴ τις
 ταῦτα ἀφέληται, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν
 οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα
 25 σημεῖον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω.
 Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρρήθῃ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς
 Ἀθηναῖς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφα-
 νούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε τοσαύτην
 30 ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναί-
 ων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ιδιώτης οὐδὲ

εἷς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε
 στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ
 καθιεροῦν. Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν
 στέφανον καὶ καθιέρωσις γεγένηται, ἵνα μηδεὶς
 ἀλλοτρίαν εὐνοίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς 5
 πατρίδος, χείρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναρῶθηθέντα στέφανον
 οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξέστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ
 μόνον αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς 10
 τὸν δῆμον γίνωνται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ
 νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, εἰ μὴ ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἵν' ἡ πόλις
 ἢ βελομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν, πρέσβεις
 πέμπασα δεηθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵν' ὁ κηρυττόμενος 15
 μείζω χάριν εἰδῇ τοῦ στεφάνου ὑμῖν, ἢ τοῖς στεφα-
 νοῦσιν, ὅτι κηρύξαι ἐπιτρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἑξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν, ὡς 20
 προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, εἰ μὴ
 ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβα-
 λεῖν, ναὶ, εἴ γέ σέ τις ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ
 δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου
 δεῖ τῆτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας 25
 μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ “ἀλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅ
 τι ἐστὶν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις,
 ὡς ἐννομα γέγραφας.

Ἔστι δ' ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας,
 ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπευδάω· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, 30
 δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως



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μνῶν ἅμα τήν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τήν τοῦ δήμου
 καταχειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου καταχειροτόνησε
 Μειδίου; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ
 τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδιδοὺς ὑμᾶς,
 οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο φο- 5
 βούμενος, μή μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν
 μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογέμενα.
 Καίτοι, ὧ Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχυρῶν
 οὕτως ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὡς
 τὸν κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πα- 10
 λαῖὰ καὶ λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ
 χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι, ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σέ,
 τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν, πότερα
 χρῆ καταφρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει
 διδόναι; 15

Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι
 σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν
 Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ἀποδοθῆ, κα-
 ταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες
 ἤδη γεγένηνται καιροὶ, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. 20
 Ὡν ἓνα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἀπάντων (ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκέω)
 καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φί-
 λιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον
 δ' ἀφορίζειται τὸν χρόνον τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ
 συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε, 25
 καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δείξω. Δεύ-
 τερον δὲ καιρὸν φήσει γενέσθαι ὃν ἡγομεν χρόνον
 τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἐν
 ἣ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ
 αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον 30
 δ' ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον, μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς

ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ· τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν.
 Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος (ὡς ἀκούω), μέλλει
 με καλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν, ὁποῖς τέτων τῶν τεττάρων
 αὐτῶ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ, καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλ-
 5 τιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι· καὶ μὴ θέλω
 ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδρά-
 σκω, ἐκκαλύψειν μὲ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξειν ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. Ἴν' οὖν
 μήθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζηται, ὑμεῖς τε προειδήτε, ἐγώ
 10 τε ἀποκρίνωμαι, ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν, Δη-
 μόσθενες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν
 περιεστᾶσι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγο-
 νεν ὑπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὄρω δὲ οὐκ ὀλί-
 γους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὄσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνη-
 15 ται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους), ἀποκρί-
 νομαι, ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγο-
 ρῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῆ· καὶ οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι,
 καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ γὰρ δύ-
 νωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἅ σοι σύνοιδα, πάνυ προς-
 20 δοκῶ ἀποδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς, τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας
 τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγεννημένους καὶ τοὺς
 φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι
 χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημο-
 σθένην αἴτιον γεγεννημένον. Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ
 25 λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ, ἣν τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖ-
 σθαι μέλλειν· λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶ πρώτου και-
 ροῦ καὶ δευτέρου περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτον
 περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τῶν νῦν κα-
 θεστηκότεων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἑμαν-
 30 τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φίλοκράτης
 ἐγράψατε.

Ὑμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἂν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν
 προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινοῦ
 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶασαν
 περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας, ἃς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες
 κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακα- 5
 λοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνε-
 δρίου, καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων
 ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, καὶ
 τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν συστάντες 10
 ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν
 ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ
 τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε
 ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ ὅταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων
 διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. 15
 Ἐρχόμεθα δὴ πού ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν ἐνίοτε δόξας
 ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν ὁ
 λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὕτω
 δύσκολος τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμο-
 λογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς 20
 ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. Οὕτω καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν
 ποιήσασθε· εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων
 ἤκασιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἄρα
 ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πρόποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
 συστάς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, 25
 μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω, πρὶν ἀκού-
 ση· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. Ἄλλ' εἰάν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων
 ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσκοντος τοὺς καιροὺς, καὶ τὸ ψή-
 φισμα παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε
 Δημοσθένης, εἰάν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λογισμὸς 30
 ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγρα-

φότα ψηφίσματα μετὰ Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπεβολὴν
 δ' αἰσχύνῃς κεκολακευκότα Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς
 παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα,
 5 αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινοῦ
 συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
 ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεποιηκότα Κερσοβλέπτην τὸν
 Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ
 πόλει, εἰάν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι
 10 ὑμῶν μετρίαν δέησιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν
 τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν
 πεπολιτεῦσθαι. Δέξω δὲ ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακο-
 λουθήσετε.

Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κή-
 15 ρυκας καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμα-
 χίας· τῆτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. Ἦκον
 οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν Δυκῖνος ὁ
 γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο
 δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ
 20 ταῦτα ἐπῆει ὁ χρόνος, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐν-
 ταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βουλευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον
 Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἅπαντα
 καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε
 25 τὸ ἔργον. Νικᾶ γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης,
 ἐν ᾧ κελεύει ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικό-
 μενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀξιώσασιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις
 αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων
 εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης· καὶ κεῖθεν ἐπανήκων ἐπαινέτης
 30 ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσιν
 ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε σπεί-

σασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς
 πρέσβεσιν, ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μὲν γε
 τὴν ἔξουσίαν δέδωκε τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις
 πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. 5
 Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς
 πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ
 Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθέ-
 νην (εἰκότως, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα
 δὲ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφοντας), πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως 10
 μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις, οὓς ἦτε ἐκπεπομφό-
 τες, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρή-
 νην· δεύτερον δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, 15
 ἵν' εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν
 ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν, ὀρῶντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
 μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ
 μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους
 ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θρά- 20
 κης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος, μήτε μετέσται τῆς
 συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρηγγέλλετο
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιά. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἐξωνέ-
 μενος οὐκ ἠδίκηι (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συν-
 θηκῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέρον- 25
 τα), οἱ δ' ἀποδόμενοι καὶ κατακοινώσαντες τὰ τῆς
 πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ, μεγάλης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. Ὁ γὰρ
 μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι, καὶ τότε μισοφί-
 λιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων
 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψηφίσμα, τοὺς καιροὺς 30
 τῆς πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς

πρυτάνεις τῆ ὀγδόῃ ἰσταμένου τοῦ Ἐλαφβολιῶνος
 μηνός, ὅτε ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προα-
 γών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ πρότερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται
 γενομένην τινά· πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος, ἵνα (φησὶν)
 5 εἰάν ἤδη παρῶσιν ὡς ἡμᾶς οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις,
 βουλευέσθαι ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς
 Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὐπω παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκατα-
 λαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν
 ὑποτεμνόμενος, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων, ἵνα
 10 μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν
 ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν
 εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἤκον οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ ὑμέτεροι
 ἀπεδήμην παρακαλῶντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιπ-
 15 πον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης,
 ἐν ᾧ γράφει μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλευσασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας
 τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ
 ἐν ἄστει Διονύσια τῆ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.
 20 Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρεληλύθει
 τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγένοντο διτταὶ ἐκκλησίαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ
 προτέρᾳ ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, οὗ
 25 τὰ κεφάλαια διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερωῶ. Πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλευ-
 σασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ
 ἐπιλελησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναγκαιοτέραν
 ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀπήντησαν
 30 ὀρθῶς, ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ
 προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι, ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἱκανὸν 5 γενέσθαι παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν', εἰ παραβαίνοιτο αἱ συνθήκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἀ νῦν ὑμῖν παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ 10 αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

Τέτω τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς, 15 ὡς ἔσαι μὲν εἰρήνην, περὶ δὲ συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν βελεύεσθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων. Νῦξ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρῆμεν τῇ ὑσεραΐᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης τὸ 20 βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπῶν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις, ἔδὲ γινώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀπέσης συμμαχίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς 25 εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) ἀπορῥῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἔδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπα- 30 τρον ἐρώτημά τι ἠρώτα, προειπῶν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται,



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Ἐπόλοιπον δέ μοι ἐσὶ τὴν κολακείαν αὐτῷ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας, οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια ἔθηκε, καὶ 5 φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγειτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν εἰς Θήβας, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὄρεικά, καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις πρῆπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, κατα- 10 γέλασον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικού- 15 τος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ, πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, 20 οὗς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν, νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἑβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθήτα λαβὼν ἔβου- 25 θύτει καὶ παρηνόμει, τὴν μόνην ὃ δείλαιος καὶ πρῶτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας· καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. Ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστὸς, εἰδὲ ὃ τὰ φίλτατα 30 καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς

περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ
 ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς,
 οὐδ' ὅστις ἐσὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος οὐδέ ποτ' ἦν ἐν Μακε-
 δονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς καὶ γαθός· οὐ γὰρ
 5 τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξε.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγμά-
 των (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς), καὶ τί
 ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
 αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγε-
 10 λίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων
 κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὁ
 μιᾶρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως
 ἀξιὸν ἐσὶν ἀκοῦσαι. Ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα εἴσω Πυλῶν
 Φίλιππος παρῆλθε, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις
 15 παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δὲ, ὡς
 τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου
 συμφέροντος ἰσχυρὸς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς τ' ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκευαγωγῆκατε, ἐν ταῖς με-
 γίσταις δὲ ἦσαν αἰτίαι οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰ-
 20 ρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόν-
 τως Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης, διὰ τὸ μὴ μό-
 νον πρεσβεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι
 (συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεισθαί τι τὸν
 Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων
 25 ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι).
 τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς, μετὰ τῶν συμφύ-
 των αὐτῶ νοσημάτων ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβλεύετο,
 μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς
 δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἠγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμ-
 30 πρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀνα-
 φανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως ἀπολεῖσθαι,

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτοὺς
 δ' εὐδοκιμήσειν, καὶ προδότης ὢν τῶν φίλων καὶ πο-
 νηρὸς, πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. Κατιδόντες
 δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆ τῆς πόλεως προσπολεμοῦντες ἡσυχία,
 ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδω-5
 ροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῆ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριῶν, ἀρ-
 χὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτός
 ἔστιν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρρῳ
 τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μουργί-
 σκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ 10
 ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον· καὶ ἐς τοῦτο φέρων πε-
 ριέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φί-
 λιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλε-
 ως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι, κατασκόπῃς πέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέσ-
 βεις· εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ 15
 περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν
 ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἀλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπη-
 γόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδί-
 δῶσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς 20
 Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς περὶ τῆς
 εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, τὴν μὲν εἰρή-
 νην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
 παρεσκεύασε.

Ναι, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν 25
 (ὡς αὐτός φησι) τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῆ τῶν
 Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχία. Ἀλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἠδίκησθε καὶ
 μάλιστα ἠγνοήκατε· σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς
 μεγίστης συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἵν' ἐφεξῆς 30
 εἴπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.

Ἑμεῖς γὰρ, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠδι-
 κημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλ-
 λίου καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρὸς (οὓς οὗτος νυνὶ
 μισθὸν λαβὼν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν),
 5 καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν
 εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὠρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες
 ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θη-
 βαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν
 πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς, ναυσί τε καὶ
 10 πεζικῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελ-
 θεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς
 Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς
 πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς παρακα-
 ταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὄργην
 15 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλι-
 καῦθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς
 ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα
 διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς
 μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν προσεποιούνηθ' ὑμῖν
 20 εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύνας πα-
 ρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος
 ὑπερεβάλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς (ὃν
 Δημοσθένης μισθὸν λαβὼν ἐνεκωμιάζεν), ὄρων τὸ
 στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τινὰς δυσχωρίας κα-
 25 τακεκλεισμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νικήσασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν
 ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοήθειας ἐλπίς οὔτ' ἐκ γῆς οὔτ' ἐκ
 θαλάσσης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας στρα-
 τόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμετα-
 πέμπόμενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὃ
 30 νυνὶ πάντα δεξιούμενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φω-
 κικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας, ἦλθον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀναι-

ρήσοντες. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτεροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατήσαντες ἀφίεσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς 5 πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν ἡμῶν ἢ πόλις αἰσχίστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχεῖν κατὰ πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀναξίως ἑαυτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοι- 10 αὔτα πεπονθότες, πάλιν διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς.

Τυχῶν δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συνέδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν 15 Εὐβοίαν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαίρετον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περιποιούμενος· καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον λήψεσθαι, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιῆει μετὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς ὠνομάζετο. Ἄδικήσας δὲ Φίλιπ- 20 πον, κακείθεν ἀποδράς ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρον Ἰθαίοις· ἐγκαταλιπὼν δὲ κακείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ Εὐρίπου, παρ' ὃν ὄκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Ἰθαίων ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, καὶ παραγ- 25 γελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατιᾶς, μίαν ἐλπίδα λοιπὴν κατείδε σωτηρίας, ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν ἂν τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴη, ὃ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσατε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποσέλ- 30 λει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ

Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δῆμῳ ἐλπίδας κενὰς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἃ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο· πρῶτον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας, 5 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεῖς τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος, ἢ τεθνᾶναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι, τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτευσον, ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ Θη- 10 βαίων· δεύτερον δ' ἦκον οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεύειν Ἀθηναῖσι Χαλκιδέας· τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις. Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς 15 προσποιεῖται (ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν), ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος, ἀντὶ τούτων εὐφημίας ἔνεκα προσγράψας, καὶ Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν εἰάν τις 20 ἴη ἐπ' Ἀθηναίσι· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συντάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίσις ὀνόμασιν αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοηθείας ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν προτέρας ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δε- 25 ομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. Ἴνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λάβε μοι τὴν Καλλίσις γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30 Οὕτω τοίνυν τοῦτό ἐστι δεινόν, εἰ οἱ καιροὶ πέπρανται τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις,

ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῆς δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὃ μέλλω
 λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ
 Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δὲ
 (ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν) δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ
 Ὠρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα 5
 τάλαντα, ὀρώντων, φρονούντων, βλεπόντων ἔλαθον
 ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων
 συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς
 Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον
 συνήγαγον· ὃν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἷων κακουργη- 10
 μάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται
 γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ
 Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους
 διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε
 γὰρ, ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ σύνταγμα 15
 συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν τάλαντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ Φί-
 λιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἐκάστους ἔδει συντε-
 λεῖν, Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντα καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα
 τάλαντα, τὰς δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις ἀπάσας τετραρά-
 κοντα, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ 20
 ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς
 ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς
 συντάξεως, ὥστ' οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσε-
 σθαι ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη
 δὲ καὶ πράξεις πράττειν ἕτερας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ 25
 τέτων εἶναί τινας μάρτυρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν,
 καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλει Δημοσθένην καὶ
 συνειπεῖν ἠξίς. Ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρελθὼν, τόν
 τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει, καὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον προσε-
 ποιήσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβεΐ- 30
 αν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη



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δ' ὑμᾶς ἀποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμά-
 σας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας, γρά-
 φει κελεύων ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρετρίαν, οἵτινες
 δεήσονται τῶν Ἐρετριέων (πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι
 αὐτῶν) μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε 5
 τάλαντα, ἀλλὰ Καλλία· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρας αἰρεῖσθαι
 εἰς Ὠρεὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ δεήσονται τῶν
 Ὠρειτῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίοις φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν
 νομίζειν εἶναι· ἔπειτ' ἀναφαίνεται πέρασ ἀπάντων
 ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι γράψας, καὶ τὰ 10
 πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιούν τοὺς Ὠρεῖτας
 μὴ ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλία διδόναι. "Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλα-
 ζονείαν ἐκ τῆ ψηφίσματος, ἀνάγνωθι, καὶ τῆ κλέμ-
 ματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρω- 15
 πος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι
 διατελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ
 δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν 20
 καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἤκού-
 σατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τάλ-
 λαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.

Ἐπόλοιπον δὲ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι λαβὼν τρία
 τάλαντα μισθὸν, τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημο- 25
 σθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου,
 τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ
 τυράννου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ὠρεῶ, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανῆς
 ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὠρειτῶν καὶ πάντα
 πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ 30
 ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως

διακείμενοι, πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον τὸν
 Χαριγένεος υἱὸν, τοῦ δυνασεύσαντός ποτε ἐν ᾽Ωρεῶ,
 δεησόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφιέναι τῇ πόλει,
 ἐπαγγελλούμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα στήσεσθαι
 5 ἐν ᾽Ωρεῶ· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ ὅτι ἐλα-
 χίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τῆ
 Καλλίε εἰσπράττειν. Ἐναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ ᾽Ωρεῖ-
 ται καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦντες, ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τῆ ταλάντη
 τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν Δημο-
 10 σθένει τοῦ δωροδοκῆματος δραχμῆν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς
 μηνᾶς, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδωσαν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπρά-
 χθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου· ὅτι δὲ τὰληθῆ
 λέγω, λάβε μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν ᾽Ωρειτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

15 Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὧ ἄνδρες ᾽Αθηναῖοι,
 αἰσχύνῃ μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν
 Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, φανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία
 Κτησιφῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχροῦς δωροδοκῶντα
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ὃ τετόλμηκεν
 20 οὗτος γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν,
 μᾶλλον δ' ὁ πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημο-
 σθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως
 πράξεις, ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς,
 25 ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσην τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμ-
 μαχίαν γράψας. Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
 θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

Ἔστι γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες ᾽Αθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρῶραϊον
 ὠνομασμένον πεδῖον, καὶ λιμῆν ὃ νῦν ἐξάγιστος
 30 καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος· ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώ-
 ραν κατώκησαν Κιρῶραῖοι καὶ Ἀκραγαλλίδαι, γένη

παρανομώτατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ
 τὰ ἀναθήματα ἠσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς
 τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας· ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
 γιγνομένοις μάλιστα μὲν (ὡς λέγονται) οἱ πρόγονοι
 οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες, μαν- 5
 τείαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρὴ τιμω-
 ρία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελθεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς
 ἀναιρεῖ ἡ Πυθία, πολεμεῖν Κιρρῶαίοις καὶ Ἀκραγαλ-
 λίδαις πάντ' ἡματα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώ-
 ραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδι- 10
 σαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ
 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Δητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Προναίᾳ ἐπὶ
 πάσῃ ἀεργία, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὴτ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴτ' ἄλλον εἶναι. Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρη-
 σμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψηφίσαντο (Σόλωνος εἰπόν- 15
 τος Ἀθηναίης τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθετῆσαι
 δυνατῆ, καὶ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετρι-
 φότος), ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαν-
 τείαν τῆ θεῆ· καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν ἰκανὴν
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀν- 20
 θρώπους, καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἔχωσαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθιέρω-
 σαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τέτοις ὄρκον ὤμο-
 σαν ἰσχυρὸν, μὴτε αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι,
 μὴτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ 25
 τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ πάσῃ δυνά-
 μει. Καὶ ἐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆτον μόνον τὸν ὄρ-
 κον ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπὴν καὶ ἀρὰν ἰσχυ-
 ρὰν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιήσαντο· γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως
 ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ· “ Εἴ τις τὰδε (φησὶ) παραβαίνῃ, ἢ πό- 30
 λισ, ἢ ἰδιώτης, ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγῆς (φησιν) ἔστω τοῦ

Ἄπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Δητοῦς καὶ
 Ἀθηναῖς Προναίας.” καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτοῖς “μηδὲ
 γῆν καρπὸς φέρειν, μήτε γυναῖκας τέκνα τίκτειν γο-
 νεῦσιν ἑοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μηδὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ
 5 φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμῳ
 καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῦς
 καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνων, καὶ μήποτέ
 (φησιν) ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ
 Ἀρτέμιδι, μηδὲ τῇ Δητοῖ, μηδ’ Ἀθηναῖ Προναίᾳ,
 10 μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.” “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τῆ θεῆ μαντείαν, ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρχῆς,
 ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὄρκων, ἕς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

15 “Ὅν πρὶν τῆσδε πόλης ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες,
 Πρὶν κε θεοῦ τεμένει κυανώπιδος Ἀμφιτροίτης
 Κύμα ποτικλύζῃ κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς.”

ΟΡΚΟΙ. ἈΡΑ.

Ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας
 20 γενομένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Δοκροὶ
 οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν,
 ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ
 τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτεί-
 χισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας
 25 ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς Πυλα-
 γορῶν ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημο-
 σθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν Πυλαγόρας,
 λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων,
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνείαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμ-
 30 φικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι· διωμολογήθη δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς
 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ

ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστῃ μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἂν προσάψηται ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου, ἢ δυνάστου, ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἑκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν.

Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὡς περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστῃ ἀρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, Πυλαγόρας ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον (ὃν ἐβελόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἔνεκα ζῆν) καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν Δέκκιον, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. Συνέβη δὲ ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, πάραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τέτο συνεπεπτώκει καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηντο Ἀμφικτύονες· ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς φεραπέυοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰσέφερον δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι, καὶ ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα, “ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τᾶναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἤξιόν με εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον. Ἀρχομένῃ δέ μου λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον,

τῶν ἄλλων Πυλαγορῶν μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας
 τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ
 (ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχηκῶς,
 ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἑξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν
 5 προαγομένῃς, ἀρχὴν δέ γε ἔφη· “ὦ ἄνδρες· Ἕλλη-
 νες, εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ’ ἂν ὠνομάζετε τοῦνομα
 τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς ἡμέραις,
 ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξείργετε τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” Ἀμα δὲ ἐμέ-
 μνητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίας, ἣν ὁ Κρόβυλος
 10 ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ
 τῆς πόλεως διεξῆει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότε ἑκαρτέρεν
 ἀκούων, οὔτε νῦν ἠδέως μέμνημαι αὐτῶν· ἀκούσας
 δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθην, ὡς οὐδεπώποτ’ ἐν τῷ ἑμαυτοῦ
 βίῳ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι·
 15 ἐπῆλθε δ’ οὖν μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην, μνησθῆναι τῆς
 τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας,
 καὶ αὐτόθεν ἑστηκῶς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν
 (ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιρῥαῖον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ
 ἔστιν εὐσύνοπτον). “Ὀρᾶτε” ἔφη ἐγὼ, “ὦ ἄνδρες
 20 Ἀμφικτύονες, ἐξειργασμένον τουτὶ τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ
 τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, καὶ κερამεῖα ἐνωκοδομημένα καὶ
 ἐπαύλια· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ
 ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους αὐτοὶ
 (καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων) τέλη πεπραχό-
 25 τας καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῆς ἱερῆς λιμένος.”
 Ἀμα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαντεῖ-
 ἀν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν ὄρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἀρὰν
 τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμεν, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν
 30 τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ (κατὰ τὸν
 ὄρκον) καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ, καὶ χειρὶ καὶ

ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς δύναιται, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευσασθε· ἐνήρηται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα, μέλλετε δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ 5 ἰδίᾳ· σκοπεῖτε δὴ, ποία φωνῇ, ποία ψυχῇ, ποίοις ὄμμασι, τίνα τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἰκεσίας ποιήσασθε, τούτους παρέντες ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους; οὐ γὰρ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατὰ τε τῶν 10 ἀσεβησάντων, ἃ χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται· “Μήθ' ὅσιος θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντές (φησι) τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, μήτε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μήτε τῇ Ἀητοῖ, μηδ' Ἀθηνᾷ Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτῶν τὰ 15 ἱερά.”

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τέτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξελθόντος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπί- 20 δων, ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἦδη δὲ πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης, προσελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε, “Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ διετὲς ἠβῶσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἦκειν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔχοντας ἅμας καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ 25 Θυτεῖον ἐκεῖ καλούμενον.” καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἀνηγόρευε “τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ Πυλαγόρας ἦκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ· ἥτις δ' ἂν μὴ παρῇ πόλις, εἴρηξεται τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἐνο- 30 χος.” Τῇ δ' ὑσεραίᾳ ἤκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρη-



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προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσλαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ ψήφισμα, ἤδη ἐπαναστάσεως τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἑμῆ (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέ- 5
 τρεψα), καὶ τῶν πολλῶν διαφειμένων· οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι· “Τὸν δὲ ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τὰς εἰσαεὶ πυλαγοροῦν-
 τας πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφὸς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων,” εὐπρεπῶς 10
 γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ αἰσχρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου γίνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει· 15
 “Τὸν ἱερομνήμονα (φησὶ) τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς Πυλαγόρας τοὺς αἰεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις, μὴ λόγων, μήτε ἔργων, μήτε δογμάτων, μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς.” Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τᾶληθὲς εἶπω, ἢ τὸ ἡδιστον 20
 ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔρω· τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον οὕτως τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. Οὐκ ἔα μεμνηῆσθαι τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρεῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατεμείναμεν 25
 διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως (ἧς ἐγὼ ἔτ' ἂν τῆνομα εἶποιμι, μήθ' αἰ συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιοντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων), καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμ- 30
 φισσέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρ-

σάλιον, τὸν τότε τὰς γνώμας ἐπισηφίζοντα, οὐκ
 ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν
 τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις ἔτω μακρὰν
 ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθέ-
 5 νης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ πα-
 ρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ, καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρή-
 σαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων
 ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτὸς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν
 ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς
 10 μὲν ἔναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστή-
 σαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσέβειαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον.
 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ, τοὺς
 τ' ἔναγεῖς κατήγαγον, καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόν-
 τας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη
 15 τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς στρατείαν ἐποιή-
 σαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἕστερον" ἐπανεληλυθότος Φι-
 λίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν
 θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδο-
 κότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδῶν
 20 γεγενημένης.

Ἀλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ
 θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μονοῦν ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προ-
 ηκάμενοι; οὐδεμίαν τοι πρόποτ' ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν
 ἑώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
 25 ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἦν τὸ
 τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι, ἢ τῶν
 μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμυνιάδης μὲν
 προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς
 ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημο-
 30 σθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων,
 ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος

τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας ; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργήτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων, ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ; καίτοι γε πρόην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιππος οὐκ ἤλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιος εἶ τυχεῖν, ὧς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε ; εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι ἐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' ἔδεν προειδῶς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, πρὶν καλλιεργῆσαι, 10 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερον στεφανοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις, ἢ ὑπερορῖζεσθαι ;

Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν ; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώ- 15 πινον βεβιώκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἐσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὸν Ἄθω διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν, ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν, ὅτι δεσπότης 20 ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυομένου, νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἑτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ; καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἡγεμονίας ἡξιωμένους, οἳ 25 καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἠλευθέρωσαν ; Θῆβαι δὲ πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὄλων οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς βουλευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἐκ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ 30 δαιμονίως κτησαμένη ; Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ ταλαί-

πωροι προσαψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἀξιούντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμη-
 ρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι
 5 μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο
 πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρις, ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνῳ
 δόξη, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου
 μετριότητι κριθήσονται; ἢ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἢ κοινῇ
 καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρό-
 10 τερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις
 ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὖρησόμενοι, νῦν
 ἔκῃτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνίζεται,
 ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους; καὶ
 ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης τῇ πο-
 15 λιτείᾳ προσελήλυθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων
 Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητῆς ἀποφαίνεται· λέγει γὰρ πον,
 παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι
 τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι.
 Δέξω δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι ἡμᾶς
 20 παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,
 ἵν' ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐταῖς χρώμεθα.

“Πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακῶ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ,

“Ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μητιάται.

Τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων,

25 Δοιμὸν ὄμοῦ καὶ λιμὸν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

“Ἡ ὅτε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν, ἢ τόγε τεῖχος,

“Ἡ νῆας ἐνὶ πόντῳ τίννυται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.”

Ἐὰν δὲ, περιελόντες τῷ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον, τὰς γνώ-
 μας ἐξετάζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσι-
 30 ὄδου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους
 πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ

πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρπασμένοι ἐκ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας.

Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυνώνδας, οὔτε Εὐρύβατος, οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδείς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς (ᾧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ 5 καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τᾶληθῆ) τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποίησαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτούς, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, 10 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν τούτῃ πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι, πρῶτος μὲν οὗτος στρατηγὸς Θρασύβελος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδείς ἕτερος, 15 πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεὺς, πρόξενος ὢν Θηβαίοις, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς, οὐχ ἥτιον Δημοσθένους λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡδίων ῥήτωρ, καὶ οὗτος Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Πήληξ, καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διὰ Θηβαίους, 20 δημαγωγὸς Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεὺς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, ῥήτωρ Πύρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύστιος, ὅς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ζῆ· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδείς πώποτε αὐτούς ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον 25 οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν. Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θεττάλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε 30 διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τε-

λευταῖον, Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἤπτετο αὐτῶν, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσῆεите εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις 5 διεσκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς, πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάν- 10 των μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππε, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολεμῆντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισῆντος Θηβαίους, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, (καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν;) ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος 15 ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιησάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας, πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλευέσθαι, ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον, εἰ γίγνεται· τοῦτο 20 δὲ προλαβὼν, ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίοις, γράψας ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, εἴάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν, ὡς τοὺς 25 Βοιωτοὺς, ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας, τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς κακῶς πεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτήσοντας· δεύτερον δὲ, τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν οἷς ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ 30 κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωροδοκῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν

κατὰ θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν δὲ κατὰ γῆν (εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν) ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις, ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατοκλέα, τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν, βελεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν 5 στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ, ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ λέγω, καὶ πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην, συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰ δεικνύμενα αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, ὥστε 10 οὐ θαυμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μεῖζον ἀδίκημα ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ 15 τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμεΐαν, τὴν κοινωσίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχοις συνθέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη 20 ὅποιον ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, καὶ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀντεῖποι, καταδουλόμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψαι τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ 25 ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγείου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι, πολλὰ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ σχετλιά- 30 ζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε φέρων,



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Φίλιππον εἰρήνην, οὐθ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς ᾤετο, τῆ-
 το κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προκηρύττων ἀνα-
 φέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο τὴν
 Ἀθηναῖν (ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργά-
 σατο καὶ ἐνεπιορκεῖν Δημοσθένει), ἧ μὴν εἴ τις 5
 ἔρει ὡς χρηὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι,
 ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσποτήριον ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τρι-
 χῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος πολιτείαν, ὅς
 ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίης πολέμου (ὡς λέγεται)
 τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. Ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ 10
 ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώ-
 τας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα
 βουλευσῆσθε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν
 ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδό-
 τας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ 15
 γράφειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐδέποτ' ἀν-
 τιβλέψας, πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτήσον-
 τας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ὑπεραιοχυν-
 θέντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες, μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀλη-
 θῶς εἶναι προδόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρή- 20
 νης ἀπετράποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν ὤρμησαν.

Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξιὸν ἔστιν
 ἐπιμνησθῆναι, οὓς οὗτος, ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιεργῆτων
 ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυ-
 νον ἐτόλμησε, τοῖς δραπέταις ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι 25
 τὴν τάξιν ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφρον τῶν τετελευτηκό-
 των, ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν. Ὡς πρὸς μὲν
 τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων
 ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
 τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐθελήσεις αὐ- 30
 τῖκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν,

ὥς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφρα-
 νοῦσθαι; εἰ δ' οὗτος λέγη, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ
 συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασιν (ὡς ἔοικε) καὶ
 ἢ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον
 5 τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεά-
 τρῳ, καὶ νομίσατε ὄραν προϊόντα τὸν κήρυκα, καὶ
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσαν γί-
 γνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε, πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους
 τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω δάκρυα ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ ταῖς
 10 τραγωδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἠρωϊκοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ-
 τα ἐπεισιούσιν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ;
 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἕλληνα καὶ
 παιδευθεὶς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεὶς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
 ἐκεῖνό γε (εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον), ὅτι ταύτῃ ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέ-
 15 ρᾳ μελλόντων ὥσπερ νῦν τῶν τραγωδῶν γίγνε-
 σθαι (ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι
 προστάταις ἐχρῆτο), προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παρα-
 στησάμενος τοὺς ὄρφανούς, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν
 τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κε-
 20 κοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ
 προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι "Τούσδε τοὺς
 νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβῆς ὁ δῆμος
 ἔτρεφε, νῦν δὲ καθοπλίσας τῆδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ
 25 ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ
 καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν." Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν
 ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὄρφανί-
 ας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγγεται;
 καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ διεξίη τὰ ἐκ τῆς ψηφίσματος προς-
 30 τάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρὸν σιω-
 πηθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος

φωνῆ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα (εἰ δὴ καὶ οὔτος ἀνὴρ) στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ (πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι), μὴ τρόπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς 10 φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον, ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν ἔπαρεγένεσθε, ταῖς γε διανοίαις ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσατε ὄρᾳν 15 ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφὰς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας ὄψε μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους ἔτι τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις, 20 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι· οὔτε πόλις γὰρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε 25 Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμεύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 30

σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἀπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά ;

Ἴνα δ' εἶπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ
 5 τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τριήρη προσλαβὼν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνας ἠργυρολόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς
 10 τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθνής ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἶατε τὸ
 15 Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσκη, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πausανίης, ἐπ' αἰτία δ' εὐαγγελίων εἰς θυσίας τὴν βεβλήν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐ κινήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἀγαπᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν Πέλλῃ περιπατῆντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγγνα φυλάττοντα· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ
 25 εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἵματός ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ὤνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα, καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας. Ἦδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ
 30 νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτῆς

ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεὶς, ἀποδράς ἐκ μέσσε τῆς Κιθαι-
 ρῶνος ἤκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, οὐτ' ἐν
 πολέμῳ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων
 δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰά-
 σατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος 5
 δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἶπερ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέ-
 γεται· ὡς γὰρ φασιν οἱ πάραλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύ-
 σαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως
 πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀρισίων Πλαταικὸς, ὁ τῆς Ἀρι-
 στοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπόλου υἱὸς (εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ 10
 ὑμῶν γινώσκει)· ἔτιός ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος, ἑτέρων τὴν
 ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος ὤκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ
 Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅ τι δὲ πράττων ἢ πάσχων,
 ἀμφίβολος ἢ αἰτία, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς εὐσχη-
 μον ἔμοι λέγειν. Οὗτος (ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκέω) ἠγνοημένος 15
 ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς βεβιωκῶς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 ὑποτρέχει καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτῃς γράμ-
 ματα πέμπσας Δημοσθένης ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον, ἄδειάν
 τινά εὔρηται καὶ διαλλαγὰς, καὶ πολλὴν κολακείαν
 πεποίηται. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε, ὡς ὁμοίον ἐστὶ 20
 τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γὰρ τι τέτων ἐφρόνει Δη-
 μοσθένης καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν (ὥσπερ καὶ φησι)
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι
 παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν ἕδενι φαίνεται κεχρημένος. Εἰς
 μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι καθε- 25
 στηκῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀκατασκεύων αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων
 ὄντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἠκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περ-
 σῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ στρα-
 τιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινὴν συμμαχίαν
 προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ κινδύνους. 30
 Εἰπάς τινά ἐνταῦθα λόγον, Δημόσθενες, ἢ ἔγρα-

ψάς τι ψήφισμα ; βούλει σε θῶ καὶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ
 χρήσασθαι τῷ σουτοῦ τρόπῳ (καίτοι ρητορικὴν δει-
 λίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς ἐκ ἀναμένει) ; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πά-
 ση τῇ δυνάμει Δαρεῖος κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξαν-
 5 δρος ἦν ἀπειλημένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πάντων ἐνδεής,
 ὡς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἤμελλεν (ὡς ἦν ὁ
 παρὰ σοῦ λόγος) συμπάτηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περ-
 σικῆς ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλις οὐκ ἐχώ-
 ρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἅς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δα-
 10 κτύλων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον
 ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος, καὶ χρυσόκερων
 ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων, εἴ τι πταῖσμα
 συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἐπραξας οὐ-
 δὲν, ἀλλ' εἰς τινὰ καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλε καλλίω. Ὑπερ-
 15 βὰς τοίνυν ἅπαντα ταῦτα, ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστη-
 κότων λέξω. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέ-
 τυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς περὶ Κόρραγον
 στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετέβαλλοντο καὶ
 Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλὴν Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία πᾶ-
 20 σα πλὴν Μεγάλῃς πόλεως, αὕτη δ' ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου
 δεῖν πάσης μεθεισῆκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρό-
 νον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσόμενον ἀδηλον ἦν.
 25 Ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσαι, ὧς Δημόσθενες, τί
 ποτ' ἦν ἢ ἐπραξας καὶ τί ποτ' ἦν ἢ ἔλεγες, καὶ εἰ
 βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς·
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω
 σοι, ἢ δὲ τότε ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νυνὶ λέξω. Οὐ μέμνη-
 30 σθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μαρὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς
 ποθ' ὑμεῖς, ὧς σιδήρειοι, ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι ;

ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν “ Ἀμπελοργεσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμοῖδαφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, τινὲς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι.” Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θάύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλω περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ “ Ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Πεῖραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι.” Σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποσήσαιο; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ 10 ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν, ὅπου κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται, προσκαθεσθήσῃ, πράξις δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις· εἰ δ' αὐτόματόν τι συμβῆ, προσποιήσῃ, καὶ σαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπιγράψεις· ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος 15 τις, ἀποδράσῃ· εἰ δὲ θαρσύνωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφανοῦσθαι.

Ναὶ, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. Ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀποβλέψῃτε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, εἰ δ' εἰς τὴν 20 φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε· ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον. Ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιῶμαι ἃ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω ποῖόν τινα εἰκός ἐστιν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρω- 25 πον καὶ φαῦλον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέμενοι ἑκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτὸν μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν.

Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁμολογήσειν τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ δημοτικῷ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐλεύθερον 30 αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς, ἵνα μὴ διὰ



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αὐτῷ θυγατέρες δύο, ἃς ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν
 χρημάτων ἀποστείλας συνώκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὄτω-
 δήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς ἀπεχθάνωμαι, τὴν δ' ἑτέ-
 ραν ἔγημε παριδῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους Δημο-
 σθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ συ- 5
 κοφάντης ἔτος γεγένηται Δημοσθένης. Οὐκ ἔν ἀπὸ
 μὲν τοῦ πάππυ τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ
 δήμῳ (θάνατον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνω-
 τε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης βάρβαρος ἑλληνί-
 ζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώ- 10
 ριός ἐστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τίς
 ἐστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πα-
 τρῶα καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ
 ταῦτα δόξας εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς
 ἀντιδίκοις, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· κλειῖστον δ' ἐκ 15
 τῆς πόλεως εἰληφῶς ἀργύριον ἐλάχιστα περιεποιή-
 σατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυ-
 κε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν·
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιε-
 γένητο. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον ἐκ ἐκ τῶν ἰδί- 20
 ων προσόδων πορίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύ-
 νων. Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ λόγῳ δύναμιν πῶς
 πέφυκε; δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιώναι. Οὕτω γὰρ
 κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιΐα,
 ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἃ τούτῳ πέπρακται· 25
 ἤδη γὰρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλη-
 σίον αἰσχροῦ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. Ἐπειτα τί συμ-
 βαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοὶ, τὰ δ' ἔργα
 φαῦλα. Πρὸς δ' ἀνδρίαν βραχὺς μοι λείπεται λό-
 γος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι, ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ 30
 συνῆδείτε αὐτῷ, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρέσχεεν·

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις,
καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιζε, λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι τὰς περὶ τέτων
κειμένους νόμους. Ὁ γὰρ Σόλων, ὁ παλαιὸς νομο-
θέτης, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι
5 τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ
τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί.
Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν, εἴ εἰσι φύσεως
γραφαί· εἰσί· τίνας ἔνεκα; Ἴν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, τὰς
ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
10 πολεμίους, ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
ὑπάρχη. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον
καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν, ἔξω τῶν
περιῶραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ
στεφανοῦσθαι, οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτε-
15 λῆ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις
ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ
προσῆκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγωδοῖς εἰς τὴν ὄρ-
χήστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ
δειλίαν προδεδωκότα; Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς
20 ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε, ὅταν φῆ δη-
μοτικὸς εἶναι, θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ
τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τίς
ἐστίν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθην καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως
25 ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι εἰ
μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόρους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ
τοὺς εἰκῆ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὐθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι
χάριν ὑμῖν εἴσονται, οὐτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα
ἐπανορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ
30 ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν
ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,

μεγάλα τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. Εἰ γάρ τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσῃ· πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξότερα δοκεῖ ἢ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσατε ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων· ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶ καταδεέστεροι· δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνί; τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον, νῦν δ' ἤδη καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ποιείσθε. Οὐκ ἐν ἄτοπον οὕτωςι διαλογιζομένοις τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρήσω διδάσκειν. Οἴεσθέ ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθελῆσαι τινὰ ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγῶνων, παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, εἰ ὁ στέφανός ἐδίδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ; εἶδεις ἂν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰμίμηστον ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσιν τινες τὰ σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπομείναντες διακινδυνεύειν. Ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ κεῖνο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰ δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις χαρίζησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς

φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. "Οτι δὲ ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῶ
σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι. Πότερον ὑμῖν
ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὁ στρατηγή-
σας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσην
5 ἐνικάτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὰς τάξεις λιπὼν; Μιλ-
τιάδης δὲ, ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην τὸς βαρβάρους
νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα
τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, Ἀριστείδης θ' ὁ δίκαιος
ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δη-
10 μοσθένει; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμ-
πίους, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἠγοῦμαι
μεμνησθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀν-
δρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
λόγῳ, εἴ που γέγραπταί τινα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
15 στεφανῶσαι. Ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; ἔκ, ἀλλὰ
μεγαλόφρων, κακείνοί γε οἱ μὴ οὕτω τετιμημένοι,
τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμ-
μασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεπανθό-
των, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέ-
20 ρας ἀθάνατος οὔσα διαμένει· δωρεὰς δὲ τινὰς ἐλάμ-
βανον, ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

Ἦσαν τινὲς κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς, οἱ πολὺν
ὑπομείναντες πόνον καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ
Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· ἔτοι
25 δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι, τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς τότε ἔδόκει,
τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἐρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν
Ἐρμῶν, ἐφῆκε δὲ μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ
ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου
30 δοκῆ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. "Οτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ
αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε· ἐπιγράφεται γὰρ

ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν,

“ Ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων

Παισὶν, ἐπ’ Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοᾶς,

Διμόν τ’ αἶθωνα κρατερόν τ’ ἐπάγοντες” Ἀρηα,

Πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.”

5

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ,

“ Ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε δῶκαν,

Ἐντ’ εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.

Μᾶλλον τις τὰδ’ ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει

Ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.”

10

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῆ,

“ Ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλης ἄμ’ Ἀτρείδησι Μενεσθεὺς

Ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἀμπεδίον,

“ Ὀν ποθ’ Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων

Κοσμήτωρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.

15

Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι

Κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ’ ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης.”

Ἔστι περ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ

τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

Προσέλθετε οὖν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοᾶν τὴν 20
 ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ
 ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν
 Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται· τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατη-
 γός; οὕτως μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε 25
 ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται· πῶς;
 ἔκ ἤτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἤτησεν, ἀλλ’ ὁ δῆμος
 οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν
 αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρα-
 τιάτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευ- 30
 τήριον, ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα

τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ
 ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ
 Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε
 δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δέ-
 5 ναι χιλίας δραχμᾶς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα
 δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει σεφα-
 νοῦσθαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ
 χρυσῶ (τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τί-
 μιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται)· καὶ
 10 οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ πράξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν
 βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς ἐπολιορ-
 κήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσ-
 ἔβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβῆσι Φυλὴν, ἔχ' ὅσοι τὴν τάξιν
 ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. Ὅτι
 15 δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕᾶΣ ΤΟΓΣ ΑΠΘ
 ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὃ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημο-
 σθένει τῷ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

20

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγα-
 γόντων τὸν δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τῆτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖ-
 νο αἰσχρῶς· εἰ ἐκεῖνοι κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, ἔτος
 ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

25 Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν, ὡς
 ἔδίκαια ποιῶ παραβάλλον αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων
 ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ Φιλάμμωνα φήσει τὸν πύκτην
 Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νικήσαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν
 παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν
 30 ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀγνοῶντας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
 πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιῶσι

στεφανῶσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἕνεκα
 στεφανῶνται. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν
 τὴν ἀνάρῳσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τὰς Ἑλ-
 ληνας. Μὴ ἔν ἡμῖν ὡς Παταικίονος ἀμεινον πεπο-
 λίτευσαι διέξιθι, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας 5
 οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως,
 ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ
 ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγα-
 γούσι. 10

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

“ Τὲςδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα σεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων
 Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους
 Θεσμοῖς ἀρξάντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν
 Ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.” 15

Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τὰς νόμους ἀρξάντας κατέλυσαν,
 διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς τιμηθῆναι. Ἐναυ-
 λον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τῆνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος
 κατελύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων
 ἀνεῖλον. Καὶ γὰρ τι ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς ἑμαυτῆς 20
 ἐπυνθανόμην (ὅς ἔτη βίου ἐνενήκοντα καὶ πέντε
 ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῆς πό-
 λει), ὅς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῆς· ἔφη
 γὰρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι
 γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ 25
 ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον· τί γὰρ ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς
 παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρό-
 ασιν (ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν) οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
 ἐποιοῦντο, ὡσπερ νῦν γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἦσαν πολὺ χα-
 λεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσιν 30
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν



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γράψαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἓνα τῶν
 συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε, νεωστὶ
 γεγεννημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογί-
 ζοντο οἱ δικασταί· ἤγουντο γὰρ, ὥσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς
 φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, 5
 οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους
 γράφοντά τι. Ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον
 γίγνεται· οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν
 τὰς σιτήσεις τινὲς εὐρημένων ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαι-
 τοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς ὑμεῖς 10
 ἀχαρίστες εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γὰρ
 τις ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει, ἣν
 οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾷ βοηθεῖν τοῖς
 παράνομα γράφουσιν, καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν, ὑφ' ἧς
 τετίμηται. Τίς ἔν ἀποδέδεικται λόγος ἀνδρὶ συνη- 15
 γόρῳ δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι, ἐγὼ λέξω. Εἰς τρία μέ-
 ρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων
 εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρα-
 τία, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι 20
 καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ
 τῇ πρώτῃ ψῆφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρί-
 τον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇσιν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς
 ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμῇσιν
 τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖ- 25
 ται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ,
 ὄρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν ἔτε
 αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὄσιον οὐδενὶ, οὐτ' αἰτηθέντα ἕτερον
 δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτὰς, ἐάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν
 πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγκεῖν, ἀπαν- 30
 τᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν.

Ὅπως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀλίγου δέω
 εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς
 μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγό-
 ρῳ συνηγόρου παρέχεσθαι, μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν
 5 παρανόμων φεύγοντι· οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δί-
 καιον, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένον τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις.
 Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμε-
 θαι τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ὃ
 διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν πα-
 10 ρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου· τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ
 σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψηφίσμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι
 νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας
 κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν;
 ὅταν δὲ ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαὶν παρα-
 15 καλῆς κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων,
 κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύ-
 εις τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων,
 ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. Ἐπειδὴν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν
 20 διεξέλεθ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐ-
 τῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβη καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται,
 ὑπομνήσασθ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανίδιον λαβεῖν,
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι, εἰ
 δὲ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖν
 25 ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δι-
 καίας ἀπολογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν ἐθελόντων δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐὰν δ' ὑπερ-
 πηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαὶν Δημοσθένην παρα-
 καλῆ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄν-
 30 θρωπον, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν,
 μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὅς

ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος “Εἰ καλέσω Δημοσθένην;” πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ “κάλει, κάλει.” καλῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς.

“Ἄν δ’ ἄρα ὑμῖν δόξη ἀκούειν, ἀξιῶσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὅνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα· ὧδέ πως (ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς)· οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον τῆς Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων ἐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἀφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλὰ ἔχων λέγειν (ἢ πάντων γ’ ἂν εἶην ἀπορώτατος)· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἀπέδειξα ἀπαγορευόντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεξα γράψαντα Δημοσθένην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν, οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον, οὐδὲ προσ-15 εγγράψαντα “Ἐπειδὴν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνας,” ἀλλὰ παντελῶς καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημονεύειν. Δεύτερον δ’ ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς 20 διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως, καὶ τὸν τόπον, κελεύων οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ’ ἐν 25 τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀναρρήσιν γίνεσθαι, ἐδ’ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγωδῶν εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν, μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων λέγω. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιῶσατε 30 ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμον πρῶ-

τον, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον, τρίτον
 δὲ (μέγιστον ὧν λέγω) τὸ ὡς οὐδὲ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς
 δωρεᾶς. Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ
 περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ λόγου, κατεπαγγελλόμενος ὡς
 5 ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας λύσει τὸ παράνομον,
 μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι πάλαισμα τῆς ἐσὶ
 δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθίς ποτε βούλεται πρὸς
 τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔδὲν ἔχων δίκαιον
 εἰπεῖν, ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην
 10 ὑμᾶς βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὡσπερ
 οὖν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τὰς πύκτας περὶ
 τῆς στάσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐ-
 τῷ τῆς λόγου μάχεσθε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μὴ ἔατε
 15 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους περιῦστασθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει,
 εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ πράγματος λόγους,
 καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.
 Ἄλλ' ἃ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
 20 τὴν ἀκροάσιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι
 προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαν-
 τιοτόμον καὶ διατετμηκότα τὴν πολιτείαν· οὗτος
 κλαίει μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιορκεῖ δὲ πάν-
 των προχειρότατα ἀνθρώπων· οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι
 25 δὲ, εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος, τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λοι-
 δορῆσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐ-
 τῆς τῆς ἀληθείας διηριθμημένους ἤκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ
 κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ
 φεύγοντος. Ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγη, πρὸς μὲν τὰς σα-
 30 ριαστικούς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε, ὅτι,
 “Ὡ Δημόσθενες, εἴ σοι ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς

φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ ἂν ποτε δημοκρατία κατέστη· νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγξάμενοι, ΜΗ ΜΝΗΣΙ-ΚΑΚΕΙΝ· σὺ δὲ ἔλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοι μέλει τῶν αὐθημερόν λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως.”

“Ὅταν δ’ ἐπίορκος ᾖ, εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρκων πίσιν καταφυγγάνῃ, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημονεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι, αἰεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ’ ὄρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι, δυοῖν θάτερον 10 ὑπάρξαι δεῖ (ᾧ οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον), ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς καινοὺς, ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρῶν καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ “Ποῖ καταφύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψετε με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; 15 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπῃ ἀναπτῆσομαι,” ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ, “ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; ἢ πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευ- 20 σαι, ἅπαντες ὀρώμεν· ἐκλιπῶν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ, ἐκ οἴκεις, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκῆματα.” “Ὅπως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἢ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς 25 φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄγων οὐκ ἀτίμητος; σὺ δ’ οὔτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος, οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπερδή; περὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεά- 30 τρω παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὃν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ

δῆμος, ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιλελησμένος, ἐπὶ τού-
 αύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν, παρελ-
 θόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν. “ Ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν
 5 ἀποδοκιμάζω, ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ
 δεῖ ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τέτοις
 ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι.” Ἄλλ’, οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν
 εἴποι ἄνηρ ὄντως βεβιωκῶς μετ’ ἀρετῆς· ἀ δὲ σὺ
 λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαγμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν. Οὐ
 10 γὰρ δὴ, μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φο-
 βηθήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἄνηρ μεγαλόψυχος
 καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχῶν τῶν ἀρισεύων,
 οἴκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσεται· ὅς τοσῶτον
 καταγελαῖ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μια-
 15 ρὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν ἕτος παρὰ
 πάντα τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις
 κατατέτμηκε· καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε, τραύμα-
 τος ἐκ προνοίας γραφᾶς γραφόμενος· καὶ κατακέ-
 κονδύλισαι, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἴχνη
 20 τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ
 κεφαλὴν, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.

Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώ-
 μην, βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβή-
 σομαι (ἵνα καὶ πείραν ὑμῶν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς
 25 σφόδρα πονηροὺς, καὶ μὴ τις προείπη, διαγιγνώ-
 σκειν)· ὁ δ’ ἐσὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων
 αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τῶν ἐρωῶ. Περιέρχον-
 ται τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας,
 καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησι-
 30 φῶν ἐ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν φησι φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζει γὰρ
 δόξην ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους

ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρῶεῖν φησι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὲ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν, μη-5
δαμῶς ὑμεῖς, οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀπολύσητε.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λοιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξεν Δημοσθένην, ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται, πολλὰ δὲ 10
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ. Οὕτω γάρ ἐστιν (ὡς ἔοικε) δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευ-
μαι παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, ἢ εἴ τινας δημηγορίας εἶρηκα, 15
τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει, καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ (ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλίπηται), καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου διατριβὰς καταμέμφεται· καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς 20
κρίσεως, εὐθύς ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων, ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν, διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφά- 25
λαιον τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον, οὐδ' ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ προσιῶν, ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφὴν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθένους διατριβὰς ἐζήλωκα, 30
οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι· οὔτε τοὺς εἰρη-



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ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπιλή-
 σμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ. Τὰ
 μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἠσεβημένα σοι, καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων
 ἐγγεγεννημένων, ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερώς ἐξηλέγχου, 5
 ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνημονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς
 τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγματα τίς ἂν
 ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθετήσας περὶ
 τῶν τριακοσίων νεῶν, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίους
 ἐπιστάτην τάξαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμῶ 10
 ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτεσσῶν τριηράρχος
 ὑφηρημένος, πλεῖον τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀφανίζων
 ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίαν
 Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ
 ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, 15
 ὥστε τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι, πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φί-
 λιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ
 τινὰς ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιροὺς, αἰεὶ τὸ
 παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελλό- 20
 μενος. Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλων
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὠρείτου
 κατεσκεύασας, τοῦ τὰ ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγο-
 ράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα διεστρέβλωσας τῇ
 σαυτοῦ χειρὶ, γράψας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι; καὶ 25
 τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὠρεῶ
 κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ
 ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπεισας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλες, ἄνδρα
 φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος. Καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν
 ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κλη- 30
 θεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἠρονήσω, ἀλλ' ἀπε-

κρίνου, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι
περιέστησαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς
πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς
τραπέζης. Ἐπισολὰς δὲ σιγῶ ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκό-
5 πων συλλήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις ἀνυπάρκτοις,
ὡς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τινῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλο-
μένου. Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι)
μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρος, ὅστις τῶ νοσοῦντι
μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλεύοι, τελευ-
10 τήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἔλθων εἰς τὰ ἔννατα, διεξίοι πρὸς
τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς ἂν ἐγένετο.
Σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς
τοιοῦτος, ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο,
τοὺς δὲ καιροὺς, ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀπο-
15 δοῖτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρονεῖντας κωλύοι διαβάλλων συμ-
βουλεύειν, ἀποδράς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν, ἀξιοῖ στεφρα-
νοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδὲν,
πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονὼς, ἐπερωτῶν δὲ
20 τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκείνων
τῶν καιρῶν, ὅτ' ἐνῆν σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ
ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν; ἀποκρίνοιντο δὴ τὸ πάν-
των τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης ἐκ ἐσχο-
λάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
25 σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ
ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς
αἰτεῖς καταγέλασον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν πόλιν ποι-
ῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τὰς Ὀλυμπίους, (ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθά-
30 νομαὶ Δημοσθένην λέγειν) ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν
ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα· ἀφομοιοῖ γὰρ μου τὴν φύσιν

ταῖς Σειρήσιν, ὡς ἔοικε· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ
 κηλεῖσθαί φησι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι,
 διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μουσικήν·
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν
 φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. 5
 Καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὅλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ
 πρέπειν ὑγοῦμαι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν (τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας
 αἰσχρὸν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδει-
 ξαι), εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ Δημοσθένους
 ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ, μεγάλα μὲν τῇ 10
 πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν
 τῶν ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐξηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύν-
 οιδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν οὐδέν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ
 φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγορον ὄρα δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ
 μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστάναι τοῖς ἀκούσ- 15
 σιν ὡς διώκηκεν. Ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμε-
 νος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων,
 ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφεύγη,
 τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; οὐ τὴν γλώτταν, ὥσπερ τῶν αὐ-
 λῶν, εἴαν τις ἀφέλη, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι. 20

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 καὶ ζητῶ πυθέσθαι πρὸς τί ἂν ἀποβλέψαντες ἀπο-
 ψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφήν· πότερον ὡς τὸ ψήφισμά
 ἐστὶν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' ἐδεμία πάποτε γνώμη παρανο-
 ματέρα γεγένηται· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας 25
 οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρα εἰδὶ
 παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθύναί βίε, εἰ τῆτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο
 δ' οὐ λυπηρὸν, εἰ πρότερον μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἡ ὄρ-
 χήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανούτο
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις ταύτην 30
 ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους

πολιτευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀσεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι
 γίνεσθε, ἔτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται ; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν
 τραγικῶν ποιητῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισιόντων,
 ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τὸν Θεροσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 5 των σεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι
 φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ συκοφάν-
 την· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιῆτον ἄνθρωπον σεφανῶ-
 τε, οὐκ οἶεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίπτε-
 σθαι ; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἐνδοξα καὶ λαμ-
 10 πρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ
 ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς
 φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν
 ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περιθεῖναι
 τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ φρατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἔσε,
 15 καλῶς ποιοῦντες· ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης
 ἐγκαταλελειφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέ-
 ναι ; καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἀλι-
 σκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμε-
 20 νον σύνιστε, στεφανώσετε ; καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τὲς
 ἐκ Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ δικαίως τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους χο-
 ροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν
 κριταὶ καθεστηκότες, ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς
 ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τὲς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις
 25 καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε ;
 ἔπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτῆς
 ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποιηκῶς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτο-
 ρα· Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη,
 νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἑτέρῳ ταῦτα
 30 παραδῶ, καταλέλυκεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν.
 Ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς δικάζει, συμπα-

ρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ (δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ, οἶμαι, γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα), ἢ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἀδηλος γεγένηται· ἢ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανῆς φέρεται.

Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφοτέρα καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν 5 πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προΐεσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρὰ, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ρητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ 10 τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχῆμεν. Πρῶτερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος. "Ἐπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείριζε κατέλυσαν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, καὶ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντα- 15 κοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, πρὶν τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι, ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τὲς προσήκοντας παραγενέσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαν- 20 τες ἀποπέμψετε τὲς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; ἔ μὲνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε πρότερον ἐπέθετο τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει πρὶν ἂν μείζω τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύση;

Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀναλογισαίμην ἐναντίον ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ 25 ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις (ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω), ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου· τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργάσθαι καλῶς, τὸ γεγενῆσθαι τούτων 30 αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρα-

κώσαντα χρητὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς τάφρους, οὐδὲ τὰς
 δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμέ-
 νον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶ τινος αἴτιον γεγενη-
 μένον τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἤξεισ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος
 5 τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν, ὡς ἔστιν
 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ
 ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελὼν τὴν ἀλαζο-
 νείαν καὶ τὸν κόμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἄψαι τῶν ἔρ-
 γων, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ
 10 τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τὰς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παρα-
 λείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς
 αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοῶντας
 ἐξαπατᾶς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρί-
 ζεις. Ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν
 15 τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἷει λανθάνειν
 ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει περιτιθείς.
 Ἡλίκον δ' ἔστι τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσο-
 μαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν
 βασιλεὺς, ἔπολλῳ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάν-
 20 δρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, κατέπεμψε τῷ δήμῳ
 καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν ἣ
 τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδευτῶς διελέχθη, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “Ἐγὼ
 (φησὶν) ὑμῖν χρυσίον ἔδωσω, μή με αἰτεῖτε, ἔ γὰρ
 25 λήψεσθε.” ἔτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς, ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ
 τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτούντων
 Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἑκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τά-
 λαντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο· ὁ δὲ κο-
 μίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεία
 30 συμμάχων· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμ-
 μαχίαν ἐξεργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων

ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς ἡμῖν ἀεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσι-
 ωπᾶς, ἃ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρ-
 ρησας. Οὐ δὲ ἔνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων, ἔνεκα πέντε
 ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκρην οὐ πα- 5
 ρέδοσαν; διὰ ἑννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, πάντων
 Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων
 ὄντων βοηθεῖν, ἢ προᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλου-
 τεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς· καὶ τὸ
 κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, 10
 οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆ-
 σαι. Εἰ γὰρ τολμήσειε Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην
 παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἕτος δ' ἀναθὰς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐγκωμιάζοι, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ 15
 ἀκρόαμα γίγνεται. Ὅπως γὰρ τὸς μὲν ὄντως ἀνδρας
 ἀγαθὸς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἂν τὸς
 καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν
 δ' ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονὼς ἑαυτὸν
 ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκέων; 20

Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, εἰάν
 σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιήσῃ δὲ, ὧς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ
 σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε
 σκῆψη, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτο-
 πόν σοι συμβαίνοι, εἰ πρόην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας 25
 πρεσβευτῆς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Φιλίππου θυγάτέ-
 ρα, χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσθησόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 Μολοτιῶν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ
 οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. Ἐπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν
 ἄλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γρά- 30
 ψας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσῃ; ἢ τοιούτος



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παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δη-
 μόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ,
 ὅτι στεφανοῦνται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ
 εὐνοίας, ἄνθρωπος ἀσχήμων ὢν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυ-
 ρός; ὁ δὲ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν διεφθάρη· δίκην 5
 τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὥσπερ Κτησι-
 φῶν; οἱ δὲ γε ἄλλοι πεπαίδευνται· τὰναντία τις
 ψηφισάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθὼν
 οἴκαδε παιδεύει τὸν υἱόν; ὁ δὲ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθε-
 ται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοθετεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη δικαί- 10
 ως ὀνομάζεται. Ὡς οὖν μὴ μόνον κρίνοντες, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε, εἰς ἀπο-
 λογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
 ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη δόξει ἢ πόλις εἶναι, 15
 ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ κηρυττόμενος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ
 τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀναν-
 δρία προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς ἔν ἂν τις τὴν τοιαύτην
 αἰσχύνην ἐκφύγοι; εἰάν τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας
 τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλόανθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους 20
 ὄντας τοῖς ἠθεσι, φυλάξησθε· ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ τὸ
 τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνου-
 σι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντες τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ
 οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες. Ὅταν οὖν λά-
 βητε ῥήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν 25
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κε-
 λεύετε καὶ τὸν λόγον (ὥσπερ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν
 κτημάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι) εἰς βίον ἀξιό-
 χρεων καὶ τρόπον σῶφρονα· ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυ-
 ρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, καὶ τῆς 30
 δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἤδη διαφευγούσης ὑμᾶς.

Ἡ οὐ δεινὸν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν βουλευτή-
 ριον καὶ ὁ δῆμος παρορᾶται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ αἱ
 πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνεῖνται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ
 τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόν-
 5 των ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ' οἷς
 ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ
 ἐξαρνοῦνται πράττειν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ,
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀλλήλοις παραναγινώσκουσιν·
 καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυ-
 10 τῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας, ἕτεροι
 δ' αἰτῆσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως ὄντες· ὁ δὲ
 δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὥσπερ πα-
 ραγεγηρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἑαλωκῶς, αὐτὸ μόνον
 τῆς δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων
 15 ἑτέροις παρακεχώρηκεν. Ἐπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν
 ἐράνων τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι.

Ὅτι δ' οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε.
 Ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθομαι δὲ μεμνημένος πολλάκις
 20 τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς
 ἐκπλεῖν μόνον εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας, ὡς προδότης
 τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
 βελῆς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώθη. Ἄλλος δ' ἰδιώτης ἐκπλεύ-
 σας εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάδρως ἤνεγκε,
 25 πρόην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη, καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ
 ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἂν,
 ἢ ἀπέθανεν. Ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νυνὶ γιγνόμενον.
 Ἄνθρωπος ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν
 τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
 30 οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἶεται
 δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοινήν

τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν, ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς ληστήν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε ; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. Ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλή- 5 νων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιροὺς· δόξετε δὲ, εἰ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε 10 τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.

Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας τῆς πόλεως βελεύεσθε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε, ἀλλὰ κρίνετε· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἀξιολογωτέρους ἄνδρας ἀπόθεσθε. Καὶ μὴ 15 μόνον τοῖς ὤσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει· πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται, ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐχ ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγε- 20 τῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελούμενος διατετέλεκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται.

Ἄλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζάντιον μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέ- 25 σθαι τῶν Φιλίππου, ἀποστήσῃ δὲ Ἀκαρονᾶνας, ἐκπλήξῃ δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας (οἶεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει), ὅταν 30 δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, συνηγόρους τοὺς κοι-



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δὲ καὶ ἔκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἔκ τῶν παρα-
λειπομένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ,

ἢ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΠΡΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

ΤΕΙΧΟΣ μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προεβάλετο, τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τὴν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαν, καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν, οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὀχυράσας, ἀλλὰ· μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινι συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τῇ δ' ἐκ θαλάττης· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. Πεπονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτὸ, ἠρέθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ψιλὴν παρέχεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. Εἷς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρηματὰ ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει.

Ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐνοίαν καύτην ἢ βουλήν, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο στεφανῶ χρυσῶ· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δ' ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν, ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῶν τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὓς ἢ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε, καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα, ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἢ πόλις, ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν. Ἦν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἢ τιμὴ θαυμαστή, διὸ καὶ ὁ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἠψατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή.

Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων, ἀρχόντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα λόγον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν, τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν· καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν λέγοντα, ἐὰν μὲν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἢ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει.

Καὶ τάξει γε ταύτη τῆς κατηγορίας Δισχίνης κέχρηται, πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου, καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. Καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἢ τοῦ νόμου μέρος, ὡς φησὶν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ τοῦτο ψηφίσῃται.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελώ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἐπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας 5 τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τὸς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, 10 τὸ “Ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι.” Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροισι ἀποδέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως εἶσθαι 15 χρῆσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ γ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Δισχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μεγάλα. “Ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν 20 εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ τῷ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν·



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φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διάβο-
 λὰς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, ἐκ
 ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων
 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν δια-
 φυλάττων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕπερον δίκαια εὐ- 5
 νοϊκῶς προσδέξῃται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ
 κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν
 ποιήσῃται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλον δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε,
 λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμέ- 10
 νων, βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς
 παρακαλέσαι· καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι, πρῶτον
 μὲν ὄσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ
 πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς
 τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν 15
 καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἕκαστῷ,
 τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυ-
 τησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν
 Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος 20
 εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ ἐλάττω λόγον,
 τᾶλλα διεξιὼν, ἀνάλωκε, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσα-
 τό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἄμα,
 βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον
 εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος, 25
 ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούη
 μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων, ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε-
 βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμῆ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια
 λέγω. Εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο 30
 (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ

φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μὴδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπερευ-
 πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀνασάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη·
 εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων καὶ
 μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων (ἵνα μὴδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω)
 5 χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ
 γιγνώσκετε, τῆτι μὲν μὴδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πισεύετε,
 δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο· ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν
 παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὐνοίαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ
 πολλῶν ἀγῶνων τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων, καὶ νυ-
 10 νὶ παράσχεσθε. Κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο
 παντελῶς εὐήθης φήθης, τὲς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
 καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με, πρὸς τὰς
 λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω
 τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν
 15 πεπολιτευμένων, ἃ κατεψεύδεις καὶ διέβαλες, αὐτίκα
 ἐξετάσω· τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην ἔτρωσι
 γεγενημένης, ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἢ τούτοις
 ἀκούειν, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, καὶ
 20 περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι
 τάπτουσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἢ προ-
 αίρεσις αὐτῆ, ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν
 καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ, καὶ πάντα
 τὰ τοιαῦτα. Τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτι-
 25 ῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἐνὶ τῇ
 πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Οὐ γὰρ
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου
 τυχεῖν· οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν, οὔτε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὔτε πολι-
 30 τικόν, οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
 ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἔώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὔσί γε

τηλικούτοις, ἤλικα νῦν ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς
 ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα
 χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με
 ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα, καὶ τῆτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρί-
 σιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρ' ἄνο- 5
 μα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτη-
 σιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμὲ ἐμὲ δ' εἴπερ
 ἐξελέγγειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. Καὶ
 μὴν, εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει,
 ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νό- 10
 μοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρί-
 σεις, πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια· καὶ
 τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο
 ταῦτα πεποιηκᾶς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημέ-
 νος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὠμολογεῖτο ἂν ἢ κατηγορία τοῖς 15
 ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Νῦν δ' ἐκτὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
 ὁδοῦ, καὶ φυγῶν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα
 ἐλέγχους, τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ
 σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας, ὑποκρίνεται.
 Εἶτα, κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί· καὶ 20
 τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ πῶς ἔχθραν προ-
 ῖσταται· οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοὶ,
 τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελῆσθαι φαίνεται.
 Καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις
 δικαίοις, οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, 25
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλα εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν,
 ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὄτῳ
 κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας 30
 τοῦτό γε.



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μη τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. Τί οὖν συνηγωνίσασατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν, ὀλίγη δεῖν, ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς ἑξαπαταμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρῆ κακίαν εἴτ' ἀγνοίαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω 5
ρα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν· οἱ, πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τῆτον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῆ πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερόν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων 10
συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν. Οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι, ἐτοίμως ὑπηκέσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη, διὰ ταῦτα οὐ δὲ ἐμὲ, ὡς ἔτος διέβαλεν, ἐπράχθη. Τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ, τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάζη δικαίως, 15
αἴτια εὕρησει. Καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι· εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τινα δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδικήματα, οὐδὲν ἐσιδήπου πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, Ἀριστόδημος ἦν, ὁ 20
ὑποκριτής· ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα, Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς, οὐκ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρῥαγῆς ψευδόμενος· οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες, ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό γε ἐν τῷ 25
παρόντι), Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ 30
τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι, ἔτι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς

εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινού συνεδρίε τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι· εἶτ', ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις
 ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν, τηλικαύτην
 πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἠλίκην νῦν ἐτραγώδεις καὶ
 5 διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἠγα-
 νάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν, ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν κατηγορεῖς,
 ἐδίδαξας ἢ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν, εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ,
 σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ δια-
 10 μαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλᾶν τουτοισί. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίη-
 σας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν
 φωνὴν οὐδεὶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα
 τότε ἀπεσταλμένη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλοι πάν-
 τες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὗθ' ἔτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τέτων
 15 εἶρηκεν οὐδέν.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ
 μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς
 μὲν ἄλλους Ἑλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις
 20 ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πράγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον,
 οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. Ἄλλ' οὐκ
 ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι. Τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι με-
 τεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν
 εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλε-
 25 μον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκ ἔν
 οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἠγεμῶν ἐδ' αἴτιος ὢν
 ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, ἔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐδὲν ὢν κατεψεύσατό
 μου, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὄν δείκνυται.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις,
 30 ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προείλε-
 το πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ

Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. Ἐγὼ
 μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα, βελεύων, ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην
 τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φί-
 λιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν. 5
 Οὗτοι δὲ, ἔδὲ γράψαντος ἐμῶ, ταῦτα ποιεῖν
 ἠθέλησαν. Τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον, ὡς
 πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὄρκων,
 ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. Διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν, οὐκ 10
 ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίζατε
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρα-
 σκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου· ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
 χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων (ὅπερ ἦν
 ἀληθές), ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τῆς τοὺς ὄρ- 15
 κους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδέ-
 να γὰρ λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα τὴν εἰρήνην. Ἄ ἐγὼ
 προορώμενος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος,
 τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν
 οἷς ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους τὴν ταχίστην 20
 ἀπολαμβάνειν· ἴν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέ-
 ρων συμμάχων, τὰ χωρία ταῦθ', ἃ νῦν ἔτος διέσυρε,
 τὸ Σέρρδιον καὶ τὸ Μύρτιον καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην,
 οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος
 τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, κύριος τῆς Θράκης κα- 25
 τασταίη· μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων, πολλῶν δὲ
 στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας, ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοι-
 ποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. Εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ
 λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βελεύ-
 ων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὧμην δεῖν, τοῦτό 30
 μου διαβάλλει. Ἄλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ



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ρῶν δέκα, μάλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τετάρων εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι, καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤψατ' αὐτῶν, παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτόν· ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει, 5 καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρω εἶχε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον, κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ 10 πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις.

Ἔτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφέξῃς ἔτι τέττα μείζον κακὲργημα θεάσασθε. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος ἔξιν, προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους, οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν 15 ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωσιν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἕως ἂν τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιο· ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρο ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν 20 εἰς Πύλας, ὥσπερ πρότερον, κλείσοιτε τὸν πορθμὸν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκρόιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ὑμῖν τέτων κακῆϊνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. Οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ, καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, 25 πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ἀκούσαντες ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματα αὐτόν, ὥστε πάλιν μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. Ἄξιόν δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες 30

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δέομαι, τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι, μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνε μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς, ἔδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον ἐδένα ἐποιέμην ἕτερον· ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίας ἅμα τέτου κεχρημένου, ἀνάγκη καὶ μοι πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, εἰ ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριοῖν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος τὸναντίον αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητάς ἐφη βεβαιεῖν (μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων), ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτά συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι, τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. Ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκρον αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. Τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς; ἐκ εἰς μακρὰν τοὺς μὲν ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας, μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τέτοις, τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἔσαι φανερά. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“ Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν γενομένης, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμη, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτη ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε. Μηδένα 5 Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι. Τέτων δ’ ἐκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν, μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας, μήτε ἀποκοιτῆντας. “Ὅς δ’ ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ 10 τῷ ψηφίσματι τούτῳ, ἔνοχος ἔσω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων, ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. Κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ 15 τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην· τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς ἄστν καὶ Πειραιᾶ· τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ραμνεῖντα καὶ Σένιον. Εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.” 20

Ἄρ’ ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐποιεῖσθε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ ταῦτ’ ἐπηγγείλαθ’ ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός; λέγε δ’ αὖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν δεῦρ’ ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

25

“ Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. “Ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἰς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ’ ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φροσῶς εἰσαγηχοτάς· 30 τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα, κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ



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λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἀρμόσει λέγειν ἴσως ἔπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων δωροδοκῆματα καὶ ἀδικήματα, τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φι-
λίππου διὰ τούτων, τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθω-
σάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγει-
λάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ
ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν
κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι, 10
φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἠγοῦντο,
πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον,
εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώ-
μενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε
τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμῶς (ὅτι γὰρ ἦν ὅτι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι), 15
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφρακι-
σμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἠλπισαν, ἤγον τὴν
εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ
πολεμούμενοι. Ὅτε γὰρ περιϋῶν ὁ Φίλιππος, Ἰλ-
λυριοῦς καὶ Τριβαλλῆς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλή- 20
νων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγά-
λας ἐποιεῖτο ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλε-
ων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε
διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς
ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο· εἰ δὲ 25
μὴ ἠσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ.
Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην, καὶ
παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ, καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις
ἐνόσουν, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν
δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, 30
τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν, τὰ μὲν ὅτι προσορωμένων,

τὰ δὲ τῆ καθ' ἡμέραν Ὶαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῆ δελεαζο-
 μένων, καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων,
 πλὴν οὐκ ἔφ' ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένων ἐκάστων τὸ δεινὸν
 ἤξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν
 5 ἀσφαλῶς στήσειν ὑπολαμβάνόντων, ὅταν βέλονται.
 Εἴτ', οἶμαι, συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν, ἀντὶ τῆς
 πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου Ὶαθυμίας τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἀπο-
 λωλέκῃναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα πλὴν
 ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν, πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρα-
 10 κόσιν ἠσθῆσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε
 ὠνομάζοντο ἠνίκα ἔδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ
 θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἃ προσήκει πάντα ἀκῆσιν.
 Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ὶθηναῖοι, τὸ τῷ προδιδόντος
 συμφέρον ζητῶν, χρήματα ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν
 15 ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβέλω
 περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἂν εὐ-
 δαιμονέστερον προδότου. Ὶλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα,
 οὐκ ἔστι. Πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Ὶλλ' ἐπει-
 δὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν κα-
 20 ταστῆ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστὶ,
 τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδῶς, τότε δὴ τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ
 ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. Σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ,
 εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε
 εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρο-
 25 νοῦσι. Μέχρι τούτου Δασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο
 Φιλίππου, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὶολυνθον· μέχρι τούτου
 Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδι-
 κος καὶ Σίμος, οἱ Δαρισσαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ
 Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν· εἴτ' ἔλαυνομένων, καὶ ὑβριζο-
 30 μένων, καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων, ἢ οἰκουμένη
 πᾶσα μεστή γέγονε προδοτῶν. Τί δ' Ὶρίστρατος

ἐν Σικυῶνι ; καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις ; οὐκ ἀπερῶριμμένοι ; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι, ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ πλεῖστα τούτοις ἀντιλέγων, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαροῦσι, τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωρο-5 δοκήσετε περιποιεῖ· καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν, ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότεπραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 10 πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρηῆσθαι. Αἴτιος δὲ ἔστος, ὡσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τὰς νεωτέρας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. Παρηνώχλησθε 15 δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως οἶ, καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ ὀτιοῦν εἰπεῖν, εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαροσίαν· καίτοι φιλίαν τε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων· “Ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” Ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἢ 20 πῶς ἀξιοθέντι ; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον, οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἶποιμ' ἂν ἐγὼ σε· οὐχ οὔτω μαίνομαι· εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θειριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας, φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. Ἀλλ' ἐκ ἑσσι ταῦτα. Πόθεν ; πολλῆ 25 γε καὶ δεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὔτοι πάντες. Εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. Πότερον ὑμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μισθωτος Αἰσχίνης, ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλε- 30 ξάνδρου δοκεῖ ; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσι ;



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“*Α* μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τέτων, πρῶ-
 τον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν, ὅτι πάντα δικαίως
 ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος
 τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν, περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκα- 5
 στον ἐφεξῆς, καὶ ἐδὲν ἕκων παραλείψω. Τῶ μὲν ἔν
 γραῖται πράττοντά με καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ
 δήμῳ διατελεῖν, καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν
 δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς
 πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω. Ἀπὸ γὰρ 10
 τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, εὐρεθήσεται, εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ
 ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα,
 εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “Ἐπειδὴν
 τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ κελεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγῶ- 15
 μαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἀξιός εἰμι
 τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις,
 εἴτε καὶ μὴ. Ἐτι μέντοι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον
 εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τέτῳ.

Οὕτωςι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ 20
 ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογία ἐγνώκα ποιεῖσθαι· βαδιῶμαι
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ, ἃ πέπρακταί μοι· καί με μηδεὶς ὑπο-
 λάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, εἰάν εἰς
 Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω. Ὁ γὰρ
 διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ 25
 ἄριστά με, καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ,
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολι-
 τευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ
 ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς· εἶτα, καὶ πολλῶν
 προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλ- 30
 ληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδεί-
 ξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

“ Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ, προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δὲ, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπέστην ἐγὼ, διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα
5 ἀναμνήσω, καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών.

Πλεονέκτημα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ
10 θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι, καὶ τοσαύτην ὄσσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγонуῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν, καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τὴς Ἑλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτὸς καὶ στασιαστικῶς, ἔτι χειρὸν διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἑξα-
15 πατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοῦς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων· καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίνεσθαι. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φρομένου κακοῦ τῶν
20 ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας, εἰμὶ ἐγώ. Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ φρό-
25 νημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἑαυτῆς, ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακταῖσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν (δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς), ἃ δ’ ἐώρα συμβη-
30 σόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνετο, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιῦδεῖν γιγνόμενα;

Ἄλλα νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις, ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος
 γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλει ἂν· πότερον τῆς συναι-
 τίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ
 αἰσχυρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων 5
 εἴποι τις; ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα
 ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας
 καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τέτων πολλοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλ-
 λάχασιν. Καὶ γὰρ, εἰ μὲν, ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος 10
 ὄχετ' εὐθύς ἀπιῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε
 τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
 μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ὅμως ἦν ἂν τις, κατὰ τῶν
 ἐκ ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἐπραττεν ἐκεῖνος, μέμψις καὶ
 κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων, τὸ ἀξίωμα τὴν 15
 ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων
 ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέροχομαι. Τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη,
 προσῆκε ποιεῖν, ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων 20
 ὀρώσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί
 τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν
 ἐμὲ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὅς συνήδειν
 ἐκ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης,
 ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτεί- 25
 ων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα,
 καὶ πλείω σώματα καὶ χρήματα ἀναλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ
 φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόν-
 των, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οἱ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνα-
 λώκασιν ἕκαστοι; ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, 30
 πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας



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τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ Μεγάρους ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεὸν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιέμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ 5 πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, τινὰς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς τινὰς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἠδίκει καὶ παρεσπύονδαι καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύσοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν 10 γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην, τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔσαν ὀφθῆναι, ζώντων Ἀθηναίων, ὄρωντων, περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰπῶν, περιείργασται δ' ἢ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί· ἔσω δ' ἀδικήματα πάντα ταῦτα, ἃ πέπρακται, καὶ ἅμα 15 τήματα ἐμά. Εἰ δὲ ἔδει τέτων τινὰ κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνον, ὄρων καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον, ἠναντιέμεν προλέγων τε καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι 20 ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ.

Καὶ μὴν, ἐκεῖνός γε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔλυσε, τὰ πλοῖα λαβὼν, οὐχ ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὴ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, τίς 25 τίνος αἰτιός ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“ Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτε ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν συναχθείσης, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κύπριος εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ 30 προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἄρα

Δεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον, καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
 σαλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παραπομ-
 πὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, ὃ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς
 Ἀμύντας καταγήοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ ἐν φυ-
 5 λακῇ ἔχει· ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς
 στρατηγοὺς, ὅπως ἡ βουλή συναχθῶσι, καὶ αἵρεθῶσι
 πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δια-
 λέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον,
 καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ εἰ μὲν
 10 δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ
 μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμε-
 λοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψά-
 μενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγω-
 ρίας ἀξίαν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδία
 15 ἀγνωμονοῦσιν, ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας, ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος,
 καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆ-
 μος βουλευῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.”

Τῷτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα, Εὐβελος ἔγραψεν,
 οὐκ ἐγώ· τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς, Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος,
 20 εἶτα Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κη-
 φισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ
 τούτων. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἀρχοντος, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔνη
 25 καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ
 ἐχρημάτισαν, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες,
 ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιπ-
 πον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς, καὶ ἐντολὰς
 δοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. Καὶ
 30 εἴλοντο τούσδε· Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύ-
 στιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πο-

λύκριτον Ἀπημάντε Κοθωκίδην. Πρυτανεία φυ-
λῆς Ἴπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεύς, πρόε-
δρος, εἶπεν.”

“Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψήφισμα-
τα, οὕτω καὶ σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας 5
ψήφισμα, αἰτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. Ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν
ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ
παρέσχες. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται
με ὑπὲρ τῆς πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Δέγε δ’ αὐ-
τὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου. 10

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

“Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Παραγενόμενοι πρὸς
ἐμὲ οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν πρεσβευταὶ, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δη-
μόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς πῶν 15
πλοίων ἀφέσεως, ὧν ἐναυάρχῃ Λαομέδων. Κα-
θόλου μὲν οὖν ἐμοίγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ
ἔσεσθαι, εἴτ’ οἴεσθέ με λανθάνειν, ὅτι ἔξαπεστάλη
ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παρα-
πέμποντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Δῆμνον, βοη- 20
θήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς, τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μὲν πολι-
ορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς
φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. Καὶ ταῦτα
συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἑτέρων, 25
ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βου-
λομένων τὸν δῆμον, ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς
ἐμὲ φιλίας, τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον
φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντελεῖσθαι, ἢ τοῖς Ση-
λυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι· καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐ- 30
τοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι. Οὐ μέντοι μοι



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καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἅποιων ἠδίκηι, μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἤκιστα σύ. Οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι, παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, 5 καὶ σὺ προῖξένεις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἢ μὲν πόλις, ὡς ἐχθρὸς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας, ἀπήλασε· σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδὲν, ᾧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ λέγων, ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβῶν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. Ἄλλ' οὐ σύ 10 γε· ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσῃ δὲ οὐδέποτε, εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν, ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.

Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τέτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς, ὥσπερ οὕτως Ἰκτισιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρῶν- 15 θέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τέτις γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν, οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβῶν. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

20

“Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἀρχοντος, Γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Δεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεᾶρῆιος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 25 καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ πρότερον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὦν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅτι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ 30 τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δε-

δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορευῆσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. Εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεαῤῥῖος.”

Ἔστιν ἔν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν συμβᾶσαν τῇ πόλει διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβῆσεσθαι ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν, ὅταν ἢ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐὰν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας· φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβλελεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων· τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι· τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους, ὡς ἀγαθῶν τέτων ὄντων, ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι (καὶν διαῤῥαγῶσί τινες τούτων) ὑπ' ἐμῶ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. Ὅρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρῶμεθα ἐπείσάκτῳ, βελόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπείας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Βυζαντίους, συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον,

οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι (λέγοντες ἀληθῆ), χαρακώματα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῆ πόλει, καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. Ἄλλὰ 5 τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν εἶπω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. Τίς δ' ὁ τῆ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων, 10 καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. Ἄλλὰ μὴν, ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐκ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπεύρασθε. Ὅ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος, ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις 15 καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ, ἐπιταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν· ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς, οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι, τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ 20 προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

“Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίῳ, Δαμάγητος ἐν 25 τῆ ἀλία ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλαῖς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγενομένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χάριτας παρέσχηται ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι 30 καιρῷ, Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἐπιστρατεύσαντος



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ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅτι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. Ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο κοινῶ βουλευτηρίῳ.”

Οὐκοῦν, οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ 5 Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξε τὴν τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν, καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. Ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις, 10 πολιορκῶν αὐτὸς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων· ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως, περὶ ὧν ἠγνώμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδι- 15 κουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε· ἐξ ὧν, δόξαν εὐνοίαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε. Καὶ μὴν, ὅτι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐστεφανώκατε ἤδη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὄντινα δὲ ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐσεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμὲ, 20 οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς 25 εἶναι (τῆτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἠγῆμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἴ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελεθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι. 30 Καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ, πρὸς τὰ

κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ δεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ πειρᾶσθαι πρῶττειν.

Ἔμεῖς τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων, καὶ τὰ κύκλω τῆς
 5 Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωναῖς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ
 τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς
 Ἄλιάρτον· καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον
 10 εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πολλὰ ἂν ἐχόντων
 μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις, τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων·
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. Καίτοι τότε
 ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρω, Αἰσχίνῃ, ἔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποί-
 15 ουν, οὔτε ἀκίνδυνα ἔωρων· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προ-
 εἴντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
 εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι,
 ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βεβλημένοι. Πέρας μὲν γὰρ
 ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ἂν ἐν
 20 οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγα-
 θοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς,
 τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι
 ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ, γενναίως.

Ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ἡμῶν
 25 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας
 οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικη-
 κότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν
 Δεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φο-
 βηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρ-
 30 χουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κιν-
 δυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ τοι, πᾶσι τοῖς

Ἕλλησιν ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε, ὅτι, καὶ ὅτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τᾶλλα ἔχετε· ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτὸς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε.

5

Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον ἕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν, οὐ περιεΐδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τριηραρχῶν τότε 10 πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἔπω περὶ τούτων. Καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ, καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων, ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξη- 15 μαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε, ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζῶν, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαις γεγονυίας, καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν 20 ἄλλων ἔνεχ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται.

Εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς 25 συμβεληῆς οὔσης, τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακήσειν, νῆ Δία, πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα τὰ συμφέροντα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 30 τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρη-



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ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα, καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. Λέγε. 5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἴπποθοωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, 10 καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλεια ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων γραφὴν Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεὺς, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν, ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.” 15

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

“Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ 20 χορηγία χρωμένους.”

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

“Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη, 25 ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα. Ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν, ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογία ἔστω, καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἔστί τῶν 30 δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.”

Ἐγὼ γὰρ μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν
δοκῶ ; ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν ἐθέλῃν, τοῦ μὴ δίκαια
ποιεῖν, οἱ πλούσιοι ; ἔ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ κα-
θυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀπο-
5 φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον,
καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. Πάντα γὰρ τὸν
πόλεμον τῶν ἀποσόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον
τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος ἔδεις πώ-
ποτε ὡς ἀδικέμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, ἔκ ἐν Μενυχία ἐκαθέ-
10 ζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη· οὐ τριήρης
οὔτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐ-
τῆ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. Καίτοι κα-
τὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο.
Τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν, τῷ λειτουργεῖν μὴ
15 δύνασθαι· πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινον. Ἐγὼ
δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς
τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο.

Καὶ μὴν, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου
τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύ-
20 ματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι, καὶ τιμαὶ, καὶ δυνάμεις
συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ
κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν,
οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. Ταῦτ' οὖν τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων
ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς
25 Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει,
τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν
πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην· οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς,
τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα, ἀντὶ
τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

30 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κη-
ρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. Τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ

ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. Καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἑμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν, ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ 5 αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν· εἶτα, κἄν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστου τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω δια- 10 κυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, ἔτε, μὰ τὸς θεοὺς, οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς. Ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι.

Τοσοῦτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν, ὥς οὐκ εἰμι ὑπεύθυ- 15 νος (ὃ νῦν οὗτος πολλάκις διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο), ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ὧν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν· ὧν μέντοι γ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι· 20 ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη; οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. Τίς γὰρ ἔστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλόανθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον, τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστε- 25 ρεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἰς δήπου. Εἰ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἄγὼ σέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀλλ' ἔτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι, ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν, 30 ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, “ Ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν (φησιν)



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σθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε, καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.”

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“ Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων 5
βελῆς γνώμη. Ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλι-
τῶν, ἀποστάλεις εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος, ὁ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν τινων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ
τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους 10
ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ, στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυ-
σῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς
μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι, καὶ Διονυσίοις, τρα-
γωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι 15
θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.”

Τῆτων ἕκαστος, Δισχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἦρχεν,
ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ’ οἷς δ’ ἐσεφανῆτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος·
οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστὶ μοι περὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπρ. Ἐπέδωκα, καὶ ἐπαι- 20
νοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὑπεύθυνος ὧν ἐπέδωκα·
ἦρχον, καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέ-
δωκα, νῆ Δία. Ἄλλ’ ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρῶν, ὅτε
με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταὶ, διὰ τί οὐ κατηγόρεις;

Ἴνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε, ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ, 25
ἐφ’ οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν
ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον, τὸ γραφέν μοι. Οἷς
γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ
διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30

“ Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, Πυανεσιῶνος ἐννάτη

ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηΐδος, Κτησι-
 φῶν Δεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ
 Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς, γενόμενος
 ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς, καὶ προσανα-
 5 λώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τά-
 λαντα, ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεω-
 ρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν
 φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας· δεδόχθαι
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαινέσαι
 10 Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
 καὶ καλοκαγαθίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ
 εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ στεφανῶσαι
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν
 τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ
 15 ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.”

Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ
 γέγραπαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλή δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων
 γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. Τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν
 τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-
 20 των ἀποδοῦναι, παρανόμων γράφη; ὁ δὲ παμπόνη-
 ρος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς, καὶ βάσκανος ὄν-
 τως, ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη, πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν, περὶ τοῦ γε ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι,
 τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παραλείπω,
 25 καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον·
 ἀλλὰ, πρὸς θεῶν, οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος,
 Αἰσχίνη, ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τῷ μὲν
 στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ σέφανος, ὅποι
 ἂν ἀναρῶρηθῇ· τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα
 30 συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα;
 οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πό-

λιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφε. Δέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

5

“Ὅσες στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιῆσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, εἰ μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ ἡ βουλή στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.”

10

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, “Πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος, ἢ ἡ βουλή στεφανοῖ, τέτους δὲ ἀναγορεύεσθαι;” τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ, φθόνῳ 15 δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους, τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλως δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάν-20 τα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἶτα οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς, κομιζόμενος· ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικὰς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινωσκομένους. Καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοι καὶ τῷ σῷ 25 γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἠγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι· τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν, βλασφη-30 μίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ



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οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδία βοῶντα, ὧ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῆ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλέμενον, ἧ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούει' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Σοὶ 5 δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὧ κάθαρμα, ἧ τοῖς σοῖς, τίς μετουσία, ἧ τίς διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων; πόθεν λαβόντι, ἧ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι; ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρου λέγον- 10 τος ἐρυθριάσειε· τοῖς δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιουμένοις δὲ ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγῳσιν, ἐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρῆ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 15 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ. Πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμησ ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησεῖῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἧ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σε τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ, 20 χρωμένη, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τῆ Φρεαρῆϊς δούλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ, νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὰς θεοὺς, ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων, 25 αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντα ἑμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω· ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ, ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, ἄρξομαι.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὧν ἔτυχεν, ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. Ὅψε γὰρ ποτε — ὀψε λέγω, χθὲς μὲν οὖν 30 καὶ πρόην, ἅμα Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε· καὶ

δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς, τὸν μὲν πατέρα, ἀντὶ Τρό-
μητος, ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον· τὴν δὲ μητέρα, σεμνῶς
πάνυ, Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμποῦσαν ἅπαν-
τες ἴσασι καλοῦμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πά-
5 ἔχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν.
Πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν;

Ἄλλ' ὅμως ἔτι ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει,
ὥστε, ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ
διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονῶς, οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις,
10 ἀλλὰ μισθῶσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τετωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. Καὶ
περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστὶ τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς
πόλεως εἶρηκεν, εἰάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανε-
ρῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀν-
15 τιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια
ἐμπρήσειν τὰ ὑμέτερα, εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λα-
βόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ, καὶ καταστή-
σαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος
καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ, τοὺς
20 ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων, καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας
βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησε. Καὶ
εἰ μὴ ἡ βεβλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθο-
μένη, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγνοίαν ἐν ἑ δέοντι συμβε-
θηκυῖαν ἰδῶσα, ἐπέζητήσε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ συλλα-
25 βῶσα ἐπανήγαγεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιῶτος·
καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς, ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ
σεμνολόγου τουτουῖ. Νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες
αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.

Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἢ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου
30 πάγου τὰ τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων
αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ

(ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας, ἀφ' ἧσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν), ὡς προείλεσθε κακείνην καὶ κυρίαν τῆ πράγματος ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ἵπερίδην δὲ λέγειν* προσέταξε· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφόν ἐπραξε, 5 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαιφῶ τούτῳ. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

“Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἶδε· 10 Καλλίας Σουνιεὺς, Ζήνων Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ἵπερίδην ἀξιὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν· καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ἵπερίδης.”

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε, τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν, ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν. “Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τῷτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τῆ νεανίου τούτου, 20 ὁμοιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε.

“Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἐπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων ἀπάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν 25 καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἶξα ἔδ' ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ πρῆδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου 30 συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος



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Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τῆς πολεμεῖν, φανερώς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ, δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, (πῶς γὰρ οὐ ;) κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. Δότε δὲ, εἰ βέλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τῆτο· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄττι-5 κὴν ἐπορεύει ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐννευσήκει πόλεμος· ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοτ' ἐπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος ἰαμβειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ περὶ 10 τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. Ἄλλ' ἐκ ἔσιν ἐδέν. Καίτοι, δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖςπρατο- μένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν, μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζη- 15 τοῦντα, μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν, ἠνίκα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακὸν ὑμᾶς ; ἔμενον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἕτέρῳ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύνατο (ὡς εἰκεν) 20 ἡ πόλις, ἃ ποιῶν εἰς ἐλάνθανεν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Δοκρῶν διεξιῶν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τὰληθές· τὸ δ' οὐ 25 τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψη σὺ τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαντῷ· ἐχ' ἔτω πολλὰ ἔρεῖς. Καλῷ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεὸς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἄττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν 30 Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι

πᾶσι τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἵπομι, καὶ
 εἶπον τότε εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον του-
 τονὶ τὸν μιᾶρον τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον
 (ἔγνων γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων) · εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι
 5 καὶ σωτηρίαν · εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδί-
 ας ἔνεκα, αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι. Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπή-
 ραμαι, καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ
 γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν
 10 ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμέ-
 να μνημονεύοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβεῖμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργα-
 σμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ἕτος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῆ · ὅπερ
 πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας
 ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.
 15 Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν
 ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
 ἡγεμῶν, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἕτος
 ἐστὶν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας, καὶ πάντων εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν
 μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. Καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ δια-
 20 μαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ · “ Πό-
 λεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον
 Ἀμφικτυονικόν.” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθή-
 μενοι οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον, καὶ
 κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπε-
 25 λάμβανον αὐτῷ. “ Ἦτις δὲ ἢ φύσις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
 εἴνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη, καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη· νῦν
 ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε. Καὶ γὰρ εὖ
 30 πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε
 πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν · καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν
 τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσασθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ πέρασ ἔδ' ἀπαλλα-
 γῇ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θεβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθρὸς
 ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ, καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς
 τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ,
 ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία 5
 ἔπασχε κακά. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας
 γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο, ὧν ἔδειτο, αὐτῷ·
 ἦν δὲ οὔτε ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κρείττων τότε ὑμῶν, οὔτε
 εἰς τὴν Ἀπτικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς, μήτε Θετταλῶν
 ἀκολουθόντων, μήτε Θεβαίων διϊέντων. Συνέβαινε 10
 δ' αὐτῷ, τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῶντι τὰς ὁποῖας δήποθ' ὑμεῖς
 ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἔῳ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), αὐτῇ τῇ
 φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις,
 κακοπαθεῖν. Εἰ μὲν ἔν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκεν ἐχθρας, ἢ
 τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θεβαίους συμπεῖθοι βαδί- 15
 ζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἠγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν
 νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν,
 ἠγεμῶν αἴρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἠλπίζε, τὰ μὲν παρακρούσε-
 σθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. Τί οὖν ἐπιχειρεῖ; θεάσασθε
 ὡς εὔ· πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ περὶ 20
 τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθύς αὐτοὺς
 ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτῷ δεήσεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τῷτον
 ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν
 ἐκείνης συμμάχων εἰσηγεῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πράγ-
 μα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θεβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, 25
 καὶ πάντα φυλάξεσθαι· ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ, καὶ
 παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως
 λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε;
 μισθοῦται τουτονί. Οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι,
 τὸ πράγμα, ἔδὲ φυλάττοντος (ὡςπερ εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦ- 30
 τα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι), προβληθεὶς Πυλαγόρας



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ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἰρεῖσθαι. Τί δεῖ τὰ
πολλὰ λέγειν; ἤρεθθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμόν· καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, δύναμιν συλλέξας, καὶ παρελθὼν
ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραΐαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ καὶ
Κιρραίοις καὶ Δοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. 5
Εἰ μὲν ἔν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθύς Θηβαῖοι, καὶ
μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὡς περ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τῶ-
το τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε. Νῦν δὲ τότε
γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν, ὧ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινος εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα 10
μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς
δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς
ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἢ
μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη, δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε.
Λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 15

ΔΟΓΜΑ ἈΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

“ Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας,
ἔδοξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμ-
φικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν
ἱερὰν χώραν, καὶ σπεύρουσι, καὶ βοσκήμασι κα- 20
τανέμουσιν” ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς Πυλαγόρας καὶ τοὺς
συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ
ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπι-
βαίνειν.”

Ἔτερον Δόγμα.

“ Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδο-
ξε τοῖς Πυλαγόραις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφι-
κτυόνων, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ
οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι
γεωργοῦσι, καὶ βοσκήματα νέμει· καὶ κωλύμενοι 30
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοι-

νὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασι, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ 5 ἀξιούν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιῖδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελέμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἵρουνται οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.”

10 Δέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ, καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. Δέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

“ Ἀρχῶν Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.”

15 Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπισολὴν, ἣν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκων οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος· ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς 20 πράττειν, ἀπεκρούπτετο· κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις παραδὲς αὐτῷ, ἔτος ἦν. Δέγε.

ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛὴ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

25 “ Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι, χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ, οἱ καλέμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικῶντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι 30 μεθ' ὀπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βέλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν

βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετραράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Δάου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κο-5 ρίνθιοι, Πανέμῃ. Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν συναντήσασι πανδημεῖ, χρῆσόμεθα συμβούλοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προσθεμένοις, ἐπιζημίοις. Εὐτυχεῖτε.”

Οὐδ’ ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει; τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα 10 συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιϋόντες, ὡς ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέ-15 πονθεν ἢ Ἑλλάδος ἀνθρώπου. Οὐχ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ 15 πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ’ ἐκάστοις, ὡς γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὗτός ἐστιν· ὃν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τὰ ληθῆς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων. Ὁ γὰρ τὸ 20 σπέρμα παρασχὼν, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. Ὅν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐκ εὐθύς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 25 τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀπαμένων, εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι, ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἔνεκα εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ’ ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ 30 τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.



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πος, τινὰς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς 5 πίστεις· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται, καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν, μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει, καὶ 10 τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.”

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

15

“ Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς Μουνιχιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνε- 20 σθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχέσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆ- 25 ται. Καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. Ἠρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος· καὶ κήρυξ Εὐνόμος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.”

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

30

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ Ἀθηναίοις.

“ Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Ἀθηναίων τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. “ Ἦν μὲν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
 εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἴρεσιν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπ-
 5 δὴν ποιῆσθε, προσκαλέσασθαι βεβλόμενοι Θειταλῆς
 καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῆς. Βέλτιον δ’ αὐ-
 τῶν φρονούντων, καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ποιή-
 σασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον
 ἵσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς
 10 πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα, συνθηκῶν μνημονεύε-
 τε, καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ’ ἑδὲν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πε-
 πλημμελημένοι. Ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκέσας τῶν πρεσβευ-
 τῶν, συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις, καὶ
 ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ
 15 ὀρθῶς συμβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμπαντες, τῆς
 προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ” Εὐδῶσθε.”

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ Θηβαίοις.

“ Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Θηβαίων τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, χαίρειν. Ἐκομισάμην τὴν
 20 παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι’ ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν
 εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶ-
 σαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, βου-
 λόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ’ ἀρ-
 τῶν παρακαλουμένοις. Πρότερον μὲν ἐν ὑμῶν κα-
 25 τεγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκεί-
 νων ἐλπίσι, καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει.
 νῦν δ’ ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότητα
 ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν
 γνώμαις, ἦσθην· καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ
 30 πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τέτων
 ἀσφαλέστερον, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ.”

ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. "Ἐρῶσθε."

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τέτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι
 καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἤκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ 5
 τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο,
 ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. Ἀλλὰ
 μὴν, τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε
 μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τὰ
 ἀναγκαιότατα. 10

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν· ἤκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ἐς τὰς
 πρυτάνεις, ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. Καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν, εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦν-
 τες, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν σκηναῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν,
 ἐξεῖργον, καὶ τὰ γέρορα ἐνεπίμπρασαν· οἱ δὲ, τοὺς 15
 στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκά-
 λουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. Τῇ δ' ὑσε-
 ραία, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν
 ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν ἐπορεύεσθε· καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ 20
 προβουλεύσαι, πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. Καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα ὡς εἰςῆλθεν ἡ βεβλή, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυ-
 τάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἤκοντα
 παρήγαγον, καὶ κεῖνος εἶπεν· ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ·
 "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται;" παρήει δ' ἑδείς. Πολ- 25
 λάκις δὲ τῷ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, ἑδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστα-
 το οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων,
 ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς
 τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς τὸν ἐρεῖνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· (ἦν
 γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσει, ταύ- 30
 την κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι.)



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σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι· ὡς δ' ἔχει ταῦτα (ἔφην) ἀκέσα-
 τέ μου. Ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων
 ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν, ἀπαντὰς ἠντρέπισται· τοὺς
 δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν ἐναντιμέ-
 νους, οὐδαμῶς πείσαι δύναται. Τί οὖν βούλεται, 5
 καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφε; πλησίον
 δύναμιν δείξας, καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα, τοὺς μὲν
 ἑαυτοῦ φίλους θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπᾶραι, τοὺς
 δ' ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσῃσι
 φοβηθέντες, ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. Εἰ 10
 μὲν οὖν προαιρησόμεθα ἡμεῖς (ἔφην) ἐν τῷ παρόντι,
 εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τού-
 του μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φί-
 λιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι, μὴ, προσδεξαμέ- 15
 νων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτῷ, καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ
 πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν. Ἄν μέντοι πεισθῆτέ μοι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ
 σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω, γέ-
 νησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν, καὶ τὸν 20
 ἐφρονηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. Τί οὖν
 φημί δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φό-
 βον· εἶτα μεταθέσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντα ὑπὲρ
 Θηβαίων (πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσὶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ
 προτέροις αὐτοῖς ὁ κίνδυνος)· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας 25
 Ἐλευσίναδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, δεῖξαι
 πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς
 ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ
 παρρησιαζέσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ
 τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοη- 30
 θήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεία, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς
 ἔτοιμοι, καὶ βοηθήσετε, ἂν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴη. Με-
 τὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ
 ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ
 5 τοῦ πότε δεῖ ἐκεῖσε βαδίζειν, καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. Ἐπει-
 δὲ δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσα-
 σθαι τῷ πράγματι τούτῳ, παραινῶ, πάνυ μοι προσ-
 ἔχετε τὸν νῦν· μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχρὸς
 γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, εἰάν
 10 κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κιν-
 δύνοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προο-
 ρωμένων· ἴν', εἰάν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν
 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθα ὧμεν διωκημένοι, καὶ μετὰ
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν·
 15 εἰάν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς
 ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἂν τι νῦν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν
 αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.”

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν, κατέβην.
 Συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων, καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος
 20 ἐναντίον οὐδὲν, οὐκ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα
 δέ· οὐδὲ, ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδὲ,
 ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον,
 καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τὴν περιεστηκότα
 25 τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸ
 τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι, τίνα βούλει σε, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυ-
 τὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν
 μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις
 30 Βάταλον; σὲ δὲ μηδὲ ἦρωα τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τού-
 των τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην, ἢ Κρέ-

οντα, ἢ ὄν ἐν Κολυτῶ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας ; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάταλος, Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ, πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. Σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν ἔδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα · 5 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

“ Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευ-
 ἴσης Αἰαντίδος, Σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δη- 10
 μοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ
 Φίλιππος, ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἐν τε τῷ παρελη-
 λυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημέ-
 νας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ
 τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τὰς ὄρκους, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι 15
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις
 παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν, αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ, καὶ
 Ἀθηναίων ἕσας, δορυαλῶτες πεποίηκεν, ἔδεν προα-
 δικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων · ἐν τε τῷ
 παρόντι, ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότη- 20
 τι · καὶ γὰρ Ἕλληνίδας πόλεις, ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους
 ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
 ἔξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ
 ἀντὶ Ἕλλήνων Βαρβάρους κατοικίζει, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
 καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, ἔδεν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν ἕτε 25
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος, οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν
 αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελη-
 σμένος ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέ-
 γονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας · καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα
 παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους, καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπε- 30
 λάμβανεν ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἔλαττον εἶναι τὸ εἰς



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βαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους
 παῖδας, ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς
 πατρῶας ἀρχῆς, κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαν-
 τες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους
 ἐγγόνοις· καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν, καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου
 ἐκπεσόντας, ὑπεδεξάμεθα· καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν
 ὑπάρχει φιλόανθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους.
 Διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος
 τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων·
 συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἐπι-
 γαμίαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν.”

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ.

“Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερίδης
 Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρε-
 ἀρῆσιος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλης Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχος
 Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.”

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχή,
 καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη· τὰ πρὸ τούτων, εἰς ἔχθραν
 καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ
 τούτων. Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει
 περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέ-
 φος. Ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε
 δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν
 ἐπιτιμᾶν. Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἐν
 οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον
 ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ, πρὸ τῶν πραγμά-
 των γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύ-
 θυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βου-
 λομένῳ· ὁ δὲ, σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκο-
 λον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ
 εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς
 τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιῶμαι, ὥστε ἂν
 νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὄλως, εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν
 πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. Εἰ γὰρ
 ἔσθ' ὅ τις νῦν ἐώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πρα-
 5 χθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. Εἰ δὲ
 μήτ' ἔσι, μήτε ἦν, μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω
 καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ
 τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόητων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι;
 τῆτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τῆ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχί-
 10 νη, "Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ, "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι
 περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων;" οὐδὲ, "τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι
 τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι;" σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνης
 τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ
 παρελθὼν, ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν
 15 δεῖξον, εἰπέ, τίς ἢ λόγος, ὄντινα ἐχρῆν εὐρεῖν, ἢ και-
 ρὸς συμφέρον, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς
 δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πράξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με
 ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί; ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς
 αἰεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου
 20 προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ
 παρὸν, τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε
 τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἐμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ
 δ' ἤδη παρῆν· ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει
 τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβαίνοντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ
 25 μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῆ, πάντων
 γίγνεται· ἢ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῆ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου
 διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὴ τῆθ' ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς,
 εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τὴν μάχην (ἐν γὰρ τῷ
 θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί)· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ
 30 ἅπανθ' ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλό-
 μην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ

φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πό-
 λεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα,
 ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. Εἶ
 δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς, ἢ χειμῶν, μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί 5
 χρῆ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ
 σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ
 πλοῖον, ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι· εἶτα χει-
 μῶνι χρησάμενον, καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν,
 ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. 10
 Ἄλλ' οὔτε ἐκυβέρονων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν· ὥσπερ
 οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων
 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆ 15
 προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἐσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ
 Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο (ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκεῖνος πάσας
 ἀφῆκε φωνάς); καὶ εἰ νῦν τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τοσοῦτος κίν-
 δυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που 20
 τῆς χώρας ταῦτο τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι
 χρῆν; ἄρ' οἴεσθε ὅτι νῦν ἐνῆν στήναι, συνελθεῖν,
 ἀναπνεῦσαι; πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς
 ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει. Τότε δὲ —
 ἀλλ' ἐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ὧν γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν 25
 τινος εὐνοια, καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην
 τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς. Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ
 πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί,
 καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους·
 ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν κατάπτυσον, βραχὺς 30
 καὶ σαφῆς ἐξήρκει μοι λόγος.



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Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενή-
 σεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες,
 Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς
 οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τού-
 των ἦν, εἶπερ ἢ δόξης, ἢ προγόνων, ἢ τῷ μέλλοντος 5
 αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν
 τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι
 τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτα ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδε-
 δωκέναι πάντα ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα 10
 προεῖτο ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ ὧν ἐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντινοῦν
 οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν
 σου; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. Τίσι
 δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διὸς, ἐωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγμα- 15
 τα εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος
 ἠρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γε-
 νέσθαι ταῦτα ἀγῶνα, ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πε-
 ποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον 20
 ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἠρημένης. Τίς γὰρ
 ἐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ Βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ
 Θηβαίων, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυ-
 ρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-
 σῶν βασιλέως, μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμέ- 25
 νως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅτι βούλεται λαβούση, καὶ τὰ
 ἑαυτῆς ἐχούση, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἔαν ἕτε-
 ρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεσάναι; ἀλλ' ἐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς
 ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια, ἐδ' ἀνεκτὰ, ἐδ' ἐμφυ-
 τα· οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παν- 30
 τὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι, τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν, μὴ δίκαια

δὲ πράττουσι, προσθεμένην, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν ·
 ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δό-
 ξης, κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.
 Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ἡμετέ-
 5 ροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν
 προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε.
 Εἰκότως · τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν
 ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες, ὑπὲρ
 10 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι; τὸν μὲν ταῦτα
 συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα, στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι,
 τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιτάττομένοις ἀποφηνάμενον
 Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες · ἔ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῆ. Οὐ γὰρ
 15 ἐζήτην οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτε ρήτορα, ἔτε στρατηγὸν,
 δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς · ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίον,
 εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
 Ἦγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ
 μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Δι-
 20 αφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγε-
 νῆσθαι νομίζων, τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόμα-
 τον θάνατον περιμένει · ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιθεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν
 ἐθελήσει, καὶ θανάτου φοβερωτέρας ἠγήσεται τὰς
 25 ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει
 φέρειν ἀνάγκη.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ
 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ
 ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. Νῦν
 30 δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀπο-
 φαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ

φρόνημα ἢ πόλις· τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ ἑμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι· οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἔμοι πικρῶς ἔχειν, ὥς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ 5 ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Εἰ γὰρ, ὥς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμῆ πολιτευσαμένῃ, τὰ δὲ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἔκ ἔσιν, οὐκ ἔσιν ὅπως 10 ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι· οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἄρ- 15 τεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιόσασα τιμῆς, ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὰς κρατήσαντας μόνους· δικαίως. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀν- 20 δρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ, ἦν ὁ δαίμων ἀπένειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται.

Ἐπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε, καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλόμενος, τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ 25 παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγε· ὦν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρῶν ἀγῶν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δὲ, ὦ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντα ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ ἀνάξια τούτων ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἀν 30 ἀπέθανον.



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ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-
 ἦγον ἐκείνους προτέρους, διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων
 τάξιν ἔχειν· καὶ παρελθόντες, ἐδημηγόρουν, πολλὰ
 μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατη- 5
 γορᾶντες, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πρόποτε ἐναντία ἐπράξατε
 Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. Τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,
 ἠξίου, ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, χάριν
 αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι· ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηνται, δίκην
 λαβεῖν ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διιέντας αὐτοὺς 10
 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Καὶ
 ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβέλευον,
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ
 τᾶλλα ἀγαθὰ, εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἠξοντα· ἐκ δὲ ὧν
 ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν, τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησό- 15
 μενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τού-
 τοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντα, ἔλεγον. Ἄ
 δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίε·
 ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα μὴ, παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, 20
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμά-
 των ἠγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων
 λόγους νομίσητε. Ἄ δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἂ
 ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε τουτὶ λαβῶν.

ἈΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

25

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετεπέμ-
 ποντο· ἐξίτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε· ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω,
 οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὄντων, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ
 δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ 30
 τὰ τιμιώτατα. Καίτοι, τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶ-

σιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν
 τὰ κάλλισα· ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης,
 τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἀμεί-
 5 νους εἶναι, καὶ δικαιότερα ἀξιούν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν ἢ
 Φίλιππον. Καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι
 δὲ ἐν πλείσῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν
 ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες
 ἔδειξαν. Ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ
 10 γε ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. Οὔτε γὰρ, εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οὐδεὶς ἔδεν
 ἔδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν, ἕτω σώφρονας παρέσχε-
 τε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρῶ-
 τας μάχας, τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν,
 15 οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυ-
 μαστοὺς ἐδείξατε, τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ
 προθυμίᾳ. Ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν
 ἐγίννοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ
 τοῖς θεοῖς. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην,
 20 ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαί-
 νων ἦν ἡ πόλις μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευ-
 φραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενός καὶ στένων
 καὶ δυσμεναίνων ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, οἴκοι
 καθῆτο ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 25 ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια,
 εἰ, ὣν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο
 μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ
 ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς ; εἰ δὲ
 μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δί-
 30 καιος, εἰ, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο
 ὄρων ; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν· καὶ περιεισῆκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις, ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητέ μοι. 5 Ἀλλὰ μὲν, οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε, ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμψε. Καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρία, καὶ 10 τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν ἔτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

Καίτοι, πολλοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύ- 15 βουλος, ἕτεροι μυριοί· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς τούτων πώποτε διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῆ πόλει· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων, οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων, ἔκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. Ὑπελείπετο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι 20 γίγνοιτο, ἀναφοράν. “Τί οὖν (εἶποι τις ἂν), σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμη καὶ τόλμη τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός;” ἔ λέγω ταῦτα· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ 25 προνοία οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις, ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. Ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράτ- 30 τοντά τι πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι



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μερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν· καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. Οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγυῶς ἔσης, τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν, καὶ μονονοῦκ 5 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἀν οἱ λόγοι. Διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους φυγῶν, νῦν ὕστερον ἤκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων (ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ), καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ 10 λόγων κρίσιν, οὐ τῷ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος, ἔσεσθαι.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἤκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀμελήσαι· ὥσπερ δὲ ὅταν, οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω, λογίζησθε, καὶ καθαρὰ ὦσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῆ, 15 συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. Θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἀν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. Ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος, ὡμολόγηκε νῦν ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν 20 ἐγνωσμένους, ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. Οὐ γὰρ ἀν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει, μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. Καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει, μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ δι- 25 δάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμὸς)· ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς ἔτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν 30 τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν

χώραν (ὃ πάντες ὄροντο ἔσεσθαι), μεθ' ἡμῶν πα-
 ραταξαμένους, ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ
 τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἑπτακόσια
 στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις
 5 γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν
 καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ
 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον λαβόντα Βυζάν-
 τιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς
 10 ἐκεῖνον. Ἄρα σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λο-
 γισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐχ-
 ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψα-
 σθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὀμότητος,
 ἣν, ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος,
 15 ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη· τῆς δὲ φι-
 λανθρωπίας, ἣν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος
 περιβαλλόμενος, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς, καλῶς
 ποιοῦντες, τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. Ἄλλ' ἔῶ ταῦ-
 τα. Καὶ μὴν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν
 20 ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν, καὶ μὴ συκο-
 φαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατη-
 γόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων, καὶ ῥήματα, καὶ
 σχήματα μιμούμενος· (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ
 ὁρᾶς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα, εἰ τουτὶ
 25 τὸ ῥήμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν
 χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα·) ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλις,
 καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσῆειν,
 καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγὼ,
 30 καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. Εἴτ', εἰ μὲν ἐλάττεας
 ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυ-

ες ὄν· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντεϊς.
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ
σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις, τοὺς νησιώ-
τας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε 5
γὰρ Χίος, οὔτε Ῥόδος, ἔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν·
χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα
τάλαντα· καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην
δὲ, ἢ ἱππέα, πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδένα. Ὁ δὲ πάν-
των καὶ φοβερῶτατον, καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, 10
οὔτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας
ἐχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους,
Εὐβοέας. Τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχον-
τα, καὶ εἰδείς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο εἰδέν·
τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέ- 15
ψασθε πῶς. Πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων
αὐτὸς ὢν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγι-
σὸν ἐσιν ἀπάντων· εἶθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς
χερσὶν αἰεὶ· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπρατ-
τεν ἅ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμα- 20
σιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν
συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
παρὰ νόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί· ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς
αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ
πρὸς τῆτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι 25
δίκαιον), τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός. Αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ
δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου
προὔτιθετε ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρονοῦσι καὶ
ἐμοί· καὶ ὅσα οὔτοι περιγένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ
δ' ἐγίγνετο τοιαῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκασον τύχοι πρόφασιν), 30
ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπήειτε βεβουλευμένοι.



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ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν ; οὐχ, ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι ; εἶτα, τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατῆς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπείας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος γέγονε · πόλεμος δ' ὄμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται · ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὄρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν · ἐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα ; πονηρὸν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰεὶ, καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος ἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παρὰσημος ῥήτωρ. Τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἤκει τῇ πατρίδι ; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθότων · ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς, ἀσθενούσιν μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι, μηδὲ δεικνύοι, δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον · ἐπειδὴν δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα, διεξίοι · “ Εἴ τὸ, καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτωσιν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” Ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις ;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἥτταν (εἰ ταύτη γαυριᾶς, ἐφ' ἣ στένειν σε, ὧ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν) ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὗρήσετε τῇ πόλει. Οὕτωσιν δὲ λογίζεσθε. Οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε, ὅπου πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἠττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρεσβέων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἔδαμόθεν, ἔ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόην ἐκ Θηβῶν · ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς

ὄπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς
 παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μα-
 λακίαν σκώπτων, καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν,
 ἕνα ὄντα, κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις·
 5 τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκά-
 στου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων,
 οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἐμὲ ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· ἔτω
 σκαιὸς εἶ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτῶμαι. Τί-
 10 να οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα,
 καὶ προαισθέσθαι, καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ταῦ-
 τα πέπρακταί μοι. Καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυ-
 τῆτας, ὄκνησ, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς
 πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήμα-
 15 τα, ταῦτα ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συσεῖλαι, καὶ τῆναντίον
 εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν
 ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. Καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίη-
 ται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ ποτε ἀνθρώπων εὖροι τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ
 οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὄντινοῦν ἔροιτο,
 20 τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διωκῆσατο,
 πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν, τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τῷ διδόναι
 καὶ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Οὐκᾶν,
 τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ·
 ὥστε οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων
 25 πρὸς ἐμέ. Καὶ μὴν, τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρεῖναι χρήμα-
 σι, κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος
 νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, εἰάν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λα-
 βὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεῖς, νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνέμενον· ὥστε
 ἀήττητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

30 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην, εἰς τὸ δικαίως
 τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς

ἑτέροις, ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν. Ἄ
δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἴστε, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ
ἑωρακῶς πάνθ' ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς
δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἠνίκα οὐδ' ἀγνώ- 5
μονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ,
πρῶτον μὲν, περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώ-
μας ἐχειροτόνει· καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα
ἔπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ
εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων 10
ἐγίγνετο. Ἐπειτα σιτώνην αἰρούμενος, ἐκ πάντων
ἐμὲ ὁ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησε. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συ-
στάντων, οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γρα-
φὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτα ἐπαγόν-
των μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν 15
μάλιστα ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοηθήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δή-
που καὶ μέμνησθε, ὅτι τὲς πρώτους χρόνους, καθ' ἑκά-
στην ἡμέραν ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σώ-
σικλέους, οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους, ἔτε Διώνδου
καὶ Μελάνου manία, οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν 20
τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ)· ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι, μάλιστα
μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἀθηναίους, ἐσωζόμεν ἰσχυρῶς.
Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκό-
των καὶ ἐγνωκότων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. Οὐκοῦν, 25
ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν, ὅτε ἀπεψηφίσεσθέ μου,
καὶ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐ-
μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐψηφίσεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν·
ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφυγον, ἐννομα καὶ γράφειν
καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμεν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας 30
ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα



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οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐν τῷ παρόντι πε-
 πείραται καιρῷ; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλ-
 λιστα, καὶ τὸ, τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ προεῖντο
 ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἄμεινον
 πράττειν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθη- 5
 μι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι, καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς ἠβουλό-
 μεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι, τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης
 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω
 τὴν πόλιν. Τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὴν
 ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον 10
 εἶναι νομίζω. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως περὶ τῆς τύχης
 ἐξετάζειν ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἑμαυτῷ δοκῶ,
 νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν συνδοκεῖν. Ὁ δὲ, τὴν ἰδίαν
 τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν, τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν
 εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην, τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ 15
 μεγάλης. Καὶ πῶς ἐνι τῷτο γενέσθαι; καὶ μὴν, εἴγε
 τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, Αἰσχίνη, προαιροῦ,
 πρὸς τὴν σαυτῆ σκόπει· καὶ εὖρος τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω
 τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῆ. Σκόπει τοί-
 νυν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Καί μου, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν, 20
 μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 οὔτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἠγῶμαι,
 οὔτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς, ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνε-
 ται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τριτουῖ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας
 καὶ συκοφαντίας, εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν 25
 ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς, ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι
 μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν
 ὄντι, φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ πρόσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ
 ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἐν- 30
 δειαν· ἐξελθόντι δ' ἐκ παίδων, ἀκόλουθα τούτοις

πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας, μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσῆλθον, ἔδοξέ μοι 5 τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλάκις ἔστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γε ἦν ἂν προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη· καὶ πόλλ' ἂν 10 ἔχων ἕτερόν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς, παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι.

Σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους, σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τίνι κέχρησαι τύχη· δι' ἣν, παῖς μὲν ὢν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ 15 πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων, καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων, καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων. Ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος, τῇ μητρὶ τελούση τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκες, καὶ τἄλλα συνσκευοῦ· τὴν 20 μὲν νύκτα, νεβρίζων, καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους, καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνισὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαριῶ, καὶ κελεύων λέγειν· “Ἐφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον·” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτον ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος 25 (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον)· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις, τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τὰς ἔστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθρω καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κε- 30 φαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν, “Ἐνοῖ Σαβοῖ,” καὶ ἐπορχόμενος “Ἰης Ἀττης,” Ἀττης Ἰης·” ἔξαρχος, καὶ

προηγμένων, καὶ κιττοφόρος, καὶ λικνοφόρος, καὶ τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραιδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν
 λαμβάνων τέτων ἐνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτὸς καὶ νεήλα-
 τα· ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονί-
 σειε, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημό- 5
 τας ἐνεγράφης ὅπωςδήποτε (ἔῶ γὰρ τοῦτο), ἐπειδὴ
 γοῦν ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν
 ἔργων, ὑπογραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχι-
 δίοις. Ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτῃ, πάνθ', ἃ
 τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς, αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυ- 10
 νας, μὰ Δί', ἐδὲν τῶν προὑπηρογμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦ-
 τα βίῳ· ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις
 ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμμύκα καὶ
 Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρους καὶ
 ἐλαίας συλλέγων, ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης, ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτριί- 15
 ων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων τραύματα,
 ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, ἔς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε·
 ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς
 θεατὰς πόλεμος· ὑφ' ὧν τὰ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἴλη-
 φῶς, εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων 20
 ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις.

Ἄλλα γὰρ παρεῖς ἐξ ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν
 τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατη-
 γορήματα. Τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ
 ποτε καὶ τῆτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν, εὐτυχέσης 25
 μὲν τῆς πατρίδος, λαγῶ βίον ἔξης, δεδιῶς καὶ τρέ-
 μων, καὶ αἰεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ
 συνήδεις ἀδικῆντι· ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρα-
 σὺς ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. Καίτοι, ὅστις χιλίων
 πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρῃρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν 30
 ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστι;



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ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τοῖστος ἐγὼ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλό-
 ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ, καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι, οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην ἂν περὶ τούτων 5
 οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε
 τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. Καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέιληφα·
 ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηῆσθαι τὸν
 πάντα χρόνον· τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλε- 10
 λῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστῆ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχῃ
 ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. Τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας
 ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν, μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστι
 τῷ ὄνειδίξειν. Οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ
 προαχθήσομαι. Ἄλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέιλημμαι περὶ 15
 τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγείς, ἔτι μικρὰ
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
 ἀνθρώπων, ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ 20
 νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, ἢ τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἔστω· συγχωρῶ σοι
 τὴν ἐμὴν, εἴτε τύχην, εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βού-
 λει, πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μη-
 δεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ, μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμῆ, 25
 πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον
 κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῃ
 δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον, τὴν ἀπάντων (ὡς
 ἔοικεν) ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινήν, καὶ φορὰν τινὰ
 πραγμάτων χαλεπήν, καὶ οὐχ οἷαν ἔδει, τούτων 30
 αἰτίαν ἠγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς, ἐμὲ τὸν

παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾶ· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ-
 δὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς
 βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὦν περὶ τῶν πραγμά-
 5 των ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν
 ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 ἀπάσαις ἀεὶ, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προτί-
 θει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστα εἶναι,
 καὶ μάλιστα σοι· (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρε-
 10 χῶρεις ἐλπίδων, καὶ ζήλου, καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα
 προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλὰ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλονότι, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν
 εἰπεῖν βέλτιον·) πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς,
 τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὧν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν
 15 βελτίω;

Παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγὼ γ' ὄρω πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦ-
 τα· ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν; ὄργη καὶ τιμωρία κατ' αὐτῶ·
 ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας
 20 τούτῳ. Οὔτε ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ
 πᾶσι δοκῶντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δὲς, οὐ κατώρθωσε
 μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ
 τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. Φανήσεται
 τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις,
 25 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ
 τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἠθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν
 τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀμό-
 τητι καὶ συκοφαντία, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχη-
 μάτων ἐμέμνητο· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

30 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ
 μετ' εὐνοίας πάντα εἰρηκῶς τὰς λόγους, φυλάττειν

ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσωμαι
 μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν, καὶ γόητα, καὶ σοφιστήν,
 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνομάζων· ὡς, εἴαν πρότερός τις εἴποι
 τὰ προσόνθ' ἐαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως
 ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκευομένους τίς 5
 ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι
 γινώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τρίτῳ μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι· καὶ κεῖνο δ' εὖ
 οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα, (ἔστω γάρ· καίτοι
 ἔγωγε ὄρω τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούον- 10
 τας τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος κυρίους ὄντας· ὡς γὰρ ἂν
 ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε, καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας,
 οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν·) εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ
 παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε
 πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ, 15
 καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ· τὴν δὲ τούτου
 τοῦναντίον, οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τῆτον, ἢ προσέκρουσέ περ,
 κατὰ τούτων. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ
 συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν, 20
 οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, τὸν
 καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν
 εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, εἰδ' ὑπὲρ
 τέτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν
 ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει· εἰ δ' ἄρα ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ με- 25
 τρίως διακείμενον ἔχειν. Ἐν τίσιν ἔν σφοδρὸν εἶναι
 τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν
 ὄλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰς
 ἐναντίους ἐστί τι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ
 γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. Μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδική- 30
 ματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίᾳ, δί-



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Εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ, καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τουτωνὶ
 πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἠγῆ γινώσκειν αὐ-
 τοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσῷτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας
 ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγό-
 ρεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μη-5
 δὲν εἶναί σοι καὶ Φιλίππῳ πράγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν
 αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν, ἔνεκα τῆς ἰδίας ἔχθρας,
 οὐκ οὕσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἢ μά-
 χῃ, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας, εὐθύς ὠμολόγεις, καὶ
 προσεποιῖς φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, 10
 τῇ μισθαρονίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα.
 Ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως, Αἰσχίνῃ,
 τῷ Γλαυκοθέᾳ τῆς τυμπανιστρίας, ξένος, ἢ φίλος,
 ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχ' ὄρω· ἀλλ' ἐμι-
 σθώθῃς ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθεῖρειν τὰ συμφέροντα τουτωνί. 15
 Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερώς αὐτοῖς εἰλημμένος προδό-
 τῆς, καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι
 γεγονῶς, ἐμοὶ λαιδορῆ, καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάν-
 τας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὐρήσεις ἢ ἐμέ.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, 20
 καὶ προεῖλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν ἔκ ἡμνη-
 μόνῃσε. Σημεῖον δέ. Χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος
 τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ
 συμβάντα, οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ
 εὐφρονον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν 25
 εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα
 ἀλλ' ἐμέ. Καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους
 ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορέν-
 των ἐμοῦ ταῦτα, ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λαιδορουμένων,
 ἔτι ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ 30
 ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γὰρ. Ἀμφότερα

ἤδεσαν αὐτοὶ, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν. Ἄ γὰρ εὐθηνούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ', ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις, 5 ὠμολογήσατε. Τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν, ὧν ἐφρόνονν λαβόντας ἄδειαν, ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἠγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. Εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν ἐροῦντά τοτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρε- 10 τὴν κοσμήσοντα, μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον, μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις· μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιανίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντας τιμᾶσθαι· καὶ μηδὲ 15 τῇ φωνῇ δακρῦειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. Τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν ἔ. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν, καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. Καὶ οὐχ, ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέ- 20 ρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἵρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς, ἄλλως πως· ἀλλὰ, δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τ' ἄλλ' εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. Εἰκότως. Γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ 25 μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμῆ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν ἕδεις ἐγγυτέρω. Ὡ γὰρ τὸ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, ἔτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφελον, τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχε.

Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ 30 προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι· ἴν' εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, σαντὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρὸν. Λέγε.

ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

“ Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας, εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο

“ Οπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.

Μαρνάμενοι δ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος, οὐκ ἐσάωσαν

Ψυχὰς, ἀλλ’ αἶδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην, 5

Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ, ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες

Δουλοσύνης, στυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

Γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων

Σώματ’, ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.

Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν 10

Ἐν βιοτῇ· Μοῖραν δ’ οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.”

Ἀκείεις· Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τῆν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. Τί οὖν, ὦ κα- 15 τάρατε, ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορῆ, καὶ λέγεις, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν; πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκό- τος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, ἐν μάλιστα ἐθαύ- μασ’ ἀπάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει 20 ἀναμνησθεῖς, οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους οὐδὲ δίκαιος πολί- τῆς ἔσχε τῆν γνώμην, οὐδ’ ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ’ ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τῇ ψυχῇ· ἀλλ’ ἐπάρας τῆν φωνήν, καὶ γεγηθῶς, καὶ λαρυγγίζων, ὤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατη- γορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ’ ἐξέφερε καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι 25 τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἀνιανοῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. Καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὡσπερ ἔτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ’ ἔχειν δεῖ, τὸ ταῦτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει 30 τῶν κοινῶν, ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. “Ο



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Ἄρισταιχμος· Μεσσηνίους, οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς
 ἐχθροῦ παῖδες, Νέων, καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωνίης,
 Ἄριστρατος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους, Δείναρχος,
 Δημάρατος· Μεγαρέας, Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περί-
 λαος· Θηβαίους, Τιμόλαος, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας· 5
 Εὐβοέας, Ἰππαρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος.
 Ἐπιλείπει με λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν
 ὀνόματα. Οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν,
 ὧν περ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ, καὶ κόλα- 10
 κες, καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν
 ἑκάστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες,
 πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τῇ
 γαστρὶ μετρῶντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίσις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν,
 τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην 15
 αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες. Ταύτης τοίνυν
 τῆς οὕτως αἰσχροῦ καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ
 κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας,
 εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἢ τε 20
 πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ
 τῶν ἡμῶν πολιτευμάτων, καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἰτά
 μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δὴ
 σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότε- 25
 ρον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου,
 ἐμὲ ἔτε καιρὸς, ἔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων, ἔτ' ἐπαγγε-
 λιῶν μέγεθος, οὔτ' ἐλπίς, οὔτε φόβος, οὔτε χάρις,
 οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο, ὧν ἕκρινα
 δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι, οὐδὲν προδῆ- 30
 ναι· οὐδ' ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πῶποτε τουτοισὶν,

ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἶ ἐν τρυτάνῃ, ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ
 λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
 καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς πάντα μοι πέπρακται·
 καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀν-
 5 θρώπων προστάς, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως
 πεπολίτευμαι. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ
 τὴν ταφρείαν, ἀξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω·
 (πῶς γὰρ οὐ;) πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πε-
 10 πολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. Οὐ γὰρ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν
 πόλιν, οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον
 τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' εἰάν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν
 βούλει δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα, καὶ πόλεις,
 καὶ τόπους, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ ναῦς, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ
 15 πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους. Ταῦτα
 προὔβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρω-
 πίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώ-
 ραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον μόνον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ
 ἄστεος. Οὐδέ γ' ἠττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φι-
 20 λίππου (πολλῆ γε καὶ δεῖ), οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς·
 ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις
 τῇ τύχῃ. Τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς
 καὶ φανεραί· σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὖνον πολίτην ποιεῖν; τί τὸν μετὰ
 25 πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θα-
 λάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς,
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς
 Πελοπόννησον τόπων, τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν
 30 σιτοπομπείαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ
 Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶ-

σαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας, καὶ λέ-
 γοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόνησον, τὴν
 Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον· τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ
 σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξη, προᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυ- 5
 δον, τὴν Πέρινθον; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρ-
 χουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλι-
 πε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ὑμῖν
 ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς
 ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν. Ἄ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἄνευ φθόνου τις βέληται σκο- 10
 πεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει, καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύ-
 νῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα, εἰδ' ἀγνο-
 ηθέντα, οὐδὲ προδοθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς
 ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς δύνάμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκεν, εἰδὲν ἐλλει-
 φθέν. Εἰ δ' ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχύς, ἢ 15
 στρατηγῶν φαυλότησ, ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις
 ὑμῶν κακία, ἢ πάντα ταῦθ' ἅμα ἐλυμήνατο τοῖς
 ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψε, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ
 δ', οἷος ἦν ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν,
 εἷς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, 20
 μᾶλλον δ', εἰ ἓνα μόνον ἄνδρα Θετταλία, καὶ ἓνα
 ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία, ταῦτ' ἀφρονεῖντα ἔσχον ἐμοὶ, εἰδείς
 οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε τῶν εἴσω, τοῖς
 παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν· ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες
 ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας, ἀσφα- 25
 λῶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τὰς ἐαυτῶν ὄκνον πατρίδας, τῶν
 τοσέτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν, ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. Ἴνα δ' εἰδῆτε
 ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων,
 εὐλαβέμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ, καὶ ἀνά- 30
 γνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ
 ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.



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ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος
 συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γεν-
 ναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι,
 συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου
 κατασκευῆν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀπο- 5
 δειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. Τέτων γὰρ ἀπάν-
 των ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ
 παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε
 καὶ ἀγαθῷ· ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονώς, οὐ
 πρῶτος, ἢ δεύτερος, ἢ τρίτος, ἢ τέταρτος, ἢ πέμπτος, 10
 οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστοςοῦν· οὐκ οὖν, ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἡ
 πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. Τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαν-
 τος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια, ἢ κτήσις εὐνοί-
 ας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία, δι' ἣν ἡ
 πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα γέγονε; τί τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ τῶν 15
 Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται
 διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοι-
 κοί; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν
 ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς
 ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ 20
 σοῦ; εὐδεμία. Ἄλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τέτων, εὐνοιά
 γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων
 ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πῶποτ' ἐφθέγγαν-
 το ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ
 τοτελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον ἀργύρι- 25
 ον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν· οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρηλθες,
 οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν. Οὐκ ἀπορῶν· πῶς γάρ; ὅς
 γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ
 χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πέντε ταλάντων· διτάλαντον
 δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν 30
 συμμοριῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων, τοῦ παρόντος
 ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. Ἄλλ' ὅτι
 γε οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·
 ἀλλὰ φυλάπτων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ
 5 σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύη.

Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας, καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός;
 ἤνικ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τι κατὰ τούτων δέοι, ἐν τούτοις λαμ-
 προφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος,
 τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης. Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημέ-
 10 νων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν μέμνησαι· καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς.
 Οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν
 πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοϊαν ὑπάρχουσαν προ-
 λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ
 παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ, τὸν συζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. Τίς γὰρ
 15 οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεσί-
 τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἑδείς ἔτι μισεῖ; ἔτως οὖν ἐχόντων
 τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τὰς πρὸ ἑμαυτῆ νῦν ἐγὼ κρί-
 νομαι καὶ θεωροῦμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον
 20 οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ, καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα
 βούλει, τῶν ταῦτά σοι προηρημένων, καὶ ζώντων.
 Κακεῖνο σκόπει· πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ
 πόλει, διὰ τὰς τῶν προτέρων εὐεργεσίας, ἕσας ὑπερ-
 μεγέθει, οὔμενον εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν
 25 παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας, εἰς ἀχαρισίαν καὶ προπη-
 λακισμὸν ἄγειν· ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράτ-
 τουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας
 μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν,
 ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκο-
 30 πῆ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία, καὶ
 ταῦτά βελομένη φανήσεται· ἢ δὲ σὴ, ταῖς τῶν τοὺς

τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
 καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες τοὺς χρόνους, οἱ διασύ-
 ροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημέ-
 νους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πράγμα καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν
 τες σοί. Ἐῖτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 5
 ἐγώ· σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;
 ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα
 φημί. Ἄλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μη-
 δὲν ἄλλο εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε, καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐ-
 τὸν, ὥσπερ τ' ἄλλα πάντα, τὰς ποιητὰς, τὰς χορὰς, τὰς 10
 ἀγωνιστὰς. Ὁ Φιλάμμων, οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ
 Καρυστίου καὶ τινῶν ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων
 ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀσεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμ-
 πίας ἀπήει· ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἀριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο, καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύε- 15
 το. Καὶ σὺ, πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς
 σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδενὶ
 ἐξίσταμαι, ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι
 παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν
 κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτις λέγων ἐφαινόμην, 20
 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ νόμοις, καὶ πρεσβείαις,
 ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο· ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμῶ, πλην
 εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ἂ μὴ
 ποτ' ὄφελε, συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων, καὶ τῶν 25
 κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρεῖν ἐτοίμων, καὶ τῶν
 κολακεύειν ἑτέρας βελομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦ-
 τα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει, καὶ μέγας, καὶ
 λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος· ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενὴς, ὁμολογῶ,
 ἀλλ' εὐνοὺς μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.



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καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσαίτε· ἡμῖν
δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρ-
τημένων φόβων δότε, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

Page

2 Line 1. *Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν, κ. τ. λ.] You see, Athenians, the preparation, the array, and the solicitations in the forum, employed by a certain party, in order that the regular and usual practice may not be followed in the state. The Exordium of Æschines has very great beauties; and, we may say, conforms to all the rules of the art. It is not a commonplace introduction that might be put, with equal propriety, at the head of any harangue. It is adapted so exactly to this one, that it could not be used for any other, unless the subject were precisely similar. We immediately recognise Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, although they are not mentioned. They are represented as factious men, grounding their hopes entirely upon intrigue, and appearing before the tribunal with an escort, rather suited to generals offering battle, than to orators coming to plead a cause. All that Æschines adds afterwards, is derived immediately from the subject. According to the rules of eloquence, an exordium ought to have three qualities; it should make the audience favorable, attentive, and tractable. Each of these is found in the Exordium of Æschines. The orator gains the good will of the judges, when he declares that he confides entirely in the laws and in them, *τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν*, and that the interest of the state alone obliges him to speak; he excites their attention, by the long list of disorders that certain persons had introduced into the republic; and finally he renders them disposed to enter into what he is about to say, by showing the importance of reforming these abuses; and by declaring that*

his object is no less, than to preserve the popular government, 2 and the liberty of the people, now in danger. Some rhetoricians blame this introduction, as too pathetic, and call it a peroration, rather than an exordium. But if they reproach Æschines for this supposed fault, with much greater reason should they blame Demosthenes, who addresses all the gods and goddesses at once, as if he wished, by his prayers, to interest all Olympus in the quarrel. So far from thinking that there is any thing to be objected to either of these orators, it seems to me that they have given to their discourse only the proper degree of warmth; a warmth which would become the opening of any cause of the highest importance to the two parties.

3. καὶ τὴν βουλὴν, τοὺς πεντακοσίους,] *and the Senate of Five 3: Hundred.* To distinguish it from the Senate of Areopagus, which was permanent. Athens was divided into ten tribes. Each of them chose, every year, by lot, fifty senators; who together composed the Senate of Five Hundred. Each tribe, in turn, held the chief rank, and then yielded it to one of the others. The fifty senators in office were called πρυτάνεις, *Prytanes*; the particular place in which they assembled, πρυτανεῖον, *Prytaneum*; and the time of their employment, πρυτανεία, *Prytania*, which lasted thirty-five or thirty-six days. During this time, ten out of the fifty presided every week, with the title of πρόεδροι, *Proedri*; and he who was president of these upon each particular day in the week, was called ἐπιστάτης, *Epistates*. The senators from the other tribes in the mean time continued to give their votes, according to the rank assigned them by lot; but the Prytanes called the assembly; the Proedri explained the cause, and the Epistates asked their opinions.

4. καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας] *and the assemblies.* There were two kinds of assemblies, the common, κύρια ἐκκλησία, and the extraordinary, κατακλήσια or σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησία. Of the former, which the Prytanes had alone the right of calling, there were four held, during each Prytania, upon appointed days, and upon fixed subjects. The latter were convoked sometimes by the Prytanes,



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his heroes, he uses the same word, εὐανθεῖ ἐν ὀργᾷ παρμένον, 3 *continuing in your noble character*. In short, this word is used just as μένος, which means sometimes *anger, rage*, and sometimes merely the *disposition of mind*; εὐμενής, *well-inclined*, δυσμενής, *ill-inclined*. Hence we can understand the meaning of Æschines when he says, οἱ κρίνουσι μετ' ὀργῆς, *who pass sentence through passion*. The word *anger* is implied in it.

2. οὐθ' ἢ προεδρεύουσα φυλή,] We have already said that 4 Athens was divided into ten tribes. They took their names from ten heroes of the country, and occupied each a part of Athens, together with certain towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Their names were as follows; the Acamantian tribe, so named from Acamas, son of Theseus; that of Ajax, from Ajax, son of Telamon; the Antiochian, from Antiochus, son of Hercules; the Cecropian, from Cecrops, the founder and first king of Athens; the Ægean, from Ægeus, the ninth king of Athens, and father of Theseus; the Erecthean, from Erectheus, sixth king of Athens; the Hippothoonian, from Hippothoon, son of Neptune; the Leontian, from Leo, who sacrificed his daughters for the safety of his country; the Cenean, from Ceneus, son of Pandion; the Pandionian, from Pandion, the fifth king of Athens. The number of tribes was not always the same. It varied as Athens increased. There were at first only four; soon after, six; then ten, as in the time of our orators; and finally, thirteen. For to the ten that we have already mentioned, the Athenians added three others; when, having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to Flattery, the daughter of Servitude. These three tribes were the Ptolemæan, in honor of Ptolemy, son of Lagus; the Attalian, so called from Attalus, king of Pergamus; and the Adrianian, from the emperor Adrian. They took a certain number from the old tribes, to form these new ones.

20. καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης] *the lawgiver*. This word, when found without any other epithet, in the writings of the ancient orators, is generally applied to Solon; to whom they gave the title of Lawgiver, by way of eminence.

5 2. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ — τὴν ἡμέραν.] *But as each of you would be ashamed to desert his post in battle; so consider it a disgrace, this day, to abandon the post assigned you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.* This comparison is found in most of the ancient orators, who were particularly fond of it; as indeed it is in itself great and noble. But it was never more happily employed than by Æschines, who alludes to the cowardice of Demosthenes, who in the battle of Chero-nea threw down his buckler and fled. This remark is the more delicate and cutting, as it is free from all appearance of intentional allusion.

22. περὶ — τῶν νόμων, — περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων,] *Laws relating to those who were required to give up their accounts.* All those who had any charge, any jurisdiction or office, in Athens, were obliged to give up their accounts when they left the office. Before performing this duty, they could not dispose of any thing that belonged to them, or even leave Athens, on any pretence whatever.

6 14. κατιδὼν δέ τις — νομοθέτης,] *A certain lawgiver, and not the lawgiver, which would mean Solon.* So that in this place the Greek word signifies one of the magistrates appointed to correct the ancient laws, by removing those which were injurious, and by proposing new ones, as circumstances required.

25. ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ.] *When he shall have given up his accounts and proved them correct.* Λόγος καὶ εὐθύναι are synonymes inseparably united by custom; as in English we say, You are answerable for the *cost and charges*. But still these two words are not exactly synonymous. Λόγος means an account, εὐθύναι, the proofs of the correctness of the account, αἱ τῶν διοικημένων ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δοκιμασίαι, καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ ἀπολογισμοί.

7 7. αἵρετός ὢν] *being chosen.* Athens had different kinds of magistrates, who were either αἵρετοί, or κληρωτοί, or χειροτονητοί. Αἵρετοί, being certain magistrates chosen either by a tribe in Athens, or by a small town in Attica, and engaged in some office, either with or without the right of jurisdiction at-

tached to it. They were the lowest kind of magistrates; and ⁷ the small town or tribe only chose them on certain occasions, when the republic had ordered it by a previous decree. *Κληρωτοὶ*, were the magistrates appointed by lot, by the *Thesmothetæ*, in the temple of Theseus. The people nominated the candidates who should be chosen from, by lot. They proceeded in this way; they had as many small pieces of brass, *πινάκια χαλκᾶ*, as there were candidates, upon which they wrote their names, and threw them into an urn, with an equal number of black and white beans. They then drew out a name, with a white or a black bean; and he whose name came with a white bean, was declared magistrate elect. *Κυάμοις τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι*, said the law. *Διεκλήρουν τὰς ἀρχὰς κυάμῳ, καὶ ὁ τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον λαβὼν ἐλάγγανεν*, says Hesychius. Hence they called them indiscriminately *κληρωτοὶ* and *κυαμευτοί*. This formality was not always observed. The Athenians neglected it very properly when, without trusting at all to fortune, they were wise enough to oblige Aristides to accept the office of chief Archon. They thought that they might violate a law, in favor of a man who would observe, and cause others to observe, all other laws, with such exactness. Lastly, the *χειροτονητοὶ* were the magistrates whom, when nominated by the *Thesmothetæ*, the people chose by a plurality of voices, in the *Pnyx*, a place appropriated to this purpose, near the citadel. The people gave their votes by stretching out their hands, *τείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας*, and hence the magistrates elected in this way were called *χειροτονητοί*. This detail is necessary, in order to understand the first part of the oration of *Æschines*, which turns almost entirely upon it. He says that *Demosthenes* would allege, that he was not obliged to give up his accounts, as only being one of the *αἰρετοὶ*, who were not obliged to do so; and at the same time refutes the subterfuge of his adversary, by proving by the laws, that every magistrate, without distinction, who had the management of any of the public money, or who passed sentence, was accountable; and that *Demosthenes*, in either case, must give an account of what he had done.



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the festival of Eleusis, that is, at the mysteries of Ceres, instituted, as was pretended, by one of the ancestors of Eumolpus.

2. *τριηράρχους*] This word means in itself *commanders of galleys*; but custom had given it, at Athens, a different signification. It was applied to those citizens in easy circumstances, who were obliged, as such, to equip galleys, at their own expense, for the service of the republic.

11. *τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀρειῷ πάγῳ*] *The Areopagus*; a tribunal at Athens, famous in antiquity; celebrated for the wisdom and equity of its decisions. The name means, *Hill of Mars*; according to some, because Mars, accused of murder, by Neptune, was tried by the gods in form, and condemned, in that place; and according to others, because the Amazons, carrying on war against Theseus, and besieging Athens, encamped on that hill, where they offered a splendid sacrifice to Mars. Authors are not agreed as to the situation of this hill. Some, with considerable probability, suppose it was opposite the citadel; and others, that it was in the citadel itself. The Areopagus was called also *ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ*, either in reference to its authority, or to the situation of the place in which it was held. We are ignorant of the time of its establishment; and can only form conjectures concerning it. The number of senators in this tribunal was not determined, and there are various opinions respecting it. All those of the nine Archons who performed their duties, each year, with public approbation, were in consequence, senators of the Areopagus. It will be sufficient here to give the names that have been applied to it by different authors, to show its reputation; *ἔργμα χώρας, φρούρημα γῆς, πόλεως σωτήριον*.

13. *καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν, κ. τ. λ.*] *and this august assembly, the arbiter of the most important affairs, brings under your control*. I have preferred making the word *σκυθρωπὸν* agree with *βουλὴν*, instead of putting it in the genitive plural; since the sense is thus incomparably better, and more analogous as well to the etymology, as to the signification and application of the word *σκυθρωπός*.

9 15. Οὐκ ἄρα — τρυφῶσι.] *Shall not, then, the Senate of the Areopagus be crowned? Their predecessors have not handed down this usage to them. Are they not then fond of honors? certainly; but they are not satisfied that every one among them should be free from injustice, but also punish every one who commits any fault; whilst your orators give themselves up to every indulgence.* The senators of the Areopagus held a perpetual magistracy, and being always accountable could never be crowned; consequently, they loved virtue for herself alone, and not for her rewards. In our days we hunt with the lantern of Diogenes for men who think and act like those of the Areopagus; and if there are any, they are to be found only in republics or governments nearly like them.

10 20. τάλαντα] A talent was worth sixty minæ; a mina, a hundred drachms; a drachm, six oboli, or nearly the eighth part of an ounce.

11 2. ἄρχοντος] The Archons were the principal magistrates of Athens. She was at first governed by kings, of whom there were seventeen. The last of them was Codrus; who generously sacrificed himself for his country. In a war between the Athenians and Dorians, Codrus having learned from the Oracle, that the nation whose king should be killed, would gain the victory, escaped from his guards in disguise, and having entered the camp of the enemy, caused himself to be put to death. The Athenians, rightly fearing that they should never find so good a king, abolished royalty, and created the Archons; of whom there were three kinds. First, were the Archons for life; who succeeded the monarchical government, and of whom there were thirteen, in order. Medon, son of Codrus, was the first, and Alcmaeon the last. This kind of government lasted nearly three hundred years. Then followed the Archons chosen for ten years; of these there were seven; Charops being the first, and Eryxias, the last. This species of magistracy lasted only fifty years. Finally, they limited the power of the Archons to one year. There was an immense number of annual Archons; for they began to govern in the year 685 before Christ, when Numa Pom-

pilius was king at Rome, and in the year 59 after Christ, there 11 was still an Archon at Athens. But the last of them were dependent on the Romans. Still, however, they did not appoint only one annual archon; there were nine chosen, who, all together and at the same time, possessed the sovereign authority. The first was the Archon, so called by way of eminence; the second had the title of king; the third that of Polemarch; and the six others were called Thesmothetæ. The Archon was the head of the state, uniting in his person the executive and judicial powers; and all public acts and events were dated from him. The king had the department of religion; the Polemarch that of war; and the Thesmothetæ the care and revision of the laws. Before Solon, the election of these magistrates was by suffrage; but he thought it better that they should be appointed by lot, and having undergone an examination, should be finally approved and confirmed by the people. When the year of their administration was finished, having given up their accounts and given satisfaction with respect to them, they became senators of the Areopagus. It was under this kind of government that Athens was most flourishing; and the most illustrious Archons were Draco, Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Acibiades, &c.

11. ἀντιγραφεὺς] Corresponding to the word *controller*. Ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῆ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα. Harpocrætion.

17. ἀποδεκτῶν.] This office answers to that of *receiver, treasurer*. Ἀποδέκται ἀρχὴ τίς ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἧς πολλάκις μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ οἱ κωμικοί. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ δεδήλωκεν, ὡς δέκα τε εἶησαν καὶ ὡς παραλαμβάνοντες τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα τῆς βουλῆς ἐναντίον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ ἀπλῶς ἃ πράττουσι διασαφεῖ. Harpocr.

18. νεωρίων ἀρχὴν,] Literally, *superintendency of ship-houses*; and more freely, *of the navy*. Λιμὴν is properly *the harbour*; ὄρμος, from ἔρμα, *every place where vessels are at anchor*; ναύσταθμος, *the place in the harbour where the vessels are*;



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29. οἱ δῆμοι] *boroughs*. These were about one hundred 12
and seventy-four in number; and were divided among the ten
tribes. In signatures, contracts, and judicial acts, an Athen-
ian annexed to his name, that of his father, and of the bor-
ough to which he belonged.

31. ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν.] *turn proclamations to pur-* 13
poses of interest. Ἐργολάβος, ὁ φλαύροις πράγμασι χρώμενος
παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ὑπὲρ τινῶν ἔργων μισθὸν λαμβάνων
καὶ ἔχων τοὺς συνεργαζομένους, ὡς ἡ συνήθεια. Bekker. Anecd. p. 259.

5. Πυκνὴ] Πυκνὸς τόπου ὄνομα, ἐν ᾧ δῆμος ἐκκλησιάζων συνήγε- 14
το. *A place where the people sometimes held their assemblies.*
Some say that the oblique cases were declined Πυκνός, Πυκνὴ,
for euphony; but I see no discord in saying Πυκνὴ, and at
the same time we avoid the ambiguity arising from the word
πυκνός. Still however, it is probable that it takes its name
from πυκνὰ ἐκεῖ συνελθεῖν, *to assemble often*; or from πεπνύ-
σθαι, *to be prudent*. Notwithstanding its decrees were not
always dictated by prudence. Καίτοι μυρίων ἐκεῖ ἀνοήτων καὶ
βδελυρῶν πολλάκις ἐκκλησιασάντων, καὶ βλαβερὰ τῇ πόλει ψηφισα-
μένων. Wolfius.

20. κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν] *by stealing away your atten-*
tion; or deceiving your ears. Homer employs the word κλέπτω,
in the same sense, *Iliad, A. 131.*

Μὴ δ' οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν, θεοεἰκέλ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Κλέπτε νόω· ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις.

31. συνηγόρους τοὺς νόμους] *I will produce your laws for my*
advocates. This expression is full of force and energy. The
laws seem to be present, to escort, to surround Æschines;
and in concert with him, to speak, to cry out against the pre-
varications of Demosthenes.

5. δύο — ὑπεναντίους] *two laws upon the same subject, op-* 15
posed to each other. Nothing injures a state so much as con-
tradictory laws; they open a door for evasion; every one has
a law for obeying or disobeying, as he pleases. Truth being
one and unchangeable, whatever is variable and subject to
contradictions has not its character.

15 20. τῶν ἐπωνύμων,] *the statues of the heroes, whose names were given to the ten tribes.*

16 26. μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι] *to be more honored.* The word τιμαῖς is understood; without its being necessary to insert it in the text, or to change μείζοσι into μειζόνως, since the idiom is very common in Greek.

19 18. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν,] *For why is it necessary now to mention these things?* Æschines, by saying that it was not necessary to relate three adventures very disagreeable to Demosthenes, recalls them in a very malignant and cruel manner. The first was the dispute that he had had with Demomeles, his kinsman, who had given him several blows, and whom he had therefore delivered up to the tribunal of the Areopagus. He was suspected on this occasion of having scarred his own head, to make him pay for it. The second was his baseness in becoming the accuser of Cephisidotus, whom he ought for every reason to have defended. The third was the blow that he received from Midias in the full theatre.

23. Κηφισιδότου] *Cephisidotus* having besieged Halopconesus, and being denounced for his stipulations with Charidemus and condemned, payed a fine of five talents.

25. καὶ περιάγων] It seemed to be an honor to the commander on board whose vessel the general went; since he seemed to prefer his galley to others, as being better constructed.

23 4. παρ' ἐκείνου, τοὺς δὲ] In other editions it is καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις οὐκ ἀναμείναντα, *and not having waited for his ambassadors, (those of Philip).* But this is contrary to history and to what follows soon after, μόνος — ἔγραψε σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, *he only proposed to stipulate with the herald and ambassadors of Philip.* So that it would be an evident contradiction in Æschines, to say that Demosthenes had not waited for the ambassadors, whom his own words prove to have been present. Various corrections have been proposed for this passage; some think the words παρ' ἐκείνου superfluous, and that he is speaking of the ambassadors whom the Athenians had sent against him;

others suppose the words οὐκ ἀναμείναντα are an interpolation, 23 and then it would refer to the ambassadors of Philip. Toureil proposes to put παρ' ἐκεῖνον which would be undoubtedly the best correction, and the sense would be, *not waiting for the ambassadors sent against him*; but the expression κατ' ἐκείνου, would be still more probable and more according to usage. For my part, I have corrected it by inserting τοὺς δὲ which had probably been effaced. Not only does the sense become clear and include the two ideas; *having flattered Philip and his envoys*, (εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, κ. τ. λ. p. 28 l. 3.) and *not having waited for our ambassadors*; but the ear is also gratified.

7. Κερσοβλέπτην,] *Cersobleptes* was the successor, although a younger son of Cotys, that cruel king, who shamefully slew his wife from jealousy. Cotys amused the Athenians by the show of a warm attachment as long as he had need of them in his ambitious projects, and afterwards broke his engagements. When the Athenians declared him a citizen of Athens, *I*, said he, *will make them citizens of Thrace*. Their friendly intercourse ended in a quarrel. The fortune of his son was exactly the reverse; for after a short war relating to the Chersonesus, the necessity of joining against their common enemy, Philip, reconciled them, and united them by all the ties of common wants.

22. οὔτε λαχῶν οὔτ' ἐπιλαχῶν,] The first means, *chosen by lot*, so that it related to the candidates for senators and magistrates, afterwards, to every one who was chosen by lot; another ἐπελάγχανεν, *was chosen*, so that if the first was disapproved or should die, the second might take his place.

23. ὑποδοχήν] taken metaphorically from the reception given any one; that is to say, *in order that he* (Demosthenes) *might in every respect support Philocrates, by his words and actions, by a favorable reception of his motions*.

1. Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος] The month of *May*. During this month 25 they celebrated the feast of Diana, called Elaphebolia ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλάφους βάλλειν, *because they sacrificed deer* to this goddess.

2. Ἀσκληπιῶ] Demosthenes, without a precedent, summoned the Senate of Five Hundred on a festival day, during which there



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that there was the baseness of flattery in spreading *cushions*, 28 *προσκεφάλαια*, and hanging round the *purple tapestry*, *φοινικίδας*.

9. ζεύγη ὄρεικὰ,] synonymous with ἡμιονικὰ, of a mule; and not ὄρικὰ, of the limits. It comes from ὄρεὺς a mule, from ὄρος, since they are adapted to bear the fatigue of travelling on the mountains. Iliad, A. 50.

Οὐροῖας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύννας ἀργούς.

17. Χαριδήμου] *Charidemus*, a native of Oræa in Eubœa, was naturalized at Athens, and chosen general.

23. ἐβδόμην — τετελευτηκυίας,] *the seventh day after the death of his daughter*. This use of the accusative, instead of the dative, is elegant, and practised by many authors, thus Thucyd. VIII. 23. τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤκοντος.

24. πενθῆσαι] this was to dress one's self in black, to shave, shut one's self up at home, and such like things, which were τὰ νομιζόμενα, *the last offices of respect to the dead*; duties that were established by *the law of custom*.

25. λευκὴν ἐσθῆτά] We may see from this passage, and a thousand others, that we receive the custom of expressing joy by a *white garment*, and grief by a black one, from the ancients; of these passages I will mention only one, that in Eurip. Phœnis. 328.

Ἄπεπλος φαρέων λευκῶν τέκνον.

26. τὴν μόνην — καὶ πρώτην] The word πρώτη, is here a pleonasm, since, being the only daughter, she was the first, as well as last. The order of the words being reversed, would supply this want of gradation. But is there not art in this seeming fault? this striking down his adversary, as with a battle-axe, before the audience, and then adding the second word, to finish the work? But all that Æschines says in accusation of Demosthenes, on account of his indifference to the death of his daughter, might be turned to his praise, since his country was before every thing, and we well know the stoicism of the ancients in this respect.

28. οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω,] Eurip. Orest. v. 4. κοῦκ ὀνειδίζω τύχας. The sense is, *I do not mention this misfortune to insult him*.

28 31. σώματα] The word here signifies *persons*.

29 5. τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον] *he did not change his character, but his place*. There is in these words what is called *παρονομασία*, a *play upon words*, that is full of grace.

29. δωροδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας,] This explains the meaning of what he has just said, διαφέρεσθαι τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην, as if they were disputing who should have the most of the money received from Philip.

30 15. ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ] *neutral and impartial*. This use of these words arises from its being necessary, in order to being truly neutral, that the party should be *equal* in power with, and *similar* to, ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος, those by whom it wishes to be respected. Without this, there can be neither neutrality or impartiality.

19. περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος.] *quarrelling about syllables*. Æschines treats Demosthenes as a caviller, who was particular even about syllables; because he had said with respect to Halonesus, that *if Philip δίδωσιν, should give it, and not restore it, μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, they ought not to receive it*. But in concluding a treaty with the crafty Macedonian, these two words were of great importance, since if they received it as a gift, it would be acknowledging that it belonged to Philip; but if they refused to receive it unless it were in restitution, it would be showing openly that Philip was an usurper, and that they, alone, had a lawful right over the city.

31 11. ὑποσπόνδους] *on certain conditions; having dictated to them certain conditions*.

12. καὶ τὰς πόλεις, κ. τ. λ.] *and you gave up its cities (of Eubœa) and its liberties, as was proper and just, to those who had given them in trust to you*. The word αὐτῆς instead of αὐτὰς, and τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις instead of αὐτοῖς παρακαταθέμενοι, will be found preferable on examining this part of the text.

18. Πλουτάρχῳ] This was a second expedition of the Athenians into Eubœa; when Plutarch, ruler of Eretria, asked their assistance against Philip who was threatening Eubœa, and afterwards betrayed them by joining him.

20. Ταμύνας] A city of Eubœa, near which Phocion defeated the Chalcidians. Κοτύλαιον is a mountain, near this city. 31

22. ὑπερεβάλομεν,] The detail that follows in the text leads me to think that the Athenians were not attacked till after they had passed the mountain, and were probably shut up in some recess or valley whence there was no egress; so that I have preferred the aorist, to the imperfect, commonly found in other editions.

30. δεξιούμενος] *who gives his right hand amicably; who is affable; who receives one favorably.* This word δεξιούμενος shows that the modern custom of shaking hands is derived from the ancients.

14. Εὐβοϊκὸν, κ. τ. λ.] *verbally calling together the assembly of Eubœa at Chalcis, but in effect fortifying Eubœa against you.* 32

22. καὶ πλείους — τοῦ Εὐρίπου,] *having taken more turns than the Euripus.* This is a strait that separates Eubœa from the continent of Greece; its flux and reflux are very frequent every day, and although writers are not agreed as to the precise number of times that they take place daily, yet all allow that in no other sea are they so frequent. This gave rise to many proverbs among the ancients, as ἄνθρωπος εὐρίπος, *a fickle man*; εὐρίπος διάνοια, *a varying spirit*; τύχῃ εὐρίπος, *changing fortune*; εὐριπιζειν, *to be in perpetual agitation.* They say that Aristotle not being able to discover the cause of this phenomenon threw himself into the Euripus, in despair, crying out “Since Aristotle has not been able to understand the sea, the sea shall understand Aristotle.”

1. τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα,] Among the ancients there were 33 different kinds of races; but the principal were στάδιον, containing 125 geometrical paces; διαύλος, having double that number; and δόλιχος, which was twelve stadia or more. The runners took their names from the different courses on which they exercised, σταδιοδρόμοι, διαυλοδρόμοι, δολιχοδρόμοι. The name διαύλος was given, as its etymology indicates, because when they had arrived at the end of the course, they had to return on their steps and pass over the ground again till they came to the barrier, thereby making two straight lines, in the form of a flute.



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more energetic, and more natural ; so that there probably was 35
a mistake of the copyist.

2. συστρέψας,] This word is used metaphorically from dif- 36
ferent animals, and particularly the serpent, that coils itself up
to collect its force before attacking. As if he said ; *Diverting
your attention from his fraud, and having suspended you
in hope, then collecting his strength for the last blow, or seiz-
ing the favorable moment for his great attack, he orders, &c.*
Ὡςπερ τὰ θηρία συστρέψαντα ἑαυτὰ μάχεται, τοιαύτη τις ἂν εἴη συ-
σροφή καὶ λόγου, καθάπερ συσπειραμένου πρὸς δεινότητα. Deme-
trius Phalereus, § 8.

7. εἰς Ὠρεὸν, κ. τ. λ.] I have here on my own authority cor-
rected the text which I considered defective ; for I could not
leave it, as it stands in other editions, εἰς Ὠρεὸν πρὸς τὴν Ὠρείτας
πρέσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται καὶ αὐτοί· the reasons for doing so,
and the obscurity, at first sight, of Ὠρείτας πρέσβεις, that seem
to agree together, are too evident to need explanation.

9. πέρας ἀπάντων ἐν] I have preferred this instead of the
common περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπὶ, for it is stronger. It has much the
same force as, *to put the seal to his wickedness.*

28. δι' ὃ] more commonly διὸ, *therefore* ; but δι' ὃ, *for which*,
is preferable, since it is referred to τάλαντον, more naturally than
to λαβών.

11. ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν·] *till they have paid the prin-* 37
pal. The word κεφάλαιον is used in modern Greek in the same
sense ; ὅποιος ζητεῖ πολὺ διάφορον χάνει καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, *he who
asks too high interest, loses principal and interest too.*

28. τὸ Κιρραῖον] *Cirrha* was a town of Phocis, at the foot
of mount Parnassus, thirty stadia from Delphi. It seems that
the city gave its name to a plain in the neighbourhood.

29. ἐξάγιστος] *polluted* ; as if he should say λίαν ἐναγῆς καὶ
ἔμπλεος ἄγους, which last word is equivalent to μύσος, μίασμα.

31. Ἀκραγαλλίδαι,] a people of Phocis, near Cirrha.

3. Ἀμφικτύονας·] *The Amphictyons* were the deputies of the 38
people and cities of Greece, who represented the whole nation,
and were similar to the *States General*. They had full power
to concert, resolve upon, and order whatever seemed to them

38 to be for the public good. Amphictyon, third king of Athens, instituted them, in order to unite the Greeks more closely, and form of them one nation, whose union might excite terror and respect in the Barbarians. Afterwards, Acrisius, king of Argos, perfected the institution. The Amphictyons assembled twice a year; in autumn, at Thermopylæ, in the temple of Ceres, built in the middle of a large plain near the river Asopus; in the spring, at Delphi, in the famous temple of Apollo. The Amphictyonic nations were twelve in number, and each one had a right to send two deputies; the one called *ἱερομνήμων*, *keeper of the sacred records*, was charged with every thing relating to religion, and was superior to the other, called *Πυλαγόρας*, *orator sent as deputy to Thermopylæ*, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Πυλαίᾳ ἀγορεύειν*. The former was chosen by lot; the latter by an extension of the hand.

12. Ἀθηνᾶ Προναίᾳ] At Delphi they honored Minerva under the name *Προναία*, *διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἰδρύσθαι*, *because they had erected a temple for her opposite to that of Apollo*. Hesychius speaks of it thus, *Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς τέμενος ἐν Δελφοῖς*, as if he would say *Minerva, before the temple*. At Athens they worshipped the same goddess under the name *Πρόνοια*, *ὅτι προὔνοησεν ὅπως τέκοι ἡ Λητώ*, *because having foreseen the time of Latona's confinement, she prepared every thing that was necessary*. But as they are speaking here of the Minerva of Delphi, and not of the one at Athens, I have without hesitation put *Προναία* instead of *Προνοία*.

15. Σόλωνος] According to Plutarch, Solon there applied himself to poetry, as an amusement for his leisure hours; but afterwards used it for inculcating the most important maxims of philosophy. The same author gives us several fragments on different subjects. If we may believe Diogenes Laërtius, he composed more than four thousand verses.

28. *προστρόπην*] *imprecation, or invocation of the vengeance of heaven, for the stain of a crime*. This word comes from *τρόπαιον*, since those who slew any of the enemy after the trophy was set up, were considered as *προστρόπαιοι*, synonymous with *ἐναγεῖς*, *stained with crime*.

20. οἱ Λοκροὶ] *The Locrians* were divided into Ὀζόλαι, 39
Ozolæ, from ὄζουσι ὄλοι, and had *Amphissa* for their capital,
 Ἀμφισσαν οὕτω κληθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ ἐμπεριέχεσθαι τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς
 κειμένοις· Ἐπιζεφύριοι, *Opuntians*, because they lived by the
 sea; and in Ἐπικνημίδιοι, *Epicnemidii*, who lived near mount
 Cnemis.

8. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην,] The first of these words means, 40
the supreme intelligence; the second, *the goddess who presides
 over events, Fortune*. But they are sometimes both used in
 the last sense, by a mere pleonasm, as in Latin, *forte fortuna*.

11. Μειδίαν] This was the same *Midias* who struck Demos-
 thenes in the full theatre; and against whom the latter wrote
 an oration that is still extant.

12. Ἀναγυράσιον] Ἀναγυροῦς was a borough of the Erecthean
 tribe, where it was pretended there grew a fetid plant, which
 gave rise to the proverb ἀνάγυρον κινεῖν, applied to those who
 touch any thing to their own injury.

13. Λέκκιον,] It is commonly written Λέσβιον, but I have
 preferred Λέκκιον, because Λέκκος was a borough of the Anti-
 ochian tribe.

24. καινὸν — ἐξαράσασθαι,] In speaking here of the new
 temple he does not mean that there were two at Delphi, but
 refers to the same one, which having been burnt was rebuilt
 by the Amphictyons. It is said that this temple remained for
 a long time unfinished, till the emperor Nero, passing that way,
 finished it. Hence we find πρὶν ἐξεργάσασθαι and ἐξεργάσασθαι,
before the work was finished. But I have preferred the reading
 ἐξαράσασθαι, which means *to consecrate*, ἐκτελέσαι τὰς ἀράς, του-
 τέστι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδρύσεσι τῶν ναῶν, αἱ εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι.
 They might accuse the Athenians for consecrating the golden
 bucklers, in the new temple, before the customary ceremonies
 had been performed; but I do not see how they could do so,
 because they had consecrated them before the work was fin-
 ished.

26. ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων,] The Persians and Medes hav-
 ing been united by the victories of Cyrus, sometimes the
 name Medes was given to the Persians. The first time they



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16. πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης Πυλαίας] *before the approaching assembly*, 43
 τῆς ὠρισμένης καὶ τεταγμένης ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, *at Thermopylae,*
at an appointed time, which was a σύγκλητος Πυλαία, having a
 decree which they *carried from home*, οἴκοθεν ἐπενεγκόντες.

23. ὑφ' ἡμῶν] *this decree having been rendered by us Πυλα-*
γορῶν. he says *we*, as being one of those who had been nom-
 inated deputies to the Council of the Amphictyons.

6. διαφειμένων] *and the people having been dismissed*. This 44
 is preferable to the common reading δὲ ἀφειμένων.

27. πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως] τῶν Θηβῶν, *Thebes*, entirely ruined
 by Alexander.

31. τὸν Φαρσάλιον] This does not agree with what is found
 in a decree cited by Demosthenes, p. 141. l. 3. from which
 it seems that Cottyphus was an Arcadian. But Pharsalia was
 a town of Thessaly, and there was none of that name in Ar-
 cadia. It might be that Cottyphus was an native of Arca-
 dia, who had settled in Pharsalia; and that Æschines spoke of
 his adopted country.

17. Σκύθας] Philip having a personal quarrel with Atheas, 45
 king of Scythia, marched against him, defeated his numerous
 army, and took considerable booty.

22. φωνὰς προηκόμενοι;] *having almost uttered human voices*.
 It is formed from the verb ἰέναι, and is preferable to the com-
 mon προσκτησάμενοι, since we say ἀφίημι φωνήν.

26. ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή;] *the death of the initiated*. It
 relates to the circumstance reported on this occasion, that the
 initiated going into the sea to purify themselves, two were
 destroyed by a whale.

2. ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων] These two words mean the 46
 same thing; *sacrifices with bad auspices*, and are one of those
 elegant pleonasms used to strengthen or weaken the sense;
 ἱερὰ ἀθύτα, *sacrifices that are not sacrifices*, to express τὰ μὴ
 καλὰ γεγόμενα, a common mode of speaking among the Greeks,
 like βίος ἀβίωτος, χάρις ἄχαρις, and many others.

19. ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ — αἰτῶν] It was the customary man-
 ner among the Persians, when exacting submission of those
 whom they wish to subject to themselves, *to ask for land and*
water.

46 31. Λακεδαιμόνιοι] *The Lacedæmonians*, having assisted the Phocians in a war which they sustained against several nations of Greece, for having profaned the lands sacred to Apollo, were suspected in the course of the war of having had some share with the Phocians in first pillaging the temple.

47 3. ὀμηρεύσοντες] *To serve as hostages.* Ὀμηροὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ συμβάσει διδόμενοι. Harpocr. The Lacedæmonians wishing to throw off the Macedonian yoke, when Alexander was carrying on war in Asia, revolted and engaged all Peloponnesus on their side. But their attempt did not succeed. They were conquered by Antipater, who allowed them to send an embassy to the king to learn their fate from his own mouth.

8. ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,] Æschines, by calling Athens the common asylum of Greece, bestowed on it the highest praise; but he only used the words of Apollo, who, being consulted by the Lacædemonians to know whether they should destroy Athens, answered, τὴν κοινὴν Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶαν μὴ κινεῖν, *they should not touch the common asylum of Greece.*

16. Ἡσίοδος] The poet *Hesiod* is commonly thought to have been contemporary with Homer. It is said that he was born at Cuma, a city of Æolia, but that he was brought up and educated at Ascra, in Bœotia, which afterwards passed for his country. All the poetry that we have from him is in hexameter verse. His works are, 1. Works and Days; 2. The Theogony; 3. The Shield of Hercules. From the first of them, the following lines were taken.

20. γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν,] *For I think it is on this account that, when children, we learn by heart the maxims of the poets.* It was an ancient custom in Greece to teach the children the maxims of the poets. By this kind of study the young exercised their memories, improved their minds, and formed their hearts, which was the principal end proposed; since they were inspired, early with a hatred of vice and love of virtue. There were many works formed entirely of short sentences; such were, the moral poem of Theognis, the instructions of Phocylides, the Golden Verses attributed commonly to Pythagoras, &c. And in general, the works of the

Greek poets abound in passages proper for instructing men in 47 all ranks and conditions of life. We may say that reading the poets leads to the love of virtue, since seeing the words and actions of great and good men, we wish to resemble them; for poetry has peculiar charms to attract the mind, and to fix good impressions in the memory and upon the heart.

3. Φρυνώνδας, — Εὐρύβατος,] The first was a famous cheat 48 and villain, who having executed many fraudulent plans, left his name to be given to others of the same class. Φρυνώνδας τῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ διαβεβοημένων· ὃς ξένος ὢν κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ διέτριβεν Ἀθήνησιν. The second was from Ephesus, and was sent by Cræsus with a large sum of money, nominally, to be carried to Delphi; but, in fact, that he might recruit as many soldiers as possible in the Peloponnesus, for a war that the king of Lydia was carrying on against Persia. Eurybatus instead of effecting his mission, betrayed the cause, and revealed the whole to Cyrus. This treachery being remarkable among the Greeks, when they wished to reproach any one for his roguery they called him an Eurybatus. Εὐρύβατος πονηρός· ἀπὸ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Κροίσου ἐπὶ ξενολογίαν μετὰ χρημάτων — εἶτα μεταβαλλομένου πρὸς Κύρον. Suidas.

5. μάγος καὶ γόης] These words are in some degree synonymous; μάγος, an honorable appellation, as applied to Persian priests, is here used entirely in the signification in which it is employed by the modern Greeks, viz. *one who by sorcery, or rather by jugglers' tricks, seeks to deceive the world*; γόης means an *impostor who invokes evil spirits, and the dead, that he may more easily ensnare the superstitious and the ignorant*.

14. Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κόλλυτεὺς,] Κόλλυτος δῆμός ἐστι τῆς Αἰγῆδος φυλῆς, which sufficiently distinguishes him from Thrasybulus, the famous restorer of Athenian liberty, who was Στειριεύς.

24. προτρέψασθαι, κ. τ. λ.] *to engage them to enter into alliance with us*. The ancient enmity between the Thebans and Athenians went so far that Pindar having said λιπαρὰ καὶ αἰοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλεινὰ Ἀθῆναι, *splendid and celebrated Athens, the bulwark of Greece*, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, which the Athenians doubly discharged; and they also erected a statue of bronze to him.



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29. καὶ τοὺς μυρίους, κ. τ. λ.] *Having placed the ten thousand 50 mercenary soldiers in the pay of the inhabitants of Amphissa.* I know of no historian who mentions the fact here related by Æschines.

23. λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν] An allusion to the cowardice of Demos- 51 thenes at the battle of Chæronea, where he threw away his shield and shamefully fled from his post.

24. ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος] Most of the nations of Greece, and in particular the Thebans, declared war against the Phocians, who had profaned, by cultivating them, the lands consecrated to Apollo. This war was very long, and was called *the Phocian* or *sacred war*.

4. Φειδίας] *Phidias*, a famous ancient sculptor, who, togeth- 52 er with the greatest skill in his art, possessed a highly cultivated mind. One of his principal works was his statue of Minerva. Alcamenes and he had been engaged to make a statue of this goddess, to be placed upon a very high pillar. When the two statues were finished, they were brought forward and shown in public. The Minerva of Alcamenes, when the spectators stood near it, appeared an admirable piece of workmanship and was preferred by all. That of Phidias was thought hideous, and both sculptor and statue were greatly ridiculed. "Place them," said he, "on the pillar where they are to stand." They were placed there by turns, and the Minerva of Alcamenes no longer appeared worthy of applause, while that of Phidias had such an air of grandeur and of majesty that the spectators gazed at it with unwearied admiration.

8. Κλεοφῶντος] This is probably the same *Cleophon* mentioned in the oration of Æschines on the *False Embassy*, in the pleadings of Lysias *against Agoratus*, and *against Nicomachus*, and in some comedies of Aristophanes, particularly that of the *Frogs*; Ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀργινέσαις ναυμαχίαν, Λακεδαιμονίων βουλομένων ἐκ Δεκέλειας ἀπιέναι, ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, Κλεοφῶν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσδέξασθαι, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδικῶς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ μὴ πάσας ἀφῶσι

52 τὰς πόλεις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κλεοφῶν ὡς ξένος κωμωδεῖται καὶ βάρβαρος. Scholiast on v. 1574. See also v. 1541. and v. 690.

27. ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν.] It was the custom of the Athenians to bring to the city the bones of the citizens who died fighting for their country, to bury them at the public expense, and to choose an orator to pronounce an eulogy over them. Demosthenes was chosen for those who fell at Chæronea, and he shows in his speech how much he was gratified by the choice. The eulogy was commonly pronounced on the spot where the bones of the soldiers had been interred.

53 12. Ἑλληναὶ καὶ] The καὶ is here used in explanation of Ἑλληνας and this signification appears to me more consistent with the ideas prevalent at that time, than that which we should derive from the common reading, Ἑλληνας ἢ καὶ.

18. τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς,] Plato in the Menexenes, which contains a funeral oration, speaks of the custom here mentioned by Æschines, and nearly in the same terms.

28. τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ, ἢ τί φθέγγεται;] *What will he proclaim, or what will he say?* This appears to me preferable to ἀνερεῖ, and the more so because ἀνερεῖ ought not to be construed with the future indicative. If it be erased, the two words will have nearly the same signification, and I do not believe that this is one of the pleonasms frequently used for the sake of elegance. If the orator had used it in that sense, he would perhaps have put καὶ instead of ἢ. The use of the latter particle sufficiently shows that these two words must have a different signification, and this is in favor of the reading I have adopted, although this future is rarely used, the aorist ἀνεῖπε being much more common.

30. σιωπηθήσεται,] The first future middle σιωπήσεται is more common, but I have not hesitated to adopt σιωπηθήσεται as having a greater analogy with the modern future, θέ να σιωπηθῆ· for the modern Greek is a true guide to the critic, since it contains valuable remains of the ancient idiom, which will throw light upon the sense of authors that often appear obscure on account of the incorrect interpretation

of words, the true signification of which is yet retained in 53 the modern language; it is also a valuable assistance in choosing from various readings, preventing us from altering a text in which the passage that appears defective is merely an idiom, still found in the living tongue, and thus proved to be rightly used.

6. ἴστατε] Several critics write ἴστᾶτε, but this is an error; 54 the accent should be on the antepenult.

13. τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον.] *The royal gold*, that is, the gold of Darius, king of Persia, who, seeing that Philip after invading Greece intended to attack his kingdom, used all his power in support of Demosthenes, the fiercest enemy of the king of Macedonia. The orator, who loved his country, defended it against the ambition of Philip, who vainly sought to bribe him; but as he was no enemy to wealth, he was not sorry to be able at the same time to consult the interests of Athens by favoring the views of Darius, when consistent with the welfare of his country, and to augment his own fortune from the immense riches of this prince. He thus gratified two passions, one of which was far from being so noble as the other.

15. νομίζατε ὄραϊν, κ. τ. λ.] There can be nothing more touching and more pathetic than this description of Thebes in flames, and we cannot cast our eyes upon this admirable picture, without being deeply affected.

31. ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ] *That no one may carelessly expose the persons of the Greeks.* The root of this word is *σχεδία*, a vessel hastily constructed, *ναῦς ἀκατασκευάστος, ἀπὸ ξύλων μόνον ἀπερίττως συντεθειμένη*, from *σχεδὸν*, *nearly*, as being nearly, but yet not completely finished.

15. Ναυσικλεῖ] *Nausicles*, an Athenian general, distinguished 55 on several occasions by his liberality towards the state. He is mentioned in the oration of Demosthenes. (P. 127, l. 27.)

18. πάλιν αὖ] This is an Attic *parallelism* sometimes used, and preferable to the common reading *πάλιν αὐτός*. (See p. 123, l. 5.)

19. Πανσανίου,] *Pausanias* was a young nobleman of the court of Philip, who had not been able to obtain justice from that prince, and who assassinated him to revenge himself.



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23. Πέλλη] Edessa was originally the residence of the kings 55 of Macedonia, and afterwards *Pella*, still more famous for the birth of Philip and of Alexander. Livy describes at length the advantageous situation of this town, and mentions that the consul Paulus Emilius, after having attentively examined it, declared that it was no wonder the kings of Macedonia had chosen for their capital so strong a place, the only entrance to which was by a bridge, which could be easily guarded by a handful of men.

24. σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα.] Some critics understand by this passage that Alexander, fearful for his life, examined the entrails of the victims seeking for good omens for his personal safety. This interpretation appears to me too far fetched to be correct, and I am inclined to think the sense is, *he was satisfied with walking through his capital, and preserving his life*, since, naturally, if he lost his entrails he lost his life. It is an idiomatic phrase, and we still say in modern Greek, *μὴ χάσης τ'ἀντερά σου*, in the sense of *take care you do not lose your life*; as in Italian, *salvar la pancia pei fichi*, and in German, *zu seinen kutteln sorge tragen*.

1. Κιθαίρωνος] *Cithæron*, a celebrated mountain in Bœotia, 56 consecrated to Bacchus. It is said to be derived from the Syriac or Phœnician *kathar*, signifying a *rock*.

7. πάραλοι] Instead of the common reading *παράλιοι*. Πάραλος was one of the galleys despatched on public business, and so called from some hero of this name. The crew were called *πάραλοι*, they received four oboli a day for their service, and remained at home the greater part of the year. They had also some other privileges granted by the city. They were called not only *πάραλοι* but also *παραλίται*. Reiske conjectures *Φαρσάλιοι* to be the proper word.

9. Ἀριστίων Πλαταιῖκος,] *Aristion, a Plataean*. Οὗτος Σάμιος μὲν ἔστιν ἢ Πλαταιεὺς, ὡς Δίνυλλός φησιν, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους. Ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἔνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὡς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. Harpocr.

56 17. ὑποτρέχει] This word is used figuratively, and signifies *to insinuate, to steal imperceptibly into favor*. It is like the German *sich bey einem einschleichen*.

26. ἀκατασκεύων] Used in three manuscripts of Bekker for the common ἀπαρασκεύων, which was probably introduced by the negligence of transcribers; for the sense of ἀκατασκεύων is better and more consistent, *while his own affairs were not yet settled, were still in confusion*; it is here almost synonymous with τεταραγμένων.

57 2. σουτοῦ] Better and more forcible than the common reading ἐαυτῆς.

9. ὡς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιήεις,] *The letters which, hanging from between your fingers, you showed around to one person after another*; a description of the manner of Demosthenes, by which the orator meant to say, *the letters which you showed with great ostentation and ceremony*.

11. χρυσόκερων, κ. τ. λ.] *He called me the bull with gilded horns*; that is, a man on the point of perishing, a man just going to be slain. This is an allusion to the custom of gilding the horns of oxen, when about to be sacrificed. The same thing was done to any large victim. The smaller victims, as the goat and the ram, were merely crowned with leaves of the plant consecrated to each divinity, as the oak to Jupiter, the laurel to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, the poplar to Hercules, the ivy to Bacchus. Homer in the *Odyssey*, book III, speaks of a bull with gilded horns.

12. κατεστεφθαι] *I have been crowned like a victim*. Thus when Philip consulted the Pythian priestess with regard to his expedition against the Persians, she answered: Ἔστεπται μὲν δ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. The event soon showed that the oracle related to Philip, and not to the Persians.

14. εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλε καλλίω.] *You waited for a better opportunity*, ironically, and as a reproach. Some critics read it interrogatively: εἰς τίνα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίω; *for what better opportunity do you wait?*

17. Κόρραγον] The different interpreters and commentators cannot agree whether the word *Corragus* is the name of a man

who commanded the army which was cut to pieces, or the name 57
of a town; and we have no history sufficiently minute to enable
us to decide with regard to these details, and to fix the sig-
nification of the word. The *περὶ*, however, is favorable to
the latter opinion, in coincidence with Ortelius, who in his
Dictionary counts Corragus among the towns or fortresses of
Macedonia, quoting in his support not only Æschines, but also
Livy.

21. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, κ. τ. λ.] *Alexander*, after the defeat of
Darius, had penetrated into the northern part of Asia, towards
the Arctic pole. The orator, either for exaggeration, or because
the Greeks in truth knew nothing beyond this, says that he
had passed the arctic pole, and almost overpassed the boun-
daries of the universe.

1. Ἀμπελοργῆσι, κ. τ. λ.] *Some manage the state like a vine- 58*
yard; some have cut the shoots of the people; the nerves of busi-
ness are severed; we are sewed up in narrow places as in mats;
some thread us like needles. These metaphors are very strange,
and appear very inelegant, and the more so because they do
not at all resemble the style of Demosthenes; but it is probable
that his artful antagonist brings together into a single pas-
sage what was said at very different times and in very different
places. Let us hear, however, upon this passage, the opinion
of a celebrated orator. Cicero, after having spoken of De-
mosthenes as an orator full of circumspection, and better ac-
quainted than any one else with the exact import and propriety
of words, adds: “ Æschines, however, attacks him for certain
harsh, disgusting, and insupportable expressions; he does more;
for addressing him by the insulting name of beast, he asks
him if these are expressions or monsters. So that Demosthe-
nes himself, in the opinion of Æschines, offends the delicacy
of an Attic ear. But it is very easy,” continues Cicero, “to
criticise a word spoken in a moment of warmth, and to make
it a subject of ridicule when the feelings of the hearers have
cooled. Demosthenes, too, merely defends himself in a pleas-
ant way, and asserts that the safety of the Greeks does not de-
pend upon a word or a gesture.” The last expression is com-



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δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. “Α δ’ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ 60 εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρὸς ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος ἐπ’ αἰτία προδοσίας φυγόντος ἐξ ἄστεος γέγονει, καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικὸς, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, εἴτ’ ἀληθῶς εἶρηκεν, εἴτε βλασφημῶν καταψευδόμενος. Plutarch has doubts with regard to this genealogy of Demosthenes, the truth of which, however, the latter confesses himself, as we have just seen. Æschines, then, said nothing but the truth on that score.

4. παριδῶν τοὺς — νόμους] *In spite of the laws*, according to which he who was convicted of having married a foreigner, and not an ἀστέην, was punished for it, as may be seen in the oration of Demosthenes *against Neæra*.

5. ὁ περίεργος καὶ συκοφάντης οὗτος] *This cunning and calumniating Demosthenes*; commonly without the word οὗτος which, however, is here emphatic, and gives strength. As to the word συκοφάντης it is composed of σῦκον, *fig*, and φαίνω, *I declare*; because the Athenians having forbidden by law the exportation of figs out of Attica, thus gave occasion to the lower people to accuse and attack each other in a thousand ways. As these accusations were often ungrounded, and strongly resembled calumny, the word sycophant came to be used for calumniator.

12. λογογράφος] This was the name given to one who wrote, for a compensation, speeches relating to trials, and differs from the word λογοποιὸς which signifies one who writes a few speeches and fables.

17. ἐπικέκλυκε] *The gold of Persia overflowed his expenses*, used figuratively for *the gold of Persia was furnished abundantly for his expenses*.

2. λοιπὸν ὑπομνήσαι, κ. τ. λ.] *I have only to remind you of the 61 laws against cowards*. Τούτους ἔδει καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων, ἀτίμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅποσοι λίποιν τὴν τάξιν, ἢ ἀστρατείας ἢ δειλίας ἔφλοιν, ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλοιν. Andocid. περὶ τῶν Μυσηρίων. Lysias also mentions the same thing against Alcibiades Λειποταξίας. The Spartans also, notwithstanding their military government, did not punish such persons with death; but they were degraded, they were declared infamous, it was

61 unlawful to transact any business with them, lived as if they were dead in a civil point of view. At this point we cannot avoid condemning Demosthenes with regard to it is a proof of conviction; if he had denied the fact, he would have done it, and stirred.

12. ἔξω τῶν περιόρδαντηρίων, κ. τ. λ.] Literally, *from the lustral vessels in the forum*, or better, *from the purifying ablution used by those who frequented the forum*, or still more freely, *excluded them from participation in the assemblies*. The word περιόρδα is composed of περιῖ, *around*, and ῥαίνω, *I water*, an urn or vase in which was kept the purifying water. It was commonly placed in the temples, in the avenues and at the places where roads met. Special care was also to place them at the doors of private houses. When one died in the family, and the water was sprinkled on those who were present at the funeral. A branch of olive was used for this purpose, and the purifying water was purified by the plunging in of a lighted brand, taken from the victim while the victim was burning. Euripides, *Ἡρακλ.*

Μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν,
Εἰς χέρονιβ' ὡς βάψειεν Ἀλκμήνης τό

In other respects, this water was used for purifying the hands of two kinds. The first consisted merely in washing the hands and was called χέρονιψ, from χεῖρ, *hand*, and νίπτω, *I wash*. The other extended to the whole body, and was called ἄρδαντις. This practice remains in Greece at the present day without change from the ancient forms, except in the case of consecrating the water.

18. ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου] *The temple of Bacchus*. The sacrifices were performed in the temple, and the rewards were proclaimed there. That decreed to Demosthenes was proclaimed there according to custom.

62 8. σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ] *The privilege of being seated in the Prytaneum*. This privilege was granted to those who had shown great zeal in the cause of the re-

was one of the most honorable rewards which a citizen could obtain. 62

9. τὰ τοιαῦτα] It is my own judgment that I have followed, in correcting thus, instead of leaving καλά.

10. καταπέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα,] *All this, from being indiscriminately granted, has fallen into discredit.* This expression is borrowed from fruits or vegetables, which by being continually watered, at last lose their savour and retain but a watery taste; or from clothes, which are injured by being injudiciously washed.

18. Παναθήναια] *The Panathenæa* were festivals celebrated at Athens in honor of Minerva, with a great deal of pomp, like the Bacchanalian festivals and those of Eleusis in honor of Bacchus and Ceres. These were the three greatest festivals of the Athenians.

19. παγκράτιον] Critics are not all of the same opinion with regard to the game called *Pancratium*. Some think it is thus called because the antagonists contended with their whole strength, παντὶ κράτει. Plutarch appears to decide the question by saying that it was a mixed sort of contest, consisting both of *boxing and wrestling*: ὅτι γὰρ μέμικται τὸ παγκράτιον ἐκ τε πυγμαῆς καὶ πάλης, δῆλον. This assertion, as well as the passage of Æschines, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυτέρων ἄθλων, or *some other of our severest contests*, are against those who think that *Pancratium* was the same as *Pentathlum*, including the five modes of contending known by the ancients; ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

27. ἀγωνοθέτας] Taken figuratively for *the judges*. The *agonothetæ* presided at the solemn games of Greece, or at the private games of each city. They were obliged to swear that they would religiously observe all the laws prescribed in every kind of contest, and that they would do nothing either directly or indirectly against the order and the police established at these games. The *agonothetæ* at Athens, as a part of their duty, had to superintend the proclamation of the crowns granted as rewards to the citizens, as we see in the decrees quoted by Demosthenes.



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3. ἐπὶ Ἡϊόνι,] Ἡϊών was a town of Thrace, afterwards called 64
Ἀμφίπολις.

4. Λιμόν τ' αἰθωνα] *A fierce and raging famine.* The word αἰθων is sometimes employed by Homer as an epithet for a lion, to express its ferocity and violence; and it is here borrowed from the violent and furious temper of a famished person.

12. Μενεσθεύς] Homer speaks thus of Menestheus in the Iliad, B. 553 :

Τῷ δ' οὐπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνῆρ,
Κοσμηῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

13. ἀμπεδίον,] For ἀνὰ πεδίον. It is also written εἰς πεδίον.

15. Κοσμήτωρα] Some write Κοσμητήρα.

20. στοᾶν τὴν ποικίλην.] The *Pæcile*; a portico thus called from the different paintings it contained, representing the battle of Marathon.

30. τῷ Μητροῶν] The temple of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, built near the place where the Senate of the Five Hundred met. The statue was the work of Phidias.

2. Ἀρχινος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης,] Κοίλη is one of the boroughs of Attica. 65
ca. Its tribe is not exactly known, but it is supposed to be the Hippothoonian.

7. θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ] *The crown of olive leaves* was thus called.

12. προσέβαλλον] The imperfect is better than the aorist, since *the Lacedæmonians and the thirty tyrants attacked Phyle several times*, and not once only.

13. οὐχ ὅσοι, κ. τ. λ.] *And not those who fled from their post at Chæronea, at the approach of the enemy.* Æschines omits no opportunity of reproaching Demosthenes for his cowardice at Chæronea.

27. Φιλάμμωνα] *Philammon* was an Athenian *athletes*, contemporary with our orators, who was always victorious over his antagonists.

28. Γλαῦκον] *Glaucus*, a celebrated *athletes* from Caristus in Eubœa, who, according to common report, was descended from the sea god, Glaucus. The truth is, however, that this descendant of a god was the son of a mere laborer, named

65 Demylus. His ploughshare having one day become loose, Glaucus who was still young, mended it, using no hammer but his fist. Demylus seeing how well his son could strike, thought best to produce him at the Olympic games. At first Glaucus, little accustomed to such exercises, received several blows which greatly injured him; but just when it was expected that he would yield and leave the field, his father cried out to him; *What has become of that hand which hammered our plough so well?* The young man, animated by these words, struck his antagonist so severe a blow, that it decided at once the contest. He conquered on several other occasions at the solemn games of Greece; twice in the Pythian games, and eight times in the Nemæan and Isthmian. His son caused a statue to be erected to him, made by Glaucias of Ægina. Glaucus was represented in the attitude of an athlete, because it was as such that he had distinguished himself, and had gained the victory over all his contemporaries. After his death, the Carystians buried him in an island which is still called the island of Glaucus.

66 4. Παταικίωνος] *Patæcion* was probably an Athenian minister of no great merit. According to Harpocration and Suidas, he passed for a robber and a thief. The latter adds that he lived upon calumny, and was in the habit of leading rich young men into vicious indulgences.

12. παλαίχθων] *Child of the earth*. The Athenians, like several other nations of antiquity, thought they had first arisen from the earth, probably like mushrooms, or like those insects which appear after rain. It is undoubtedly on account of this idea with regard to their origin, that they give themselves in their writings the names of παλαίχθονες, αὐτόχθονες, γηγενεῖς, all having the same signification.

17. Ἐναυλον] A metaphorical expression, borrowed from the effect of the flute. *The sound still vibrated on the ear; that is to say, it was not yet effaced from the memory, and still remained there; freely translated, it was yet the general opinion.*

20. Καὶ γὰρ τι] Preferable to καὶ γὰρ τοι.

24. εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφήν] Better than εἴ τις εἰσῆει γραφή.

7. ὡςπερ ἐπώδην] A metaphor taken from the epodes in lyric 67 poems, which answers to this; *as if they hear a song*.

20. Ἀριστοφῶν] *Aristophon*, an Athenian general mentioned in the speech of Demosthenes (p. 111. l. 27.), and who appears to have boasted that he had been oftener accused than any other man, without ever having been convicted.

22. ὁ Κέφαλος] *Cephalus*, an Athenian minister who was never accused, and who must therefore have been entirely irreproachable. For in the midst of a republic like that of Athens, where each citizen had the right of accusing any one, and whenever he pleased, and where envy and malignity could find weak places in the most exemplary lives, it was a very difficult thing never to have to sustain a trial.

28. διαπολιτευόμενοι,] Wolfius conjectures ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι. But there is a difference between the two words. The first is employed to signify those who hold different political opinions in the same country; the second, those who are of different countries.

1. γράψαντά γε στεφανοῦν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους] The sense of 68 this is: *Thrasybulus, who proposed to crown in an illegal manner one of those who had returned with him from Phyle*. The text is commonly thus: γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, στεφανῶν ἓνα, *having proposed something illegal, which was to crown, &c.* But this could not be illegal, since we see a little above that this same Archinus who accuses Thrasybulus, had proposed and carried a decree, according to which all those who had returned from Phyle were to be crowned with a crown of olive leaves. Reiske corrects this passage by writing τινὰ instead of τι· others place the word στεφανῶν between brackets, as if there was some suspicion of its having been inserted by transcribers, and then the sense is; *that Thrasybulus was accused of violating the laws, because one of those who had returned with him proposed an illegal decree*. This does not appear to me at all probable, for it is neither consistent with good sense, nor with what is written below. The correction of Reiske also does not appear very elegant; nor do I like the τινὰ, and the ἓνα κ. τ. λ. explanatory of it. The common text being also inconsistent



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9. ἐξαιτοῦνται] *Solicit, ask the favor.* This word is also 68 employed in this sense in Euripides, *Androm.* 53.

Ἦτησε Φοῖβον, πατρὸς οὗ τίνειν δίκην,
 Εἴ πως τὰ πρόσθεν σφάλματ' ἐξαιτούμενος,
 Θεὸν παράσχοιτ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐμενῆ.

12. ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει,] Some critics might perhaps be tempted to write instead of πόλει, the word πολιτεία, on account of the preceding δημοκρατία. But the word πολιτείαν, which comes after, being too near, I prefer to leave the text as it is, understanding δημοκρατουμένην.

15. Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικται] *How it is assigned, permitted, prescribed to a just and honest defender to intercede.* The words ἀποδέδεικται and ἀπολέλειπται are so similar when written, that there might be some doubts with regard to their genuineness, but the sense of the former appears to me so good as not to require any change. In my text I have preferred the transposition of the following words, which are commonly thus, ἀνδρὶ δικάϊῳ συνηγόρῳ καὶ σώφρονι; the sense in this case does not appear to me clear enough.

18. Ἐγχεῖται, κ. τ. λ.] *The first water flows for the accuser.* He alludes to the clepsydra, used by the ancient to measure the time each orator was to speak. (See Notes, p. 136. l. 12.)

22. τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ, κ. τ. λ.] *If by the first vote the violation of the law is not declared to be nothing in this case, or if the criminal is not acquitted.* It must be remembered that in criminal cases the judges pronounced twice. First they decided with regard to the fact; next they determined the punishment. By the first sentence they only declared whether they condemned or acquitted the defendant. If the plurality of votes was for the condemnation, the defendant, if the crime was not a capital one, was obliged to declare himself what punishment he deserved. After that followed a second sentence from the magistrates, proportioning the punishment to the crime.

30. διενεγκεῖν,] This has the signification of ἐνεγκεῖν, διδόνουσι ψῆφον, *to carry, give a vote.* The addition of the preposition διὰ here makes the word express moreover, *to carry a vote, discerning on which side you ought to give it.*

69 11. *σανίδιον*] *tablet*, upon which the accusation was written.

13. *καὶ τί δεῖ σε, κ. τ. λ.*] *Why recur to Demosthenes* would have much preferred that Demosthenes not answer him, but Ctesiphon; as he might much more easily have overcome him than the former, whom he had good reason to fear, as the result showed.

15. *κακοῦργον*] I was much inclined to prefer the *πανῆργον*, which appears to me preferable here; I have seen an account of the same word, l. 29, for which there is another reading.

24. *προσποιῆται ὑμῶν μὴ ἀκούειν,*] I have chosen to propose the *μὴ* on account of the mistake which the reader might make at first sight, according to the common text, *ἐὰν ὁ ἀκούων μὴ ἀκούειν*, *and if he does not feign that he understands you as the true meaning is, and if he feigns that he does not understand you.*

70 1. *Εἰ καλέσω*] *Am I to call Demosthenes?* I prefer the more energetic than *εἰ καλέσοι*, which is narrative.

2. *καλῶν γὰρ*] These two words are added, and give only more strength, but more connexion to the speech.

7. *καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα, κ. τ. λ.*] This correction of my text consists, with regard to the most common text, in a transposition of some words, in a change of the pointing, and the pointing which renders the sense clear and easy. These are the different readings for this part of the text. 1. *ὄνπερ καὶ γὰρ ὡς κατηγόρηκα, ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς.* 2. *ὄνπερ καὶ γὰρ κατηγόρηκα; ἕ. κ. ὑπ. ὑμᾶς.* 3. *ὄνπ. καὶ γὰρ ὡς κατηγόρηκα; ὥδε.*

12. *ἀπέδειξα*] Preferable to *ἐπέδειξα*, since the ancient editions have it thus, and it is also similar to the mode of expression *ἀπέδειξα τοὺς νόμους.*

71 1. *τρίτον δέ, κ. τ. λ.*] *In the third place, (the most important of all that I say) to make his apology in answer to the charge of his not being worthy of the recompense.* My correction consists in the transposition of *τὸ* and the insertion of *ἵνα*. These are the different readings. 1. *τρίτον δέ τὸ μέγιστον ὡς ἔδδ' ἀξίος ἐστὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 2. *τρίτον δέ (τὸ μέγιστον ἵνα) ἀξίος ἐστὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς.* 3. *ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάξιος ἐστὶ.*

6. *πάλαισμα*] A lawyer's trick. *Παλαίσματα τὰ ἀγωνίσματα*, 71 οἷς βούλεται τις καταπαλαῖσαι τὸν ἀντίδικον. What the Germans call *fechterstreich*.

14. ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν,] I have thought best to place these words after *μάχεσθε*, although others have them after *ὑμεῖς*: the sense thus becomes more clear and natural.

15. *περιῖσασθαι*,] As if he had said, *ἴσασθαι περὶ λόγους ἔπρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀποβλέποντας*, *to begin speeches which have nothing to do with the violation of the laws*.

21. *βαλαντιοτόμον*] A *pick-pocket*, a *cut-purse*, alluding to the charge of Æschines against Demosthenes, that he was guilty of peculation.

25. *μεταβαλλόμενος*,] The same as *μεταβάλλων τὸν τρόπον*, *in changing his manner*, that is, *from tears passing to insults*.

27. *διηριθμημένους*] This word commonly signifies *enumerated*, but here, *separated, distinguished*.

2. *δημοκρατία*] Some add the article ἡ. I prefer the passage 72 without it.

4. *ἐκ παιδείας*] *of their education*; that is to say, *having pronounced the best word their education had taught them*; as if he said, *ὡς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους ἄνδρας χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν*. This word was the *μὴ μνησικακεῖν*, *forgetfulness of the past*, an expression used in the decrees of the Athenians to put an end to their civil wars. This decree is called by Plutarch, *τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ψήφισμα*, *the decree of amnesty*, whence the word has passed into the modern languages.

5. *ἐλκοποιεῖς*,] literally, *you produce ulcers*, or better, *you tear open our wounds*. A metaphorical expression for *you exasperate the minds*.

6. *ἀνθημερόν*] The adverb is more commonly used, and is preferable to the adjective *ἀνθημέρων* or *ἀνθημερινῶν*.

15. *περιγράφετέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας*;] It is better with the interrogation. It is also written *περιεγράφατε* and *περιγράφατε*. Reiske writes the future, and adds *εἶ*.

18. ἡ πρὸς] Others omit this ἡ. I do not agree with them, but think it very good and even elegant. The most symmetrical is not always the most beautiful. There are



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punishment. *Ζηλοτυποῦν* is for *μισοῦν*. For the word *ζηλοῦν* is 73 taken in a good sense, and signifies *to emulate*, whence comes the word *ζῆλος*· but *ζηλοτυπεῖν* expresses the *invidious hatred* which one person bears to another, and is composed of *ζῆλος*, *zeal*; and *τύπος*, *impression*, who have the impression alone of zeal, but not the reality.

14. *μιαρᾶν*] Some read *μικρᾶν*, having in mind this passage of Aristotle: *οὐδεμία μὲν κεφαλὴ μικρὰ, ἀγαθὴ· οὐκ ἔξ ἀνάγκης δ' ἀγαθὴ, ἢ μεγάλη.*

21. *πρόσοδον*] It appears to me that the play upon words in this passage would be complete, if we could find authority to substitute *κεφάλαιον*, *capital*, for the word *πρόσοδον*, *revenue*. It seems to me also more logical, because the head may be like the capital which gives the revenue, but it is not so natural to say that the head is the revenue itself.

2. *ἐμπληξίαν*] *Terror with amazement*, like a man who is 74 stupefied, being struck by a thunderbolt.

10. *ᾧφέληται, κ. τ. λ.*] Reiske writes thus: *ᾧφέληται πολλὰ, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται.* I have preferred the reading found in editions prior to his, and which appears to me incomparably better, the word *πολλὰ* being governed by the preposition *κατὰ* of the verb; as if it was: *βέβλαπται δὲ κατὰ πολλὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.*

19. *καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, κ. τ. λ.*] *And he blames excessively even my conversation in the Gymnasia, with those younger than myself.* Those who were fond of letters, loved to go to the Gymnasia, or places where the young men exercised in wrestling or boxing, to talk with them and to instruct them by useful and agreeable conversation. Demosthenes will not attack his antagonist for this taste of his, perhaps somewhat frivolous for an Athenian minister. He will bring forward, however, most of these charges which Æschines had foreseen with sagacity, and refuted with great address; but it will be with a triumphant power which Æschines certainly did not expect.

23. *ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, κ. τ. λ.*] *Making a parade of his zeal with Alexander, knowing that he hated Demosthenes.* It is not however by the charge that he is paying court to Alexander,

74 that Demosthenes in the very beginning of his speech is to throw suspicion upon the accusation of Æschines, but by reproaching him for attacking him for things long since past, though he might have accused him while the facts were still fresh in every one's memory.

25. μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν,] *He will ask me.* Æschines here undertakes to anticipate and refute the probable charge of Demosthenes, that he only meddled with public business rarely and at intervals, (p. 187.) Our orator exculpates himself by two reasons. The first is, his frugality; for he knows how to be content with little, very different in this respect from his antagonist, whose eager rapacity alternately binds and releases his tongue. The second, that he is only using the liberty which a popular government gives to every citizen, to appear and to withdraw, to speak or be silent, as he pleases.

75 9. ὁπότεν' — προστάττωσιν.] *When those who hire you, command you.* It was proverbially said of such a man, βούς ἐπὶ γλώττη βέβηκε, *an ox has mounted upon his tongue*; in allusion to an Athenian coin, stamped with the figure of an ox. This proverb is also sometimes used to signify *a man silent from principle*, in allusion to the heavy jaw of this large and clumsy animal; and it is in this sense that Pythagoras was said to place an ox on the tongue of his disciples, to signify the long silence which he imposed upon them. It is said that Demosthenes was sometimes bribed to be silent; witness ἡ συνάγχη, that very convenient *stuffed throat* of his, with which he was charged under the name of ἀργυροάγχη, *stuffed purse*.

14. Φιλίππου ζῶντος,] *During the life of Philip*, Æschines brought forward his accusation, but the trial did not take place till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. (See the prolegomena, p. ε.)

30. μηδέπω κενόισθαι] *When you bring forward the circumstance that I have never accused you.* Æschines had, undoubtedly, more than once attacked Demosthenes from the tribune, in his speeches, but he had never prosecuted him before a court of law.

14. Πόλλιν] Chabrias, an Athenian general, conquered *Pollis* 76 near Naxos in a naval engagement.

22. Ἀναξίνου] The reason why Æschines disapproves of the conduct of Demosthenes towards Anaxinus, is found in the answer of Demosthenes, (p. 135, l. 3.) With regard to Anaxinus, this is the only place in which his name is found. It is unknown what was his crime. He was undoubtedly guilty; but it was not for Demosthenes, whose guest he was, to have him condemned, unless the public safety very urgently required his death.

26. τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινας, καίτοι] *And you have caused his death, although, &c.* If my text is here compared with that of other editions, it will be seen that I have transposed the words commonly placed after ποιόμενος, and instead of καὶ, I have written καίτοι: my pointing is also a little different from that of the other editions, which do not all agree. I flatter myself that the text, as I have it, is more clear, neat, and flowing, and that it pleases the ear more, while at the same time it gives better sense.

31. ξενοκτόνος] *Assassin of a guest.* Æschines could not accuse Demosthenes of a more atrocious crime. For among the Greeks there were no rights more sacred and inviolable than those of hospitality. They gave to a stranger the same claim to protection as relationship, friendship, and neighbourhood gave to a fellow citizen.

2. τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας] *The salt of the city, that is, the tables of Athens.* As the common use of salt and the table gives origin to friendship, familiarity, and intimacy, they have become emblematic of these feelings. Aristotle says that, *according to the proverb, we cannot mutually know each other fully, without having eaten together a certain quantity of salt, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους, πρὶν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἅλας συναλωῶσαι.* The same author says also in another passage, *εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἁλῶν· the bushel of salt has become a proverb.* We may remember also the famous maxim, ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν μὴ παραβαίνειν, *not to violate the salt and the table.*



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dithyrambus, and danced to the sound of these hymns in hon-79
 or of Bacchus; sometimes joining hands, sometimes with their
 hands free. From the service of the altars the choirs were in-
 troduced into tragedy, which itself was originally only a relig-
 ious ceremony, and formed a part of public worship. Their
 origin, therefore, was very exalted, and they anciently held a
 high station upon the stage, of which they were considered as
 the principal ornament. As it was inevitable that disputes
 should arise among the large number of persons who composed
 these choirs, they had their own proper judges, who investigated
 their quarrels and settled them. And it is of these judges that
 Æschines here speaks.

15. καὶ πλείους] Reiske, and the editors who have followed 80
 him, write οἱ πλείους. It appears to me very correct as it is, for
 we ought not to oblige men of genius always to speak by rule and
 compass. It is very well for a man of a phlegmatic disposition
 to follow the natural order of things, and to say: *and even some
 were of the number of the thirty tyrants, who put to death fifteen
 hundred citizens without a trial.* Instead of *who*, to put *and*,
 which refers to the word *some*, at first appears an irregularity,
 since it was the whole thirty, and not a few of them who caused
 these citizens to be put to death; but we must recollect that the
 will and the vote of a few was equally the cause of their death,
 and therefore the orator in his vehemence and indignation can
 very well refer to a few, what was done by the whole band of
 the thirty tyrants of which they were members.

1. τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰς τάφους,] *Having palisaded the walls and 81
 the ditches.* It is more commonly written οὐδὲ τὰς τάφους, and
 Reiske places the passage between brackets, as suspicious,
 and others after him omit it entirely.

2. ἀνελόντα] *Having destroyed the public tombs.* This
 word likewise signifies *raised*; but I have preferred the former
 meaning, because Demosthenes had not been appointed to raise
 or rebuild the tombs, but to repair the walls; and these repairs,
 which were hastily made, might perhaps require the demolish-
 ing of some tombs which were in the way, and the materials
 of which might be employed.

81 21. ἐπιστολήν,] History does not tell us on what occasion the king of Persia wrote to the Athenians the letter here mentioned by the orator.

82 5. τὴν ἄκραν] The citadel *Cadmeia*, which was probably in the hands of the Macedonians.

8. ἡ προῶξις ἔγεγένηται,] *We could not improve the opportunity.* I know of no traces in history of the two facts here mentioned by Æschines.

15. ἐγκωμιάζοι,] I have thus corrected, instead of leaving the common ἐγκωμιάσει.

28. Ἀλεξάνδρος] *Alexander*, king of the Molossians (a people of Epirus, whose capital, Dodona, was famous for its temple and the oracle of Jupiter), had carried war into Italy and perished there. His armies were routed, and he was obliged to fly. As he was crossing a river on horseback, he received a mortal blow. His death did not satisfy the fury of his enemies; they offered a thousand insults to his body, and after having cut it to pieces, it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to allow the remains of this unfortunate king to be carried back to his country, to his wife Cleopatra. It was on this mournful occasion that Ctesiphon was sent to present to the afflicted queen the compliments of condolence. Although a man may have the talent of composing and speaking proper compliments on such occasions without being able to plead a cause, we cannot but believe that the Athenians, so famous for their skill and sense of propriety in speaking, chose on such occasions citizens who possessed these qualities in an eminent degree.

83 3. Χαβρίαν, κ. τ. λ.] *Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus*, three celebrated Athenian generals, known principally by the victories here mentioned by Æschines.

8. μόραν] *A body.* Xenophon, in his Lacedæmonian Republic, thus defines it: Ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἓνα, λοχαγούς τετταράς, πεντηκοστιῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχας ἑκκαίδεκα. Consequently it must have been a body of four hundred men.

11. ἀντεροῦ] Commonly written εἰάν τις ἐρωτᾷ, διὰ τί οὐ δώσετε; Reiske omits the interrogation and adds the word φήσετε.

19. ἀποκτείνῃ τινα,] I have transposed the *τινα*, to give more 83 clearness. In other editions it is placed after *εάν*. There is also this reading : *εἴ τῳ* or *εάν τῳ ἐμπεσόντα*. As to the fact, we find the following passage in Pausanias, lib. VI. 11, 2. Δράκων Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἴ γε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον. Solon, who annulled the laws of Draco, as too severe, did not alter those with regard to murder, but left them in full force. The causes of inanimate murderers were judged by the tribunal called τὸ ἐπὶ πρυτανείῳ, *the tribunal of the Prytaneum*. Pausanias places the origin of that jurisdiction as far back as king Erechtheus. Though frivolous and puerile in appearance, their object was very serious and very wise. It was to destroy in the hearts of men all thoughts of murder, by making it an unpardonable crime.

20. αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται,] *If any one kills himself, &c.* The contempt which the ancients had for those who committed suicide, may be seen also in this passage of Aristotle. Nicom. lib. III. 7. Τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν ἢ ἔρωτα ἢ τι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἀνδρείου, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δειλοῦ· μαλακία γὰρ τὸ φεύγειν τὰ ἐπίπονα.

30. τί ἀποκρινεῖσθε ;] It is also written *τί κρινεῖτε ;*

30. αἱ παλαῖστραι,] *Palæstræ*, places where the young men practised wrestling, boxing, and other exercises, which formed a part of their education ; just as in our own times young men are taught to dance, to ride, to fence, that the powers of the body may be developed after those of the mind.

31. οὐδ' ἢ μουσικὴ μόνον] This name was given to all the sciences ; undoubtedly because the first sages and philosophers were poets who sung their own verses, teaching men by their songs, and endeavoring, while amusing their minds and pleasing their ears, to instruct them in the civil and moral virtues, and the sciences necessary to their happiness.

27. τὸν λόγον] It is also written *καὶ τῶν λόγων ὡςπερ τὰς βε- 84*
βαιώσεις τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ νόμος κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι εἰς β. Reiske has it thus : *καὶ τῶν λόγων τὰς βεβαιώσεις (ὡς περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων ὁ ν. κ. π.)*



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Pythian Apollo, and of which they were the *ex officio* judges. 86
(See Notes, p. 119, l. 17.)

24. Ἄλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, κ. τ. λ.] Here the peroration begins. It is beautiful, magnificent, and grand, and at the same time very touching and pathetic. Æschines bring before us Solon, Aristides, Themistocles, all the heroes who on the plains of Marathon and of Platæa, sacrificed their lives for the republic. He calls them forth from their tombs to witness the sentence presently to be pronounced. He calls upon the earth, the sun, upon virtue, that universal reason, that celestial light, which illumines every mind, and makes it distinguish good and evil. In a word he omits nothing to engage all nature in his contest, to raise heaven and earth, gods and men, against Demosthenes.

25. Βυζάντιον — ἐξέλεσθαι] We see in the speech itself of Demosthenes how he saved Byzantium. This orator says nothing of the Acarnanians, a people of Epirus in Greece, whom he undoubtedly excited against the king of Macedonia. The determination of the Thebans to alliance with the Athenians, is the most striking and the most important part of his speech.

14. Ἄρθμιον] *Arthmius* was the son of Pythonax, and born 87 at Zelia, a town of Troad. He frequently passed through Athens, where he enjoyed the rights of hospitality. As an emissary of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, he scattered through Peloponnesus the gold of this prince. He came to Athens; but the Athenians, having discovered his practices, banished him from their city, and declared him and his posterity for ever infamous. Much is said of him in the third Philippic.

17. παρ' οὐδέν μὲν ἦλθον] *It wanted nothing*, synonymous with παρὰ μικρόν, παρ' ὀλίγον, *little was wanting*.

27. Ἐγὼ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.] Demosthenes ridicules with great severity this passage of Eschines, (p. 132, l. 2.)

29. βεβοήθηκα] Reiske is in favor of βεβόηκα.

90 . 1. *Πρῶτον*] In every age both of the ancient and the modern world, this exordium has been regarded as a master-piece. Demosthenes begins by presenting to his hearers the most grand of all sights. He opens to them Olympus, and he engages all the gods and all the goddesses to favor his cause. But while he offers to their mind those objects most capable of exciting wonder and admiration, he does not neglect to bring forward that which may also affect their feelings. In the beginning of his oration, he leaves nothing untried to do away the evil impressions which the speech of Æschines might have produced, and to engage the judges to suspend their decision, until they have also heard what he has to say in his defence. Although this demand is a perfectly just one, he takes care to bring forward every thing which can enforce it. He therefore recalls with great skill to the mind of his hearers, the services he has rendered to the republic, services which were certainly a great presumption in his favor; the oath of the judges, who have solemnly sworn to hold an even balance between the two parties, and to hear both accuser and accused with perfect impartiality; and two great advantages which Æschines possesses as the plaintiff in this cause, and which ought to induce the judges to lean rather to his own side, if it was right for them to look with greater favor upon one than the other. He finishes his exordium as he begins it, that is, by imploring the assistance of the gods. And this he does, that he may first give the judges a great opinion of his religion, being persuaded that there was no better way to obtain their confidence, than by showing above all things piety, the possession of which renders worthy of credit all the actions and all the words of men.

2. *πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις,*] *I pray all the gods and goddesses.* 90 Demosthenes appears to have had in view this famous line of Homer: (Iliad, θ' 5.)

Κέκλυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοὶ, πᾶσαί τε θεάιναι.

These two celebrated passages have not escaped Lucian, who, as is his custom, applies them in a very witty and amusing manner. He supposes that Jupiter, having called an extraordinary meeting of the gods, for an affair which is of the last importance to them, is disconcerted at the sight of the prodigious crowd which is gathering on Olympus, and losing his presence of mind, tells Mercury he does not know whether he ought to begin by the line of Homer which we have just quoted. Mercury, who has some fondness for orators, advises him to take an exordium from the speeches of Demosthenes, altering it a little to adapt it to his subject, as the modern orators do. In another dialogue Lucian introduces Rhetoric, complaining that he has abandoned her for dialogues, and in the speech she makes on the subject, she uses the exordium of Demosthenes. It seems that the ingenious author wishes to give us to understand by this, that Rhetoric herself, when speaking in her own cause, could not do better than to repeat the opening of a speech which all ages have unanimously regarded as the most perfect model of eloquence. We must believe, however, that the object of Lucian was not only to eulogize Demosthenes, but also to censure the plagiaries of his time.

6. *τοῦτο παρασιῆσαι*] The sense is as if the passage stood thus: ἔπειτ' εὐχομαι ἵν' οἱ θεοὶ εἰς νοῦν ὑμῶν ἐμβάλωσι τὸ μὴ τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ συμβουλεύσασθαι περὶ τοῦ τρόπου καθ' ὃν ἀκουστέον ἐμὲ, ὅπερ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ.

11. *Ὁμοίως, κ. τ. λ.*] *To hear equally both parties.* Solon and almost all legislators have made it an express law. But it is a law which nature has indelibly engraved on every heart, and which every one intuitively assents to, the moment it is expressed. It is one of those first principles which carry their own evidence with them. Whoever judges after having heard but one party, even though his decision may be just, is yet guilty of a sort of injustice; and if he listens to one with more



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3. ὃ φύσει] Reiske, instead of ὃ, which refers to ἔτερον, 91 writes ἄ, referring to l. 6. τούτων τοίνυν. I am so far from agreeing with him in this instance, that if the text stood as it is corrected by him, I should have felt inclined to alter it, and to write it as it stands originally. Τούτων τοίνυν refers to the two things preceding, p. 90, l. 19, Ἐν μὲν, p. 91, l. 3, Ἐτερον δέ. That is, it refers to these grammatically; but for the sense, the orator has in view the latter only, as if he had forgotten what he had first said. This is one of those instances of inattention, which are always found in writers who think more of their subject than of the words which they employ, and which, in such cases, should be regarded as beauties rather than faults. The ear, to which I often appeal as a judge in my decisions upon the text of the orators, is very well satisfied with the text as it is, ὃ φύσει, but in reading the passage as corrected by Reiske, this ἄ arrests me, and seems like a rock which rises and disturbs the calm and peaceful flow of a river. •

5. τοῖς ἐπαινεῖσι δ' αὐτῆς ἄχθασθαι.] *To be indignant against those who praise themselves.* It is true in general, that one who praises himself runs a great risk of displeasing. Yet there are cases in which we can with propriety and advantage become our own panegyrists. Such are cases in which the praise is supported by truth, and founded upon merit universally acknowledged; when it is necessary; when it is used, not to add to the glory of him who praises himself, but to defend him from a certain danger, which he does not deserve to encounter. A person may then speak his own praise, provided he do it with dignity, and that he speak only of his heart and of his good deeds; for all men seem to have agreed that no one should ever permit himself to speak boastingly of his mind and his talents. Self-praise on such occasions, and with these precautions, rather conciliates, than displeases, and calling back the mind of the hearer from the confusion into which it had been thrown by strange events, gives him the invariable law which he is to follow. History furnishes several remarkable examples of this. I will mention only that of Pericles, who

91 seeing that the Athenians, exasperated by the evils of war and the plague, began to murmur against him, the apparent author of their calamities, for having counselled war, said to them in the assembly which he had called together purposely to appease them: *Καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε, ὅς οὐδενὸς ἤσσω οἴομαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα· φιλόπολις τε, καὶ χρημάτων, κρείσσω.* Thuc. L. ii. 60. Dionysius of Halicarnassus severely blames Pericles on this account; and perhaps he judges of the goodness of the speech from its success, since Pericles was deprived of the command and condemned to pay a fine. It is certain, however, that the speech produced an instantaneous effect; for Thucydides assures us that the whole assembly were convinced: *οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο*· but that the citizens returning to their houses and being reminded of all they had to suffer, could no longer bear the violence of their sufferings, and passed sentence against their great magistrate. We must grant then, according to the testimony of the historian, that the speech of Pericles was at first successful; and if this famous Athenian general fell from his power not long afterwards, it was the fault, not of his eloquence, but of circumstances.

11. *βαδίζω,*] *I walk.* This word is here employed figuratively; *if I walk over my actions as a public and private man, that is, if I enter into the details of my public and private life.*

21. *τω*] It has no accent because it is enclitic, and has the same signification as *τινι*.

22. *μάλιστα δὲ — ὅσω περ*] instead of *τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ὅσω*. W.

25. *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι*] These two words are almost synonymous, yet we may take the first in the sense of *I think it just*, and the second as meaning *I beg of you*. By the first of these words he preserves dignity, by the other he seeks to gain pity.

26. *ὁμοίως ὑμῶν,*] It was enough, observes Taylor, to say: *ὁμοίως ἀκοῦσαί μου ἀπολογουμένου*, without *δικαίως*, which is probably a comment on *ὁμοίως*. The remark which Taylor makes, shows that he construed *ὁμοίως* with *ἀκοῦσαι*· but this is incorrect; it should be construed with *ὑμῶν*, *all of you*, without exception, strong or weak, young or old, &c.

2. πρότερος] One manuscript gives πρότερον instead of πρό- 92
τερος. This gratuitous correction was probably made by some
grammarian, puzzled by an infinitive preceded by a nom-
inative. But πρότερος should be retained, because it is un-
derstood of the same person to whom the word ἰσχύει relates.
Thus, p. 162, l. 23, ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός.

3. παρελθεῖν,] *to pass beyond, or escape*; but it is here used
for νικῆσαι, a metaphor in allusion to racers; and as the words
διώκων, *accuser*, and φεύγων, *accused*, would be translated liter-
ally the *pursuer* and the *pursued*, it is a remarkably happy one.

5. λέγοντος ὑστερον] It is also written ὑστέρου λέγοντος, and
Reiske even prefers it thus. I do not agree with him, and it is
sufficient to observe the hiatus resulting from τοῦ ὑστ. The
oldest editions also have the text as I have retained it.

6. προςδέξεται, — ποιήσεται] It is also written προςδέξεται,
and ποιήσεται. but I am inclined to consider it better as left in
my text, since it is more analogous to our modern dialect.

7. διάγνωσιν] According to Taylor, διάγνωσιν is the Attic
for διαγνώμην, and his note is founded on the opinion of Thom-
as Magister. But it is not so. Demosthenes uses διάγνωσις,
not because it is more in accordance with the Attic mode of
expression, but because διαγνώμη would here be improper.
Διάγνωσις means a *discussion*, and διαγνώμη what *results from a*
discussion, that is, *the decree*, as we may see it in Thucyd. L. i.
87, ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι,
and in L. iii. 42, οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὐθις.

13. διατελώ] This verb, joined with a participle, indicates
constancy, habit, and continuance.

17. παραστήσαι] *to bring to your mind*, and παρίστασθαι, *to*
come to the mind. (See p. 90, l. 6, and note.)

20. προβουλεύματος] This word means a *preparatory decree*,
preliminary decree of the Senate. (See προβουλεύσαι, p. 146,
l. 21; and Notes, p. 113, l. 25.) The decree of Ctesiphon
was approved by the Senate. The approbation of the people
was still necessary for its execution; and this Æschines wish-
ed to prevent, by accusing Ctesiphon of having infringed the
laws in his decree.



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ὑβρις, expresses rather the intention than the action; in the 93 word *λοιδορία*, the intention begins to show itself in abusive words; and in the word *προπηλακισμός*, the intention, the words, and the action are united to complete the insult. The last word has its etymology from *πηλός*, *dirt*, as if we should say: *insult, by casting dirt upon one*. Instead of *ὄμῃ*, Reiske prefers *ἐμῃ*.

26. *ἔδ' ἐγγύς.*] Sc. *τῆς ἀξίας δίκης*. Wolfius. (See p. 121, l. 13.)

26. *Οὐ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.*] *For it is not proper to forbid any one a free access to the people.* We must confess that this *γὰρ*, *for*, is not in place here; and having no connexion with what goes before, renders the passage rather obscure, and has led all critics to believe that the sentence must have been corrupted. Perhaps it stood *ὅτι ἄρ'*, *no certainly*. I doubt, however, whether even the correction that I have proposed would be satisfactory; so that we must be content to leave it as it is, for fear of making it worse; explaining the word *γὰρ* by *καὶ ὁμολογῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσθ'.* and *I confess that it is not proper, &c.*

1. *ἐτραγῶδει*] *he declaimed like a tragedian.* There is much 94 severity in the Greek word. It reminds the Athenians of the former occupation of Æschines, who began by being a player, or as Demosthenes says, by being a *country-player*, a *mere actor of third-rate parts*.

2. *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δικήματα*] *in the fact, at the very time that I committed the crimes; εὐθὺς ὅτε ἠδίκουν ἐγὼ ταῦτα.* Wolfius.

3. *εἰσαγγελίας ἀξία*] *Things worthy of denunciation.* The action *εἰσαγγελία*, was entered against the citizen who was unfaithful in a public office, betrayed his country, or led the people away by vain promises. The accuser in this case, by the ancient law, enjoyed an unjust privilege; he could lose his cause with impunity and without suffering any injury from it, even when the accused had been acquitted. The disorder occasioned by such license at length caused this law to be abolished; a law which opened the door for calumny, and multiplied accusers to infinity. They were subject afterwards to a pecuniary fine, if in the verdict they had not a fifth part of the suffrages in their favor.

94 6. Οὐ γὰρ — δύναται] Gail proposes to understand εἶναι τῷ-
το, after δύναται, and to translate it, *for it cannot be*; but I think
it more simple to take δύναται for δυνατόν ἐστι, *For it is not
possible he should have accused Ctesiphon from hatred toward
me, and not have accused me in person, if he thought he could
convict me.* Some editors put ἐνόμιζεν αὐτόν, but I think the
comma is better after ἐνόμιζεν. I should be very willing however
to omit the comma entirely; or to restore that which I have
taken away after ἐμὲ δ', because in pronouncing the discourse,
we ought not to pause here, ἐμὲ δ' αὐτόν being an Attic tmesis
instead of ἐμαντόν δέ.

11. καὶ τιμωρία] Hermogenes omits these two words.
Reiske places them after κρίσεις, and proposes to use the accusa-
tive by writing thus; κρίσεις καὶ τιμωρίας πικρὰς καὶ μεγάλα
ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια. I do not agree with him; and think it bet-
ter to leave it as it is.

13. ἐξῆν] Some editions have ἐξῆν αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρησθαι κατ' ἐμῆ.

16. αὐτοῦ.] Construe this with κατηγορία.

19. ὑποκρίνεται.] *He acts a comedy*; an allusion to the for-
mer employment of Æschines.

20. κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τριτονί.] This passage is thus
to be understood; *He accuses me, and puts him (Ctesiphon)
on trial.*

21. πως] Enclitic, meaning *in a certain manner.*

95 6. Φιλοκράτους] Much is said about this *Philocrates* in the
oration of Æschines. See page 20 et seq.

11. Φωκικοῦ] See Notes, p. 51, l. 24.

17. Λεύκτροις] *Leuctra*, a city of Bœotia, near which the
Thebans, under the command of Epaminondas, gained a cele-
brated victory over the Lacedæmonians. This victory render-
ed them powerful in Greece, and very proud.

26. ἐαυτοῦς] Some editions have ἀλλήλους.

28. ἐφύετο.] See φυομένου κακοῦ, p. 109, l. 19. This word
is properly used for plants, and is here employed metaphorical-
ly. We still retain this metaphor in our language, and say
πόθεν ἐφύτρωσε; in the sense of, *whence has he come? from what
place has he come out? whence does he make his appearance?*

30. ἀτυχεῖς] *unfortunate Thebans*; he says this because 95 Alexander had just sacked, and entirely destroyed their city.

20. Ἀριστόδημος ἦν, ὃ ὑπ.] *It was Aristodemus, the comedi-* 96
an. We must remember that comedians were anciently more esteemed than they are in our day; that they were not even excluded from the administration of affairs. Those only were despised who, having but little talent, joined those companies that strolled through the country. Æschines began as an actor in these companies; and even, according to Demosthenes, only played third-rate parts. Our orator frequently alludes to this in his oration.

26. Εὐβ. κ. Κηφ.] *Eubulus and Cephisophon*, two citizens of Athens and officers of that city.

2. εἶτ', ᾧ —] There is here also the rhetorical figure called 97 ἀποσιώπησις, *reticence*.

4. ἐτραγῶδεις] Some critics write also διετραγῶδεις, but I prefer it without the preposition.

6. παρελθῶν,] I have placed the comma after παρελθῶν, others have it after ταῦτα· but with this correction the sense seems to me more clear.

12. οὐδεῖς·] Some add εἰκότως after this word.

12. οὐδένα] Reiske prefers εἰδένας in the plural, and perhaps the hiatus caused by οὐδένα ἀπεστ. had some influence on his choice. Leaving it in the singular, in order to avoid the hiatus, I have transposed the word τότε, which is commonly placed after ἀπεσταλμένη.

14. ἐξεληλεγμένοι,] Attic perfect of ἐξελέγχομαι, and means *they had declared themselves*. It gives here the same sense as ἀποδεδειγμένοι, which some suppose to be the proper word.

20. Εὐρυβάτου] *Eurybates*. See Notes, p. 48, l. 3.

27. οὐδέν] Some manuscripts omit this first εἰδέν, but I think the repetition gives the expression greater force.

4. Φίλιππον] Better without the article τὸν, which some insert. 98

12. ἐξελύσατε] Some write also ἐξελύσασθε.

17. γὰρ] After this word comes τὴν εἰρήνην, which I have transposed and placed after ἔνεκα· for which last, some also write ἔνεκεν.



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as superfluous ; but by leaving ὁμολόγησε, the word ἔξειν does 100 very well, and is indispensable. I do not see that the sense would gain much, however, by the change.

14. τούτους, οὐχὶ] Some insert τοὺς, which seems to me gratuitous and inelegant, τούτους τοὺς.

19. μέλλει καὶ παρασκ. πορεύεσθαι,] The infinitive is here governed by, and depends upon, the two verbs ; it means *that he is about to set out, and is making preparations for it*. The word μέλλει here means *is about to do* ; a signification that always belongs to it when it is followed by an infinitive. But where it has no regimen, this verb means, *he defers, temporizes, protracts things, βραδύνει, ἀναβάλλεται, χρονίζει*. Demosthenes often employs μέλλει, in both senses.

21. τὸν πορθμὸν,] This word comes from πείρω, and means *passage*. There has been a great deal written about it ; Wolfius says it means *a narrow sea, τὴν στενὴν θάλασσαν*. Taylor, who comes after him, thinks that it is applied to the strait that separates Eubœa from the continent, observing that *Porthmus* was also the name of a city, on a promontory of the island, (p. 112, l. 2.) But that could not be, since Philip could only conduct his army into Phocis by land, and the Athenians could only stop it by land, and consequently the reference can only be to the defile of Thermopylæ. It follows from this that the word πορθμὸς means *narrow passage, either by land or sea* ; but more commonly used in the last sense.

11. ἔχηθ'] Some manuscripts have also ἄγηθ'. But if it is 101 only to vary the expression which is found l. 23, we ought to prefer ἔχηθ', the rather as this is as good, and now used in preference to the other. We say ἂν ἔχης ἡσυχίαν, *if you remain tranquil*.

17. ἀναλγησίας] *insensibility, stupidity*, synonymous with ἀναισθησία, ἀπάθεια. The Thebans who had aspired, under Epaminondas, to the government of Greece, were not then ἀναίσθητοι, (p. 104, l. 10 ;) but by treating them thus harshly Demosthenes was sure of pleasing the Athenians.

20. μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς ;] It is found also with the interrogation after μετὰ ταῦτα.

101 26. πρὸς ᾠθηβαίους] Reiske, on some authority, puts π τοὺς ᾠθηβαίους — γεγενῆσθαι.

29. Καλλισθένους] *Callisthenes*, a citizen of Athens, engaged in the affairs of government.

102 2. συγκλήτου, κ. τ. λ.] *In an extraordinary assembly convened by the generals.* In relation to the assemblies, see Note p. 3, l. 4. They elected ten generals at Athens, each year each tribe chose one; and the elections were held in the *Prætorium*. They commanded a day each; and each general of the day held the office of generalissimo. The generals commanded the armies, and in the city were the ministers of war.

4. Μαιμακτηριῶνος] *The month of December.* We do not know exactly which of our months correspond to the Athenian months. There is a great difference in the opinions of most skilful chronologists upon the subject. I have adopted the opinion which seemed to me most probable. The month *Μαιμακτηριῶν*, however, derives its name from *Διὸς μαιμάκτου*, *Jupiter, the turbulent, or stormy*; because Jupiter frequently troubles the air, and stirs up tempests in December.

12. ἐπιτιμίαις,] is here used in a bad sense, and means *chastisement*. In other places it means *prize, reward*. (See also Notes, p. 188, l. 26.) As if we should say; *he shall be considered as guilty of treason, and shall receive the reward of a general*; which reward would, in this case, naturally be nothing else than a punishment.

13. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων στρατηγός] *The general of the day.* There are various opinions as to whether there is any difference between *στρατηγός* by itself, and when joined with the epithet *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων*; and probably originally there was none, as in our day we say indiscriminately *general* and *general of an army*. Samuel Petit conjectures ingeniously but without proving it by authority, that the first of these words is applied to all the Athenian generals, and the second to him who, in his turn, held the chief command. According to Taylor, *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων*, might be *the commander of the heavy-armed infantry* (ὀπλιται), distinguished from the commander of the cavalry. See the laws and decrees, p. 127, 128. This relative signification of ὀπλα for ὀπ

ται, is found in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon and in Thucydides. 102
 The expression that follows, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, after which it is natural to understand στρατηγός, *the general who had the administration of the finances*, otherwise, *the treasurer*, leads me to think that each of the ten generals had a particular branch of the administration or command. And in order to reconcile the two opinions I have mentioned, we may believe, with probability, that it was exclusively reserved for the general of the day to command the heavy-armed troops. The word στρατηγός is also applied to civil magistrates, since στρατός, from which it is derived, does not always mean *an army*, but frequently *a multitude of men assembled*. In this sense it is used by Pindar, (Pyth. 11, 160,) χῶπόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός, χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι. *And when the impetuous people, and when the most learned govern the state.* A thousand other examples prove this assertion.

25. ἐπιστολῇ] This *letter* of Philip, as well as all the others found in Demosthenes, has a cavalier, military air, indicating the superiority of the prince who wrote, and the weakness of the people to whom he wrote.

29. Βοιωτία,] *Bœotia* was the country and, as it were, the 103
 province of which Thebes was the capital, as we have said in a preceding note. Æschines had possessed, or had acquired, lands in this country.

30. ἐξηρέμην] *I have been asked.* See Prolegom. p. ἡ. l. 1.

1. μάλλον] It is written also μάλα ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν · but I 104
 cannot think, with Reiske, that this is preferable. It is enough to observe that there is an hiatus caused by the two vowels following immediately after each other, μάλα ἴσως which does not take place in the other manner; and although this is of no great consequence, yet it ought to be avoided where it can be done, as is here the case.

7. ἐαυτοῦς] After this word ancient editions have τῷ Φιλίππῳ. I have preferred to conform to those who omit it.

19. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς,] As to the first of these two nations, as it has retained its name to the present day, and forms one of the provinces belonging to Austria, we need only men-



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4. τούτοις] For the same reason I have put this word before, 106 whilst others have it after ἀντιλέγων.

12. ἐωλοκρασίαν] This word is composed of ἐὼς ὄλλυμι-κράσις, and according to its etymology, it ought to signify *the extreme intemperance of the preceding evening*. He adds ὡςπερ and τινά; *as in some sort*, because he employs the term figuratively; and the sense is: *Æschines has disgorged upon me the foul contents of his own villany and injustice, which it was necessary to refute before those who are too young to know well the facts.*

25. ταῦτα.] After this word some add also a second οὐκ ἔστι.

30. μισθωτός] *mercenary*. Demosthenes purposely placed the accent on the antepenult, instead of on the last syllable, knowing well the extreme delicacy of the Athenian ear, and feeling sure that his audience would correct him, and in so doing, pronounce the word in the proper manner. So it really happened, and the Athenians, to correct him, cried out with one voice μισθωτός. Demosthenes, delighted with the effect which he had produced, exclaimed, addressing Æschines; *Do you hear what they say?* There are many persons, however, who do not believe this anecdote, and pretend that the orator boldly risked the question, after having inflamed and exasperated the minds of his audience, by a most violent sally against the traitors, and thus disposed them to answer according to his wishes. Others say that the poet Menander, a friend of Demosthenes, and one of the judges, was the only one who repeated the cry of *mercenary*, and that Demosthenes used his words as if they had been the sentiments of the whole assembly. Others again relate, that after Demosthenes had thus called upon the judges, they began to confer and deliberate with each other, but that he, without waiting for their answer, did not hesitate to proceed, as if sure that it would be in his favor.

27. Διονυσίοις,] *The festivals in honor of Bacchus* were of 107 two sorts, the greater and the less. The former were among the most solemn of the Athenian festivals; they were celebrated within the city, towards spring, and were called Διονύσια; the latter were celebrated in the open country, in autumn, and had the name of Ἀήνια.

107 28. τραγωδῶν τῆ καινῆ.] understood ἐπιδείξει, or ἀγωνία, or εἰσόδω εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, or εἰσαγωγή. The tragic poets, some time before the great festivals in honor of Bacchus, brought forward the new pieces which they had written, as candidates for the prize. Judges were appointed by the state, to determine their respective merit. The pieces were acted before them, and even in the presence of the people, but apparently without much pomp. The judges gave in their votes, and the piece which obtained the plurality of them was declared victorious, was crowned as such, and represented with great splendor at the public expense. Those which were second and third in rank were also represented during the festival, and were called *the new tragedies*.

31. Κλήτορες,] a sort of *sheriffs* who summoned the accused before the court. The accuser wrote his charge in the following form : κατηγορῶ τοῦδε, καὶ προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τῆ δεινός εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον. (See Notes, p. 139, l. 15.)

108 24. Ὁ γὰρ διώκων, κ. τ. λ.] As it is very unpleasant to be obliged to sound one's own praises, Demosthenes, who here speaks at length of the services he has rendered to the state, uses great circumspection and moderation in so doing. He declares to his audience, that he does it with regret, and that all the odium of the thing ought to fall upon Æschines, who forces him to be his own panegyrist.

109 9. φορὰν] from φέρω, and signifies *abundance, affluence, increase*.

26. Δολόπων] The *Dolopians* are called by some authors a tribe from Thessaly; others assert them to have inhabited Ætolia, and others, Epirus. They were present at the siege of Troy, as followers of Achilles, or Phœnix, or Pyrrhus, for this is also an unsettled point.

111 1. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἔκκε.] Philip lost his right eye by a wound from an arrow at the siege of Methone; in a battle fought with the Triballians, he was wounded in the thigh, and had a horse killed under him. He was probably wounded on other occasions, though the fact is not particularly mentioned by historians.

11. καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι] *both in public speeches and in theatrical representations, or rather, at the tribunal, and at the theatre.*

28. Διοπίθους] *Diopithes*, a minister and general of the Athenians, father of the comic poet Menander, the model of Terence. As respects *Eubulus*, see p. 96, l. 26, and *Aristophon*, p. 67, l. 20.

3. Φιλιστίδην — Κλείταρχον,] *Philistides* and *Clitarchus*, two ambitious and evil-minded citizens, each of whom enslaved his country to further the views of Philip.

11. Μυσῶν λείων] *The prey of the Mysians*, that is, the prey of the weakest nations, who were themselves pillaged by all others. This proverb arose from the circumstance, that the Mysians, during the absence of their king Telephus, were so weak and defenceless as to be insulted and pillaged with impunity by all their neighbours; hence to express the lowest degree of weakness and of degradation, a nation was said to be the prey even of the Mysians, who were themselves the prey of all others.

13. ὀρώντων,] Reiske supports the reading καὶ ὄντων, and gives his reasons in a note. I agree with Taylor in preserving ὀρώντων, but am induced to omit the καὶ, being of opinion that some transcriber has written καὶ ὄντων instead of ὀρώντων, either through inattention, or because, the initial letters being erased, he wrote from conjecture. The omission of καὶ also gives more force to the language the orator employs. This expression is thus used by Homer, *Iliad*, *A*. 88.

Οὕτις, ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δευκομένοιο.

28. Βοηδρομιῶνος,] *The month of November*. It was so named from the festivals celebrated during this month, and called *Βοηδρόμια*, that is, *of ready assistance*. The occasion of their institution was that Ion, son of Xuthus, had come in great haste to the assistance of the Athenians, when hard pressed by Eumolpus, son of Neptune. The name of the festival is taken from βοή, *cry*, and δρόμω, *I run*, whence is formed βοηδρομέω, *I run at the cry, I fly to the assistance*. It was also during the month *Boëdromion*, that Theseus defeated the Amazons who besieged Athens.



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21. Γαμηλιῶνος] *The month of March.* It was so called 116 because it was the month during which were celebrated the festivals of Juno, called Γαμήλια, as if they would say *marriage festivals*, from γάμος, *marriage*. For Juno was the tutelar goddess in marriage and its consequences.

6. ἀγωνοθέτην.] See Notes, p. 62, l. 27. 117

5. ἐκ ἐπερωτήσω.] Better than the common reading ἐκέτ', ἐρω- 118
τήσω.

25. Βοσπορίχῳ,] *Bosporichus* is the proper name of the pontiff, but it is, notwithstanding, a compound word. The whole decree is in the Doric dialect of the Byzantines, and the name of the pontiff was placed at the head of all decrees, as was that of the Archon at Athens.

26. τῆ ἀλία] This word has given a great deal of trouble to learned critics, because in the manuscripts it is found written τεαλία. Some have thought it the name of a place; others have joined it to the ἐν, and have made a proper name of it, as if it was *Damagetus, son of Entealias*. Neither of these conjectures appears correct, and the word can mean nothing else but *assembly*, in the sense in which Herodotus uses it, ἀλίην ἐποιήσαντο, *they formed an assembly*. Those who refrain strictly from touching the text, are satisfied with supposing that τε was a peculiarity of the dialect of the Byzantines, who employed it where τᾱ was commonly used by other Dorians; but in this case I prefer the supposition that they said τῆ or perhaps ταῖ ἀλιαί, with the ι not subscribed, and as there was no difference in pronunciation between αι and ε the mistake might easily be made in writing from dictation, as is frequently the case.

30. χάριτας] It is commonly written χρείας.

8. ἐπιγαμίαν,] This word signifies *the reciprocal right* which 119 persons of different nations have *to unite in marriage*, a right which was generally provided for by a particular article in treaties of alliance. The word πολιτεία, which follows, is synonymous with what we call at present πολιτογραφία, and signifies *right of citizenship*.

119 . 8. κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν,] In most editions and manuscripts this passage is written ἐκ τᾶς γᾶς, καὶ οἰκείαν προ., which is evidently a corruption of the original text. It has been corrected by being written ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, *the right of owning lands and houses*. For my own part I prefer κτᾶσιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, and thus the correction is, in the first place, nearer to the text, which ought always to be adopted when the sense will allow it; and, in the second place, when the rights of citizenship and of owning lands were granted to the Athenians, it would naturally follow that they possessed the right of owning houses, a right inseparable from the others. If we leave οἰκείαν without correction, as an adjective agreeing with προεδρίαν, it makes very poor sense. I prefer, therefore, οἰκίαν, and the correction consists merely in the diphthong, which might be a mistake in writing, since εἰ and ι are pronounced in exactly the same manner. The sense of the passage is, then, as follows; the Athenians were allowed *the right of possessing lands, and the right of domicile*; that is, every Athenian who came to Byzantium, had a right to be accommodated with a lodging at the public expense, and thus it was truly a privilege which was granted to them. In this way, the sense appears to me perfectly clear and natural.

9. πόθοδον] Doric for πρόσοδον, and signifies *access, admission, right of entrance*.

10. παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ ἱερά·] *near those who have the care of sacred things*, which I prefer to the Doric πρώτοις, for πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.

12. πᾶσαν προσέτι λειτουργίαν·] *And those of the Athenians who wished to dwell in the city, to be, moreover, free from all taxes of every kind*. I have thus corrected προσέτι, instead of the common πρὸς τὰν, which is even entirely omitted by some editors, and which Reiske corrects by writing πασᾶν προστακτᾶν λειτουργιᾶν.

13. ἑκκαίδεκαπήχεις] *to erect three statues of sixteen cubits*. We ought not to be surprised at the height of these statues, since it is well known that the ancients, to show their gratitude to their benefactors, frequently erected colossal statues in honor of them. We will merely mention the famous statue of the Sun,

known under the name of the Colossus of Rhodes, which was 119 of such a prodigious size that vessels could pass with full sails, between its legs; and the statue of Olympian Jupiter, the masterpiece of Phidias which was so large that the god who was represented in a sitting posture could not have stood erect under the roof of the temple.

16. *θεωρίας*] In one of the oldest editions which I have before me, that of *John Hervage, Basle, 1532*, I find *δωρίας*, which does not make sense, but is evidently a corruption of *θεωρίας*, in the manuscripts. It has been also written by some *δωρεάς*, and by others *Δωριεῦσι*, which alteration does not much improve it. We are indebted to Reiske for this very fortunate correction *θεωρίας, deputations to assist at the games.*

17. *Ἰσθμια, κ. τ. λ.*] The *Isthmian games*, were celebrated every four years at the isthmus of Corinth, in honor of Neptune. They were restored by Theseus, and continued even after the ruin of Corinth. The *Nemean games*, which derived their name from Nemea, a town and forest of Peloponnesus, and which were instituted or renewed by Hercules after he had slain the Nemean lion, were celebrated every two years near the scene of his victory. The *Olympic games* were thus named from Olympia, also called Pisa, near which they took place every four years, in honor of Olympian Jupiter, and were the most remarkable. They were instituted by Hercules, and every one knows that from them the Greeks dated historical events. The *Pythian games* were sacred to Apollo, surnamed Pythian on account of the serpent Python which he had slain, and were celebrated every four years, near the famous temple of Delphi.

18. *τῷ στεφάνῳ ᾧ συστεφάνωται*] Reiske here makes the correction *τῶς στεφάνως, ᾧς ἐστεφάνωται*, in the accusative plural; for otherwise the text, being left, as it is commonly, in the dative singular *τῷ στεφάνῳ, ᾧ συστεφ.*, is extremely obscure. But we must recollect that two nations were here spoken of, the Byzantines and the Perinthians, and two crowns which they granted; thus neither the singular nor the plural would be employed, but the dual, as I have put it, and the whole difficulty arises from a mere mistake in the orthography. As to the word *συστεφάνωται*,



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of it in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war; they fortified it, and, by means of that advantageous situation, were enabled to do great injury to the Athenians, as long as hostilities lasted. The latter part of the war was therefore called the Decelian war, and the fort became so famous that this name was sometimes given to the whole Peloponnesian war which arose between Athens and Lacedæmon. The hostilities of the Corcyræans against Corinth for their reciprocal pretensions to Epidamnus were the occasion and the pretext, but the alarming and oppressive power of Athens was the true cause of it. All the nations of Greece were drawn into it, some taking one side and some the other. It lasted twenty-seven years, and was called the *Peloponnesian war*, because the Lacedæmonians who took the principal part in it, inhabited that division of Greece which bore the name of Peloponnesus.

20. οἰκίσκῳ] *small house*, and also *bird-cage*, a signification which here renders the sense more forcible.

25. οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους] An accusative, to be construed with ἀνελεῖν. The Thebans, with Epaminondas at their head, had gained a victory over the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, and had thus given a severe blow to their power. Under the command of the same general they had invaded and laid waste Laconia, and had caused Sparta itself to tremble for its safety. The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy who became every day more bold and enterprising, had recourse to the Athenians, to whom they sent ambassadors to implore assistance. The Athenians, on the other hand, had not forgotten the ill treatment they had experienced from Sparta on more than one occasion, yet they resolved to succour their former rivals with their whole strength.

1. ἐκ τούτων ἐδείξατε,] I have transposed these words, which, in other editions, are found in an inverse order; and for a very evident reason, that it suits the ear better, a reason which has often influenced me where I have not mentioned it in the notes, as being of little consequence.

7. πάλιν σφ. Θεβ. τὴν Εὐβοίαν,] *The Thebans in their turn appropriating to themselves Eubœa.* He says *in their turn*,

122 because Eubœa had been coveted by Philip (see p. 111, l. 31,) by Athens, and by Thebes. The island was first divided by two factions, of which one asked the assistance of the Thebans, and the other that of the Athenians. The former triumphed at first, but on the arrival of the Athenians the face of affairs was changed. They repelled the Thebans, drove them from Eubœa, restored tranquillity to the island, and were willing to receive in recompense nothing but the glory of having conquered it, and given it peace. They had, however, much reason to complain of Themison, tyrant of Eretria, who, in concert with Theodorus, had taken from them Oropus in time of peace.

123 15. τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν παρ.] Better than the common τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, or with the preposition εἰς.

17. τὸ πέμπτον μέρος] It was necessary that the accuser should have at least a fifth part of the votes; otherwise, he was condemned to pay a fine, more or less heavy, or was subject to some severer punishment.

18. τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν,] The number of those who were to contribute to equip the galleys, amounted to twelve hundred men. They were divided into twenty classes, called *συμμορίαι*, each of sixty men; and each class was subdivided into five parts, each of twelve men. The richest person of each class was called *ἡγεμῶν*, the *chief*, and the others followed in the order of their wealth. Demosthenes, therefore, says that there is nothing which those who, as the richest, held the first, the second, or the third rank, in these classes, would not have given him to suppress the law he had proposed, since it was made to bear upon the rich, and to alleviate the burdens of the poor.

21. ὑπωμοσία;] This word signifies, *a delay in the decision of a question, obtained by one of the parties, under pretence of illness, of a necessary journey, &c. with an oath that he would be present at the judgment of the case.* To ask for a delay under any one of these pretences, and to bind one's self by such an oath was called *ὑπόμνησθαι*.

124 28. τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ] *Three vessels and a boat.* The word *ὑπηρετικόν*, comes from *ὑπὸ*, *under*, and *ἑρέτω*, *I row*; that is to say, *a vessel which is rowed below another*, whence

the word ὑπηρέτης has also come to signify *servant*. These 124
 same small vessels had also several other names, σκάφαι, λίβυρ-
 ναι, κέλητες, ἀκάτια, γαῦλοι, λέμβοι, κάραβοι· from the last of
 which is derived the modern word κάραβι, *vessel*, in general.
 They were also called ἐφόλκια, from the verb ἔλκω, *I drag*,
 for they were fastened by cables to the larger vessels which
 thus drew them in tow.

2. ἐθέλειν,] This word is by many critics rejected as redun- 125
 dant, and in truth it appears so by the obscurity which it pro-
 duces when placed after ποιεῖν, as it commonly is; but as I
 have transposed it, it is neither redundant nor obscure, for the
 sense is: *Do you think it is little, that the rich would be willing
 to spend, in order to escape doing what is just?*

9. ἑκ ἐν Μυνηχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο,] *No one has seated himself at
 Munychium, that is, no one has taken refuge as a suppliant in
 the temple of Diana at Munychium.* This was a port of Attica,
 where was a celebrated temple consecrated to this goddess,
 which was an asylum to all those prosecuted for debt. The ora-
 tor says *seated himself*, because that was the posture of the
 suppliants.

10. ἀποστολέων] The Athenians gave the name of ἀποστολεῖς
 to the officers who took charge of the naval forces, and held
 them in readiness for a sudden expedition. The word might
 perhaps now be translated *commissioners of the navy depart-
 ment*.

22. ἀρχόντων] See the note on ἀρχοντος, p. 201. 126

9. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' ἕτως ἔχει, καὶ] I have made this transposition, 127
 preferring it to the common reading ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχει, καί.
 Some manuscripts omit the two last words, and Reiske encloses
 them between brackets.

12. Ναυσικλῆς, κ. τ. λ.] *Nausicles* and *Diotimus*, Athenian
 generals, who are known only by what Demosthenes says of
 them. Æschines in his speech mentions a Charidemus; he
 may be the same as the one here alluded to (see p. 28, l. 17,
 and the note.) Demosthenes, in his oration on the *False Em-
 bassy*, speaks of *Neoptolemus*, a famous comedian, employed
 on public business. The one here mentioned cannot be the



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15. ἔλλεβορίζεις] *to have recourse to hellebore*, a plant employed as a remedy for a disordered brain. Anticyra, an island in the Propontis, owed its celebrity to the quantity of hellebore which it produced. 130

16. ἀδικήματος οὐδενός,] Reiske adds λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. Gail, thinking that he is not authorized to make this addition, says it would be better to understand ὄντος, with ἀδικήματος, and to regard these two words as a genitive absolute. I see no reason why we should not construe ἀδικήματος ἐδενός with δίκη, and say δίκην ἀδικήματος, as well as δίκην φθόνου, δίκην βλάβης, δίκην κλοπῆς.

20. τῷ δημοτικῷ,] See p. 58, paragraph Οἶμαι, κ. τ. λ.

25. ὡςπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης,] *As if from the wagon*; a proverbial expression signifying, *you say indiscriminately whatever comes into your head*. There are several opinions as to the origin of this expression, but it is very probably derived from the ancient comedies, which carried freedom of speech to such a degree as to attack not only the most respectable men, but the gods themselves; as the actors, with a wagon for their stage, insulted all those who passed, the proverb might naturally be taken from this custom.

27. λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας] *Invective is very different from accusation*. Demosthenes here points out the different circumstances which characterize each of them. Cicero, who followed the Greek orator as his model, thus expresses himself in a similar case, in his speech *Pro M. Cælio*. “Invective is one thing, accusation another. Accusation must have some crime for its object; it requires that we should well establish the state of the question, that we should designate in an unequivocal manner the person accused; that we should prove by reasons, and confirm by witnesses. But invective has for its sole object to wound the feelings. If it is violent, it is called outrage; if it is gay and witty, it is called pleasantry.”

3. ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων,] *From your private occupations*. The 131 sense is better than that which is furnished by the reading ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν.

15. προθεσμία,] *an appointed day.* When the judges gave their sentence on private disputes, they appointed a day on which it was to be carried into execution, and which was called προθεσμία, or τακτῆ, or κυρία, the word ἡμέρα being understood. The careless pleaders who suffered that day to pass without conforming to their duty, were called ὑπερημέροι τῆς προθεσμίας, as if we should say *bad pay-masters, who are in arrears, to wait too long before paying.* Sometimes the party which declined the cause, gave up something of its rights, granted a delay, and prolonged by favor the prescribed term. This was called ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὑπερημερίαν. On the contrary ὑπερημερίαν πράξει, ὑπερημερίαν εἰσπράττειν, was to exact payment without mercy at the appointed time. There were great penalties against debtors who remained long in arrears. The scholiast of Aristophanes asserts that they were condemned to pay four times the amount of the debt. He adds that if they did not pay in money, they paid in flesh and bones, as it depended upon their creditors to keep them in prison and in irons. Thence it became common among the Greeks to call prisoners for debt καλοσκελεῖς, *fettered, or bound.*

29. Αἰακὸς, κ. τ. λ.] *For if the accusers were Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos.* These three kings were so famous for their justice and integrity during their lives, that mythology has made them the judges of the lower regions, after death. Æacus judged the Europeans, Rhadamanthus the Asiatics, and Minos discussed doubtful points with them, and decided as president. Ῥαδαμάνθυνος κρίσις, *a sentence of Rhadamanthus,* became a proverb to signify the *uncorrupt justice of a sentence.*

30. σπερμ., περίτ. ἄγ.,] The first of these words has not here the same signification as it has in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 9, according to its etymology from σπέρμα, *seed,* and λέγω, *I speak.* It has rather the sense of σπείρων λόγους, *a sower of words,* and means here a *babbler.* The second expression περίτριμμα ἀγοράς, signifies *broken to the tricks of the bar,* or *he who has passed his life in learning all the arts of chicanery,* περιτριμμένος περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν. It is in this sense that Aristophanes in his *Clouds*, 446, employs περίτριμμα δικῶν.

7. *διάγνωσις τῶν τοιούτων* ;] I have thus corrected, instead of 132 the common reading *ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, τίς διάγνωσις* ; or, as others have it, *ἢ καλῶν, ἢ μὴ τοιούτων, κτλ.*

18. *χοίνικας παχείας*] *large chains.* *Εἰπὼν δουλεύειν αὐτὸν, τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν δούλων ἐπήγαγε, τὰς πέδας λέγων· τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖ χοίνικας, τὸ στρογγύλον δηλῶν.*

19. *ξύλον* ;] *wooden stocks*, in which the feet of the slaves were put, to prevent them from running away.

20. *ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ, κ. τ. λ.*] *In the house of ill-fame situated near the hero Calamites, that is, near the chapel of the hero Calamites* ; since we very frequently say at the present day *ἤμην εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον*, meaning, *I have been at St. George's Church, &c.* Thus there is no need of correcting the text as some critics propose *ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρώου*. Nothing is known about this hero Calamites.

22. *ἐξέθρεψέ σε* ;] Some critics add after this word : *ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω.*

29. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ὧν ἔτυχεν, ἦν*,] Some translators thus interpret this passage : *for he was not one of those among whom fortune has since placed him.* Although this is the literal sense, and the *Ὅψέ γὰρ*, which follows, appears somewhat to favor this interpretation, I agree with those who give it the sense of *οὐ τῶν τυχόντων ἦν* · as we still say at the present day, *δὲν ἦτον ἀπὸ τοῦς τυχόντας*, *he was no ordinary man*, ironically here employed ; and this figure of rhetoric is called, *παρ' ὑπόνοιαν*, saying something very different from what the audience expect.

30. *χθές — καὶ πρόην*,] *Of yesterday and the day before.* A sort of proverbial expression to signify something very recent, something of very late date, and very frequently employed by some authors, as well as *νῦν καὶ χθές*, in the same sense.

3. *Ἐμποῦσαν*] A spectre said to take all forms, which the 133 people believed in and were foolishly afraid of. It was in former times what the *βρυκόλακκος*, *vampire*, is now in Greece.

14. *ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἄντ.*] The word *ἀποψηφίζεσθαι*, which commonly means *to be acquitted*, in a census of the citizens, which was called *διαψηφίσις*, signifies *to be rejected from the list*, and is nearly synonymous with the word *ἀποδοκιμάζεσθαι*.



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certain extent, what the President is in the United States, 133
or rather what the Governor is in each state of the Union.

4. Ἰπερίδην — προσέταξε.] Some editors write the dative; the 134
accusative, however, is entirely in conformity with the modern
dialect. *Hyperides* was one of the ten celebrated Athenian ora-
tors. He was remarkable for the softness and delicacy of his
style; he was always an opposer of Alexander (see Proleg. p. ἦ.)
Antipater, one of Alexander's successors, obliged the Atheni-
ans to banish him from their city, pursued him in exile, and
finally caused his death.

5. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ — τὴν ψῆφον] *And that, when each one had
taken from the altar the sign of his vote; that is, the ball or
mark which they used to declare their votes. They took them
from the altar only in questions concerning religion.*

10. ὑπὲρ πάντων] *In the name of, in the place of all (the
Areopagites).*

21. ὅμοιον γε (οὐ γάρ;) οἷς] *similar (is it not?) to the
things of which he accuses me. The expression is ironical.
The οὐ γάρ; has the sense of οὐκ ἄρα, and ὅμοιον οἷς is equiva-
lent to ὅμοιον τούτοις ἃ ἐμῶ.*

23. Πύθωνα] *Python of Byzantium, a great orator, had
obtained the rights of citizenship at Athens, and had after-
wards embraced the part of Philip. He had a lively and per-
suasive eloquence, which it was difficult to resist. He was of
great service to Philip on several occasions, but he found in
Demosthenes a man fully able to answer him, and who soon
could call back the minds of the audience which he had led
away.*

20. πολλά γ' ἐγὼ] I have added the γ' instead of ἄν which 135
some write, while others omit it altogether.

23. παρ' ὑμῖν] Taylor proposes παρ' ὑμῶν, but the dative
appears to me preferable.

1. φανερώς] This word is by some editors construed with 136
πολεμεῖν, and then the place of the comma is changed; by
others with συναγωνίζεσθαι, whom I have followed in my text.

6. ἄνθρωπος,] Markland prefers ὁ ἄνθρωπος. It does not
appear to me, however, that the want of the article in that

136 case renders the phrase defective. He says *a man* without saying definitely *the man*. It is as if we say *a march was made upon Attica*, in an indefinite and the hearers, who were well acquainted with the the time, knew very well what was meant. There is case in the third Olynthiac, where we find this passage
 ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὰ χωρία προείληφεν ἄνθρωπος.

9. ἰαμβειογράφος] I should translate this word, *defame* this reason ; the Greek word literally means *an author of verses*, or *an author of satires*, for the Iambic measure formerly employed in sarcastic and libellous pieces, because it was better adapted than any other to works of or because it was brought into fashion by Archilochus had so much skill and point in his satires, that those attacked became furious, and hung themselves in rage and despair. Æschines is not known to have been an author of iambics or of satires, but as they were used to throw ridicule on people and to defame them, it is very probable that the word was employed to designate a calumniator, who seeks by sarcasm the honor of others. There are some critics however, who think it must be ἰαμβοφάγος, *eater of Iambics* ἰαμβεῖα τῆς τραγωδίας ἔλεγεν, ὑποκριτῆς ὢν. Taylor.

12. ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι.] *Let him show it at the expense of water*, that is *while the water which limits the time of his speech is flowing*. To understand this expression we must bear in mind that every orator was limited as to the time of his speech, by a water clock called κλεψύδρα, that is, *a water clock whence water flows by stealth*, because at the bottom of the vessel there was a small hole, through which the water fell. The word is composed of κλέπτω, *I steal*, and ὕδω, *water*. Reiske prefers ἐν τῷ ἐμ. ὕδ. I do not agree with him here appears to me far better.

31. πατρῷος] *Paternal Apollo*, or *Apollo to whom the public owes its origin*. The Athenians honored Jupiter and Apollo under the particular title of θεοὶ πατρῷοι. The same is said on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, v. 1458, gives this reason for the Athenians called Jupiter πατρῷος, because after hav-

brought up in Arcadia, or as others say, in Crete, he came 136 and settled in Athens. *They gave the same name to Apollo, because he married Creusa, daughter of king Erechtheus, who bore him a son, Ion.* Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὅτι Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρα ἔγημε τὴν Κρέουσαν, ἐξ ἧς γίνεται ὁ Ἴων. Meursius thinks that this part of the passage is a corruption, and that we ought to restore the word *Ξοῦθος*, which has been omitted by the carelessness of some transcriber, and thus read ὅτι *Ξοῦθος* Ἐρεχθέως, κ. τ. λ. What induces Meursius to make this correction is, that a number of ancient witnesses prove that it was *Xuthus* and not *Apollo*, who was the husband of *Creusa*, and the father of *Ion*. *Apollodorus*, among others, after saying that *Erechtheus* had three daughters, tells us in express terms who their husbands were. *Χθονίαν μὲν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ Ξοῦθος, Πρόκριν δὲ Κέφαλος, Butes married Chthonia; Xuthus Creusa; and Cephalus, Procris.* In fact, the scholiast whom we have mentioned, positively asserts a little while after, that *Jupiter* and *Apollo* were called *πατρῶοι*, because the Athenians were the first to receive them, and to honor them by sacrifices. Οὕτω τιμᾶται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ζεὺς πατρῶος καὶ Ἀπόλλων, διὰ τὸ πρῶτους ὑποδέξασθαι τῶ θεῶ εἰς τὴν χώραν, καὶ θυσίας συντελέσαι κατὰ φρήτρας, καὶ δήμους, καὶ συγγενείας, μόνους Ἑλλήνων. Thus, independently of historical proofs, this second passage of the scholiast would be enough to show that the first needs correction. It may be observed that the Athenians had not only *paternal* deities, if we may so call them, but *maternal* also, that is, those from whom they thought they descended through a female line. This is evident from this passage of *Xenophon*, *Πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων, καὶ μητρῶων, — παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.* (Hist. Græc. Lib. II. c. 4.)

17. ὅς] Reiske prefers ὁ καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 137 πράγματα.

18. ὁ συγκατασκευάσας,] This signifies *one who, by his intrigues and secret machinations concerted with Philip, has excited war.* The same expression is used l. 27; see also p. 142, l. 11, *συμπαρσκευάσας.*



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13. προσκαλέσασθαι] to summon.

15. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτ. — ἀρχῆς ;] *Who then made the adjournment? From what tribunal or by what magistrate was the adjournment made?* because ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς is for τίνος ἀρχοντος or τίνος ἀρχὴν ἀρχων. This passage proves two things; first, that in ancient times no one could accuse another without having first summoned him; secondly, that to summon him, the authority of a magistrate was necessary. Κλητεύειν is the proper word for *to summon before a tribunal, to call upon a person to come forward.* Κλήτωρ or κλητῆρ was the name given to him who summoned another, says Ulpian. This he could do in two ways either *ex officio*, as sheriff, or as a witness on the part of the principal accuser. Hence in law cases κλητῆρ and μάρτυρ are sometimes equivalent terms. Κλητῆρα ἢ μάρτυρα, says the same scholiast, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καλοῦντα ὑπηρέτην. Sometimes a man was summoned by the accuser's laying hands on him and dragging him by force to the tribunal. Thus we read in Lucian, that the plaintiff said to his adversary, ἔπου μοι μιὰρὲ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, *follow me, you villain, to the tribunal,* to which the other answered μὴ ἄγχου με, *do not strangle me.*

23. πόλεμος — ἐταράχθη,] *war was excited, or kindled.* Some read ἐπράχθη.

27. ἡγεμόνα ἡγον] for ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆγον, *offered the command.*

3. παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κ.] *having set out as if going to* 140 *Cirrhaea.* The ὡς here expresses deceit, dissimulation.

4. ἐρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ] *having said a long adieu, literally for having got fairly rid of, or more simply, leaving.* This expression is very common in Demosthenes, as in his speech *against Midias*, πολλὰ ἐρῶσθαι εἰπὼν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, *after having bid a long adieu to your laws and to you.*

6. εὐθύς] After this word by some editors is added ὡς τῆτ' εἶδον οἱ Θ. But we must confess that all these additions render the style much less harmonious and flowing, and at the same time take from its force and spirit. As it is by frequent reading and declamation that I have determined my choice among various readings, or have made corrections of my own, I have been unwilling to adopt these additions, which have, indeed,

140 the authority of some manuscripts in their favor, but which are inferior to what we find in the old editions. My opinion is, that transcribers of limited minds have attempted to insert in the text what would naturally be understood, in making out the sense, and have thus introduced feebleness in the text, where there was formerly energy. The truth of this remark will easily be perceived by instituting a comparison.

8. *Νῦν δὲ τότε*] *Now, then.* This expression is remarkable inasmuch as *νῦν* which is commonly used for the present time, and signifies *now*, may also be used for the past time when joined with *τότε* *then*. Gail, however, says; “perhaps, for I dare not determine, we ought to say that on account of the idea of the past which precedes, the *νῦν δὲ* is here used *adversatively*, *ἐναντιωματικὸς*, and may be translated, *but in truth.*”

18. *τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,*] After this word some add *καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων*, perhaps because it is in the following decree, l. 28. This does not seem to me a sufficient reason to authorize the addition; and we ought also to remark that the second decree is much more important than the first, which makes me believe that one was passed in a *συνέδριον* and the other in an *ἐκκλησία*. (See Notes, p. 43, l. 9.)

30. *βοσκήματα νέμουσι*.] Here is another expression, corrected, probably, because it differs from that l. 20; as if the Greek language were too poor to admit of variations. This expression is moreover similar to that in modern Greek, *βόσκουν ζῶα*, *they pasture cattle.*

141 2. *καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν*] Some critics omit the *καὶ* making the word *στρατηγὸν* relate, not to *τετραυματίκασι*, but to *πρεσβεύσαι*. This is contrary to the common text, nor does it seem probable that the Amphictyons would have sent their own chief to the king of Macedonia.

7. *διότι*] for *ὅτι*. Wolfius.

26. *τοῖς δημιουργοῖς*] *To the magistrates; τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ δημαγωγοῖς.* Wolfius.

28. *Ὀζόλαι,*] See Notes, p. 39, l. 20.

142 2. *συναντᾶτε*] Lambinus inserts *μοι* on his own authority. I do not think it necessary in the text which I have followed, as the *ἡμῖν*, l. 6. is sufficient for the sense.

6. *Τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν, κ. τ. λ.] Those who shall have come to meet us with their whole strength, we will consult; those, on the other hand, who shall not have joined us, we will punish.* This passage in the text is entirely corrupted. It stands thus: *Τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρῆσόμεθα· τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν μὴ κειμένοις, ἐπιζημίους.* It is impossible to make any sense out of these words. I have followed the correction of Scrimger which is a good one, and generally approved. 142

20. *Ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα — τῶν φύντων] For he who has planted the seed is the cause of the evils which spring from it.* (See Notes, p. 95, l. 28.) This figure has something great and noble, and has been imitated by Cicero, who says to Mark Antony (2 Phil.) “*As, therefore, the seed encloses the germ of trees and plants; thus you, the sole seed of this fatal war, are the cause of all the calamities which follow it.*”

23. *πολύ τι σκότος,] Thick darkness conceals the truth from you.* The Greek expression is lively and energetic.

28. *ἀκούσαίτε] It is also written ἀκούσετε and ἀκούσατε.*

2. *πραττόντων] One manuscript has φρονούντων.* 143

31. *βουλῆς — γνώμη.] Understood ἀνηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. R.*

7. *αὐτὸν] After this word is added κήρυκα καὶ, probably because it is found in the following decree, l. 23; but it has not perhaps been observed that in one the name of the herald is given, l. 28, and that in the other there are only the names of the ambassadors; which is a reason clearly against the addition.* 144

16. *Μουνυχιῶνος] The month of June.* It was so called on account of the *Μουνύχια* a festival in honor of *Munychian Diana*, celebrated during this month. (See Notes, p. 125, l. 9.)

17. *πολεμάρχου γνώμη.] by the direction of the Polemarch.* This officer, when with the army, took precedence of the other generals, and acted as generalissimo. (See Notes, p. 11, l. 2.)

26. *Καὶ γὰρ νῦν — μετρίων.] For thus far it (ὁ δῆμος) has never thought it just to give assistance to any one.* Wolfius seems undecided whether οὐ κέρρικε relates to Philip, or to the Athenian people, and some translators prefer the former: but with the latter, the sense is much more natural and connected.



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25. ὁ κίνδυνος.] After this word is sometimes added ἐσὶν ἡμῶν. 148

6. χρήσασθαι] In this verb, as well as in those which follow, I have preferred the infinitive mood to the common χρήσεσθε — δεῖσθε — ἐπαγγείλασθε. 149

20. ἔκ, εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, κ. τ. λ.] After ἔκ, and each ἔδὲ, with a comma, we must understand ἔσιν ὅτι, and the sense is: *it is not the fact, that I have said these things, without moving decrees concerning them; neither, that I have moved decrees concerning them, without taking the embassy upon me; neither, that I have taken the embassy upon me, without persuading the Thebans.* In this passage there is an instance of what is called in rhetoric *climax*, of great beauty and almost beyond imitation. Cicero, in his fourth book to Herennius, says that *climax* is a figure by which we ascend from one word to another, in such a manner that the sense grows stronger and stronger. As in this sentence: *What hope of liberty remains to us, if these audacious men can do what they will, if they dare what they can, if they do what they dare, and if what they do, does not excite your indignation.*

30. Βάταλον;] *Batalus*, a flute-player, famous for his debaucheries. His name became proverbial, and was applied to those who plunged into licentious and shameful pleasures. It was given to Demosthenes in his youth, on account of his voluptuous inclinations, and it is to this surname that Æschines alludes (p. 63, l. 8,) when he says: *And Aristides surnamed the just, a surname very different from that of Demosthenes.* See also the note on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 1012.

31. Κρεσφόντην,] *A Cresphontes, or Creon, or that Ænomaus.* These are the names of the characters in which Æschines played, while he was a comedian. As to the last he says, ἐπέτριψας, *thou hast crushed him*, because Æschines, when playing at Colyttus the part of Ænomaus, who pursues Pelops, very awkwardly fell down.

30. ἰδίας,] It should be taken in the sense of αὐτονόμους. 150 For if translated as *their own*, it does not make good sense. It has been suspected that it might be καὶ οὐ φιλίας or καὶ οὐκ

150 *ιδίας*, relating to the Athenians. Auger, however, translates it, *of their dependence, dependent on them.*

31. ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος] Transposed, instead of ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων.

151 7. ἥρωσι] See Notes, p. 4, l. 2.

154 6. ναύκληρον] This word signifies *the owner of a vessel*, whilst κυβερνήτης means *the pilot.*

9. τῶν σκευῶν,] By this word we are to understand the *whole rigging*; viz. masts, yards, sails, and in short, all that belongs to the equipping of a vessel.

18. τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης] These words are commonly found after Ἀττικῆς.

22. ἐνῆν] Instead of this word several editions have μέν. Reiske thus corrects the passage on his own authority: ἄρ' οἴεσθε, ἔτι νῦν ἂν στήναι.

25. ὦν γε] It is also written ἄγε, and Reiske, adopting this, also corrects, of himself, ἐς πείραν.

155 15. Ἀρίστρατος] *Aristratus* and *Aristolaus* had undoubtedly taken advantage of the defeat at Chæronea to accuse, each in his own town, those of the Athenian party, who were the innocent cause of this disaster.

27. τὰ ρήγμ., καὶ τὰ σπάσμ.,] *fractures and dislocations.* Demosthenes very ingeniously compares Æschines to the pains which, after a limb has been broken or sprained, are felt on the approach of any disease; as if he were an evil disposition inherent in the body of the state; and which shows itself in every disease which attacks it, that is, in every public calamity.

156 11. ἀκονιτι,] equivalent to ἀναιμωτι, ἀνιδρωτι.

15. εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα — περιέστη,] *If matters had come to the state in which they now are.*

157 3. κωδυνεύσσα] We commonly find after this word the comma which I have placed before it, where some critics place a καί· the sense is: *but the city has continually encountered danger, fighting for preeminence, for honor, and for glory.*

13. Κυρσίλον] *Cyrsilus* (called *Lycidas* by Herodotus, Book IX, § 5.), a senator who was stoned to death, for having advised his fellow citizens to listen to the propositions of Mardonius.

24. *θανάτε*] The old editions entirely omit this word, which 157 has been received upon the authority of some manuscripts; it is placed with the article *τοῦ*, after the word *ἀνάγκη*. I have transposed it, and left out the article.

12. *ὁ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι*] With regard to this fine passage, 158 see Longinus *on the Sublime*, § XVI.

23. *γραμματοκύφων*,] for *γραμματεὺς*, because *οἱ γραμματεῖς προσκεκυφότες γράφουσι*. It is here taken in a bad sense, and signifies a *miserable scribe*.

30. *τοῦ*] This word is added by several editors. I have retained it, but have transposed *τούτων*, for the sake of euphony. Other editions have *τὸ τοῦ τούτων*.

6. *ἀποβ. ἀξ.*] Transposed by me, instead of *ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέ- 159 ποντας*.

7. *τῆ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ*,] *Taking the staff and the symbol*. The first of these words is in allusion to the staff which the judges held in their hands in going to the tribunal. The second was a sort of *tablet*, *πινακίδιον*, where was written the name of the judge and of the tribunal. See the Scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, v. 277.

27. *ἐξίτε*,] *You were going out*. Here is again one of those 160 words which show what an advantage it would be, if Greek scholars would pronounce the language as do the Greeks themselves. This word is commonly written *ἐξῆτε*, as if it were the imperfect of the verb *εἶμι*, *I am*. The critics saw the necessity of correcting it, and made it *ἐξήειτε*, which *Buttmann's Grammar* places as an imperfect of the verb *εἶμι*, *I go*, but which is in fact the pluperfect middle, the imperfect of this verb being *ἴτε*, as may be seen in the *Grammar of Lascaris*. Thus we see that so simple a thing, which has given some trouble to learned commentators, is merely a fault in the orthography which would have been easily perceived if they had remembered that *η* and *ι* are pronounced, and ever have been pronounced, in exactly the same manner.

14. *τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ π. καὶ τὴν γ.*] *In the two battles which you fought; 161 one near the river, the other during the winter*. In alluding to these two battles, Demosthenes was sufficiently well understood



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12. *ἀντοτραγικὸς πίθηκος,*] *A mere tragic ape.* It appears that Demosthenes by this wished it to be understood, that Æschines did not succeed upon the stage, and that instead of being an actor himself, he aped the manner of others. 168

13. *ἀρσραῖος Οἰνόμαος,*] *Rustic Enomaus.* He gives him this appellation, either because he played this character in the country, or alluding to his awkward fall. (See Notes, p. 149, l. 31.)

13. *παράσημος ρήτωρ.*] *An orator of a false stamp, of bad coinage; meaning an obscure orator.* Τῷ πονηρῷ κόμματος ὄν. W.

13. *πολιτικὰ*] I really do not see why Reiske should be so desirous of substituting for this word *συνήλικα*. The sense is far from being so good as that given by *πολιτικά*. *Necessary vices, and inseparable from the nature of the government in all republics.* 169

7. *τῆς πόλεως*] After this word some add *βουλευόμενος*. 170

11. *σιτώνην*] I have placed this word before *οἰζούμενος*, and ὁ δῆμος, before *ἐχειροτόνησε* · the reverse being common.

17. *ἐκάστην*] After this word Reiske adds *σχεδόν τι*, the first upon authority, the second of himself.

18. *Σωσικλέους,*] *Sosicles, Philocrates, Diondas, Melanus.* History does not explain to us the causes or the effects of the implacable hatred and malicious attempts of these four men against Demosthenes. As to Philocrates, see p. 29.

25. *ἐγνωκότων*] instead of the common *γνότων*. We also find *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ εὖορκα γνότων δικαστῶν*.

19. *ἡγοῦμαι.*] After this word some add *καὶ ἀπαίδευτον*. 171

6. *τὸ δέ*] It is also written *τῷ δέ*. 172

20. *νεβρίζων,*] from *νεβρις, buckskin*, and not *νευρίζων*, from *νεῦρον, nerve*, as it is found in all the old editions. This fault arose from the similar pronunciation of *εβ* and *ευ*; other faults from a similar cause have been noticed above. See my *Modern Greek Grammar, Chapter on Pronunciation*. 173

21. *ἀπομάττων*] for *ἀποψῶν, in rubbing*, or upon farther search, for *περιπλάττων, covering, besmearing*, as a ceremony practised in commemoration of the adventure of Bacchus, who was plastered over with gypsum by the Titans, to prevent their being recognised by him.

23. *Ἐφυγον, — ἄμεινον.*] *I fled the evil, and found the better.* These were solemn words pronounced at the celebration of the

173 ceremonies here mentioned, in allusion to the ancient manner of living in Attica, when the inhabitants fed upon acorns, and to their modern delicacies which resulted from their progress in civilization.

27. *Θιάσους*] from *Θεῖα*, and *ᾄσαι*, to sing divine things, and it is used to signify the crowds which met to celebrate the festivals of Bacchus.

28. *μαράθρω — λεύκη*,] Crowned with fennel and white poplar.

29. *τὰς παρείας*] *Ὁ παρείας*, a sort of serpent called so, *παρὰ τὸ ἐπῆρθαι τὰς παρείας*, from having swollen cheeks. It is said not to bite, or its bite to be harmless. It was used in the ceremonies of Bacchus, to excite the wonder of the people.

30. *Εὐοῖ Σαβοῖ*,] The first of these words is composed of *εὖ*, well, and *οῖ*, to him. The second is a Phrygian word, and means the priests of Bacchus. *Οἱ μὲν Σαβούς λέγουσι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῷ Διονύσῳ.* Harpocr.

31. *Ἰγης Ἄττης*,] Two epithets applied to Bacchus. The first signifying rainy, *ὅτι ὕσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτῆ· because at his birth Jupiter watered the earth with rain.* With regard to the second there are various opinions; that which Tourreil prefers is, that it comes from *ἄτη*, injury, *ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῶν Τιτάνων εἰς αὐτὸν ἄτης καὶ φθορᾶς*· might it not, however, be derived from *ἄττω*, I leap, as if making his adorers leap?

174 1. *κιττοφ., λικνοφ.*,] *Ivy-bearer, van-bearer*, words which remind us that the ivy and the van were sacred to Bacchus.

3. *ἐνθρουπτα καὶ σρεπιτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα*.] Three different kinds of pastry. The first comes from *ἐνθρύπτω*, I crumb, because it was made *εἰς σκάφην ἄρτους διαθρύψαντες*. The second, from *στρέφω*, I turn, and we understand *ἄρτους*· as we understand *ἄλφια*, at the word *νεήλατα*, which comes from *νέος*, new, *ἄλέω* I grind, as if we said, *cakes of meal newly ground*.

8. *τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις*.] *Τοῖς ἐλάττοσι τῶν ἀρχόντων.* Wolfius.

12. *βαρυστόνοις*] *Pathetic*, from *βαρὺς*, heavy, and *σένω*, I sigh.

15. *ἐλαίας*] Reiske writes *ἐλάας*, and makes a distinction between *ἐλαία*, olive tree, and *ἐλάα*, olive. But even if *ἐλάα* does signify olive, it does not prevent *ἐλαία* from having the meaning both of olive and olive tree, since it is still used in this double

acceptation among us. I therefore retain *ἐλαίας*, for which there 174
are also all the best authorities.

11. Ἐξέπ. — ἐσύριπτον.] *You were falling* (see Notes, p. 149, 175
l. 31,) *and I was hissing*. We see by this passage that the prac-
tice of hissing at public representations, is not of modern origin.

21. λειτερο.] *The testimony of the public offices which I have held.*

23. ἐλυμαίνου.] It is also written ἐλυμήνω. Of the two lines
here quoted, the first is from *the Hecuba of Euripides*; the
second, from *the Antigone of Sophocles*. It is probable that
they are not taken indiscriminately from among the parts play-
ed by Æschines, as a comedian, but that Demosthenes singled
them out with some malice.

2. ἐγώ.] Reis. adds this word, which gives more clearness. 176

25. νομίμοις] R. prefers νόμοις, and corrects διωρικέναι. 177

26. διακείμενον] It is also written διακείμενα. 178

4. ἔχθρας, καὶ φ.,] Reiske corrects ἔχθρας ἔνεκα, φ., without 179
the slightest authority, and merely for the pleasure of correct-
ing; for if the text thus altered, is good, unaltered, it is no less
so. This is not an uncommon fault in this great Hellenist
and critic, who has made magnificent discoveries in his philo-
logical researches, but who frequently errs, through his fond-
ness for adding.

18. αὐτῆς] understood ἀγκύρας. *He is not held by the same
anchor as the people; that is, he does not look to the same things
as the people for his safety.*

22. πρεσβευτῆς] *You were going as ambassador*. After the
battle of Chæronea, the Athenians fearing the power and the
anger of the conqueror, sent him an embassy to beg for peace.
It is probable that they sent those whom they knew to be his
friends, and Æschines was of the number.

28. καταρᾶται] After this word some add καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν.

30. τὸ] I have added this word, and have put in the infin-
itive the words which are commonly written φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.
Some editions have ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' αὐτὰ καὶ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει, and oth-
ers εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' αὐτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει.

7. ἔνεκα] commonly put after ἰδίας, but I have transposed it. 18

15. ἐπὶ τῷ] A transposition, likewise on my own authority;
the text is commonly ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφ. διαφθεῖρουν.



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