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CORNELL STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXII

ISOCRATES, DE PACE AND PHILIPPUS

Edited with a Historical Introduction and Commentary by

M. L. W. LAISTNER

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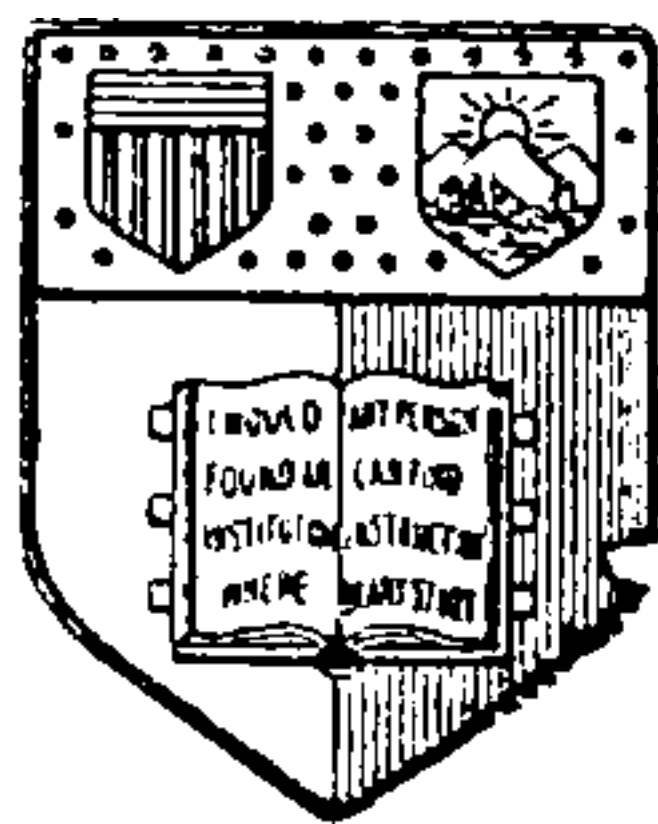
James Frederick Mountford

Isocrates

DE PACE AND PHILIPPUS

Edited
with a Historical Introduction and Commentary
by

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Published for Cornell University by
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1927

Printed in Germany

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V. 22

KARRAS, KRÖBER & NIETSCHMANN, HALLE (GERMANY)

THE expense of publishing this volume
was borne by a grant from the Heckscher Foundation for the
Advancement of Research, established by August Heckscher
at Cornell University.

PREFACE

An edition with an English commentary of the two important Isocratean discourses contained in this volume scarcely needs an apology. No commentary in English on the *De Pace* and the *Philippus* exists, and those in other languages deal not so much with the historical content as with the language and style of the speeches. Moreover, during the last thirty years or so there has been a strong reaction against the patronising, and sometimes even contemptuous, attitude towards Isocrates's political thought shown by nineteenth-century historians and critics. If this edition arouses fresh interest in two splendid examples of ancient eloquence, if it helps to show that Isocrates, so far from being a mere "Stubengelehrter", had a very real grasp of the political situation in Greece during the fourth century and proposed a remedy for existing evils which was by no means impracticable, and, thirdly, if it succeeds in proving that as historical material the Isocratean writings are not as unreliable as has sometimes been maintained, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

My sincere thanks are due to the Heckscher Foundation for the Advancement of Research for bearing the expense of publishing this book, and to the Department of Classics in this University for courteously including it in the series of *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*. It is a pleasure, too, to thank Professors H. L. Jones and J. F. Mountford for a number of helpful suggestions and criticisms. Professor Mountford also generously assisted in the weary task of proof-reading.

ITHACA. N. Y. April, 1927.

M. L. W. L.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The chief source for the life of Isocrates is his own writings. Early in the third century B. C. Hermippus composed treatises on Isocrates and on his pupils, of whom he seems to have enumerated more than a hundred. Although these works are lost, the later authorities for the life and works of Isocrates used Hermippus freely. These are Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in whose important work on the ancient orators Isocrates is one of the orators discussed; the author of a tract on the Ten Orators, wrongly attributed to Plutarch; and a biographical notice which is probably to be attributed to Zosimus of Gaza. Still later in date are the notices in Photius (Bibl. cod. 159 and 260). He, as well as the author of the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise and Zosimus, appears to have drawn on a lost work by the contemporary of Dionysius, Caecilius of Calacte. Judging by these later writings, Caecilius's work abounded in biographical details, some of which were in all probability apocryphal.

Isocrates was born in the deme Erchia in Attica in the archonship of Lysimachus (436-5 B. C.). His father was a moderately wealthy citizen, Theodorus, who owned a flute factory. Isocrates himself is curiously silent regarding his earlier years, and little is therefore to be gleaned from his writings for his life before 388. From the later authorities we learn, what might have been surmised in any case, that he had the best education available in Athens at that time. Among the professors of higher education, who are named by the ancient biographers as teachers of Isocrates, were Tisias, Prodicus, and Gorgias; the lexicographer Suidas names Protagoras. We see here the usual tendency in ancient biography of connecting a distinguished teacher, or writer, with the men who were eminent in the same field in an earlier generation, regardless of chronological or other obstacles. There is no evidence that Tisias was ever in Athens and, even had he been, it would have been at a time when Isocrates was too young to become his pupil. That he heard Protagoras and Prodicus is possible on chronological grounds, but the Sophist who exercised most influence on him was certainly Gorgias of Leontini. Him Isocrates visited in Thessaly during the later years of the Peloponnesian war, not after 404 B. C., as has been maintained by some modern writers. For Gorgias's fees were considerable, and we know from Isocrates himself that he lost his patrimony at the end of the war;

he would therefore not have been able to afford the tuition of the man who was then the foremost rhetorician in Greece, had he wished to go to him after 404. Besides, by that date Isocrates was over thirty years old, an age at which any Athenian citizen, save perhaps a member of the Platonic Academy in the next century, would have finished his educational training. The names of Socrates and Theramenes are also mentioned by ancient biographers in connection with the earlier years of Isocrates. As Münscher¹ has most recently pointed out, it is not improbable that Isocrates as a young man came into contact with the most remarkable personality in Athens. But there are no grounds whatever for supposing that he was ever a whole-hearted disciple of Socrates. Again, while it is hardly credible that Isocrates was a *pupil* of Theramenes, since there are no grounds for believing that Theramenes ever taught rhetoric or any other subject, there is no justification for doubting that a friendship between the older and the younger man existed. And, certainly, the political principles of Theramenes exerted considerable influence on Isocrates; for the *πάτριος πολιτεία*, which he so earnestly advocated in later years, is in all essentials the same as the modified democratic constitution promoted by Theramenes in 411.

In the social and political turmoil at Athens, which accompanied or followed hard upon the end of the Peloponnesian war, Isocrates lost his patrimony (cf. *Antid.* 161), and, since he was unfitted for public life by physical disabilities,² he turned to professional speech-writing for a few years to gain a livelihood. Of these early works there are five in the Isocratean corpus that have come down to us, for the speech *in Euthynum* has been suspected on good grounds of being a rhetorical exercise of somewhat later date.³ These five speeches were composed and published in the twelve years between 402 and 391 B. C., and doubtless there were others which have not survived.⁴

The author of the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise informs us that Isocrates "was head of a school, as some say, first of all in Chios, and had nine pupils". This information is repeated by Photius verbally, save for the addition of the word "sophistic" with "school",

¹ See his article *Isokrates* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, IX, col. 2152. This work of reference is hereafter cited as P.-W.

² Cf. below, note on *Philippus* 81.

³ Thus, to mention only the two most recent writers on the subject, Drerup rejects the speech outright, while Münscher calls the Isocratean authorship of it "mindestens sehr zweifelhaft".

⁴ For their probable dates cf. Drerup, *Isocratis op.* I, praef. pp. cxix-cxxvii; Münscher in P.-W., coll. 2156-2168.

that is to say, he defines more precisely that Isocrates set up as a teacher of rhetoric. Modern authorities have been very divided in their opinions about this information, and the words "as some say", coupled with the silence of the other ancient writers, leads one to doubt very seriously whether this stay at Chios can really be regarded as a historic fact. If it is, the further question arises, when was Isocrates away from Athens? The most probable date would seem to be between 390 and 388 B. C., but he was without doubt back in Athens before 387, and it is in the interval between that year and the publication of the *Panegyricus* that he composed his tract *contra Sophistas* and the two *encomia*, *Busiris* and *Laudatio Helenae*.¹

Whatever view we take about the stay at Chios, from about 388 to his death in 338, at the advanced age of ninety-eight, Isocrates resided at Athens. When he elected to become a teacher of higher education, he had found his *métier*, and it was not long before pupils came to him from very part of the Hellenic world. It is indeed no empty boast, when he speaks of "the pupils from Sicily, Pontus, and the rest of the world (*τῶν ἄλλων τόπων*, *Antid.* 224), who came over the sea to be educated"; when their years of discipleship were over, they parted from the master with regret and tears (*ib.* 87). For, if we estimate his importance as an educator by the number of his pupils, and by the influence that his method and his point of view exerted, not only on many of his contemporaries, but still more on succeeding generations of the Greek and then the Graeco-Roman world, we shall hardly hesitate to call him the most important educational figure in the Ancient World. Many of his pupils subsequently became famous in every walk of life: Timotheus was one of the ablest soldiers of the day, Lycurgus and Hypereides were leading figures in Athenian politics during the trying years after the battle of Chaeronea, while Hieronymus, who was one of the the founders of Megalopolis, was according to one account an Isocratean. In the world of letters the best known of Isocrates's pupils were the historians Ephorus and Theopompus, and the dramatist, Theodectes.

¹ In the ps.-Plutarchean treatise we are also told that Isocrates set up a government (*ἀρχάς*) at Chios and the same constitution as in his home, that is to say that he helped a restored democracy to regulate their affairs there. This cannot have been before 394, when, as a result of the battle of Cnidus, Chios was freed from Spartan control; but we do not know that the change took place at once, nor can we be sure that this notice is any more reliable than the one about the school at Chios. Münscher, combining the two notices (P.-W., col. 2170), would place the stay at Chios between the composition of the *De Bigis* (395?) and the *Trapeziticus* (392/1). But he gives no cogent reason for this, and is it not very unlikely that, after Isocrates had begun to teach rhetoric, he would go back to professional speech writing, on his return to Athens?

It is beyond the scope of this introduction to write even a cursory account of the educational theory and practice of Isocrates;¹ but a word or two regarding the general aims of his teaching will not be out of place, since it will help to explain certain allusions in the treatises here published. Isocrates refers to the system of training, that he gives his disciples under the name of *φιλοσοφία*. In view of the narrower and more specialised meaning that this word has in Plato, in Aristotle, and in modern times, we must translate the word as used by Isocrates by "general culture". He stated his views briefly in the tract *contra Sophistas*, written when he was just beginning his career as a teacher, and with far greater elaboration in the long autobiographical treatise, published in 353 B. C.² He seeks to give his pupils a general culture, with the ultimate aim that they should be able to form a power of correct judgment by which to guide their actions and their work in the particular walk of life which they may follow; especially, he strives to develop their power of expression in language, written and spoken. Philosophy, in the narrower sense of metaphysics, advanced logic, and speculation about natural phenomena (*τὰ φυσικά*) is excluded from this "philosophical" training; on the other hand, Isocrates insists that his pupils must have a sound knowledge of literature, must be familiar with dialectics, and have some acquaintance with mathematics, and, above all, must be well grounded in history and contemporary politics. The training provided by Isocrates is admirably calculated to fit the the young citizen to play his part in public affairs; in that sense a word, which is so frequently heard at the present day in educational conclaves, to wit, "vocational", may be applied to it. Professor Burnet, in contrasting the Isocratean scheme of education, to which he hardly does adequate justice, with the Platonic, observes that the rivalry between the two schemes marks the beginning of the long struggle between Humanism and Science.³ The observation is just, save that it implies perhaps a greater degree of rivalry between Isocrates and Plato than actually existed. Save for a passage in the *Phaedrus* (279 A), Plato does not refer to Isocrates by name, but the ingenuity of modern scholars has been expended in seeking veiled and less complimentary allusions to him in other Platonic writings. Conversely, there is little in Isocrates's works that can be safely interpreted as a criticism of Plato, and an unbiassed examination of the scanty evidence seems to show that

¹ For this cf. the works of Blass and of Jebb listed in the bibliography, and briefer, though not very sympathetic, accounts in Dobson, *Greek Orators*, and in Murray's *History of Greek Literature*.

² *contra Sophistas*, 14 ff.; *Antidosis*, 180 ff.

³ J. Burnet. *Greek Philosophy. Part i. Thales to Plato* (1914), p. 217.

the strong animosity supposed by many modern writers to exist between the two educators has no foundation in fact.¹

For half a century, then, Isocrates taught and wrote at Athens. His most important political utterances are considered in the next section. His lesser writings, in so far as they have not already been mentioned, appeared at different periods of his life. While the exhortation *ad Demonicum* is undoubtedly an early work,² the so-called Cypriote orations belong to the years between 373 and 370, the *Plataicus* appeared in 373, and the *Archidamus* probably in 366.

II

To understand the political programme of Isocrates a study of three of his works, before all, is necessary: the *Panegyricus*, the *De Pace*, and the *Philippus*. Though these treatises were published at long intervals, the policy that they advocate is essentially and consistently the same. The *Panegyricus* was published in 380; its main purpose is to promote a confederacy or unification of Greek city-states (*συνμαχία*) under Athenian leadership. If, in certain parts of it, Isocrates seems to argue for a dual hegemony, exercised by Athens and Sparta, we must regard such passages as an attempt to veil the writer's real intention. At the time when the *Panegyricus* was written, Sparta was still far more powerful than any other Greek state, and a certain degree of caution was as incumbent upon a political theorist, as upon a practising politician. Even so, Isocrates allows himself to make some very severe criticisms of Spartan conduct (e. g. *Paneg.* 125 ff.);

¹ The reader interested in this question should consult U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Platon*, II (1920), p. 106 ff. and C. Ritter, *Platon*, I (1910), p. 204 ff. The latter makes some pertinent remarks about older views of the relationship between Plato and Isocrates; the former very judiciously concludes that, apart from the inherent contrast ("innere Gegensatz") between rhetoric ("humanism" would be better) and science, which will always persist, the relationship between the two men was not hostile. It was only among their pupils that a literary feud was begun, though the evidence for that is slight enough.

² The present writer assumes, in agreement with Sandys, that it is a genuine work of Isocrates. Its strong resemblance in style to the manner of Gorgias is explained, if it is an early work composed by Isocrates when he first turned his attention to writing. Most of the more recent critics reject the discourse from the genuine works of Isocrates, but the widely different conclusions that they reach show the unsatisfactory nature of arguments based on stylistic and other internal evidence. Thus, Drerup believes it to be a work of Theodore of Byzantium written about 400; Wendland would father it upon Anaximenes of Lampsacus, thus making its date nearly half a century later than Drerup does; Münscher regards it as a rhetorical exercise of the Isocratean school, composed in the second half of the fourth century. The cautious reader will be inclined to follow Dionysius of Halicarnassus and accept the work as genuine.

no doubt they were justified, but any man who was sincerely anxious to promote a *dual* leadership in Greece would surely have suppressed all reference to the events of the early fourth century. It is Athens, and Athens alone, whose previous history and services to Hellas Isocrates describes at length; and occasionally he expresses his real intention in a passing phrase or sentence. Once this *συνμαχία* has been formed, it must be welded together by a common purpose, and further cemented by the endurance of common hardships by all its members. In other words, the prosecution of war against Persia will be not merely an end in itself, but is necessary in order to ensure the effective solidarity of the new Greek alliance, which might otherwise exist on paper only. An important consequence of a successful war against Persia will be the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks, while in the reconquered or newly acquired territories new Greek settlements must be formed from the homeless and floating population of Greece. There can be no doubt that Isocrates's eloquent treatise had a considerable influence on public opinion, especially at Athens. Its powerful insistence on what Athens had accomplished in the past contributed much to make the second Athenian Confederacy a practical possibility in 378-7 B. C. The terms of that maritime league, as known primarily from the decree of Aristoteles (I. G. II, 17), correspond closely to what Isocrates had advocated; for example, we notice the insistence on the political independence of each constituent member, the provision for a separate federal assembly of the allies, and the Athenian guarantees not to plant cleruchies or to occupy lands in the territory of her allies. The membership list of the new maritime league grew rapidly in the first few years; whether Isocrates himself contributed to that end, by accompanying the Athenian statesman Timotheus, his old pupil, on some of his expeditions, must remain an open question. Isocrates himself gives us no hint of such a thing in the *Antidosis*, where he writes at length of the services of Timotheus to his country; and the story rests on the solitary evidence supplied by the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise.¹ But, though the opening years of its life promised well for the future of the Confederacy, a change soon came. The Athenians, in spite of guarantees and promises, were not content to treat all members as free and equal allies, but dreamed renewed dreams of empire, and what was worse, acted accordingly. In Greece, generally, the political situation underwent frequent changes. Thebes succeeded Sparta as the leading military state for ten years after the battle of Leuctra in 371. New states or confederations sprang up in Messenia and in Arcadia, and, in 359,

¹ ps.-Plutarch., *Dec. Orat.* 857 C.



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doing their pretensions to maritime dominion, to take the lead in promoting political harmony in Greece. This will necessitate giving up their "empire" and listening to better counsellors than the politicians who had been determining Athenian policy during the past thirty years. Isocrates can see no hope of attaining to the league or confederation that he regards as the only hope of political salvation, while democratic government at Athens remains unchanged. And so, in another treatise, the *Areopagiticus*, which was published in 355, he urges his countrymen to return to the "constitution of their fathers" (*πάτριος πολιτεία*), that is to say, the modified or moderate democracy that existed in the days of the Persian wars, which we might describe as cousin germane to the constitution advocated by Thera-
menes in 411.

It has sometimes been argued that there is an inconsistency between Isocrates's condemnation of the terms of the peace of Antalcidas in the *Panegyricus* (175 ff.) and his approval of them as a basis for peace and *συμμαχία* in the *De Pace* (16). A careful consideration of the passages shows that there was no real change of view on the part of the writer, except in so far as that was necessitated by the altered political conditions. What seemed in 380 objectionable to him in the terms of the peace was the abandonment of the Asiatic Greeks to Persia, and the fact that the independence of the Greek cities on the mainland, seeing that Sparta misused her power, was in many cases more apparent than real. "The provision, which declares the islands and the cities situated in Europe independent, has long been made inoperative and has been inscribed on the treaty stone to no purpose" (*Paneg.*, 176). In 356 Persian suzerainty over the Asiatic Greeks had long been an accomplished fact and the only way to end it, that Isocrates could see, was a Greek league which would make war on Persia. Isocrates does not advocate this in the *De Pace*, because the most immediate need of the Greeks was peace and the resulting opportunity to recuperate from the continuous drain on their man-power and resources, which had been going on all through the fourth century. Moreover, in 356 the power of Sparta and of Thebes had been broken, and thus there was nothing unreasonable or inconsistent in advocating those terms of the peace of Antalcidas which insisted on the independence of every Greek state, as a basis for the league that Isocrates desired to see realised in fact. He argues further that, if Athens makes peace with her allies and treats them henceforward as equals in a confederation, keeping her military and naval forces merely for "police" purposes, namely to prevent, or stop at the outset, infringements of the peace, the rest of Greece will be glad and relieved at the example set by Athens, and will follow suit

in desisting from hostilities (*De Pace*, 136). In the earlier part of this pamphlet, he had drawn a graphic picture of the economic and social benefits of a peace policy (*ib.* 18-21). Philip of Macedon and Cersobleptes of Thrace will also desist, he thinks, from threatening Athenian interests in Northern Greece, if they see that Athens genuinely desires peace and friendly relations. It would appear that the *De Pace* had little effect on Athenian policy and public opinion, beyond bringing on the writer himself much hostile criticism. That this was keen and considerable can be deduced from passages in the long defence of his life and teaching which he published in 353 (cf. *Antid.* 30 ff.; 54 ff.; *et al.*). In the next few years the Athenians neither followed the lines indicated by Isocrates nor yet the energetic war policy advocated with incomparable vigour by Demosthenes from 351 onwards. The inevitable result was open war with Philip II; success was almost wholly on the side of the Macedonian king. At last, in 346, Isocrates published a lengthy political pamphlet addressed to that monarch. Even were it the work of a man in his prime, the *Philippus* would rank very high among monuments of ancient eloquence; regarded as the work of an old man of ninety it is little short of miraculous. It is not unusual among modern critics to find a certain senile loquacity in this work, a criticism which would be more apt, if Isocrates's earlier works were concise and closely knit. But diffuseness in the treatment of his theme is characteristic of him at all periods, and if the *Philippus* is a less perfectly balanced composition than the *Panegyricus*, it is very far indeed from being a work of tedious garrulity. The leading ideas now put forward by Isocrates are stated as clearly and as consequentially as any that he had uttered before; they are also consistent with the proposals laid before his countrymen in 380 and in 356. The *συνμαχία*, that he so earnestly desires, Isocrates is now convinced, cannot be attained under Athenian leadership, and so his mind harks back again to leadership by a monarch, the solution that he had tentatively voiced before. Intense and genuine admiration of Philip II rings in every line of the treatise, and it is perhaps not too much to say that Isocrates was alone, among the contemporaries of Philip, in realising the full genius of that monarch. The date of the *Philippus* can be fixed within narrow limits. At the beginning of it, Isocrates tells his readers that he had been composing a tract in which he urged upon the Greeks and Philip alike the need for peace. Before this pamphlet could see the light, the peace of Philocrates was actually concluded, and Isocrates therefore abandoned it and composed the lengthy work that we now have. The peace of Philocrates was concluded in April, 346, but in another passage of the *Philippus* there are refer-

ences to the Thebans and Phocians (50), which show that the latter had not yet been crushed by outside intervention of Philip. The destruction of the Phocian cities occurred in July, 346, and so the publication of the *Philippus* must fall between April and July of that year. We do not generally associate such hasty composition with Isocrates, but it is less remarkable, if we remember that the subject was one which had exercised his mind for many years; we may also surmise that parts of the earlier tract that was never published, were material which could be adapted and inserted in the *Philippus*. If we would at all costs discover signs of hasty composition, we might perhaps find them in the very lengthy exordium and in a certain looseness of arrangement, by which a discussion of Philip's claims to Hellenic ancestry is interposed in the midst of arguments in favour of a pan-Hellenic expedition against Persia under the leadership of Philip (105-115). Isocrates had, however, a very definite purpose in referring to the exploits of Heracles and to the claim of the Macedonian royal house to be descended from that hero. Many of Isocrates's contemporaries, not Demosthenes alone, regarded Philip as βάρβαρος, and would therefore shrink from accepting him willingly as the head of a pan-Hellenic league. Hence the insistence on the Hellenic descent of the Macedonian royal family.

Isocrates's programme can again be summed up under the double heading of *συνμαχία* and war against Persia. Moreover, he now introduced sections in which he briefly but pointedly criticised the policy and achievements of the four leading Hellenic city-states, Athens (5), Sparta (47), Argos (51), and Thebes (53). It is an unlovely picture, and Philip's policy too, up to the date of the *Philippus*, is subjected to very tactful criticism. For Isocrates (73 ff.) enumerates some of the charges which the Greek detractors of Philip brought against the king. Even though he describes these as nonsense (*φλυαροῦντας*), he adds that many Greeks believe the misrepresentations circulated about Philip. We are therefore justified in deducing Isocrates's implied, if unexpressed, comment that in future Philip should take heed of these calumnies and follow a policy less open to misrepresentation. Further, he warns Philip against being friendly to some Greek states and hostile to others (cf. especially 78-80). Then follow the arguments for a league and a war against Persia: as president of the *συνμαχία*, Philip must not exercise any hegemony over the Greeks, for Isocrates realises as clearly as any man that his countrymen everywhere disliked the monarchic form of government. It is not to be expected that Isocrates should formulate the exact lines on which such a confederacy would have to be organised.

Doubtless the fulfilment which came at the Congress of Corinth in 338-7 was not precisely what he had advocated, or what he would have wished to see, had he lived.¹ As a sequel to a successful war against Persia, Isocrates once again urges the settlement of needy persons on the newly conquered territory, a proposal that, as was pointed out above, he had made in 380 and, in a modified form applied only to Thrace, in 356.

That Isocrates again failed to win a hearing need occasion no surprise. Philip indeed was quiescent for some years, as far as his neighbours in central and southern Greece were concerned, but he organised Thessaly as a Macedonian province and recommenced operations in Thrace. The Greek city-states, on the other hand, were not likely suddenly to follow a philo-Macedonian policy, Athens least of all. For in Athens the influence of Demosthenes had been steadily increasing, even though his countrymen could not be prevailed upon to carry out his very definite programme, till it was much too late, and Athens and Philip were again at war. And thus we come to the last utterances of Isocrates. The date of the first letter to Philip (*Epist.* 2) has been disputed and some critics think that it was written in 344. But the reference to an injury received by Philip in battle, as well as the more general protest against the risks to which the king exposed himself, seem to point to the Thracian campaigns of 342-1. On the other hand, since Philip and Athens were not yet openly at war, the letter was written before 340. It seems then to belong to the year 341, when Isocrates was already engaged on his last long work, the *Panathenaicus*. This was begun in 342, but its completion was delayed by the author's illness, as he himself tells us (*ib.* 266), and it was not published till three years later, in 339. Ostensibly the *Panathenaicus* is an elaborate panegyric on Athens; it is also a defence of Isocrates himself, of his life, and of his political teaching. Furthermore, a comparison with the *Philippus* shows not only close similarities between the two works, but proves that Isocrates was still faithful to his old ideal and that, by implication, he is looking to Philip to do that for the Greeks which Athens had done in the days of her greatest glory. If Philip is not mentioned by name and Isocrates puts his "message" in guarded language, we must attribute this to the tense political situation existing at the time. This was such that any open advocacy of Philip would have defeated its own ends and would have rendered Philip's

¹ Kessler (*Isokrates u. d. Panhell. Idee*, 74-78) is not wholly convincing in the parallels which he draws between the proposals of Isocrates and the main provisions of the Congress.

Athenian champion liable to the most intense odium, if not to a charge of treason. The achievements of Athens in the early fifth century are closely akin to the deeds which Isocrates in the *Philippus* had called upon Philip to perform. No reader of the earlier work could miss the implication conveyed in the second, even though Philip is nowhere mentioned by name. No doubt too, the description of Agamemnon as a champion of Hellas in olden times was introduced for a similar purpose. A recent writer even argues that the last section of the *Panathenaicus*, with its description of Sparta purporting to come from a pupil of Isocrates and exhibiting a more friendly attitude to Sparta than is found in the earlier part of the work, is meant to suggest to the reader a comparison with Macedonia.¹ He maintains that all the chief points made about Sparta are applicable also to Macedonia, and that the ancient reader would understand this. It is hard to prove a matter like this, but, while one would not deny that Isocrates may have intended his readers to interpret his work in this way, it is surely going too far to say "the thought of Macedonia must have obtruded itself on the minds of readers of the *Panathenaicus*". The last letter to Philip (*Epist.* 3) was written shortly after the Greek defeat at Chaeronea. Its genuineness has sometimes been suspected, but without sufficient reason. The reference to Antipater at the beginning of the letter shows that sundry weeks must have elapsed between Chaeronea and the writing of it, and consequently the authenticity of the epistle cannot be reconciled with the notices that Isocrates died a few days after receiving news of the Greek defeat, or even committed suicide by voluntary abstention from food. The letter appears to the present writer so characteristic of Isocrates both in style and thought, that it forms a fitting valedictory message of the aged orator.² His death must have occurred very soon after, before the end of 338 B. C. The relationship of the letter to the *Philippus* especially is so close

¹ Kessler, *op. cit.* 70-72.

² Most of the recent authorities accept the letter as genuine, e. g. Drerup, E. Meyer, and Kessler. Münscher, in his thorough and scholarly article in P. W., unfortunately tends to be too sceptical about the authenticity of several works in the Isocratean corpus. Thus, he labels this letter spurious, his main objection being apparently the reference to Philip's possible deification. But the difficulty seems to me to disappear if we regard Isocrates's remark as gently ironical. Perhaps, too, he had heard rumours that Philip had encouraged some of his subjects to pay him divine or semi-divine honours. In the *Philippus* (114; 143) he had set Philip side by side with the *ἡμίθεοι*, while Diodorus (16, 92, 5) in a passage which in all probability is based on Theopompus, relates how Philip's image was carried after those of the twelve gods in a procession held on the occasion of his daughter Cleopatra's wedding in 336 B. C.

that it may conveniently be quoted in full: "I conversed with Antipater at sufficient length, as I thought, regarding the interests of Athens and of yourself. Still, I desired to write to you too about what I regard as the needful steps to be taken after the conclusion of peace. My counsel is similar to that which I set forth in my treatise (the *Philippus*), only far briefer. At that time I advised you of the need of reconciling Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, and then bringing the Greeks to unanimity, since I believed that, if you could prevail upon the leading states to be of that mind, the remainder would also quickly follow suit. Well, at that time the political situation was different. Now things have so come to pass that persuasion is no longer required. Thanks to the struggle that has taken place, all the Greeks have been obliged to be well disposed to one another, to long for the achievements that they suspect you wish to perform, and to say that, since they have desisted from their insensate mutual rivalry, it is their duty to carry the war into Asia."

"There are many who have inquired of me whether it was I who counselled you to conduct the expedition against Persia, or whether I merely agreed with you when you formed that plan. I declare I do not know the truth—I have had no meeting with you in the past—yet I say that I believe you decided on these plans, and my pleas coincided with your wishes. When they heard this, my interlocutors, one and all, asked me to exhort you and spur you on to abide by these same projects of yours, on the ground that there could never be a venture more glorious or more advantageous to the Greeks, or one undertaken at a more fitting time, than this."

"Had I my erstwhile strength and were I not wholly exhausted, I should not now be communicating with you by letter, but I should myself in person be spurring and summoning you on to this enterprise. As it is, I appeal to you with all my power not to treat it lightly until you have accomplished it. In any other human need unlimited desire is bad—indeed, among the majority of men moderation is reckoned a virtue—but to yearn for great and fair renown and never to have too much of it, befits the few who tower above their fellow men. And that has been your destiny. Tell yourself that then only will your fame be unsurpassed and worthy of your past achievements, when you have forced the non-Hellenic peoples—save those who fight under your standards—to be the serfs of the Greeks, and when you have made the king, whom men now call Great, do your bidding. To accomplish this in the present political situation is a far easier task than to have advanced from the kingdom that you held at the beginning of your reign to the power and repute that you now enjoy. In truth, naught will remain

for you save to become a god. I have but one cause of gratitude to my old age, namely that it has been protracted long enough that, of the political programme that I thought of as a young man and tried to write down in my *Panegyricus* and in the treatise that I sent to you, I now see a part already fulfilled by your achievements; what remains I hope will be brought to pass in the future."

III

An attempt has been made briefly to explain the political doctrine of Isocrates; from this it is natural to pass to two cognate topics, his own use of historical material, and his influence on the historical compositions of others. In considering the first of these, two points should be borne in mind from the outset: first, though Isocrates insists that a good knowledge of historical events, especially contemporary history, is an essential part of his *φιλοσοφία*, he is not a historical writer, so that illustrations from past or contemporary events are merely incidental to his general purpose. Even so, it may well be argued, accuracy in the presentation of facts is desirable. Nevertheless a distinction must be drawn; in referring to the events of the relatively distant past, every orator or political essayist allows himself considerable freedom in selecting the most telling episodes to illustrate a given subject, although the proper historical perspective may thereby become distorted. A similar distortion may be caused by the over-emphasis of one in a sequence of events alluded to by him. Secondly, accuracy of detail is not to be expected; from the orator's point of view it is superfluous. Again, he is often pleading a cause, so that his partisanship will lead him unconsciously to judge facts subjectively, where the historical inquirer will seek rather to attain to an objective treatment of his subject. Hence it is quite unjust to accuse Isocrates of falsification of fact; besides, where inaccuracies are to be observed, it is nearly always in his treatment of earlier Greek history. His references to contemporary events are far fewer; these would be familiar to his readers and allusions to them would in many cases be quite superfluous. However much the student of a later age may miss them, he is not justified in criticising Isocrates adversely for the omission. Where Isocrates does deal with contemporary events, his allusions are generally accurate in essentials. If, for example, in touching upon the fortunes of Clearchus and the Greek troops after the battle of Cunaxa (*Phil.* 91), Isocrates combines into one occurrence two episodes, which we know from Xenophon to have been separated from one another by an interval of several weeks, the illustration which he seeks to give is not invalidated by



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in the works of the orator for the use of Herodotus is of the slightest, the case is somewhat different with Thucydides. There are not a few allusions to Athenian history in the fifth century, which are undoubtedly based on Thucydides's work. But, more than that, there is another point of contact between the two writers which does not appear to have been adequately noticed by modern critics. There is an appreciable number of words, which are rare or relatively uncommon in prose authors, that are found in both these writers. This suggests that the older man had left some impression on the mind of the younger, even in the matter of diction.¹ Although there can thus be no doubt that Isocrates was thoroughly familiar with Thucydides' work, we cannot reasonably expect any closer affinity between the philosophic historian and the passionate pleader for Hellenic unity. It is manifestly unfair to expect of the latter the detached and objective point of view, which amongst ancient writers of history is peculiar to Thucydides. Unhappily, some of those very characteristics which were fitting and even admirable in Isocrates, the political essayist and teacher of rhetoric, were inherited or absorbed by those of his pupils, whose *métier* became the writing of history. Since the writings of Ephorus and Theopompus are, save for a miserable remnant of fragments, lost to us, it is obviously dangerous to be too positive about the merits and demerits of these authors. At the same time it is still possible to point to instances where their treatment of historical episodes or characters has been taken over from, or directly influenced by, their common master,² What is of far more moment, however, than similarities in the treatment of

¹ The following instances, taken from the two speeches in this book, will serve to make this point clearer. In such a question cumulative effect is everything; it must also be borne in mind that, though a word may be in common use in some senses, it may be rare and peculiar to one or two authors, when used with a particular shade of meaning:

ἀποχοῆσθαι—*Phil.* 122; *Thuc.* 7, 42.

ἰσομοιρεῖν—*Phil.* 59; *Thuc.* 6, 16; 6, 39; 7, 75.

κατηνέχθησαν—*De Pace*, 101; *Thuc.* 3, 69; 4, 120; 7, 71.

κῆδεσθαι—*De Pace*, 39; *Thuc.* 6, 14.

ξενοτροφεῖν—*De Pace*, 45; *Thuc.* 7, 48.

περιθεῖναι—*Phil.* 78 (also *Panath.* 145); *Thuc.* 4, 87.

προσδοκίαν ἐμποιεῖν ὡς—*De Pace*, 6; *Thuc.* 7, 12.

συγκατασκευάσαι ἀρχήν—*Phil.* 42; *Thuc.* 1, 93.

συγκαταστρέφεισθαι—*Phil.* 126; *Thuc.* 6, 69.

τὰς φυγὰς (= τοὺς φυγάδας)—*De Pace*, 123; *Thuc.* 8, 64 (in the singular).

² For Ephorus cf. the remarks of v. Scala, *op. cit.* pp. 115-7; for Theopompus cf. R. Schubert, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur Geschichte Philipps II von Macedonien* (1904), pp. 7-9. In a more general way, there are some suggestive and helpful observations in H. Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst* (1911), chap. V.

details and isolated facts, is that these fourth-century historians were profoundly influenced in their general conception of Greek history by the political views of their teacher, Isocrates. Like him, Ephorus seems to have regarded the early years of the fifth century as the greatest period of Athenian history. Again, the admiration for Philip of Macedon and the contempt for the Greek city-states, which are so apparent in the fragments of Theopompus, are at least in part a heritage from Isocrates.¹ It is not of course suggested that these historians were devoid of any independence of judgment. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that Ephorus was on the whole unfriendly in his attitude to Philip of Macedon.² Nevertheless these writers were the first to compose histories which were in fact, if not in name, of a wide and, as it were, pan-Hellenic scope. In doing that, they were applying to their particular life-work the general concepts taught consistently by Isocrates during half a century. How far Androtion may have been influenced in his writing by the teaching of Isocrates, whose pupil he seems undoubtedly to have been, it is impossible to estimate. A chronicle, like his *Atthis*, naturally lent itself little to a particular interpretation of Hellenic history; besides, the surviving fragments are extremely scanty. That Isocratean teaching may also have exerted some influence on Polybius, either directly or through the medium of Ephorus and Theopompus, is probable enough. But it is likely to have been slight compared to the impression made on his mind by the Academics and Peripatetics, and, later on, by Panaetius. In brief, we are justified in believing that Isocrates's political teaching exerted considerable influence on historical composition in the fourth century, and to some extent later. That accuracy in inquiry and in treatment of the subject was subordinated to style, that an agreeable and even meretriciously alluring presentation was preferred to precise verification of data and careful analysis of cause and effect in the conduct of peoples and persons, was due to

¹ Yet Theopompus was by no means a blind admirer of Philip, but at times criticised him severely. His bitterness about contemporary life and manners as he saw them all over the Hellenic world and beyond (e. g. among the Etruscans), is very probably due to the fact he had come strongly under the influence of Cynic teaching. This is the view which was very convincingly put forward by Professor Gilbert Murray in a lecture delivered at King's College, London, in 1925. It is here mentioned briefly with his kind permission,

² Cf. Schubert, *op. cit.* pp. 42-4. It must be admitted, however, that the traces of Ephorus's account of Philip, which critics have sought in later writers like Diodorus, Justin, and Polyaeus, are none too clear and not nearly as certain as is the use by these authors of Theopompus's *Philippica*. v. Scala (*Die Studien des Polybios*, I, p. 303) thinks that the speech of Nicolaus, in Diodorus 13, 20-7, which is based on Ephorus, is Isocratean in tone.

the influence of the rhetorical schools. Inasmuch as Isocrates determined the methods of rhetorical teaching for centuries to come, this aspect of Greek historical composition from the fourth century onwards may be said to be due to him. But he would, without doubt, never have approved of the extravagance of a *Timaeus* and many others, so that we cannot blame him for the misuse which writers of history made of the training in rhetoric that they had received in their youth, nor yet for the popular taste for "historical fiction" or fictitious history engendered by the epideictic displays of generations of Sophists.

IV

The text of the *De Pace* and *Philippus* printed in this edition is that of Ferdinand Blass,¹ save for a few exceptions which are explained below. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the manuscripts of Isocrates, since they have been listed and discussed in detail by Drerup;² hence it will suffice to indicate here only those which are of primary importance. They are:

Γ (Urbinas 111); it was, according to Drerup, written at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. It is not only by far the oldest, but also the best of the Isocratean manuscripts.

Α (Vaticanus 65); it was written, as the colophon on the last page shows, in the year 1063. Most of the more recent manuscripts are derived from it or from its archetype (cf. Drerup, praef. p. xlviij).

Θ (Laurentianus LXXXVII 14); this 13th century ms. in Florence contains only eleven of Isocrates's works, including the *Philippus* but not the *De Pace*.

Ε (Ambrosianus O 144); this 15th century ms. in Milan reproduces the same text as *Α*; hence Drerup attaches less importance to it than did earlier editors (e. g. Baiter-Sauppe).

Δ (Vaticanus 936); a ms. of the fourteenth century, which agrees closely with *Γ*.

ΙΙ (Parisinus 2932); this 15th century ms. contains only thirteen of the works. It is derived from the same archetype as *Α*.

Ν (Laurentianus LVIII 5); a fifteenth century ms., containing thirteen of the speeches. Like *ΙΙ*, it is derived from the same archetype as *Α*. *ΙΙ* and *Ν* contain both the speeches in this book.

The lesser manuscripts are extremely numerous—Drerup lists more than a hundred—, but many of them contain only one or two of

¹ In name Blass's work was a revision and second edition of Benseler's text of 1851; in fact, it was a new critical edition.

² See Drerup, *Isocratis op.* I, pp. iv-cxiv.

the works of Isocrates. The majority were written in the 15th and 16th centuries; in the main they reproduce the text of *A*, while a few show a mixture of *A* with *IIN*.

Of the papyri containing portions of the Isocratean writings, which have been discovered in recent years, the only one of importance for this edition is Pap. 132 (1st. century A. D.) in the British Museum. It contains most of the *De Pace* after section 13. This papyrus was recollated and edited by H. I. Bell in the *Journal of Philology*, XXX (1906); it contains some readings which seem to the present writer preferable to those of the best mss. These readings were discussed by him in *Classical Quarterly*, XV (1921), pp. 78-84, and have been incorporated in the text of the present edition.

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ὥσπερ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων συμβουλευκότων ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀκηκούτες, ὅτι κατορθώσομεν ἅπαντα καὶ ῥαδίως ἐπικρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν. (γ'.) Χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας περὶ μὲν ὧν ἴσασι, μὴ βουλεύεσθαι, περιέργον γάρ, ἀλλὰ πράττειν, ὡς ἐγνώκασι, περὶ ὧν δ' ἂν βουλεύονται, μὴ νομίζειν εἰδέναί τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς δόξη μὲν χρωμένους, ὅ τι ἂν τύχη δὲ γενησόμενον, οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ὧν ὑμεῖς οὐδέτερον τυγχάνετε ποιοῦντες ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόν τε ταραχωδέστατα διάκεισθε. συνεληλύθατε μὲν γάρ, ὡς δέον ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ὥσπερ δ' ἤδη σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὃ πρακτέον ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐθέлет' ἀκούειν πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγο-
10 ρούντων. καίτοι προσῆκεν ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ ἠβούλεσθε ζητεῖν τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἢ τοῖς καταχαριζομένοις, εἰδότας, ὅτι τῶν ἐνθάδε παριόντων οἱ μὲν ἂ' βούλεσθε λέγοντες ῥαδίως ἐξαπατᾶν δύνανται, τὸ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τῷ καθορᾶν ὑμᾶς τὸ βέλτιστον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συμβου-
11 λευόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιτε τοιοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅπως ἂν μεταπεῖσαι δυνηθεῖεν ὑμᾶς, μὴ φανερὸν τὸ συμφέρον ποιήσαντες. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωποι καλῶς δυνηθεῖεν ἢ κρῖναι περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἐναντιουμένων παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐξετάζοιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς κοινούς ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὰς παρά-
12 σχοιεν; (δ'.) Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηκόασιν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τοὺς παραινοῦντας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲν πώποτε κακὸν ἐπάθομεν, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ῥαδίως τὸν πόλεμον αἰρουμένους πολλαῖς ἤδη καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς περιεπέσομεν. ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα μνειάν ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν, μηδὲν εἰς τοῦμ-
προσθεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πράττοντες, τριήρεις πληροῦν καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς ἂν τύχω-
13 μεν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντες. τούτων δ' αἰτιὸν ἐστὶν, ὅτι, προσῆκον ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων σπουδάζειν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων βουλεύησθε, ζητεῖτε συμβούλους τοὺς ἄμεινον φρονοῦντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιάζητε, τοῖς μὲν τοιούτοις ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ φθονεῖτε, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων ἀσκεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας τῶν εὖ φρονοούντων καὶ τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ὑμῖν λειτουργούντων. ὥστ' ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἰ τις ἐλπίζει τὴν πόλιν τοιούτοις συμβούλοις χρωμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδώσειν.

- 14 (ε΄.) Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι πρόσαντές ἐστιν ἐναντιοῦσθαι ταῖς ὑμετέραις διανοίαις, καὶ ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὔσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις· ὃ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ δεινότατον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἁμαρτήματα τοσαύτην ἔχετε χάριν, ὅσην οὐδὲ τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας καὶ νοουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς οὕτω διατίθεσθε δυσκόλως ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς κακόν
- 15 τι τὴν πόλιν ἐργαζομένους. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίην ὧν διανοήθην. παρελήλυθα γὰρ οὐ χαριούμενος ὑμῖν οὐδὲ χειροτονίαν μνηστεύσων ἀλλ' ἀποφανούμενος, ἃ τυγχάνω γινώσκων πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος ἔσται τῶν νῦν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γνωσθέντων,
- 16 ἦν μὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀρθῶς βουλευσώμεθα. (ζ.) Φημὶ δ' οὖν χρῆναι ποιῆσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κῶους ἀλλὰ¹ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις αἷς νῦν τινὲς γεγράφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενομέναις μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, προστατούσαις δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόλεων ἐξιέναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους. τούτων γὰρ οὔτε δικαιότερας εὐρήσομεν οὔτε μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει συμφερούσας.
- 17 (ζ΄.) Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα καταλίπω τὸν λόγον, οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τὴν πόλιν ἐλαττοῦν, εἰ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἔξουσι Θεσπιάς καὶ Πλαταιάς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἃς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους κατειλήφασιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἔξιμεν μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης ἐξ ὧν τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· ἦν δὲ διὰ τέλους ἀκούσητέ μου προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς καταγνώσεσθαι πολλὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν πλεονεξίαν εἶναι νομιζόντων καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις βία κατεχόντων καὶ μὴ λογιζομένων τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς
- 18 ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων γιγνομένας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διὰ παρτὸς τοῦ λόγου πειρασώμεθα διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς. (η΄.) Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης πρῶτον διαλεχθῶμεν καὶ σκεψώμεθα, τί ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι βουλευθῆμεν ἡμῖν. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς ὀρισώμεθα καὶ νοῦν ἔχόντως, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποβλέποντες ἄμεινον βουλευσώμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων.
- 19 (θ΄.) Ἄρ' οὖν ἂν ἐξαρκέσειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ τὴν τε πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορώτεροι γιγνοίμεθα καὶ τὰ τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοοῖμεν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εὐδοκι-

¹ καὶ Κῶους *add. Dion. Hal. : om. codd. : Χίους κ. Βυζ. κ. Ῥοδ. καὶ Κνιδίους Παρ.*

μοῖμεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων ὑπαρξάντων τελέως τὴν
 πόλιν εὐδαιμονήσειν. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν πόλεμος ἀπάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν
 εἰρημένων ἀπεστέρηκεν· καὶ γὰρ πενεστέρους ἐποίησε καὶ πολ-
 20 λούς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκασε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας
 διαβέβληκε καὶ πάντας τρόπους τεταλαιπώρηκεν ἡμᾶς. ἦν δὲ
 τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησώμεθα, καὶ τοιούτους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρὰ-
 σχωμεν, οἴους αἱ κοινὰ συνθῆκαι προστάττουσι, μετὰ πολλῆς
 μὲν ἀσφαλείας τὴν πόλιν οἰκήσομεν, ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων καὶ
 κινδύνων καὶ ταραχῆς, εἰς ἣν νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθέσταμεν,
 καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς εὐπορίαν ἐπιδῶσομεν, ἀναπε-
 παυμένοι μὲν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον λειτουργιῶν, ἀδεῶς δὲ γεωργοῦν-
 21 χειροῦντες, αἱ νῦν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελοίπασιν. ὁψόμεθα δὲ
 τὴν πόλιν διπλασίας μὲν ἢ νῦν τὰς προσόδους λαμβάνουσαν,
 μεστὴν δὲ γιγνομένην ἐμπόρων καὶ ξένων καὶ μετοίκων, ὧν νῦν
 ἐρήμη καθέστηκεν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, συμμάχους ἔξομεν ἀπαντας
 ἀνθρώπους, οὐ βεβιασμένους ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένους, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς
 μὲν ἀσφαλείαις διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμᾶς ὑποδεχομένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 κινδύνοις ἀποστησομένους, ἀλλ' οὕτω διακειμένους ὥσπερ χρῆ
 22 τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ὄντας. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
 ἂν νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν οὐ δύναμεθα διὰ πόλεμον καὶ πολλῆς δαπάνης,
 ταῦτα διὰ πρεσβείας ῥαδίως κομιοῦμεθα. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε μήτε
 Κερσοβλέπτην ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου μήτε Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπό-
 λεως πολεμήσειν, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν
 ἐφιεμένους. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως φοβοῦνται γείτονα ποιήσασθαι
 23 τὴν πόλιν ταῖς αὐτῶν δυναστείαις· ὁρῶσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐ στέργον-
 τας ἐφ' οἷς ἂν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγομένους· ἦν
 δὲ μεταβαλώμεθα τὸν τρόπον καὶ δόξαν βελτίω λάβωμεν, οὐ
 μόνον ἀποστήσονται τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προσδώ-
 σουσι· λυσιτελήσει γὰρ αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν
 24 τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τὰς αὐτῶν βασιλείας. καὶ μὲν δὴ
 καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἡμῖν ἐξέσται τοσαύτην ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν ὥστε
 μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἀφθονον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἀπορίαν πλανωμένοις ἱκανὸν δύνασθαι βίον
 παρασχεῖν. ὅπου γὰρ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Καλλίστρατος, ὁ μὲν
 ἰδιώτης ὢν, ὁ δὲ φυγᾶς, οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἷοί τε γεγόνασιν, ἢ
 που βουλευθέντες ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς ἂν τόπους τοιούτους κατασχεῖν
 δυνηθεῖμεν. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀξιοῦντας
 τοιούτων ἔργων ἡγεμόνας γίγνεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου καὶ
 στρατοπέδων ξενικῶν, ὧν νῦν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡμεῖς τυγχάνομεν.
 25 (ί.) Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγγέλλονται, καὶ ταῦθ'
 ἱκανὰ καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἴσως τις προσθείη τούτοις· ἡγοῦμαι δὲ δεῖν

ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ψηφισαμένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευσαμένους, ὅπως ἄξομεν αὐτὴν καὶ μὴ ποιήσομεν, ὅπερ εἰώθαμεν, ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπόντες πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς καταστησόμεθα ταραχάς, μηδ' ἀναβολὴν ἀλλ' ἀπαλα-
 26 λαγὴν εὐρήσομέν τινα τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ γενέσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν ἂν πεισθῆτε τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν ὠφελιμωτέραν καὶ κερδαλεωτέραν εἶναι τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας. περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πάποτε τῶν ῥητόρων εἶπεῖν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐτόλμησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν λόγων μέλλω ποιησθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὁρῶ γὰρ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἐνοῦσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν οἷς
 27 νῦν τυγχάνομεν πράττοντες. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἔξω τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐπιχειροῦντα δημηγορεῖν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας γνώμας μεταστῆσαι βουλόμενον πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἄψασθαι καὶ διὰ μακροτέρων τοῖς λόγους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναμνησάμεν, τῶν δὲ κατηγορεῖν, τὰ δ' ἐπαινεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν συμβουλεύσασθαι· μόλις γὰρ ἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον φρονῆσαι δυνηθεῖη προαγαγεῖν.

28 (ια΄.) Ἐχει γὰρ οὕτως. ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντες μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ πλεον ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτα φερούσας ἀλλὰ ταῖς δόξαις διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν ἐπιεικῆς καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ δέοντος δυναμένους, οἱ δ' ὡς οἶόν τε πλεῖστον τοῦ συμφέροντος
 29 διαμαρτανούσας. ὅπερ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμβέβηκεν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἰόμεθα μὲν, ἦν τὴν θάλατταν πλέωμεν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι καὶ βιαζώμεθα τὰς πόλεις συντάξεις διδόναι καὶ συνέδρους ἐνθάδε πέμπειν, διαπράξεσθαί τι τῶν δεόντων· πλεῖστον δὲ διεψεύσαμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας. ὧν μὲν γὰρ ἠλπίζομεν, οὐδὲν ἀποβέβηκεν, ἔχθραι δ' ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ δαπάναι μεγάλαι γεγόνασιν,
 30 εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκ μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης πολυπραγμοσύνης εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους κατέστημεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δικαίαν τὴν πόλιν παρέχειν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐλάβομεν· ὧν νῦν ἀλογίστως καὶ λίαν εἰκῆ πολλὴν ἤδη
 31 χρόνον καταφρονοῦμεν. (ιβ΄.) Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ τινες ἀνοίας ἐηλύθησαν, ὥσθ' ὑπειλήφασιν τὴν μὲν ἀδικίαν ἐπονείδιστον μὲν εἶναι, κερδαλέαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν συμφέρουσαν, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην εὐδόκιμον μὲν, ἀλυσιτελῆ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον δυναμένην τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠφελεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν,
 32 κακῶς εἰδότες, ὡς οὔτε πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν οὔθ' ὅλως πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδὲν ἂν συμβάλοιτο τηλικαύτην δύναμιν, ὅσην περ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ μέρη ταύ-

της. τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοῖς οἷς ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τοῦτοις κτώμεθα
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὠφελείας, ὧν δεόμενοι τυγχάνομεν· ὥσθ' οἱ τῆς
αὐτῶν διανοίας ἀμελοῦντες λελήθασιν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα τοῦ τε
33 φρονεῖν ἀμεινον καὶ τοῦ πράττειν βέλτιον ὀλιγοροῦντες. θαυ-
μάζω δ' εἴ τις οἶεται τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην
ἀσκοῦντας καρτερεῖν καὶ μένειν ἐν τούτοις, ἐλπίζοντας ἔλαττον
ἔξειν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἠγουμένους καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ
παρ' ἀνθρώποις πλέον οἶσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πεί-
πεισμαι τούτους μόνους ὧν δεῖ πλεονεκτεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὧν
34 οὐ βέλτιόν ἐστιν. ὁρῶ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀδικίαν προτιμῶντας
καὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τι τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν νομίζοντας
ὅμοια πάσχοντας τοῖς δελεαζομένοις τῶν ζώων, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς
μὲν ἀπολαύοντας ὧν ἂν λάβωσιν, ὀλίγοι δ' ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς
μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ μετ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης
ζῶντας ἐν τε τοῖς παροῦσι χρόνοις ἀσφαλῶς διάγοντας καὶ περὶ
35 τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἠδίοις τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας. καὶ ταῦτ'
εἰ μὴ κατὰ πάντων οὕτως εἴθισται συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τό γ' ὡς
ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦτον γίγνεται τὸν τρόπον. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς εὖ φρο-
νοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ συνοίσειν οὐ καθορῶμεν, τὸ πολ-
λάκις ὠφελοῦν, τοῦτο φαίνεσθαι προαιρουμένους. πάντων δ'
ἀλογώτατον πεπόνθασιν, ὅσοι κάλλιον μὲν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζου-
σιν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλέστερον τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας, χεῖρον
δ' οἶονται βιώσεσθαι τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῶν τὴν πονηρίαν
προηρημένων.

36 (ιγ'.) Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὡσπὲρ πρόχειρόν ἐστιν ἐπαινέσαι τὴν
ἀρετὴν, οὕτω ῥάδιον εἶναι πείσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας¹ ἀσκεῖν αὐτήν·
νῦν δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ μάτην τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγωμεν. διεφθάρμεθα
γὰρ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ φενακίζειν
δυναμένων, οἱ τοσοῦτον τοῦ πλήθους καταπεφρονήκασιν, ὥσθ'
ὁπότε βουληθῶσι πόλεμον πρὸς τινὰς ἐξενεγκεῖν, αὐτοὶ χρή-
ματα λαμβάνοντες λέγειν τολμῶσιν, ὡς χρὴ τοὺς προγόνους
μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καταγελωμένους, μηδὲ
τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντας τοὺς μὴ τὰς συντάξεις ἐθέλοντας ἡμῖν
37 ὑποτελεῖν. (ιδ'.) Ἐδέως ἂν οὖν αὐτῶν πυθοίμην, τίσιν ἡμᾶς
τῶν προγεγεννημένων κελεύουσιν ὁμοίους γίγνεσθαι, πότῃρα τοῖς
περὶ τὰ Περσικὰ γενομένοις ἢ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Δεκε-
λεικοῦ τὴν πόλιν διοικήσασιν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτοις, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ
συμβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν πάλιν περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύειν· εἰ
38 δὲ τοῖς Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσασιν καὶ τοῖς πρὸ τού-
των γενομένοις, πῶς οὐ πάντων ἀναισχυντότατοι τυγχάνουσιν
ὄντες, εἰ τοὺς τότε πολιτευομένους ἐπαινοῦντες τὰναντία πράτ-

¹ ἐπαινεῖσθαι . . . οὕτω προσῆκον . . . πείσαι ἀσκεῖν Γ.

τειν ἐκείνοις πείθουσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν, περὶ ὧν ἀπορῶ, τί ποιήσω, πότερα χρήσωμαι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὥσπερ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ κατασιωπήσω, δείσας τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν. (ιε΄.) Δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὁρῶ δ' ὑμᾶς χαλεπώτερον διατιθεμένους πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγενημένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αἰσχυνθείην ἂν, εἰ φανείην μᾶλλον φροντίζων τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ δόξης ἢ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας. ἔμὸν μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κηδομένων τῆς πόλεως προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν λόγων μὴ τοὺς ἡδίστους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὠφελιμωτάτους· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο γινώσκειν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσημάτων πολλὰι θεραπείαι καὶ παντοδαπαὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς εὔρηνται, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἀγνοούσαις καὶ γεμούσαις πονηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλο φάρμακον πλὴν λόγος ὁ τολμῶν τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις ἐπι-
 40 πλήττειν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι καταγέλαστόν ἐστι τὰς μὲν καύσεις καὶ τὰς τομὰς τῶν ἰατρῶν ὑπομένειν, ἵνα πλειόνων ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλαγῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζειν πρὶν εἰδέναι σαφῶς, εἰ τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν δύναμιν ὥστ' ὠφελῆσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

41 (ις.) Τούτου δ' ἔνεκα ταῦτα προεῖπον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδέν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀνειμένως μέλλω τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τίς γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ μήπω συνδιεφθαρμένος ἡμῖν ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γιγνο-
 μένοις οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς νομίσειεν; οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἐγκωμιάζειν ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδέν δὲ τῶν
 42 αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις πράττομεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμοῦντες διετέλεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν βίον ποριζομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστή-
 σαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγάγομεν· κάκεινοι μὲν ἐλευθεροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τᾶναντία τοῖς τότε
 43 πράττοντες ἀγανακτοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἐκείνοις ἔξο-
 μεν, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς δια-
 νοίαις τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας τὴν τε πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλι-
 πεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ μαχόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς βαρβά-
 ρους ἐνίκησαν, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν πλεονεξίας
 44 κινδυνεύειν ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἄρχειν μὲν ἀπάντων ζητοῦμεν, στρα-
 τεύεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐθέλομεν, καὶ πόλεμον μὲν μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρούμεθα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀσκοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἀπόλιδας, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων κακουργιῶν συνερρουηκότας, οἷς ὅποταν τις διδῶι πλείω μισθόν, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀκο-

45 λουθήσουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶμεν, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ
 μὲν τῶν παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἰ περὶ τινὰς ἐξαμάρτοιν, οὐκ
 ἂν ἐθελήσαιμεν δίκας ὑποσχεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρπαγῆς
 καὶ βίας καὶ παρανομίας μελλόντων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
 ἤξειν οὐχ ὅπως ἀγανακτοῦμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρομεν, ὅταν ἀκούσω-
 46 μεν αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτόν τι διαπεπραγμένους. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ μωρίας
 ἐληλύθαμεν, ὥστ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνδεεῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσμέν, ξενο-
 τροφεῖν δ' ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους
 αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ λυμαινόμεθα¹ καὶ δασμολογοῦμεν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀπάντων
 47 ἀνθρώπων κοινοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκπορίζωμεν. τοσοῦτον
 δὲ χεῖρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων, οὐ μόνον τῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μισηθέντων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰ πολεμεῖν πρὸς
 τινὰς ψηφίσαιντο, μεστῆς οὕσης ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλεως ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασιν ὄντο
 δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν ἐληλυθότες καὶ
 τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας μισθωτοῖς
 48 χρώμεθα τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖεν,
 τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβίβαζον, τοὺς δὲ
 πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξέπεμπον· νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ὀπλίταις
 χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὥσθ' ὅποταν
 ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων ἀξιοῦντες ὑπηρέσιον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι
 τὰς φύσεις ὄντες, οἴους ὀλίγον πρότερον διῆλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων
 κινδυνεύουσιν.

49 (ιζ'.) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἂν τις ἰδὼν καλῶς διοι-
 κούμενα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαρρήσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 τούτοις μάλιστα ἀγανακτήσειεν; οἵτινες αὐτόχθονες μὲν εἶναι
 φάμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην προτέραν οἰκισθῆναι τῶν ἄλλων,
 προσῆκον δ' ἡμᾶς ἅπασιν εἶναι παράδειγμα τοῦ καλῶς καὶ τεταγ-
 μένως πολιτεύεσθαι, χεῖρον καὶ ταραχωδέστερον τὴν ἡμετέραν
 50 αὐτῶν διοικοῦμεν τῶν ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις οἰκίζόντων, καὶ σεμ-
 νυνόμεθα μὲν καὶ μέγα φρονοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῷ βέλτιον γεγονέναι
 τῶν ἄλλων, ῥᾶρον δὲ μεταδίδομεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ταύτης τῆς
 εὐγενείας ἢ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Λευκανοὶ τῆς αὐτῶν δυσγενείας· πλεί-
 στους δὲ τιθέμενοι νόμους οὕτως ὀλίγον αὐτῶν φροντίζομεν, ἐν
 γὰρ ἀκούσαντες γνώσεσθε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε θανάτου
 τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης, ἣν τις ἀλῶν δεκάζων, τοὺς τοῦτο φανε-
 ρώτατα ποιοῦντας στρατηγούς χειροτονοῦμεν, καὶ τὸν πλείστους
 διαφθεῖραι τῶν πολιτῶν δυνηθέντα, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν
 51 πραγμάτων καθίσταμεν· σπουδάζοντες δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
 οὐχ ἥττον ἢ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὴν δημο-

¹ ἰδίᾳ Pap. et Dion. Hal.: om. Γ et vulg.: δι' οὗς E.



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ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτονόμους ποιήσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοιαῦτ' ἐξημαρτάνομεν, οὐτ' ἂν οὗτος ἔσχε ταύτην ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν ἔγνωμεν, ὅσῳ κρεῖττόν ἐστὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν.

59 νῦν δ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὥστε Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἡμᾶς σώζουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Θηβαίους, καὶ συμμάχους ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμῖν ποιοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκεῖνοις. ὥστ' εἰ νῦν ἔχοιμεν, ἀλλήλοις ἂν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀργύριον παρέχοιμεν· ὁπότεροι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις συλλεγῶσιν, οὔτοι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄμεινον πράττειν

60 ποιοῦσιν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἁμαρτήμασι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν διανοίαις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀμαθίαν συμβαῖνον ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν τυχόν ἂν παύσαιτο καὶ λάβοι μεταβολήν, τὸ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς γιγνόμενον βεβαιότερος ἂν ἔχοι καὶ μᾶλλον παραμείνειεν ἡμῖν.

61 (ιθ'.) Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς εἰκῆ τὰς ὑπολήψεις¹ ποιουμένους οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀντειπεῖν· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις μοι παραστὰς τῶν ἐπιεικέστερον διακειμένων ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγειν με προσομολογήσειε καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γιγνομένοις, δίκαιον δ' εἶναι φαίη τοὺς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ νουθετοῦντας μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων

62 ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τίνων ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ ποίων ὀρεγόμενοι παυσάμεθ' ἂν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀπορεῖν ἂν με ποιήσειεν ἀποκρίσεως, οὐκ ἀληθοῦς καὶ συμφερούσης ἀλλ' ἀρεσκούσης ὑμῖν. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περ ἀποκεκαλυμμένως ὥρμημαι λέγειν, οὐκ ἀποκνητέον ἀποφῆναςθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων.

63 (κ'.) Ἄ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐδαιμονήσειν, τὴν τ' εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετήν, ὀλίγον πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν· ὡς δ' ἂν τάχιστα πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτοι γενέσθαι παιδευθεῖμεν, ἀληθὲς μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, ἴσως δ' ἂν ἀκούσασιν ὑμῖν δεινὸν εἶναι δόξειε καὶ

64 παρὰ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένον διανοίας. (κα'.) Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμᾶς ἄμεινον οἰκήσειν καὶ βελτίους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδώσειν, ἣν παυσώμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιθυμοῦντες. αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἢ καὶ νῦν εἰς ταραχὴν ἡμᾶς καθιστάσα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκείνην καταλύσασα, μεθ' ἧς οἱ πρόγονοι ζῶντες εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων αἰτία τῶν

65 κακῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ τ' ἔχομεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχομεν. οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ δυναστείας ὑπὸ πάντων ἐρωμένης καὶ περιμαχήτου γεγενημένης κατηγοροῦντα δοκεῖν ἀνεκτόν τι λέγειν·

¹ ὑπολήψεις *suig.*: ἐπιλήψεις ΓΕ: *in Pap. lect. incert.*

ὁμως δ' ἐπειδὴ περ ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους λόγους, ἀληθεῖς μὲν ὄντας, φιλαπεχθήμονας δέ, καὶ τοῦτον ὑμῶν ἀνασχέσθαι
 66 δέομαι, καὶ μὴ καταγνώναί μου τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ προειλόμην ἂν διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πραγμάτων οὕτω παραδόξων, εἰ μὴ τι λέγειν ἀληθὲς εἶχον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δ' οἶμαι πᾶσι φανερόν ποιήσειν, ὡς οὔτε δικαίας ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν οὔτε γενέσθαι δυνατῆς οὔτε συμφερούσης ἡμῖν.

67 (κβ'.) Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δικαίας, παρ' ὑμῶν μαθὼν ὑμᾶς ἔχω διδάσκειν. ὅτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτην εἶχον τὴν δύναμιν, ποίους λόγους οὐκ ἀνηλώσαμεν, κατηγοροῦντες μὲν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, διεξιόντες δ' ὡς δίκαιόν ἐστιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι τοὺς
 68 Ἕλληνας; τίνας δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐλλογίμων οὐ παρεκαλέσαμεν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων συστᾶσαν; πόσας δὲ πρεσβείας ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν ἀπέστειλαμεν, διδάξούσας αὐτόν, ὡς οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν οὔτε συμφέρον μίαν πόλιν κυρία εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐ πρότερον δ' ἐπαυσάμεθα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδυνεύοντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, πρὶν ἠθέλησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας τὰς περὶ τῆς αὐτονο-
 69 μίας. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι τοὺς κρείττους τῶν ἡττόνων ἄρχειν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τε τοῖς χρόνοις τυγχάνομεν ἐγνωκότες καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν καθεστηκυίας.

(κγ'.) Ὡς δ' οὐδ' ἂν δυνηθῆμεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καταστρέψασθαι, ταχέως οἶμαι δηλώσειν. ἦν γὰρ μετὰ μυρίων ταλάντων οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἡμεν διαφυλάξαι, πῶς ἂν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας κτήσασθαι δυνηθῆμεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς
 70 ἠθεσιν οὐχ οἷς ἐλάβομεν ἀλλ' οἷς ἀπωλέσαμεν αὐτήν; (κδ'.) Ὡς τοίνυν οὐδὲ δέξασθαι διδομένην τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, δοκεῖτέ μοι τάχιστ' ἂν ἐκεῖθεν καταμαθεῖν. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαι μικρὰ προειπεῖν· δέδοικα γάρ, μὴ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν δόξω τισὶ προηρησθαι τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν.

71 (κε'.) Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπεχείρουν οὕτω διεξιέναι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰκότως ἂν εἶχον τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐ διαβάλλειν ἑτέροις ἐπιθυμῶν ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς βουλόμενος παῦσαι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, περὶ ἧς ἅπας ὁ λόγος ἐστί, βεβαίως καὶ
 72 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀγαγεῖν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας τοῖς μὲν λόγοις χρῆσθαι παραπλησίοις, τὰς δὲ διανοίας ἔχειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οἷόν τ' ἐναρτιωτάτας. ὥστε περὶ τῶν ταῦτ' λεγόντων οὐκ αἰεὶ προσήκει τὴν αὐτὴν ὑμᾶς γνώμην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ λοιδοροῦντας μισεῖν ὡς κακόνους ὄντας τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ νουθετοῦντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν νομίζειν,
 73 καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἐναργέστατα θυγάμενον δηλῶσαι

τάς τε πονηρίας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 γιγνομένας· οὗτος γὰρ ἂν τάχιστα ποιήσειεν ὑμᾶς, μισήσαντας
 ἃ δεῖ, βελτιόνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι πραγμάτων. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς
 τῶν λόγων τραχύτητος καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν φηθήσεσθαι
 μελλόντων ταῦτ' ἔχω λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅθεν δ' ἀπέλιπον, πάλιν
 ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχήν.

74 (κζ'.) Ἐφασκον γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν κάλλιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καταμαθεῖν, ὡς
 οὐ συμφέρει λαβεῖν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰ σκέψαισθε,
 τίνα τρόπον ἢ πόλις διέκειτο πρὶν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην κτήσα-
 σθαι, καὶ πῶς ἐπειδὴ κατέσχευεν αὐτήν· ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα παρ' ἄλληλα
 τῇ διανοίᾳ θεωρήσητε, γνώσεσθ' ὅσων κακῶν αἰτία τῇ πόλει
 γέγονεν.

75 (κζ'.) Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν πολιτεία τοσοῦτω βελτίων ἦν καὶ κρείτ-
 των ἢ τότε τῆς ὕστερον καταστάσεως, ὅσῳ περ Ἀριστείδης καὶ
 Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν Ὑπερβόλου
 καὶ Κλεοφῶντος καὶ τῶν νῦν δημηγορούντων· τὸν δὲ δῆμον
 εὐρήσετε τὸν τότε πολιτευόμενον οὐκ ἀργίας οὐδ' ἀπορίας οὐ-

76 δὲ κενῶν ἐλπίδων¹ ὄντα μεστόν, ἀλλὰ νικᾶν μὲν δυνάμενον ἐν
 ταῖς μάχαις ἅπαντας τοὺς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας, ἀριστείων
 δ' ἀξιούμενον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδύνοις, οὕτω δὲ
 πιστευόμενον ὥστε τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶ τῶν πόλεων ἐκούσας

77 ἐγχειρίσαι σφᾶς αὐτάς. τούτων δ' ὑπαρχόντων ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς
 πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμούσης ἐπὶ τοιαύτην ἀκολασίαν
 ἢ δύναμις ἡμᾶς αὕτη προήγαγεν, ἦν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαι-
 νέσειεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύοντας οὕτω τοὺς
 πολίτας ἐπαίδευσεν ὥστε μηδὲ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τολμᾶν ἐπεξιέναι

78 τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων
 αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλή-
 νων εἰς τοσοῦτον μῖσος κατέστησεν, ὥστε παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν
 ἐξανδραποδισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 πολεμούντων εὐνουστέρων ἐτύχομεν ἢ τῶν πρότερον ἡμῖν συμ-

79 μάχων ὄντων. οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐγκαλοῖμεν, ὅτι χαλεπῶς
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς διετέθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπάρχοντες ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ
 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔσχον περὶ ἡμᾶς.

(κη'.) Τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπέμεινε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῶν πατέρων τῶν
 ἡμετέρων, οἳ συναγαγόντες ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς ἀργο-
 τάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπασῶν τῶν πονηριῶν μετέχοντας, πληροῦντες
 τούτων τὰς τριήρεις, ἀπηχθάνοντο τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 βελτίστους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐξέβαλλον, τοῖς δὲ πονη-
 80 ροτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τάκείνων διένεμον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τολμή-
 σαιμι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγγενομένων ἀκρι-

¹ οὐδὲ κεν. ἐλπ. Pap.: οὐδ' ἐλπ. κεν. codd.

βῶς διελθεῖν, ὑμᾶς μὲν ἴσως ἂν ποιήσαιμι βέλτιον βουλευσασθαι
περὶ τῶν παρόντων, αὐτὸς δ' ἂν διαβληθεῖην· εἰώθατε γὰρ
μισεῖν οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὡς τοὺς κατη-
81 γοροῦντας αὐτῶν. τοιαύτην οὖν ὑμῶν γνώμην ἐχόντων δέδοικα,
μὴ πειρώμενος ὑμᾶς εὐεργετεῖν αὐτὸς ἀπολεύσω τι φλαῦρον.
οὐ μὴν ἀποστήσομαι παντάπασιν ὧν διενοήθην, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
πικρότατα καὶ μάλιστα ἂν ὑμᾶς λυπήσαντα παραλείψω, μνησθή-
σομαι δὲ τούτων μόνον, ἐξ ὧν γνώσεσθε τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν τότε
82 πολιτευομένων. (κθ'.) Οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὗρισκον, ἐξ ὧν ἄν-
θρωποι μάλιστα ἂν μισηθεῖεν, ὥστ' ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον
τῶν πόρων ἀργύριον διελόντες κατὰ τάλαντον εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν
τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν, ἐπειδὴν πλήρες ἦ τὸ θέατρον· καὶ
τοῦτ' ἐποίουν καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιδεικνύοντες, τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις
τὰς τιμὰς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν εἰσφερομένας, τοῖς
δ' ἄλλοις. Ἕλλησι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς
83 τὰς διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ταύτην γιγνομένας. καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες
αὐτοὶ τε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονίζον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν οὐκ ἐχόν-
των ἐμακάριζον αὐτήν, τῶν μὲν συμβήσεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μελλόν-
των οὐδεμίαν ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον θαυμάζοντες
καὶ ζηλοῦντες, ὃς ἀδίκως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθὼν καὶ τὸν δικαίως
84 ὑπάρξαντα διὰ ταχέων ἤμελλε προσαπολεῖν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ κατέ-
στησαν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀμελείας, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμίας,
ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ τοῦ
τείχους ἤδη τοῦ Δεκελειᾶσιν ἐστηκότος εἰς Σικελίαν τριήρεις
ἐπλήρουν, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνοντο τὴν μὲν πατρίδα τεμνομένην καὶ
πορθουμένην περιορῶντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν πώποτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς
85 ἔξαμαρτόντας στρατιὰν ἐκπέμποντες, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφροσύνης
ἦλθον, ὥστε τῶν προαστείων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ κρατοῦντες Ἰτα-
λίας καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἄρξειν προσεδόκησαν. τοσοῦ-
τον δὲ διήνεγκαν ἀνοία πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους αἰ συμφοραὶ συστέλλουσι καὶ ποιοῦσι σωφρονεστέρους,¹
86 ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὐδ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαιδευθήσαν. καίτοι πλείοσι καὶ
μείζοσι περιέπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ
χρόνῳ τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένων. εἰς Αἴγυπτον μὲν γε διακόσια
πλεύσασαι τριήρεις αὐτοῖς τοῖς πληρώμασι διεφθάρησαν, περὶ
δὲ Κύπρον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελεικῷ πολέμῳ
μυρίους² ὀπλίτας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν Σικε-
87 λίᾳ δὲ τέτταρας μυριάδας καὶ τριήρεις τετταράκοντα καὶ διακο-
σίας, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ διακοσίας. τὰς δὲ κατὰ

¹ σωφρονεστέρους *vulg. et Pap.* : ἐμφρονεστέρους Γ : ἐμφανεστέρους Ε.

² ἐν δὲ τ. Δεκ. πολ. μ. *Pap.* : ἐν Δάτῳ δὲ μ. ΓΕ : ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ μ. *vulg.*

δέκα καὶ κατὰ πέντε¹ καὶ πλείους τούτων ἀπολλυμένας καὶ τοὺς
κατὰ χιλίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀποθνήσκοντας τίς ἂν ἐξαριθμήσειεν;
πλὴν ἐν ἧν τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφὰς ποιεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον
τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, εἰς ἃς πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐφοίτων, οὐ συμπενθήσοντες τοὺς τεθνεῶτας
88 ἀλλ' ἐφησθησόμενοι² ταῖς ἑμετέραις συμφοραῖς. τελευτῶντες δ'
ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν τάφους τοὺς δημοσίους τῶν πολι-
τῶν ἐμπλήσαντες, τὰς δὲ φρατρίας καὶ τὰ γραμματεῖα τὰ ληξιαρ-
χικὰ τῶν οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει προσηκόντων. γνσίη δ' ἂν τις ἐκεῖθεν
μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· τὰ γὰρ γένη τῶν ἀνδρῶν
τῶν ὀνομαστοτάτων καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς μεγίστους, οἳ καὶ τὰς
τυραννικὰς στάσεις καὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον διέφυγον, εὐρή-
σομεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, ἀναστάτους γεγενημένους.
89 ὥστ' εἴ τις σκοπεῖσθαι βούλοιτο περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσπὲρ πρὸς
παραδειγμα³ τοῦτ' ἀναφέρων, φανεῖμεν ἂν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀντηλλαγ-
μένοι. (λ'.) Καίτοι χρὴ πόλιν μὲν εὐδαιμονίζειν μὴ τὴν ἐξ
ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰκῆ πολλοὺς πολίτας ἀθροίζουσαν ἀλλὰ
τὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν πόλιν οἰκισάντων μᾶλλον τῶν
ἄλλων διασώζουσαν, ἀνδρας δὲ ζηλοῦν μὴ τοὺς τὰς τυραννίδας
κατέχοντας μηδὲ τοὺς μείζω δυναστείαν τοῦ δικαίου κεκτημένους,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξίους μὲν ὄντας τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς, στέργοντας δ'
90 ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους διδομέναις. ταύτης γὰρ ἔξιν οὐτ'
ἀνὴρ οὐτε πόλις λαβεῖν ἂν δύναιτο σπουδαιοτέραν οὐδ' ἀσφαλε-
στέραν οὐδὲ πλείονος ἀξίαν· ἦνπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ Περσικὰ γενό-
μενοι σχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς λησταῖς ἐβίωσαν, τοτὲ μὲν πλείω
τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχοντες, τοτὲ δ' ἐν σιτοδείαις καὶ πολιορκίαις καὶ
τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς καθεστῶτες, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὴν τροφήν
τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν οὐτ' ἐν ἐνδείαις οὐτ' ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ὄντες, ἐπὶ
δὲ τῇ τῆς πολιτείας δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν
91 φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὸν βίον ἡδίον τῶν ἄλλων διάγοντες. ὧν
ἀμελήσαντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκείνους οὐκ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τυραν-
νεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν, ἃ δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, πλεῖστον
δ' ἀλλήλων κεχώρισται· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ τοὺς
ἀρχομένους ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείαις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονεστέρους, τοῖς
δὲ τυράννοις ἔθος κατέστηκε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων πόνοις καὶ κακοῖς
αὐτοῖς ἡδονὰς παρασκευάζειν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς τοιούτοις ἔργοις
ἐπιχειροῦντας τυραννικαῖς καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιπίπτειν, καὶ
92 τοιαῦτα πάσχειν, οἷά περ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δράσωσιν. ἃ καὶ
τῇ πόλει συνέπεσεν· ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων

¹ κατὰ πέντε *Pap.* : κατὰ *om. codd.*

² ἐφησθ. *vulg. et Pap.* : συνησθ. *ΓΕ* : συνηδόμενοι *Pollux (Blass).*

³ παραδειγμα *vulg. et Pap.* : δεῖγμα *Γ.*

- ἀκροπόλεις τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπεῖδον τοὺς πολεμίους κυρίους γενο-
 μένους· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ παῖδας ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν ἀποσπῶντες ἀπὸ
 πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἠναγκάσθησαν τοὺς
 αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χεῖρον παιδεύειν καὶ τρέφειν ἢ προσῆ-
 κεν αὐτοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ γεωργεῖν τὰς χῶρας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
 93 πολλῶν ἐτῶν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐξεγένετο τὴν αὐτῶν. (λα΄.) Ὡστ'
 εἴ τις ἡμᾶς ἐρωτήσειεν, εἰ δεξαίμεθ' ἂν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἄρξαν-
 τες τοιαῦτα παθοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν, τίς ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν,
 πλὴν εἴ τις παντάπασιν ἀπονενοημένος ἐστὶ καὶ μήθ' ἱερῶν μήτε
 γονέων μήτε παίδων μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς φροντίζει πλὴν τοῦ
 χρόνου μόνον τοῦ καθ' αὐτόν; ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον τὴν διάνοιαν ζηλοῦν
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων καὶ μηδὲν
 ἤττον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς δόξης ἢ τῆς ἰδίας φιλοτιμουμένων καὶ
 προαιρουμένων μέτριον βίον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μᾶλλον ἢ μέγαν
 94 πλοῦτον μετ' ἀδικίας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοι τοιούτους αὐτοὺς
 παρασχόντες τὴν τε πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστάτην τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις
 παρέδοσαν καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην κατέ-
 λιπον. ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρω ῥαδίον ἐστὶ καταμαθεῖν, καὶ τὴν χῶραν
 ἡμῶν, ὅτι δύναται τρέφειν ἄνδρας ἀμείνους τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ
 τὴν καλουμένην μὲν ἀρχήν, οὐσαν δὲ συμφοράν, ὅτι πέφυκε
 χείρους ἅπαντας ποιεῖν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ.
- 95 (λβ΄.) Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν διέφθειρεν, ὥστε τοῖς εἰθισμένοις ἐπαι-
 νεῖν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν τοῦτον τὸν
 λόγον, ὡς ἡμεῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι κακῶς ἐχρησάμεθα
 τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν παρέ-
 λαβον, εὐδαιμόνας ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐποί-
 ησαν. πολὺ γὰρ θᾶπτον ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐπεδείξατο τὴν φύσιν τὴν
 αὐτῆς· τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν, ἣν ἐν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν
 οὐθ' ὑπὸ κινδύνων οὐθ' ὑπὸ συμφορῶν κινηθεῖσαν, ταύτην ἐν
 96 ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ σαλευῦσαι καὶ λυθῆναι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησεν. ἀντὶ
 γὰρ τῶν καθεστώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς μὲν ἰδι-
 ώτας ἐνέπλησεν ἀδικίας, ῥαθυμίας, ἀνομίας, φιλαργυρίας, τὸ δὲ
 κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροψίας μὲν τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ
 τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ὀλιγωρίας δὲ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν.
 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς ἡμετέρους τοῖς εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλη-
 νας ἀμαρτήμασιν, ὅσον πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι σφαγῆς
 καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποίησαν, ἐξ ὧν ἀειμνήστους τὰς
 97 ἔχθρας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔξουσιν. οὕτω δὲ φιλοπολέμως καὶ φιλο-
 κινδύνως διετέθησαν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεφυ-
 λαγμένως μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοντες, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων
 οὐδὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπέσχοντο τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βασι-
 λέως μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πλεόν ἢ πεντα-

98 κισχίλια τάλαντα παρασχόντος, Χίων δὲ προθυμότατα πάντων
 τῶν συμμάχων τῷ ναυτικῷ συγκινδυνεύσαντων, Θηβαίων δὲ
 μεγίστην δύναμιν εἰς τὸ πεζὸν συμβαλομένων, οὐκ ἔφθασαν τὴν
 ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες, καὶ Θηβαίοις μὲν εὐθύς ἐπεβούλευσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τὸν βασιλέα Κλέαρχον καὶ στρατιὰν ἀνέπεμψαν, Χίων δὲ τοὺς
 99 μὲν πρώτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις ἐκ τῶν
 νεωρίων ἐξεκλύσαντες ἀπάσας ᾤχοντο λαβόντες. (λγ΄.) Οὐκ
 ἐξήρακεσε δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτ' ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 χρόνους ἐπόρθουν μὲν τὴν ἠπειρον, ὕβριζον δὲ τὰς νήσους,
 ἐνήρουν δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πολιτείας καὶ τυράννους
 καθίστασαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ μεστὴν στά-
 100 σεων καὶ πολέμων ἐποίησαν. ἐπὶ ποίαν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ
 ἐστράτευσαν; ἢ περὶ τίνας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξήμαρτον; οὐκ Ἠλείων
 μὲν μέρος τι τῆς χώρας ἀφείλοντο, τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Κορινθίων
 ἔτεμον, Μαντινέας δὲ διώκισαν, Φλειασίους δ' ἐξεπολιόρκησαν,
 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀργείων εἰσέβαλον, οὐδὲν δ' ἐπαύσαντο τοὺς μὲν
 ἄλλους κακῶς ποιῶντες, αὐτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἥτταν τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις
 παρασκευάζοντες; ἢν φασὶ τινες αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ
 τῶν κακῶν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγοντες· οὐ γὰρ διὰ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν
 συμμάχων ἐμισήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσ-
 101 θεν χρόνοις καὶ ταύτην ἠττήθησαν καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκιν-
 δύνευσαν. χρὴ δὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιφέρειν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς
 ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν
 ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίην ταύτην κατηνέχθησαν. ὥστε πολὺ ἂν τις
 ἀληθέστερα τυγχάνοι λέγων, εἰ φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς
 γεγενῆσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρε-
 λάμβανον· ἐκτῶντο γὰρ δύναμιν οὐδὲν ὁμοίαν τῇ πρότερον
 102 ὑπαρχούσῃ. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν
 εὐταξίαν καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μελετωμένην ῥαδίως
 τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν δυνάμεως ἐπεκράτησαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκολα-
 σίαν τὴν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγγενομένην ταχέως
 κακείνης τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπεστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς νό-
 103 μους ἐφύλαττον, οὓς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρέλαβον, οὐδ' ἐν
 τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἔμενον οἷς πρότερον εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπολαβόντες ἐξεῖναι
 ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῶσιν, εἰς πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατέ-
 στησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἠδεδσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἧς πάντες εὐχονται τυ-
 χεῖν, ὡς δύσχρηστός ἐστιν, οὐδ' ὡς παραφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τοὺς
 ἀγαπῶντας αὐτήν, οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν ἔχει ταῖς ἐταίραις
 104 ταῖς ἑρᾶν μὲν αὐτῶν ποιούσαις, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους ἀπολλυού-
 σαις. (λδ΄.) Καίτοι φανερῶς ἐπιδέδεικται ταύτην ἔχουσα τὴν
 δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν πλείσταις ἐξουσίαις γεγενημένους ἴδοι τις
 ἂν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεπωκότας, ἀρξαμένους ἀφ'
 ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πολιτευό-



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ἢ τῶν χαλεπῶν οὐ πρόσεστιν; οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπειδὴν λάβωσι τὰς
 112 δυναστείας, ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἐμπεπλεγμένοι κακοῖς εἰσὶν, ὥστ' ἀναγκά-
 ζεσθαι πολεμεῖν μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις, μισεῖν δ' ὑφ' ὧν
 οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθασιν, ἀπιστεῖν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐταί-
 ροις τοῖς αὐτῶν, παρακατατίθεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων σωτη-
 ρίαν μισθοφόροις ἀνθρώποις, οὓς οὐδὲ πώποτ' εἶδον, μηδὲν δ'
 ἤττον φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὕτω
 δ' ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις
 113 θαρρεῖν πλησιάζοντας; εἰκότως· συνίσασι γὰρ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν
 τετυραννευκότας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἀνηρημένους, τοὺς
 δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν,
 ἔτι δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανισμένον. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 ὑπὸ τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος συμφορὰς ἐκόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπο-
 βάλλουσιν. ὅπου δ' οἱ πρωτεύοντες καὶ δόξας μεγίστας ἔχοντες
 τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐρωῶσι, τί δεῖ θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰ τοιού-
 114 των ἑτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. (λζ'.) Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν περὶ
 τῶν τυράννων λόγον ἀποδέχεσθε, τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυσκό-
 λως ἀκούετε· πεπόνθατε γὰρ πάντων αἰσχιστον καὶ ῥαθυμότα-
 τον· ἃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄρατε, ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀγ-
 νοεῖτε. καίτοι τῶν φρονίμως διακειμένων οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τοῦτο
 σημεῖόν ἐστιν, ἣν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὁμοίων
 115 φαίνονται γνωρίζοντες. ὧν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
 τὰς μὲν τυραννίδας ἠγεῖσθε χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ βλαβερὰς οὐ
 μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτάς, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν
 τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε τοῖς
 πάθεσιν οὔτε ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν μοναρχιῶν διαφέρουσαν. καὶ
 τὰ μὲν Θηβαίων πράγματα νομίζετε πονηρῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι τοὺς
 περιοίκους ἀδικοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοὺς συμμάχους
 διοικοῦντες ἢ 'κεῖνοι τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἠγεῖσθε πάντα τὰ δέοντα
 πράττειν.

116 (λη'.) Ἦν οὖν ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, παυσάμενοι τοῦ παντάπασιν
 εἰκῆ βουλευέσθαι προσέξτε τὸν νοῦν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει
 καὶ φιλοσοφήσετε καὶ σκέψεσθε, τί τὸ ποιῆσάν ἐστι τὴν πόλιν
 τούτω, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ ταπει-
 νῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ἑκατέραν ὀρμηθεῖσαν ἄρξαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνυπέρβλητον τὴν δύναμιν ἔλαβον, περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ
 117 κινδυνεῦσαι· καὶ διὰ τίνος αἰτίας Θετταλοὶ μὲν μεγίστους πλού-
 τους παραλαβόντες καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην καὶ πλείστην ἔχοντες εἰς
 ἀπορίαν καθεστήκασι, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ μικρῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ φάυλων
 τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων, καὶ γῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ λιμέ-
 νας οὐδ' ἀργυρεῖα, πέτρας δὲ γεωργοῦντες, μεγίστους οἴκους
 118 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέκτηνται· κάκεινων μὲν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἄλλοι
 τινὲς αἰεὶ κατέχουσιν, ὄντων αὐτοῖς πλέον τρισχιλίων ἰππέων

καὶ πελταστῶν ἀναριθμητῶν, οὗτοι δὲ μικρὰν δύναμιν ἔχοντες
 τὴν αὐτῶν ὅπως βούλονται διοικοῦσιν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ μὲν
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, οὗτοι δὲ μεταξὺ Πελοποννησίων καὶ
 119 Θηβαίων καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως οἰκοῦντες εἰρήνην ἄγοντες
 διατελοῦσιν. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διεξίητε πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 αὐτούς, εὐρήσετε τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν κακῶν
 αἰτίαν γιγνομένην, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἦν ὑμεῖς
 ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐπαινεῖτε, καὶ νομίζετε τοὺς ταύτη χρω-
 μένους ἀσφαλέστατα ζῆν καὶ βελτίστους εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸ
 120 δὲ κοινὸν ἡμῶν οὐκ οἴεσθε δεῖν τοιοῦτον παρασκευάζειν. καίτοι
 προσήκει τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀσκεῖν καὶ τὰς κακίας φεύγειν πολὺ μᾶλ-
 λον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώταις. ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβῆς καὶ
 πονηρὸς τυχὸν ἂν φθάσειε τελευτήσας πρὶν δοῦναι δίκην τῶν
 ἡμαρτημένων· αἱ δὲ πόλεις διὰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν ὑπομένουσι καὶ
 τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας.

121 (λθ΄.) Ὡν ἐνθυμουμένους χρῆ μὴ προσέχειν τὸν τοῦν τοῖς ἐν
 τῷ παρόντι μὲν χαριζομένοις, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος χρόνου μηδεμίαν
 ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένοις, μηδὲ τοῖς φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον φάσκου-
 σιν, ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν λυμαινομένοις· ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἐπειδὴ
 παρέλαβον οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος δυναστείαν, εἰς
 τοσαύτην ἄνοιαν προήγαγον τὴν πόλιν ὥστε παθεῖν αὐτήν,
 122 οἷάπερ ὀλίγοι πρότερον ὑμῖν διηγησάμην. ἂ καὶ πάντων μάλιστα
 ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν, ὅτι προχειρίζεσθε δημαγωγοὺς οὐ τοὺς τὴν
 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τοῖς μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασιν ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς ὅμοια καὶ λέγοντας καὶ πράττοντας τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν αὐτήν,
 καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα
 123 τοὺς χρηστοὺς τῶν πονηρῶν διαφέροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημο-
 κρατίαν ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκείνων ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν οὔτε
 μεταστᾶσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγοι χρόνοι δις ἤδη καταλυθεῖ-
 σαν, καὶ τὰς φυγὰς καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ
 τῶν τριάκοντα γενομένας οὐ διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας κατελθούσας
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς μισοῦντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐπ' ἀρετῇ
 124 δόξαν ἔχοντας. (μ΄.) Ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικούτων ἡμῖν ὑπομνημάτων
 καταλελειμμένων, ὡς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν ἢ πόλις ἔπραττεν,
 οὕτω χαίρομεν ταῖς τῶν ῥητόρων πονηρίαις, ὥσθ' ὀρώντες διὰ
 τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ταραχάς, ἃς οὗτοι πεποιήκασι, τῶν μὲν
 ἄλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρῶων ἐκπεπτωκότας, τού-
 125 τοὺς δ' ἐκ πενήτων πλουσίους γεγεννημένους, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν,
 οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν τὴν
 μὲν πόλιν διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν, ὡς λυμáίνεται καὶ δασμολογεῖ τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας, τούτους δὲ τὰς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβάνοντας, καὶ τὸν μὲν
 δῆμον, ὃν φασιν οὗτοι δεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, χειρόν πρᾶτ-
 τοντα τῶν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις δουλευόντων, οἷς δ' οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν

ἀγαθόν, τούτους δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ ταπεινῶν
 126 εὐδαίμονας γεγενημένους. καίτοι Περικλῆς ὁ πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων
 δημαγωγὸς καταστάς, παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χεῖρον μὲν φρονοῦ-
 σαν ἢ πρὶν κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔτι δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευομένην,
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν ὤρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον
 ἐλάττω τὸν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν, εἰς
 δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν
 127 ἱερῶν. οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου διενηνόχασιν, ὥστε λέγειν
 μὲν τολμῶσιν, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ δύνανται
 τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, φαίνεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀμε-
 λούμενα τοσαύτην εἰληφότα τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ὅσην οὐδ' ἂν εὐξασθαι
 τοῖς θεοῖς πρότερον ἠξίωσαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, οὐ κήδεσθαι
 φασιν, οὕτω διακείμενον ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἠδέως ζῆν
 128 μηδὲ ῥαθυμῶς, ἀλλ' ὀδυρμῶν μεστήν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ τὰς πενίας καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναγκάζονται διεξιέναι καὶ θρη-
 νεῖν πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσταγμάτων
 καὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς συμμορίας καὶ
 τὰς ἀντιδόσεις· ἃ τοιαύτας ἐμποιεῖ λύπας ὥστ' ἄλγιον ζῆν τοὺς
 129 τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους ἢ τοὺς συνεχῶς πενομένους. (μα'.) Θαυ-
 μάζω δ' εἰ μὴ δύνασθε συνιδεῖν, ὅτι γένος οὐδέν ἐστι κακονού-
 στερον τῷ πλήθει πονηρῶν ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν· πρὸς γὰρ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀναγκαίων
 οὗτοι μάλιστα βούλονται σπανίζειν ὑμᾶς, ὄρωντες τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
 τῶν ἰδίων δυναμένους τὰ σφέτερόν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν τῆς πόλεως
 130 ὄντας καὶ τῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λεγόντων, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δικα-
 στηρίων ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν λημμάτων
 ὑφ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐνδειαν ἠναγκασμένους εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν
 χάριν ἔχοντας ταῖς εἰσαγγελίαις καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 131 συκοφανταῖς ταῖς δι' αὐτῶν γιγνομέναις. ἐν οὖν ταῖς ἀπορίαις,
 ἐν αἷς δυναστεύουσιν, ἐν ταύταις ἠδιστ' ἂν ἴδοιεν ἅπαντας ὄντας
 τοὺς πολίτας. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν,
 ἐξ οὗ τρόπου τοῖς δεομένοις βίον ἐκποριοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοὺς
 132 ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντας τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐξισώσουσιν. (μβ'.) Τίς οὖν
 ἀπαλλαγὴ γένοιτ' ἂν τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων; διείλεγμα μὲν
 τὰ πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστον
 τῷ καιρῷ συνέπιπτεν· μᾶλλον δ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐγγένοιτο μνημονεύειν,
 εἰ συναγαγὼν τὰ μάλιστα κατεπείγοντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὰ
 πειραθεῖην.

133 (μγ'.) Ἔστι δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐπανορθώσασιν τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
 βελτίω ποιήσασιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἦν συμβούλους ποιῶμεθα τοιού-
 τους περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, οἷους περ ἂν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἡμῖν εἶναι
 βουληθεῖμεν, καὶ παυσώμεθα δημοτικούς μὲν νομίζοντες τοὺς
 συκοφάντας, ὀλιγαρχικούς δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀν-

δρῶν, γνόντες, ὅτι φύσει μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν,
 ἐν ἧ δ' ἂν ἕκαστοι τιμῶνται, ταύτην βούλονται καθεστάναι τὴν
 134 πολιτείαν. (μδ'.) Δεύτερον δ' ἦν ἐθελήσωμεν χρῆσθαι τοῖς συμ-
 μάχοις ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ μὴ λόγῳ μὲν αὐτονόμους
 ἀφιῶμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται
 ποιεῖν ἐκδιδῶμεν, μηδὲ δεσποτικῶς ἀλλὰ συμμαχικῶς αὐτῶν
 ἐπιστατῶμεν, ἐκεῖνο καταμαθόντες, ὅτι μιᾶς μὲν ἐκάστης τῶν
 135 πόλεων κρείττους ἐσμέν, ἀπασῶν δ' ἥττους. (μέ'.) Τρίτον ἦν
 μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιῆσθε¹ μετὰ γε τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέ-
 βειαν τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εὐδοκιμεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω διακει-
 μένοις ἐκόντες καὶ τὰς δυναστείας καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας διδόασιν.
 136 (μς'.) Ἦν οὖν ἐμμείνητε τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
 ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχητε πολεμικοὺς μὲν ὄντας ταῖς μελέταις καὶ
 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρηνικοὺς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πράτ-
 τειν, οὐ μόνον εὐδαίμονα ποιήσετε ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 137 τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἅπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τῶν πόλεων οὐδεμία
 τολμήσει περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλ' ὀκνήσουσι καὶ πολλὴν
 ἡσυχίαν ἄξουσιν, ὅταν εἰδῶσιν ἐφειδρεύουσαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν
 ἡμετέραν καὶ παρεσκευασμένην τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν. οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλ' ὀπότερον ἂν ποιήσωσιν, τό γ' ἡμέτερον καλῶς ἔξει καὶ
 138 συμφερόντως. ἦν τε γὰρ δόξη τῶν πόλεων ταῖς προεχούσαις
 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἡμεῖς τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἔχομεν· ἦν τ' ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντες οἱ
 δεδιότες καὶ κακῶς πάσχοντες καταφεύξονται, πολλὰς ἰκετείας
 καὶ δεήσεις ποιούμενοι, καὶ διδόντες οὐ μόνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 139 ἀλλὰ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς. ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν, μεθ' ὧν κωλύ-
 σομεν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔχομεν τοὺς ἐτοιμῶς
 καὶ προθύμως συναγωνιζομένους ἡμῖν. ποία γὰρ πόλις ἢ τίς
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσει μετασχεῖν τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῆς συμμα-
 χίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ δι-
 καιοτάτους ὄντας καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν κεκτημένους, καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ἄλλους σώζειν καὶ βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ
 140 μηδεμιᾶς βοηθείας δεομένους; πόσῃν δὲ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐπίδοσιν
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως λήψεσθαι, τοιαύτης εὐνοίας ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὑπαρξάσης; πόσον δὲ πλοῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσρουήσεσθαι, δι'
 ἡμῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωζομένης; τίνας δ' οὐκ ἐπαινέσεσθαι
 τοὺς τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους;
 141 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἅπαντα τῷ λόγῳ περι-
 λαβεῖν, ἃ τυγχάνω τῇ διανοίᾳ καθορῶν, πλὴν ὅτι καλόν ἐστίν
 ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικίαις καὶ μανίαις πρώτους εὖ φρονήσαν-
 τας προστῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ σωτῆρας ἀλλὰ

¹ ποιῆσθε *Pap.*: ποιησῆσθε *Pap.*²: ἡγήσθε *codd.*

μη̄ λυμεῶνας αὐτῶν κληθῆναι, καὶ περιβλέπτους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ γενο-
μένους τὴν δόξαν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀναλαβεῖν.

142 (μζ'.) Κεφάλαιον δὲ τούτων ἐκεῖν' ἔχω λέγειν, εἰς ὃ πάντα τὰ
προειρημένα συντείνει καὶ πρὸς ὃ χρῆ βλέποντας τὰς πράξεις
τὰς τῆς πόλεως δοκιμάζειν. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ βουλόμεθα
διαλύσασθαι μὲν τὰς διαβολάς, ἃς ἔχομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, παύ-
σασθαι δὲ τῶν πολέμων τῶν μάτην γιγνομένων, κτήσασθαι δὲ
τῇ πόλει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, μισῆσαι μὲν
ἀπάσας τὰς τυραννικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἀναλογισα-
μένους τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένας, ζηλαῖσαι δὲ καὶ
143 μιμήσασθαι τὰς ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι βασιλείας. ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἀδικεῖν
μὲν ἤττον ἔξεστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, τοσοῦτον δὲ μακαριστότεροι
τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τῶν βία τὰς τυραννίδας κατεχόντων, ὅσον οἱ
μὲν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποκτείναντες τὰς μεγίστας δωρεὰς παρὰ
τῶν συμπολιτευομένων λαμβάνουσιν, ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων δ' οἱ μὴ τολ-
μῶντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἀτιμότεροι γίνονται τῶν
144 τὰς τάξεις λειπόντων καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀποβαλλόντων. ἄξιον
οὖν ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἡγεμονίας. ἔνεστι δ' ἐν τοῖς πράγ-
μασιν ἡμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, ἣνπερ
ἐκείνοι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἣν ὑπολάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν
τὴν ἡμετέραν μὴ δουλείας ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας αἰτίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι.

145 (μη'.) Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν λόγον ἐνόητων περὶ τὴν ὑπό-
θεσιν ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω συμβουλεύει παύσασθαι λέγοντι,
καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν·
τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις καὶ μᾶλλον ἀκμάζουσιν ἢ ἄγω παραινῶ καὶ
παρακελεύομαι τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν τὰς με-
γίστας τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς εἰθισμένας ταῖς ἄλλαις κακὰ παρέ-
χειν προτρέφουσιν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῆς
Ἑλλάδος εὐπραγίαις συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων πράγ-
ματα πολὺ βελτίω γίνεσθαι.

(α΄.) Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὦ Φίλιππε, διότι τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ ῥηθησομένου καὶ νῦν δειχθήσεσθαι μέλλοντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γραφέντος. περὶ οὗ μικρὰ βούλομαι προειπεῖν, ἵνα δηλώσω καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς οὐ δι' ἀγνοίαν οὐδὲ διαψευσθεὶς τῆς ἀρρωστίας τῆς νῦν μοι παρούσης ἐπεθέμην γράφειν τὸν πρὸς σὲ λόγον ἀλλ' εἰκότως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπαχθεῖς.

2 (β΄.). Ὅρῶν γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐνστάντα σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον γιγνόμενον ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ἐταίρων λεγομένοις οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε πλεῖστον
3 ἀφροσύνην τῆς τούτων διανοίας. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, συναγορεύοντες ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων οὐδὲν ἀπεφαινόμενον, ὃν δ' ὑπελάμβανον τῶν λόγων εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναι, περὶ τοῦτον διέτριβον, λέγων, ὡς ἀμφοτέροι διαμαρτάνετε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ σὺ μὲν πολεμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῖν συμφερόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς δυναστείας· λυσιτελεῖν γὰρ σοὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ταύτην, τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου λαβεῖν αὐτήν.
4 καὶ περὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐδόκουν διεξιέναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὥστε μηδένα τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μηδὲ τὴν λέξιν ἐπαινεῖν ὡς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἔχουσαν, ὅπερ εἰώθασί τινες ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων θαυμάζειν καὶ νομίζειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν
5 ἄλλως παύσασθαι τῆς φιλονικίας ὑμᾶς, πλὴν εἰ σὺ μὲν πεισθείης πλείονος ἀξίαν ἔσεσθαι σοὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως φιλίαν ἢ τὰς προσόδους τὰς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως γιγνομένας, ἡ δὲ πόλις δυνηθεῖη καταμαθεῖν, ὡς χρὴ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας φεύγειν ἀποικίας, αἴτινες τετράκις ἢ πεντάκις ἀπολωλέκασι τοὺς ἐμπολιτευθέντας, ζητεῖν δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους τοὺς πόρρω μὲν κειμένους τῶν ἀρχαίων δυναμένων, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν δουλεύειν εἰθισμένων, εἰς οἶόν περ
6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυρηναίους ἀπόκισαν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ σὺ μὲν γνοίης, ὅτι λόγῳ παραδούς τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ταύτην αὐτὸς ἔργῳ κρατήσεις αὐτῆς καὶ προσέτι τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν κτήσει· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ὁμήρους λήψει παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς φιλίας, ὅσους περ ἂν ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν ἀποστείλωμεν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν εἴ τις διδάξειεν, ὡς ἂν λάβωμεν Ἀμφίπολιν, ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν ἔχειν τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι

7 δια τούς ἐνταῦθα κατοικοῦντας, οἷαν περ εἶχομεν Ἀμαδόκῳ τῷ
 παλαιῷ δια τούς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ γεωργοῦντας. τοιούτων δὲ πολ-
 λῶν λεγομένων ἤλπισαν, ὅσοι περ ἤκουσαν, διαδοθέντος τοῦ
 λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς καὶ γνωσιμαχήσαντας βου-
 λεύσεσθαι τι κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν
 ἀφρόνως ἢ καὶ τοῦν ἐχόντως ταῦτ' ἐδόξαζον, δικαίως ἂν ἐκεῖ-
 νοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοιεν· ὄντος δ' οὖν ἐμοῦ περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν
 ταύτην ἔφθητε ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην πρὶν ἐξεργασθῆναι τὸν
 λόγον, σωφρονοῦντες· ὅπως γὰρ οὖν πεπραχθαι κρεῖττον ἦν
 8 αὐτὴν ἢ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς δια τὸν πόλεμον γιγνο-
 μένοις. (δ'.) Συνησθεῖς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ψηφισθεῖσι
 καὶ νομίσας οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλη-
 σιν ἅπασιν συνοίσειν, ἀποστῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν τῶν
 ἐχομένων οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἀλλ' οὕτω διεκείμην ὥστ' εὐθύς σκο-
 πεῖσθαι, πῶς ἂν τὰ πεπραγμένα παραμείνειεν ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ χρό-
 νον ὀλίγον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν διαλιποῦσα πάλιν ἑτέρων πολέμων
 9 ἐπιθυμήσειε· διεξιὼν δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὕρισκον
 οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως αὐτὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσαν, πλὴν εἰ δόξειε ταῖς
 πόλεσι ταῖς μεγίσταις διαλυσαμέναις τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτὰς εἰς
 τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἃς νῦν
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦσιν αὐταῖς γίνεσθαι, ταύτας εἰ παρὰ
 τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι βουλευθεῖεν· ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ
 λόγῳ τυγχάνω συμβεβουλευκώς.

10 (ε'.) Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεῖς καὶ νομίσας οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὐρεθῆναι
 καλλίω ταύτης ὑπόθεσιν οὐδὲ κοινοτέραν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἅπασιν
 ἡμῖν συμφέρουσαν, ἐπήρθη πάλιν γράψαι περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐκ
 ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲν τῶν περὶ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς μὲν τὸν λόγον
 τοῦτον οὐ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἐμῆς δεόμενον ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνθοῦσαν
 τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρον-
 11 τος, ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν δύο
 λόγους ἀνεκτῶς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε κὰν ὁ πρότερον ἐκδοθεῖς
 οὕτως ἢ γεγραμμένος ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας ἡμᾶς μιμει-
 σθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπαι-
 12 νούντων. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ ταύτας τὰς δυσχερείας ὑπεριδὼν οὕτως
 ἐπὶ γήρως γέγονα φιλότιμος, ὥστ' ἠβουλήθη ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς σὲ
 λεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ διατρέψασιν ὑποδείξαι καὶ ποιῆσαι
 φανερόν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν-
 τας λέγειν τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς οὐδένα λέγειν
 ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων ἄκυροι τυγχάνουσιν
 ὄντες τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν
 γεγραμμέναις, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους μὴ μάτην φλυαρεῖν ἀλλὰ
 προὔρου τι ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς οἰομένους ἀγαθὸν τι κοινὸν εὐρη-
 κέναι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶαν πανηγυρίζειν, αὐτοὺς δ' ὧν εἰσηγοῦν-



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μένοις; τῶν δὲ πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον τὰς μὲν
 ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ συμμαχίαν προσῆκται, τὰς δὲ
 21 σφόδρα λυπούσας αὐτὸν ἀναστάτους πεποίηκεν; Μάγνητας δὲ
 καὶ Περραιβοὺς καὶ Παίονας κατέστραπται καὶ πάντας ὑπηκόους
 αὐτοὺς εἴληφεν; τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυριῶν πλήθους πλὴν τῶν παρὰ τὸν
 Ἀδρίαν οἰκούντων ἐγκρατῆς καὶ κύριος γέγονεν; ἀπάσης δὲ τῆς
 Θράκης οὐς ἠβουλήθη δεσπότης κατέστησεν; τὸν δὴ τοσαῦτα
 καὶ τηλικαῦτα διαπεπραγμένον οὐκ οἶει πολλὴν μωρίαν κατα-
 γνώσεσθαι τοῦ πέμψαντος τὸ βιβλίον καὶ πολὺ διεψεῦσθαι νο-
 μιεῖν τῆς τε τῶν λόγων δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας;
 22 ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὡς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην, καὶ πάλιν ὡς ἀνα-
 λαβὼν ἑμαυτὸν ἀντεῖπον πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ρηθέντων· παρα-
 λείψω, μὴ καὶ δόξω τισὶ λίαν ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ χαριέντως αὐτοὺς
 ἠμυνάμην· λυπήσας δ' οὖν μετρίως, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν ἔπειθον, τοὺς
 ἐπιπλήξαι μοι τολμήσαντας, τελευτῶν ὑπεσχόμεν μόνους αὐτοῖς
 τὸν λόγον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείξειν καὶ ποιήσειν οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 23 περὶ αὐτοῦ, πλὴν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξη. τούτων ἀκούσαντες
 ἀπῆλθον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες. πλὴν οὐ πολλαῖς
 ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπιτελεσθέντος τοῦ λόγου καὶ δειχθέντος αὐτοῖς
 τοσοῦτον μετέπεσον, ὥστ' ἠσχύνοντο μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἐθρασύναντο,
 μετέμελε δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων τῶν εἰρημένων, ὁμολόγουν δὲ μη-
 δενὸς πώποτε τοσοῦτον πράγματος διαμαρτεῖν, ἔσπευδον δὲ
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἴγω πεμφθῆναί σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἔλεγον δ' ὡς
 ἐλπίζουσιν οὐ μόνον σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξειν μοι χάριν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν εἰρημένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας.
 24 (θ'.) Τούτου δ' ἔνεκά σοι ταῦτα διῆλθον, ἵν' ἂν τί σοι φανῆ
 τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων ἢ μὴ πιστὸν ἢ μὴ δυνατὸν ἢ μὴ πρέ-
 πον σοι πράττειν, μὴ δυσχεράνας ἀποστῆς τῶν λοιπῶν, μηδὲ
 πάθης ταῦτὸν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις τοῖς ἑμοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπιμείνης ἡσυχά-
 ζουσιν ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἕως ἂν διὰ τέλους ἀκούσης ἀπάντων
 τῶν λεγομένων. οἶμαι γὰρ εἶναι τι τῶν δεόντων καὶ τῶν σοὶ
 25 συμφερόντων. (ι'.) Καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν, ὅσον διαφέρουσι τῶν
 λόγων εἰς τὸ πείθειν οἱ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκομένων, οὐδ'
 ὅτι πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν τοὺς μὲν περὶ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων
 καὶ κατεπειγόντων ρητορεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ
 26 πρὸς ἐργολαβίαν γεγράφθαι. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐγνώκασιν·
 ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀποστερηθῆ τῆς τε δόξης τῆς τοῦ λέγον-
 τος καὶ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ρητορείαις
 γιγνομένων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν
 πράξιν, καὶ μηδὲν ἢ τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον καὶ συμπεῖθον, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἀπάντων ἔρημος γένηται καὶ γυμνός,
 ἀναγιγνώσκῃ δὲ τις αὐτὸν ἀπιθάνως καὶ μηδὲν ἠῆθος ἐνσημαινό-
 27 μενος ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπαριθμῶν, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, φαῦλος εἶναι δοκεῖ

τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ἄπερ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐπιδεικνύμενον μάλιστα ἂν βλάβειε καὶ φανλότερον φαίνεσθαι ποιήσειεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῖς περὶ τὴν λέξιν εὐρυθμίαις καὶ ποικιλίαις κεκοσμήκαμεν αὐτόν, αἷς αὐτός τε νεώτερος ὢν ἐχρώμην καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπέδειξα, 28 δι' ὧν τοὺς λόγους ἠδίους ἂν ἅμα καὶ πιστοτέρους ποιοιεν. ὢν οὐδὲν ἔτι δύναμαι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη μοι τοσοῦτον, ἦν αὐτὰς τὰς πράξεις ἀπλῶς δυνηθῶ διελθεῖν. ἠγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ σοὶ προσήκειν ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντι ταύταις μόναίς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὕτω δ' ἂν ἀκριβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα 29 θεωρήσειας, εἴ τι τυγχάνομεν λέγοντες, ἦν τὰς μὲν δυσχερείας τὰς περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀναγιγνωσκομένους τῶν λόγων ἀφέλης, ἀναλαμβάνων δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξετάζης, μὴ πάρεργον ποιούμενος μηδὲ μετὰ ῥαθυμίας ἀλλὰ μετὰ λογισμοῦ καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἧς καὶ σὲ μετεσχηκέναι φασίν. μετὰ γὰρ τούτων σκοπούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ἄμεινον ἂν βουλεύσαιο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἠβουλόμην μοι 30 προειρηθῆσθαι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. (ια΄.) Περὶ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους. φημὶ γὰρ χοῖναί σε τῶν μὲν ἰδίων μηδενὸς ἀμελήσαι, πειραθῆναι δὲ διαλλάξαι τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν Ἄργείων καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν. ἦν γὰρ ταύτας συστήσαι δυνηθῆς, οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ τὰς 31 ἄλλας ὁμονοεῖν ποιήσεις· ἅπασαι γὰρ εἰσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς εἰρημέναις καὶ καταφεύγουσιν, ὅταν φοβηθῶσιν, ἐφ' ἣν ἂν τύχωσι τούτων, καὶ τὰς βοηθείας ἐντεῦθεν λαμβάνουσιν. ὥστ' ἂν τέτταρας μόνον πόλεις εὖ φρονεῖν πείσης, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολλῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξεις.

32 (ιβ΄.) Γνοίης δ' ἂν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς σοὶ προσήκει τούτων ὀλιγορεῖν, ἦν ἀνευέγκης αὐτῶν τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους· εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐκάστη πολλὴν φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας ὑπαρχούσας. Ἄργος μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ σοὶ πατρίς, ἧς δίκαιον τοσαύτην σε ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, ὅσην περ τῶν γονέων τῶν σαυτοῦ· Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τιμῶσι καὶ ταῖς προσόδοις καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς 33 ἄλλους· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον δεδώκασι· τὴν δὲ πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν φασίν, οἷσπερ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πιστεύομεν, Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν συναιτίαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὃν δὲ τρόπον, σοὶ μὲν αὐθις πνυθέσθαι ῥάδιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ νῦν εἰπεῖν 34 οὐ καιρός, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῆς σωτηρίας. μόνη γὰρ ὑποστᾶσα τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρουσθέως δύναμιν ἐκείνόν τε τῆς ὕβρεως ἔπαυσε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν φόβων τῶν ἀεὶ παραγιγνομένων αὐτοῖς ἀπήλλαξεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ μόνον τοὺς τότε σωθέντας δίκαιον ἦν ἡμῖν χάριν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς

νῦν ὄντας· διὰ γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ζῶσι καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύουσι· μὴ γὰρ σωθέντων ἐκείνων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι τὸ παράπαν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς.

35 (ιγ΄.) Τοιούτων οὖν ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων γεγενημένων ἔδει μὲν μηδέποτε σοι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι διαφορὰν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅπαντες πλείω πεφύκαμεν ἕξαμαρτάνειν ἢ κατορθοῦν. ὥστε τὰ μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένα κοινὰ θεῖναι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον φυλακτέον, ὅπως μηδὲν συμβήσεταιί σοι τοιοῦτον, καὶ σκεπτέον, τί ἂν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὰς ἐργασάμενος φανείης ἄξια καὶ σαντοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείναις πεπραγμένων

36 πεποικώς. ἔχεις δὲ καιρόν· ἀποδιδόντα γὰρ σε χάριν ὧν ὄφειλες, ὑπολήφονται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ μεταξὺ προὔπαρχειν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν. καλὸν δ' ἐστὶ δοκεῖν μὲν τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων εὖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲν δ' ἥττον αὐτὸν ἢ 'κείνας

37 ὠφελεῖν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εἰ πρὸς τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀηδὲς τί σοι συμβέβηκεν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα διαλύσεις· αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς εὐεργεσίαι λήθην ἐμποιοῦσι τῶν πρότερον [ὑμῖν] εἰς ἀλλήλους πεπλημμελημένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο φανερόν, ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι τούτων πλείστην μνείαν ἔχουσιν, ὧν ἂν ἐν

38 ταῖς συμφοραῖς εὖ πάθωσιν. ὄρας δ' ὡς τεταλαιπώρηται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὡς παραπλησίως ἔχουσι τοῖς ἰδία μαχομένοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀύξομένης μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς οὐδεὶς ἂν διαλλάξειεν· ἐπὴν δὲ κακῶς ἀλλήλους διαθῶσιν, οὐδενὸς διαλύοντος αὐτοὶ διέστησαν. ὅπερ οἶμαι καὶ ταύτας ποιήσειν, ἣν μὴ σὺ πρότερον αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆς.

39 (ιδ΄.) Τάχ' οὖν ἂν τις ἐνστήναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις τολμήσειε, λέγων, ὡς ἐπιχειρῶ σε πείθειν ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι πράγμασιν· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀργεῖους φίλους ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους Θηβαίοις οὔθ' ὅλως τοὺς εἰθισμένους ἅπαντα τον χρόνον πλεονεκτεῖν οὐδέποτε ἂν ἰσομοιοῆσαι

40 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. (ιε΄.) Ἐγὼ δ' ὅτε μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδυνάστευε καὶ πάλιν ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡγοῦμαι περανθῆναι τούτων, ῥαδίως γὰρ ἂν ἑκατέραν ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῖςπραττομένοις, νῦν δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν. οἶδα γὰρ ἀπάσας ὠμαλισμένας ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ὥσθ' ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὰς αἰρήσεσθαι τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμονοίας ὠφελείας

41 ἢ τὰς ἐκ τῶν τότεπραττομένων πλεονεξίας. (ις΄.) Ἐπειτα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὁμολογῶ μηδέν' ἂν δυνηθῆναι διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας, σοὶ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ χαλεπόν. ὄρω γὰρ σε τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνελπίστων δοκούντων εἶναι καὶ παραδόξων πολλὰ διαπεπραγμένον, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα μόνος συστήσαι δυνηθείης. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας καὶ τοὺς διαφέροντας μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἃ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων

ἂν τις καταπράξειεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις οἷς μηδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπιχειρήσειε πλὴν τῶν ὁμοίαν σοὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχόντων.

42 (ιζ΄.) Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀδύνατον εἶναιπραχθῆναι τι τούτων, εἰ μήτ' αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν εἰδότες μήθ' ἑτέρων ἀκηκόασιν, ὅτι πολλοὶ δὴ πόλεμοι καὶ δεινοὶ γεγόνασιν, οὓς οἱ διαλυσάμενοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀλλήλοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν. τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς Ξέρξην τοῖς Ἑλλησι γενομένης; οὐ τὴν φιλίαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσαντας ἢ τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων ἑκατέρους ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἀθρήσειε καὶ σκέψαιτο τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοράς, οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος οὔσαι φανεῖεν τῶν διὰ Θηβαίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν γεγενημένων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον Λακεδαιμονίων τε στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Θηβαίους καὶ βουλομένων λυμήνασθαι τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ διοικίσαι τὰς πόλεις, βοηθήσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐγενόμεθα ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμίαις· καὶ πάλιν μεταπεσοῦσης τῆς τύχης καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἀπάντων ἐπιχειρησάντων ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι τὴν Σπάρτην, ἡμεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιησάμενοι συμμαχίαν 45 συναίτιοι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς κατέστημεν. πολλῆς οὖν ἀνοίας ἂν εἶη μεστός, εἰ τις ὁρῶν τηλικαύτας μεταβολὰς γιγνομένας καὶ τὰς πόλεις μήτ' ἔχθρας μήθ' ὄρκων μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς φροντιζούσας, πλὴν ὅτι ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν ὠφέλιμον αὐταῖς εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ στεργούσας μόνον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τούτου ποιούμενας, μὴ καὶ νῦν νομίζοι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔξειν αὐτάς, ἄλλως τε καὶ σοῦ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντος ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος πείθοντος, τῶν δὲ παρόντων κακῶν ἀναγκαζόντων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τούτων σοὶ συναγωνιζομένων ἅπαντα γενήσεσθαι κατὰ τρόπον.

46 (ιη΄.) Ἦγοῦμαι δ' οὕτως ἂν σε μάλιστα καταμαθεῖν, εἴτ' εἰρηνικῶς εἴτε πολεμικῶς αἱ πόλεις αὐταὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν, εἰ διεξέλθοιμεν μήτε παντάπασιν ἀπλῶς μήτε λίαν ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρόντων αὐταῖς, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν σκεψαίμεθα τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

47 (ιθ΄.) Οὗτοι γὰρ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰς τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἦλθον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μάχην ἠττήθησαν τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις, ὥστ' ἀπεστερήθησαν μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δυναστείας, τοιοῦτους δ' ἀνδρας ἀπόλεσαν σφῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ προηροῦντο τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἠττηθέντες ὢν πρότερον ἐδέσποζον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις 48 ἐπίδον Πελοποννησίους ἅπαντας τοὺς πρότερον μεθ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀκολουθοῦντας, τούτους μετὰ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν

αὐτῶν εἰσβαλόντας, πρὸς οὓς ἠναγκάσθησαν διακινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀρχείοις περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον, ὃν 49 μὴ κατορθώσαντες μὲν εὐθύς ἀπόλλυντο, νικήσαντες δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν κακῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμοῦνται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν περιοικούντων, ἀπιστοῦνται δ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων Πελοποννησίων, μισοῦνται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἄγονται δὲ καὶ φέρονται καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, οὐδένα δὲ χρόνον διαλείπουσιν ἢ στρατεύοντες ἐπὶ τινὰς ἢ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τινὰς 50 ἢ βοηθοῦντες τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν· δεδιότες γὰρ διατελοῦσι, μὴ Θηβαῖοι διαλυσάμενοι τὰ πρὸς Φωκέας πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες μείζοσιν αὐτοὺς συμφοραῖς περιβάλωσι τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων. καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἀσμένους ἂν ἰδεῖν ἐπιστατοῦντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀξιόχρεων ἄνδρα καὶ δυνάμενον διαλύσει τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας πολέμους αὐτοῖς;

51 (κ'.) Ἀργείους τοίνυν ἴδοις ἂν τὰ μὲν παραπλησίως τοῖς εἰρημένοις πράττοντας, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον τούτων ἔχοντας· πολεμοῦσι μὲν γὰρ, ἐξ οὐπὲρ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρουσιν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πρὸς ἡττους αὐτῶν, οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς κρείττους· ὃ πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν. οὕτω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τεμνομένην καὶ πορθουμένην τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν περιορῶσιν. ὃ δὲ 52 πάντων δεινότατον· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι διαλίπωσι κακῶς αὐτοὺς ποιοῦντες, αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύουσι, καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες οὕτω χαίρουσιν, ὡς οὐδένες ἄλλοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποκτείνοντες. αἴτιον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ ταραχωδῶς αὐτοὺς ζῆν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ὁ πόλεμος· ὃν ἦν διαλύσης, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τούτων ἀπαλλάξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμεινον βουλευέσθαι ποιήσεις.

53 (κα'.) Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ περὶ Θηβαίους οὐδὲ σὲ λέληθεν. καλλίστην γὰρ μάχην νικήσαντες καὶ μεγίστην ἐξ αὐτῆς δόξαν λαβόντες διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις οὐδὲν βέλτιον πράττουσι τῶν ἠττηθέντων καὶ δυστυχησάντων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατήσαντες, καὶ πάντων ἀμελήσαντες ἠνώχλουν μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Θετταλίαν δ' ἐτόλμων καταδουλοῦσθαι, Μεγαρεῦσι δ' ὁμόροις οὖσιν ἠπέιλουν, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν πόλιν μέρος τι τῆς χώρας ἀπεστέρουν, Εὐβοίαν δ' ἐπόρθουν, εἰς Βυζάντιον δὲ τριήρεις ἐξέπεμπον, ὡς καὶ γῆς καὶ 54 θαλάττης ἄρξοντες. τελευτῶντες δὲ πρὸς Φωκέας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν ὡς τῶν τε πόλεων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κρατήσοντες, τὸν τε

τόπον ἅπαντα τὸν περιέχοντα κατασχέσονται, τῶν τε χρημάτων
 τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς περιγενησόμενοι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπάναις.
 ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰς
 Φωκέων πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέκασιν, εἰσβάλλοντες δ' εἰς
 τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάττω κακὰ ποιούσιν ἐκείνους ἢ πάσχουσιν
 55 ἀπιόντες εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Φωκίδι τῶν μισθοφό-
 ρων τινὰς ἀποκτείνουσιν, οἷς λυσιτελεῖ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν,
 ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τολμῶν-
 τας ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθνήσκειν ἀπολλύουσιν. εἰς τοῦτο δ'
 αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαντες ἅπαντας τοὺς
 Ἑλληνας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι νῦν ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι τῆς
 αὐτῶν σωτηρίας. ὥστ' οἶμαι καὶ τούτους ταχέως ποιήσειν, ὅ τι
 ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς καὶ συμβουλεύῃς.

56 (κβ'.) Λοιπὸν δ' ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν ἔτι περὶ τῆς πόλεως διαλεχθῆναι
 τῆς ἡμετέρας, εἰ μὴ προτέρα τῶν ἄλλων εὖ φρονήσασα τὴν
 εἰρήνην ἐπεποίητο. νῦν δ' αὐτὴν οἶμαι καὶ συναγωνιεῖσθαι τοῖς
 ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένοις, ἄλλως τε κἂν δυνηθῆ συνιδεῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα
 διοικεῖς πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον στρατείας.

57 (κγ'.) Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστί σοι συστήσαι τὰς πόλεις
 ταύτας, ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἠγοῦμαί σοι γεγενῆσθαι φανερόν· ἔτι
 τοίνυν ὡς καὶ ῥαδίως ταῦτα πράξεις, ἐκ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων
 οἶμαί σε γνῶναι ποιήσειν. ἦν γὰρ φανῶσιν ἕτεροί τινες τῶν
 προγεγενημένων μὴ καλλίωσι μὲν μηδ' ὀσιωτέροις ὧν ἡμεῖς συμ-
 βεβουλεύκαμεν ἐπιχειρήσαντες, μείζω δὲ καὶ δυσκολώτερα τούτων
 ἐπιτελέσαντες, τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν, ὡς οὐ θᾶπτον
 σὺ τὰ ῥάω πράξεις ἢ ἄκλεινοι τὰ χαλεπώτερα;

58 (κδ'.) Σκέψαι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἐκεῖνος
 γὰρ φυγὼν παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένους ἐπτηχότας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τὸ
 τῆς πόλεως, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχεν ἐκείνοις ἀλλ' οἶηθεῖς
 πειρατέον εἶναι βία κατελθεῖν προείλετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν.
 59 καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν τῶν τότε γενομένων εἴ τις λεγὴν ἐπιχει-
 ρήσειεν, οὐτ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἀκριβῶς δύναίτο, πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν
 ἴσως ἂν ἐνοχλήσειεν· εἰς τοσαύτην δὲ ταραχὴν κατέστησεν οὐ
 μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 Ἑλληνας, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μὲν παθεῖν, ἃ πάντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
 60 τηλικούτοις κακοῖς περιπεσεῖν ὥστε μηδέπω νῦν ἐξιτήλους εἶναι
 τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς δι' ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγγε-
 γεννημένας, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε δόξαντας εὐτυχεῖν εἰς
 τὰς νῦν ἀτυχίας δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην καθεστάναι· πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν δυνάμεως ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τὴν κατὰ
 61 γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ὥστ' εἴ τις φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς
 γίγνεσθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης

- ἐλάμβανον, οὐκ ἂν ἐξελεγχθείη ψευδόμενος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τηλικούτων αἴτιος γενόμενος κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μεγάλης μὲν δόξης τυχών, οὐ μὴν ἐπαινούμενος ὑφ' ἀπάντων. (κε΄.) Κόνων δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀντίστροφα τούτων ἔπραξεν.
- 62 ἀτυχήσας γὰρ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ Ἑλλησποντον οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς συνάρχοντας οἴκαδε μὲν ἀφικέσθαι κατησχύνθη, πλεύσας δ' εἰς Κύπρον χρόνον μὲν τινα περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν διέτριβεν, αἰσθόμενος δ' Ἀγησίλαον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκότα καὶ πορθοῦντα τὴν χώραν
- 63 οὕτω μέγ' ἐφρόνησεν, ὥστ' ἀφορμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἔχων πλὴν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἤλπισε Λακεδαιμονίους καταπολεμήσειν ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ταῦτα πέμπων ὡς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; συστάντος γὰρ αὐτῷ ναυτικοῦ περὶ Ρόδον, νικήσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν
- 64 ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς δ' Ἑλληνας ἠλευθέρωσεν, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ τείχη τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνώρθωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν προήγαγεν, ἐξ ἧσπερ ἐξέπεσεν. καίτοι τίς ἂν προσεδόκησεν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ταπεινῶς πράξαντος ἀνυστραφήσεσθαι τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πράγματα, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτιμωθήσεσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐπιπολάσειν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων;
- 65 (κς΄.) Διονύσιος τοίνυν, βούλομαι γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν σε πεισθῆναι ῥαδίαν εἶναι τὴν πράξιν, ἐφ' ἣν σε τυγχάνω παρακαλῶν, πολλοστὸς ὢν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ἐπιθυμήσας μοναρχίας ἀλόγως καὶ μανικῶς καὶ τολμήσας ἅπαντα πράττειν τὰ φέροντα πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην, κατέσχε μὲν Συρακούσας, ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις, ὅσαι περ ἦσαν Ἑλληνίδες, κατεστρέψατο, τηλικαύτην δὲ δύναμιν περιεβάλετο καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ὅσην οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ τῶν πρὸ
- 66 ἐκείνου γενομένων. (κς΄.) Ἔτι τοίνυν Κῦρος, ἵνα μνησθῶμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐκτεθεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀναιρεθεῖς δ' ὑπὸ Περσίδος γυναικός, εἰς τοσαύτην ἦλθε μεταβολὴν ὥσθ' ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας γενέσθαι δεσπότης.
- 67 (κη΄.) Ὅπου δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν φυγὰς ὢν, Κόνων δὲ δεδυστυχηκώς, Διονύσιος δ' οὐκ ἔνδοξος ὢν, Κῦρος δ' οὕτως οἰκτρᾶς αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ὑπαρξάσης, εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθον καὶ τηλικαῦτα διεπράξαντο, πῶς οὐ σέ γε χρὴ προσδοκᾶν, τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων μὲν γεγονότα, Μακεδονίας δὲ βασιλεύοντα, τοσοῦτων δὲ κύριον ὄντα, ῥαδίως τὰ προειρημένα συστήσειν;
- 68 (κθ΄.) Σκέψαι δ' ὡς ἄξιόν ἐστι τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐν οἷς κατορθώσας μὲν ἐνάμιλλον τὴν σαυτοῦ δόξαν καταστήσεις τοῖς πρωτεύσασιν, διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς προσδοκίας ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γ' εὐνοίαν κτήσει τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,



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πείθουσι, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦν-
 τας ὧνπερ οἱ λογοποιοῦντες, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς οὐδενὶ λογισμῶ
 χρωμένους ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀναισθήτως δια-
 κειμένους καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ἔχοντας τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φοβεῖσθαι
 καὶ δεδιέναι προσποιουμένοις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζοντας
 τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν σε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύ-
 76 τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι νομίζοντας· οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀφεστᾶσι
 τοῦ νοῦν ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἂν τις λόγους
 χρώμενος τοὺς μὲν βλάψει, τοὺς δ' ὠφελήσειεν. οἷον καὶ νῦν,
 εἰ μὲν τις φαίη τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβου-
 λεύειν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι στρατεύειν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν λέγοι
 περὶ αὐτοῦ φλαῦρον ἀλλ' ἀνδρωδέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ πλείονος
 ἀξίον δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιήσειεν· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τινὶ
 πεφυκότων, ὃς ἀπάσης κατέστη τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐεργέτης, ἐπιφέ-
 ροι τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην, εἰς τὴν μεγίστην αἰσχύνην ἂν αὐτὸν
 77 καταστήσειεν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσειε καὶ μισήσειεν, εἰ
 φαίνοιτο τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ προεί-
 λετο κινδυνεύειν, καὶ τὴν μὲν εὐνοίαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπε τοῖς
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοις, μὴ πειροῖτο διαφυλάττειν, ἀμελήσας δὲ
 τούτων ἐπονειδίστων ἐπιθυμοίῃ καὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων;

78 (λβ'.) ὦν ἐνθυμούμενον χρὴ μὴ περιορᾶν τοιαύτην φήμην
 σαυτῶ περιφουομένην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ περιθεῖναι σοι ζητοῦσι,
 τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀντειπεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ τολμή-
 σειεν. καίτοι περὶ τῶν σοὶ συμφερόντων ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀμφο-
 τέρων γνώμαις μάλιστ' ἂν κατίδοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

79 (λγ'.) Ἴσως οὖν ὑπολαμβάνεις μικροψυχίαν εἶναι τὸ τῶν βλασ-
 φημοῦντων καὶ φλυαρούντων καὶ τῶν πειθομένων τούτοις φρον-
 τίζειν, ἄλλως θ' ὅταν καὶ μηδὲν σαυτῶ συνειδῆς ἐξαμαρτάνων.
 χρὴ δὲ μὴ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ πλήθους, μηδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἠγεῖ-
 σθαι τὸ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τότε νομίζειν καλὴν ἔχειν
 καὶ μεγάλην τὴν δόξαν καὶ πρέπουσαν καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς προγό-
 80 νοις καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπραγμένοις, ὅταν οὕτω διαθῆς τοὺς
 Ἑλληνας, ὥσπερ ὄρᾳς Λακεδαιμονίους τε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν βασι-
 λέας ἔχοντας τοὺς θ' ἑταίρους τοὺς σοὺς πρὸς σὲ διακειμένους.
 ἔστι δ' οὐ χαλεπὸν τυχεῖν τούτων, ἣν ἐθελήσης κοινὸς ἅπασι
 γενέσθαι, καὶ παύσῃ ταῖς μὲν τῶν πόλεων οἰκείως ἔχων, πρὸς
 δὲ τὰς ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος, ἔτι δ' ἦν τὰ τοιαῦτα προαιροῖ
 πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησιν ἔσει πιστός, τοῖς δὲ βαρβά-
 ροις φοβερός.

81 (λδ'.) Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, ἅπερ ἐπέστειλα καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον
 τὸν τὴν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον, εἰ μήτε στρατηγὸς ὧν μήτε
 ῥήτωρ μήτ' ἄλλως δυνάστης θρασύτερόν σοι διείλεγμα τῶν
 ἄλλων. ἐγὼ γὰρ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι πάντων ἀφνέστατος

ἐγενόμην τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν ἔσχον ἱκανὴν οὔτε τόλ-
 82 μαν δυναμένην ὄχλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι
 πεπαιδεῦσθαι καλῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἀγροικότερον εἶναι φήσει τὸ
 ῥηθὲν, ἀμφισβητῶ, καὶ θείην ἂν ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολελειμ-
 μένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἄλλων. διόπερ ἐπιχειρῶ συμ-
 βουλεύειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐγὼ πέφυκα καὶ δύναμαι, καὶ
 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις.

83 (λε΄.) Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ περὶ ὧν σοὶ πράκτεον ἐστὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας σχεδὸν ἀκήκοας, περὶ δὲ τῆς στρατείας τῆς
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν, ἃς ἔφην χρῆναί σε διαλλάττειν,
 τότε συμβουλεύσομεν, ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
 ὅταν ἴδωμεν αὐτὰς ὁμονοοῦσας, πρὸς σὲ δὲ νῦν ποιήσομαι τοὺς
 λόγους, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων διάνοιαν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡλι-
 84 κίαν, ὅτ' ἔγραφον περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην. τότε μὲν
 γὰρ παρεκελευόμην τοῖς ἀκουσομένοις καταγελαῖν μου καὶ κατα-
 φρονεῖν, ἦν μὴ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ
 καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον διατριφθέντος ἀξίως φαίνω-
 μαι διεξιῶν, νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι, μὴ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων
 πολὺ καταδεέστερον τύχῳ διαλεχθῆίς. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ὁ λόγος ὁ πανηγυρικός, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς περὶ τὴν φιλοσο-
 φίαν διατρίβοντας εὐπορωτέρους ποιήσας, ἐμοὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν
 παρέσχηκεν· οὔτε γὰρ ταῦτ' αὖ βούλομαι λέγειν τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 85 γεγραμμένοις οὔτ' ἔτι καινὰ δύναμαι ζητεῖν. οὐ μὲν ἀποστατέον
 ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ λεκτέον, περὶ ὧν ὑπεθέμην, ὅ τι ἂν ὑποπέσῃ καὶ
 συμφέρῃ πρὸς τὸ πείσαι σε ταῦτα πράττειν. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐλλίπω
 τι καὶ μὴ δυνηθῶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γράψαι τοῖς πρότερον
 ἐκδεδομένοις, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπογράψειν γ' οἶμαι χαριέντως τοῖς ἐξερ-
 γάζεσθαι καὶ διαπονεῖν δυναμένοις.

86 (λς΄.) Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ σύμπαντος οἶμαι
 πεποιῆσθαι ταύτην, ἣνπερ προσήκει τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν πείθον-
 τας στρατεύειν. δεῖ γὰρ μηδὲν πρότερον πράττειν, πρὶν ἂν
 λάβῃ τις τοὺς Ἑλληνας δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ συναγωνιζομένους ἢ
 πολλὴν εὐνοίαν ἔχοντας τοῖς πραττομένοις. ὧν Ἀγησίλαος ὁ
 δόξας εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων φρονιμώτατος ὀλιγόρησεν οὐ διὰ
 87 κακίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν. ἔσχε γὰρ διττὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καλὰς
 μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, οὐ συμφωνούσας δ' ἀλλήλαις οὐδ' ἅμα πράττε-
 σθαι δυναμένας. προηρεῖτο γὰρ βασιλεῖ τε πολεμεῖν καὶ τοὺς
 ἑταίρους εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν καταγαγεῖν καὶ κυρίους ποι-
 ῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. συνέβαινεν οὖν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πραγματείας
 τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλη-
 88 νας, διὰ δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν τὴν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένην μὴ σχολὴν
 ἄγειν μηδὲ δύνασθαι πολεμεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις. ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν

ἀγνοηθέντων κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ πρότερον ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πόλεμον, πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ τις τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ παύσῃ τῆς μανίας τῆς νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστῶσης· ἄπερ καὶ σοὶ συμβουλευκότες τυγχάνομεν.

89 (λζ'.) Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντειπεῖν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τολμήσειεν, οἶμαι δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἴ τισι δόξειε περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν συμβουλεύειν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐπιπεσεῖν τὴν παράκλησιν, λέγοντας, ὡς ὅσοι περ ἐπεχείρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν, ἅπασι συνέπεσεν ἐξ ἀδόξων μὲν γενέσθαι λαμπροῖς, ἐκ πενήτων δὲ πλουσίοις, ἐκ ταπεινῶν δὲ
90 πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων δεσπόταις. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μέλλω σε παρακαλεῖν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἠτυχηκέναι δοξάντων, λέγω δ' ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Κύρου καὶ Κλεάρχου συστρατευσαμένων. ἐκείνους γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται νικῆσαι μὲν μαχομένους ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν τοσοῦτον, ὅσον περ ἂν εἰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συνέβαλον, ἥδη δ' ἐγκρατεῖς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν Κύρου προπέτειαν ἀτυχεῖν· περιχαρῆ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ διώκοντα πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν μέσοις γενόμενον τοῖς
91 πολεμίοις ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως τηλικαύτης συμφορᾶς συμπεσοῦσης οὕτω σφόδρα κατεφρόνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως, ὥστε προκαλεσάμενος Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦς ἀποπέμψειν, τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ πιστεῖς δοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖ νομιζομένων τὰς μεγίστας, συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἶλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἢ τοῖς
92 στρατιώταις οὕτως ἐρήμοις οὐσί συμβαλεῖν. (λη'.) Ὡστε τίς ἂν γένοιτο παράκλησις ταύτης καλλίων καὶ πιστοτέρα; φαίνονται γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι κρατήσαντες ἂν τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, εἰ μὴ διὰ Κύρον. σοὶ δὲ τὴν τ' ἀτυχίαν τὴν τότε γεγενημένην οὐ χαλεπὸν φυλάξασθαι, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου τοῦ κρατήσαντος τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν ῥάδιον πολὺ κρεῖττον παρασκευάσασθαι. καίτοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρξάντων πῶς οὐ χρὴ θαρρεῖν ποιούμενον τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην;

93 (λθ'.) Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με βούλεσθαι λαθεῖν, ὅτι τούτων ἔνια πέφρακα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρότερον. ἐπιστὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διανοίας εἰλόμην μὴ πονεῖν γλιχόμενος τὰ δεδηλωμένα καλῶς ἑτέρως εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιούμην, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διαφεύγειν, σοὶ δὲ συμβουλεύων μωρὸς ἂν ἦν, εἰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν πλείω χρόνον διέτριβον ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἔτι δ' εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀρθῶν τοῖς ἔμοις χρωμένους αὐτὸς μόνος ἀπειχόμην τῶν ὑπ' ἑμοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένων.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν οἰκείοις τυχὸν ἂν χρησαίμην, ἣν σφόδρα κατεπίγην καὶ πρέπη, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτρίων οὐδὲν ἂν προσδεξαίμην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ.

95 (μ'.) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως· δοκεῖ δέ μοι μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς διαλεκτέον εἶναι τῆς τε σοὶ γενησομένης καὶ τῆς ἐκείνοις ὑπαρξάσης. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μέγιστον, σὺ μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὖνους ἔξεις, ἣν περ ἐθελήσης ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς περὶ τούτων εἰρημένοις, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διὰ τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς οἷόν τε δυσμενεστάτους. ἠγοῦντο γὰρ Κύρου μὲν καὶ Κλεάρχου κατορθωσάντων μᾶλλον ἔτι δουλεύσειν, βασιλέως δὲ κρατήσαντος ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων·

96 ὅπερ καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιώτας σὺ μὲν ἐξ ἐτοίμου λήψει τοσοῦτους, ὅσους ἂν βουλευθῆς· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὥστε ῥᾶρον εἶναι συστήσαι στρατόπεδον μείζον καὶ κρεῖττον ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων· ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἦν ξενικὸν οὐδὲν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πλεον ἀνήλισκον εἰς τὰς διδομένας τοῖς συλλέγουσι δωρεὰς ἢ τὴν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας μισθο-

97 φοράν. καὶ μὴν εἰ βουλευθεῖμεν ἐξετάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν σέ τε τὸν νῦν ἠγησόμενον τῆς στρατείας καὶ βουλευσόμενον περὶ πάντων καὶ Κλεάρχον τὸν ἐπιστατήσαντα τῶν τότε πραγμάτων, εὐρήσομεν ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς πώποτε δυνάμεως πρότερον οὔτε ναυτικῆς οὔτε πεζῆς καταστάντα κύριον ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς συμβάσης αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον ὀνομαστὸν γενόμενον,

98 σὲ δὲ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος διαπεπραγμένον, περὶ ὧν εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἑτέρους τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην, καλῶς ἂν εἶχε διελθεῖν, πρὸς σὲ δὲ διαλεγόμενος, εἰ τὰς σὰς πράξεις σοι διεξιόην, δικαίως ἂν ἀνόητος ἅμα καὶ περίεργος εἶναι δοκοίην.

99 (μα'.) Ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφοτέρων, ἐφ' ὃν σοὶ τε συμβουλεύω στρατεύειν καὶ πρὸς ὃν Κλέαρχος ἐπολέμησεν, ἵν' ἑκατέρου καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰδῆς. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τούτου πατήρ τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ πάλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεπολέμησεν, οὗτος δ' οὐδενὸς πώποτε τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ λυμαινομένων

100 ἐπεκράτησεν. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐξέλαβεν, οὗτος δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκδοθεισῶν [αὐτῶ] πόλεων ἐγκρατής ἐστιν. ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε, πότερα χρῆ νομίζειν τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀφεστάναι δι' ἀνανδρίαν ἢ ἄκείνας ὑπερωρακέναι καὶ καταπεφρονηκέναι τῆς βαρβαρικῆς δυναστείας.

101 (μβ'.) Ταῦτα τοίνυν περὶ τὴν χώραν ὡς διάκειται, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσας παροξυνθεῖη πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν; Αἴγυπτος μὲν γὰρ

ἀφειστήκει μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐφο-
 βούντο, μή ποτε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος στρατείαν κρατή-
 σειε καὶ τῆς διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν δυσχωρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρα-
 σκευῆς ἀπάσης· νῦν δ' οὗτος ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους τού-
 του. συναγαγὼν γὰρ δύναμιν, ὅσην οἷός τ' ἦν πλείστην, καὶ
 στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μόνον ἠττηθεὶς
 ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελασθεὶς καὶ δόξας οὔτε βασιλεύειν οὔτε στρα-
 102 τηγεῖν ἄξιός εἶναι. τὰ τοίνυν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ
 Κιλικίαν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο ναυτικῶ, τότε
 μὲν ἦν βασιλέως, νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφέστηκε, τὰ δ' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ
 κακοῖς τοσοῦτοις ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων τῶν
 ἔθνῶν χρήσιμον, σοὶ δ' ἦν πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν βουλευθῆς συμ-
 103 φόρως ἔξειν. (μγ'.) Καὶ μὴν Ἰδριέα γε τὸν εὐπορώτατον τῶν
 νῦν περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον προσήκει δυσμενέστερον εἶναι τοῖς βασι-
 λέως πράγμασι τῶν πολεμούντων· ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴη σχετλιώ-
 τατος, εἰ μὴ βούλοιο καταλελύσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τὴν
 αἰκισαμένην μὲν τὸν ἀδελφόν, πολεμήσασαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν,
 ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλεύουσαν καὶ βουλομένην τοῦ τε
 σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπάντων γενέσθαι κυρίαν.
 104 ὑπὲρ ὧν δεδιῶς νῦν μὲν ἀναγκάζεται θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ
 χρήματα πολλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν· εἰ δὲ
 σὺ διαβαίης εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον, ἐκεῖνός τ' ἂν ἄσμενος ἴδοι βοηθὸν
 ἠκειν αὐτῷ σε νομίζων, τῶν τ' ἄλλων σατραπῶν πολλοὺς ἀπο-
 στήσεις, ἦν ὑπόσχη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο
 διασπίρης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰσπεσὸν καὶ
 τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν κατέλυσεν.
 105 (μδ'.) Ἔτι δ' ἂν πλείω λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν, ὃν τρόπον πολεμῶν
 τάχιστ' ἂν περιγένοιο τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως· νῦν δὲ φοβοῦ-
 μαι μή τινες ἐπιτιμήσωσιν ἡμῖν, εἰ μηδὲν πώποτε μεταχειρισά-
 μενος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν νῦν τολμῶν σοὶ παραινεῖν τῷ πλείστα
 καὶ μέγιστα διαπεπραγμένῳ κατὰ πόλεμον. ὥστε περὶ μὲν τού-
 των οὐδὲν οἶμαι δεῖν πλείω λέγειν. (με'.) Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων,
 ἠγοῦμαι τὸν τε πατέρα σου καὶ τὸν κτησάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν
 καὶ τὸν τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγόν, εἰ τῷ μὲν εἴη θέμις, οἱ δὲ δύναμιν
 λάβοιεν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἂν τούτων γενέσθαι συμβούλους, ὧνπερ
 106 ἐγώ. χρῶμαι δὲ τεκμηρίοις ἐξ ὧν διαπεπραγμένοι τυγχάνουσιν.
 ὁ τε γὰρ πατήρ σου πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ταύτας, αἷς σοὶ παραινῶ
 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, πρὸς ἀπάσας οἰκείως εἶχεν· ὁ τε κτησά-
 μενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μείζον φρονήσας τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν καὶ
 μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμήσας, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐβουλεύσατο τοῖς πρὸς τὰς
 107 τοιαύτας φιλοτιμίας ὀρμωμένοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν
 πόλεσι στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐμποιοῦντες ἐκτῶντο
 τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην, ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὅλως

εἶασε, τὴν δ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείαν κατασχεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας οὐκ εἰθισμένους ὑπομένειν τὰς μοναρχίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐ δυναμένους ἄνευ τῆς τοιαύτης
 108 δυναστείας διοικεῖν τὸν βίον τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ τοι συνέβη διὰ τὸ γνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἰδίως καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένην· μόνος γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὁμοφύλου γένους ἄρχειν ἀξιώσας μόνος καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἠδυνήθη τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας γιγνομένους. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοιοῦτόν τι διαπραγμένους εὕροισεν ἂν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανισμένον, ἐκεῖνον δ' αὐτόν τ' ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὸν βίον διαγαγόντα τῷ τε γένει καταλιπόντα τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς, ἄσπερ αὐτὸς εἶχεν.

109 (μζ'.) Περὶ τοίνυν Ἡρακλέους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἀνδρίαν ὑμνοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ἀπαριθμοῦντες διατελοῦσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῇ ψυχῇ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν οὔτε τῶν λογοποιῶν οὐδεμίαν φανήσεται μνεῖαν πεποιημένος. ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ μὲν τόπον ἴδιον καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέργαστον,¹ οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ κενόν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἐπαίνων καὶ καλῶν πράξεων γέμοντα, ποθοῦντα δὲ τὸν ἀξίως ἂν δυνη-
 110 θέντα διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· ἐφ' ὃν εἰ μὲν νεώτερος ὢν ἐπέστην, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐπέδειξα τὸν πρόγονον ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ πλέον διενεγκόντα πάντων τῶν προγεγενημένων ἢ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῇ τοῦ σώματος· νῦν δ' ἐπελθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ κατιδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνόντων εἶπεῖν, τὴν τε δύναμιν τὴν παροῦσάν μοι κατεμεψάμην καὶ τὸν λόγον ἠσθόμην διπλάσιον ἂν γενόμενον τοῦ νῦν ἀναγιγνωσκομένου. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἀπέστην διὰ τὰς αἰτίας ταύτας, μίαν δὲ προᾶξιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, ἥπερ ἦν προσήκουσα μὲν καὶ πρέπουσα τοῖς προειρημένοις, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἔχουσα μάλιστα σύμμετρον τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις.

111 (μζ'.) Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁρῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων κακῶν μεστήν οὔσαν, παύσας ταῦτα καὶ διαλλάξας τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, μεθ' ὧν χρῆ καὶ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκφέρειν. ποιησάμενος γὰρ στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, ἥπερ εἶχε τότε μεγίστην δύναμιν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τῶν
 112 πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ὕστερον πολεμησάντων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμεως ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα μόλις αὐτὴν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἐλάττωσιν ἢ τοσαύταις καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων στρατεύσας ῥαδίως αὐτὴν κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν. καὶ μετὰ

¹ ἀδιέργαστον *vulg.* : ἀδιεξέργαστον E : διεξέργαστον Γ.

ταῦτα τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν ἔθνῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν παραλίαν κατοικούντων ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν· οὓς οὐδέποτε ἂν διέφθειρεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλέους καλουμένας ἐποίησατο, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων, μνημεῖον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων, ὄρους δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χώρας.

113 Τούτου δ' ἔνεκά σοι περὶ τούτων διῆλθον, ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι σε τυγχάνω τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τοιαύτας πράξεις, ἃς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων οἱ πρόγονοί σου φαίνονται καλλίστας προκρίναντες. (μῆ.) Ἄπαντας μὲν οὖν χρῆ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας τὸν κράτιστον ὑποστησαμένους πειρᾶσθαι γίνεσθαι τοιούτους, μάλιστα δὲ σοὶ προσήκει. τὸ γὰρ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλοτρίοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασιν ἀλλ' οἰκεῖον ὑπάρχειν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σε παροξύνεσθαι καὶ φιλονικεῖν, ὅπως τῷ προγόνῳ σαυτὸν ὅμοιον παρασκευάσεις;

114 λέγω δ' οὐχ ὡς δυνησόμενον ἀπάσας σε μιμήσασθαι τὰς Ἡρακλέους πράξεις, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τῶν θεῶν ἐνιοὶ δυνηθεῖεν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ γε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, δύναι' ἂν ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνου βουλήμασιν. ἔστι δέ σοι πεισθέντι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγο-

115 μένοις τυχεῖν δόξης οἷας ἂν αὐτὸς βουλευθῆς· ῥᾶρον γὰρ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κτήσασθαι τὴν καλλίστην ἠπερ ἐξ ὧν παρέλαβες ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν προελθεῖν. σκέψαι δ' ὅτι σε τυγχάνω παρακαλῶν, ἐξ ὧν ποιήσει τὰς στρατείας οὐ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφ' οὓς οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τούτους, πρὸς οὓς προσήκει τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονότας πολεμεῖν.

116 (μῆ.) Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, εἰ διὰ παντός σε τοῦ λόγου πειρῶμαι προτρέπειν ἐπὶ τε τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πραότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν· ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰς μὲν χαλεπότητας λυπηρὰς οὖσας καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, τὰς δὲ πραότητας οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων

117 ἀπάντων εὐδοκιμούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμῖν ὄντας Ὀλυμπίους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις τεταγμένους δυσχερεστέρας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ νεῶς καὶ βῶμους ἰδρυμένους, τοὺς δ' οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς

118 αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενον ἐθίζειν σαυτὸν χρῆ καὶ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν τοιαύτην ἅπαντες περὶ σοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἔξουσιν. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς μείζονος δόξης τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιθυμοῦντας περιβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς πράξεις, δυνατὰς μὲν, εὐχῇ δ' ὁμοίας, ἐξεργάζεσθαι δὲ ζητεῖν αὐτάς, ὅπως ἂν οἱ καιροὶ παραδιδῶσιν.



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παρ' ἡμῶν μεταπεμπομένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκομεν ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ κακῶς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξὸν ἡμῖν τάκείνων ἀδεῶς ἔχειν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τ' αὐτοὺς περὶ μικρῶν πολεμοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλέως συγκαταστρεφόμεθα καὶ λελήθαμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε μετὰ τῶν πατρικῶν ἐχθρῶν τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας μετέχοντας ἀπολλύναι ζητοῦντες.

127 (νβ'.) Διὸ καὶ σοὶ νομίζω συμφέρειν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως διακειμένων τῶν ἄλλων προστῆναι τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. προσήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐνδεδεμένοις ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν στέργειν, ἐν ἧ ἑτυγχάνουσι κατοικοῦντες, σὲ δ' ὥσπερ ἀφետον γεγεννημένον ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πατρίδα νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ὁ γεννήσας ὑμᾶς, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ὧν μάλιστα σπουδάσεις.

128 (νγ'.) Ἴσως δ' ἂν τινες ἐπιτιμῆσαί μοι τολμήσειαν τῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένων ἢ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅτι σὲ προειλόμην παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τε τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παραλιπὼν τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ πόλιν.

129 (νδ'.) Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλους τινὰς πρότερον ἐπεχείρουν διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τούτων ἢ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν τρεῖς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐλευθερώσασαν, δις μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅπαξ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς, ὁμολόγουν ἂν πλημελεῖν· νῦν δ' ἐκείνην μὲν φανήσομαι πρώτην ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέπων ὡς ἠδυνάμην μετὰ πλείστης σπουδῆς, αἰσθανόμενος δ' ἔλαττον αὐτὴν φροντίζουσαν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένων ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος μαινομένων ἐκείνην μὲν εἶσα, τῆς δὲ πραγματείας οὐκ ἀπέστην. διὸ δικαίως ἂν με πάντες ἐπαινοῖεν, ὅτι τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ χρώμενος, ἦν ἔχων τυγχάνω, διατετέλεκα πάντα τὸν χρόνον πολεμῶν μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις, κατηγορῶν δὲ τῶν μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἐχόντων, προτρέπειν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν, οὓς ἂν ἐλπίσω μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν. διόπερ καὶ νῦν πρὸς σὲ ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι τούτοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν λεγομένοις πολλοὶ φθονήσουσι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς τούτοις ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένοις ἅπαντες συνησθήσονται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰρημένων οὐδεὶς κεκοινώνηκε, τῶν δ' ὠφελειῶν τῶν κατεργασθησομένων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ οἰήσεται μεθέξειν.

132 (νε'.) Σκέψαι δ' ὡς αἰσχρὸν περιορᾶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄμεινον πράττουσαν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐπορωτέρους ὄντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Κύρου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας, ὃν ἡ μήτηρ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξέβαλε, βασιλέας μεγάλους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πεφυκότας, ὃν

ὁ γεννήσας διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς θεοὺς ἀνήγαγε, ταπεινότεροις ὀνόμασιν ἢ ἄκείνους προσαγορευομένους. ὧν οὐδὲν ἑατέον οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἀναστρεπτέον καὶ μεταστατέον ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

133 (νζ'.) Εὖ δ' ἴσθι μηδὲν ἂν με τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντά σε πείθειν, εἰ δυναστείαν μόνον καὶ πλοῦτον ἐώρων ἐξ αὐτῶν γενησόμενον· ἠγοῦμαι γὰρ τά γε τοιαῦτα καὶ νῦν σοι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν ἔχειν, ὅστις προαιρεῖται
 134 κινδυνεύειν ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἢ στερηθῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τὰς τούτων κτήσεις ἀποβλέψας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους ἀλλ' οἰόμενος ἐκ τούτων μεγίστην σοι καὶ καλλίστην γενήσεσθαι δόξαν. ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα θνητὸν ἅπαντες ἔχομεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν μνήμην τὴν τῷ χρόνῳ συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν ἀθανασίας μεταλαμβάνομεν, ἧς ἄξιον ὀρεγομένους καθ' ὅσον οἰοί τ' ἐσμεν
 135 ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν. ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν τὸ ζῆν ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐθέλοντας, ὅλως δὲ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντας αἰεὶ μείζονος ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινουμένους, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ἀπληστώως διακειμένους ἀκρατεστέρους καὶ φανλοτέρους εἶναι δοκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι συμβαίνει τοῦ μὲν πλούτου καὶ τῶν δυναστειῶν πολλάκις τοὺς ἔχθροὺς κυρίους γίνεσθαι, τῆς δ' εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προειρημένων μηδένας ἄλλους καταλείπεσθαι κληρονόμους πλὴν τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγονότας. ὥστ' ἠσχυρόμην ἂν, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἕνεκα συνεβούλευον καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ποιῆσθαι ταύτην καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν.

137 (νζ'). Οὕτω δ' ἄριστα βουλευσεί περὶ τούτων, ἣν ὑπολάβῃς μὴ μόνον τὸν λόγον τοῦτόν σε παρακαλεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους γενομένους καὶ δόξαντας ἡμιθέους εἶναι διὰ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ σὺ μὲν τυγχάνεις τοσαύτην δύναμιν κεκτημένος, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν τὴν Εὐρώπην κατοικησάντων, πρὸς ὃν δὲ πολεμήσεις, οὕτω σφόδρα μεμισημένος καὶ καταπεφρονημένος ὑφ' ἀπάντων, ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν βασιλευσάντων.

138 (νη'). Πρὸ πολλοῦ δ' ἂν ἐποιησάμην οἷόν τ' εἶναι συγκεράσαι τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων εἰρημένους· μάλλον γὰρ ἂν ἀξιόχρεως οὗτος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ σέ γε χρὴ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τὰ συντείνοντα καὶ προτρέποντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἄριστα βουλευσάιο περὶ αὐτῶν.

139 (νθ'.) Οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἄμαχον εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ὧν ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἰ τὴν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου βαρβάρου καὶ κακῶς τεθραμμένου καταστραφεῖσαν καὶ συναχθεῖσαν ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, ταύτην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος μὴ νομίζουσιν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ διαλυθῆναι, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες, ὅτι συστήσαι μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χαλεπὸν, διαστήσαι δὲ ῥάδιον.

140 (ξ'.) Ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ὅτι μάλιστα τούτους τιμῶσιν ἅπαντες καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οἵτινες ἀμφοτέρωθεν δύνανται, καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν. ὅταν οὖν ὄρᾳς τοὺς ἐν μιᾷ πόλει ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν φύσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ποίους τινὰς χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ σοῦ ῥηθησομένους, ὅταν φαίνη ταῖς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλησι πεπολιτευμένος, ταῖς δὲ
141 στρατηγίαις τοὺς βαρβάρους κατεστραμμένος; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ταῦτα πέρας ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄλλον ποτὲ δυνήσεσθαι μείζω πράξαι τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι γενήσεσθαι τηλικούτον ἔργον, ὅσον ἔστι τὸ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοσοούτων πολέμων ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν προαγαγεῖν, οὔτε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰκὸς ἔστι συστήναι τηλικαύτην δύναμιν, ἣν τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν καταλύσης.

142 ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἐπιγιγνομένων οὐδ' ἦν τις τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκη τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἕξει ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε προγεγενημένων ἔχω μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖν τὰς πράξεις τοῖς ἤδη διὰ σοῦ κατειργασμένοις, οὐ γλίσχρως ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς· ὅστις γὰρ ἔθνη τοσαῦτα τυγχάνεις κατεστραμμένος, ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ἄλλων πόλεις εἶλε, πῶς οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀντιπαραβάλλον ῥαδίως ἂν ἐπέδειξα μείζω σε κακείνων διαπεπραγ-
143 μένον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰλόμην ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας δι' ἀμφοτέρωθεν, διὰ τε τοὺς οὐκ εὐκαίρως αὐτῇ χρωμένους καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι ταπεινοτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν νῦν ὄντων τοὺς ἡμιθέους εἶναι νομιζομένους.

144 (ξά'.) Ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἴπωμεν, ὅτι τὸν Ταντάλου πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν Πέλοπος ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε λόγων εὐρετῆς οὔτε ποιητῆς ἐπαινέσειεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ γε τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν Θησέως ἀρετὴν τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνοις ὁμοίους
145 γενομένους ἅπαντες ἂν εὐλογήσειαν. καίτοι τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους αὐτῶν ἴσμεν ἐν μικροῖς πολιχνίοις καὶ νησυδρίοις τὰς ἀρχὰς κατασχόντας. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἰσόθεον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστήν τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν κατέλιπον· ἅπαντες γὰρ φιλοῦσιν οὐ τοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μεγίστην δυναστείαν κτησαμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους.

146 (ξβ'.) Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ὄφει τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔχοντας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν

οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐθ' ὅτι τῆς θαλάττης ἤρξεν, οὐθ' ὅτι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος χρημάτων εἰσπράξασα τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὅτι πολλῶν πόλεων ἐξουσία ἐλαβε τὰς μὲν ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι, τὰς δ' αὐξῆσαι, τὰς δ' ὅπως ἤβουλήθη διοικῆσαι· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα παρῆν αὐτῇ πράττειν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων μὲν πολλὰ κατηγορίαι κατ' αὐτῆς γέγονασιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης καὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας, ἅπαντες ἐγκωμιάζουσιν. τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην καὶ

148 περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἄγανται τὴν ἥτταν τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἢ τὰς ἄλλας νίκας, καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων σταθὲν ἀγαπῶσι καὶ θεωροῦσι, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἀηδῶς ὀρῶσιν· ἡγοῦνται γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρετῆς εἶναι σημεῖον, τὰ δὲ πλεονεξίας.

149 (ξγ'.) Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐξετάσας ἅπαντα καὶ διελθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦν μὲν τι τῶν εἰρημένων ἢ μαλακώτερον ἢ καταδεέστερον, αἰτιῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἢ δικαίως ἂν ἅπαντες συγγνώμην ἔχοιεν· ἦν δ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρότερον διαδεδομένοις, νομίζειν αὐτὰ χρὴ μὴ τὸ γῆρας τοῦμὸν εὐρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὑποβαλεῖν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ φροντίζον ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κηδόμενον, καὶ βουλόμενον ταύτην τε τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων καὶ σοὶ πολὺ μείζω

150 περιθεῖναι δόξαν τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης. οἶμαι δέ σ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅν τρόπον οἱ θεοὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διοικοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτόχειρες οὔτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε τῶν κακῶν γίνονται τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐκάστοις τοιαύτην ἔννοϊαν ἐμποιοῦσιν,

151 ὥστε δι' ἀλλήλων ἡμῖν ἐκάτερα παραγίγνεσθαι τούτων. οἶον ἴσως καὶ νῦν τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἡμῖν ἀπένειμαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς πράξεις σὲ τάττουσι, νομίζοντες τούτων μὲν σὲ κάλλιστ' ἂν ἐπιστατῆσαι, τὸν δὲ λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν ἢκιστ' ἂν ὀχληρὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἂν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ μὴ τις θεῶν

152 αὐτὰ συγκατώρθωσεν, οὐχ ἵνα τοῖς βαρβάροις μόνον τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης κατοικοῦσι πολεμῶν διατελῆς, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθεῖς καὶ λαβὼν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ γνωσθεῖς οἷος εἶ, τούτων ἐπιθυμήσης ὧν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω συμβεβουλευκώς. αἰσχροὺς οὖν ἐστὶ καλῶς τῆς τύχης ἡγουμένης ἀπολειφθῆναι καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν σαυτόν, εἰς ὃ βούλεται σε προαγαγεῖν.

153 (ξδ'.) Νομίζω δὲ χρῆναί σε πάντας μὲν τιμᾶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἀγαθόν τι λέγοντας, κάλλιστα μέντοι νομίζειν ἐκείνους ἐγκωμιάζειν τοὺς μειζόνων ἔργων ἢ τηλικούτων τὴν σὴν φύσιν ἀξιοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεχαρισμένως διειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἂν τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους

οὕτω ποιήσωσι τὰς σὰς πράξεις θαυμάζειν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν προγεγενημένων. πολλὰ δὲ βουλόμενος τοιαῦτα λέγειν οὐ δύναμαι· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἣν, πλεονάκις τοῦ δέοντος εἶρηκα.

154 (ξέ.) Λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ προειρημένα συναγαγεῖν, ἵν' ὡς ἐν ἐλαχίστοις κατίδῃς τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν συμβεβουλευμένων. φημὶ γὰρ χρῆναί σε τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εὐεργετεῖν, Μακεδόνων δὲ βασιλεύειν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὡς πλείστων ἄρχειν. ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα πράττης, ἅπαντές σοι χάριν ἔξουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν εὖ πάσχωσι, Μακεδόνες δ' ἦν βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατῆς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γένος, ἦν διὰ σὲ βαρβαρικῆς δεσποτείας ἀπαλλαγέντες Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπιμελείας
155 τύχωσιν. ταῦθ' ὅπως μὲν γέγραπται τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀκριβείαις, παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων πυνθάνεσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν· ὅτι μέντοι βελτίω τούτων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττοντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν οὐδεὶς ἂν σοι συμβουλεύσειε, σαφῶς εἰδέναι νομίζω.

COMMENTARY ON THE *DE PACE*

1-7. *Orators who address the people are wont to claim that the topics on which they are speaking are of the utmost importance. No subject could be more deserving of attention than that with which the present discourse deals, namely, peace and war.*

I know that you only heed those speakers who set out to please you. The result is that orators make a point of flattering your whims rather than of giving you sound advice on matters of policy. Hence the popularity of the war-party, because they encourage your love of aggrandisement. Those who, like myself, advocate peace and contentment, do so because they fear that the opposite course will lead the state into disaster.

1. οἱ παριόντες—πάρειμι and παρέρχομαι are the words regularly used of a speaker coming forward to address the assembly or a jury (cf. 15 below, παρελήλυθα, and *Archid.* 1). Like a number of Isocrates' other writings this discourse is cast in the form of a speech delivered in the assembly, although in fact it was a political pamphlet, and never spoken (cf. ἐκκλησιάσονται in the next paragraph). The forensic speeches written by Is. as a young man were of course intended to be delivered in court by his clients, though one or two of those that have come down to us may have been altered for publication (cf. the remarks of Drerup, *Is. opera*, I, p. cxxi-vii).

3. προσέχοντας . . . ἀνεχομένους—The contrast is heightened by the use of these two compounds of ἔχω.

4. τέχνην—The word is used in a bad sense with a connotation of craftiness or cunning; cf. *Panath.* 226, οὗτοι γὰρ τῶ ταυτὰ γινώσκειν περὶ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἀλλήλοις στασιάζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡςπερ τέχνην ἔχοντες ἐποιοῦν.

5. μελετᾶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν—The use of two verbs to express a single notion fully is frequent in Is.; cf. *Paneg.* 186, τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσει καὶ φιλοσοφήσει κ. τ. λ.; For the meaning of φιλοσοφία in Is. cf. Introduction, page 14.

ἐρρύηκεν—“have striven after”, “have tended towards”; this is a rare use which occurs also in Plato (*Rep.* vi, 495 B).

6. ἦν πρότερον . . . ἔχοντες—i. e. the Athenian empire as it was before the disasters of the Peloponnesian war.

οἱ δὲ . . .—are those who counsel peace, οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβουλευόντες.

ὑποτείνουσιν—only here in Is.; translate: “they do not hold out any such hopes”, not, “they do not suggest such a course of action”. The latter meaning occurs in Plato (e. g. *Gorg.* 448 E), but the middle voice is then used. For the present passage cf. Thuc. 8, 48, 1, *ὑποτείνοντος αὐτοῦ . . . Τισσαφέρην . . . φίλον ποιήσειν*. Before *ὡς* supply *λέγουσιν* from the preceding verb.

στέργειν τοῖς παροῦσιν—Is. uses *στέργειν* with three constructions: 1. with accus. of the direct object, in the sense “to care for” (cf. *Phil.* 127); 2. with dative in the sense “to be content with”, as here and in *Panath.* 21; 3. with *ἐπί* and the dative, with the same meaning as 2 (cf. 23 and 89 below). Other writers, however, use construction 1 in the sense of 2 (cf. Demosth. 55, 30, *ἀλλὰ στέργω τὴν τύχην*, “I will be content with my luck”).

7. *ἐξηροτήμεθα*—only here in Is.; translate: “we have our hearts set on hopes”, lit. “we are attached to”. The word is employed several times by Plato (e. g. *Legg.* 5, 732 E), but otherwise occurs mainly in the poets.

ἔνοχοι . . . ταῖς ἀνοίαις—not, as Liddell and Scott, “liable to the imputation of folly”, but “responsible for follies like these”; i. e. *ταύτας* refers back to those who *περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κινδυνεύουσι*. For *ἔνοχος* cf. 56 and 57 below.

8. *τῶν τυχόντων*—“ordinary men”, just as we speak of “the man in the street”; cf. *Phil.* 41. The phrase is as old as Hesiod (*Theog.* 973).

8-11. *If you have the welfare of Athens at heart, you must pay attention to speakers who oppose your desires; for, to listen only to those who speak to please, will obscure your judgment. So you must weigh the arguments of both sides.*

8. *χρηὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας*—translate: “Sensible men must not take counsel about facts which they know—it would be superfluous to do so—but must act in accordance with their knowledge. Regarding those matters about which they deliberate, they must not think that they know the future, but must look on these questions like men who are merely forming an opinion, though whatever chance brings will come to pass”. The argument is that there is no need to *discuss* facts, but simply to *act* in accordance with them. Where, however, facts to guide action are unobtainable, men must use their judgment, remembering that the future may prove them wrong (*γενήσομ.* acc. abs. or sc. *εἰδότες*).

9. *πρακτέον ἐστίν*—Is. uses these verbals extensively, for more than thirty examples are to be found in his writings (e. g. 62 below, and *Phil.* 35, 95, 132 and 164). It is, however, always the impersonal verbal in *-τέον* which occurs; that in *-τέος* is never used by him.



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monians were inclined to evacuate Decelea and to make peace, but the Athenians refused, being swayed by Cleophon, ὅς ἐκόλυσε γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυκώς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέψειν, ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφιωῶσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς πόλεις (Aristotle, Ἀθ. πολ. 34).

τῶν . . . λειτουργούντων—The liturgies were either regularly recurring (ἐγκύκλιοι), or extraordinary. To the former belonged the χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία, ἐστίασις (i. e. the giving of a banquet to the members of one's tribe on the occasion of the Panathenaea or Greater Dionysia), and others. The wealthier members of the community only were liable; ἀτέλεια, or freedom from the obligation of performing liturgies, was one of the rewards given by the state for conspicuous public service. The chief extraordinary liturgy was the trierarchy. The state provided the hull, mast and sails of the man-of-war; the trierarch was required to provide the rest of the equipment and pay for the maintenance of the crew for a period of twelve months.

14. προσαντές—“dangerous”, lit. “steep”, as in Thuc. 4, 43, 3 (ἦν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον προσαντὲς πᾶν). In the derived sense of “difficult” or “annoying” the word is used by Euripides (e. g. *Iph. Taur.* 1012) and Plato.

τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις—An interesting fragment of a speech by Lysias, preserved in Athenaeus (12, 551 D), refers to Cinesias, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε ἀσεβέστατον ἀπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι· οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοῦς ἐξαμαρτάνων, ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων δ' ἀκούετε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. Aristophanes particularly prided himself on having lifted his satire to a higher plane, since he was the first to attack the political leaders of Athens, whereas his predecessors had been content with making fun of the old legends, without introducing contemporary politics (cf. *Equit.* 506 ff. and *Pax* 734 ff.). That Aristophanes used his satire not merely for biting attacks on demagogues, but in the interests of a higher patriotism, is shown in *Ranae* 686 ff. It may be noted that Plato uses not κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος, but κωμωδοποιός.

15-16. *I well realise the difficulty of my task in urging on you a course that is unpalatable. But I am quite disinterested, and I say that to make peace with Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cos is not enough; you must maintain peace with all the world and desist from your dreams of empire.*

15. χειροτονίαν μνηστεύσων—to “woo” or “court for” votes. This remarkable use of μνηστεύειν apparently occurs in no other classical writer; μνησθαι is however employed by Herodotus (I, 97,

ὁ δὲ δὴ οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος) and Pindar, *Fr.* 210

ἄγαν φιλοτιμίαν
μνώμενοι ἐν πολίεσσι ἀνδρες
ἢ στάσιν, ἄλγος ἐμφανές.

περὶ ὧν . . . προτιθέασιν — “the proposals of the prytanies”, i. e. on the question of the peace to be concluded with the revolted confederates of Athens. Any question or proposal, which was to come before the *Ecclesia*, had previously to be considered by the Council of Five Hundred. The question, with the Council’s recommendations, was then submitted to the assembly in the form of a preliminary decree (*προβούλευμα*), which attained the force of law only if and when approved by the people. The Council was divided into ten committees of fifty (*πρυτανεῖαι*), each of which for a tenth part of the year prepared the business to be considered by the Council as a whole, or by the Assembly. *προτιθέναι* is the usual term for proposing a motion or introducing business for the consideration of the people (cf. 55 below and Thuc. 3, 42, 1, *τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὐθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων*).

16. καὶ Κόους—These words are omitted by the manuscripts and by all recent editors. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in quoting this passage, preserves these words, and his version receives confirmation from the papyrus of the *De Pace* now in the British Museum (cf. *Classical Quarterly*, 15, p. 78-9 for a discussion of the text and the reasons for retaining the words given by Dionysius).

ταῖς γενομέναις κ. τ. λ.—The so-called peace of Antalcidas in 387 B.C. As a result of Spartan diplomacy, the king of Persia issued a manifesto, the avowed object of which was to establish the independence of all Greek cities, except those on the coast of Asia Minor, and the island of Cyprus; for these were claimed as part of the Persian empire. The treaty was accepted by all the Greek states (cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5, 1, 31-2). Isocrates’s advocacy of the terms of this peace settlement in 356 B.C. was not really inconsistent with his remarks in the *Panegyricus*, as has been explained in the Introduction (p. 18).

τὰς φρουράς—garrisons like those set up by Sparta, before the peace of 387, in numerous Greek cities (cf. *Paneg.* 95). Sparta reverted to the practice after the peace, as when she occupied the Cadmea at Thebes in 382.

17-18. *If you will listen to me attentively, I hope to make you see the folly of the existing policy. I will begin by considering the peace itself.*

17. ἐνταῦθα . . . λόγον—The same phrase is used in *Evag.* 33.

Θηβαῖοι . . . κατειλήφασιν—Most of the Boeotian cities received Spartan garrisons soon after 387 B.C., and Thespieae was the Spartan base of operations in Boeotia during the campaign against Thebes in 378 (cf. Xenoph., *Hell.* 5, 4, 42). Plataea had been restored by the Spartans in 382. One of the first steps taken by Thebes after her successes against Sparta in 378-7, was to reorganise the Boeotian league (*ib.* 6, 1, 1). This was contrary to the terms of the peace of 387, but the Spartan garrisons had been an even grosser violation of that agreement.

πλεονεξίαν—The word is here used in a good sense, “gain”, “advantage” (cf. *Phil.* 40). Far more commonly it has a bad connotation, “greed”, “arrogance”, as in 82 below. Isocrates discusses πλεονεξία at length in *Antid.* 281-4.

18. νοῦν ἐχόντως—“intelligently”, cf. *Phil.* 7 and *Areop.* 60. Adverbs formed from participles are much affected by Isocrates and they fall into two classes: 1. those formed from the present participle active (in one or two cases, pres. part. middle) of intransitive verbs, particularly impersonal verbs; 2. those formed from perfect passive participles of transitive verbs. Other examples of 1 in Isocrates are: προσηκόντως, πρεπόντως, συμφερόντως, ἀποχρώντως, ὁμολογουμένως, and of 2, ἀποκεκαλυμμένως (cf. 62), ἀνειμένως (cf. 41), ἀπονενοημένως, πεφυλαγμένως, etc. In the other orators class 1 occurs occasionally, but the use of 2 is rare (cf. however *Dem.* 23, 137, τετυφωμένως, and 21, 41, βεβουλευμένως). The only writer, besides Isocrates, who uses both classes freely is Plato. The commonest use of these participial adverbs is with the intransitive ἔχω; here Isocrates (like Plato, *Legg.* 686 E) uses an adverb derived from ἔχω itself.

19-21. *Peace will mean freedom from constant danger and from fighting; it will bring relief from taxation, and merchants and foreigners will again visit Athens and our city will again become prosperous.*

19. τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον εὖπορ.—The same phrase in *Panath.* 167.

τεταλαιπώρηκεν ἡμᾶς—This is apparently the only instance in classical Greek, where this verb is used transitively with the accus. of the direct object. Stephanus (s. v.) quotes late examples from Dion Cassius. Intransitively both ταιλαιπωρεῖν and ταιλαιπωρεῖσθαι are frequent, but it is noteworthy that Isocrates for the intransitive sense of the word always uses the middle voice, not the active.

20. τοιούτους . . . οἷους αἱ συνθ. προστάττουσι—i. e. if we recognise the independence of all the Greek cities, as laid down in the peace of 387.

εἰσφορῶν . . . λειτουργιῶν—cf. notes on 12 and 13 above.

21. τὰς προσόδους—“revenue”. This would be derived from various sources, for example, the silver mines at Laurium, the poll-tax paid by resident aliens (μετοίκιον), duties on exports and imports, fees paid by foreigners for the privilege of trading in the market-place, law-court fines, rent from property owned by the state, and so forth. Almost contemporary with the *De Pace* is the tract, *Πόροι*, the Xenophontic authorship of which there is no adequate reason to doubt. It contains suggestions for improving the income of the Athenian commonwealth and was published in 355 B.C. (cf. for this, M. L. W. Laistner, *Greek Economics* (1923), p. xxvi-vii, 10-27). For πρόσδος in the sense of “procession” cf. *Phil.* 32.

ἐμπόρων, ξένων, μετοίκων—The ἔμποροι and ξένοι would be foreigners on a temporary visit to Athens; they would be required to pay the ξενικὰ τέλη, mentioned by Demosthenes (57, 34, εἰ μὲν ξένη ἦν, τὰ τέλη ἐξετάσαντας τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, εἰ ξενικὰ ἐτέλει (sc. πολλοὺς προσῆκε). Quite distinct were the resident aliens or denizens, who paid a tax of twelve drachmae *per annum* in the case of men, and half that amount in the case of women.

22-24. *We shall too be more likely to obtain territory for settlers to occupy, if we use peaceful diplomacy rather than aggression.*

22. Κερσοβλέπτην—The *locus classicus* for this man is Demosthenes's speech *against Aristocrates*, which was delivered in 352 B.C. Cersobleptes was the son of Cotys, the king of the Odrysae, who had made himself master of practically the whole of the Chersonese at the expense of Athens, and who was murdered in 359. Cersobleptes inherited this part of his father's possessions and was supported by the mercenary captain, Charidemus, a native of Euboea. For two years he resisted Athens, but in 357 the capture of Sestos by Chares, the Athenian general, forced Cersobleptes to come to terms and to cede the Chersonese to the Athenians.

Ἀμφιπόλεως—Amphipolis was taken by Philip in 357 B.C. after a secret agreement had been made between him and Athens, that he should hand over Amphipolis to Athens in exchange for Pydna. It is quite clear, however, that Philip never really intended to carry out this arrangement. It was merely a ruse to prevent the Athenians from sending assistance to Amphipolis, and the place remained in Philip's possession.

στέργοντας ἐφ' οἷς—cf. note on 6 above.

23. τῆς αὐτῶν προσδώσουσι—The sentiment shows that Isocrates understood Philip's policy at this time very imperfectly (cf. note on Amphipolis in 22).

24. ἀφθονον—supply βίον, which is placed in the second half of the sentence; this is better than to supply χώραν from the previous

sentence, more especially as the phrase, *ἀφθονος βίος*, occurs elsewhere in Isocrates (cf. *Paneg.* 108).

αὐτούς—here = *ἡμᾶς αὐτούς*.

ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . παρασχεῖν—cf. the similar proposal in *Phil.* 120, and generally Introduction, p. 21.

Ἀθηνόδωρος—cf. especially Demosthenes, 23, 170 ff. This soldier was probably a member of one of the Athenian families that had settled as cleruchs at Imbros. He was in the service of the Persian king as a captain of mercenaries about the year 360 B.C. In the following year he entered the service of Berisades, the brother of Cersobleptes, and compelled the latter to come to an agreement with Berisades and Amadocus, and with Athens. Through lack of Athenian support however the settlement broke down. Ath continued in the employ of Berisades and married the sister of that prince; after Berisades' death in 356, Ath. continued for some time to serve in the interests of the deceased prince's children. Unlike other mercenary captains, Ath. never forgot that he was an Athenian citizen, and he appears never to have fought in any campaign which would have brought him into direct conflict with his fellow countrymen. Later in his career he reentered Persian service and, after fighting against Alexander, he was taken prisoner at Sardes in 334 B.C. At the request of Phocion, Alexander subsequently ordered his release. An extant inscription bears witness to Ath.'s popularity. The people of Cios in Bithynia voted him sundry honours at some date between 360 and 356 (cf. besides Demosthenes, Plutarch, *Phoc.* 18, 2; Aelian, *V. H.* 1, 25; Harpocr. s. v.; Hicks & Hill, *Gk. Histor. Inscr.* 126).

Καλλίστρατος—Callistratus of Aphidna in the north eastern part of Attica was the leading statesman at Athens between 378 and 362 B.C. He was one of the prime movers of the second Athenian Confederacy; in his foreign policy he was a strong opponent of Thebes and, in consequence, he was mainly responsible for the so-called peace of Callias in 370, concluded between Athens and Sparta. In 366 the Thebans seized Oropus, and this so angered Athenian sentiment that C. and Chabrias were accused of high treason, but they were acquitted. It is natural to compare similar attacks made on Pericles during the last years of his life. Probably in 362, when Athens had again suffered reverses, a second accusation was brought against C.; on this occasion he went into voluntary exile. He proceeded to Thrace and took part in the resettlement of Datus, and subsequently paid a visit to Byzantium. A few years later he returned to Athens, hoping that his unpopularity was a thing of the past, but he was arrested and put to death (cf. especially, A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I, ch. 2, and the article in P.-W.).

στρατοπεδ. ξενικῶν—“armies of mercenaries” (cf. 46 below and note *ad loc.*).

25-27. *It is not enough to vote for peace, we must also consider how we maintain it; and I shall endeavour to prove to you that peace and justice are better than their opposites, and only by possessing them shall we attain to true happiness.*

25. ἐπαγγέλλονται—“regarding the promises (or professions) of the envoys”, not, as Freese translates, “the demands”. The verb is not very common in Isocrates, but cf. *c. Soph.* 8, τοὺς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπαγγελλομένους, and *ib.* 20, ἀρετὴν ἐπηγγείλαντο, where the meaning is clearly “to profess”. Similarly, in *Hel.* 9 the meaning, “to promise” is clear (ἐξὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐπαγγέλλονται τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ποιῆσθαι). What embassy he refers to, is unfortunately quite uncertain, as the context does not help to clear up the difficulty. If he alludes to the chapter immediately preceding, then ambassadors from Cersobleptes and Philip must be meant. It is, however, more probable that the reference is to the war with the allies, and that the envoys were those sent by the allied states, with whom Athens had been at war since 358 B.C.

ἀναβολήν—only here and in *Epist.* 1, 10, in Isocrates; cf. *Thuc.* 2, 42 and *Demosth.* 48, 20.

27. περί δὲ τῶν—for euphony, in place of the more logical τῶν δὲ περί; the use of the article without μὲν or δὲ in a demonstrative sense is very rare in Attic Greek (cf. *Phil.* 80, πρὸς δὲ τάς).

28-30. *It is a delusion that naval enterprise and empire will bring prosperity; rather it is this that has caused enmity and heavy financial loss, and has nearly ruined Athens utterly.*

28. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως—“for the matter stands thus”. The phrase introduces the argument that follows (cf. *Archid.* 86).

ἐπιεικεῖς . . . διαμαρτανούσας—sc. δόξας.

29. συντάξεις—“contributions”, the official term for the payments made into the common fund by members of the confederacy. The word was introduced by Callistratus to avoid the word φόρος, tribute; for that recalled the Confederacy of Delos and the arbitrary Athenian empire that developed from it in the fifth century (cf. *Harpocr.* s. v. σύνταξις, quoting Theopompus, *Fr.* 92, ed. Grenfell and Hunt).

συνέδρους—These were the representatives from the various cities, that were members of the league. In this council of confederates (συνέδριον or, to give the full title, τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν συμμάχων) which met at Athens, no city had more than one vote, although the number of representatives sent by each state varied. Athens herself does not seem to have been represented on the

συνέδριον, but the resolutions of this council were referred to the Athenian *Boulē* which submitted them to the *Ecclesia*.

30. τοὺς ἔσχ. κινδ.—cf. *Panath.* 158 (where the same phrase is used) and similar expressions like εἰς τοῦσχατον ἐλθεῖν (*Demosth.* 19, 18) and τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν (*Lys.* 13, 16). The passage refers especially to the disastrous conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.

καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον—cf. below 85-87.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ . . . ἐλάβομεν—i. e. in 478 B. C., when the Confederacy of Delos was formed; cf. *Thuc.* 1, 95, φοιτῶντές τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουσιν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές (namely, the Ionians and lately revolted Greeks of Asia Minor), and 1, 96, παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πανσανίου μῖσος κ. τ. λ.

ἄλογ. καὶ λίαν εἰκῆ—“in a thoughtless and excessively careless way”; cf. *Lys.* 7, 12, οὐδὲν εἰκῆ καὶ ἀλογίστως ποιῆσαι.

31-35. *People are so senseless that, while they admit in the abstract that justice is noble and injustice a disgrace, in practice they maintain that the latter is more profitable and therefore to be preferred. They seem to me like beasts that snap at a bait and derive temporary enjoyment from it, only to realise that they have brought about their own destruction.*

31. ἀλυσιτελῆ . . . αὐτήν—“unprofitable and more calculated to benefit others than the just themselves (*lit.* than those who possess justice)”.

κακῶς εἰδότες—*Harpocration* (s. v.) explains ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγνοοῦντες· Ἰσοκράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ εἰρήνης. As a matter of fact, the phrase is not confined to this passage in Isocrates, but occurs in six other places (e. g. *Plat.* 25 and *c. Soph.* 10). It is found also in Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 2, 3, 13) and Hypereides (*in Euxen.* 33). In Isocrates it is always the participle that is used. The opposite, εὖ or σαφῶς εἰδότες, is common in all the orators.

32. ὡς οὔτε . . . ταύτης—“that nothing would contribute so powerfully to material gain, to good repute, to right conduct, in a word to happiness, as virtue and the qualities of which it is composed”.

χρηματισμόν—cf. 126 below. The word is frequent in Plato, to denote the “art” or “process” of money-making.

συμβάλοιτο—cf. *Areop.* 21, μέγιστον δ’ αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ καλῶς οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὅτι κ. τ. λ.

τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοῖς—cf. the similar words in *Antid.* 290, μηδ’ οὔτω χαίρειν μηδὲ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἐγγιγνομένοις.

33. ἐγὼ μὲν . . . ἔστιν—“I feel assured that the former alone achieve advantages that are desirable, while the rest attain what is not so beneficial”.



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ταῖς ἀληθείαις — For abstract nouns in the plural cf. 51; 90; *Phil.* 116.

τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν — not “hatred toward you”, but “odium (which I shall incur) in my relation to you”; that is to say, it will be Isocrates who will incur dislike. The phrase is unusual and has no parallel in Isocrates’s other writings; παρὰ and the dative would have been expected.

39-40. *Though I may incur personal odium, it is my duty to speak plainly for the good of the state. Just as diseases of the body can only be cured by drastic treatment, so unhealthy aspirations require sharp words.*

39. ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ. — “it is my task and that of the others who have the welfare of the city at heart”. For κηδομένων τῆς πόλεως cf. Thuc. 6, 14, εἶπερ ἡγεῖ σοι προσήκειν κήδεσθαι τε τῆς πόλεως, and 51 below.

τῶν περὶ τῶν σ. . . . ἐπιπλήττειν — this to some extent recalls a passage in *Areop.* 43 (a discourse published not long after the *De Pace*), ἀπάντων μὲν οὖν ἐφρόντιζον τῶν πολιτῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων. εἴρων γὰρ τοὺς τηλικούτους ταραχωδέστατα διακειμένους καὶ πλείστων γέμοντας ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν μάλιστα παιδευθῆναι δεομένας γυμνασίαις καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πόνοις ἡδονὰς ἔχουσιν. Cf. also *Bus.* 22, where the care of body and soul is contrasted.

40. τὰς μὲν καύσεις κ.τ.τομάς — the Greek equivalent to what we mean by “surgery”; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 3, 406 D and *Protag.* 354 A.

ἀποδοκιμάζειν — elsewhere than in Isocrates this word and its opposite are generally, though not invariably, used in a technical sense. δοκιμασία, “examination” or “scrutiny”, was the term used, 1) for the inquiry which newly elected magistrates had to undergo, before entering on office (cf. Deinarchus, *c. Arist.* 10, ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελητῆς λαχὼν ἀπεδοκιμάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν τότε δικαζόντων ἄρχειν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν); several of the extant speeches of Lysias deal with the δοκιμασία of magistrates, e. g. 16, 26, and 31. 2) for the scrutiny of the ephebi before they entered on the full rights of manhood; the *locus classicus* for this is Demosthenes’ speech against *Eubulides* (57).

41-48. *A stranger visiting Athens would regard our political conduct with derision; since, while we claim comparison with our ancestors, our circumstances and our policy are in direct opposition to theirs. They, at least, whatever their faults, were ready to uphold their claims in person; we will not even do that, but rely entirely on the efforts of mercenary soldiery.*

41. οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος — “without withholding anything”, i. e. unreservedly; cf. *Evag.* 39 and *Archid.* 89.

ἀνειμένως — cf. note on 18 above; ἀνειμένως is one of the earliest of these participial adverbs to come into use, for it is found in Thuc. 2, 39.

ἐπιστάς—“having suddenly come upon the scene of action”. The nearest parallels are in *Paneg.* 165, δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν, where however a notion of hostility is conveyed in the verb; and *Hel.* 65, of a vision, ὡς ἐπιστάσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρω.

42. οἱ μὲν γὰρ . . . διετελ.—e.g. Cimon's expedition to Lycia, which culminated in the victory on the Eurymedon in 468 B. C. Similarly, the Egyptian expedition, which ended so disastrously for Athens in 454, was, nominally at least, sent to aid the Libyan prince, Inarus, who had revolted from the Persian king (cf. *Thuc.* 1, 100 and 104).

ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . ἡγάγομεν—most of the captains of mercenaries, at one time or another, were attracted into Persian service by the prospects of enrichment (cf. note on Athenodorus above, 24). Yet the Great King was sometimes dilatory in paying wages (cf. the remarkable passage in *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, xiv [ed. Grenfell and Hunt]).

τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιοθ.—cf. note on 30 above with the passage of Thucydides there cited.

43. τήν τε πατρίδα . . . ἐκλιπεῖν—as before the battle of Salamis, when the Athenians, on the advice of Themistocles, evacuated their city (cf. *Herod.* 8, 40-41; *Thuc.* 1, 89, 3).

ναυμαχοῦντες—at Artemisium, Salamis, and Mycale.

44. τοὺς μὲν ἀπολ. . . συνεργουηκότας—the bad character and behaviour of mercenary troops are favourite topics of Isocrates; he also mentions their bad influence on the Athenians (cf. *Phil.* 96).

45. ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν παίδων κ.τ.λ.—translate: “we should not be ready to be legally responsible for our children, if they committed an offence against any one”. The subject of ἐξαμάρτοιεν is certainly παῖδες. The interpretation of some of the older editors, who referred τινὰς to the children and made ἐκεῖνοι or αὐτοὶ (i. e. the freebooters just mentioned) the subject of the verb, is certainly wrong, as it violates the Greek and gives the wrong sense. Isocrates is telling his countrymen “in your private affairs you are discriminating enough and you would not be responsible even for your children's offences, let alone any one else's; but in the affairs of the state you tolerate, and so let yourselves become responsible for, the excesses of the most miscellaneous rascals”.

δικὰς ὑπέχειν—a semi-legal term for 1) rendering an account of a crime or misdemeanour, 2) undergoing trial, 3) paying the penalty. Here the meaning is clearly a mixture of 1) and 3); cf. Demosthenes, 23, 84, ἐὰν μῆτε δικὰς ὑπέχωσι παρ' οἷς ἂν τὸ πάθος γένηται.

τῶν ἐγκλημάτων . . . ἡξιεῖν—cf. ps.-Demosth. 13, 6, τὰ δὲ μίση καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐφ' ὅλην ἔρχεται τὴν πόλιν.

διαπεπραγμένους—middle voice, as usually in Isocrates. There are only two instances (*Areop.* 63; *Trapez.* 21) where the perfect or pluperfect is used in a passive sense.

46. ξενοτροφεῖν—“to support mercenaries”, a word used also by Thucydides (7, 48). Isocrates’s dislike of the practice of employing mercenaries has already been indicated in the note on 44 above. Demosthenes is equally scathing (23, 139, ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ’ ὅτι πάντες οἱ ξεναγοῦντες οὗτοι πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντες Ἑλληνίδας ἄρχειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πάντων, ὅσοι περ νόμοις, οἴκειν βούλονται τὴν αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι, κοινοὶ περιέρχονται κατὰ πᾶσαν χώραν, εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐχθροί). For some account of the rise of mercenary service cf. Grote, *H. G.* ch. 87; S. H. Butcher, *Demosthenes*, p. 18; for the depredations of mercenaries and pirates cf. H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* [1924] pp. 116 ff.

ἰδίᾳ—for the reading cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 80.

δασμολογοῦμεν—cf. *Epist.* 7, 4, τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους λυμανοῦνται καὶ δασμολογήσουσι, and 125 below. The word is used five times in all in Isocrates; it is not found in Plato and is very rare in the other orators (but cf. *Hyper. in Euxen.* 36 and pseudo-Demosth. 59, 31, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐραστῶν ἐδασμολόγησεν ἔρανον εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συλλέγουσα. In this last instance the word is used half humorously.

ἐκπορίζωμεν—cf. below 131 and *Andoc. de red.* 17; the compound is common in Thuc. and Plato, but with the exception of the three passages indicated the orators use the simple verb πορίζειν.

47. τῶν εὐδοκ. . . . μισηθέντων—Of the former class Aristeides was the conspicuous example; for the latter we may instance Cleon. Whatever Cleon’s faults, he saw active service twice while at the head of affairs, namely at Sphacteria and subsequently at Amphipolis, where he met his death.

μεστῆς . . . ἀκροπόλεως—cf. Thuc. 2, 13, 3, who speaks of 9700 talents as the largest amount of treasure ever stored in the Parthenon. This amount did not include the annual tribute and revenues, or a good deal of miscellaneous treasure in the way of sacrificial vessels etc. This total had been considerably lessened at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war by the expense of building the Propylaea and by the cost of the siege of Potidaea. At the end of the Sicilian expedition in 413 nothing remained save the reserve fund of a thousand talents set aside in 431 (cf. Thuc. 2, 24; 8, 1).

ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξ. . . .—“yet they thought it their duty to hazard their own lives on behalf of their principles”. For τὰ δόξαντα, cf. *Demon.* 34 βουλευόντων μὲν βραδέως, ἐπιτέλει δὲ ταχέως τὰ δόξαντα.

καὶ τοσοῦτοι κ.τ.λ.—concessive, “though we are so numerous”.
 βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγ.—Artaxerxes Ochus who had come to the throne
 in 358 B.C. and who reigned for twenty years.

48. εἰ πληροῖεν . . . εἰσεβίβαζον—Isocrates’s statement is not
 accurate of the fifth century. The usual persons to man triremes
 were the Thetes or lowest of the four Solonian classes of citizens.
 Demizens served as hoplites, but were only enlisted as rowers in ex-
 ceptional circumstances (cf. Thuc. 3, 16). Slaves were used as rowers
 to some extent, but to a less degree than the poorest class of citizens.

τοὺς δὲ πολ. ἐλεύνειν—cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1366

πρῶτοι μὲν ὅποσοι ναῦς ἐλεύνουσιν μακράς,
 καταγομένοις τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσω ἕντελῃ.

The point of Isocrates’s remark is “whereas formerly the main body
 of citizens served as hoplites, now we leave the actual fighting to
 hired soldiery, while our citizens perform a less dangerous and less
 glorious task”.

ὑπηρέσιον—a cushion or pad on which the rowers sat διὰ τὸ
 μὴ συντριβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγὰς (Schol. on Thuc. 2, 93).

τοιοῦτοι . . . οἴους . . . διῆλθον—cf. above 44 (ἀπόλιδας . . .
 αὐτομόλους . . . συνεργουχότας).

49-56. *At home our conduct is equally inglorious and reprehensible:
 we care so little for the laws, that we do not trouble to punish their trans-
 gressors. Those who incite us to ruinous wars we regard as public bene-
 factors; the more villainous a man’s character, the more likely is he to
 be hailed as a trustworthy guardian of the constitution. In fact, in every
 way we are acting in exactly the opposite manner to our ancestors. Time
 alone prevents me from enlarging further on an endless list of crimes
 and mistakes.*

49. ἀλλὰ γὰρ . . . ἀγανακτήσειεν—Corais suggested that Demosthenes
 imitated this passage in 22, 66; the resemblance is however so very
 general in tone, that it is more than doubtful whether it can be
 called a conscious imitation on the part of the younger orator.

αὐτόχθονες μὲν εἶναί φαμεν—This claim is a common-place in
 Athenian literature (cf. Thuc. 1, 2; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1076; Eur. *Ion.* 589).
 It was, moreover, one of the topics which were regularly introduced
 into λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι, for it can hardly be a mere coincidence that
 all the extant specimens of funeral orations have references of this
 sort (cf. Thuc. 2, 36, 1; Lys. 2, 17; Plato, *Menex.* 237 B; pseudo-
 Demosth. *Epit.* 4; Hyper. *Epit.* 7). It may reasonably be assumed that
 a similar allusion to αὐτοχθονία occurred in Gorgias’ ἐπιτάφιος
 λόγος, of which only a small fragment has survived (cf. Baiter-Sauppe,
Orat. Att. 2, p. 129).

ἅπασιν εἶναι παράδειγμα—cf. the claim of Pericles in Thuc. 2, 37, 1, χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία, οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τινι ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους.

τεταγμένως—cf. note on 18.

τῶν ἄρτι . . . οἰκισόντων—“those who are just founding cities”. ἄρτι, which is used nine times in Isocrates, does not appear to occur in the other orators. The sentiment is general in thought, though Isocrates may be thinking of the particular instances also, which he has already mentioned (cf. 24).

50. τῷ βελτίον γεγονέναι—“that we *are* better”, lit. “have become”.

ῥᾶον δὲ μεταδίδομεν κ.τ.λ.—Historical instances where Athens conferred Athenian citizenship on foreigners are fairly numerous, e. g. Sitalces' son Sadocus (Thuc. 2, 29, 5), and Evagoras of Cyprus (Hicks & Hill, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 92); other cases are to be found in the letter of Philip included in the speeches of Demosthenes (no. 12).

Τριβαλλοί—This rude and warlike tribe of the interior of Thrace is mentioned also in *Panath.* 227 for the savage propensities of its members—ἀπολλύναι δ' οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τοὺς πλησίον οἰκοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσων ἂν ἐφίκεσθαι δυνηθῶσιν. They were a standing menace to the Greek cities of the Thracian coast, as they not infrequently made raids into the fertile plains (for an instance cf. Diod. 15, 36). They attacked and defeated Philip in 339 on his return from the Danube, an adventure in which Philip himself was severely wounded. A few years later, Alexander, before setting out for Asia, carried out a successful punitive expedition against them. (Cf. also Sandys, *Priv. Orat. of Demosth.* 2, Append. D, who quotes a passage from the comic poet Alexis, and deals fully with the nickname *Τριβαλλοί*).

Λευκανοί—Diodorus (14, 101), in describing a war between the native Lucanians and the Greek city of Thurii, refers to the former as οἱ βάρβαροι, which by itself means little more than non-Greek; but a little later he adds παρήγγελον γὰρ οἱ Λευκανοὶ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, which bears witness to their ferocity. The point of the passage seems to be that the Athenians, in spite of their pride of race, were less exclusive than mere βάρβαροι, who, however rude their stock, were particular to suppress strangers (cf. the extract from *Panath.* about the *Τριβαλλοί* quoted above).

ἢν τις ἀλῶ δεκάζων—“if any one be convicted of bribery”. For δεκάζειν cf. in *Callim.* 11; *Lys.* 29, 12; *Aesch. c. Timarch.* 86. The origin of the term is uncertain; Harpocration (s. v.) says—πόθεν τὸ πρᾶγμα εἴρηται δηλοῖ (sc. Eratosthenes), οὕτω λέγων· Λύκος ἐστὶν ἦρως πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις δικαστηρίοις, τοῦ θηρίου μορφὴν

ἔχων, πρὸς ὃν οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες κατὰ δέκα γιγνόμενοι συνεστρέφοντο. ὅθεν εἴρηται Λύκον δεκάς· Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ Ἄνυτον φησὶ καταδειξαι τὸ δεκάζειν τὰ δικαστήρια. The passage referred to is in Ἀθ. πολ. 27 (cf. Sandys' note *ad loc.*); for a full and extremely lucid discussion of the whole question of bribery in fourth century Athens see Butcher, *Demosth.* pp. 11-14 and, for details, P.-W. s. v.

στρατηγούς—cf. the case of Anytus mentioned in the last note. He was accused after an unsuccessful expedition to Pylos in 409, but was acquitted.

51. ἡσυχίαις κ.τ.λ.—for the plural cf. note on 38.

δὲς ἤδη καταλυθεῖσαν—In the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and of 404; neither lasted more than a few months (see also 133 below).

52. περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν . . . γινώσκουμεν—Corais refers to Aristoph. *Ach.* 630 and *Eccles.* 137 and 797; the last named passage is the most apposite:—

ἐγὼδα τούτους χειροτονοῦντας μὲν ταχύ,
ἅπτ' ἂν δὲ δόξῃ, ταῦτα πάλιν ἀρνούμενους.

ἀναβῆναι—the word is used not merely of a speaker going up to the βῆμα to speak, but generally of going to attend the assembly or the law-courts (cf. pseudo-Demosth. 25, 9, εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀναβῆναι; Andoc. *de Myst.* 23, ἀνέβην ἐπὶ δικαστήριον).

τῶν κοινῶν . . . τῶν ἰδίων—contrasted as often; cf. *Paneg.* 15, where, after a personal explanation (τῶν ἰδίων), Isocrates proceeds to the question of a national policy (τῶν κοινῶν).

53. καὶ τοὺς μὲν . . . ἡμῶν—“and while we judge the character of resident aliens by the patrons they choose, we ourselves do not think that we shall get the same reputation as those who preside over us”. The whole sting of the passage lies in the play on words on the two meanings of προστάτης viz. 1) the leader of the ἐκκλησία, 2) a full Athenian citizen acting as sponsor for a μέτοικος. The sense then is—“we judge an alien by the reputation and character of the Athenian who stands as his sponsor, but we do not reflect that strangers will, on the same principle, judge our characters by the characters of our political leaders.

νέμωσιν—It is quite clear that προστάτ. νέμειν was the technical term used of a μέτοικος choosing a patron, to enable him to reside permanently at Athens. Thus, Aristotle (*Pol.* 3, 1275 A 12) says πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀναγκὴν προστάτην κ.τ.λ., and Harpokration and Suidas (s. v.) give a similar explanation, the latter quoting a passage from Hypereides's speech against Aristagoras in support of his state-

ment (cf. Baiter-Sauppe, *Orat. Att.* 2, p. 279). Closely connected with this phrase is another, ἐπὶ προστάτου οἰκεῖν, "to live under the protection of a patron" (cf. *Lys.* 31, 9 and 14). A μέτοικος who did not comply with the regulations was liable to a δίκη ἀπροστασίου (cf. *Harpocr.* s. v.), and the speech of Aristagoras was in a suit of this sort. Liddell and Scott in their dictionary (s. v. προστάτης) quote προστάτην ἔχειν, γράφειν, γράφεσθαι, as though these were technical terms; but the passages they quote are all from the poets, and γράφειν and γράφεσθαι are general terms used of any enrolment, whereas νέμειν in this sense appears to be confined, in classical Greek, to this one expression.

54. τοὺς αὐτοὺς . . . ἤροῦντο—as for instance Pericles, who personally led a number of Athenian expeditions, e. g. against Sicyon (*Thuc.* 1, 111), against Euboea, which revolted in 446 (*ib.* 1, 114), against Samos in 440 (*ib.* 1, 116) and into the Megarid in 431 (*ib.* 2, 31).

καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν γενομ.—"when left to his own initiative"; cf. *Panath.* 102, ὃ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔπραξαν.

55. οἷς μὲν γὰρ—Eubulus, Callistratus, Aristophon, and other distinguished statesmen of the first half of the fourth century had no military repute, like the great figures of the fifth century.

οἷς δ' οὐδεὶς . . . αὐτοκράτορας ἐκπέμπομεν—e. g. Chares, of whom Demosthenes uses the same word (23, 173), Χάρης ἦκεν ἔχων τοὺς ξένους καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς Χερρόνησον ἐξέπλει.

ὡς . . . ἔσομένους—"in the hope that they would be wiser there".

τῶν . . . προτιθεμένων—cf. note on 15 above.

56. οὐ κατὰ πάντων—"not against one and all, but against those who are responsible for the speeches".

εἰ πάσας . . . ἐπιχειρήσαιμι—for the reading cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 80. γιγνομένας cf. *ibid.*

57-60. *I may be asked: "if our policy is really so bad, how is it that we are still the equal of any city in Greece?" My answer is that we are still beset with enemies. Thebes, when she defeated Sparta, had the opportunity of liberating all Greece, but she failed to do so with the result that both the Thebans and we are in difficulties.*

οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἐλάττω—This is true of the time after the battle of Mantinea in 362. The death of Epaminondas had deprived Thebes of the only man capable of securing to her a predominant position in Greece, and the result of the peace made after the battle was that Athens with her confederacy was again the most influential of the Greek states. The danger that now threatened her was from foreign rulers like Philip of Macedon and Mausolus of Caria, a



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justice, and all else that goes to make up virtue, I have already enumerated a little while back"; cf. particularly 31-35 above. For τ. ἄλ. ἄρ. cf. *Paneg.* 108.

τὸ τοιοῦτοι γενέσθαι i. e. εὐδαιμονῆσαι μέλλοντες.

64. ἐπιδώσειν—intransitive, as always in Isocrates.

τὴν δημοκρ. ἐκείνην—i. e. Athens as she was soon after the Persian wars, before the Delian Confederacy had been converted into an Athenian empire. In his *Areopagiticus*, a pamphlet written very soon after the *De Pace*, Isocrates has much to say about the old and the new democracy (cf. especially *Areop.* 20).

65. δυναστείας . . . γεγενημένης—"a power to which all are passionately attached and for which all have contended". For this use of ἐράν—cf. *Epist.* 7, 7, εἰ μὲν ἐράς χρημάτων καὶ μείζονος δυναστείας καὶ κινδύνων κ. τ. λ. and *Thuc.* 2, 43, ἐραστάς γιγνομένους τῆς πόλεως.

ἀνεκτόν τι λέγειν—cf. *Phil.* 11.

φιλαπεχθημόνας—"contentious", lit. "causing you to quarrel with me". It is noteworthy that in Isocrates, where this adjective occurs four times, it is always used with λόγος. Lysias (21, 24) and Demosthenes (24, 6) apply it to persons, i. e. "quarrelsome"; the noun φιλαπεχθημοσύνη used of a person is found in *Antid.* 315 and 317.

ὥς οὔτε . . . ἡμῶν—"that the empire we desire is not just and cannot exist and is not to our advantage". It should be noted that συμφερούσης, for greater emphasis, comes last in the sentence, as the argument of expediency was more likely to carry weight with the Athenians than any other.

67-68. *That the empire is not just I can easily prove by reminding you of the execrations which you poured on Sparta when she extended her rule, and the steps you took to counteract her ambitions.*

67. ὅτε γὰρ Λακεδ. . . .—from 404 to the peace of Antalcidas in 387 B. C.

68. τὴν συμμαχίαν—In 395 B. C. Thebes applied to Athens for help against Sparta and an alliance was made between the two states. A few months later a more general anti-Spartan league was formed in which Athens, Thebes, Argos and Corinth were the chief members (cf. *Diod.* 14, 82, 1 and, generally, *Grote, H. G.* ch. 74).

πάσας δὲ πρεσβείας—cf. *Diod.* 14, 81, 4. In the winter 395-4 Conon went to the court of the Persian king. His mission was successful and he obtained a considerable sum of money as well as the assistance of the satrap Pharnabazus with a fleet of Phoenician ships. Some months later, in the summer of 394, Conon and Pharnabazus with their joint fleets won their decisive naval victory off Cnidus

over the Lacedaemonian fleet. Although Isocrates in the present passage speaks as though numerous embassies had been sent to Susa, this mission of Conon is the only one about which we have any information.

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θαλ.—cf. the last note for naval operations; on land, Iphicrates won a number of successes in the Peloponnese in 391 (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 4, 15-6).

τὰς συνθήκας—the peace of Antalcidas.

69-70. *In the same way I will show the impossibility and inexpediency of maintaining an empire.*

69. μετὰ μυρίων ταλ.—cf. note on 47 above and *Antid.* 234, (Pericles) εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων ταλάντων ἀνῆνεγκεν. The contrast between καταστρέψ. and κτήσασθαι on the one hand and διαφυλάξαι on the other is very striking, i. e. “where our ancestors failed to *keep* their empire, do you expect to *win* one with less resources?”

ἄλλως τε . . . αὐτήν—Freese translates “especially since our present conduct is that by which we lost it, not that by which we won it”; for χρᾶσθαι τοῖς ἡθ. cf. pseudo-Demosth. 47, 79, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι ἡθεσιν οἷσπερ καὶ τότε.

70. ἐκεῖθεν—points forward, i. e. “from the following facts”, a usage which occurs elsewhere in Isocrates (e. g. 88; *Panath.* 224, γνοίη δ’ ἂν τις ἐκεῖθεν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ κ. τ. λ.; it is very rare in the other orators, but cf. Demosth. 45, 48). The whole of 71-73 is a digression, in which Isocrates once again apologises for his outspokenness. The argument is resumed in 74 and introduced by a second ἐκεῖθεν.

71-73. *Those who accuse and those who reprove, while they are forced to use similar language, are nevertheless animated by a very different spirit. It is this I wish to emphasise in view of the seeming severity of my language to you.*

71. τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην i. e. τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν.

73. τῶν λόγ. τραχύτητος—cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 313, εἰ δ’ ὧδε τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους λόγους ῥίψεις—. The noun τραχύτης is only here used by Isocrates and occurs nowhere else in the orators; Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 7, 5, 67) uses it of roughness of ground.

ὄθεν δὲ . . . ἀρχήν—cf. the similar expression in *Panath.* 150, πάλιν ἐπανελθόντας περαίνειν καὶ λέγειν ὄθεν ἀπέλιπον· ὅπερ ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

74-79. *You should contrast the Athenians under Miltiades and Aristides with those of the time of Cleon and Hyperbolus. In the former case they were held in honour and regarded as the champions of Greece; in the latter Athens was so hated that, but for the intervention of Sparta, she*

would have been utterly destroyed by the victorious enemy. That the Athenians were so loathed was entirely their own fault.

74. ὅσων κάκων αἰτία sc. ἡ δύναμις αὐτή.

75. ἡ . . . πολιτεία . . . καταστάσ.—The former constitution is that of Cleisthenes, the latter that which obtained during the Peloponnesian war and which was the direct result of the reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles.

Ἵπέρβολος—cf. Aristoph. *Pax*, 681 ff. especially lines 683-84—

ἀποστρέφεται τὸν δῆμον ἀχθесθεῖς' ὅτι
αὐτῷ πονηρὸν προστάτην ἐπεγράψατο.

Similarly Thuc. (8, 73) calls H. μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον. H. rose to influence at Athens after Cleon's death in 424. Eight years later he was ostracised, and finally in 411 we hear that he was put to death (cf. Thuc. *l. c.*).

Κλεόφων—cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 679 ff. He was mainly responsible for the disastrous conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, as it was through his influence that Athens continued to pursue a war policy after 410, though she could at that time have concluded an honourable peace. C. was condemned to death in 404 (cf. also note on 13 above).

τῶν νῦν δημηγορούντων—the most influential men in Athens in 356 were Aristophon and Eubulus.

ἀργίας—This word is used in three other passages in Isocrates, always in the sense of "idleness" (i. e. ἀ—ἔργον), that is to say, failing to promote crafts and industry which alone can render a people prosperous. Thus in *Bus.* 20, Isocrates accuses the Spartans of ἀργία, because they thought only of war and despised the productive arts of peace. The word is rare in the other orators, but cf. Demosth. 57, 32 and Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 161.

οὐδὲ κενῶν ἐλπίδων—for the order of words cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 83.

76. τοὺς εἰς τ. χ. εἰσβαλλ.—referring to the Persian invasions in 490 and 480 B.C.

ἀριστείων—"the prize of victory"; Freese translates "the meed of valour". In Isocrates, as in other writers, the word is almost always used in the plural (but cf. *De big.* 31, where the plural would hardly have been suitable—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μήτερα τὴν ἐμὴν ἔγνημεν· ἠγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ ταύτην ἀριστεῖον αὐτὸν λαβεῖν.

οὕτω δὲ . . . αὐτάς—for the historical accuracy of this statement cf. note on 30 above; almost the same words are used in *Areop.* 80.

77. προήγαγεν—cf. *Phil.* 141, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν προαγαγεῖν. ἐπαίδευσεν—the subject is still ἡ δύναμις αὐτή.



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foreign expeditions. The land became depopulated and the tribes refilled with aliens. If their political conduct be compared with that of the Athenians at the time of the Persian wars, you will see the latter moderate in all things and possessed of lawful power; the former strove for absolute power and fell into the same disasters which befall tyrants. This comparison should teach us that we are able to rear better men than other states, but that what is called empire only deteriorates and destroys those who hold it.

81. ἀπολεύσω τι φλαῦρον—cf. *Antid.* 168, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς διαβολῆς ἀπολεύσω τι φλαῦρον and *Aegin.* 21; similarly φλαῦρον ἀκούειν is used in *Antid.* 33, like the Latin *male audire*.

ἀποστήσομαι κ. τ. λ.—cf. 15 above.

82. οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς—“for with such accuracy did they gauge the causes from which men incur the greatest odium”; Isocrates is of course ironical, speaking as though the Athenians acted as they did with the specific aim of making themselves unpopular.

τὸ περιγιγνόμενον . . . θέατρον—“they voted that the surplus revenues be divided into talents and brought into the orchestra at the Dionysia”. The information on this point is very scanty, but it would appear that the θεωρικὸν or festival money was carried into the Dionysiac theatre and there distributed before the beginning of the performances; cf. *Aeschin. in Ctes.* 251, ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐράνων, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. (from *Demosth.* 21, 9 it is clear that this procedure took place in the Dionysiac theatre). It is remarkable that strangers should have been allowed to witness it.

παρεισῆγον . . . τετελευτηκότων—cf. particularly *Aeschin. in Ctes.* 154, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὅτι τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενομένοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβῆς ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῆδε τῆ πανοπλία ἀφίησιν ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ τρεπέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. The state maintenance and upbringing of the orphans of men who had fallen in the war is often referred to by classical writers (e. g. *Thuc.* 2, 46; *Aristotle, Pol.* 2, 1268 A; *pseudo-Demosth. Epitaph,* 32; *Plato, Menex.* 248 E).

παρεισάγω—“to introduce besides”, only here in Isocrates, who is however fond of verbs compounded with two prepositions; cf. *προσαπολεῖν* (83), *προσεξευρίσκειν* (*Paneg.* 168), *συμπαρακολουθεῖν* (*Phil.* 134), *συμπαραμένειν* (*ib.* 28). With the present verb cf.

Demosth. 20, 88, *παρεισφέρειν*, of introducing a law in place of or besides another.

82. *ἀμφοτέροις*—explained by what immediately follows, 1) the allies of Athens, 2) the other Greeks. The greater Dionysia were celebrated from the ninth to the thirteenth of the month Elaphebolion (approx. = March). The main part of the celebrations consisted in dramatic and choral representations.

τὰς τιμὰς—"the value" of their possessions. Benseler compares Xenoph. *Anab.* 7, 5, 2, *τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας*.

ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν εἰσφερομένας—Two interpretations of this passage have been given: 1) "brought in (i. e. into the theatre) by hired servants", and 2) "won (and brought to Athens) by mercenaries". The former translation is certainly the correct one, as there are a number of strong reasons against 2). There is no parallel to the suggested use of *εἰσφέρεσθαι*, and, in any case, an aorist rather than an imperfect would be expected; further, it would be an anachronism, as at the time of which Isocrates is speaking, it is not true to say that Athens got her wealth by the aid of mercenaries, even though such may have occasionally been employed during the Peloponnesian war. For *μισθωτὸς* in this sense cf. Plato, *Polit.* 290 A, *μισθωτοὺς καὶ θῆτας*.

83. *ποιούμενοι* the subject is *πολλοὶ τῶν ν. ὀ. εἰ*.

ὅς . . . προσάπολεῖν—"the wealth which had unjustly come into the city and was likely in a short time to bring about the loss even of that wealth which rightly belonged to Athens".

84. *Λακεδαιμ. . . . ἔστηκότος*—Decelea, on one of the lower slopes of Mt. Parnes, was occupied and fortified by the Spartans in 413 B. C. (Thuc. 7, 19, 1). It was Alcibiades who had urged this step on the Spartan government (*ib.* 6, 91, 6); cf. also note on 37 above. The locative *Δεκελειᾶσιν* seems not to be found elsewhere in a classical author, but the parallel form *Δεκελειόθεν* is used in Lys. 23, 2 & 3.

εἰς Σικελίας κ. τ. λ.—not the original expedition of 415, but the reinforcements under Demosthenes which, as Thucydides (7, 20) expressly says, left Athens just about the time of the fortification of D. The words that follow—*ἐπι δὲ τοὺς κ. τ. λ.*—it is true, refer more naturally to the original expedition, but it is more reasonable to assume a certain looseness of expression on the part of Isocrates than to saddle him with a chronological blunder.

τεμνομένην κ. τ. λ.—cf. Thuc. 7, 28—*ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Δεκελείας πολλὰ βλαπτούσης*; thus the Athenians could no longer get supplies direct from Euboea *via* Oropus, but had to send them all the way by sea *via* Sunium.

85. ὥστε τῶν προαστείων—The distance from Athens to Decelea is about fourteen miles; for the hardships inflicted on Athens by the occupation of D. cf. Thuc. 7, 19, and particularly 7, 27, 4-5 & 28 (τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἀπάσης ἀπεστέρηντο . . . πρόβατά τε πάντα ἀπώλωλει καὶ ὑποζύγια κ.τ.λ.).

Ἰταλίας . . . ἄρξειν—Thucydides (6, 15, 1) says that Alcibiades harboured the ambitious project of conquering Carthage, and in another place puts the following words into A.'s mouth (*ib.* 90, 1)—ἐπλεύσαμεν ἐς Σικελίαν πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ δυναίμεθα Σικελιώτας καταστρεφόμενοι, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους αὐθις καὶ Ἰταλιώτας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποπειράσοντες.—Very probably Isocrates was thinking of these words when he wrote the present passage. The Syracusan Hermocrates also advised his countrymen to send to Carthage and make a friendly alliance with that state—οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον αὐτοῖς (i. e. the Carthaginians)· ἀλλ' αἰεὶ διὰ φόβον εἰσι μὴ ποτε Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλθωσιν (*ib.* 34, 2). On the other hand the Athenian generals ἔπεμψαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τριήρη περὶ φιλίας, εἰ δύναιτό τι ὠφελεῖσθαι—(*ib.* 88, 7).

συστέλλουσι—“they humble”, cf. *Panath.* 230, συνεσταλμένην.

ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν. This is a poetical use of the word not found in the other orators; cf. Eurip. *Frag.* 716 (Nauck) τά τοι μέγιστα πολλάκις θεὸς ταπείν' ἔθηκε καὶ συνέστειλεν πάλιν—and *Herc. Fur.* 1417, συνεστάλμαι κακοῖς (which may however rather mean “I am wrapped round with ills”).

ποιοῦσι σωφρονεστέρους—for the reading cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 83-4.

86. εἰς Ἀίγυπτον μὲν—cf. Thuc. 1, 104 and 109-10. The Athenians went to the aid of the prince Inarus who had revolted from Persia in 460. After some initial successes, things went badly for the Athenians and, finally, practically the whole expeditionary force was annihilated; a reinforcement of fifty vessels was also destroyed (cf. Grote, *H. G.* ch. 45; Bury, *H. G.* p. 354-7, and Cary in *Class. Quart.* 13, who argues with great probability that the losses of Athens were not so large as has been commonly supposed).

περὶ δὲ Κύπρον—cf. Thuc. 1, 112, who speaks of two hundred vessels of which sixty were sent to Egypt, while the remainder under Cimon laid siege to Citium in Cyprus. Cimon died during the operations, and these were soon after abandoned. Before returning home, the Athenians won a naval and military victory near Cypriote Salamis. The expedition was not a disaster like the Egyptian undertaking, but on the other hand it cost both lives and money, and superficially seemed to produce no positive results. This is the reason



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τῶν ἐγκυκλίων—“one of the regularly recurring events”; the word is an adjective and generally applied to liturgies which recurred yearly. For τὰ ἐγκύκλια cf. *Nicos.* 22; *Antid.* 316; Demosth. 25, 74.

ταφὰς ποιεῖν—of the Peloponnesian war Thucydides says ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσιν· καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὅποτε ξυμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ νόμῳ (2, 35), which does not necessarily imply an annual rite.

ἐφησθησόμενοι—for the reading cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 82.

88. τὰς φρατρίας—The phratries, after the reforms of Cleisthenes, ceased to have any political influence, but continued to be important for religious purposes. They had their registers (κοινὰ γραμματεῖα or φρατορικὰ γραμματεῖα) and on the third day of the festival of the Apaturia the enrolment of new members took place. The father produced his child before the other members of the phratry and took an oath that it was born in wedlock. Its name was inscribed in the register.

ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα—the state registers kept in each deme. At the beginning of the official year, all Athenian youths who had completed their eighteenth year were enrolled and so admitted into their respective demes. They were now entitled to enter upon inheritances and to manage their own affairs, and of course were liable for military service.

ἐκεῖθεν—cf. note on 70 above.

ἀπολλυμένων—For the sentiment cf. Thuc. 1, 23, in speaking of the Peloponnesian war: τούτου τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προὔβη, παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οἷα οὐχ ἕτερα ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ· οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἠρημώθησαν . . . οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαῖδε ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος κ. τ. λ.

τὰς τυραννικὰς στάσεις—i. e. under Peisistratus and his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, for whom cf. Thuc. 6, 54 ff. and Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.* 18.

διέφυγον—“survived”; cf. *Phil.* 108. Thucydides, similarly, employs the word of those who survived or “pulled through” the plague (2, 51, 6).

ἀναστάτους γεν.—cf. 4 above.

89. ὥσπερ πρὸς παραδείγμα—for the reading cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 83.

ἀντηλλαγμένοι—only here in Isocrates, for in *Arch.* the best Mss. read ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι. The meaning is clearly “we would well nigh appear to be changed men”, i. e. “we are almost entirely a new people” (Freese). The only approximate parallel to this use is Thuc. 4, 14, 3, ἐγένετό τε ὁ θόρυβος μέγας καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένος (Classen and Hude -ου) τοῦ ἐκατέρων τρόπου περὶ τὰς ναῦς.

τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς—i. e. “office”, such as the στρατηγία.

διδόμεναις sc. τιμαῖς. Some of the inferior Mss. read δωρεαῖς but ΓΕ and the Brit. Mus. Pap. omit this word and give better sense.

90. ταύτης sc. τιμῆς, to be taken as gen. of comparison after σπουδαιοτέραν.

τότε μὲν . . . τότε δὲ—explaining ὁμ. τοῖς λήσταις “at one time having more than they required, at another subjected to famine, sieges, and the greatest dangers”.

πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν—It is hard to say whether this is merely a general rhetorical statement or contains a historical allusion. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, as we have seen, there was a very large reserve fund on the Acropolis.

σιτοδείαις—Isocrates is again thinking particularly of the Deceleian war, when, for example, supplies could not be brought direct from Euboea by the land route, and even the sea route was insecure owing to Athenian naval weakness (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2, 2, 10, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουσιν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου).

τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς—especially the plague of 430 (Thuc. 2, 49 ff.).

ἐνδείαις . . . ὑπερβολαῖς—the order is inverted chiastically, ἐνδ. corresponding to the previous σιτοδείαις, while ὑπερβολ. corresponds to πλείω . . . ἔχοντες.

οὐκ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τυραννεῖν—this point is explained more fully in *Paneg.* 80—τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διώκουν, θεραπεύοντες ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπότες προσαγορεύεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν—“the same meaning”; for this use of δύναμις cf. *Antid.* 54, ῥαδίως τὸ τ’ ἐμὸν ἦθος γνωριεῖτε καὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν δύναμιν ἀπάντων μαθήσεσθε and *Lys.* 10, 7, τὰ ὀνόματα γράφειν ὅσα τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει.

πλείστον . . . κεχωρίσται “differ widely from each other”; cf. Demosth. 23, 9, τῶ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι κεχωρισμένον τοῦ τι τοιοῦτον δοκεῖν διαπραξασθαι.

ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονεστέρους—Dobree rightly compares the similar passage in the letter to Timotheus, 3.

92. ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ . . . γενομένους—For Athenian garrisons cf. Thuc. 4, 7 (in Chalcidice) and elsewhere (cf. the next note). Plutarch (*Lys.* 15) says that the “Thirty at Athens” applied to Sparta for a garrison, and Lysander put a garrison, under the command of Callibius, in the Acropolis; both Xenophon and Diodorus mention the garrison, but do not mention the Acropolis.

τοῦ παιδᾶς . . . μητέρων—for an instance of this cf. Thuc. 1, 115, πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσσαράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πενήκοντα μὲν παιδᾶς, ἴσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λῆμνον καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν (in 440 B.C.).

τοῦ γεωργεῖν . . . ἄλλοτ.—this passage refers to the system of planting settlements in conquered territory, which Athens adopted extensively in the fifth century. The members of the settlement (κληρουχία) retained their Athenian citizenship. The earliest known instance of a cleruchy was at Chalcis in Euboea (Herod. 5, 77).

πολλῶν ἐτῶν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν—cf. notes on 77 and 85 above.

93. ἀπονενοημένος—“utterly abandoned” rather than “senseless”, as Freese translates. The ἀπονενοημένος of Theophrastus (*Char.* 6) is not merely foolish but vicious. The adverb occurs in *Arch.* 75, ἀπονενοημένως πρὸς τὸ ζῆν διακείμενον.

τοῦ χρόνου . . . τοῦ καθ' αὐτόν—“the term” or “span of his own life”; cf. *Hel.* 44, ὥστε ταύτην μὲν τὴν αἴρεσιν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ γένους ἔσεσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐτέρας δωρεὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρόνου μόνον τοῦ καθ' αὐτόν.

τῆς κοινῆς δόξης—“the reputation of the state”; cf. *Paneg.* 77, μᾶλλον δ' ἠσχύνοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν, for this use of κοινός.

94. οἱ πρόγονοι κ.τ.λ.—Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristeides, and the men of their age.

ἀμφοτέρω—pointing forward, as in 82 above.

τρέφειν ἄνδρ. ἀμείν.—cf. the similar eulogy in *Areop.* 74, τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἄνδρας ψέρειν καὶ τρέφειν δυναμένην οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους εὐφροεστάτους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν πολὺ διαφέροντας.

95-105. *If you need further proof of my contention, consider Sparta. After centuries of government undisturbed by any disaster, Sparta within a few years has been well-nigh destroyed. In their short-lived empire they were even more harsh than we had been towards the other Greeks. In truth, the beginning of their misfortunes came when they became a naval power and, in the result, just as we were nearly annihilated and saved by them, so the Spartans, when in danger of enslavement, turned to us for help.*

95. διέφθειρεν—the subject is ἀρχή, supplied from the preceding section.

τοῖς εἰθισμένοις κ.τ.λ.—for the philo-Laconians at Athens cf. *Panath.* 200, ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πεπολιτευμένων, προηρημένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαινεῖν. Athenian statesmen with Spartan sympathies had not been wanting even in the fifth century, as the example of



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ἀειμνήστους—cf. *Paneg.* 157, ἀειμνηστον τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν.

πρὸς ἀλλήλους—this can only refer to the citizens of the various city-states which were affected by the political factions (στάσεις) fomented by Sparta.

97. φιλοπολέμῳ καὶ φιλοκινδύνῳ—both words are rather rare; for the double adverbs cf. Xenoph., *Hell.* 6, 1, 6, οὓς δ' ἂν ὀργᾷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ φιλοκινδύνῳ ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους.

τὸν ἄλλον χρ. . . . πεφυλαγμένῳ . . . ἔχοντες—as for instance at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Thus, Archidamus, after enumerating the power and resources of Athens, is made to say (*Thuc.* 1, 80) πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥαδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι κ. τ. λ.—πλέον ἢ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα—cf. *Andocid. De Pace*, 29—βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἡμῖν σύμμαχος γενόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις, παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα ἕως κατέλυσεν ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν. Both Thucydides and Xenophon speak of the financial aid given by Persia to Sparta during the last years of the Peloponnesian war, but they do not indicate the total amount received. The sum mentioned by Isocrates and Andocides is large, but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

Χίῳν—Chios revolted from Athens in 412 (*Thuc.* 8, 5-6) and for the remainder of the war actively aided Sparta.

Θηβαίων—Thus, Thebes and the confederate cities of Boeotia had won the decisive victory at Delium in 424.

Θηβαίοις . . . ἐπεβούλ.—In 382 a philo-Laconian faction in Thebes negotiated secretly with the Spartan general Phoebidas, who was passing through Boeotia with a considerable force on his way to Thrace. The result was that Phoebidas was able to seize the Cadmea or citadel of Thebes, expel the existing government and establish one that was friendly to Sparta. The Spartan garrison in the Cadmea remained for several years, till expelled by Pelopidas and his confederates.

98. Κλέαρχον . . . ἀνέπεμψαν—This is not quite accurate. It is true that Sparta helped the younger Cyrus to the extent of twenty five ships and eight hundred men, but Clearchus, at the time an exile from Sparta, was staying with Cyrus and was appointed by the latter to raise mercenaries and to be his chief military commander.

Χίῳν . . . ἐφυγάδευσαν—The Spartan Cratesippidas in 407 B. C. helped Chian oligarchs to return to Chios. The democracy was defeated and six hundred democrats who went into exile, seized Atarneus in Aeolis and occupied it till 398. After 404, Lysander established a decarchy in Chios and left a Spartan garrison there,

which was not expelled till 394. It was Lysander too who was responsible for taking the ships. The verb *φυγαδεύειν* is also used in *Epist.* 7, 8 and 9, 9 and once in pseudo-Demosth. 40, 32; it is common in Xenophon, but is not found in Plato, Lysias, or Thucydides.

99. *ἐπόρθουν μὲν τὴν ἡπειρον*—cf. the more detailed account in *Paneg.* 144, referring to the campaigns of Thibron, Dercyllidas, and subsequently Agesilaus in Asia Minor. *ἡπειρος* is used in the sense in which Isocrates invariably employs it, namely to designate Asia Minor. Cf. Morus' note on *Paneg.* 132, who collects a large number passages, which may be repeated here as the edition is old and difficult of access; *Paneg.* 163, 174, 187; *Phil.* 97 and 112; *Arch.* 73; Harpocr. s. v.; Xenoph. *Hell.* 3, 1, 3. Sandys also instances Aesch. *Pers.* 42; in Lysias (19, 25) the meaning appears to be the same. Morus explains thus: "Persas et quicumque in Asia Minore praeter insulanos Persico imperio parent".

ὑβρίζον τὰς νήσους—Thus, at Samos the democrats were expelled and the oligarchs put into power by Lysander, who also set up a decarchy there (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2, 3, 6).

ἀνήρουν . . . καθίστασαν—According to Diodorus (14, 10) the Spartan Aristus was sent to Syracuse on a secret mission and aided Dionysius in strengthening his position there as tyrant; Dionysius *συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* (id. 44). There is no evidence for direct Spartan intervention in Italy, for Rhegium and Croton were taken by Dionysius alone. Indirectly of course, as Benseler has already pointed out, Sparta was to some extent responsible, as she had helped Dionysius to his absolute position.

ἐλυμαίνοντο δέ—This is further elaborated in the next section; the whole passage should be compared with *Paneg.* 125-6.

100. *Ἡλείων*—In 402-1 a Spartan army under Agis (Xenoph. *Hell.* 3, 2, 20) or Pausanias (Diod. 14, 17) invaded Elis under various pretexts. The Eleans were forced to pull down the uncompleted city-walls and to hand over some of their territory, particularly the harbour Cyllene.

τὴν Κορινθίων—cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 4, 5 and 19. Agesilaus conducted campaigns against Corinth and Argos in 391 and 390.

Μαντινέας—cf. note on 96 above; the destruction or disintegration of Mantinea took place in 385 (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 5, 2, 1-7; Diod. 15, 5).

Φλειασίους—The government of Phlius, after the peace of 387, had been compelled to recall their banished oligarchs. In the sequel, disputes arose about confiscated property and, when the oligarchs failed to obtain satisfaction, they appealed to Sparta. The result was that Agesilaus blockaded Phlius and, after eighteen months, the

city was forced to surrender and to receive a Spartan garrison for six months, while a new constitution was framed by a board nominated by the Spartan king (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 5, 3, 21-5). These events took place between 381 and 379 B. C.

εἰς τὴν Ἀργείων—cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4, 4, 19. The invasion was led by Agesilaus and probably took place in 391.

ἦν φασί—i. e. τὴν ἐ. Λ. ἦτταν.

101. εἰ φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . παρελάμβανον—This play on words on the two meanings of ἀρχή, “rule” and “beginning”, is again introduced by Isocrates in *Phil.* 61 and in almost identical words. One or other of these passages is referred to by Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 1412 B.

102. εὐταξίαν—Freese rightly translates “good discipline”; the reference is especially to the iron training imposed on the Spartans from their earliest youth.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς νόμους κ. τ. λ.—The reference is in the first place to the *Rhetra* of Lycurgus; cf. Xenoph. *Resp. Lac.* 14, εἰ δέ τις με ἔροιτο, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν, τοῦτο μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἂν ἔτι θρασέως εἶποιμι κ. τ. λ. From the time of Lysander the possession of wealth by private citizens at Sparta appears to have been permitted, although it was against the old ordinance of Lycurgus, and it is nowhere expressly stated that this was repealed (cf. Plut. *Lys.* 17). For another instance see Aristotle, *Pol.* 2, 1270 B, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν ἀλλὰ λάθρα τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀπολαύειν τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν.

103. τὴν φύσιν . . . ἀπολλυούσαις—Isocrates seems to have used this simile elsewhere in some lost work; cf. Aelian, *V. H.* 12, 52, Ἰσοκράτης ὁ ρήτωρ ἔλεγεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως ὁμοίαν εἶναι ταῖς ἑταίραις· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀλισκομένους ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι συνεῖναι αὐταῖς, ὅμως δὲ μηδένα εὐτελῶς οὕτω παραφρονεῖν, ὡς ὑπομεῖναι ἂν συνοικῆσαί τινι αὐτῶν.

104. δόξαν καλλίστην—cf. *Paneg.* 75 ff.

105. ἡμεῖς τε γὰρ κ. τ. λ.—the same statement is made more fully in *Areop.* 6-7; cf. also 78 above and note *ad loc.*

ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντες—In the winter of 370-369 B. C. Epaminondas invaded Laconia and advanced to the outskirts of Sparta itself. The Spartans sent to Athens for help and Iphicrates was dispatched with a body of 1200 men. When he reached the Peloponnese, the Thebans had already withdrawn from Laconia. In the spring of 369 Sparta and Athens concluded an alliance.



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whole, eager for a constitutional change in 411, and only by much intrigue did the oligarchs achieve a temporary success. Also, Alcibiades held out hopes of financial assistance from Tissaphernes, if the democratic constitution were abolished. The oligarchy lasted for four months, the chief men in it being Pisander, Phrynichus, Theramenes and the orator Antiphon (besides the two chief sources, Thuc. 8, 70-2 and Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.* 29 ff., some information about the Four Hundred is also given by Isocrates himself in the speech *De bigis* 4-7).

τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα μανίαν—The Thirty were established by the help of Lysander in the late summer of 404 and were in power about nine months; a short period of government by a board of Ten followed, but in September 403 the democratic régime was reestablished. The excesses of the Thirty are mentioned by Isocrates in *Areop.* 66-7 and especially by Lysias in the speech against Erasthenes—*ἀποκτινύναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδένοσ ἡγοῦντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο*—and later in the speech (96), *ἀναμνησθῆτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἃ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἶασαν τυχεῖν.*

τῶν Φύλην καταλαβ.—Thrasybulus and a small body of democrats seized the fortress of Phyle on Mt. Parnes in the winter of 404. In the spring of the following year their force was sufficiently augmented to enable Thrasybulus to occupy Peiraeus and defeat the adherents of the Thirty. The fall of the Thirty and the interregnum of a Board of Ten followed.

109 *τῶν ἐδεσμάτων*—the word is also found in Plato, *Rep.* 8, 559 B; Thucydides regularly says *τὰ ἐδώδιμα*.

ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα—i. e. the body and the soul.

καρτερικούς—this adjective is rare, but cf. the similar passage *ad Nic.* 45, *δοκοῦντας καρτερικούς καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι.*

ἐν τούτοις = the things that benefit both body and mind.

111-115. *In just the same way, there are many who favour monarchy; but you all know and admit the dangers and disasters resulting from that form of government. Yet, while you admit that despotism is bad you fail to apply the same line of reasoning to empire.*

111. *μοναρχίας*—Isocrates in the present passage clearly refers only to “tyrannies”, not to other forms of kingship. Aristotle distinguishes four forms of *βασιλεία*, viz.

1. the Spartan, which he calls *μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ νόμον.*
2. the barbaric, of which he says *τυραννικαὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν* (i. e. because the barbarians have a more

servile disposition than the Greeks), ἀσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πατρίαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι.

3. The rule of the αἰσυμνήται in the archaic period, which he describes as ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν αἰρετὴ τυραννίς, since it was tenable for life or a fixed period of years.

4. The heroic kingship, defined by A. as ἐκουσίαι τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον. The remarks of Isocrates do not apply to any of these forms of monarchy (cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 3, 1284 B-1285 B).

ἐπιθυμητάς—Benseler aptly compares Periander's remark—*τυραννίς χοῆμα σφαλερόν· πολλοὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι*—(Herod. 3, 53).

112. ἐμπεπλεγμένοι—Corais already compared Aesch. *P. V.* 1806—

εἰς ἀπέραντον δίκτυον ἄτης
ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας

but the same metaphor is also to be found in Plato, *Legg.* 7, 814 E, ἐν βιαίοις ἐμπλακέντων πόνοις σωμάτων.

πολεμεῖν . . . τοῖς πολίταις—Thus, Peisistratus was twice deposed, and he twice returned before he was securely established as tyrant. His first return from exile was accomplished peacefully but by a trick; on the second occasion (*circa* 546 B. C.) he and his adherents fought at Pallene, before they could become masters of Athens. (For the dates of Peisistratus' exiles cf. Adcock, *Class. Quart.* 18.)

μισεῖν δ' ὑφ' ὧν . . . The remarks of Otanes on despotic rule (Herod. 3, 80) afford an interesting comparison with the present passage. According to Otanes, the two vices of a tyrant are ὕβρις, and φθόνος. The tyrant φθονεῖ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι . . . χαίρει δὲ κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν.

παρακατατίθεσθαι κ. τ. λ.—for this word cf. *Epist.* 2, 24, καλὸν ἔστιν . . . τὴν βασιλείαν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίᾳ. In the other orators the verb and the noun παρακαταθήκη are generally employed in their legal sense = 'pledge, deposit' (cf. Demosth. 28, 15; so also Isocr. *in Euthyn.* 20).

μισθοφόροις ἀνθρώποις—Aristotle, in the passage quoted above (note on 111), distinguishes the bodyguard of an oriental despot from that of a Greek tyrant—καὶ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ γὰρ πολῖται φυλάττουσιν ὄπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν. Dionysius, of whom Isocrates was no doubt thinking particularly, relied on force for his position throughout his long reign of nearly forty years.

οὕτω δ' ὑπόπτως κ. τ. λ.—Wolf long ago compared the remarks of Cicero (*Lael.* 15) on tyrants: 'Haec est enim tyrannorum vita in

qua nimirum nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia; omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita'. With the present passage cf. *ad Nic.* 4, where the difficulties and dangers confronting an absolute ruler are more briefly indicated.

τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις—Wolf quotes Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 58 and *Off.* 2, 25; according to these accounts Dionysius trusted not even his daughters, nor Alexander of Pherae his wife.

113. τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων—Eurydice, mother of Alexander II of Macedon, supported and subsequently married the rebel Ptolemy, who murdered her son.

ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν—Thus, Plato relates (*Gorg.* 471) how Alcetas was deposed by his brother Perdiccas; Jason of Pherae, according to Diodorus, was murdered by his brother Polydorus.

ὑπὸ γυναικῶν—Alexander of Pherae met his death at the hands of his wife and her brothers (cf. note on 112 above).

ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανισμένον—a favourite phrase of Is. (cf. *Paneg.* 9; *Phil.* 108; *Arch.* 18; *Hel.* 26); otherwise it only appears to be found in *Lys.* 2, 11.

ὑποβάλλουσι—'subject themselves'; cf. Eurip. *H. F.* 1384 ἐχθροῖς ἑμαυτὸν ὑποβαλὼν αἰσχρῶς θάνω; and Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 90, ὑπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρον Θηβαίοις.

οἱ πρωτ. καὶ δοξ. μεγ. ἔχοντες—cf. *Class. Quart.* 15, p. 84.

114. πεπόνθατε κ. τ. λ.—Freese rightly translates 'you have fallen into a most disgraceful and careless frame of mind'; cf. 35 and *Antid.* 243, ἄτοπον δέ τι τυγχάνω πεπονθῶς.

καίτοι . . . γνωρίζοντες—"and yet this is the most important indication of a reasonable disposition, if men clearly apply the same standard of judgement to the same matters in all similar cases."

115. τὴν οὐδὲν . . . διαφέρουσαν—the phrase is verbally repeated in *Antid.* 64, when Isocrates is explaining the gist of the *De Pace*.

τοὺς περιοίκους ἀδικοῦσιν—e. g. Thespieae and Plataea were annexed to Thebes, and the inhabitants expelled. Many of them found a home at Athens. The complete destruction of Orchomenus was also proposed, as this city had taken a leading part on the Spartan side till the Theban victory at Leuctra in 371 B. C. Through the intervention of Epaminondas, Orchomenus was spared and again became a member of the Boeotian confederacy; in 364 the city was utterly destroyed. The word *περίοικοι*, 'neighbours', here used has none of the associations of the Spartan *περίοικοι*; cf. *Phil.* 49, τῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν περιοικοῦντων.

οὐδὲν βελτίον—Benseler aptly compared the monstrous behaviour of an Athenian official in Andros referred to in Aeschin. *in Tim.* 107.



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πέτρας δε γεωργ.—cf. the very similar phrase in *Paneg.* 132, ὀρῶντας τούτους μὲν διὰ σπανιοτήτα τῆς γῆς ὄρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους.

μεγίστους οἴκους—Ancient remains at Megara are very scanty, but cf. Paus. 1, 40ff. with Frazer's commentary.

118. κάκεινων μὲν τὰς ἀκροπ.—i. e. of the Thessalians; cf. Diod. 16, 61, from where we learn that the Macedonians in 369 B. C. occupied the citadel of Larissa and shortly afterwards, in the same year, it was captured by Pelopidas (*ib.* 67).

τρισχίλιον ἰππέων κ. τ. λ.—this is an underestimate, if we may trust Xenophon, who in one place (*Hell.* 6, 1, 8) speaks of 6000 and in another (*ib.* 6, 1, 19) of 8000 cavalry or more. For the fame of the Thessalian horses and cavalry see the passage from Plato quoted above in note on 117.

119. τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν κ. τ. λ.—In *Areop.* 20 Isocrates says that in the old days men were not brought up ὡςθ' ἠγείσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἰσονομίαν, τὴν δὲ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν.

τοιούτον παρασκευάζειν—i. e. to render it σώφρων.

120. καίτοι κ. τ. λ.—Leloup compares Plato's dictum (*Rep.* 8, 545 B) ὡςπερ ἠρξάμεθα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πρότερον σκοπεῖν τὰ ἡθῆ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ὡς ἐναργέστερον ὄν.

τυχὸν ἂν φθάσειε—'would perhaps die first'; this use of the neuter participle absolutely with a finite verb, meaning virtually the same as ἴσως, is rare except in our author. Thus, it is found twice in pseudo-Platonic dialogues (*Alcib.* 2, 140 A and *Eryx.* 399 B) with optat. and ἂν, and similarly twice in Demosthenes (39, 15 and 54, 42); Xenophon (*Anab.* 6, 1, 20) uses it with the aor. infin. and ἂν in indirect statement. The following are the other Isocratean examples:

1. with ἂν and the optat. *Nic.* 47; *Phil.* 94; above 60; *Panath.* 150; *Antid.* 192.
2. with fut. indic. (or infin. in indirect statement) *Bus.* 27 and *Epist.* 9. 16.
3. with ἂν and the aorist indic. *Paneg.* 171; this example is really the apodosis of a past unfulfilled condition with the protasis suppressed.

From a comparison of these passages it will be seen that the normal construction with τυχὸν is ἂν and the optat., while the fut. indic. also occurs, though much more rarely.

121-132. *I call on you once again to realise how vicious the orators are in whom you put your trust; they enrich themselves while the rest of the citizens are becoming more and more impoverished, and thereby*

they maintain their ascendancy over you. I have suggested various ways in which you may free yourselves from your present misfortunes, and I will briefly recapitulate my main points.

121. τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος δυναστείαν—a pompous phrase evidently meant to be sarcastic; cf. *Phil.* 82, τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κυλινομένοις and 129 of the same speech τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος μαινομένων. Wolf compared Cicero's phrase 'amisso regni forensi' (*Fam.* 9, 18, 1), to which may be added Aeschin. in *Ctes.* 145, καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν, ὥστ' ἤδη παριῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προεβούσειν ἔφη κ. τ. λ.

122. προχειρίζεσθε—'give the preference to' rather than 'elect', as Freese translates the word; his rendering is too definite and suggests appointment to an office, which of course was not necessarily the case with the demagogues (cf. Demosth. 25, 13 ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς κατατάττοντάς με καὶ προχειριζομένους ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου κατηγορίαν). The more usual meaning of the verb is 'to get ready'.

τοῖς μεγάλῃν . . . ἀπολεσ. αὐτήν—the contrast is again between men like Miltiades and Aristides on the one hand, and Cleon, Hyperbolus and Cleophon on the other.

123. ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν κ. τ. λ.—Just a century, as there were no political disturbances or revolutions at Athens between the reforms of Cleisthenes (ab. 506) and the oligarchic revolution in 411.

ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δις κ. τ. λ.—i. e. in 411 and 404 B. C.

τὰς φυγάς—abstract for concrete = τοὺς φυγάδας. cf. Thuc. 8, 64, φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις κ. τ. λ. Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 143, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν φυγῆς ἠρημένους; similarly Thucydides (5, 23, 4) uses δουλεία = the slaves or slave population.

ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων κ. τ. λ.—This can only refer to those who were exiled by the Peisistratids, although we more naturally expect a reference to the Four Hundred. After the deposition of the Thirty, when the democracy had been restored, a general amnesty was declared from which only a few ringleaders of past disturbances were excluded (cf. also note below on τοὺς μισοῦντας and the passage from Aeschines there quoted).

τοὺς συκοφάντας—The orators are full of references to the informers. It was the prerogative of every Athenian citizen to give information against and prosecute public offenders. One of the results of this was that a class of men, who made a living out of laying information, grew up; for, an accuser, if successful in his case, received a reward, and in many cases where proceedings were instituted, the defendant compromised by paying a certain sum to the informer to suspend the action. The συκοφάνται in fact lived by what in the

majority of cases was blackmail, and it is therefore not difficult to understand the detestation with which the orators speak of them (cf. Lys. 25, 3, τοῦτων (i. e. τῶν συκοφαντῶν) γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας εἰς αἰτίαν καθιστάναι cf. also generally *Dict. Antiq.* s. v.

τοὺς μισοῦντας . . . ἔχοντας — e. g. Thrasybulus, the hero of Phyle, who had been mainly responsible for the defeat and deposition of the Thirty (cf. Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 176, καὶ τοῦ δήμου κατελθόντος ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, Ἀρχίνου καὶ Θρασυβούλου προστάντων τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνορκον ἡμῖν καταστήσαντων. —

124. ἐφ' ἐκατέρων — i. e. under good and bad leaders.

ἐκ τῶν πατρῶων sc. κτημάτων, their inheritance or patrimony; cf. the same phrase in Demosth. 21, 157, οὐδὲν τῶν πατρῶων ἀποστερηθεὶς ὑπ' οὐδένοσ — and Lys. 32, 10, μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀποστερηθέντας τῶν πατρῶων.

ἐκ πενήτων πλουσίους — Demosthenes, after instancing Aristideus who died a poor man, goes on to say νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες ἐκ πτωχῶν εὐποροὶ καὶ πολλοῦ χρόνου τροφήν ἄφθονὸν εἰσὶν ἠτοιμασμένοι (23, 209).

125. τούτους δὲ τὰς ἐπικαρπίας — namely the ῥήτορες.

τῶν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις δουλευόντων — During the short government of the 400, the assembly was limited to the 5000 richest citizens, the others being virtually disenfranchised. Under the Thirty a body of 3000 alone had any status as citizens. Of the rest of the population any member could be put to death without trial.

126. δημαγωγός — Freese translates very happily 'popular leader'. Isocrates uses the word very loosely, for in *Panath.* 148 he applies it to Peisistratus. For Is.'s views on Pericles see *Antid.* 234, Περικλῆς δημαγωγὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. Later in the same speech (235) he speaks of P. as the pupil of Anaxagoras and Damon.

τὸν ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν — Pericles in Thucydides (2, 60) describes himself as φιλόπολις τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων, and Thucydides, in his appreciation of the great statesman calls him χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδώροτατος.

τὸν μὲν οἶκον . . . παρέλαβεν — cf. Thuc. 2, 13. When Archidamus invaded Attica for the first time, Pericles admitted that A. had been his guest-friend, but added that, if his property were spared by the Lacedaemonians on this account, he would surrender it up to the Athenian state.



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ὑφ' αὐτοῖς . . . ἤναγκασμένους εἶναι—αὐτοῖς refers to οὗτον i. e. πονηροὶ ῥήτορες, who could increase the number of lawsuits and meetings of the Assembly. ὑφ' αὐτοῖς goes closely with εἶναι, which depends on ἤναγκασμένους = 'are compelled to be in the power of'.

εἰσαγγελίαις . . . γραφαῖς—'impeachments and indictments' (Freese). The term εἰσαγγελία was used in two ways; in the commoner and more general application it meant an indictment brought before the Council of 500 or the Assembly against a person for a serious offence against the state, i. e. treason. In another sense εἰσαγγελία was used to denote an action brought for maltreatment of orphans or heiresses (κάκωσις); for this cf. Wyse's note on Isaeus, 2, 46, 1. In the present passage the word is of course used in the former sense. γραφή is a general term used of any public action, as distinguished from private suits. The particular method of procedure varied, and a number of more specialised terms—φάσις, ἀπογραφή, ἐνδειξις—was employed to define the type of action more clearly (cf. generally, Schömann-Lipsius, *G. A.* 1, 522-4 and Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Hist. Juris.* 2, 148 ff.).

131. ἐξ οὗ τροπου—cf. *Phil.* 3. ἐξ ἐνός τρόπου and *Epist.* 7, 3, χρὴ ζητεῖν . . . ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου . . . ἐπανορθώσεις.

τις οὖν ἀπαλλαγῆ—a somewhat contracted version of the remainder of the speech was inserted in the 'Speech on the Exchange of Property' (*Antid.* 66).

ὡς ἕκαστον . . . συνέπιπτεν—Freese translates "as a suitable opportunity for each occurred", lit. „as each (topic) fell in with a suitable occasion." The construction is unusual, as καιρὸς is generally the subject to συμπίπτειν (cf. *Panath.* 196 and *Phil.* 91).

τὰ μάλιστα κατεπεύγοντα—cf. the imitation of this by a pupil of Isocrates in the ps.—Demosthenic *Eroticus*, 6, συμβουλεύσας δ' ἅ μάλιστα κατεπεύγει, and *ib.* 13. The attribution of the *Eroticus* to Anaximenes of Lampsacus by Wendland (*Anaxim. v. Lampsac.*, 1905) is scarcely convincing.

133-135. *First, you must see that you get trustworthy statesmen; secondly, you must treat your allies really as friends and allies; thirdly, you must remember that a fair reputation among the rest of the Greeks is the most precious possession that you can have.*

133. ἔστι δ' ἐξ ὧν κ. τ. λ.—"we should reestablish the affairs of the state and improve them in several ways, namely if—."

φύσει μὲν οὐδεῖς—Corais thinks that Is. here copies Lysias (25, 8), οὐδεῖς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει οὔτε ὀλιγαρχικὸς οὔτε δημοκρατικός, ἀλλ' ἦτις ἂν ἐκάστῳ πολιτεία συμφέρη, ταύτην προθυμεῖται καθεστάναι, and the resemblance is certainly striking.

134. τοῖς στρατηγοῖς . . . ἐκδιδῶμεν—the reference appears to be particularly to Chares. Diodorus says of him (15, 95) τοὺς συμ-

μάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει, and it was presumably of the present passage and of 55 above that Aristotle was thinking when he wrote: (Isocrates) συμβουλεύων κατηγορεῖ οἷον Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ, Χάρητος δ' ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ (*Rhet.* 3, 1418 A 31).

135. περὶ πλείονος ποιῆσθε—*for the reading cf. Class. Quart.* 15, p. 83.

μετά γε τὴν . . . εὐδοκιμεῖν—elsewhere Is. says that piety towards the gods and justice towards mankind are the two requisites; cf. *Panath.* 124, ἡσκηκότας εὐσέβειαν μὲν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δικαιοσύνην δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

136-145. *If you carry out my advice, not only will you yourselves prosper, but you will help the rest of Greece to do the same. We shall be regarded as the champions of the wronged, and men will be eager to seek alliance with us. Let us deserve to be called the saviours rather than the destroyers of Greece. Absolute power of any kind you must avoid, but rather imitate the principle underlying the dual kingship at Sparta. My age and the length of my discourse prevent me from saying more, but I exhort the younger generation to preach the doctrine of virtue and justice, so that all Greece may again flourish.*

136. τοῖς εἰρημένοις—i. e. sections 133-5, containing the three main principles which should guide the Athenians.

πολεμικοὺς μὲν . . . εἰρηνικοὺς—cf. the very similar passage in *ad Nic.* 24, πολεμικὸς μὲν ἴσθι ταῖς ἐπιστήμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρηνικὸς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτεῖν. The form εἰρηνικὸς is found in Plato and Xenophon, but the older writers, Herodotus and Thucydides, employ the form εἰρηναῖος.

ἐφεδρεύουσάν τὴν δ.—Several of the editors (Wolf, Corais, Benseler) explain this word on the basis of ἔφεδρος as used, e. g., by Pindar, *Nem.* 4, 155 and Aristoph. *Ran.* 792, and explained by the scholiast on Aesch. *Oho.* 853—ὁ μαχομένων τινῶν παρακαθήμενος καὶ μέλλων τῷ νενικηκότι μαχήσασθαι. That is to say, they argue that the verb is a metaphor from athletic contests; in that case the ἔφεδρος was a third man who stood by to take on the victor of a particular contest. This explanation seems unnecessarily recondite, nor can the editors in question quote any passage where ἐφεδρεύειν is used conclusively in this sense (the passage from Demosth. 8, 42 proves nothing). ἐφεδρεύειν may therefore be translated here with its normal meaning “to watch for”, “lie in wait for” (cf. Thuc. 4, 71).

138. ἰκετείας καὶ δεήσεις—Plato, *Symp.* 183 A, ἰκετείας καὶ ἀντιβολήσεις ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσι ποιούμενοι.

139. ἀμφοτέρα—used adverbially; in English we should translate “the same men were at one and the same time”—(cf. Plato, *Ion*, 541 B, ἀμφοτέρα ἄριστος ὢν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ῥαψωδός).

141. *διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν*—cf. 145 below, and *Phil.* 28, a discourse written nine years later, cf. Introduction, p. 19.

142. *συντείνει*—"bears upon"; cf. *Phil.* 138 and Demosth. 18, 299, *καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον.*

ἀπάσας τὰς τυρανν. ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δυναστείας—Benseler seems right in maintaining that this phrase was not merely tautological, but that *ἀρχὰς* refers to the Athenian sea-power and *δυναστείας* to foreign possessions of Athens, a use of the word that is found elsewhere (cf. *Phil.* 136).

τὰς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασ.—The origin of the dual kingship at Sparta is quite uncertain, but it is now generally supposed to have originated in the union of two separate communities, each of which kept its respective chief. The high honour in which the kings were held, although their powers were greatly curtailed in classical times by the five Ephors, is shown by the special prerogatives which they enjoyed in their lifetime and the state mourning which took place on the death of a king (for this cf. Herod. 6, 56-8).

143. *ἐκείνοις* i. e. the Spartan kings.

μακαριστότεροι—so the superlative in *Evag.* 70; as the positive Is. uses *μακάριος* once (*Panath.* 228), whereas Plato uses for the positive form *μακαριστός*, but for the comparative *μακαριώτερος* (cf. *Rep.* 5, 465 D, *ζήσουσί τε τοῦ μακαριστοῦ βίου, ὃν οἱ Ὀλυμπιονῆται ζῶσι, μακαριώτερον.* The comp. and superl. of both forms are found in Xenophon.

τοὺς τοιούτους . . . λαμβάνουσι—i. e. those who kill tyrants. The most famous examples are Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Bronze statues were set up in their honour, and their relatives and descendants received sundry honours.

ἀτιμότεροι γίνονται—At Athens the man guilty of desertion or of casting away his shield lost his political rights (*ἀτιμία*), as we learn from several passages in the orators (e. g. Aeschin. *Tim.* 29, the man *ἢ τὰς στρατείας μὴ ἐστρατευμένος ὅσαι ἂν αὐτῷ προσταχθῶσιν ἢ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβεβληκῶς* was debarred from speaking in the assembly). At Sparta penalties were even severer.

144. *ἐκεῖνοι* = the Spartan kings, as in 143.

παραινῶ καὶ παρακελ.—For the double verbs cf. *Epist.* 3, 3, *παρακελεύεσθαι καὶ προτρέπειν.*

145. *τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων πρ.*—Although Benseler tries to justify the conclusion of the speech by comparing it with the end of the *Panegyricus* and the second *Olynthiac* speech of Demosthenes, there is no doubt that the conclusion of the *De Pace* is weak, when compared for instance with the end of the *Philippus*, *Archidamus* and, above all, the *Areopagiticus*. There are however not sufficient grounds for bracketing the words *ὡς . . . γίνεσθαι* as spurious, as some of the editors have done.



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τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων—“the matters which were in dispute”, i. e. the rival claims to Amphipolis.

εἰρηνικώτατον—cf. note on *De Pace*, 136.

διαμαρτάνετε κ. τ. λ.—“were mistaken in your policy”, this is explained by what follows. Philip’s activities helped the enemy rather than himself, and Athens’ actions were useful to Philip instead of to her citizens (in the *De Pace*, 59 Is. argued in the same way about the relations of Thebes and Athens).

μηδ’ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου—cf. note on *De Pace* 131.

4. τοῖς ἀκούουσιν—“my pupils”. In Latin “audire” is similarly used (cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1, 14, 37).

τὸν λόγον . . . τὴν λέξιν—the two words λόγος, argument, and λέξις, language or style, are also used side by side in Plato, *Pol.* 277 C, λέξει καὶ λόγῳ δηλοῦν υ. τ. λ.

ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἐχ.—cf. Plato, *Rep.* 6, 504 E, ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλοις σμικροῦ ἀξίοις πᾶν ποιεῖν συντεινομένους, ὅπως ὅτι ἀκριβέστατα καὶ καθαρῶτατα ἔξει κ. τ. λ. Is. nowhere else uses καθαρῶς.

5. τὰς προσόδους—Its situation, near the mouth of the Strymon, made Amphipolis a most valuable site commercially; it was near the gold mines of Pangaeum, and its timber trade was important (Thuc. 4, 108, 1: ὠφέλιμος ξύλων τε ναυπηγησίμων πομπῆ καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ).

αἵτινες . . . ἐμπολιτευθέντας—cf. Thuc. 4, 102, who speaks 1) of an attempted settlement on the site of Amphipolis by Aristagoras of Miletus; 2) of the colony founded by the Athenians in 476, which was annihilated by the Thracian natives; 3) of the new settlement of the Athenians under Hagnon’s leadership in 446, which became the historic Amphipolis. The scholiast on Aeschines, *Fals. Leg.* 31 says: ἠτύχησαν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐννάκις περὶ τὰς Ἐννέα καλουμένας ὁδοὺς, and then enumerates nine Athenian failures or disasters. Historically the best known was the struggle of 424-3, which ended in the defeat of the Athenians, and the loss of Amphipolis, which was occupied by the Spartan Brasidas.

Κυρηναίους ἀπόκισαν—According to the common tradition, Cyrene in N. Africa was a colony of Thera, and Thera had been colonised from Laconia. The founder of Cyrene was Battus; see Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 6 ff., where an oracle

χρηῆσεν οἰκιστῆρα Βάττον καρποφόρου Λιβύας, ἱερὰν
νᾶσον ὡς ἦδη λιπὼν κτίσσειεν εὐάρματον
πόλιν ἐν ἀργινόεντι μαστῶ,

and also Herodotus 4, 156 ff. From its foundation in 632, to about 440 B. C., the government of Cyrene was monarchical, but Arcesilas IV,

to whom Pindar's ode is addressed, was a harsh ruler, and after his death a republic was proclaimed. The usual *στάσεις* between oligarchs and democrats resulted and, after the death of Alexander the Great, Cyrene became an Egyptian dependency. The chief article of manufacture and export was the plant silphium, a representation of this being the regular coin-type of the city; while a well-known vase of Laconian manufacture portrays the king of Cyrene superintending the weighing and shipping of this commodity (cf. Head, *Hist. Numm.* 2nd. ed. p. 865; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 342 with fig. 92; and P.-W. s. v. Kyrene). The attribution of the founding of Cyrene to Sparta need not be classed as an inaccuracy on Isocrates' part, but may, as von Scala points out (*Isokrates und die Geschichtschreibung*, 107-8), be an acknowledgment of claims that Sparta may have put forward in later historic times.

ἐποίκους — only here in Is.; the word is found also in Thuc. 2, 27, 1. In the present passage the inferior mss. read *ἀποίκους*.

Ἀμαδόκῳ τῷ παλαιῷ — king of the Thracian Odrysae. There seems no reasonable doubt that he can be identified with *Μήδοκος*, of whom Xenophon (*Anab.* 7, 2, 32) speaks, especially as there is a variant reading *Μηδόκῳ* in the present passage. We hear that Alcibiades was on friendly terms with the prince in 405. In 392 Thrasybulus was instrumental in reconciling Amadocus with the Thracian prince Seuthes, and in making an Athenian alliance with them; the main object of this was to assure the security of the Athenian settlers in the Chersonese.

διαδοθέντος τ. λογ. — “passed round”, “circulated”; cf. *Evag.* 74, *τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐξενεχθῆναι θ' οἷον τ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ διαδοθέντας ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ φρονούντων διατριβαῖς ἀγαπᾶσθαι.*

γνωσιμαχήσαντας — only here in Is. This verb is several times used by Herodotus, but seems to occur in no other classical prose writer; it is found also in the poets (e. g. Eurip. *Heracl.* 706; Aristoph. *Av.* 555).

8. *συνησθείς* — cf. 131; in Is. the word is always used in a good sense (cf. note on *De Pace*, 87).

τῆς εἰρήνης — the so-called Peace of Philocrates, which was concluded at the end of March or beginning of April (25th. of Elaphebolion), 346 B. C.

τὴν διάνοιαν ἀποστῆσαι — this is a very rare use of *ἀφίστημι*. The nearest parallel to the present passage is Thuc. 1, 93, 6, *ἐβούλετο . . . ἀφιστάναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλάς* (i. e. “to divert the plots”).

τῶν ἐχομένων — sc. *τῆς εἰρήνης*, i. e. “questions connected with the peace”; cf. the similar use in Paneg. 23, *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχομένοις τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς προσήκει τιμᾶσθαι.*

9. τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτάς—Freese well translates: “their mutual quarrels”.

εἰς τὴν Ἀσ. . . . ἐξενεγκεῖν—the same phrase is repeated in the second letter addressed to Philip (*Epist.* 3, 2; cf. Introduction p. 23). For ἐκφέρειν π. cf. below 54 and 88; *De Pace*, 36.

ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ—This, generally conceded to be the finest of Isocrates' works, was published in 380 B. C.; Introduction p. 15.

10-16. *I have therefore written on this subject again in spite of the difficulty caused by my advanced years and by treating afresh a topic with which I have already dealt. I believe it to be more effective to address a single champion for my cause than a mass-meeting at a festival; and so I am turning to you, who alone have the wealth, the ability, and the power, to carry out what I propose.*

10. ἀνθοῦσαν τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔχ.—Is. was ninety years of age when he composed the *Philippus*. The phrase is poetical in colouring; cf. Plato, *Rep.*, 475 A, τῶν ἀνθούτων ἐν ὄρῳ. The metaphor is mentioned by Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 1411, B 28.

11. δύο λόγους—i. e. the *Panegyricus* and the *Philippus*. τοὺς βασκαίνοντας—cf. *Antid.* 62, ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ βασκαίνειν. In classical Greek the word is almost confined to the writings of Is. and Demosthenes (e. g. 18, 189); cf. however the line from an unknown tragedy (Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag. Adesp.* 533):

εἰσὶν τινες νῦν οὓς τὸ βασκαίνειν τρέφει.

τῶν καθ' ὑπ. ἐπαιν.—the same phrase also in *Panath.* 123.

12. ἐπὶ γήρωσ—cf. *Epist.* 6, 2; Plato (*Rep.* 1, 328 E) and Lycurgus (c. *Leocr.* 40) use the Homeric ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.

τοῖς διατρίψασι—i. e. “my pupils”, like τοῖς φοιτήσασι.

ἐνοχλεῖν—Is. actually uses this word at the beginning of the *Panegyricus* (7): ὡς περιεργόν ἐστι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

τοὺς συντρέχοντας—Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 1411 A 27) says: καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινα μεταφορὰ καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων· καὶ ὡσπερ Κηφισόδοτος εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν μὴ πολλάς ποιήσωσιν τὰς συνδρομάς καὶ Ἰσοκράτης πρὸς τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν. The use of συντρέχειν is somewhat contemptuous; cf. the even stronger metaphor in *De Pace* 44.

τοῖς νόμοις . . . γεγραμμέναις—This is usually held to be an allusion to Plato and his writings, more particularly the *Republic* and the *Laws*, but certainty on this point is impossible (cf. however, Introduction, p. 14). The term σοφιστῆς is not used here by Is. in a bad sense (cf. *Paneg.* 82, μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν —).



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“lately”, and Lasonder (*Spec. Lit. in Isocr. ad Phil.*) was right to refer it to the Phocian war only.

19. *Μακεδόνων . . . τοὺς σπουδαιοτ.*—such as Parmenio. But, whereas the names of many of Alexander’s officers and counsellors are familiar, next to nothing is known of the men who surrounded Philip.

περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείρως ἔχ.—this presumably alludes to the general lack of culture attributed to the Macedonians by the Greeks. The point is that, however ignorant in other respects, these Macedonians had their master’s interests at heart.

τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλούς—the names of several Athenians resident in Macedon at this time are known (e. g. Callias in Demosth. 2, 19), but none of them seem to deserve the description *οὐκ ἀδόξους*. On the other hand, several of Isocrates’s own pupils resided at different periods at the Macedonian court or at least visited it (cf. von Scala, *Isokr. u. d. Geschichtschr.* p. 112). The residence of Greeks in Macedon was no new thing; at the end of the fifth century, king Archelaus had invited a number of distinguished men to his court, amongst them, Euripides, Agathon, and the painter Zeuxis.

εὐχῆς ἄξια—“worth praying for”, a remarkable phrase used also in *Paneg.* 182, *ἔξοῦ ἡμῖν εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπράξασθαι*.

20. *οὐ Θετταλ.—ἐπάροχοντ.*—not, apparently, “who ruled”, but “who were striving to rule”. Demosthenes (23, 111) speaks of Philip’s father Amyntas, who was driven from his throne by Thessalians, but this episode is not sufficient to justify the statement that the Thessalians were rulers of Macedon. Jason of Pherae, it is true, had ambitious designs, but against the Greeks rather than against the Macedonians, since he made an alliance with Amyntas (Diod. 15, 60, 2).

ὥσθ’ ἐκάστους . . . συμπολιτ.—Philip’s help was sought by the Thessalians against the invading Phocians. After a slight reverse, he signally defeated the Phocians and then expelled the tyrant of Pherae and took Pagasae. The philo-Macedonian party in Thessaly became predominant and the Thessalians appear to have accepted Philip’s overlordship very readily, though Demosthenes (1, 22) suggests discontent in 349. Isocrates’ point here is that Philip’s control over Thessaly put an end to party factions between oligarchs and democrats, and the supporters of tyranny and its opponents.

τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον—‘that district’, i. e. the northern part of the Balkan peninsula generally.

τὰς δὲ σφόδρα λυπούσας κ. τ. λ.—The conspicuous example was Olynthus. Its inhabitants had played Philip false and deserted his alliance for that with Athens in 349. When Philip took the city in the following year, he enslaved the entire population and razed the place to the ground (Diod. 16, 53 and Demosth. 3, 26).

21. *Μάγνητας*—They inhabited the narrow peninsula on the east of Thessaly proper. The possession of Pagasae—the site of which was close to the modern town of Volo—gave Philip control of Magnesia.

Περραιβούς—They lived south-west of Mt. Olympus, in other words, between Macedonia and Thessaly. Thucydides (4, 78) speaks of them as *ὑπήκοοι Θεσσάλων* in 424 B. C.

Παίονας—They dwelt in the mountainous districts north of Macedonia; they were finally reduced by Philip in 356 B. C.

Ἰλλυρίων—The western neighbours of the Macedonians. Philip conducted successful campaigns against them in 358 and 356, but they were not reduced by him. Soon after Alexander's accession they threatened Macedonia, but were decisively defeated by him.

21. *παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν* i. e. the district now called Dalmatia. *ὁ Ἀδρίας*, is the regular name in the classical writers for the Adriatic gulf (cf. Lys. 32, 25, *ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὀλκάδα*, and Herod. 5, 9).

ἀπάσης δὲ . . . κατέστησ.—so Demosthenes (1, 13) says *εἴτ' ἐκεῖ* (in Thrace) *τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν, τοὺς δὲ καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων*. The date of these events was 352.

πολὺ διεψεῦσθαι κ. τ. λ.—‘will think that he (i. e. the sender of the pamphlet) has been greatly misled in his estimate of the powers of oratory and of his own intellect’.

αὐτοῦ—i. e. Isocrates, *ὁ βιβλίον πέμψας*. The older editors, reading *αὐτοῦ*—first corrected to *αὐτοῦ* by Baiter-Sauppe—referred it to Philip, which ruins the sense of the passage.

22. *ἀναλαβὼν ἐμ.*—cf. *Arch.* 40, *μηδένες . . . τῶν δυστυχησάντων ἀνέλαβον αὐτούς*.

μηὲ καὶ δόξω . . . ἡμυνάμην—‘lest some may think me unduly complaisant at having elegantly parried my adversaries’.

23. *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τ. δ. ἔχοντες*—‘minded I know not how’. This is the only case in Is. where *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως* is used absolutely without a finite verb in the dependent clause. The phrase is used adverbially to qualify *δ. ἔχοντες*; cf. *ὅπως οὖν* in 7 and Demosth. 3, 7, *ὃ πάντες ἐθροῦλον, πέπρακται νυνὶ τοῦθ' ὅπωςδῆποτε*.

πλὴν—‘albeit’; cf. *De Pace* 87.

ἐφ' οἷς ἐθρασύναντο—the middle aorist is used in a passive sense, as in *Paneg.* 12 (the pass. *θρασυνθήναι* is found in Aesch. *Supp.* 772).

ἔσπευδον—the accus. and infin. after *σπεύδειν* is used only here in Is. and occurs rarely elsewhere (e. g. Aristoph. *Pax* 671).

24-29. *I therefore ask you to form no opinion on my discourse until you have heard all that I have to say. I am fully aware that a speech which is read, compared with one that is delivered with the appropriate*

gestures, loses much of its effectiveness, nor have I even set out to adorn what I have to say with rhetorical ornaments. I am going to put forward my views simply and straightforwardly, and I ask you to examine them in a way befitting a thoughtful and cultured man.

24. *τι τῶν δεόντων* — cf. *De Pace*, 29, *Arch.* 3.

25. *οἱ λεγομ. τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκ.* — *οἱ λεγόμενοι* are the speeches delivered extempore by the composers, *οἱ ἀναγιγνωσκ.* are those read aloud (cf. 27 below, *τοῖς ἀκούουσιν*).

ὅτι πάντες . . . γεγράφθαι — ‘that every one thinks that the former are being delivered on important and urgent matters, but that the latter have been composed for display and by contract’; for *κατεπείγοντα* cf. *De Pace* 132.

ῥητορεύεσθαι — only here and in *Epist.* 8, 7; in Plato *ῥητορεία* = oratory and the verb = to practice oratory.

πρὸς ἐργολαβίαν — cf. Suidas, s. v. *ἐργολάβος*: *οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ δοκοῦμεν ἐργολάβον καλεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τινῶν ἔργων μισθὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ ἔχοντα τοὺς συνεργαζομένους, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ῥήτορες ἐξεδέξαντο τὸν ἐργολάβον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ φλαύρων πραγμάτων χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι, ὡς Δημοσθένους κ. τ. λ.* (The passage in Demosthenes quoted by S. is *Epist.* 3, 34). The word is generally used contemptuously, as in the present passage, but in Plato, *Rep.* 2, 373 C, *ἐργολάβος* (contractor) has no derogatory meaning. The Athenians considered, or affected to consider, it contemptible to write speeches for money, and this is one of the reproaches brought against Is. by his enemies, as also that he received payment from his pupils, as the Sophists did. See the important passage in *Antid.* 37-41; pseudo-Plutarch in his *Lives of the Ten Orators* (838 A) says of Is. — *εὐπόρησε δ’ ἱκανῶς, οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίου βασιλέως . . . εἴκοσι τάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου.*

26. *τῶν μεταβολῶν τῶν ἐ. τ. ρ. γιγνομένων* — ‘the varied gestures that are used in set speeches’. This meaning of *μεταβολαί* was already indicated by Wolf, though it must be admitted that no parallel passage can be adduced from Is. or elsewhere.

ἔτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν . . . προᾶξιν — ‘the particular occasion and the earnestness evoked by the matter in hand’. Is. means that much of the force of speeches like the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* of Demosthenes is lost, when divorced from the time and circumstances in which they were delivered.

καὶ μηδὲν ἧ κ. τ. λ. — ‘and there is nothing to assist the speaker in his task or to help in persuading his audience’, referring to *οἱ καιροὶ* of which he has just spoken.

τῶν μὲν προειρημένων — i. e. the remarks of previous speakers.



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φιλοσοφίας ἧς καὶ μετεσχηκέναι φασὶν—According to Diodorus (16, 2) Philip, when at Thebes in his youth as a Macedonian hostage, μετέσχεν ἐπὶ πλεόν τῶν Πυθαγορείων λόγων. Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* 1, 7, 55, 1) calls Nausithous the tutor of Philip. The word φιλοσοφία should however here be taken in a more general sense, referring to the Hellenic culture of which Philip had had the benefit during his stay in Boeotia.

τούτων i. e. λογισμοῦ καὶ φιλοσοφίας.

τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης—i. e. 'the opinion of the majority of my countrymen'. In the past Isocrates' political advice had on the whole not been adopted by the Athenians.

30-34. *Having said so much by way of introduction, I will proceed to my argument. In the first place I say that you should reconcile the four chief states in Greece, Argos, Thebes, Sparta, and Athens. With all these cities you have ties of kinship.*

31. ὑπὸ ταῖς εἰρημέναις—referring to the predominant position, even at this period, of Sparta among the Peloponnesian cities, of Thebes in Boeotia, and of Athens as the leader of what remained of the second Athenian confederacy.

εὖ φρονεῖν—'to be reasonable'.

32. ἢν ἀνενεγκῆς . . . προγόνους—'if you trace back the (good) actions of these states towards your ancestors'.

εὐεργεσίας—i. e. kind actions towards Macedon.

Ἄργος . . . πατρίς—Perdiccas, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, was an exile from Argos (cf. Herod. 8, 137). According to another account (preserved in Justin, 7, 1) the first king was Caranus. Cf. S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 175 ff.

τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους—i. e. Heracles, who according to the legend was the founder of one of the three tribes at Argos. The worship of Heracles was practised not only at Thebes, but extensively throughout Boeotia (e. g. at Thisbe, Thespieae, and Orcbo-menus).

προσόδους—'processions'; for this meaning of the word cf. Demosth. 18, 86, τῶ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι—.

τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι—i. e. Eurysthenes and Proclus, the first two kings of Sparta; their father was considered to be the great-grandson of Hyllus, who was one of the sons of Heracles. Aristodemus' brother, Temenus, was the founder of an Argive line of kings (cf. note on τὸν ἀρχηγὸν above).

φασὶν—The subject is the relative sentence that follows, the antecedent to οἷσπερ being suppressed; tr. 'those on whom we rely regarding this ancient history', i. e. the old genealogists.

συναίτιαν . . . ἀθανασίας—'was partly responsible for his immortality'. Pausanias (1, 32, 4) relates that the people of Marathon claimed to be the first of the Greeks to consider Heracles a god.

σωτηρίας—The Heracleidae were protected by Theseus, when Eurystheus demanded their surrender, and Eurystheus was defeated in battle (for the story cf. Pausanias, 1, 32, 6 and Euripides' play the *Heracleidae*). Isocrates himself had dealt with the legend in *Paneg.* 56 ff.

35-38. *You should then set aside past differences and remember that a good action now is the quickest way to cause men to forget past mistakes. What is more, men remember those kindnesses most of all which are shown them in adversity.*

35. ἔδει . . . διαφοράν—'you ought never to have a quarrel even with one of them'.

κοινὰ θεῖναι—'to reckon past mistakes as common to all parties', not as Lang explains it 'fragilitati humanae tribuere'. It is true that a general sentiment applicable to all men has just been expressed, but the sequel with the emphatic εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον makes it clear that Isocrates refers to the four cities and to Philip.

αὐτὰς . . . ἐκείναις—both refer to τῶν πόλεων.

πεποιηκῶς goes closely with φανείης, its direct object being ἄξια. ἂν belongs to φανείης.

36. διὰ τὸ πλῆθος . . . μεταξύ—'owing to the length of time that has elapsed'.

προὔπαρχειν—cf. below 125 with ἔχθρας (= 'to be the first to start hostilities').

37. ἀηδές τι—cf. φλαῦρόν τι in *De Pace*, 81.

λήθην ἐμποιοῦσιν—cf. *Demon.* 8, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δύνασθαι λήθην ἐμποιῆσαι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.

μνείαν ἔχουσιν—see note on *De Pace*, 12.

38. τοῖς ἰδίᾳ μαχομένοις—'persons having a private quarrel'. It is they to whom ἐκείνους in the next clause refers.

39-41. *It may be objected that to reconcile such long-standing enemies as Argos and Sparta, or Sparta and Thebes, is an impossible task. I admit that it would have been so in former days, but at the present time I submit that there is one man qualified to effect this successfully and that is you.*

39. Ἀργείους . . . Λακεδαιμονίους—Ever since the sixth century there had been an uncompromising rivalry and hostility between these two states. The alliance made in 418 after the battle of Mantinea (cf. Thuc. 5, 79) was not of long duration, and in the Corinthian war Argos was again among the active enemies of Sparta. During the

fifth century, though for many years in alliance with Athens, the Argives took no active part in the fighting.

Λακεδαιμονίους Θηβαίους—It was Thebes which, by the victory at Leuctra in 371, broke up the Spartan supremacy in Greece, that had lasted for thirty-four years. During the Peloponnesian war she had been on the side of Sparta and one of the bitterest enemies of Athens (cf. *De Pace*, 105). It is noteworthy that Isocrates is very careful in the present passage not to touch upon the relations between Athens and the other states. Except for a short period, an anti-Theban policy had predominated at Athens during the fourth century.

40. ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν . . . ἐδυνάστευε—from 478 to 405 B. B.

πάλιν ἡ Λακεδ.—from 405 to 371 B. C.

νῦν δὲ . . . αὐτῶν—‘but now I have come to a very different conclusion about these matters’. The emphatic position of νῦν δ’ brings out the contrast with ὅτε μὲν—the period of the Athenian and Spartan empires—very strongly.

ὠμαλισμένας—‘levelled by misfortunes’. The phrase also occurs in *Arch.* 65, οὕτω δ’ ὠμαλισμένοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς εἰσιν—Elsewhere the verb is only found in its metaphorical sense in Aristotle. This writer also refers to the passages in *Is.* when speaking of the use of metaphor (*Rhet.* 3, 1412 A 16).

41. ἔπειτα—‘second’ or ‘then again’. *Is.* proceeds to his second point that Philip is the only man who is in the position to bring about a general reconciliation.

ἀνελπίστων . . . παραδόξων—referring to Philip’s successful unification of Macedonia, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, and his career of conquest in Thessaly and Chalcidice.

χρὴ δὲ . . . ἐχόντων—“men of eminence (*διαφερ.*) and high ideals (*μέγα φρον.*) ought not to engage in tasks such as even an ordinary man might accomplish successfully, but in enterprises which no man, save one gifted with the same natural abilities and power as you, could essay”. For τῶν τυχόντων cf. *De Pace*, 8.

42-45. *Those who maintain the futility of my proposal forget that wars have always benefited somebody. The past history of Greece and the constantly changing balance of power prove this. Men think only of their own advantage, and the Greeks, when they consider their present sufferings, will be ready to listen to your mediation.*

τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπερφολῆ—“could there be an intenser hatred than that felt by the Greeks for Xerxes?” For τίς ὑπερβολῆ cf. 69 below.

οἱ τὴν φιλίαν . . . ἀρχήν—The passage is obscure. The most likely explanation is that *Is.* uses the name Xerxes as typical of a Persian monarch; and that he is thinking particularly of the last years of the Peloponnesian war and the early years of the fourth century,



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cf. *Paneg.* 11, τὸν δ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον λέγειν ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν.

πρῶτον μὲν σκεψαίμ.—πρῶτον μὲν is answered by Ἀργείους τοίνυν in 51.

47. οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἔξ οὗ—“it is not long since” is here used parenthetically, without affecting the construction of the main sentence; cf. the somewhat similar use of οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, without any dependent verb, in 23. Elsewhere (e. g. *Panath.* 204) Is., in using the phrase, follows it up with a strictly grammatical construction (cf. also 51 below).

τοιούτ. ἄνδρας ἀπόλεσαν σφῶν αὐτῶν—i. e., the Spartiatae, or full Spartan citizens. Xenophon (*Hell.* 6, 4, 15) says that the total number of Spartiatae at Leuctra was 700, of whom about 400 were killed; only about two thirds of the Spartan army however took part in the battle. At the beginning of the fifth century the full citizens appear to have numbered about 8000, while at the end of the fourth century, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 2, 1270 A 31) there were less than a thousand. Diodorus (15, 56) places the total Lacedaemonian losses at 4000, which is doubtless too high.

ἔδέσποζον—this poetical word is found only here in Is., who wishes to emphasise the bitterness of defeat, which would be exceptionally great in the case of men who had for thirty years oppressed all Greece by their harsh autocracy.

48. Πελοποννησίους . . . εἰσβαλόντας—The reference is to the Arcadians. One of the immediate results of the overthrow of Sparta was the formation of the Arcadian League and the foundation of Megalopolis. Fearing the hostility of Sparta, the Arcadians, after a vain attempt at obtaining the support of Athens, turned to Thebes. They took part in Epaminondas' invasion of Laconia in the winter of 370-369 B. C.

περὶ τῶν καρπῶν . . . ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει—Epaminondas' army ravaged both the north and the south of Laconia, but it is a rhetorical exaggeration to say that the town of Sparta was invaded, as the enemy only got as far as its outskirts (Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 5, 30-2). The same is true of the later invasion of Laconia in 362 (cf. *id.* 7, 5, 11).

ἀρχείοις—Suidas (s. v.) explains this as ἐνθα οἱ δημόσιοι χάρται ἀποκεῖνται, χαρτοφυλάκρια ἢ τὰ χωρία τῶν κριτῶν. The word is also found in *Lys.* 9, and *ps.-Demosth.* 10, 53. Freese well renders ‘at the seat of their government’.

γυναικῶν—Xenophon (*Hell.* 6, 5, 28) indicates that the Spartan women lost their usual self-control, when they saw the enemy at the gate—τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὄρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους.

μὴ κατορθώσαντες . . . ἀπόλλυντο—The participle is conditional, = εἰ μὴ κατόρθωσαν. Instead of completing the past unfulfilled condition in the normal way with the apodosis ἀπόλοντο ἂν, Is. increases the vividness of his account by stating the consequences of defeat as they appeared at the time of the action, 'if they had not averted the danger, then straightway (at that moment) they were being annihilated'. A parallel usage occurs in Latin, e. g. Cic. *Verr.* 5, 49 'si per L. Metellum *licitum esset*, matres illorum miserorum sororesque *veniebant*'.

νικῆσαντες—This can either be temporal or concessive, i. e. 'after' or 'although they had been victorious'.

49. ὑπὸ τῶν . . . περιοικούντων—The phrase is somewhat ambiguous, as it cannot refer to the Perioeci in Spartan territory, but is clearly an allusion to the newly founded Messenian state. After Leuctra, in 369, Epaminondas refounded Messenia, having recalled as many of the old inhabitants or their descendants as was possible. Most of them, since their expulsion from Naupactus by the Spartans after Aegospotami, had settled abroad, but in 369 large numbers returned to their native land. A considerable portion of western Laconia was annexed to form the new state and the Perioeci and Helots, who inhabited this region, became fully enfranchised Messenian citizens. During the Phocian war, Sparta thought to seize the opportunity of recovering Messenia, but the Messenians and the Arcadians, whose new league and its centre, Megalopolis, were also threatened by Sparta, were aided by Thebes. No decisive engagement was fought and Messenia remained an independent state as constituted in 369. For Messenia see also *Arch.* 26-8 and 87.

ἄγονται δὲ καὶ φέρονται—cf. *Arch.* 74, ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν—It is an idiomatic phrase which has been copied in Latin (cf. Livy, 3, 37, 'hi [sc. triumviri] ferre agere plebem plebisque res').

τῶν οἰκετῶν—This vague word is used in a similar context in *Arch.* 8 and 88. It appears here to refer only to Helots, for the Perioeci, though dependents, could hardly be described as 'slaves'. Strictly speaking οἰκέτης is a household slave (= Lat. 'uerna') as distinguished from the more general term δοῦλος. The Spartans had often had trouble with the Helots, the worst disturbance having taken place in 464-3, but there is no information of any trouble with the Helots at the time of which Is. is speaking.

οὐδένα δὲ χρόνον διαλείπουσιν κ. τ. λ.—'and not a day passes but that they are making an expedition against some one etc.' For the idiom cf. *Areop.* 82, ἀλλήλοις μὲν γὰρ κακὰ παρέχοντες οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν διαλείπομεν.

50. *διαλυσάμενοι τὰ π. Φωκ.*—cf. Introduction p. 19 for the evidence afforded by this sentence for the date of the *Philippus*.

τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων—The two invasions of Laconia in 369 and 362 B. C.

τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας πολεμ.—cf. 2 above.

51-52. *The Argives, like the Spartans, have been constantly at war with their neighbours, but with less success, as their neighbours have been more powerful than themselves. In addition to this, internal revolutions have wrought havoc in the state.*

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ—explained by what follows; like the Spartans, the Argives have generally been at war (*τὰ μὲν*—); unlike them, they have generally come off worst, *τοῖς εἰρημ.* is neuter and *τούτων* = *τῶν εἰρημένων*.

51. *ὅσπερ Λακεδαιμ.*—to be taken with *πολεμουῖσι* not with *τοὺς ὁμόρους*.

τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον—‘they differ from the Spartans to this extent that, whereas the Spartans are at war with states weaker than themselves, the Argives are fighting against their superiors in strength.’ The chief opponent of Argos had always been Sparta (cf. note on 39 above).

καθ’ ἕκαστον . . . πορθ.—This sweeping assertion is not confirmed by any of the extant ancient historians. During the so-called Corinthian war at the beginning of the fourth century, in which Argos was herself a belligerent, Argive territory was several times invaded, but for the period immediately preceding the peace of Philocrates (346) there is no information.

52. *τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους . . . ἀπολλ.*—cf. Diod. 15, 57-8—*ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἐγένετο στάσις καὶ φόνος τοσοῦτος ὅσος παρ’ ἑτέροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδέποτε μνημονεύεται γεγονέναι· ἐκλήθη δ’ ὁ νεωτερισμὸς οὗτος παρά τοῖς Ἑλλησι σκυταλισμὸς διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ θανάτου ταύτης τυχῶν τῆς προσηγορίας.* In 371-70 an oligarchic conspiracy was formed at Argos to overthrow the existing democratic government. The plot was betrayed and a reign of terror followed in which, according to Diodorus, more than 1200 citizens were killed.

52. *τούτων* refers to war and civil seditions, *τῶν ἄλλων* to reconciliation with Sparta and the unification of the leading states under Philip’s guidance.

53-55. *As to the Thebans, their history is well known to you. Their victory at Leuctra was followed by oppression and arbitrary acts, the most recent example of which is their war against Phocis. They who at one time hoped to subdue all the Greeks, now realise their own peril and look to you for preservation.*



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other charge by the Amphictionic League and condemned to pay a heavy fine. The fine was not paid, and the League then decreed that the land of the offending Phocians should be confiscated. The Phocians, seeing their danger, took the offensive by seizing Delphi in 356. The war dragged on for ten years.

τῶν πόλεων . . . τὸν τε τόπον—Pausanias (10, 3, 1-2) gives a long list of Phocian cities that were destroyed in 346, e. g. Hyampolis, Anticyra, Daulis and Panopeus. Abae and the important town of Elatea were not destroyed. With regard to the phrase τὸν τόπον περιέχοντα Is. seems to mean that the Boeotians not only wished to bring the Phocian cities into subjection, but hoped to annex the whole territory of Phocis and form a greater Boeotia.

τῶν χρημάτων . . . δαπάναις—'to prevail over the wealth of Delphi by the outlay of their own resources'. The seizure of Delphi was a master stroke of the Phocians, for, without the temple treasure, their financial resources would have been exhausted in a few months. As the war went on, the Phocian commanders became less and less scrupulous about using the temple treasure. The first Phocian general either did not use it, or at least only borrowed some of the gold, but his successors melted down offerings to the god of every kind (cf. Diod. 16, 56).

τὰς αἰτῶν ἀπολωλέκασιν—Chaeronea, Orchomenus, Coronea and Corsiae were among the Boeotian cities that were taken by the Phocians in 353 (cf. *id.* 16, 56, 2 and 58, 1).

εἰσβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίῳν—cf. for example Diod. 16, 56, Βοιωτοὶ πολλὴν τῆς Φωκίδος χώραν πορθήσαντες περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ὑάμπολιν ἐνίκησαν τοὺς πολεμίους. This was however small compensation for the loss of such important cities as Orchomenus and Coronea.

55. τῶν μισθοφόρων . . . ζῆν—'certain mercenaries for whom it is far more profitable to die than to live.' For Isocrates' bitterness with regard to mercenary troops cf. *De Pace*, 44. The resistance of the Phocians was entirely due to their ability to obtain large forces of such professional soldiery by paying exceptionally high wages out of the Delphic treasure (cf., generally, Diod. 16, 37). When Philip threatened to occupy Thermopylae in 353, the Phocians were supported by detachments of troops from Athens, Sparta and Achaëa.

τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους—Though the names of the successive Phocian commanders, Philomelus, Onomarchus, Phayllus, and Phalaecus, are well known, the names of the leading Thebans or Boeotians at this time have not been preserved.

νῦν ἐν σοὶ σωτηρίας—In 347 'οἱ Βοιωτοὶ θλιβόμενοι μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολελωκότες, χρημάτων

δὲ ἀπορουμένοι, πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀξιούντες βοηθῆσαι. Philip was only too glad for the pretext, if any was needed, to enter Central Greece.

ἐν σοὶ . . . σύ—The emphatic repetition of the pronoun is noteworthy; Philip is the one man to settle these difficult problems.

56-66. *Of Athens I need not speak further as she has already made peace with you; but I think that I have shown conclusively that it is possible for you to bring these several states together. I will further point out to you how men of ability single-handed have accomplished schemes more difficult than this. Consider the careers of Alcibiades; of Conon, the victor of Cnidus, who restored his native city Athens to independence; of Dionysius, who from the humblest beginnings, in a few years became a despot more powerful than any hitherto known. Among the barbarians, consider the career of the elder Cyrus.*

56. ταῦτα διοικεῖς—i. e. to unify Greece. This was actually done by Philip and Alexander, but not in the way that Isocrates hoped.

57. τούτων—namely ἃ ἡμεῖς, συμβεβουλεύκαμεν.

τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν—the same phrase, but without a dependent clause, is also used in *Paneg.* 67.

58. τὰ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην—With the present passage should be compared Isocrates' speech *De bigis*, an early work written for the son of Alcibiades. The speech, the opening of which is lost, is in the main a defence of Alcibiades and his career, and care must therefore be taken in using it as a historical source.

φυγὸν παρ' ἡμῶν—The Athenians sent their state trireme, the Salaminia, to Sicily in the autumn of 415 to bring back Alcibiades to stand his trial on a charge of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries. Alcibiades gave his escort the slip at Thurii, and succeeded in making his way across to Sparta (cf. Thuc. 6, 61 and 88 ff.). For Alcibiades' connection with the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries see Grote, *H. G.* ch. 58 and Bury, *H. G.* p. 467 ff.

τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τ. τῇ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένους—Those who had fled from Athens as the result of the information laid before the Athenians by Teucros and Diocleides, regarding the mutilation of the Hermae. They were condemned to death *in absentia* (Thuc. 6, 60), as was Alcibiades himself.

ἐπτηχότας—'cowering in fear'. A very graphic metaphor from hunted animals. The usage is poetical and very rare in prose (cf. Plato, *Symp.* 184 B and Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 57, ἔπταξαν δ' ἀκίνητοὶ σιωπᾷ ἠρώες—).

προείλετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν—Thus, it was A. who advised the Spartans to seize and fortify Decelea. He could hardly have

proposed an action more disastrous to his native country (cf. *De Pace* 84-5 and Thuc. 6, 91).

59. ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους κ. τ. λ. — Isocrates speaks as though A. had been responsible for the Spartan policy after 415, which is absurd; thus, in the next section he suggests that it was on the advice of A. that Sparta strove after a maritime empire; this is to attribute far more influence to A. than he ever possessed. The statement here is only true in so far as it was owing to A. that Gylippus was sent to Syracuse to help the defenders against the Athenians.

60. καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν — By their defeat at Leuctra.

61. τὴν ἀρχήν — for the play on words cf. *De Pace* 101 and note.

κατηῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν — The democrats from Athens who had fled to Samos during the revolution of 411 B. C. voted the recall and pardon of Alcibiades, and he was elected στρατηγός there. He did not reenter Athens till 407.

οὐ μὴν ἐπαινούμενος ὑφ' ἀπάντων — A. still had many enemies, and when the Athenian fleet at Notium suffered defeat in the autumn of 407, A. was held responsible and feeling at Athens became so hostile that he found it more prudent to retire from Attica and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he had some property.

Κόνων — With the present passage cf. *Evag.* 52-7 and Demosth. 20, 68-70. Isocrates had a particular regard for Conon not merely for his eminent services to his country, but because he was the father of Timotheus, the intimate friend of Isocrates.

οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον — namely in 394 B. C. at the battle of Cnidus.

ἀντίστροφα τούτων ἔπραξε — 'performed the counterpart of those achievements'; Benseler translates 'das Gegenstück liefern'. The word is similarly used in *Antid.* 181, περὶ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἧς ἐγὼ μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀντιστρόφους καὶ σύζυγας καὶ σφισὶν αὐταῖς ὁμολογουμένας and Plato, *Gorg.* 464 B, τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἀντίστροφον μὲν τῇ γυμναστικῇ τὴν νομοθετικὴν, ἀντίστροφον δὲ τῇ ἰατρικῇ τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

62. ἀτυχήσας γάρ — After the battle of Aegospotami, C. made his escape with eight ships and sailed to Cyprus, where he was well received by Evagoras (*Xenoph. Hell.* 2, 1, 29).

τοὺς συνάρχοντας — Five in number, their names being Philocles, Adeimantus, Menandros, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus (*id.* 1, 7, 1 and 2, 1, 16).

κατησχύνθη — This is a euphemism. For Conon to have returned to Athens after such a disaster would have been tantamount to signing his own death-warrant.

περὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν — It would appear that Conon, when he first settled at Cyprus, had no great hopes of ever returning



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4, 8, 9-10 and Diod. 14, 85). The statement that C. restored Athens to the same renown as before, is of course a rhetorical exaggeration. For the whole passage about Conon cf. Demosth. 20, 68, τοῦς ἄρμοστὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἀνέστησε τὰ τείχη καὶ πρῶτος πάλιν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐποίησε τῇ πόλει τὸν λόγον πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι and cf. also *Areop.* 12, ἀπάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ὑποπεσοῦσης καὶ μετὰ τὴν Κόνωνος ναυμαχίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν Τιμοθέου στρατηγίαν, οὐδένα χρόνον τὰς εὐτυχίας κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τάχεως διεσκαριφησάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν αὐτάς.

ἀτιμωθήσεσθαι—in the prose writers this verb is generally used in a technical sense. “to punish some one by ἀτιμία” (cf. *De Bigis*, 47). Here however the verb is equivalent to ἀτιμασθῆναι.

65. Διονύσιος . . . πολλοστός ὢν—cf. Demosth. 20, 161: Συρακούσιοι τὸ πάλαι δημοκρατούμενοι . . . ὑφ' ἑνὸς γραμματέως, ὡς φασι, τυραννήσεσθαι. Similarly, Polyaeus (5, 2, 2) says of Dionysius: Συρακουσίοις ὑπηρετῶν καὶ γραμματεῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. For this use of πολλοστός, “insignificant”, lit., “one out of a large number”, the nearest parallel is αἱ πολλοσταὶ ἠδοναὶ (Plato, *Phileb.* 44 E). The word is almost only found in the phrase πολλοστὸν μέρος.

καὶ τῷ γένει—Helladius (ap. Photius, *Bibl.* 866 H) tells us that: ὀνηλάτου μὲν υἱὸς Διονύσιος ἦν ὁ τῆς Σικελίας ἄρξας.

δόξη—Dionysius had supported Hermocrates in 407 when the latter tried to reenter Syracuse, from which he was an exile. On this occasion Dionysius was dangerously wounded. In the following year he served with distinction at the siege of Acragas.

κατέσχε μὲν Συρακ.—In 405 Dionysius was elected general together with several others. A few months later he accused his colleagues of treason and got himself elected στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Soon after he obtained a body-guard, but several years elapsed before he secured his position as despot in Syracuse, and then only after considerable fighting. With the present passage should be compared *Nicoles*, 23-4.

ἀπάσας δὲ . . . Ἑλληνίδας—Aetna, Catane, Naxos, and Leontini were the earliest. By 379 only a small portion of Sicily—the north-western corner—remained in Carthaginian hands.

τηλικαύτην δύναμιν—Not only the greater part of Sicily, but a considerable piece of Magna Graecia was either directly conquered by D. or forced to acknowledge his overlordship. With regard to the navy, Diodorus (14, 42) speaks of 310 vessels in the year before the siege of Motye. The total force employed at Motye was, according to the same writer, 80,000 infantry, more than 3000 cavalry, about 200 fighting ships and some 500 transports (*id.* 14, 47). If

these figures are at all near the truth, then Is.'s statement that Dionysius's resources were greater than any hitherto known, is certainly true of single Greek states. The numbers involved in the Persian invasion of Greece in 481—0, even at the lowest estimate, were of course considerably greater.

66. *Κῦρος*—the elder Cyrus.

ἐκτεθειὸς . . . γυναικός—According to Herodotus and Xenophon, Cyrus was the grandson of Astyages. The latter, alarmed by a dream, had the new-born child exposed in the mountains, but Cyrus was miraculously preserved; he was then brought up as the child of one of the royal herdsmen (cf. Herod. 1, 112; Grote, *H. G.* ch. 32; cf. also for the variant version in Is., and its transmission to Ephorus, v. Scala, *Isokr. u. d. Geschichtsch.* p. 115—6).

ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας—The conquests of Cyrus extended as far to the east as the Jaxartes and Bactria and, on the west, to the shores of the Aegean. His most spectacular achievement was the conquest of Babylon in 538 B. C.

67-71. *Where men like this have succeeded, why should not you, who are more fortunately placed in every way, be equally successful? Whether you achieve your object or not, you will still win the gratitude of all the Greeks. If you follow my advice, your life will indeed be happy, and all men will look to you for counsel and help.*

67. *ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότα*—see above, 32-4.

τοσούτων δὲ κύριον ὄντα—see above, 18-21.

68. *τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοιαῦτα τ. ε.*—namely, *τὸ κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν*.

69. *δυνάσκειαν*—the word is used here in a good sense; but generally Isocrates employs it with a bad connotation (cf. 100; *De Pace*, 65 and 89).

70. *ὀρθὴν οὔσαν ἐφ' οἷς*—The adjective *ὀρθός* is found only here and in *De Big.* 7 (*ὀρθῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως*) in Is. In the latter case the meaning appears to be "excited". In the present passage, translate: "when you perceive that all Greece awaits expectantly your proposals". We may compare Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 39, *ὀρθὴ δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν*. In view of the rareness of *ὀρθός ἐπὶ*, it is worthy of notice that L. was a pupil of Isocrates (cf. the life of Is. attributed to Zosimus of Gaza, in Baiter-Sauppe, *Orat. Att.* 2, 4 b 24).

ἐν οἷς ἐστίν—Freese translates: "make inquiries concerning the state of affairs"; the subject of *ἐστίν* is *τὰ βραβεύμενα*.

μὴ πρότερόν τι πάθης cf. *Epist.* 3, 5, *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται λοιπὸν ἔτι πλὴν θεὸν γενέσθαι* and Introduction, p. 22-3.

71. *περιχαρής*—cf. 90 below and *Demon.* 42.

ὡσπὲρ καρπούς—Is. uses the same metaphor in *Antid.* 54, *ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν διὰ τέλους εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην. ὁ γὰρ χρόνος ὁ*

δεδομένος ἡμῖν ὀλίγος ἐστίν· ὡσπὲρ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν, ἐξενεγκεῖν ἑκάστου δεῖγμα πειράσομαι.

τιμὰς ἀνεξαλείπτους—this is the vulgate reading (μεγίστας ΓΕ) and has been adopted by all the editors; they refer, as the nearest parallel, to Aeschylus, *Sept.* 14-5

πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων
βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ 'ξαιφθῆναί ποτε.

The adjective does not appear to be found in any other classical writer, but it is used by Plutarch.

72-80. *There is another matter about which I wish to speak to you, though I do so not without hesitation. Your detractors interpret all your actions in the worst way and maintain that your only object is your own aggrandisement, not the welfare of Greece. Unfortunately they are able to influence many citizens who do not think much about politics and foreign affairs themselves. It is incumbent on you to refute these calumnies, and not enough merely to treat them with silent contempt.*

73. τῶν σοι μὲν φθονούντων.—Benseler referred this to the anti-Macedonian party at Athens, of which the most influential members were Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hypereides. There is however no reason to limit Is.'s phrase in this way; as Philip had his detractors in other Greek states.

τὴν εἰρήνην . . . νομιζόντων—In the so-called letter of Philip, contained among the speeches of Demosthenes (12, 19), the same charge is brought against the Athenians: φασὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἔμπειροι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πόλεμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον εἰρήνην· ἦν γὰρ συναγωνιζομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἢ συκοφαντοῦντας ἀεὶ τι λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν γνωριμωτάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις λαιδορουμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος περιποιεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δόξαν ὡς εἰσὶ δημοτικοί. The present passage is quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 1410 B 31) as an example of antithesis—ἀντίκειται πόλεμος εἰρήνη. For the letter, which is probably genuine, cf. Blass, *Att. Bered.* 2, 348.

Μεσσηνίοις βοηθεῖν κ. τ. λ.—For the Messenians cf. note on 49, and for the Phocians note on 54 above.

74. ἔργῳ δὲ . . . Πελοπόννησον—After his victory at Chaeronea, Philip entered the Peloponnese, and the majority of the states submitted to him without resistance. Sparta alone resolutely refused to acknowledge Philip, and he was content to deprive her of some of her territory, which he distributed among her neighbours, Messene, Megalopolis, and Argos. At the congress held in Corinth in 337, all the Greek states except Sparta were represented, and Philip was



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cf. 32, γνοίης δ' ἂν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς σοι προσήκει τούτων ὀλιγορεῖν ἢν ἀνευέγκης αὐτῶν τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους, and also 36.

79. μικροψυχίαν εἶναι κ. τ. λ.—“that it shows a petty disposition to heed, etc.”; τούτοις = οἱ βλασφημ. καὶ φλυαρ.

μηδὲν σαυτῷ συνειδῆς—cf. *Nic.* 51, ὅτι ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τύχῃ συνειδῶς.

παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι—“to think little of”; cf. *Paneg.* 59, οὐ γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν. This use of παρὰ μικρὸν is rare, and a phrase like περὶ ὀλίγου ποιεῖσθαι would have been more usual. For a commoner use of παρὰ μικρὸν see *De Pace*, 78.

80. Λακεδαιμονίους τε . . . βασιλέας—Is.’s predilection for the Spartan kingship is shown also in *De Pace*, 142-3.

κοινὸς ἀπᾶσι—“to be impartial to one and all”; cf. *Demon.* 10, μεγαλοπρεπῆς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις κοινός.

πρὸς δὲ τάς—for the order cf. note on *De Pace*, 27.

81-82. *Be not surprised that I address you in this outspoken way; natural defects made me quite unfitted for public speaking, but I venture to think that I am as well qualified as any man to advise on matters of state.*

81. ἅπερ ἔστειλα—the reference is to *Epist.* 1, which was addressed to Dionysius the Elder shortly before his death in 367 B. C.; cf. *ib.* 5: ἐπήρθη μὲν οὖν ἐπιστέλλειν σοι διὰ ταῦτα.

εἰ μὴ στρατηγός—Is. uses almost the same words that he had used to Dionysius (cf. *Epist.* 1, 9: καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτ' ἄλλως δυνάστης ὢν οὕτως ἐμβριθὲς αἶρομαι πρᾶγμα). For δυνάστης, as we might say “one of the governing class”, cf. *Antid.* 69, ὃν τρόπον εἶθισμαι καὶ τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις πλησιάζειν.

πάντων ἀφυστάτος—“the least fitted by nature of all the citizens”; cf. *Antid.* 131, where Timotheus is described, οὕτως ἀφυῆς ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων θεραπείαν. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the pseudo-Plutarch, in their biographical notices of Is., both mention these two inherent weaknesses, his nervousness and poor voice, but they give no additional information. So too, in the life attributed to Zosimus of Gaza (Baiter-Sauppe, *Orat. Att.* 2, p. 3), we read τῶν γὰρ δικανικῶν ἀπείχετο πλεονάκις διὰ τὸ δύο πάθη ἔχειν σωματικά, ὅτι τε δειλὸς ἦν καὶ ἀσθενὴς τῇ φωνῇ (cf. also *Epist.* 8, 7). Demosthenes’ voice, too, was weak at first, but by careful training and constant practice he remedied this natural defect.

ὄχλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι—“to consort and rub shoulders with the mob”. μολύνεσθαι literally means to be “defiled by”; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 7, 535 E: ὡσπερ θηρίον ὕειον ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ μολύνεσθαι

(i. e. "to wallow"). Liddell and Scott's translation of the present passage, "to disgrace oneself", completely misses the point of Is.'s remark. The metaphor, as might be expected, is also found in Latin; thus, we may compare the exhortation of the patricians to Q. Fabius "ut *ex caeno plebeio* consulatum extraheret" (Livy, 10, 15). Corais compared Aristoph. *Ach.* 379 ff.

λοιδορεῖσθαι . . . καλινδουμένοις — the former verb is middle, not passive, i. e. "to bandy words with". For τοῖς ἐπὶ τ. β. καλινδ. cf. note on *De Pace*, 121.

82. ἀγροικότερον — "too clumsily". Freese translates "too bluntly", which expresses much the same notion. Corais's rendering, ἀλαζονικότερον, must be rejected, as there appears to be no parallel to such a use of ἀγροικός. The word is not found elsewhere in Is.

τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις — the metaphor appears to be taken from racing; cf. *Evag.* 79: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων, οὐ τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις.

τὸν τρόπον . . . ὄν — "in a manner suited to my nature and capacities."

83-88. *I would now speak to you on another matter. When you have brought about reconciliation and unity among the Greeks, then you should lead a combined expedition to Persia. Long ago I advocated a Hellenic expedition against that country. I do not wish to repeat all I said then; I will therefore content myself with outlining the most important facts. First, absolute unity among the Greeks is essential, before the attempt to attack Asia is made. It was the lack of unity which ruined the enterprise of Agesilaus.*

83. οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων . . . ἡλικίαν — "my attitude of mind is not the same as it was at that period of my life when —"; the *Panegyricus* was published in 380, when Is. was fifty-six years old.

τότε μὲν γάρ — the words which follow are almost exactly reproduced from the beginning of the *Paneg.* (14): ἐγὼ δ' ἦν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως εἶπω καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, μὴ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπαντος οὐ βεβίωκα, παρακελεύομαι μηδεμιᾶν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταγελᾶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν.

84. τοῦ χρόνου . . . διατριφθ. — "Panegyricum Isocratis, qui parcissime, decem annis dicunt elaboratum" says Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 10, 4, 4); Plutarch (*de glor. Athen.* 350 E) calls the period "nearly three Olympiads". There is however nothing in Is.'s own statement to substantiate the story that he took ten years to compose the *Panegyricus*. The story is really absurd, since some of Is.'s lesser works were published between 391 and 380, and, besides, there can be no doubt that the terms of the peace of Antalcidas (387 B. C.) aroused Is. to write it (cf. E. Drerup, *Philologus*, 54 (1895), p. 639).

τοὺς περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφ.— cf. *De Pace* 5 and Introduction, p. 14.

85. ὅτι ἂν ὑποπέσῃ—Jebb (*Selections from the Att. Orat.*) translates this “whatever may suggest itself”, and compares ὑπῆλθε τὸν Ἀγησίλαον in Plutarch, *Agesil.* 7. He does not, however, add what is the natural explanation of this use, namely that ὑποπίπτειν is here used as the passive of ὑποβάλλειν; for ὑποβάλλειν = “to suggest”, cf. below 149.

ὑπογράψειν . . . ἐξεργάζεσθαι—“to draw in outline . . . to fill in the details”. ἐξεργάζεσθαι has here the same meaning as the Platonic ἀπεργάζεσθαι, for which, as well as for ὑπογράφειν, see the exhaustive note of Adam in his edition of the *Protagoras* (on 326 D).

86. οὐ διὰ κακίαν—the meaning of this substantive here is difficult to determine. Corais explained it as synonymous with ἄγνοια or ἀπειρία; the second of these is probably the correct rendering, “not through incapacity”, i. e. not because he was a bad general or statesman. There is no justification for Freese’s “feebleness of intellect”. Besides the present passage, κακία occurs nineteen times in Is., three times in the sense of “cowardice”, sixteen times to signify “badness” (as opposed to ἀρετή, δικαιοσύνη, etc.). The nearest parallel to the meaning here suggested seems to be in Plato, *Phaedr.* 248 B: κακία ἡνιόχων πολλὰ μὲν χωλεύονται (sc. ψυχαί), where there is really a pun on two meanings of κακία.

87. τοὺς ἑταίρους—the word is used in its technical sense to signify members of oligarchic clubs (ἑταιρεῖαι). When the Spartan garrisons were first established in the Greek cities, oligarchic government was forced on the inhabitants; but, after a few years, the Spartan ephors permitted the cities to revert to their πατριοὶ πολιτεῖαι (Xenoph. *Hell.* 3, 4, 2). It was Lysander, not Agesilaus, who desired to bring all the oligarchs back to power. Agesilaus was however very ready to enrich his personal friends, and Jebb (*Selections from the Att. Orat.*) conjectured with much probability that Is. has here confused two distinct questions, the political aims of Lysander and the personal sympathies of Agesilaus (cf. with this passage, *Epist.* 9, 13).

συνέβαινε . . . βαρβάροις—Is. is not altogether fair to Agesilaus. The Spartan king reached Asia Minor in the spring of 396 and some months were spent in negotiations between him and Tissaphernes. When hostilities began, Agesilaus was not to any extent successful, because he lacked an adequate force of cavalry. During the winter of 396-5 he tried to remedy this deficiency by procuring horses and raising levies locally. In the spring of 395 he won some important successes and much spoil in his Lydian expedition, but Tissaphernes was recalled and superseded by Tithraustes. With him A. concluded a six months’ truce, while the Persian and Spartan governments were



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Clearchus and the four other Greek generals to come to him next day, in order to arrange matters. Clearchus and his colleagues, trusting to the good faith of the satrap, went, were arrested and sent to Susa, where they were executed. Isocrates' account is very general, as it is a 'contamination' of the agreement made after Cunaxa and the meeting between Tissaphernes and the Greek generals, which took place several weeks later. Further, Xenophon says nothing of any monetary gifts to the Greeks but only that they received ἐπιτήδεια—provisions—on the first part of their retreat (*Anab.* 2, 3, 26-7). Even these they were to pay for, whenever possible. The present passage is closely modelled on *Paneg.* 147.

92. πίστεις . . . τὰς μεγίστας—Xenophon (*Anab.* 2, 3, 28) says ὄμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρηνς καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς. Diodorus (16, 43) calls the handshake ἡ πίστις βεβαιωτάτη παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. On another occasion a sacrifice of a bull, a boar, and a ram took place to seal the agreement (Xenoph. *Anab.* 2, 2, 9).

τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν i. e. τοῦ βασιλέως.

93-98. *I know that I am merely restating facts which I have already given in the Panegyricus, but why should I waste time by trying to present them in a new form? In addressing you on this urgent topic it is not the form of words, but the facts that matter. To continue: the Greeks at the time of Clearchus were distrustful; if you follow my advice, you can reconcile them now, and so your position as leader of an Asiatic expedition will be far securer. The resources in men, on which you can draw, are far greater than those obtainable by Cyrus and Clearchus. The latter was an obscure person when he entered Cyrus' service and only became famous owing to his tragic death. Your fame is already world-wide.*

ἐπιστάς—'having given my attention to'; cf. *Hel.* 29, ἐπιστάς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Θησέως ἔργα.

γλιχόμενος—goes closely with πονεῖν; cf. *Epist.* 9, 15, μιμείσθαι γλιχομένων and Demosth. 6. 11, πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν.

94. περὶ τὴν λέξιν κ. τ. λ.—See the remarks which Is. has already addressed to Philip on this subject in 27-8.

τοῖς οἰκείοις—that is to say, Isocrates' own ideas and material, as utilised e. g. in the *Panegyricus*.

τυχὸν ἂν—see note on *De Pace*, 120,

τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν—Later ancient critics, like Philostratus, virtually accuse Is. of plagiarism from Gorgias and the *Epitaphios* of Lysias. There are certainly reminiscences of Gorgias in the *Panegyricus*, so far as can be judged from the fragment of Gorgias that is preserved,

and doubtless there were many more; but this does not amount to plagiarism. For it must be remembered that while Is. received his training from the early Sophists, his treatment of his subject in the *Panegyricus* is essentially his own, even if the form of the speech was not new. With regard to the *Epitaphios* in the collected speeches of Lysias, the resemblances are quite general, if, with Jebb, the speech is accepted as the genuine work of Is.; Blass, however, (*Att. Bered.* 2, 239) regards it as, in all probability, a rhetorical exercise written after the *Panegyricus*, i. e. after 380.

95. ἐκείνοις—i. e. Clearchus and Cyrus.

τοῖς εἰρημένοις—the point on which Is. has insisted all along, that Greek unity is the indispensable preliminary to a war with Persia (cf. 86 and 88).

τὰς δεκαρχίας—cf. *Paneg.* 110, οἱ τῶν δεκαρχιῶν κοινωνήσαντες καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμηνάμενοι. The decarchies were boards of ten, set up by Sparta in the Greek cities that came into her power after 404. They were chosen from the oligarchic factions in the different cities, and were supported by a Spartan harmost and garrison (cf. also note on 87 above).

ὅπερ καὶ συνέπεσεν—The Greek cities of Asia Minor had revolted from Tissaphernes at the time of Cyrus's expedition, and at his instigation. After the death of Cyrus, the Persian satrap set about recovering the revolted cities, and they in turn appealed to Sparta. This was the primary cause for the expeditions of Thibron, Dercyllidas and, finally, Agesilaus. After the battle of Cnidus in 384 the Greek cities readily acknowledged Persian suzerainty again.

96. ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων—see *De Pace*, 24.

οὐκ ἦν ξενικὸν οὐδέν—the employment of mercenaries in Greece on a considerable scale began in the Corinthian war (394-390), and gradually became more and more firmly established (cf. note on *De Pace*, 46).

οὐδεμιᾶς πώποτε δυναμ. . . . κύριον—this is inaccurate. Clearchus had been Spartan harmost at Byzantium, but had abused his powers and had attempted to make himself tyrant of the place. He was banished, or went into voluntary exile, through fear of the Spartan government.

98. ἀνόητος ἅμα καὶ περίεργος—cf. *Epist.* 8, 1, δέδοικα μὴ λίαν ἄτοπος εἶναι δόξω καὶ περίεργος.

99-104. Consider, too, the respective positions of the Persian king in the time of Clearchus and of the present monarch. The former enjoyed considerable power and influence, the latter is helpless owing to revolts in different parts of his empire. The satrap of Caria will join you as soon as you set foot in Asia, and many other satraps will follow suit.

99. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν—Artaxerxes II (404-358).

κατεπολέμησεν—this is rather an exaggerated statement, for in the period between 399 and 387 the satraps of the Great King were at war with Sparta, and in the last years of the Peloponnesian war they had helped Sparta financially against Athens; but the only decided victory of Artaxerxes was the diplomatic one referred to in the next sentence.

100. ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις—the peace of Antalcidas in 387; cf. note on *De Pace*, 16.

ἀφεστάναι δι' ἀνανδρίαν ἢ—see notes on the following sections.

101. Αἴγυπτος μὲν γάρ—Egypt had revolted from Persia during the last years of the fifth century and, in spite of several attempts to recover the province, Artaxerxes II, whom Isocrates here praises as greatly superior to Artaxerxes III, was quite unsuccessful. The first attempts of Artaxerxes III were equally futile and the Persian forces in Egypt were defeated διὰ τὴν κακίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡγεμόνων (Diod. 16, 40). Isocrates's remarks here are therefore to some extent justified, but they were soon to be proved false; for between 346 and 344 not only were Cyprus and Phoenicia, both of which had rebelled, recovered, but Ochus led a vast host to Egypt in person, and recovered the province, which had maintained its independence for sixty years. The Egyptian monarch, Nectanebus, fled to Aethiopia. For this and the following sections cf. *Paneg.*, 160-6.

τῆς διὰ τὸν πόταμον δυσχωρίας—In *Bus.* 12, Is. calls Egypt ἀθανάτω τείχει τῷ Νεῖλῳ τετειχισμένην. The reference is especially to the Nile Delta, while δυσχωρία alludes to the desert lying on the east of Egypt.

οὐ μόνον ἠττηθεῖς κ. τ. λ.—It is not certain whether Diodorus (16, 40 and 48) alludes to two expeditions to Egypt, or whether both passages refer to the same expedition. Jebb, following Schäfer, assumed two, and said that Is. here means the second. But it seems preferable to believe that Is. is speaking generally of the early failures of Artaxerxes III.

102. τὰ τοίνυν περὶ Κύπρον—the words τότε μὲν ἦν can only refer to the years 387-5, for in 384 Evagoras was at war with Persia.

τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον—in a general way, the coast of Syria and S. E. Asia minor. The navies of Tyre and Sidon had always been the mainstay of Persian naval power.

νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφέστηκε—not Evagoras's revolt, as Wolf said, but the rebellion in 350 or thereabouts, described by Diodorus (16, 40).

103. Ἰδριέα—cf. Harpocr. s. v., δυνάστης ἦν οὗτος ἐν Καρία, υἱὸς Ἐκατόμνου, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Μανσώλου καὶ Ἀρτεμισίας. Artemisia



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prevailed against the Olynthian league and kept his kingdom. He appears also to have kept on good terms with Athens (Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 26). Of his relations with Argos and Thebes nothing is known.

τοῖς πρὸς τὰς τ. φιλοτιμίας ὀρμωμένοις—This alludes to the various tyrannies set up in Greece during the seventh and sixth centuries.

107. οἱ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐμποιοῦντες—cf. the similar phrase, though in a different context, in *De Pace*, 96. The overthrow of oligarchies in early times and the assumption of supreme power by one man, who was often nominally a champion of the people, though he did not remain so long, was almost invariably attended by civil war. The case of Pittacus, who was elected by the people to be dictator for ten years, who committed no excesses, and who abdicated at the end of the period, is quite exceptional.

τὸν τόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν—i. e. 'Hellenic lands'; cf. *Epist.* 1, 8, where Is. says to Dionysius of Syracuse ὅτε μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον, οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναί σοι τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον.

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους—i. e. the Macedonian tribes, which Perdiccas was the first to bring under his rule.

108. ἰδίως—only here in Is.; tr. 'because he was exceptional in understanding these facts'. ἰδίως marks out Perdiccas as different from every one else, because he realised the value of monarchical government in the right place (cf. ἴδιον in 109).

ἐξηλλαγμένην—cf. *De Pace*, 63.

οὐχ ὁμοφύλου γένους—The early history of Macedonia is almost unknown. Herodotus gives the names of the early kings as follows: Perdiccas, Argaeus, Philippos, Aeropos, Alcetas, Amyntas and Alexander. Amyntas' date is approximately fixed by the fact that he was on friendly terms with the Peisistratids at Athens, while his successor, Alexander, was king of Macedon at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. According to this reckoning, the unification of Macedon under Perdiccas would fall about the middle of the seventh century, a time when the bulk of the Greek cities were either ruled by oligarchies or by tyrants. The point of ὁμόφυλος is that the Macedonian tribes, though they were racially akin in terms of modern ethnology, had no common legendary history and did not trace their descent from one ancestor or family, as was the case in the legends of the Greek cities. See also note on 32 above.

διεφθαρμένους . . . ἠφανισμένον—Thus, at Corinth Periander was succeeded by Psammetichus, who after a short reign was murdered, and then the tyranny came to an end. In 510 Hippias with his whole

family left Athens and Attic soil, and retired to Sigeum. For the phrase ἐξ ἀνθρώπ. ἠφάνισ. cf. *De Pace*, 113.

109-112. *With regard to Heracles, it is always his feats of strength that men tell of, never his mental and moral qualities. Were I younger, I should strive to discourse to you on that topic; but, as it is, there is so much else to say, that I will content myself with touching on one incident in Heracles' life, his expedition to Troy. He accomplished in a few days what others had failed to do in as many years; and, to commemorate his achievements, he set up the pillars named after him, to mark the bounds of the Greek world.*

ἀνδρίαν . . . τοὺς ἄθλους—as, for instance, Pindar in *Olymp.* 3 and Bacchylides in his ninth ode. Many tragedies, too, dealt with some part of Heracles' life (e. g. Sophocles *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Hercules Furens*). Isocrates himself refers to several of Heracles' exploits in *Hel.* 24.

τῶν τῆ ψυχῆ π. ἀγαθῶν cf. *Demon.* 50, Ζεὺς γὰρ . . . Ἡρακλέα . . . διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε (ἀρετὴ in this passage clearly refers to moral qualities, as it is contrasted with the κακία of Tantalus). The truth of Is.'s statement is borne out by a comparison of the numerous Heracles-legends in all parts of Greece, collected by Pausanias in his description of Greece. His most serviceable exploit to mankind was the bringing and planting of the olive, of which Pindar also speaks at length in *Olymp.* 3.

τόπον ἴδ. κ. ἀδιέργαστον—Freese well translates 'a distinct and altogether untilled field of literature'. The reading ἀδιέργαστον is that of the vulgate, and it is supported by the fact that the word again occurs in *Panath.* 268. All the recent editors adopt the reading of *E*—ἀδιεξέργαστον (διεξέργαστον *Γ*). There is however no other passage in which ἀδιεξέργαστος occurs, whereas Pollux (*Onom.* 6, 144) gives ἀδιέργαστος. Lastly Is. uses the verb διεργάζομαι (*Hel.* 69: ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι ΘΛ), but διεξεργάζομαι is found only in Plato.

γέμοντα—see note on *De Pace*, 39.

110. ἐπ' αὐτὸν i. e. τὸν τόπον.

προσήκουσα μὲν καὶ πρέπουσα—"related to and suited to", προσήκουσα, because the Trojan war was also an expedition of Greeks against Asiatics.

111. The account which follows (111-112) deals with events which we are accustomed to regard as legendary rather than historical, at all events in the form in which they have survived. The basis of these accounts may well be historical—indeed modern archaeological research tends more and more to show this—in that they reflect an early struggle between East and West. It should also be remembered

that even so critical a writer as Thucydides treats the expedition of Agamemnon as historic (*id.* 1, 9-12).

μεθ' ὧν χρῆ καὶ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ—The former phrase alludes to the united Greeks, the latter to the common enemy in Asia, and the sentiment is so expressed in order the more to impress Philip, who was to emulate Heracles and follow the same line of action.

τῶν . . . ὕστερον πολεμησάντων—i. e. Agamemnon's expedition immortalised in the *Iliad*. According to the legend, Laomedon, king of Troy, was aided by Poseidon and Apollo in building the walls of Troy. When the work was completed, the king refused to pay them the reward which had been agreed upon, whereupon Poseidon sent a sea-monster to ravage the land. An oracle announced to Laomedon that a maiden of noble origin must be sacrificed to the monster, to appease him, and the lot fell upon Laomedon's daughter Hesione. Heracles arrived on the day when the sacrifice was to take place, slew the monster and rescued the maid. Heracles was defrauded of his reward by Laomedon and thereupon attacked and captured Troy and killed Laomedon. He also established Priam on the throne of Troy.

112. ἢ τοσαύταις, i. e. δέκα.

τῶν ἔθνῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑκατ. τῆς ἡπείρου—'barbarian tribes of either continent'. O. Schneider rightly points out that the word ἔθνῶν can only refer to barbarian races, not to Greek kings, and he instances the Thracian Diomedes as a case in point.

τὰς στήλας—i. e. the Pillars of Heracles. The name was commonly given to two high rocks on either side of the straits of Gibraltar, Calpe (Gibraltar) on the European side and Abyla (Ceuta) on the African. Isocrates refers to them again in *Panath.* 250.

ὄρους δὲ τῆς τ. Ἐ. χώρας—The Atlantic was commonly called ἡ ἔξω τῶν στηλῶν θάλαττα, in distinction to the Mediterranean (ἡ ἔσω θάλαττα). There is no certain evidence that, down to the time when Is. was writing, any *Greek* mariners had ventured beyond the straits into the Atlantic. Phocaeans may have done so in the sixth century, but, after that, Carthage controlled the straits for two centuries, and the first Greek who is known for certain to have sailed into the Atlantic, was Pytheas of Massilia in the last quarter of the fourth century (on this whole question see the very interesting paper by M. Cary in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 44 [1924], pp. 166-179). Carthaginians appear to have sailed beyond the straits both to the south (under Hanno, *circa* 500 B. C.) and to the north, like their kinsmen, the Phoenicians, before them.

113-115. *We must all give our minds to the undertaking of which I have spoken, but you must do so especially. I do not ask you to rival*



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117. τοὺς . . . τεταγμένους—“those that are appointed to bring misfortune and punishment on mankind”. Is. may be thinking especially of the Erinyes or Σεμναὶ θεαί.

δυσχερεστέρας—cf., for such names, Aeschylus, *Persae*, 353:

ἤρξεν μὲν, ᾧ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ
φανεῖς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.

τῶν μὲν . . . ἰδρυμένους—ιδιώτας and πόλεις are the subjects, νεὸς καὶ βωμοὺς the objects of the verb.

ἀποπομπάς—Miss J. E. Harrison in her discussion of this passage (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 8 ff.) translates the word “ceremonies of riddance”, and compares Plato, *Legg.* 854 B. For other evidence on this aspect of Greek religion see the above named work.

118. περιβάλλεσθαι—“to get into one’s power”, “to compass”, hence here with διανοία = “to grasp mentally”, “to comprehend”. Translate: “those who seek after greater fame than their fellow men must comprehend what course of action is both effective and in agreement with their wishes, and then seek to carry it out, as opportunity offers”. This absolute use of παραδιδόναι is not found elsewhere in Is.

119. ἐκ τῶν Ἰάσονι συμβάντων—for Jason of Pherae cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 1, 14 and 20; Diod. 15, 58-60. There are no details about his early career, but by 374 he appears to have controlled the greater part of Thessaly, with dependencies in Epirus and S. Macedonia. He was assassinated in 370 (cf. generally, Grote, *H. G.* chaps. 77-8; Bury, *H. G.* 591).

ἐξ ᾧν ἔφησεν—Is. is quite unjust to Jason. Not only had J. brought about the temporary unification of Thessaly and interfered to some effect in southern Greek affairs (e. g. after Leuctra; cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 4, 22; 4, 27), but, had he not been assassinated, there can be no doubt that he would have come into collision with the states of central and southern Greece, especially Thebes. It is therefore untrue to say “that he accomplished nothing like the achievements of Philip”.

ἐποιεῖτο γὰρ τοὺς λόγους κ. τ. λ.—Xenophon (*Hell.* 6, 1, 12) also mentions Jason’s intention to undertake an Asiatic expedition.

120. μάλιστα μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ μή—“if first and foremost, you try to annihilate the whole kingdom of Persia, or, if that cannot be—”; cf. *Paneg.* 19, μάλιστα μὲν . . . εἰ δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον.

ἀφορίσασθαι καὶ διαλαβεῖν—“to annex as much territory as possible and detach (i. e. from the Persian realm) Asia, as some say, from Cilicia to Sinope”). Years before Is. had used almost identical

words in pleading for the liberation of the Asiatic Greeks (*Paneg.* 162 : ἀπὸ δὲ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν).

κτίσαι πόλεις—cf. *Paneg.* 134 and 168, where such settlements were also advocated. The plan was adopted on a vast scale by Alexander the Great, in the territories he conquered.

τοὺς νῦν πλανωμένους—cf. *Paneg.* 168; *De Pace*, 24.

122. τοὺς ξενιτευομένους—Harpocration (s. v.) explains this word by μισθοφοροῦντας, and refers to the present passage and to *Epist.* 2, 19 (τὰ μὲν τῶν ξενιτευομένων στρατόπεδα μισθοῦνται). Nevertheless some of the older editors suggested that the word here signifies “to lead a roaming life”. Not only, however, is this to ignore completely Harpocration’s explanation, but it overlooks the fact that ξενιτεύεσθαι in the sense of μισθοφορεῖν is also used by Antiphanes (frag. 96 in Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*), while the meaning “to live abroad” does not appear to occur before the third century. Finally, the passage from *Epist.* 2 is decisive; Isocrates would not have used so rare a word in two distinct senses.

προβάλεσθαι—for this use cf. Demosthenes, 18, 301: τί χρῆν τὸν εὐνοῦν πολίτην ποιεῖν; . . . οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβάλεσθαι κ. τ. λ.;

123. τούτων . . . ἐκεῖνο—ἐκεῖνο refers to what immediately follows: if Philip fails to colonise Asia Minor (τούτων), he will at any rate liberate the existing Greek cities there.

καὶ δικαίως—sc. εὐδοκιμήσεις, “and rightly so, if you in person urge on—”.

124-217. *A spectator may well regard our present condition with contempt, for he sees the despised Asiatics lording it over us; while we make no attempt to retaliate, but prefer the suicidal policy of fighting amongst ourselves. It is for you to take the lead and regard all Greece as your native land.*

124. μαλακοὺς κ. τ. λ.—We may compare the story told of Agesilaus in Asia Minor (*Xenoph. Hell.* 3, 4, 19): προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὄρῳντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ’ ὄχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

οἱ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχ. ἡξ.—The reference is, in the first place, to the peace of Antalcidas, which was a great political victory for Artaxerxes II. In 367 several Greek cities, amongst them Athens, sent envoys to the Great King. Pelopidas was the Theban emissary and his efforts met with most success. Artaxerxes issued a rescript, which declared the independence of Amphipolis and ordered Athens to withdraw her fleet from the high seas. The part of the decree

dealing with Amph. was afterwards cancelled, but the order to the Athenians regarding their navy remained, though it was of course ignored by them. In fact, in the following year, Timotheus actively aided Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, against the Great King. Again, in 355 Chares fought for Artabazus against his master, and in the following year there were rumours that Artaxerxes III was preparing to invade Greece, as we learn from one of Demosthenes's earliest political speeches (14, 1-13; cf. the ancient *ὑπόθεσις* to this speech). This was probably no more than a threat, for Artaxerxes was far too busy in quelling risings in his own dominions, to think seriously of an expedition to Greece. Is.'s remarks, then, as far as can be judged from the known facts, are somewhat exaggerated.

126. *παρ' ἡμῶν μεταπεμπομένων*—Not only did Greek officers with mercenaries (e. g. Timotheus and Chares) frequently help revolted satraps of the Great King, but the employment of Greek troops in the Persian army was a regular practice; in the wars of Alexander the Great, many Greeks fought on the side of Darius (cf. note on Athenodorus in *De Pace*, 24).

συγκαταστρεφόμεθα—Timotheus and Chares both assisted rebellious satraps, but in 355 the Athenian government recalled Chares from fear of complications with the Great King (cf. Diod. 16, 22).

τῶν πατρικῶν ἔχθ.—this alludes to the invasions of Greece by Darius (490) and by Xerxes (481-479).

τοὺς μετέχοντας—i. e. the Greeks of Asia Minor.

127. *τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πεφ.*—There is no reason to apply this only to the Spartan kings, for it applies equally well to the tribes at Argos. The fact that some editors have limited the sense in this way is due to the fact that they refer *τοῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ . . . ἐνδεδεμένοις* to the same people. This last phrase certainly alludes to Sparta, but the preceding remark is more general.

σέ δ' ὥσπερ ἄφειτον—“roaming at will”. The expression is mentioned by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3, 1411 B 29) and is a metaphor from sacred cattle, which were not employed for agricultural purposes, but were allowed to roam at will in the land, or *τέμενος*, sacred to the god, to whom they were dedicated. (See Plato, *Protag.* 320 A, *αὐτοὶ περιόντες νέμονται ὥσπερ ἄφειτοι*; Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 666, *ἄφειτον ἀλάσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὄροις*; Plato, *Rep.* 6, 498 C; *Ion.* 822).

ὁ γεννήσας ὑμᾶς—i. e. “the founder of your line”, Heracles. The plural, *ὑμᾶς*, used immediately after *σέ*, shows that the reference is to the whole line of Macedonian kings, who traced their descent back to the hero.

καὶ κινδυνεύειν κ. τ. λ.—“to be equally ready to face dangers for the sake of Hellas, as for the special objects of your ambition”.



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τῆς ψυχῆς— a somewhat poetical usage, but cf. Antiphon, *Tet.* A. 1, 4, τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινδυνεύων—. The word is strongly contrasted with σῶμα in the next paragraph.

134. τούτων— ‘this undertaking’, taking up τούτων at the beginning of 133.

κατὰ δέ— cf. note on 114.

τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν μνήμην— cf. *Paneg.* 186 for the paronomasia; similarly *ib.* 45, ῥώμης . . . γνώμης.

ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν— cf. for both words and sentiment *Arch.* 93, ὑπὲρ ἧς (i. e. τῆς κοινῆς δόξης) ὀτιοῦν πάσχειν ἄξιον ὥστε μὴ καταισχυῖναι τὴν πόλιν.

135. ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους— cf. the similar sentiment in *Arch.* 109, κάλλιον ἔστιν ἀντὶ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι, and in Isocrates’ pupil Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* 88, τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι—.

136. κληρονόμους— The word is carefully chosen and harks back to πλούτου κ. τ. λ. above. The younger generation will be heirs, if not to the wealth and influence of their sires, at least to his renown.

137-143. *It is not only I, but your royal ancestors and the present opportunity itself that bid you to embark on this enterprise, and you must not heed it, if my address to you is incomplete. To those who fear the power of Persia I say that, what a barbarian of indifferent education could do, surely a Greek skilled in all the arts of war can accomplish. No one is more honoured by his fellow-men than he who is both statesman and soldier, and you have already accomplished more than your ancestors did. But I will not pursue this comparison for fear that others may misinterpret what I say, and because I do not wish to make those whom men consider heroes, seem inferior to a man who is still living.*

ἡμιθέους . . . τὴν στρατείαν— The expedition against Troy under Agamemnon and Achilles and their companions.

πρὸς ὃν δέ— The subject, ἐκεῖνος or βασιλεύς, must be supplied from the relative, the whole clause depending on ἐν ᾧ; tr. ‘a time at which he, against whom you will be waging war, is more hated etc.’. The very careful parallelism in the structure of the sentence is noteworthy. With regard to Artaxerxes Ochus, we may well believe that the king was regarded with contempt by the Greeks, if not by his own subjects; for, at the time when Isocrates was writing, Egypt had not yet been recovered. The successes of the later years of his reign were very marked. That Ochus was hated is very probable, as he appears to have been a despot of the worst type. He was poisoned by one of his own courtiers in 338 B. C.

138. *συγκεράσαι τοὺς λόγους*—Since writing the *Panegyricus*, Is. had called first on Dionysius I (367) and then on Archidamus of Sparta (356), to become leaders of a united Greece (cf. Introduction, p. 17).

οὗτος—i. e. *ὁ λόγος ὁ συγκεκραμένος*.

τὰ συντείνοντα—cf. *De Pace*, 142 (note).

ἀνθρώπου βαρβάρου i. e. Cyrus, the elder; cf. 67 and 132.

καταστραφεῖσαν—this is the reading of the best Mss. and the sense is the same as in *De Pace*, 69 (q. v.). Both here and in that passage the vulg. reading is from *καθίστημι*, namely, *κατασταθεῖσαν* and *καταστήσασθαι* respectively.

141. *πέρας ἔξειν*—‘will reach their accomplishment’, ‘will be achieved’ The phrase *π. ἔχειν* is also used in *Paneg.* 5 and in *Lyc. c. Leocr.* 60, *οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις συμβαίνει πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ὅταν ἀνάστατοι γένωνται*.

οὐδένα γὰρ ἄλλον—Only a few years elapsed before Alexander proved the falseness of Isocrates’ prophecy.

142. *ὑπερβαλεῖν*—The phrase is a trifle awkward—“I can surpass the deeds of your ancestors by your own achievements”, though the sense is clear enough.

ἀντιπαραβάλλον—‘comparing your achievements with theirs, one by one’.

143. *τῆς τ. ἰδέας*—“species” i. e. here “manner”; supply *τῆς ἐπιδείξεως* from the verb of the preceding sentence.

144-148. *Tantalus, Pelops, Eurystheus, in spite of their wealth and power have not been eulogised in a story or poem; but all men praise the deeds of Heracles, Theseus and the heroes who went to Troy. So too men praise Athens not on account of the empire she won, but for the conduct of her citizens at Marathon and Salamis; more glorious than all their victories is the defeat of the Spartans at Thermopylae.*

οὐδεὶς ἂν . . . ἐπαινέσειεν—The first Olympian ode of Pindar is a notable exception to Isocrates’ generalisation. Pindar quite openly departs from the accepted mythology; while the sin of Tantalus is admitted—though the cannibalic element in the story is contradicted—the career of Pelops is highly praised and is stated to have been happy to the end (*Ol.* 1, 36 ff.). The wording of the passage is almost the same as *Evag.* 40, *τὸν δὴ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὄντων κάλλιστα κτησάμενον τίς ἂν ἢ ποιητῆς ἢ λόγων εὐρετῆς ἀξίως τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσειεν; λόγων εὐρετῆς*, ‘romancer’, ‘teller of stories’, is coupled with *ποιητῆς* here in the same way as Plato (*Rep.* 3, 392 D) joins *ποιητῆς* and *μυθολόγος*.

145. *πολιχνίοις καὶ νησουδρίοις*—Argos, Mycenae and Pylos are instances of the former, Ithaca and Salamis of the latter.

νησυδρίοις—The same diminutive occurs in *Panath.* 70 and Xenoph. *Hell.* 6, 1, 12; Thucydides always uses *νησίδιον* (e. g. 7, 23, 3). Diminutives in—*ύδριον* are not common, but we may compare *τεχνύδριον* (Plato, *Rep.* 5, 475 E), *έλκυτόδριον* (Aristoph. *Eq.* 907), and *μελύδριον* (id. *Eccles.* 883).

146. *αὐτούς*—refers back to *ἅπαντες* in the previous clause.

ἐπὶ τούτων—i. e. in the case of the heroes. Is. having given instances from legendary history, goes on to deal with the experiences of Athens and Sparta.

χρημάτων—Under the assessment of Aristides the annual tribute from the cities of the Confederacy of Delos was 460 talents (Thuc. 1, 96).

τὰς μὲν ἀναστάτους—e. g. Mytilene in 427 B. C. and Melos eleven years later.

τὰς δ' αὖξῆσαι—Thus, for example, the exiled Messenians were settled by the Athenians in Naupactus in 458 B. C.

ὅπως ἠβουλήθη—particularly by insisting on democratic government in many, if not all, the cities of her empire, and, where necessary, expelling the oligarchs.

147. *κατηγορία*—cf. especially the Spartan and Peloponnesian assertion that Athens was striving to enslave Greece, and the Spartan claim that Sparta was “the liberator of Hellas” (see note on 104 above).

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξέλιπον—before Salamis in 480 B. C. (cf. Herod. 8, 40-1 and Thuc. 1, 91).

148. *τὸ τρόπαιον . . . σταθέν*—The allusion is not very clear. Herodotus (7, 228) mentions the stelae erected by the Greeks after Thermopylae to commemorate the dead; Pausanias (9, 32, 9) mentions it as an act of grace that Xerxes gave the Lacedaemonians leave to bury their dead. In the sense that they were victorious the Persians could be said *τρόπαιον στήσαι*, but the words *κατ' ἐκείνων* (“against”, i. e. “in triumph over the Laced.”) and *θεωροῦσι* seem to imply that Isocrates is referring to an actual trophy set up by the Persians. It is strange that the historical writers do not mention such a trophy, but the only alternative to believing in its existence on the sole authority of Isocrates is to suppose that our author, for rhetorical emphasis, invented the detail.

149-155. *Any short-comings in my discourse attribute to my advanced years; but, if it be indeed equal to my former utterances, then believe that though the words are mine, the ideas are inspired by the gods. It is the gods who have granted your success hitherto, that you might carry out the task of which I have spoken. In conclusion, I bid you show kindness to the Greeks, be king of Macedon, and extend your sway over as much of Asia as may be. Thus will you win universal gratitude.*



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