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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

DEMOSTHENES
ON THE CROWN

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New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1904

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Set up, electrotyped, and published January, 1904.

**Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.**

✓CONS. 189 - P. 11.

TO
HENRY JACKSON
IN TOKEN OF
A FRIENDSHIP OF MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS

PREFACE

THIS volume is chiefly an abridgment of the large edition of Demosthenes on the Crown which was prepared by me for the Syndics of the University Press and published in 1901. The critical notes are omitted, and such remarks on the text as seemed necessary are introduced in the explanatory notes. The notes, the Historic Sketch, and especially the Essays, have been abridged, while some more elementary matter has been added in the notes. I have attempted to give what I deem most essential to an understanding of this masterpiece of oratory. No mere commentary can make a speech like this intelligible to those who have not an accurate knowledge of the events which are discussed, and of their relation to other events. No adequate treatment of historical points is possible in scattered notes, and references to a general history (even to Grote or Curtius) are not sufficient. The student of Demosthenes needs a connected narrative of the events which especially concern him, with references to the authorities, without being distracted by other details in which he has no immediate interest. To meet this want, I have given an "Historical Sketch" of the period from the accession of Philip to the battle of Chaeronea, in which I have enlarged disproportionately on the events and questions discussed in the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown, and have alluded slightly (or perhaps not at all) to many important matters which are not essential to the study of these speeches. This would be unpardonable in a history: but this sketch assumes a general knowledge of the history of the period which it covers, and makes no pretence to being such a history

in itself. With this view, I have given what may seem undue prominence to the negotiations which led to the Peace of Philocrates; for a minute knowledge of these is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of the brief but cogent argument of Demosthenes in Cor. §§ 17—52, and to a fair judgment of the whole political course of both Demosthenes and Aeschines at this decisive crisis in the history of Athens. Much new light has been thrown upon the period which I have treated from inscriptions recently discovered by the French explorers at Delphi and from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. In preparing this sketch I have made constant use of Grote and of Schaefer's *Demosthenes und Seine Zeit*.

In revising the text I have in most cases followed the authority of the Codex Σ , especially when it is supported by its companion L¹. See Essay VII. In preparing the commentary I have been constantly aided by the long line of editors, whose names are too familiar to need mention. I must, however, express my great obligation to Westermann and Blass, especially for references to parallel passages and for other illustrations. I have found it impossible to give credit for every remark and reference which may be borrowed from these or other recent editors: many of these are found in the notes of Dissen and the older editors, and many have long been in my own collection of notes. Nothing is harder to trace than old references, and most of those relating to Demosthenes on the Crown may now be assumed to be common property.

I take great pleasure in expressing (not for the first time) my deep indebtedness to Dr Henry Jackson of Trinity College, Cambridge, who did me the inestimable service of reading and revising the proofs of the large edition. There are few pages in that volume which have not had the benefit of his criticism.

For the picture of the Scythian Bowman in page 280 I am indebted to the kindness of my former pupil, Miss Florence A. Gragg, who photographed the figure in the Museum at Athens.

I have avoided many discussions of grammatical points in the notes by references to my *Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses* (M.T.), and I have occasionally referred to my *Greek Grammar* (G.). The references to Grote ix.—xii. are made to the first edition; those to earlier volumes to the second edition.

I have made no attempt to be neutral on the question of the patriotism and the statesmanship of Demosthenes in his policy of uncompromising resistance to Philip. It seems to me that the time for such neutrality is past. I cannot conceive how any one who knows and respects the traditions of Athens, and all that she represents in the long contest of free institutions against tyranny, can read the final attack of Aeschines and the reply of Demosthenes without feeling that Demosthenes always stands forth as a true patriot and statesman, who has the best interests of his country at heart and upholds her noblest traditions, while Aeschines appears first as a trimmer and later as an intentional (if not a corrupt) ally of Philip in his contest with Athens. That the policy of resistance to Philip's aggressions failed at last is no discredit to the patriotism or the statesmanship of Demosthenes. Can any one, even at this day, read the pathetic and eloquent appeal of Demosthenes to posterity in Cor. §§ 199—208, and not feel that Athens would have been unworthy of her glorious past if she had submitted to Philip without a struggle for liberty, even if Chaeronea and all its consequences had been seen by her in advance? Her course was plain: that of Demosthenes was even plainer.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
November 6, 1903.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
ORATION ON THE CROWN	I—199
HISTORICAL SKETCH:—	
I. From the Accession of Philip to 352 B.C.	201—205
II. Early Life of Demosthenes.—Events from 352 to 348 B.C.	205—209
III. The Peace of Philocrates	210—228
IV. Six years of nominal Peace, 346—340 B.C.	228—237
V. The War with Philip, from 340 B.C. to the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.	237—249
Table of Dates	250—254
The Attic Year	255, 256
ESSAY I. Argument of the Oration, with remarks on §§ 120, 121	257—264
ESSAY II. The <i>γραφὴ παρανόμων</i>	264—269
ESSAY III. The Suit against Ctesiphon	269—273
ESSAY IV. Trials of Aeschines and Philocrates in 343 B.C.	273—277
ESSAY V. Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council	277, 278
ESSAY VI. The Hero Physician and the Hero <i>Καλαμίτης</i>	278—280
ESSAY VII. Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown	281—283
INDEXES	285—296

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

Reiske page 226
ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ'

PROOEMIUM: §§ 1—8. The solemn earnestness with which Demosthenes undertook this vindication of his whole political life is shown by the unusual and impressive prayer with which he begins, and still more by its repetition. He shows the same spirit in the appeal to the Gods in § 141, with which he introduces his account of the fatal events which led to Chaeronea, and in his peroration (§ 324).

§ 1. 1. τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, *to all the Gods and Goddesses*. Θεός is Goddess as well as God, θεά being poetic; thus ἡ θεός is the common title of Athena. A slight extension of the solemn formula πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις becomes absurdly comic in Ar. Av. 866 εὐχεσθε θρῆσιν Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίησι πᾶσι καὶ πάσησιν.

2. εὐνοίαν: εὐνοία may mean *devotion* based on any superiority or merit, including *loyalty* of a subject to a prince or of a servant to his master (even of a dog to his mistress), *devotion* to a benefactor, and even enthusiasm for the success of a contestant in the games (though felt by a stranger). Here it means a good citizen's loyal *devotion* to the state.

See Jackson's note on εὐνοία in Trans. of Camb. Philol. Soc. II. p. 115, where he explains the word in Arist. Pol. I. 6 (1255^a, 17) as "loyalty, i.e. the willing obedience which an inferior renders to a kind and considerate superior." He refers especially to Arist. Eth. IX. 5, §§ 3, 4 (1167^a, 18), ὅλως δ' εὐνοία δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιεικίαν τινα γίνεται, ὅταν τῷ φανῇ καλὸς τις ἢ ἀνδρείος ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. —ἔχων διατελῶ: ἀντὶ τοῦ δεῖ ἔχω, Ἀττικῶς. Schol. (See M.T. 879.) The words ἔχων διατελεῖ with εὐνοία probably occurred in Ctesiphon's decree. Aeschines (III. 49) quotes from the decree ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων: see the spurious indictment (below) § 54¹⁰, and § 57²⁻⁸.

3. ὑπάρξαι μοι, *be granted me* (*be made available to me*). The fundamental idea of ὑπάρχω in this sense is best seen in τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *the resources* or *the existing conditions*, i.e. *what is available*, *what one has to depend on*: see note on ὑπάρχειν § 95⁶, and βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει, IX. 5.

4. ἀγῶνα: see note on ἀγωνίζομαι, § 3^a. —ἔπειθ', *secondly*: simple ἔπειτα (without δέ) is the regular rhetorical

ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας 5
 εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς
 θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι
 περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ
 ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον; ἐν 2
 ᾧ' πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγρα-
 πται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν
 οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν
 εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ 5
 ἀπολογία, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνι-
 ζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως εἶσθαι χρήσασθαι.

formula after *πρῶτον μὲν* (see §§ 8, 18, 177, 235, 248: cf. 267). Thucydides generally has this, but often *ἔπειτα δέ*.

5. *ὅπερ ἐστὶ*: sc. *εὐχομαι*, referring to the whole sentence *ὅπερ... ἀκροάσασθαι*. The relation of *ὅπερ* to *τοῦτο* here is clearly that of *ὅτι* (§ 8^o) to the following *τοῦτο*.—*ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, *concerns you especially* (more than myself).

6. *εὐσεβείας*: referring to the oath (§ 2). Greek *εὐσέβεια* reached a lower level than our *piety*, including negative abstinence from impiety, so that one who does not break his oath is so far *εὐσεβής*.—*τοῦτο παραστήσαι ὑμῖν*, *may put this into your hearts*: *τοῦτο* refers back emphatically to the omitted antecedent of *ὅπερ*, as *οὕτως* (§ 2⁷) to that of *ὡς*, and is explained by *μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον κ.τ.λ.*

8. *τοῦ πῶς...δεῖ*: explained by *τὸ καὶ...χρήσασθαι* (end of § 2): cf. *περὶ τοῦ δντινα τρόπον χρῆσῆν*, Plat. Rep. 352 D.

§ 2. 1. *τὸν ὄρκον*: the Heliastic oath, which each judge had sworn. The document in xxiv. 149—151 purporting to be this famous oath (hardly authentic) has this clause: *καὶ ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν*. For the

connection of the laws with the oath, see note on § 6^b.

2. *δικαίοις*, *just provisions*.

3. *ἀκροάσασθαι*: this (Σ) or *ἀκροᾶσθαι* (L) is far preferable to the emendation *ἀκροάσεσθαι*, the fut. infin. being exceptional with *τὸ*. The infin. with *τὸ* here denotes simply *the provision for hearing both sides impartially* and is not in *oratio obliqua* (M.T. 96, 111).

4. *τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι*: *not having decided against* (*κατά*) *either party in advance*, the perf. expressing completion (M.T. 109): *τὸ μὴ προκαταγνῶναι* would be timeless, like *τὸ ἀκροάσασθαι* (above) and *τὸ ἀποδοῦναι* and *τὸ εἶσθαι* (below).—*οὐδὲ* (sc. *μόνον*), *not only* (cf. § 93^{1,2}).

5. *ἴσην* (pred.), *in equal measure*.—*καὶ τῇ τάξει...χρήσασθαι*, i.e. *to allow everyone to adopt not only* (*καὶ*) *that order of argument but also* (*καὶ*) *that general plan of defence which etc.*

6. *ἀπολογία* refers strictly to the defence, which alone remained.—*ὡς... ἕκαστος*: *ἕκαστος* is made subject of the relative clause, as this precedes; we reverse the order, and translate it with *χρήσασθαι*.—*τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος* (not *ἐκάτερος*), acc. to Weil, is "tout homme qui plaide sa

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ 3
τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ
γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας δια-
μαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ 5
μὲν—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος
τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ.
ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν
λοιδוריῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἠδέως, τοῖς
ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἀχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν δ' μὲν 4
ἐστι πρὸς ἠδονὴν τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος
εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ λοιπὸν ἐμοί. καὶ μὲν εὐλαβούμενος

cause," a general expression. He remarks that ἀγωνίζομαι applies especially to the defendant.

This is a dignified appeal against the offensive demand of Aeschines (III. 202), that the court should either refuse to hear Demosthenes or (at least) compel him to follow his adversary's order of argument. Both parties could not be heard impartially if one were compelled by the court itself to present his case in the most damaging order at his opponent's dictation.

§ 3. 1. πολλὰ: sc. ἐλαττώματα.

2. καὶ μεγάλα, even serious.

3. ἀγωνίζομαι, like ἀγών, used of contests of all kinds, here of a lawsuit. See the pun on the two meanings of ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου in IV. 47.

4. διαμαρτεῖν, to forfeit: cf. ἀποστερεῖσθαι, § 5⁴, and the following words.

5. μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν, not to gain his case: cf. Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν, Thuc. I. 26; ψήφισμα νικᾶ, Aesch. III. 68; πολλὰς...γραφὰς διώξας οὐδεὶς εἶλεν, Ant. 2, A^a, 5. A victorious defendant is said γραφὴν (δίκην) ἀποφυγεῖν, a defeated defendant γρα-

φὴν (δίκην) ὀφλεῖν.—ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν: a familiar ἀποσιώπησις, often quoted by the rhetoricians. What is plainly meant would sound unpleasant (δυσχερὲς) and suggest disaster in the opening of his speech. See Quint. IX. 2, 54, who quotes "quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus," Aen. I. 135.

7. ἐκ περιουσίας, at an advantage, lit. from an abundance, like a rich man who stakes little compared with his wealth. In Luke xxi. 4, the rich cast into the treasury "of their abundance" or "superfluity," ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς.

8. ἕτερον δ' (sc. ἐλάττωμα) corresponds to ἐν μὲν in 3, and keeps up the construction of πολλὰ ἐλαττοῦμαι in 1.—ὃ...ὑπάρχει, which is a natural disposition of the whole human race: πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις suggests the subject of ἀκούειν and ἀχθεσθαι, which explain ἕτερον.

§ 4. 2. ἐστι πρὸς ἠδονὴν, makes for pleasure (ἐστὶν ἠδύ, Schol.): cf. Aeschyl. Pr. 494, ἀν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἠδονὴν.—ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν modifies πᾶσιν. Aeschines (III. 241) had warned the court against the self-glorification of Demosthenes.

τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς 5 ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκα- 227 σθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετρίωτάτα τούτο ποιεῖν· ὅτι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζη, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν 10 ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶν' ἐνστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν 5 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτουὶ τὸν ἀγῶν' ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τούτο συμ- 5 βαίνη, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳπερ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν

5. ἀπολύσασθαι: see § 50^b.

6. καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι: a familiar form of rhetorical amplification (opposed to modern ideas of style), for which ordinary speech would use πεπολίτευμαι alone. Other instances are βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται (§ 2^a), πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων ἀπὸ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες (§ 11^{b-7}), ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήκει (§ 13^a), διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει (§ 14^b), ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες (§ 22¹⁰), πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι (§ 31⁴). In these cases one verb is generic and the other specific; but sometimes two verbs of nearly or quite the same meaning are used together for a similar rhetorical effect, as πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν (§ 62⁴), ζώντων καὶ ὄντων (§ 72^b).

7. βαδίζω, *proceed*, more formal than *come* or *go*.

8. ὡς μετρίωτάτα: cf. the full form ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετρίωτάτα, § 256⁹.

9. ὅτι...ἀναγκάζη, *whatever the case itself may require of me* (lit. *compel me*): with ἀναγκάζω without an

infin. cf. Quint. xi. 1, 22, qui hoc se cogisset.

10. δίκαιος ἔχειν: the common personal construction (M.T. 762). The apodosis is future in sense, after the future ὅτι ἂν ἀναγκάζη.

11. τοιοῦτον ἀγῶν', *a suit like this*, i.e. in which Ctesiphon is indicted and Demosthenes accused: cf. §§ 12—16.

§ 5. 1. ἐν ὁμολογήσαι (so Σ and L): ἂν after a comma is allowed when words belonging to the same clause precede, as here ὑμᾶς πάντας (M.T. 222).

3. οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος, *quite as great*.

4. πάντων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, *to be deprived of anything*: cf. πανταχοῦ, *anywhere*, § 81⁶.

7. ὅσῳπερ, (by so much) *as*: the implied τοσοῦτω is felt as limiting μάλιστα (sc. λυπηρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν).—καὶ before τὸ τυχεῖν expr. the parallelism (so to speak) *losing and gaining* the privileges: see ἂ καὶ διεκωλύθη, § 60⁴, and note.

ἔστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, 6
 ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου
 περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως,
 ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 Σόλων, εὔνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικὸς, οὐ μόνον τῷ 5
 γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς
 δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ 7
 φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς,
 αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐνὶ
 τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικάζόντων ἕκαστος
 ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ 5
 τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαι' εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,

Such a καί can seldom be expressed in English, except by emphasis.

§ 6. 2. ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι: see note on § 4^b.

3. δικαίως belongs to ἀκοῦσα', from which it is separated partly for emphasis, and partly to bring it directly before ὥσπερ. It cannot be taken with ἀπολογουμένου, as the laws (§ 2^b) have no reference to ἀπολογία, but require the judges to hear both sides impartially.

4. ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, i.e. *the original maker*: ὁ νόμον τιθεὶς is used like νομοθέτης, for the *lawgiver*, whose title is perpetual.

5. δημοτικὸς, *a friend of the people or of popular government*: see Ar. Nub. 1187, ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν.—οὐ μόνον... ὁμωμοκέναι: i.e. Solon thought that these provisions for an impartial hearing should have not merely the ordinary sanction which all laws have by enactment (τῷ γράψαι), but the further security which they gained by the judges swearing to uphold them. This double sanction was secured by enacting that these provisions of law should be a part of the Heliastic oath. γράφω, besides mean-

ing to *propose a law or decree*, often refers to *the enactment* as a whole, as here.

§ 7. 2. τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, here used like λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία in XXII 21, 22. There αἰτία is thus defined, as opposed to ἔλεγχος: αἰτία μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δὲ ὅταν ὧν ἀνείπη τις καὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ δειξῆ. Commonly, αἰτία refers to an accusation, whether true or false: cf. § 12⁷ (εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς). See Shilleto on Thuc. i. 23 and 69.

3. τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν: in public suits (γραφαί) in the Heliastic courts, each side spoke once (though the time might be divided among several speakers), the plaintiff first; in private suits (δίκαι), and in the Areopagus, each side was allowed a second argument.

4. παρελθεῖν, *to escape (get by)*: ὡς ἐπὶ δρουέων. Schol.

6. τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου, *the second (later) speaker*, i.e. the defendant (τοῦ φεύγοντος): see Ar. Vesp. 15, σὺ λέξον πρότερος, Dem. i. 16, τοὺς ὑστάτους... εἰπόντας.—δίκαι', *pleadings*, the statement of his *rights*: cf. § 9^b (see West.).

καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, 8
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων,
βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναν-
τίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὄσπην εὐνοίαν ἔχων
228 ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην 5
ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὃ τι
μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς
εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστήσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν
περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν 9
Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος
εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον

—προσδέξεται, *shall receive kindly, take under his protection.*

7. κοινὸν: *impartial.*

8. οὕτω repeats with emphasis the idea of παρασχὼν...ἀκροατὴν.—διάγνωσιν, *decision* (between two sides).

§ 8. 2. λόγον διδόναι, *to render an account*, used often of the formal accounts which all officers of state

rendered at the εὐθυναί: see Aesch. III. 11, 12, and cf. § 62^b (below), λόγον...λαβεῖν.

6. ὃ τι...ἐκάστῳ: see note on δπερ...δόξης, § 1^b.

8. παραστήσαι: sc. τοὺς θεοὺς (subj.), as in § 1^b.—τοῦτο γνῶναι, *to give that judgment.*

In §§ 9—52 the orator replies to charges which are foreign to the indictment (ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς). We have (1) an introduction in § 9; then (2) he speaks of his private life in §§ 10, 11; then (3) of his public policy in §§ 12—52.

Under (3) we have an introduction (§§ 12—16), and the defence of his policy concerning the Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17—52). The last contains an introduction (§ 17), the narration (§§ 18—49, and the conclusion (§§ 50—52).

§ 9. 1. εἰ...κατηγόρησεν, i.e. *if*

he had confined his accusation (in his speech) *to the charges in his indictment* (γραφῆ): see the same distinction between κατηγορεῖ and κρίνει in § 15^{5,6}.

2. προβουλεύματος: the strict name of a bill which had passed only the Senate, though the less exact ψήφισμα was often applied to it: see § 56¹.

3. εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην, *I should at once proceed* (lit. *be now proceeding*) *to my defence*, etc. Cf. § 34⁴.—οὐκ ἐλάττω, *quite as much* (as in his proper accusation).

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θεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν—οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας
 τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν—οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
 ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά μ' ἑώρα 5
 τὴν πόλιν, οὔσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῶδει
 καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ
 τὰδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράτ-
 τουθ' ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς
 κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρά- 10
 νομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησι-

we may translate οὔτε), we can give the emphatic οὐδ' (2) the force of *still more* (*dazu*, Bl.), and translate, *for to try to take away my right to come before the people and be heard—still more to do this by way of malice and spite—is neither right nor patriotic* (see note on 4) *nor just*. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι is conative (cf. § 207^b). For ἀφαιρεῖσθαι as subject (where we might expect τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, were it not for the following τὸ προσελθεῖν), see Thuc. III. 38, ἀμύνασθαι δὲ, τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, ἀντίπαλον ὃν μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει.—τὸ προσελθεῖν... τυχεῖν here is the right of every accused citizen to be heard before the popular court, which is here called δῆμος, as it is often addressed ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

2. ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει, *by way of* (venting) *malice*: cf. § 63^b, ἐν τῇ... τάξει, and XX. 81, ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει. So III. 31.

3. οὔτε...οὔτε...οὔτε after οὐ: see Eur. frag. 322 (N.), οὐκ ἐστιν οὔτε τειχος οὔτε χρήματα οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή.

4. ὀρθῶς ἔχον: stronger than ὀρθόν.—πολιτικόν, properly *belonging to the state* (see § 246ⁱ), here *due to the state* from a citizen: cf. X. 74, οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς. Such conduct, it is meant, is *not fair to the state*.

In IX. 48, πολιτικῶς refers to the simple old-fashioned Spartan style of warfare.

5. ἐφ' οἷς...ἑώρα: a condensed form for ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἃ ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα.

6. οὔσι τηλικούτοις (=εἰ ἦν τηλικαῦτα), *supposing them to have been so great*. ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει (see note on § 4^b), *set forth in his tragic style* (i.e. *prompously*), referring to the theatrical days of Aeschines, like ὑποκρίνεται, § 15^b. Cf. XIX. 189, ταῦτα τραγῶδει.

8. χρῆσθαι (sc. δίκαιον ἦν, supplied from δίκαιόν ἐστιν in l. 4), *he ought to have employed*.

9. εἰσαγγέλλοντα and γραφόμενον (II) express the manner of χρῆσθαι, and with it make the apodosis to the conditions εἰ...ἑώρα and εἰ...παράνομα (sc. ἑώρα). εἰσαγγέλλαι is *to indict by εἰσαγγελία* (a state prosecution), as γράφομαι is (properly) *to indict by ordinary γραφή*. Notice the distinction between γράφοντα παράνομα, *proposing illegal measures*, and παρανόμων γραφόμενον, *indicting for illegal proposals*. For the double meaning of the passive of γράφω see note on § 56⁴.

11. οὐ γὰρ...ἐγράψατο: οὐ γὰρ δήπου belongs to both clauses, Κτησι- μὲν and ἐμέ δ' κ.τ.λ.: *for it surely*

φῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγ-
 ξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι 14
 τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ'
 ὀτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ
 πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι, καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ
 καὶ μεγάλ' ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν 5
 230 ἅπασιν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ὀπηνικ' ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιη-
 κῶς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με,
 ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' 15
 ἐκ'στὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγῶν τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον
 χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμ-
 φορήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, 5
 κρίνει δὲ τουτονὶ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν

cannot be that he is prosecuting Ctesiphon on my account, and yet would not have indicted me myself if etc. See note on § 179³.

12. δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ': emphatic repetition.

§ 14. 1—3. εἴ τι...ἑώρα: if he ever saw me etc., a simple supposition, to which εἰσὶ νόμοι and ἐξῆν are a natural apodosis; ἐξῆν, he might, implies no unreal condition. Cf. ἐφ' οἷς ἑώρα, § 13⁵.—ὧν...διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, i.e. which he slanderously related: cf. § 13⁶.

3—5. νόμοι...τὰπιτίμια: there is no tautology here. He first mentions laws and their prescribed penalties (τιμωρίαι), which would be used in ἀγῶνες ἀτιμητοί, in which the law fixed the penalties; then processes and (special) suits, in which heavy penalties could be inflicted by vote of the court (ἀγῶνες τιμητοί). ἐπιτίμια, like τιμήματα, are especially penalties which the judges assess (τιμῶσι).

6. ὀπηνικ' ἐφαίνετο is so nearly equivalent to εἴ ποτε ἐφαίνετο (M. T. 528), that if he had ever been seen best translates it. It is often impossible to

express an unreal condition in English by a relative sentence: here whenever he had been seen would not be clear.

7. κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με, to have dealt with me (managed his relations to me).

8. ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν, would have been consistent, the impf. referring to the various occasions of κεχρημένος. If he had brought the proper suits (ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις) against me personally at the time of each offence, his style of accusation (κατηγορία) before the court would have been consistent with his conduct; whereas now κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονὶ (§ 15⁶), this being his present ἔργον.

§ 15. 3. τοσοῦτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις: the Peace of Philocrates was sixteen years old at the time of the trial.

5. ὑποκρίνεται, he plays his part: cf. ἐτραγῶδει in § 13⁶. The word implies not only pomposity but dissimulation.—κατηγορεῖ...κρίνει: see note on § 14⁶.

6. τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅλου προίσταται,

πρὸς ἔμ' ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελῆσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες 16 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιῆσθαι, 5 οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημέν' ὁμοίως ἐκ 17 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα 5 αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. • ἔστι

he puts foremost in (at the head of) his whole suit.

7. οὐδαμοῦ, nowhere, i.e. never: cf. οὐ in § 125¹ with following ἐνταῦθα.—ἐπὶ ταύτην, upon this ground (that of our enmity), keeping the figure of ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοί, having met me—or with a view to this, i.e. to fight it out (West., Weil, Bl.): cf. ἐνταῦθ' ἀπηντηκας: § 125^b.

8. ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελῆσθαι, i.e. to inflict ἀτιμία, which Ctesiphon would incur as a public debtor if he were unable to pay his fine if convicted.

§ 16. 3. δοκεῖ, personal, sc. τις (from 2): we translate *it seems that one might say*, because we must use a finite verb to express ἂν λέγειν (M.T. 754).

5. δίκαιον ἦν, we ought (M.T. 416): here of present time.—τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιῆσθαι, to settle up.

.. ἑτέρῳ ὅτῳ...ζητεῖν, to seek what other man we can harm, ἑτέρῳ standing emphatically before the in-

direct interrogative ὅτῳ: the direct question would be ἑτέρῳ τίνι... δώσομεν;

For the argument of §§ 17—52 on the Peace of Philocrates, with its three divisions, see note before § 9.

§ 17. 1. ὁμοίως with πάντα, all alike.

2. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς, with no regard to truth.

3. εἰρημένα: or. οὐδ. with ἴδοι ἂν.—καθ' ἕνα, singly.—ἐκαστον: obj. of ἐξετάσαι (West.): cf. καθ' ἕνα ἐκαστον ἡνῶν ἀποστερεῖν, XXI. 142.

4. ὑπὲρ (like περί): see note on § 9^b.

6. ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί, putting up with me. Originally Aeschines prided himself on his close connection with Philocrates in making the peace: see 1. 174. τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην. (See § 21^b, and note; and Hist. § 23.)

δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματ' ἀναμνήσαι, ~~ἵνα~~ πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ ^{ἐπιφανέως} συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ 10
 (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν 18
 ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι
 231 σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀρώντες, Θη-
 βαίοις δ' ὀτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως 5
 οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν
 ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελο-

7. καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, *and becoming as well* (as necessary).

9. ἀναμνήσαι: sc. ὑμᾶς, which is added in most mss. Cf. xx. 76, ταῦθ' ὑπομνήσαι πειράσομαι.—πρὸς... καιρὸν, *with reference to its special occasion* (that which belonged to it).

§ 18. 1. Φωκικοῦ πολέμου: the Sacred or Phocian War began in 356—355 and ended in 346 B.C. Demosthenes made his first speech in the Assembly (on the Symmories) in 354 B.C. (Hist. §§ 4, 8.)

2. ἐπολιτευόμην: cf. § 60¹.

3. οὕτω διέκεισθε: when we compare this judicious account of the feelings of the Athenians towards the Phocians and Thebans in 346 B.C. and earlier with the impassioned language of the speech on the Embassy and of the Second and Third Philipics, we see the sobering effect of time and of recent events. When the Thebans were exulting in the devastation of Phocis by Philip, and the political interests of Athens demanded that the Phocians should be protected as allies, Demosthenes seemed to overlook their sacrilegious plundering of Delphi, which he now acknowledges. Again, the intimate alliance of Thebes and Athens in 339 B.C., and still more the destruc-

tion of Thebes by Alexander in 335, had changed the Athenians' bitter hatred to the deepest sympathy. Still the orator cannot deny the old hostility against Thebes, nor the chief ground for it.

5. (ὥστε) ὀτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν: see M.T. 592 and 211. It is often hard to express in English the distinction between the infin. and the finite moods with ὥστε, especially when the infin. has ἂν and must therefore be translated by a finite verb. The thought is, *you were (so) disposed (as) to wish...and to feel that you would be pleased etc.* (M.T. 584). ἐφησθῆναι ἂν has its protasis implied in παθοῦσιν. The position of Φωκέας μὲν (3) and Θηβαίοις δ' shows their strong antithesis.

6. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, *their successes*: sc. τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν (obj. of ἐκέχρηντο). Cf. περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν, § 94².

7. ἐν Λεύκτροις: for the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. see Grote x. ch. 78. See xx. 109, showing the feeling of Demosth. himself in 355: μείζον Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. See note on § 98⁴.—ἔπειθ', after πρῶτον μὲν: see note on § 1⁴.

πόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες
 Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτοὺς,
 οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν 10
 πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τού-
 τοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή.
 ταῦτα δ' ὄρων ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς 19
 παρ' ἐκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας
 συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς
 ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρέ-
 σκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαι- 5
 πωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς
 νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκα-
 σθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ
 τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν
 εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν 20
 σὺνῆγωνίσαστ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς
 ἐκόντας ἐξαπατῶμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων,

8. διειστήκει, *was in dissension (distracted)*.—οἱ μισοῦντες: these were especially the Messenians and Arcadians, with their new cities Messene and Megalopolis, established by Epaminondas, and the Argives.

10. οἱ πρότερον ἄρχοντες are oligarchies which were maintained by Sparta in Peloponnesus before Leuctra, and were overthrown by the later revolutions.

11. ἄκριτος ἔρις καὶ ταραχή, *hopeless strife and confusion*. ἀκριτος is *not admitting of settlement* (κρίσις).

§ 19. 2. προδόταις: for the names of some of these see § 48; a longer black list is given in § 295.

3. συνέκρουε, *brought into collision (knocked together)*: cf. συνέκρουον, 163^b, and ξυγκρούειν, Thuc. 1. 44.—ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι, *in others' blunders*, cf. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, § 18^b, ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε in § 100^b, ἐν οἷς εἰσηγ-

γελλόμεν in § 250¹, ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι in § 258⁴, ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν in § 286^b, ἐν οἷς εὐτύχησεν in § 323^b, ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται in IX. 63.

5. κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο, *he was growing above all their heads*, i.e. so as to threaten them all.

6. τῷ μήκει: cf. δεκέτης γεγονώς, Aesch. III. 148.—βαρεῖς, *overbearing, offensive*.

7. νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς: after 335 B.C. See Schol., and notes on §§ 18^b and 35¹⁰.—ἀναγκασθησόμενοι: in *or. obl.* with the personal φανεροὶ ἦσαν.

8. καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς: no such possibility is suggested by the language of Demosthenes at the time of the peace; but times had changed.

§ 20. 2. ὀλίγου δεῖν, full form of ὀλίγου (M.T. 779), qualifies ἐκόντας ἐξαπατ., *almost willing dupes*: cf. μικροῦ, § 151³.

3. ἢ Ἑλλήνων: the actual subject

εἴτε χρῆ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἶπεῖν, οὐ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων 5 ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως 232 ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρη- 10 θείσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως, αἴτι' εὐρήσει, καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ 21 τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστ' ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ 5 ὑποκριτῆς, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν

appears in the alternative εἴτε...εἴτε. See § 270¹, and XXIII. 156: ἡ ὑμετέρα, ὦ ἄνδρ. Ἀθ., εἴτε χρῆ φιλοανθρωπίαν λέγειν εἴθ' ὅ τι δήποτε.

4. κακίαν, baseness, here in the sense of worthlessness.

5. πόλεμον μακρὸν: the so-called Amphipolitan War with Philip (357—346 B.C.), which ended with the Sacred War. See Hist. § 3.

7. σώμασιν, lives: cf. § 66⁹.

10. συγχωρηθείσα, conceded, acquiesced in: Athens showed no alacrity in making the peace, though she was deceived as to the main point.

11. διέβαλλεν, slanderously declared: see Aesch. III. 57 (end), 60.

13. τῶν νυνὶ...εὐρήσει (sc. τις): the firm foothold in Greece which Philip secured by the peace, especially his influence in the Amphictyonic Council, it is implied, made him at last the victor of Chaeronea.

§ 21. 1. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, from regard for (in the interest of) truth.

2. ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι: see note on § 4⁶.

3. τὰ μάλιστ', even most clearly, with δοκοίη: cf. § 95⁶.

4. οὐδέν...πρὸς ἐμέ, it is no concern of mine: cf. §§ 44⁸, 60³. This may be an emphatic present apodosis, referring to the present condition implied in εἰ...δοκοίη, if it should appear that there is (εἶναι) any fault; or it may be an emphatic future expression, as in Pind. Isth. IV. (V.) 14, πάντ' ἔχεις, εἰ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν, you have the whole, should a share of these glories fall to you.

5. Ἀριστόδημος: a tragic actor of good repute, one of the company in which Aeschines once served (XIX. 246). For his informal mission to Philip in 348—347 B.C. see Hist. § 13.

6. ὁ ἐκδεξάμενος, his successor (he who took the business from him).—γράφας: i.e. moved the peace, which was named from this motion of Philocrates.

μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ
 Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς,
 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες
 οὗτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) 10
 Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς 22
 ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκεν ἀναιδείας
 ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης
 αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν
 μετὰ κοινού συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιή- 5
 σασθαι. ^{λεῖτ' ὦ} τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσ-
 εἶποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν, τηλικαύτην πράξιν
 καὶ συμμαχίαν ἠλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις ὀρῶν ἀφαιρού-
 μενόν με τῆς πόλεως, ἠγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθῶν
 ταῦτα ἂ νῦν κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; 10
 καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν 23
 ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν

9. οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς, *not even if you split*: cf. the common imprecation διαρραγείης (Ar. Av. 2). See note on § 17⁶.

10. οὗτου δήποτε ἕνεκα, *for whatever reason (it may have been)*: δήποτε, like οὐδ', makes ὅστις indefinite. This is as strong language as Demosthenes wishes to use of Eubulus, after his death. See Hist. § 14.

11. οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 15⁷, and ἔστιν ὅπου, § 22⁷. Demosth. is fully justified in this strong denial.

§ 22. 1, 2. ὄντων, δεικνυμένων: adversative (M.T. 842).

4. γεγενῆσθαι, κεκωλυκῶς εἶην: for the perfects see M.T. 103, 109. The whole sentence (3—6) ὡς ἄρ'... ποιήσασθαι refers to the elaborate charge of Aeschines (58—64), that Demosthenes pressed the negotiations for peace with indecent haste and thereby excluded other Greek states from the benefits of the treaty. The

answer in § 23 is perfectly satisfactory. (See Hist. §§ 15, 24.)

5. συνεδρίου: a special meeting of delegates to be summoned by Athens from various Greek states, which never met; not the regular synod of the allies of Athens, which was in session when the peace was made (Aesch. III, 69, 70).

6. ὦ, τί ἂν...προσεῖποι; ἀποσιώπησις followed by a question: for the regular position of ἂν before εἰπὼν, see M.T. 224. Cf. ὦ τί σ' εἶπω; Ar. Nub. 1378.

7. ἔστιν ὅπου: temporal, like οὐδαμοῦ in § 21¹¹.—παρῶν belongs to ὀρῶν...ἠγανάκτησας, ἢ...διεξῆλθες; (as a whole): the meaning is, *were you ever present when you saw me, etc.?*—πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν: the general before the particular. In § 191⁹ the order is reversed.

§ 23. 2, 3. ἐπεπράκειν: even the best mss. of Demosth. give this form

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? γινώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευῶν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρήην με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατὰ^{ἀλλ'} 5 νεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὔτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβῶν, ὃ σαφῶς 10 οὔτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.

2. **προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις** (sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν): these were the ambassadors sent by Philip to negotiate the peace. Foreign embassies first presented themselves to the Senate, which by a decree provided for their introduction to the Assembly: see Aesch. II. 58, ταῖς δὲ ξενικαῖς πρεσβείαις ἢ βουλή τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον προσόδους προβουλεύει. Such a bill was proposed by Demosth. in the Senate before the arrival of the ambassadors, appointing a special meeting of the Assembly to receive them on the eighth of Elaphebolion: afterwards the discussion of the peace was postponed to the eighteenth and nineteenth.

5. **θέαν...κελεῦσαι** (sc. ἐχρήην): *ought I not to have ordered the architect (of the theatre) to assign them seats (as I did)?* θέαν, *place to see*; cf. ἐθεώρουν (7): this would be the προεδρία (Aesch. III. 76). The stone Dionysiac theatre was at this time building under the direction of Lycurgus; and the lessee was called ἀρχιτέκτων, as an important part of his duties was the superintendence of the work of building. See Dörpfeld and Reisch, Griech. Theater, 36—40, where the building of the theatre is assigned to about 350—325 B.C. Aeschines (61, 76) makes this official

politeness of Demosthenes one ground of his grotesque charge of flattering Philip! To this Demosth. alludes in § 294², ὅς γὰρ ἐμοὶ Φιλιππισμὸν, κ.τ.λ. Aesch., however, mentions only the introduction of the envoys to the theatre.

6. **ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν**, *in the two-obol seats*, the threepenny seats of the ordinary citizens. The διωβελία, which was then given from the theoric fund as festival money to every citizen who asked for it, paid the entrance fee to the theatre. It is implied that the distinguished strangers could have been admitted, like other people, to the common seats by merely paying their two obols. With ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν cf. ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, Ar. Vesp. 789 (see Ran. 1068), *in the fish-market*, ἐν τῷ μύρῳ, Eq. 1375.

7. **εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη**, i.e. *had I not proposed my bill.*

8. **τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα**: it is jocosely assumed that Aesch. objected to the higher price which the state probably paid for the front seats, or perhaps to the state paying for the seats at all.—**φυλάττειν, πεπρακέναι**: the change of tense may perhaps be seen in a paraphrase; *was it my duty to watch the petty interests of the state, after I had sold her highest interests like these men?* With ὅλα, *whole, entire*, cf. τῶν ὄλων τι, § 278⁹.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιωνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι 5 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν, μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους 10 λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἠρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κο- 15 θωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30 συμφέρον οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, 5

§ 29. This decree is a good specimen of ignorant forgery. The Archon's name and the date are both wrong; it is called a decree of the Senate and the People, when it was passed by the Senate alone; it provides for the appointment of five envoys when there were ten, and these had been appointed long before; it provides for the oaths to be taken by Athens and her allies, when these had already been taken; and most of the five names of the envoys are wrong.

§ 30. 1. τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον: cf. 28^b, where τὰ συμφέροντα (with the gen.) is a pure substantive.

4. τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας: "sat still in

Macedonia three whole months," is of course a rhetorical exaggeration, which is corrected by Demosth. himself. In XIX. 57 he says ἀπεδημήσαμεν τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους (cf. 158), somewhat less incorrectly; but in 58—60 he gives the exact dates, by which we see that the embassy was absent from Athens only about ten weeks. (See Hist. § 33.)

5. πάντα καταστρεψάμενος: see § 27.—ἐξὸν...ἀφίχθαι...σῶσαι: ἐξὸν represents ἐξῆν, and ἀφίχθαι is a proper perfect (M.T. 109); lit. *it was in our power to have (already) arrived and to save the towns*, i.e. we might have done both of these.

ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρ' εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μείζον κακουργήμα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὠμολόγησε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπιμεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπή ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι

6. ὁμοίως, *quite as well* (as in ten days): the common reading μάλλον would mean *rather*.

9. παρόντων = εἰ παρήμεν, *if we had been there*. For the various past tenses with ἂν, all of which are in 8—10, see M.T. 413: thus τῆς εἰρ. ἂν διημαρτήκει is *he would have failed to secure the peace* (which he had already secured by our absence), and οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρ' εἶχε is *he would not have had both* (as he did have).

§ 31. 1. κλέμμα μὲν: cf. μὴ κλέπτε νόμῳ, II. I. 132. The position of μὲν shows that the seven words before κλέμμα belong to both κλέμμα and δωροδόκημα.

4. πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι: these represent (in *or. obl.*) the past, the present, and the emphatic future indicated by τότε, νῦν, and αἰεὶ (M.T. 32, 119).

§ 32. 2. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας (without τοὺς) is, *because of*

their disobedience, like μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, Thuc. VI. 3, and *post urbem conditam*. This is rare in Greek, where we should expect διὰ τὸ μὴ πεισθῆναι (M.T. 829^b). See § 42^b, with τῶν...μισθωσάντων.

4. ὠνεῖται...ὅπως μὴ ἀπιμεν, *he bribes them (to effect) that we shall not depart* (M.T. 339): ἀπιμεν (as fut., M.T. 29) is more regular after ὠνεῖται than ἀπίωμεν, and has commended itself to nearly all recent editors, though it rests only on a grammarian's authority. (Bekker's Anecd. p. 129⁴.)

5. ἕως...ποιήσαιτο, after the historic present ὠνεῖται. The clause with ἕως has a final force (M.T. 614), the idea being that he bribed them to wait *long enough for him to get his army ready*.

6. ἵνα μὴ...ποιήσαιτο (II): the purpose of ὠνεῖται.

μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὡσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν καὶ κεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτὸν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονὶ, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δὲ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδέν' ἐποιούμην ἕτερον· πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη καμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρ' ἀποκρίνασθαι.

7, 8. ἐξέλθοιθ' refers to the land force.—περιπλεύσαντες ὡσπερ πρότερον refers to the famous expedition in 352 B.C, when Athens stopped Philip at Thermopylae. See IV. 17; XIX. 84, 319; Grote XI. 403—405; and Hist. § 6.

9. κλείσατε τὸν τόπον, i.e. make Thermopylae impassable.

10. ἀπαγγελλόντων: present to ἀκούοιτε, as ἀπαγγειλάντων in 6 is past to ἐξέλθοιτε.

§ 33. 1. οὕτω: antecedent of ὥστε (5).

2. ἀγωνία, conflict (of mind): Vömel refers Hesych. ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἐν μερίμνῃ, to this passage.

3. εἰ πρὸ τοῦ: the older editions with nearly all MSS. omit εἰ and read καὶ ἐκφύγοι in 4, making ψηφίσαισθε depend on μὴ.—πρὸ τοῦ... ἀπολέσθαι, i.e. before he could have

time to lay Phocis waste: cf. XIX. 123.

5. ὥστε μισθοῦται: a clear case of ὥστε requiring the indicative (M.T. 582, 583).

6. οὐκέτι κοινῇ: Aeschines alone was indicted for παραπρεσβεία. See § 41⁸.

8. δι' ὧν here and δι' οὓς in § 35² approach each other very closely, both referring to the same thing.

§ 34. 1, 2. ἀξιῶ, I ask of you (as something ἀξιον); δέομαι, I entreat. See § 6².

4. ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς: he has already (§ 9) justified his discussion of the peace; and he repeats his apology now, chiefly to call special attention to what follows.

4, 5. ἐποιούμην ἂν refers to his present argument (cf. § 9⁸).—ἕτερον, foreign to the subject, like ἀλλότριον: cf. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, § 44⁸.

τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, 35
 καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο ; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι
 τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἰσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται
 γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, εἰ ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν,
 καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς 5
 ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναν-
 τίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητάς ἔφη
 βεβαίον, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὰ ταῦτά
 ὁμοίως ἅπασιν τῆς ἀναληθίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτη- 10
 τος ἀπαλλάττειν τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' 36
 ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν
 ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ

§ 35. 1. οἱ...ῥηθέντες: see the fuller account of this speech in XIX. 20—22. Aeschines said that the Thebans had set a price on his head for his anti-Theban advice to Philip. See Hist. § 34.

3. τῷ παρεληλυθέναι: he begged the people not to be disturbed by news that Philip had already passed Thermopylae.

5, 6. οἷς μὲν, the Phocians; οἷς δὲ, the Thebans.

7. ῥήματα: e.g. the Thebans' title of allies of Philip (cf. § 213²).

8. μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, using very solemn expressions. He often jokes about the σεμνότης of Aesch. See §§ 130, 133, 258, and XIX. 23.

9. συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν: a striking ἀναστροφή.

10. ἀναληθίας, want of feeling, explained by the Schol. as ἀναισθησίας. There can be little doubt that this word, like ἀναίσθητοι in § 43², refers to the dulness and lack of keen perception for which the Thebans were proverbial. See Nep. Epam. 5, 2, namque illi genti plus virium quam ingenii, and Alcib. 11, 3, omnes enim

Boeotii magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini inserviunt; Cic. de Fato IV. 7, Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes; Hor. Epist. II. 1, 244, Boeotum in crasso aere natum. This dulness, and the consequent illiteracy of Thebes compared with Athens, gave rise to the proverb Βοιωτῶν ἔν, Pind. Ol. VI. 90: see the Schol., τὸ ἀρχαῖον δειδός, τοῦτέστι τὴν παλαιὰν διαβολὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμουσίᾳ. Aristotle, Eth. III. 7, 7, says of a man lacking in φόβος, εἴη δ' ἂν τις μαινώμενος ἢ ἀνάληγτος, εἰ μηδὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε κύματα, and in III. II, 7, of those insensible to pleasure, ἐλλείποντες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἡττον ἢ δεῖ χαίροντες οὐ πάνυ γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀναισθησία. Aristotle here means stupidity and slowness, not moral obliquity, by both ἀνάληγτος and ἀναισθησία.—βαρύτητος: cf. § 19⁶.

§ 36. 2. τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν (cf. ὑπεσσι, § 315²): a mild way of speaking of the enmity against Thebes in 346 B.C. See § 18⁸ with note.

ταῦτ' εὐθὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπο-
 λέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' 5
 ? ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν
 ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυ-
 σίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν
 τὴν πρὸς Θεβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι,
 τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. 10
 ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθέ- 37
 νους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ
 ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά.
 λέγε.

238

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

5

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ
 στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, [καὶ] βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτη-
 ριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς
 εἶπε μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρα
 κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν 10
 τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν
 παρέλαβον τάξιν διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀπο-
 κοιτοῦντας. ὅς δ' ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος 38
 ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον
 ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω
 ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ
 ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν 5

4. οὐκ εἰς μακράν (sc. ὁδόν), *not much later, not a long way off*: εἰς of looking forward to an end, as in § 151⁸, εἰς Πυλαίαν.—τοὺς μὲν... ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν (7): eleven days after the report of the second embassy to the Assembly, the alarming news of the surrender of the Phocians at Thermopylae arrived. See Hist. § 36.

7. σκευαγωγεῖν, i.e. *were bringing your goods into the towns*, as ordered by the decree of Callisthenes (§ 37).—

χρυσίον λαβεῖν: in malicious contrast to σκευαγωγεῖν.

8. τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν... Φιλίππῳ: i.e. Athens by her vacillating course got nothing but the ill will of Philip's Greek friends, who believed that she would have protected the Phocians if she had dared to; while Philip had all the credit for ending the Sacred War and punishing the sacrilegious Phocians.

ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστνυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνούντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποι- 10
εἰσθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;

Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος 39
μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν 5 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγχο- 239 χότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἔξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον 10 ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὠμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέσαι ἀδι- 15 κοῦντες.]

Ἄκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους,
ὅτι ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ταῦτ' ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων

§ 38. 11. ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ'; i.e. how does the decree just read to you agree with the report of Aeschines (§ 35)?

§ 39. This letter must be spurious. The genuine letter would have more definite allusions to the dissatisfaction of Athens, to justify what is said of it in § 40. Grote remarks that

Demosthenes would have spoken much more severely of a letter so insolent as this one.

§ 40. 2. πρὸς συμμάχους, with δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται. The letter, though addressed to the Athenians, was really written for Philip's allies.

3. ὅτι before the direct quotation (M.T. 711).

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Ἄλλα γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους οὓς αὐτίκα 42
μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπ' ἀνείμι δὴ πάλιν
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν
νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ 5
Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθω-
σάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγει-
λάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ
ἀνήρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κα- 43
τάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον,
εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ'
ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι
βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγ- 5
μένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως·
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ' Ἕλληνας
ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν
ἤλπισαν, ἤγου τὴν εἰρήνην [ἄσμενοι, καὶ] αὐτοὶ τρό-

after his destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C.; Aeschines was not. See Grote XII. 59—62.

§§ 42—49. After the digression in § 41, the orator here speaks of the disastrous consequences which have come from the peace and from the corruption by which it was made, and of the miserable fate of most of the traitors in Greece who aided Philip in his schemes.

§ 42. 5. ἐπειδὴ here has three pluperfects, while commonly it has the less precise aorist, as in §§ 25¹, 32¹ (M.T. 59). So in Latin *postquam venit* is more common than *postquam venerat*. Both ἐπειδὴ and *postquam* contain the idea of *after that*, which the plpf. only emphasises.

6. διὰ τούτων τῶν.....μισθωσάντων (i.e. οἱ ἐμισθώσαν): contrast διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, § 32², and see note.

§ 43. 2. ἀναίσθητοι: see note on § 35¹⁰.

3. πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν: cf. πάντ' ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, XXXIII. 120; Ἐββοῖα αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν, Thuc. VIII. 95; Demetrius is unus omnia est, Liv. XI. 11.

4. οὐδὲ...βούλοιο (M.T. 462): ἤκουον is strongly frequentative, like ἡγοῦντο (3), and ἄλλο τι is anything opposed to φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα.

5. ὑφορώμενοι, *visiting with suspicion* (ὑπό like *sub* in *suspicio*).

7. οὐ...ἐποιεῖτε: most MSS. (but not Σ) add μόνου. This passage represents the state of mind in which Demosthenes delivered his speech on the Peace (v.) in 346 B.C. See Hist. § 40.

9. [ἄσμενοι, καὶ]: Σ and the newly found Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd cent. A.D.) omit these words.—αὐτοὶ...πολεμούμενοι, *though they themselves in a certain way had been warred*

πον τιν' ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν 44
 Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς
 καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ
 τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες 5
 ἐκείσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες
 ἐφ' ἧσὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκείνος ἐπολεμοῦντο.
 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ.
 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' 45
 ὑμῖν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν,
 τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωρο-
 δοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δ'
 ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ 5

against for a long time: πολεμούμενοι (impf.) is past to ἦγον, which covers the whole time of the peace to 340 B.C. See ἐπολεμοῦντο, § 44⁷.

§ 44. 2. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς: Diodorus (xvi. 69) mentions a victorious inroad of Philip into Illyria in 344 B.C., and Torphyrius Tyr. (Müller, Hist. Gr. iii. p. 691) says of Philip, οὗτος τοὺς περὶ τὴν χώραν ἅπαντας ἐδουλώσατο πολεμίους, μεγάλην κτησάμενος δύναμιν, καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὑποτάξας.

3. Ἑλλήνων: see Grote xi. 612—614, and Hist. §§ 41, 46—49.—δυνάμεις, like our *forces*, but including allies (even without troops): see § 234¹.

4. τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: he counts Aesch. as one of those who took advantage of the peace to visit Macedonia, implying that the process of corruption was still going on. In XIX. 13 he says he first discovered the corruption of Aesch. on the return of the first embassy in the spring of 346 B.C.

8. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, *this is another matter*: cf. ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος, IX. 16: ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος, [XIII.] 7.

§ 45. 1. διεμαρτυρόμην, *protested* (called Gods and men to witness): cf. *obtestor*. See § 199⁶.—παρ' ὑμῖν probably refers to orations VI., VIII. and IX.

2. ὅποι πεμφθείην, *whithersoever I was sent*, referring to the embassies mentioned in § 244 (below) and probably to others. In § 244⁴ we have ὅποι ἐπέμφθην, referring to some of the same embassies as ὅποι πεμφθείην here. But there the leading clause, οὐδαμοῦ... ἀπήλθον, is particular, and its verb is aorist, not imperfect (as here); the relative clause is therefore particular and has the indicative regularly (M.T. 536). If he had said *I always came off superior* in § 244⁴, we should have ὅποι πεμφθείην there: see ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν... κατεστρέφετο, § 244⁹.—ἐνόσουν: Demosth. is especially fond of this figure of a diseased state: see II. 21; IX. 12, 39, 50; XIX. 259 (West.).

3. τῶν... πράττειν (one substantive): cf. § 11^{2,3} and note on § 4⁶.

4. ἐπὶ χρήμασι, *for (with a view to) money*; not *by money*, like ὑπὸ χρημάτων.

5. ἰδιωτῶν: here opposed to τῶν...

τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων,
καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν
οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἦξειν
καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς
σχήσειν ὅταν βούλωνται. εἶτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε 46
τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου
ῥαθυμίας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκεναι, τοῖς δὲ
προέστηκόσι καὶ τ' ἄλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις
πῶλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· 5
ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομάζοντο ἠνίκ'
ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τ' ἄλλ'
ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ἄνδρες 47
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν
χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὦν ἂν πρίηται
κύριος γένηται τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστε- 5
ρον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ
γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατῆς
ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστήῃ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων

πράττειν (3), *private citizens*; generally, any men who are not of a given class, as *not senators*, XIX. 18; cf. *ιατρὸς καὶ ιδιώτης*, Thuc. II. 48.

6. *δελεαζομένων*, *caught*, as by a bait (*δέλεαρ*).

7. *τοιουτονί...πεπονθότων* is explained by *ἐκάστων οἰομένων κ.τ.λ.*—*πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς*, *upon all but themselves*.

9. *τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων*, *others' (not other) dangers*.

§ 46. 2. *τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν*, *the common people* (cf. *τῶν πολλῶν*, § 45⁵) in various states: cf. *τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ* in § 45^{3, 4}.

3, 5. *ἀπολωλέκεναι* (M.T. 109): i.e. the result has been that they *have lost* their liberty; the idea of the perfect in the next clause appears more

naturally in *πεπρακόσιν* (5) than in *αἰσθέσθαι*, *to find out that they have sold themselves first* (M.T. 904). For the case of *πεπρακόσιν* see G. 928¹.

8. *ἀκούουσιν*, *audiunt*, *they hear themselves called*: cf. Hor. Ep. I. 16, 17, *si curas esse quod audis*.

§ 47. 3. *ἐπειδὰν...γένηται*, *after he has become master of what he has bought* (M.T. 90). For the assimilation of *ὦν ἂν πρίηται*, which really conditions *κύριος γένηται*, see M.T. 563.

5. *οὐδὲν...προδότου*, *for (otherwise) nothing would be happier than a traitor*.

6. *πόθεν;...δεῖ*: cf. §§ 52², 140⁹, and *πῶς γάρ*; § 312⁷.

8. *καὶ*, *also*, with *τῶν ἀποδομένων*.

δεσπότης ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε
καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε 48
δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων
καιρὸς ὁ τοῦ γ' εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ
πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης
φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυθον· μέχρι 5
τούτου Τιμόλας, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου
Εὐδικὸς καὶ Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ
Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζο-
242 μένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσ' ἢ οἰκου-
μένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, 10
καὶ τί Πέριλλος ἐν Μεγάρῳ; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι;
ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα 49
φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστ' ἀντιλέ-
γων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι
καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὧν δωροδοκῆσετε

§ 48. 4. **μέχρι τούτου** with *ἕως*, twice repeated. See *πολλά* in § 81^{2, 3}; cf. *οὐχ* in § 250^{10, 11} and 322¹⁻³. Expressions like this show the relative character of *ἕως* and other particles meaning *until*. (M.T. 611, 612.)—**Λασθένης**: Lasthenes and Euthycrates are often mentioned as traitors who betrayed Olynthus to Philip: see Plut. Mor. p. 178 B: τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύθιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαιοὺς ἔφη (sc. Φίλιππος) φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκαφὴν σκαφὴν λέγοντας, i.e. *they called a spade a spade*.

6. **Τιμόλας**: Timolaus was a Theban, who was probably active in causing the surrender of Thebes to Philip after Chaeronea. Theopompus calls him the greatest voluptuary who was ever engaged in state affairs. See § 295¹⁵.

7. **Σίμος**: Simus belonged to the

Thessalian house of the Aleuadae at Larissa, who called in Philip against the tyrants of Pherae in 352 B.C. See Hist. § 5. Eudicus is not otherwise known.

9. **τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων**; = οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐχὶ (i.e. πάντα κακὰ) πασχόντων.—**πᾶσ' ἢ οἰκουμένη** is properly *the whole habitable world*, i.e. *the Greek world*; as in Ev. Luc. ii. 1 it is *the whole Roman world*. But here it is merely a loose expression with no special limit. We should say, "all the world is full of these wretches."

10. **Ἀρίστρατος**, a tyrant of Sicyon.

11. **Πέριλλος**, of Megara: see XIX. 295. Perillus and Aristratus are in the "black-list" of Cor. § 295. For Philip's intrigues in Megara see Grote XI. 613, 621.

§ 49. 4. **τὸ ἔχειν... περιποιεῖ**, *secures for you your opportunities for being bribed* (the wherewithal to be bribed).

περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς 5
ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε
σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἀν
ἀπωλώλεις.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50
πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν
εἰρῆσθαι. αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά
μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ [καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων]
κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους 5
τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δ'
ἴσως οἷκαὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν, εἰδότες τὴν τούτου
τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν 51
ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων, ὅ τὴν Ἄλεξάν-
δρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί. ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν

6. ἐστε σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, i.e. you survive to be venal.

7. διὰ...αὐτοὺς, if you were left to yourselves (M.T. 472). The orator surprises his audience by this original reason why the Athenian traitors have been saved from the fate of traitors in other states, i.e. the honest citizens thwart their schemes and thus save them from the ruin of success. This brilliant attack is followed up sharply in what follows.

§§ 50—52: the peroration to the argument on the Peace of Philocrates.

✓ § 50. 1. τῶν τότε πραχθέντων, i.e. the transactions concerning the peace. This suggestion that he will drop the subject makes this sudden recurrence to the charge of venality all the more effective.

3. αἴτιος, i.e. of my speaking πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν.—ὥσπερ, as it were (M.T. 867), with ἐωλοκρασίαν, not with κατασκεδάσας.—ἐωλοκρασίαν, a mixture of stale dregs, lit. a mixture of the refuse (esp. heel-taps) of last night's feast (ἔωλα, hesternā). This burst of indignation refers especially

to the audacity of Aeschines (III. 60) in charging Demosthenes with the same coöperation with Philocrates in making the peace which he had once claimed for himself as a merit (I. 174). See § 17^b (above). Demosthenes calls this treatment "deluging me with the stale refuse of his own villainy."

4. [καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων] is in all MSS., but is omitted in many ancient quotations of the passage.

5. νεωτέρους: the youngest judges present might have been only fourteen years old in 346 B.C.

6. ἀπολύσασθαι, to clear myself of: see Thuc. VIII. 87, ἀπολύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαβολάς.—παρηνώχλησθε: addressed to the older judges (cf. ἐνοχλεῖ, § 4^b).

§ 51. 1. φιλίαν, ξενίαν, properly friendship and guest-friendship, here seem to be used with little thought of the distinction. Cf. ξενίαν Ἄλεξάνδρου (3) and οὐτέ Φιλ. ξένον οὐτέ Ἄλεξ. φίλον (below).

2. εἶπε λέγων: cf. εἶπε φωνῶν, Aeschyl. Ag. 205, "spoke, saying."

3. ὀνειδίζων: Aesch. had said (66),

Ἀλεξάνδρου ; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ τῶς ἀξιοθέντι ; οὔτε
 Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἵποισ' ἂν 5
 ἐγώ σε, (οὐχ οὔτω μαίνομαι,) εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας, φίλους καὶ
 ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι 52
 ταῦτα· πόθεν ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν
 ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καλῶ, καὶ οὔτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον
 αὐτούς· μάλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. 5
 243 πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς
 Αἰσχίνης, ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου ; ἀκούεις ἂ
 λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς 53
 ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῶ,
 ἵνα, καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὄμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι

ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν
 Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4. πόθεν...ἀξιοθέντι ; with dra-
 matic energy for πόθεν ἔλαβες ἢ πῶς
 ἠξιώθης ; cf. § 128⁸.

6. θεριστὰς, *reapers*, properly *ex-
 tra farm-hands*, called in at the
 harvest.

§ 52. 4. οὔτοι πάντες probably
 included both court and audience.

6. μισθωτὸς : most MSS. (Σ only
 by correction) read μίσθωτος, follow-
 ing the absurd story of Ulpian (see
 Schol.), that Demosth. pronounced
 this word μίσθωτος to make the judges
 correct his accent by shouting out the

very word μισθωτὸς which he wanted
 to hear. It is much more likely—
 indeed, it is certain—that he saw by
 the faces of his hearers that it was
 safe for him to put this question
 boldly ; and he was probably greeted
 by an overwhelming shout of μισθωτὸς,
 μισθωτὸς, from both court and au-
 dience. The judges, more than four-
 fifths of whom voted in a few hours
 to acquit Ctesiphon and to condemn
 Aeschines to a fine and ἀτιμία, were
 by this time ready to respond to such
 a sudden appeal, after listening to
 this most conclusive argument with
 its brilliant close.

§§ 53—125. Having finished his
 reply to the charges foreign to the
 indictment, he now proceeds to the
 indictment itself. We have (1) an
 introduction (§§ 53—59), (2) a dis-
 cussion of his public life (§§ 60—109),
 (3) a reply to the charge that the

orator was ὑπεύθυνος when it was pro-
 posed to crown him (§§ 110—119),
 (4) a defence of the proposal to crown
 him in the theatre (§§ 120, 121), and
 (5) a conclusion (§§ 122—125).

§§ 53—59. Introduction, includ-
 ing the reading of the indictment.

καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων, καὶ πολλῶ μείζονων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν, δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. 5
καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ 5
στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον 10
τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ γράψας καὶ 55
παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῶ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν 5
244 τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἡ βουλή στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, εἰ μὲν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα.

§ 53. 4. τῶν προβεβουλευμένων (pass.), strictly accurate for *the provisions of the προβούλευμα* of Ctesiphon, which had passed only the Senate. The corresponding phrase for the items of a ψήφισμα would be τῶν ἐψηφισμένων. Cf. τῶν γεγραμμένων, § 56⁴.

5. δίκαιος εἶναι, *that I deserve*: personal use of δίκαιος (M.T. 762).

§§ 54, 55. This spurious document once passed for the "single undoubtedly genuine Athenian indictment." Chaerondas was archon in

338—337 B.C.; but the indictment was brought in the spring of 336. The γραφὴ παρανόμων came before the θεσμοθέται, not before the Chief Archon.

The expression τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, § 54⁸, *on the day of the new tragedians*, i.e. when new tragedies were performed, is confirmed by τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, Aesch. III. 45. In § 55⁶ τραγωδῶν τῇ καινῇ is probably corrupt.

See note on the spurious προβούλευμα of Ctesiphon in § 118.

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ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα ἐπειδὰν τὰς 58
 εὐθύνας δῶ, στεφανοῦν καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
 τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
 τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ' ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ
 στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις, εἴτε 5
 καὶ μή· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί
 μοι δοκεῖ καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.
 οὕτωςι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς
 τὴν ἀπολογία ἐγνώκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ'
 αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ 59
 ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς
 πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ
 245 ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με,
 καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν 5
 ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων
 λόγους, οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς.
 εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας,

§ 58. 1. τὸ...κελεῦσαι (3), *the bidding me* (in his decree) *to be crowned...and the crown to be proclaimed in the theatre* (στεφανοῦν and ἀνειπεῖν in the usual active form): this clause is repeated in τοῦτο (4) as subject of κοινωνεῖν.—μὴ προσγράψαντα...δῶ: Aesch. makes it a special act of shamelessness in Ctesiphon (see II, 12) to omit this saving clause. It was frequently added in such decrees: see C. Att. II. no. 114 (343 B.C.), στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ. This proviso, according to Aesch. (12), did not make the decree legal, though it showed a sense of shame in the mover.

3. κοινωνεῖν... πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ'...καὶ μή (6), lit. *I think this too is concerned with my public acts, (namely with the question) whether I deserve the crown etc. or not.* The loose relation of εἴτ' ἄξιός εἰμι κ.τ.λ.

to τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, which it explains, is permissible after the full form in § 57¹⁻⁵; without this it would be obscure.

5. ἐν τούτοις: i.e. *before the people* (in the theatre).

6. τοὺς νόμους: the arguments are given in §§ 110—121.—δεικτέον εἶναι = δεικνύναι δεῖν.

9. βαδιοῦμαι, *I will proceed* (cf. 4⁷).

§ 59. 2. Ἑλληνικὰς...λόγους, i.e. *a discussion of our foreign policy*, i.e. our relations to other Greek states. See note on οἰκείων, Ἑλληνικῶν, and ξενικῶν, § 311^b. Demosthenes selected foreign affairs as his special department: see § 62^b.

3. τοῦ ψηφίσματος, depending on τὸ λέγειν...με, i.e. *the clause declaring etc.*

5. γεγραμμένος (middle): see note on § 56⁴.

8. προαιρέσεων τῆς πολιτείας,

τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε
καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιείσθαι. 10

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγο- 60
ρεῖν ἐμὲ, προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, εἰάσω·
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ'
ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη,
ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω ^{πειράξω} λόγον, τοσοῦτον 5
ὑπειπών. ^{ἀδυσπότη} πλεονέκτημά, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγ' ὑπ-
ἤρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν, 61
ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδό-
κων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι
τοσαύτην, ὅσῃν οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γε-
γονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβῶν 5
καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς

departments of the government (open to choice).

§§ 60—109. In this general defence of his public policy, (1) he defends his fixed principle of opposition to Philip's aggressions (§§ 60—72); (2) he speaks of the events which immediately preceded the outbreak of war with Philip in 340 B.C. (§§ 73—101), avoiding all mention of the later Amphissan war and the other events which led to the battle of Chaeronea; (3) he defends his trierarchic law (§§ 102—109).

§ 60. 1. πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι: the public life of Demosth. properly began with his speech on the Symmories in 354 B.C. (Hist. § 8); but his responsibility for the foreign policy of Athens began after the peace of 346 (§ 18²). Still, his fixed policy of opposing Philip, though unsuccessful at first, goes back at least to the First Philippic in 351; and he is here (§§ 60—72) defending his public life as a whole, seldom mentioning his special acts. He reserves these for a

later part of his argument (§§ 79—94, and after § 159).

2. προὔλαβε and κατέσχε combined have the idea of *securing by being beforehand*.

4. καὶ διεκωλύθη: see note on καὶ in § 57⁷. καὶ expresses parallelism with προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε, and strengthens the antithesis between what Philip *did* before Dem. appeared and what he was *prevented from doing* afterwards. ἃ διεκωλύθη represents an active form ἃ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσα: no infinitive is understood.

5. τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών, *after promising the following*. Demosth. has no preference for the forms in -δε (e.g. τοσόνδε) in referring to what is to follow.

6. ὑπήρξε: cf. ὑπάρξαι μοι, § 1³.

§ 61. 2. φορὰν, *a crop*: see the list of this crop of traitors in § 295. For φορά, *rush*, see note on § 271⁶.

6. καὶ πρότερον... ἔχοντας = οἱ καὶ πρότερον κακῶς εἶχον, *imprf. partic.* Cf. νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς, IX. 50, and κακῶς διεκείμεθα, IX. 28. See §§ 45—49.

ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς
 μὲν ἔξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς. τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον
 διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, ἐνὸς τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν 10
 γίνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ κατὰστασει καὶ ἔτ' ἀγνοία 62
 τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων
 Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 τί προσήκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν
 πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. ὁ γὰρ 5
 ἐνταῦθ' ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἴμ' ἐγώ. πότε- 63
 246 ρον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τὸ φρόνημ' ἀφείσαν καὶ
 τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων
 τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἀναι- 5

9. διέστησεν...πολλὰ: cf. [X.] 52, γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς. (Bl.)

10. κωλύειν: in apposition with ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος. An appositive infinitive generally has the article in the fully developed language.

§ 62. 1. ἔτ' ἀγνοία (sc. ἐν)... ὄντων = ἔτ' ἀγνοούντων, ἔτ' belonging in sense to ἀγνοία. Vömel: *quum adhuc ignorarent* etc.

2. συνισταμένου: cf. VI. 35, ἕως... συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα.

4. πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν: see § 4⁶. When these words do not have their proper distinction of *do* and *make*, they sometimes have no apparent distinction: see § 246^{5, 11}, and IV. 5, οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν.

6. ἐνταῦθ'...τῆς πολιτείας: partitive. Cf. § 59⁸.

§ 63. 1. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν... ἀναιρεῖν; *should she...have helped Philip to gain his dominion over the Greeks, and (so) have set at naught the glorious and just deeds of our*

ancestors? Here, and in μὴ ποιεῖν and περιδεῖν (also depending on ἐχρῆν), in προσῆκε ποιεῖν and ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν in § 66^{2, 4}, in ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν in § 69⁶, and φανῆναι ἐχρῆν in § 71¹⁰⁻¹², we have simply the ordinary use of the infinitive depending on a past verb expressing *duty* or *propriety*, with none of the idiomatic force by which (for example) ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν often means *you ought to have gone (but did not go)*. These expressions are all repetitions or enlargements of τί προσῆκον ἦν in § 62⁴, which obviously asks only *what was it right for Athens to do?* with no implied idea that she did or did not do the right thing. So in § 63¹ the question is simply *was it her duty to help Philip* etc.?

2. τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, *her spirit and her dignity*.

3. ἐν...τάξει implies a descent to their level and serving in their ranks. The Thessalians helped Philip in the Amphissian war; the Dolopians are probably mentioned only to disparage the Thessalians further.

ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβου-
λεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ;

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, ἐ-
προσῆκε ποιεῖν, ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ὀρώσαν ἐαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον ; ἢ τί
247 τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθηναίων
(καὶ γὰρ τσῦτο πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνήδειν μὲν 5
ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς
καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ
χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας
καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 1
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν 6
τὸν Φίλιππον (πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν) ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς
καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν

See Arist. Pol. vi. (iv.) 8, 3, ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινούσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

10. ἀπάντων: partitive with ἐνδοξότατα, in the most glorious way possible. So εὐφημότατ' ἀνθρώπων in XIX. 50, ἀναισχυντότατ' ἀνθρώπων in XXVII. 18, δικαιοτάτ' ἀνθρώπων in XXIX. 28.

§ 66. 1. ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι, I return to my question, i.e. after the digression in § 65.

2. προσῆκε ποιεῖν: see note on § 63¹.

5. ὃς συνήδειν: the antecedent, τὸν σύμβουλον, refers to the speaker, and most mss. (not Σ and L¹) insert ἐμέ after Ἀθηναίων.

6. ἐκ...χρόνου: see § 203⁸.—ἀφ' ἧς, when (on which), strictly beginning with which, counting from which (as a date).

8. ἀγωνιζομένην: or. obl. aft. συνήδειν, like ἀνηλωκυῖαν (9); cf. for participles after ἑώρων, § 67¹.

9. χρήματα καὶ σώματα, money and lives. With the lordly boast this passage compare the allusion Salamis in § 238.—φιλοτιμίας, love of honour; properly love of honour, but often used like τιμή.

§ 67. 1. ἑώρων continues the construction of ὃς συνήδειν (§ 66⁵).

2. ὑπὲρ...δυναστείας, contrast with ὑπὲρ...συμφερόντων in § 66. δυναστεία is properly a government of force, not based on the popular will; see § 270⁵. Cf. Arist. Pol. (iv.) 5, 2. But Demosth. uses δυναστείας in § 322⁷ of the power of Athens. It is generally, however, an odious term.

3. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, he had his eye knocked out, passive of the active form ἐκκόπτει τις αὐτῷ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, retaining the accus. of the thing. The following κατεαγόθα is passive in sense, and has the same construction. Cf. ἀποτμηθέντες τ

κλείν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος 5 παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐδεὶς 68 ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, (χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γ' ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ,) τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν 5 ἐμβαλέσθαι. ὑμῖν δ' οὐσιν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι, τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐβελοντὰς παραχωρήσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν 10 εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον 69 ἅμα, πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν, ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς

κεφαλᾶς, Xen. An. II. 6, 1, representing ἀπέτεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς κεφαλᾶς (G. 1239, with examples).

6. προϊέμενον, i.e. *always ready to sacrifice*, followed by ὃ τι βουλευθείη.

§ 68. 2. τολμήσαι (so Σ and L): the form in -ειε is far more common in Demosthenes and in other Attic prose.—ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι: cf. Hegesippus [Dem. VII.] 7, πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὀρμώμενον, with the same sarcasm. Pella was a small place until Philip enlarged and adorned it. See Strab. VII. fr. 23: τὴν Πέλλαν οὖσαν μικρὰν πρότερον Φίλιππος εἰς μῆκος ἠὔξησε τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ.

4. μεγαλοψυχίαν, *lofty aspirations*. Aristotle (Eth. IV. 3, 3) says of the μεγαλόψυχος, the *great-souled*, or *high-minded man*, δοκεῖ εἶναι ὁ μεγάλων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιῶν ἀξίος ὢν. Cf. μικροψυχίας, § 279^b.

5. εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι: cf. our phrase *take it into his head*.

7. ἐν πᾶσι...θεωρήμασι, i.e. *in all*

that you hear and see: θεώρημα is very rare for θέαμα.

8. ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι, *beholding memorials*; ὀρώσι by a slight zeugma including λόγοις: cf. Aeschyl. Prom. 21 οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν ὄψει.

9. κακίαν: see note on § 20⁴.—ὑπάρξαι, like ἐγγενέσθαι (4), depends on προσῆκεν.—αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐβελοντὰς, *as self-offered volunteers*: cf. § 99¹.

10. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς: see M.T. 219: οὐδ' εἰς (separated) = *ne unus quidem, not a man*.

§ 69. 1. ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα: cf. ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα, § 9^b.

2. ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν: in strong antithesis to ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.

3. ἐξ ἀρχῆς: this refers strictly only to the time of his own leadership (καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμενῳ χρόνῳ). But he modestly and speciously appears to represent his own vigorous policy as a continuation of earlier energy. Yet

εἰκότως καὶ προσήκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συ
 248 λευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν ~~χρόνους~~.
 λογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γὰρ σ' ἐ
 πάντα τ' ἄλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτείδαιαν
 Ἀλόνησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρρην
 καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν κ
 ἄλλ' ἢ πόλις ἠδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα.
 σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ^{ἐναντίον} ἐχθραν ἐμ
 τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφώντος καὶ Δ
 θους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ
 ὧ λέγων εὐχερώς ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν
 τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὅ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφει

when Philip was capturing Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, Athens was supinely inactive; but Demosthenes was not yet a responsible adviser. In §§ 18 and 60 he expressly disclaims all responsibility for these earlier times

6. τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; see § 63¹. — ἤδη σ' ἐρωτῶ: the third time of asking.

7. ἀφείς, *leaving out of account*: for Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, see Hist. § 3; for Halonnesus, Hist. §§ 44, 45, 53.

§ 70. 1. For Serrhium and Doriscus see note on § 27⁶. For the sacking of Peperethus (in 341—340 B.C.) see Hist. § 53. ταύτην ἐπόρθησεν Ἀλκιμος ναύαρχος τοῦ Φιλίππου, Schol. The people of Peperethus, an ally of Athens, had taken Halonnesus from Philip and captured his garrison.

3. οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα: cf. XXI. 78, τοῦτον οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν εἰδώς, *not being aware even of his existence*.

4. σύ γ' ἔφησθα: see Aesch. III. 82, ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ παραχῆς. — ταῦτα λέγοντα, i.e. *by everlastingly talking about these*.

5. Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφώντος: in replying to Aeschines (as just

quoted) he is glad to be to decrees of his politic while there were none Eubulus, though he was of the peace party and all to Philip, might have decrees directing negoti Philip about the towns Philip or the later affair thus; and he might have one remonstrating against of Athenian ships (§ spurious one in §§ 73,

7. οὐδὲ... ἐρῶ: the thing (cf. §§ 59⁷, 70⁸), in which impressively stated by d it shall not be mentioned

71. 1. ἐκείνος: this allowed the demonstration other qualifying word article: cf. ἡ στενὴ αὐτ An. IV. 2, 6. But even regular order may be kept ζόμενος (from σφέτερος) ing, making his own, of unjust appropriation: σφετερίσασθαι, and Aesch. 39, λέκτρων σφετεριζάμε The verb *spheterize* has English by Sir William larger edition.

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ὡς περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἢ
 πεισθεῖσ' ἐμοὶ, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάνθ' ἃ πέπρακται 5
 οὐκ ἀμαρτήματ' ἐμά. εἰ δ' ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν
 εἶναι, τίν' ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκεν
 γίνεσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμενῃ ἐγὼ, καὶ ὁρῶν
 καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνου ἡναν-
 ούμεν, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι 10
 ἐτέλουν.

Καὶ μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα τῶν
 ἐπιβῶν, οὐκ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ.

Φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων
 οὐδὲ τίς τίνος αἰτιός ἐστι γενήσεται φανερόν. 5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλη-
 σιασ συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κό-
 κκιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Αεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' 10
 αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παρα-

στήν.—περιείργασμαι, *I have
 useless (superfluous) work:*
 καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως παρήνευσα
 καὶ ἡ πόλις ἢ πεισθεῖσα μάτην
 (Schol.).

ἔστω... ἐμά: ἀδικήματα καὶ ἀμαρ-
 τήματα ἐμά is predicate to ἔστω. See
 § 273, *crime*, and ἀμαρτήματα, blun-
 deringly distinguished in § 274.

μὴ προῖεσθαι, *not to make sur-
 render (not to give up your own)*,
 absolute, as in Arist. Eth. III.
 τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ
 προσμένω δ' οὐκέτι, i.e. *after he
 sacrificed his health.*

1. καὶ μὲν... λαβῶν: this
 is a list of merchant ships, of which
 there was no other knowledge, was
 the first act which Athens made the
 result of her declaration of war. It

perhaps hastened this declaration by
 a few weeks; but after the letter to
 Philip (§ 76), which was practically
 a declaration of war on his part, only
 one course was open to Athens.

3. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν: this was
 a detailed statement of Philip's grie-
 vances, with a defence of his own
 conduct toward Athens, ending with
 a formal declaration of war. The
 document numbered XII. among the
 orations of Demosthenes purports to
 be this letter. See Hist. § 55.

5. τίς τίνος: such double inte-
 rogatives are common in Greek, but
 colloquial or comic in English, as
who's who? An increase of the number
 becomes comic in Greek; as in
 IV. 36, τίς χορηγός... τότε καὶ παρὰ τὴν
 καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

πομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἢ βουλή συναχθῆ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, 15 οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ 74 ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι 5 ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέ- 10 τερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, 75 οὐκ ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων λέγε. 5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς 10 καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἶλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανείᾳ φυλῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.] 15

§ 75. 4. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων: this with § 76² is a positive denial of the statement of Aeschines (II. 55) that the decree declaring war was proposed by Demosthenes: Hist. § 55, notes 4, 5. Though Demos-

thenes was constantly proposing decrees at this time, he cannot have proposed the one which formally declared war or any on the matters mentioned in § 70 or about the seizure of ships (i.e. περὶ τούτων).

Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, 7
 οὕτω καὶ σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας
 ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν
 ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ
 παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται 5
 ἔμ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ^{κελευσ} ἐγκαλῶν. λέγε δ'
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ 7
 251 τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν
 πρεσβευταὶ, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος,
 διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐγναίρχει
 Λεωδάμας. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ~~τῶν~~ ^{ἐν} μεγάλη 5
 εὐνηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἰ οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ~~ἐξ~~ ^{ἐξ} ἀπεστάλη
 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυ-
 βριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριει-
 λημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ ^{κειμέναις} ἡμῖν 1
 συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ~~ναυάρχῳ~~ ^{ναυάρχῳ} ἄνευ μὲν 7
 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τισιν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέ-
 ρων ιδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων
 τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν
 πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο 5
 συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμ-
 βάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι
 μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί.
 διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν,
 καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, εἴαν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστη- 1
 κόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειρά-
 σομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 7
 αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κάτ' ἐμοῦ. τίποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις

ἐγκαλῶν, τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι
 τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ
 2 ἐμοῦ γ' ἔγραφεν· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τού- 5
 τοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελο-
 πόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν,
 ἠνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν ἔξοδον,
 οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ 10
 τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστη-
 σεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας 80
 ἀπέστειλα, ~~καὶ οὗς~~ Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ τὸ Βυ-
 ζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν
 τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαὶ, στέφανοι, χάριτες
 παρὰ τῶν εὐπεπονησάντων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικου- 5
 μένων, τρῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἢ σωτηρία
 περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν
 ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνησθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ

§ 79. 3. ὅτι...τῶν αὐτοῦ: this implies that Philip could not speak of any recent case in which Demosthenes had opposed him, without alluding to some disgraceful act of his own.

4. εἴ.....γ' ἔγραφεν: this absolutely certain but long neglected correction of Droysen (1839), hardly an innovation, is now generally adopted for the impossible γέγραφεν (Σ) or ἔγραφε of the MSS.

5. εἰχόμην, *clung to, followed up closely.*

6. εἰς Πελοπόννησον: probably the embassy of 344, on which Demosthenes made the speech quoted in the second Philippic, 20—25.

8. παρεδύετο, *was working his way, stealing in.*—τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν (sc. πρεσβείαν): in 343—342 B.C. (§ 71).

9. τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν...Ἐρέτριαν: the two military expeditions to Euboea

in 341 B.C., by which the tyrannies in Oreus and Eretria were suppressed. See Hist. § 52.

§ 80. 1. ἀποστόλους: the orators use ἀπόστολος, properly a *messenger* (N. Test. *apostle*), and στόλος for a *naval armament*: cf. οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ, οὔτε πεζῇ κ.τ.λ., VI. 36.

2. ἀπέστειλα: properly used with ἀποστόλους, *I sent out* (by my decrees): cf. πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, § 79⁷.—Χερρόνησος...σύμμαχοι: see §§ 87—89, 240, 241.

4. ἔπαινοι...χάριτες: the decrees conferring these grateful rewards on Athens were read after § 89.

7. τοῖς δ' ὀλιγορήσασι: this refers to the Peloponnesians who neglected the advice of Demosthenes in 344 B.C. (§ 79⁶) and later (IX. 27, 34), and to the early refusal of Oreus and Eretria to listen to Athens (IX. 57, 66, 68).

μόνον εὔνοιας ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώ-
 πους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ 10
 προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε 81
 Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος
 ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος
 ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ, καὶ περὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, μηδ' ἅ ποιῶν ἠδίκηι 5
 μηδέν' ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων
 ἠκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ 82
 Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ
 σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξεναι αὐτῶν·
 οὐς ἢ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε
 συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασεν, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. 5
 οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδὲν, ὧ βλασφημῶν περὶ
 253 ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβῶν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώ-
 σας. ἀλλ' οὐ σὺ, ἀλλὰ βοᾶς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ
 οὐδέποτ' εἰ μὴ σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες

§ 81. 4. ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, i.e. *that he might have these* (the two towns under the two tyrants) *to depend on*, i.e. as ἐπιτειχίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν (§ 71).

5. μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι (sc. subj. αὐτόν): cf. the active constr. in Plat. Ar. 23 A, ἅ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω.

6. πανταχοῦ, *anywhere*: cf. πάντων, § 5⁴.—πάντων ἠκιστα σύ: a sudden outburst of personality.

§ 82. 2. ἀφικνούμενοι...κατέλυον: the tenses imply that such envoys of the tyrants were regular guests of Aeschines.

3. κατέλυον: *lodged* (as we say *put up*), lit. *let down*, originally *unharnessed*; cf. Od. IV. 28, καταλύσομεν ὠκέας ἵππους.—προὔξεναι αὐτῶν, *you were their πρόξενος*: this might be metaphorical; but there is good reason for thinking that Aeschines was the official representative at Athens of Oreus, if not of Eretria.

5. ἀπήλασεν, *rejected* (i.e. their proposals).

6. οὐ τοίνυν...οὐδὲν: i.e. *nothing of the kind was ever successful with me*, referring to πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε κ.τ.λ. in § 81¹.

7. ὡς σιωπῶ...ἀναλώσας: quoted from memory from the speech of Aesch. (218), σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβῶν μετ' ἐσελίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας.

8. βοᾶς ἔχων, *you keep on shouting*; cf. Ar. Nub. 509, τί κυπτάσεις ἔχων (M.T. 837). The Scholia understand χρήματα with ἔχων (as with λαβῶν); there may be a double meaning in ἔχων.—παύσει...παύσωσιν, *you will not stop unless these judges stop you*.

9. ἀτιμώσαντες, i.e. by not giving you a fifth of their votes, the result of which would be the partial ἀτιμία of losing the right to bring a similar suit hereafter, with a fine of 1000 drachmas. This was actually the result of this trial.

τῆμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἔμ' ἐπὶ τού- 83
 τοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς
 συλλαβὰς ἄσπερ οὕτως ἐκ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφεν,
 καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου,—καὶ
 δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου,— 5
 οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρῶν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντ' ἐγρά-
 ψατο. καὶ μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη 84
 ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος
 Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παια-
 νιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ 5
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ
 τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ
 εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ
 τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδύχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη 10
 ναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ
 στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι τὸν στέφανον
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγο-
 ρεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν
 254 φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.] 15

§ 83. 2. γράψαντος...γέγραφεν: i.e. the two decrees were essentially identical in form. In § 223¹ he says of a later decree, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτὰ ῥήματα ἔχει. Even this does not include such details as dates, names, etc.

4. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: this anticipates the argument on the place of proclamation (§§ 120, 121), and gives a precedent for Ctesiphon's proposal.

5. δευτέρου...τούτου γιγνομένου: τούτου is here ambiguous, but it pro-

bably refers to the crown proposed by Aristonicus, the clause δευτέρου... γιγνομένου meaning that one crown had been given to Demosthenes in the theatre before that of Aristonicus. γιγνομένου is imperfect and we might have had δεύτερον κήρυγμα ἤδη μοι τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο, the imperf. implying that he was then receiving the distinction for the second time.

6. παρῶν, though present.—ἐγράψατο: sc. παρανόμων.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ 85
 πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ χλευα-
 σμὸν ἢ γελῶτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι ἂν ἐγὼ
 στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἡ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι
 τὰ πράγματα, εἴαν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, 5
 εἴαν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ
 χάριτος τετυχηκῶς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμω-
 ρίας.

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς 86
 ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντ' ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα
 πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε λέγων
 καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ
 στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν 5
 γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς
 ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' 87
 ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη,—τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις, ἢ τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
 τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ'

§ 85. 2. συμβᾶσαν = ὅτι συνέβη:
 cf. φαίνομαι τετυχηκῶς (6).

3. ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι: see Aesch.
 231, ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀνθρώπον στε-
 φανῶτε, οὐκ ἀεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι;

6. ὡς ἑτέρως, *otherwise, in the other way* (opposed to καλῶς), used to avoid κακῶς. This is the adverb of τὸ ἕτερον, as ὡσαύτως (ὡς αὐτως) of τὸ αὐτό, and ὡς ἀληθῶς of τὸ ἀληθές. See XXII. 12, ἀγαθὰ ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω φλαῦρον, which shows the euphemistic character of ὡς ἑτέρως here.

§ 86. 2. πάντ'...πράττειν, *that I did everything that was best*. It is difficult to choose even the most probable reading here. Both πάντας (Σ) and πάντας τοὺς χρόνους (Vulg.) are objectionable, and we seem com-

elled to decide between the conjec-
 tures πάντ' and πάντως. πράττειν is
 imperfect (for ἔπραττον). On the
 contrary, νικᾶν, καταπραχθῆναι, and
 γενέσθαι are distinguished only like
 ordinary present and aorist infinitives
 (M.T. 87, 96).

4. τὰ γραφέντα = ἃ ἔγραψα: see
 note on § 56⁴.

5. καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν repeats the
 idea of τῇ πόλει.

6. προσόδους, *processions*: cf. §
 216¹⁷.

§ 87. 2. τοῖς μὲν ὄπλοις, *I mean, by arms*, added, as if by afterthought, to limit ὑφ' ὑμῶν, as πολιτεία and ψηφίσμασι limit ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. The interruption is colloquial and designedly spontaneous. See note on § 121⁷, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.

3. κἂν διαρραγῶσι: see § 21⁹.

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κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἡμέρας
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ
δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῆ
πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς
ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ
μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ
λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε
ἐνστάς πόλεμος (ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν) ἐν
πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέ-
ροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς
πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις
ἐλπίζουν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ
τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ

8, 9. λέγων...διδούς: these partic-
iples are imperfect, and so con-
trasted with the preceding βοηθήσας
etc. Few venture to accept δούς for
διδούς, though it is supported by Σ
and L. Vömel says: "Ne^c puto De-
mosthenis aures tolerasse continuatas
syllabas—δῶς δούς. Sed in talibus
nihil affirmarim."

§ 89. 2. ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, in the
familiar antithesis to ἔργῳ.

3. ὁ ἐνστάς, which broke out (ὅς
ἐνέστη): cf. ἐνειστήκει, was upon us,
§ 139⁷.

4. ἄνευ, besides (without reckon-
ing): cf. [XIII.] 7, ἄνευ τοῦ συμφέρειν,
and XXIII. 112, ἄνευ τούτου.—ἐν
πᾶσι...διῆγεν ὑμᾶς, saw you supplied
(carried you through) with all the
necessaries of life in greater abun-
dant and cheaper.

6. τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης: τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου (Schol.), the peace of De-
mades, under which Athens had been
living since Chaeronea.—ἦν...τηροῦ-
σιν: the Macedonian party had been
strong enough to prevent Athens
from openly helping Thebes in her
revolt 335 B.C., or the Peloponnesians

under Agis in 330. See Grote XII.
44, 59; 380—383.

7. χρηστοὶ: cf. the sarcastic
χρηστέ, § 318¹.—ἐπὶ...ἐλπίζουν, in
(with a view to) their hopes of future
gain: ἐλπίζουσι γὰρ ἐπανελθόντα
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν με-
γάλα αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι ὡς προδόταις
(Schol.).

8—10. καὶ μετάσχοιεν...μὴ μετα-
δοῖεν: this reading of Σ gives an
entirely different sense from that of
the common text, καὶ μὴ μετάσχοιεν...
μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν. The meaning is,
May they fail in these their hopes;
and may they rather be allowed to
share with you patriots in the blessings
for which you pray, that they may not
involve you in the calamities which
would result from their policy. Μὴ
μεταδοῖεν cannot be a mere continua-
tion of the wish of μετάσχοιεν: the
asyndeton would be too harsh. It
must be a final clause, assimilated to
the optative μετάσχοιεν (M.T. 182),
as in ἔλθοι ὅπως γένοιτο λυτήριος,
Aeschyl. Eum. 297, and γένοιτο...ἰσ-
αὶ Μυκῆναι γνοῖεν, Soph. Phil. 324.
See M.T. 181. I know no other

μεταδοίεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται.

λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς 10
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν
Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ 90
ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τῆς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ
Ἄθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων δια-
τελέει Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περιν-
θίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ 5
παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνοσ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος
ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ
256 Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοη-
θήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ
ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέ- 10
στασε τὰν πατριὸν πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμῳσ καὶ τὼς τάφῳσ,
δεδόχθαι τῷ δᾶμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἄθηναίοις 91
δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶσ καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προε-
δρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῳσι, πρόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον
πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν
ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασᾶν τᾶν λειτουργιᾶν· σταῶσαι δὲ καὶ 5
εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἐκκαϊδεκαπάχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανού-
μενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἄθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δᾶμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων
καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ
Ἑλλάδι παναγύριας, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ
Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῶξαι τὼς στεφάνῳσ οἷς ἐστεφάνῳται ὁ 10
δᾶμος ὁ Ἄθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπῳσ ἐπιστέῳνται οἱ Ἑλλαῶες
τὰν τε Ἄθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων
εὐχαριστίαν.]

λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στε- 92
φάνους.

such final optative in prose; but I know no other final clause (of any kind) depending on a wishing optative in prose, which is hardly strange.

10. ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται, i.e. their

προαίρεσις: τῆς δουλείας δηλονότι (Schol.).

11. τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, i.e. the crowns voted by these towns and sent to Athens as marks of honour.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μά-
 δυτον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλήν 5
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ
 Χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων
 μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμε-
 νος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοῦς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους,
 257 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ 10
 οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν.
 ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93
 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ
 Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν
 ἐκ τούτων, ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πολιτεία διε-
 πράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε 5
 τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν
 αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον
 ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ', οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ, 94
 καὶ δίκαι' ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμόνη-
 κεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον
 οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμέ-
 νους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῶζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, 5

§ 93. 1. οὐκοῦν introduces the conclusion to which the decrees point.

2. οὐδὲ (sc. μόνον): cf. οὐδέ, § 2⁴.

4. ἢ προαίρεσις καὶ ἢ πολιτεία: cf. §§ 292^{4,8}, 317². In § 192⁵ we have τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας in nearly the same sense. προαίρεσις is *deliberate choice*.

7. σύμμαχος ὢν: cf. § 87⁷.

§ 94. 1. οἱ μεμψάμενοι ἂν = οἱ ἐμέμψασθε ἂν. — πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἐκείνοις: cf. Ar. Plut. 8, Λοξία μέμψιν δικαίαν μέμφομαι ταύτην.

2. ὧν ἠγνωμόνηκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς:

cf. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, § 18⁶. This "want of feeling" (cf. 207⁷, 248⁷) refers to the conduct of Byzantium in the Social war: see note on § 87⁷, and Hist. §§ 2, 51.

4. μνησικακοῦντες: *remembering old grudges* (maliciously): cf. § 99⁶. See μὴ μνησικακήσειν in the oath of oblivion after the restoration in 403 B.C., Xen. Hell. II. 4, 43.

5. δόξαν, εὐνοίαν: the asyndeton is more emphatic than δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν: see §§ 96^{4,5}, 234⁵, and XIX. 190 and 220.

εὐνοϊαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

10

Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὔτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε- 258πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδία καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς 10

7. τῶν πολιτευομένων, *your public men*.

9. σύμβουλον... ῥήτορα: Phocion as general was probably one of the exceptions here implied.

§§ 95—101. Historical parallels are cited to show that the considerate treatment of Euboea and Byzantium was in accordance with the traditional policy of Athens.

§ 95. 1. τὰς βλασφημίας refers to the long tirade of Aeschines (III. 85—93) against the proceedings in Euboea in 341—340. There is nothing in the speech of Aesch., as it now stands, relating to the help sent to Byzantium.

2. δυσχερὲς, *unpleasant*, is a euphemism adapted to the changed state of feeling towards Euboea and Byzantium since 343.

5. ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας, *that you may be presumed to know*: cf. § 228^b. This is not a mere expanded εἰδέναι (as if εἶναι were used), but we have the fundamental idea of ὑπάρχω

(§ 1^b) added. In line 11, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων applies to the glories of our ancestors as material stored up for us to emulate.

6. τῷ... συμφέρειν, like τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι, expresses means.—εἰ... ἦσαν, *si erant* (not *si essent*): cf. § 12⁷.—τὰ μάλιστ' ἀληθεῖς, *never so true*: cf. § 21³.

8. χρήσασθαι, *deal with, manage*.—τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς, *of the events of your time*, beginning with the Corinthian war of 395 B.C. This war was now 65 years old; but there were probably old men in the immense audience who distinctly remembered it and who would be pleased to have it spoken of as *in their day*. Still, he feels that these earlier events hardly fall within his limit of καθ' ὑμᾶς, for he says τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων in § 96^b, directly after ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον, and οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, followed by ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, in § 98¹.

10. πρὸς, *with reference* (or *regard*) *to*: cf. τὸ πρὸς τι, Aristotle's category of *relation*.

τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 96 Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατέχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγινα, Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς 5 οὐ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς

11. τὰ λοιπὰ (cf. § 27¹¹), opposed to τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

§ 96. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων...ἀρχόντων: after the Peloponnesian war, Lysander established in most of the conquered towns, and even in some which were previously friendly to Sparta, a Spartan governor (ἀρμοστής) with a military force (φρουρά), and a board of ten citizens of the subject state (δεκαδρχία), who were partizans of Sparta. See Plutarch, Lysand. 13, and Grote ix. 255.—τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς: more rhetorical than τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κύκλω having the adverbial sense of *around*. See IV. 4^b, εἶχομεν πάντα τὸν τόπον οἰκείον κύκλω, and XIX. 155, ἐπορεύοντο κύκλω, *they travelled round*.

4, 5. Εὐβοίαν...Αἴγινα: Euboea and Megara had been in the hands of the Spartans before the end of the Peloponnesian war. Aegina, which Athens had settled with her own people in 431, after expelling the native population, was restored to its former owners (so far as this was possible) by Lysander in 405, as he was on his way to attack Athens (Thuc. II. 27; Xen. Hell. II. 2. 9). Boeotia as a whole was nominally allied with Sparta; but Thebes and other towns became disgusted with Sparta's tyrannical conduct soon after the end of the war, and though Thebes had been the greatest enemy of Athens when the peace was made, she harboured Thrasybulus and his

fellow exiles before they attacked the Thirty in 403. This disaffection ended in the Boeotian war in 395, in which Athens aided Thebes; in the battle of Haliartus the allies gained a doubtful victory over Sparta, which was made decisive by the death of Lysander on the field. (See Grote ix. 409.) The invasion of Boeotia by Lysander and his Spartan army justifies τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν from the Athenian point of view.

5. Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, i.e. Ceos and the adjacent islands, Tenos, Andros, Cythnus, Melos, etc. Melos is mentioned as restored to its old inhabitants by Lysander (Plut. Lys. 14). The emendation Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους for Κλεωνὰς, ἄλλας νήσους (Σ) removes the difficulty caused by the mention (for no apparent reason) of Cleonae, a town between Coriuth and Argos, under τὰ κύκλω τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—οὐ ναῦς οὐ τεῖχη τότε κτησαμένης: Athens was required by Sparta to demolish her Long Walls and the walls of the Piraeus, not those of the ἄστυ; and she was allowed to keep twelve war-ships: see Xen. Hell. II. 2, 20. Here τότε κτησαμένης (not κεκτημένης) means that she had not yet *acquired* any ships or walls beyond what were left her at the end of the war.

6. εἰς Ἀλιάρτον: see note on II. 4, 5.

Ἄλιάρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς
 Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων
 μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ
 τὸν Δεκελικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ 10
 ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμ- 97
 φότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν, οὐτ'
 ἀκίνδυν' ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς
 καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ
 τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς δίδοναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ 5
 καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀν-
 θρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις
 αὐτὸν καθεύξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν
 προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ 10
 γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' 98

7. οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις: according to the accepted chronology, the battle of Haliartus was in the autumn of 395 B.C., and that of Corinth in the summer of 394, in the year of Eubulides. The Corinthian war was the result of a combination of Athenians, Corinthians, Boeotians, Euboeans, Argives, and others against Sparta. In the battle of Corinth, the Spartans were victorious. See Grote IX. 426—429. The beautiful monument, representing a young warrior on horseback, now standing near the Dipylon gate of Athens, was erected in honour of Dexileos, one of the Athenian horsemen slain in this battle. The inscription is:

Δεξιλέως Λυσανίου Θορίκιος.
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἀρχοντος,
 ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου
 ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἰππέων.

8. πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων (πόλλ' ἂν εἶχον), i.e. *they might have done so, potuissent*.

10. Δεκελικὸν πόλεμον, a name

often given to the last years of the Peloponnesian war (413—404 B.C.) when the Spartans held a fort at Decelea in Attica.

11. οὐδ' ἐγγύς: cf. § 12⁸.

§ 97. 6. πέρας μὲν...τηρῇ: this was celebrated as a gnomic saying in various forms. The meaning is not the flat truism, "death is the end of all men's lives," but *all men's lives have a fixed limit in death*, and this is made a ground for devoting our lives to noble ends, for which it is worthy to die.

7. ἐν οἰκίσκῳ, *in a chamber*: ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρῶ τινι οἰκίματι, Harpocration.

10. προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, *protecting themselves by hope (holding it before them, as a shield)*. See Menand. fr. 572 (Kock):

ὅταν τι πράττης ὄσιον, ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα
 πρόβαλλε σαυτῷ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι
 τόλμη δικάια καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.
 Cf. § 195¹⁸.

§ 98. 1. πρόγονοι: see note on § 95⁸.

ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους
 ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
 ἠδίκηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες
 ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ 5
 259 φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν
 ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεπονηκότων ἀνθρώπων !
 κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς 99
 Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι, κἂν ὀτιοῦν τις εἰς
 ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τᾶλλ' ἔχετε,
 εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις
 αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπο- 5
 λογιείσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχή-
 κατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν

2. ὑμεῖς: cf. παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσ-
 βυτέρων, XX. 52.—Λακεδαιμονίους,
 obj. of ἀνελεῖν (5), διεκωλύσατε hav-
 ing τοὺς Θηβαίους, or perhaps simply
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, understood as its object.
 From the position of Λακ. we should
 expect it to belong to the leading
 verb.

4. κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις:
 the "Leuctric insolence" of Thebes
 (Diod. XVI. 58), which made her
 rather than Sparta the natural enemy
 of Athens from 371 to 339 B.C., was
 notorious. See §§ 18⁶ and 36². In
 370 Epaminondas with a Theban
 army invaded Laconia and marched
 up to the city of Sparta itself; but he
 did not venture to enter the unwalled
 town and withdrew into Arcadia. At
 this time he established Messene and
 Megalopolis, to hold Sparta in check.
 In this trying emergency, Sparta
 humiliated herself so far as to ask
 help from her old enemy, Athens.
 Her request was granted, and Iphi-
 crates was sent into Peloponnesus
 to the aid of Sparta with 12,000
 Athenians in the spring of 369 B.C.
 This saved Sparta from another in-
 vasion at this time. The alliance

then formed remained unbroken,
 though sometimes strained, until after
 the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C., in
 which Athens fought on the side of
 Sparta.

7. ὑπὲρ οἷα πεπ. ἀνθρώπων, i.e.
what the men had done for whom.

§ 99. 3. τούτων, *for this*, refer-
 ring to ὀτιοῦν, as ὅστις can always
 have a plural antecedent.

4. ὑπὲρ, *concerning, involving.*

5. μνησικακήσετε... ὑπολογισθεῖ:
 μνησικακεῖν, though usually intransi-
 tive (cf. § 101⁶), may have an ac-
 cusative, as μνησικακῆσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν,
 Ar. Nub. 999. Thus both verbs may
 here have the same object, suggested
 by ὀτιοῦν.

6. ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον: cf. XV. 15,
 τῷ Ῥοδίων δήμῳ μόνον, and IX. 57,
 παρὰ τούτοις μόνον. In these cases
 μόνον modifies the whole sentence
 loosely as an adverb, where we
 should expect the adjective μόνων
 or μόνῳ with the noun. We are
 often careless about the position of
only; as "he only went to London
 once."

7. σφετεριζομένων τὴν Εὐβοίαν:
 cf. 71¹. Euboea had been under the

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ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἄς ἀπάσας ἢ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται. εἴτ' 101
 ἐγὼ τεθέωρηκῶς ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν
 πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλου-
 σαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς
 βουλῆς οὔσης, τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβου- 5
 λεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς
 τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν
 260 δι' ἄς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέ-
 κτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει
 καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν; ἐπεὶ 10
 τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ'
 ἐγὼ· εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν; οὐκ ἐξῆν;
 οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐρούντες οὗτοι;

9, 10. τῆς...σωτηρίας, rare genitive of purpose or motive, generally found with ἔνεκα, which is added here in most MSS. So XIX. 76, πᾶσ' ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας ὀλέθρου, with similar variety of reading. (See G. 1127.) The infinitive with τοῦ is common in this construction, especially in Thucydides (M.T. 798): an example occurs in § 107², τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν.

§ 101. 4. ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς...οὔσης, when the question in a manner concerned herself.

6. νῆ Δία, in bitter irony: cf. XX. 161.

8. δι' ἄς προησόμεθα (excuses) for sacrificing (final).

9. ὑπαρχόντων (cf. § 95^b): the glories (καλά) are viewed as a public possession.

10. ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν (M.T. 506): there is no objection here to εἰ ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν, as to either grammar or sense. It is amply justified by XIX. 172: εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ τούτους βούλεσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης

εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πάνυ πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα. There εἰ ἐπρέσβευσα ἂν is *if I would have gone on the embassy*, as εἰ ἐπεχείρησα ἂν here is *if I would have undertaken* (for any consideration). There may be a justification of ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν in the following τό γ' ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, *you would not have done the thing in reality* (ἔργῳ), opposed to the preceding supposition, *if I had been capable of undertaking it even in word* (λόγῳ).

13. οὐχ ὑπῆρχον...οὔτοι; *were not these men here ready to tell you this?* ταῦτα refers to μνησικακεῖν... προησόμεθα (6—8).

§§ 102—109. The orator defends his Trierarchic Law against the attacks of Aeschines. This important measure was enacted in 340 B.C., at about the time of the outbreak of the war with Philip (see § 107^b). For an account of the trierarchy at Athens, see Boeckh's Staatsh. d. Athener, I. Book 4, ch. 11—16.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς 102
 ἐπολιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ τί
 τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων 5
 γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρι' ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν
 πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν
 ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ'
 ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, [τοὺς πλου-
 σίους,] τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ 10
 πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι
 τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα 103
 τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ
 μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὃ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι
 πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἦ

§ 102. 4. καταλυόμενον, *breaking up*: notice the following descriptive present participles.

5. ἀτελεῖς...γιγνομένους, *becoming exempt* (from all 'liturgies') *by small payments*. As all the members of a *συντέλεια* (under the former system) were assessed equally for the support of their ship, the richer *συντελεῖς* might satisfy the law (as in the case supposed in § 104) by paying $\frac{1}{8}$ of the expense of one ship; and as no one could be required to take more than one 'liturgy' in the same year, they would thus be exempt from all other services. But the richest of all, the leaders of the *symmories* (§ 103⁴), sometimes ingeniously used their legal duty of advancing the money for the trierarchy in case of special necessity as a means of avoiding even their own legal share of the expense. They could bargain with a contractor to do all the work for a fixed sum (e.g. a talent), which they advanced, afterwards assessing this whole sum, or

an unfair part of it, on their poorer colleagues. See Dem. XXI. 155.

7. τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας, *losing what they had*: a strong expression of the injustice to which the poorer *συντελεῖς* were liable.—ὑστερίζουσαν...τῶν καιρῶν, as we say, *behind time*.

9. [τοὺς πλουσίους]: these words probably crept into the text as an explanation of τοὺς μὲν, which needs no such note. The text is very doubtful, though the sense is clear.

§ 103. 1. γραφεῖς: sc. *παρανόμων*.—τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον...εἰσῆλθον; i.e. *I stood* (entered on) *my trial on this issue before you*, εἰς ὑμᾶς implying *coming into court*. τοῦτον refers to *γραφεῖς*, meaning the trial which followed his being indicted. Cf. *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*, § 105².

2. τὸ μέρος (sc. *πέμπτον*): cf. § 266⁶. See note on § 82⁹.

4. ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν, *leaders of the symmories*, here probably the *symmories* of the trierarchy, though the term commonly refers to the 300

τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἷεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε 5
 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 10 καταβάλλοντ' ἐὰν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ
 ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ 104
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λητουργεῖν,
 αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ'

richest citizens (οἱ τριακῆσιοι, § 171^b), who were leaders of the symmories of the property-tax (εἰσφορά). Under the system which prevailed from 357 to 340 B.C., the 1200 richest citizens, who alone were liable to the duty of the trierarchy, were divided into 20 symmories, regularly of 60 men each. But exemption or changes in property might reduce the whole number of 1200 and the number in each symmory in any year. To each of these symmories was assigned a number of triremes to be fitted out in each year, regulated by the needs of the state. The symmory divided itself into smaller bodies (συντέλειαι), each of which equipped a single ship. The expense was borne equally by all the members, without regard to their wealth. Each symmory probably had a single leader, and the 20 leaders, with the two classes called δεῦτεροι and τρίτοι (who are not mentioned elsewhere), evidently belonged to the τριακῆσιοι, perhaps including all of that class in the symmories (15 in each). The new law of Demosthenes imposed the burden of the trierarchy on the members of each symmory according to their taxable property, thus greatly increasing the assessment of the richer and diminishing that of the poorer members. Of this a striking case is given in § 104^{6,7}.

5. διδόναι, offered, representing ἐδίδοσαν, which appears in § 104¹⁰.

6. μάλιστα μὲν, above all things,

opposed to εἰ δὲ μὴ, otherwise, if not (M.T. 478).—μὴ θεῖναι, not to enact; see next note.

7. καταβάλλοντ' ἐὰν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ, to drop it and let it lie under notice of indictment (lit. under the prosecutor's oath to bring an indictment). Whenever anyone brought a γραφή παρανόμων against a law or decree, he was required to bind himself by an oath, called ὑπωμοσία, to prosecute the case. This had the effect of suspending the law or decree if it was already finally passed, or of stopping a decree which had passed only the Senate (i.e. a προβούλευμα) from being voted on by the Assembly, until the γραφή παρανόμων could be tried. (See Essay II.) The meaning here is that Demosthenes was offered large sums if he would either decline to bring his new law before the νομοθῆται (μὴ θεῖναι) or else quietly let it drop (ἐὰν) when a γραφή παρανόμων was brought against it after it was passed.

§ 104. 1. ἦν...λητουργεῖν, i.e. they might perform the service (of the trierarchy) in bodies of sixteen: this is probably stated as an extreme case under the old law, in contrast with an equally extreme case of a man with two whole triremes to support under the new law. A συντέλεια of sixteen implies a change from 60 in the size of the symmory: see note on § 103⁴.

3. αὐτοῖς μὲν, themselves (ipsis), opposed to τοὺς δ' ἄλλους.—μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν: see note on § 102⁵.

261 ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέ- 5 ναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος, ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτ' ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ ἐδίδουσαν. καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον 105 μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

5

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἴπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἴσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε 10

4. ἐπιτρίβουσιν, *distressing* (*grinding*).

5. τὸ γιγνόμενον τιθέναί, *to pay their quota* (*what fell to each*): cf. τιθέναί τὰς εἰσφοράς, XXII. 42.—κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, *according to his property*: κατὰ τὸ τίμημα, *according to his valuation*, would be more strictly accurate, as the τίμημα, or *taxable property*, in different classes bore a differing proportion to the οὐσία.

6. δυοῖν...συντελής: it was a possible case that a man who had been assessed (as supposed above) for only one-sixteenth part of the expense of one ship might be compelled to pay for two whole ships under the new law. τριήραρχος suggests τριήροιν and τριήρους with δυοῖν and μιᾶς.

8. συντελεῖς, *partners* in a συντέλεια: sixteen trierarchs of a single ship, of whom perhaps no one even saw the ship, were absurd!

10. ἐδίδουσαν, *offered*: cf. διδόναι as imperfect in § 103^b.

§ 105. 2. ψήφισμα: this cannot be the trierarchic law itself, which was no ψήφισμα; but a decree passed after the ὑπωμοσία, which may have ordered the suspension of the law or have provided for the trial of the case.—καθ' ὃ = *secundum quod, ex quo*, not *propter quod* (see West.).

3. τοὺς καταλόγους: the stupidity of the interpolator of the false documents never shows to greater advantage than in the two fragments of a pretended decree given as κατάλογοι in § 106. The real documents were two lists of citizens of various degrees of wealth, with statements of their assessments for the trierarchy under the old law and under the law of Demosthenes. The contrast between the two called forth the question with which § 107 begins. The document in § 105 is not a decree, but a memorandum.

παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεὺς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

106

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

5

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

262

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

15

Ἄρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μίkr' ἀναλώσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; αὐτοῖν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σέμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν

5

§ 107. 2. μίkr' ἀναλώσαι ἂν... ἐθέλειν, *does it seem likely that the rich would have been willing to spend (only) a little to escape doing justice?* With οἱ πλούσιοι supply δοκοῦσιν from δοκῶ in l. 1 (see M.T. 754). ἀναλώσαι depends on ἐθέλειν ἂν, which represents ἠθελον ἂν. τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν is genitive of purpose (cf. § 100⁹).

3. καθυφεῖναι, *dropping*: cf. καταβάλλοντα, § 103⁷.

5. συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον:

cf. πτηνὰς διώκεις τὰς ἐλπίδας, Eur. frag. 273.—τῷ πείραν δεδωκέναι, *on the law having given a test of itself* (sc. τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ). See § 195¹², ἃ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε, with note; XXIV. 24, πείραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδώκασιν (sc. οἱ νόμοι) (with αὐτῶν expressed); Thuc. I. 138⁹ (of Themistocles), ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι, i.e. *on trial*. Compare the perfect δεδωκέναι with the timeless aorists which precede (M.T. 109, 96).

ἔργῳ δεδωκέναί. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀπο-
 στόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν, οὐχ
 ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεις πώποθ' ὡς ἀδικού-
 μενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχία ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἀποστόλεων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὔτ' ἔξω κατα- 10
 λειφθεῖς ἀπόλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη
 οὐ δυναμένη ^{τοῦ} ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους 108
νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς
 πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητούργειν. πολλά δὲ τὰ δύνατα συνέ-
 βαινεγ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους
^{μετήνευκα} τὰς τριηραρχίας. πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντ' 5
 ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι
 ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην
 πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνά-
 μεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει. βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν
 263 καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμ' ἐμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπει- 10

6. ἀποστόλων: see § 80¹; and cf. IV. 35, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν.

8. ἱκετηρίαν (sc. ῥάβδον), *suppliant's bough*, generally of olive, bound with wool, which a suppliant laid on the altar of a divinity whose succour he invoked.

9. ἐν Μουνυχία: ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος· κάκει ἔφευγον οἷτινες τῶν τριηράρχων ἠδικοῦντο, ἢ ναῦται ἢ τινες τῶν ἐξεταζομένων ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ (Schol.). See Lys. XIII. 24, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνυχίασιν. Munychia is the high hill of the peninsula of Piraeus.

10. ἀποστολέων: see Bekk. Anecd. 435, 29: ἀποστολεῖς: δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀρχοντες ἦσαν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν πλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀπαγομένων στόλων ἀποδεδειγμένοι. They were chosen for each occasion, and had charge of supplying the trierarchs with rigging and other material for the triremes from the public stores,

and of seeing that these were properly restored at the end of the voyage.

10, 11. ἔξω καταλειφθεῖς, *abandoned at sea*; αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη, *was left behind in port*.—αὐτοῦ, *on the spot*, i.e. in port, where she was lying: ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀνεπισκείαστος (Schol.). See Plat. Rep. 371 C, αὐτοῦ μένοντας περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.

§ 108. 2. τὸ δ αἴτιον, without ὅτι, like σημεῖον δέ and τεκμήριον δέ: cf. VIII. 32.

3. λητούργειν: the η here is settled by inscriptions.—ἀδύνατα, *cases of impossibility*.

7. προηρούμην: cf. προαίρεσις, § 93⁴.

8. δυνάμεις, *power* (of various kinds): cf. §§ 44⁸, 233², 237⁶.

9. βάσκανον, *malicious*: see Harpocr., ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλαίτιον καὶ συκοφαντικόν.

10. κακόηθες, *low-principled*: see ἦθος, § 109¹.

νὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτό τοίνυν ἦθος 109
 ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει
 τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν
 πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ 5
 Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησ' ἀντὶ τῶν
 κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων.

Ἰγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἰ μὴ αἰ μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγ- 110
 ματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τᾶριστά τ'
 ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος
 εἶποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθαί
 μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευ- 5
 μένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμ-
 βάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρα-

§ 109. 1. ἦθος, principles (of action), political character: see note on § 114².

2. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, opposed to ἐν τοῖς αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν: see 59².

3. ἀντὶ, rather than, like μᾶλλον ἢ (4).

§§ 110 121 contain the reply to the last two arguments of Aeschines, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as an ἀρχων at the time when Ctesiphon proposed his decree (§§ 111—110), and that on the place of proclamation (§§ 120, 121). § 110 is introductory. §§ 122—125 are a peroration to the division of the argument beginning with § 53.

§ 110. 1. περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος, i.e. about the place of proclamation, this being the only point in dispute under this head.

2. τῶν εὐθυνῶν: this concerns only the question whether Demosthenes was a "responsible magistrate" when Ctesiphon proposed to crown him.—τὸ γὰρ... ὑμᾶς, i.e. the statement in Ctesiphon's decree that I did etc., subj. of δεδηλωσθαί (4): with this

reference to the words of the decree cf. 57¹.

5. τὰ μέγιστα refers especially to his important public services in the year before Chaeronea (339—338), the account of which comes in later with far greater effect.

6. παραλείπω, I leave aside (not necessarily I omit). This whole passage is full of rhetorical art. He has no intention whatever of omitting these acts; but he skilfully implies that his earlier acts, already related, are ample for the legal justification of Ctesiphon, so that he could afford to leave his greatest achievements unmentioned. He also diverts attention from the weakness of his argument on the εὐθυναί by placing it between two most effective political harangues. See Essay 1. § 5.

7. ἐφεξῆς, in due order: cf. § 56³, οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω, where he simply states his general purpose of giving a full account of his public life.—αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου, the strict question of illegality, with which alone the γραφή παρανόμων is properly concerned.

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ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν
 264 ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι φημι (ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον
 οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων τις ὦν τύχη. τίς
 γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας 5
 μέστ' ὅς, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα
 πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος
 μὲν ἀπόστέρειν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ
 τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφίστάναί; οὐδέ
 εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, καὶ γὰρ στέρξω καὶ 10
 σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' 113
 οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν ἐπέ-
 δωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν, φησὶν, ὑπεύ-
 θυνονόντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γ' οὐδενὸς ὧν ὑπεύ-

works could not release Demosthenes from εὐθυναί when he had obviously had public money in his hands.

1. ὧν μέντοι γ': γε emphasizes the whole relative clause.

2. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα, have offered and given, i.e. have given by my free act, openly declared.

4. τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων: The Archons, as the chief magistrates and as candidates for the Areopagus, would be subject to special scrutiny at their εὐθυναί.

5. μισανθρωπίας, *misanthropy*, opposed to φιλάνθρωπον (7).

8. εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας: ironical allusion to εἰς τοὺς λογιστάς, as if the sycophants were a board of officers (hence τοὺς).

9. τούτους... ἐφίστάναί, to set them to audit the accounts etc.

§ 113. 1. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν (sc. νόμος τοιοῦτος).

2. ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὧν, *being treasurer of the Theoric Fund*: for the importance of this office see Aesch. III. 25, 26, ending with Κτησιφῶν δὲ Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἀρχοντα οὐκ ὤκνησε

γράψαι στεφανοῦν.—ἐπέδωκα, properly gave in addition (to the public fund in his charge). Gifts to the state were often called ἐπιδόσεις: cf. note on § 171⁷.

3. ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν (sc. Κτησιφῶν) = ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεῖσαι. All MSS. except Σ insert ἡ βουλή as subject of ἐπήνεσεν. The true subject appears in l. 10, ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁ δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἐπαινεῖν, *compliment by a vote of thanks*, and στεφανοῦν are both used of the vote conferring the crown, which included a vote of thanks: see §§ 57⁴, 58³, 117⁵.

4. οὐ περὶ τούτων... ἐπέδωκα: this argument assumes that an ordinary ὑπεύθυνος could be crowned, before passing his εὐθυναί, for a gift to the state which was not connected with his office. But this was not the case with the gifts of Demosthenes. These were both closely connected with the funds which he held as an officer of state, and the argument of Aeschines (23) applies to them in its full force. Demosthenes says nothing which shows that Ctesiphon did not violate the letter and even the spirit

θυνοσ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷσ ἐπέδωκα, ὧ σικοφάντα. ἀλλὰ 5
καὶ τειχοποιὸσ ἤσθθμ. καὶ διά γε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶσ
ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τάνηλωμέν' ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογι-
ζόμην. ὁ μὲν γάρ λογισμὸσ εὐθυνώων καὶ τῶν ἐξετά-
σόντων προσδεῖται, ἠ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτοσ καὶ ἐπαίνου
δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὀδὶ 10
περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖσ νό- 114
μοῖσ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖσ ὑμετέροῖσ ἠθέσιν ὠρίσται,
ἐγὼ ραδίωσ πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ
Ναυσικλῆσ στρατηγῶν ἐφ' οἷσ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο
πολλάκισ ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰσ ἀσπί- 5
δασ Διότιμοσ ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημοσ, ἐστεφα-
νοῦντο· εἶθ' οὕτοσὶ Νεοπτόλεμοσ πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπι-
στάτησ ὦν, ἐφ' οἷσ ἐπέδωκε τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γάρ

of the law τοὺσ ὑπευθύνουσ μὴ στεφانوῦν. And yet it is more than likely that the friends of Demosthenes, in their eagerness to crown him for his noble services, overlooked the technical obstacle to their action; and the court appears to have decided to overlook their oversight.

6. **τειχοποιὸσ**, one of a board of commissioners appointed to superintend the repairs of the city walls. The argument seems to have been the same about both of the offices which Demosthenes held in 337—336 B.C. See Essay III. § 1.

8. **τῶν ἐξετασόντων** (=οἱ ἐξετάσουσι), *men to investigate*: the present would be simply *investigators*, with no temporal or final force.

§ 114. 2. **ἠθέσιν**, *your moral feelings*, which impel you to act thus. Cf. § 204². Cf. ἠθικά, *mores, morals*. See note on § 275³.

3. **πολλαχόθεν δείξω**: Aeschines anticipates or rather answers this argument in 193: λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων... οὐχ ὡσ ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡσ ἤδη

ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτεροσ τοιαῦτα γράψασ ἀπέφυγεν.

4. **Ναυσικλῆσ**: the general who commanded the well-known expedition which stopped Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C.

6. **Διότιμοσ**: mentioned in XXI. 208 as a rich trierarch, included by Arrian (I. 10, 4) among the generals whom Alexander demanded after the destruction of Thebes.—**Χαρίδημοσ**: of Oreus, an adopted Athenian, the object of severe invective in the oration against Aristocrates (352 B.C.). He was first a guerrilla leader in the service of Athens, later one of the patriotic party, and was demanded by Alexander in 335.

7. **οὕτοσὶ** implies that Neoptolemus was well known in Athens.—**πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτησ**: probably one of those called δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται by Aesch. (III. 29), specially appointed to direct special works.

8. **σχέτλιον ἂν εἶη... ὑφέξει**: for the peculiar form of conditional sentence see M.T. 503, 407.

ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τιν' ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι
 τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν 10
 265 δοθέντων, ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάρις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. ^{μὴ}
 ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι 115
 τὰ τούτοις γεγενημέν' αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ'
 εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, 5
 ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν
 ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν
 Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν
 νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως χει-
 ροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι 10
 τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν
 δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς
 καινοῖς.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς 116
 γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, Ἰπποκρίτης
 εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
 σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς 5
 νεανίσκους ἄσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
 δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,
 καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ
 ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως
 266 ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.] 10

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς 117
 ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο οὐχ

11. κομίσασθαι implies that the receiver has a claim on the giver: cf. ἀποδοῦναι, § 110⁸, and Plat. Rep. 507 A, ἐμέ τε δύνασθαι αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὑμᾶς κομίσασθαι.

§ 117. 2. ἐφ' οἷς ἐστεφανοῦτο: we do not know whether there was any distinction between these decrees and that of Ctesiphon like that mentioned in § 113⁴. As Demosthenes

νος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαι' ἐστὶ
 ῖρι τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα·
 ὑμαὶ διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἔδωχ' ὑπεύθυνος. 5
 καὶ δέδωκά γ' εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέ-
 νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα· εἶτα παρῶν, ὅτε
 ἴγουν οἱ λογισταὶ, οὐ κατηγόρεις ;
 α τοίνυν ἰδῆθ' ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ 118
 οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν
 ὀθι τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ
 ῥάψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἂ διώκει
 ντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε. 5

own case absolutely
 he question is of little

αι: cf. ἐπήνεσεν, § 113⁸.
 ἄλλ': a more emphatic
 ig an objection than the
 ἂ, νῆ Δία: cf. XIX. 272,
 ὦν: i.e. *being present*
).

ἴγουν οἱ λογισταί: see
 Ath. 54, καὶ (κληροῦσι
 τὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους
 τρὸς οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη
 εἰς ἄρξαντας λόγον ἀπενεγ-
 ἴρ εἰσι μόνοι τοῖς ὑπευθύ-
 οἱ, καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας εἰς τὸ
 ἰσάγοντες. Before this
 litors every magistrate
 ur for his εὔθυναί at the
 'rm of office; and they
 s a matter of form)
 before a Heliastic court
 , in which anyone might
 scuse him of any offence
 th his office. His ac-
 noney expended were
 the same time. See
 7—23. The question
 :ατηγορεῖν; (Aesch. 23)
 asked in presence of
 the εὔθυναί of Demos-
 to this Aeschines did

not respond. But these εὔθυναί must
 have come several months after
 Ctesiphon's bill had passed the
 Senate and had been indicted by
 Aeschines, so that accusation at the
 εὔθυναί was superseded. See Essay
 III. § 1.

§ 118. 2. ἐστεφανῶσθαι (sc.
 ἐμέ), that the proposal to crown me
 has passed the Senate: cf. ἐπήνεσεν
 in § 113⁸.

3. γραφέν μοι, *proposed in my
 honour*: see note on § 56⁴.

4. τοῦ προβουλεύματος: partitive
 after οἷς. The meaning is, that he
 will use the omissions from the decree
 in the indictment to show the malice
 of Aeschines in prosecuting the
 clauses which he includes.

ἂ διώκει συκοφαντῶν: see XXIII.
 61, συκοφαντοῦμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα.

The orator now calls for the reading
 of the bill of Ctesiphon, ostensibly to
 prove the point just made, but per-
 haps chiefly to recall to the minds
 of the judges Ctesiphon's enumera-
 tion of his public services which the
 Senate has approved. In the fol-
 lowing spurious decree the Archon's
 name is wrong and different from
 that in the indictment (which is also
 wrong).

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανειψιῶνος ἐνάτη ἀπιόντος, φιλιππῆς πρωταγευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλιππίου εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσανα- 10
λάμψας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδύχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι 15
Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παινιέα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκα- 16
γαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι 207
τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ 11
γέγραψαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος 5
ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βασκανός ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, 12
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ

§ 119. Here the proof of the malice of Aeschines, promised in § 118, is given on the authority of the decree just read. It is argued that Aeschines admits the gifts and their legality by his silence concerning them, while he brands as illegal the proposal to return public thanks for these gifts. As if the thanks for a legal gift might not be given in an illegal manner.

5. παρανόμων γράφει: cf. note on § 13⁹.

§ 120. 2. μυριάκις μυρίους: τι means that 10,000 men had been crowned on 10,000 occasions (n 10,000 times 10,000 men). Τι was justified rhetorically by the great frequency of decrees conferring crowns to be proclaimed in the theatre: the number of these on record shows that any law which might have forbidden the proclamation of crowns in the theatre was a dead letter.

τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς στεφανώσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκῆτις εἰ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου- 5 μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῆ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων εἵνεκα συμφέροντος, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον 10 ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἢ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις 15 τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίῳις δήμοις, εἰ μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ. τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, 121
268 πλὴν εἰάν τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται.

3. τὸ πολλάκις...πρότερον: in the note on § 83^b (δευτέρου...γιγνομένου). I have given reasons for thinking that the crown voted on the motion of Aristonicus in 340 B.C., and proclaimed in the theatre, had been preceded by another, also proclaimed in the theatre, of which we have no other account than the allusion in § 83. These two, with the one voted on the motion of Demomeles and Hyperides in 338 B.C. (§§ 222, 223), if the latter was actually proclaimed, justify the use of πολλάκις, especially after μυριάκις μυρίους.

5. ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι: see M.T. 601 and 584. The meaning is *are you so stupid that you are not able?* while with ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι it would

be are you stupid enough not to be able?

6. τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον, i.e. *the receiver of the crown feels the same pride*: ζῆλος is emulation, *pride in excelling*, hence *glorying* (see §§ 217^b, 273^b).

7. εἵνεκα: this Ionic and poetic form is often found in the best MSS. of Demosthenes.

9. εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ: this motive is strongly urged in many decrees conferring crowns.

§ 121. This short but impassioned outburst cannot be a reply to the long and confused argument of Aeschines (32—48). See Essay I., Remarks on §§ 120, 121.

τοιούτους ἔ' απαγορευέτω: τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπυκοφαιτεῖς: τί λόγοις πλάττετε; τί σαυτὸν ἐλλεβορίζετε ἐπὶ τοιούτοις: ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνη φθόκη εἰσαγῶν, οἷς ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς, καὶ νόμοι μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκην ἀναγνησκέτω, τοῖς γ' ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ νόμους ψυλαίτω. ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέτρεα δὲ τρεῖς τῶ δημοτικῶ, ὥσπερ ἀνδρὶ ἐξέλεσθαι κατατηρησθῆναι, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἀπὸ

τοῦ ἀδικήματος δίκην, a su redress) for an offence (cf. 7. τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη ting out parts of others, as μεταποιῶν had preceded, with reading of all MSS. except use of τῶν δέ alone gives the appearance of a sudden thought; and, so far from carelessness, it may be a device to give emphasis. occurs in XIX. 180: ὅσοι ἀπολώλασι παρ' ὑμῖν, οἱ δὲ πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν, and κατέλιπε...μαχαιοποιούς μὲν λαὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀνὰ πέντε μ. τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐλάσσοις ἢ τριῶν ἀξίους.—ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν εἰσκεσθαι, ought to be read ἐπὶ τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι...ψη see Aesch. III. 6, ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ἔταξεν ἐν τῶ τῶν δικαστῶν ἠρωτοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. §§ 122—125 are a part of the division §§ 53—125. § 122. 2. πόσα: Blass (Σ).—τῶ δημοτικῶ: cf. Aesch. 108—170.—ὥσπερ... φήν: we find it convenient late, as if you had put out a contract; but the with ὥσπερ (without ἄν or ἂν conditional, as appears by its (not ἠν) for its negative, as (M. G. 807). ὥσπερ is sim-

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ἤττον ἐμοῦ, ^{abuse} πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πό- 5
λεως ἐχθρόν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα
269 οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ
τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς
εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν.
οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, 125
τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις

§ 124. 2. ἐμοῦ: with οὐδὲν ἤττον.
—πομπεύειν (cf. πομπείας, § 117): referring to ἐξ ἀμάξης, § 122¹, and λοιδορίαν, § 123².

3. ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπελθεῖν, to get off with any less (than he has given): this fatal principle of paying off vituperation in the same base coin is the weak justification of the scurrility which follows (§§ 128—131) and elsewhere.

5. πότερον... φῆ; here φῆ τις; hardly differs from φῶμεν: the third person without τις in these questions is rare (M. I. 280).

7. οὐ μὲν ἦν, explained by ἐν... κρίσεσιν.—ὑπὲρ τούτων: the Athenians present, as representing the whole.

8. ἐξέλειπες expresses habitual neglect.

α. εὐθύναις: i.e. by bringing a suit in connection with my εἰθύναι (see note on § 117³), like the γραφή παραγραφῆς against Aeschines (XIX.).

γραφῆς: here ordinary public suits, not including εἰσαγγελία, εἰθύναι, etc., which come under γραφαί in its wider sense. See § 240³.

§ 125. 1. οὐ δ'... ἀθῶος. ἡμῶν ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων, opposed to οὐ κέρει φρ. § 124¹. τοῖς νόμοις... πρότερον: these four grounds of immunity (explaining ἅπασιν) do not all exclude each other, νόμοις in fact

including all the rest, and χρόνῳ being in great part identical with προθεσμίᾳ.

2. τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, the limitations of time set by law to bringing certain actions. Debts were outlawed in five years, and this limitation applied to many other cases. The mover of a law was personally liable to the γραφή παρανόμων only one year. Of course in this suit nothing could make Demosthenes personally amenable to any law, as he was only Ctesiphon's advocate; but the meaning of ἀθῶος is that no suit could now legally be brought against him personally for any of the offences with which he is charged before the court. He bitterly complains of the power given to Aeschines by the form of this suit to accuse him of crimes for which he could not indict him: see §§ 9—16.—τῷ κεκρίσθαι πολλάκις πρότερον (sc. ἐμέ): probably referring to the cases mentioned in §§ 83, 222—224, which covered important parts of the present case. He may also refer to actual indictments against himself: for the time since Chaeronea we have his statement in §§ 249, 250, e.g. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμενον. See note on § 224⁵. For the law forbidding new trials of cases already decided, see XXIV. 55, οὐκ ἐφ' ἐπι

πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέου ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίων πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθ' 5 ἀπήντηκας; ὄρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῆ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος 126 ἅπασιν δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλο-

ῶν ἀν' ἅπαξ γινῶ δικαστήριον πάλιν χρηματίζειν.

3. ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν: ὑμᾶς shows that the orator could address the audience in the midst of a question addressed to Aeschines personally.

5. ἐνταῦθ', there, referring back emphatically to οὐ (1).

6. ἀπήντηκας: cf. ἀπηνητηκώς,

§ 15⁸.—ὄρα μὴ...ἦς, see to it that you do not prove to be their enemy: μὴ with the subjunctive always implies the future; but φοβοῦμαι μὴ ἀληθὲς ἐστίν is I fear that it is true (M.T. 369).

6. ἐμοὶ: the MSS. are divided between ἐμοὶ (Σ) and ἐμός.

§§ 126—226. The next main division of the argument is devoted chiefly to the account of the means by which Aeschines gained for Philip an entrance into Greece with his army, by getting up the Amphissian war (§§ 139—159), and of the measures by which Demosthenes opposed this joint plot of Aeschines and Philip (as he represents it), especially his negotiations with Thebes in 339—338 B.C., which led to the alliance of that city with Athens (§§ 160—226). The orator introduces these accounts by a general sketch of Aeschines' life and that of his parents, full of offensive scurrility (§§ 126—131), followed by a brief account of some of the lesser political offences of Aeschines (§§ 132—138).

The orator's account of his own political acts in the eventful year before the battle of Chaeronea, connected with his vigorous defence of the policy of Athens under his guidance in her last resistance to the

power of Philip, is the most eloquent passage in the oration (§§ 160—226). This is a direct continuation of the story of his political life which was interrupted by skilful design in § 110.

§ 126. 1. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. This is one of the few undoubted cases of anacoluthon in Demosthenes. The causal sentence introduced by ἐπειδὴ goes on regularly through § 126, when the sudden turn given by the question τίς οὐκ ἀν...φθέγγασθαι; causes the orator to burst forth into the fierce invective which follows, forgetting his leading sentence, the apodosis to ἐπειδὴ...φθέγγασθαι. This exclamatory diversion carries him to the end of § 128, where we find in a changed form (in § 129) what would be a natural apodosis to § 126. But it is hardly possible that the orator ever thought of the beginning of § 129 as a resumption of his broken sentence.—ἡ εὐσεβὴς...ψῆφος, i.e. the vote which your oath and justice both require of you.

λοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρη-
 μένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατ'
 εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων, ῥαδίως 5
 οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς
 διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε τῶν
 μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ 127
 Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ
 σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμ' ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμμα-
 τεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως
 ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ 5
 βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἦλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα,
 καὶ πάλιν ^{Σαμ. 1.}σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἢ τὰ

4. αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατα, *what is barely necessary* (to satisfy the promise in § 124^{3,4}). Cf. ἀναγκαιότατα § 168⁷. See Thuc. 1. 90 ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους, i.e. to have the wall just high enough to be defensible.

5. τίνων: sc. γενόμενος.

6. λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, *ridicules certain sayings of mine*. It is hard to decide between τινὰς and τίνας. With τίνας it is *what sayings of mine he ridicules*, i.e. *how he ridicules my sayings*. The reference is to Aesch. III. 167, ταῦτα τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναϊδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; also to 72 and 209.

7. ἂ τίς...φθέγξασθαι; this interrog. rel. sentence breaks the construction. For μετρίων see n. on § 10⁸.

§ 127. 1. Αἰακὸς...Μίνως: the three judges of the dead in Plat. Gorg. 523 E.

2. ὁ κατηγορῶν is subject: Vömel says, "Non dicit si Aiacus accusaret, sed si accusator esset Aiacus."

3. σπερμολόγος: originally a little bird which *picked up seed* from newly sown fields (Ar. Av. 232, 579); then a man who lives by *picking up* what he can in the market and other places

of trade, a *vagabond*, and generally a worthless fellow; sometimes one who picks up and retails small scraps of gossip, a *babbler* or *prater*, as applied to St Paul in Acts xvii. 18. Either of the last two meanings, or perhaps a combination of both, suits the present passage.—περίτριμμ' ἀγορᾶς, a *hack of the market place*: see Arist. Nub. 447, περίτριμμα δικῶν, with the explanation in Bekk. Anecd. p. 59, οἶον τετριμμένον ἱκανῶς πράγμασιν.—ὄλεθρος γραμματεὺς, a *curse of a scribe*: see IX. 31, ὄλεθρου Μακεδόνος (of Philip), and xxiii. 202, ἀνθρώπους οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους, ὄλεθρους.

4. οὐκ ἂν...εἰπεῖν (repr. εἶπεν ἂν): for the common position of ἂν before words like οἶμαι, see M.T. 220¹.

5. ἐπαχθεῖς, *ponderous, offensively pompous*: cf. ἐπαχθές, *offensive*, § 10⁸. See Ar. Ran. 940, οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν, of the style of Aeschylus.—πορίσασθαι, *provide one's self with, bring out*: cf. XIX. 186, XXXV. 41.—ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ: see note on § 13⁶.

6. ὦ γῆ...ἀρετῇ: thus Aesch. begins his peroration (260), adding καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἢ διαγιγνώσκομεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ.

καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκειται· ταῦτα γὰρ δή-
 πουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Ἰ σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὧ 128
 κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ
 τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι;
 ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν μὲν ὡς
 270 ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ 5
 τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριά-
 σειε, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιου-
 μένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναίσθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν
 ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, τοιούτοις εἶναι,
 περίεστιν. 10

Οὐκ ἀπόρων δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129
 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ
 πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς

§ 128. 1. σοὶ ἀρετῆς... τίς μετουσία; = τί σοι ἀρετῆς μέτεστιν;

2. κάθαρμα, properly *filth*, *off-scourings*.

3. πόθεν... ἀξιωθέντι; see § 51⁴.

4. ἧς belongs to τετυχηκότων, ἀπολειφθεῖσι, and προσποιουμένοις: it has a partitive force with προσποιουμένοις (7), as in Ar. Eccl. 871, προσποιῆ τῶν χρημάτων.

6. κἂν... ἐρυθριάσειε: M.T. 224.

7. τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι, *those who have missed it* (cf. § 257⁶).

8. ἀναίσθησίας: see ἀναίσθητοι, § 43², and note on § 35¹⁰.

10. περίεστιν, *it remains for them*: cf. περιεῖναι χρήματα, *of a balance of money due*, § 227⁸. See II. 29, περίεστι ἡμῖν ἐρίζειν.

§ 129. 2. τοῦ (= τίνος) πρώτου μνησθῶ: indirect question (M.T. 677).—ὁ πατήρ... ἐδούλευε: it is a hard problem for historical criticism to evolve the real father of Aeschines from this slave of a schoolmaster, seen with his feet in the stocks or wearing a wooden collar for punishment, and the patriotic citizen

described by his son (Aesch. II. 147, III. 191), who had died about twelve years before at the age of ninety-five, who lived through the Peloponnesian war, in which he lost his property, was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, served his country bravely in Asia, was one of the restorers of the democracy under Thrasybulus, and in his old age discoursed learnedly and wisely to his son on the early history of the γραφὴ παρανόμων! Fortunately Demosth. speaks of him thirteen years before this, when he was still living, in XIX. 281, where he calls Aeschines *the son of Atrometus the schoolmaster*. From this respectable station he has now descended to be the son of Τρόμης, a schoolmaster's slave (see § 130⁵).

3. πρὸς τῷ Θεσίῳ: in XIX. 249, Atrometus is said to have kept school πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, *near the shrine of the Hero Physician*. For this hero, the Scythian Toxaris, a friend of Anacharsis and Solon, see Essay VI. Cf. note on καλαμίτης (line 6).

τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχέϊας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ, τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἤρω χρωμένη, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἀκροῦ ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δούλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὧν αὐτὸς 130 βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς

4. διδάσκοντι γράμματα: the γραμματιστής was a teacher of γράμματα, *reading and writing*, the earlier γραμματική.—χοίνικας παχέϊας, *crassas compedis* (Plaut. Capt. III. 5, 64), *stocks* or *shackles* for the feet: see Ar. Plut. 275, αἱ κνήμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν λὸ λὸν, τὰς χολίκας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.

5. ξύλον, a *wooden collar*, worn on the neck for punishment: see Ar. Nub. 592, ἦν φιμώσητε τούτου ἢ τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν αὐχένα, and Lys. 681. It meant also *stocks* for the feet, and the πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον was an instrument with five holes, for neck, arms, and legs. See Lexicon, ξύλον.—τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις, a euphemism for *daylight prostitution*: the stories of the mother of Aeschines are as trustworthy as those of his father (see §§ 258, 259).

6. κλεισίῳ, a *hut*, opposed to a house, as in Lys. XII. 18, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν, ... κλεισιῶν μισθωσάμενοι. See Od. XXIV. 208.—πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἤρω, *near the shrine* (or *statue*) of the hero καλαμίτης. Many identify this hero with the ἥρωσ ἰατρός of XIX. 249, notwithstanding strong objections. See Essay VI.

7. τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, the *pretty doll*: see Bekk. Anecd. 394,

29, ὡς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν ἡ μητέρες περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, "ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάς μου."—τριταγωνιστὴν ἀκροῦ a *tip-top third-part-actor*: see §§ 26 265, and XIX. 246, 247, 337.

8. ἀλλ' ὡς: supply μνησθῶ from line 2, as a *direct* interrogative.—τριηραύλης, *galley-riper*, who gave the stroke to the rowers on a trireme.

9. ἀνέστησεν: "memineris *prostare* in *lupanari* Graece dici καθῆσθαι" (Dissen); there is also the idea of *raising* her from a low occupation. Cf. Aesch. I. 41.

§ 130. 1. ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, *the life he has himself led*, = τῶν αὐτῷ βεβιωμένων: cf. § 265¹, XXII. 23 (τὰ τούτῳ βεβιωμένα), and XIX. 199, 200.

2. οὐδὲ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, *he was not even of ordinary parents*, i.e. not of any of whom he merely *chanced* to be. ὧν ἔτυχεν is nearly equivalent to the common τῶν τυχεύων, *ordinary people* (οἱ ἔτυχον), such as might chance to fall in one's way: cf. Isocr. X. 21, εἰ εἰς ἦν τῶν τυχεύων ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν πολὺ διεκτεκτόνων. After such a statement we should naturally expect to hear that he was of *higher than ordinary* parentage; but here (παρὰ προσδοκίαν) we have ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται added. In the religious ceremony before each meeting of the

ὁ δῆμος καταράται. ὄψε γάρ ποτε—, ὄψε λέγω; χθές μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην ἄμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν· καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα 5 ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως 131 ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ 271 δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονῶς, οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν 5 ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως

enate and the Assembly, a curse (ἀρά) was invoked against certain classes of offensive people: see XXIII. 97, καταράται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὀκῆρυξ... εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἠβουλήν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν, with XIX. 70. Aeschines himself is elsewhere included among these "deceivers": see § 282⁶⁻⁸, καίτοι τίς... καταράται δικαίως;

5. δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς: on the contrary, Demosth. probably made Τρόμης (*trembler*) by cutting off two syllables from Ἀτρόμητος (*dauntless*).

7. Ἐμπουσαν, *hobgoblin*.

9. καὶ γίνεσθαι: almost all editors omit these words, which have the best MS. authority and are especially appropriate to the description of Empusa. See Ar. Ran. 289—293: Χαν. δεινόν. παντοδαπὸν γοῦν γίνεσθαι· ποτὲ μὲν γε βούς, νυνὶ δ' ὄρεϋς, ποτὲ δ' αὖ γυνὴ ὠραιότατη τις. Dion. Ἐμπουσα τοίνυν ἐστὶ.

§ 131. 3. τουτουσὶ: i.e. the Athenians, as represented by the court.

4. οὐχ ὅπως... ἀλλὰ: οὐχ ὅπως

and οὐχ ὅτι came originally from οὐ λέξω ὅπως (or ὅτι), *I will not speak of, I will not say that*, etc., while the nearly equivalent μὴ ὅπως (rare) or μὴ ὅτι came from μὴ λέγε ὅπως (or ὅτι), *do not mention that*, etc. Usually *not to speak of* is a good English equivalent; but what is *not to be spoken of* may be either affirmed or denied. Thus here οὐχ ὅπως χάριν ἔχεις, *not to mention your being grateful*, means *not only are you not grateful*; but in Dem. XXIV. 7, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν θυτῶν ἀν' ἀπεστερήμην means *not only should I have lost my property (not to speak of losing my property)*. These examples show that this construction is not related to that of *non modo* for *non modo non*. (See M.T. 707, 708.)

6. ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς εἶρηκεν, i.e. *it can be contended that he has spoken*, etc. ἀμφισβήτησις, like ἀμρισβητῶ and Latin *disputo*, refers to *maintaining in a dispute*. See Plato Rep. 476 D, ἐὰν ἀμφισβητῆ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, and Ter. Andr. Prol. 15, in eo disputant contaminari non decere fabulas.

εἶρηκεν, εἴσω· ἀ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φατερώς
ἀπεδείχθη πρῶτων, ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντ' 132
Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ κέσφι
ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ
κεκρῦμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κέκραγώς ὡς 5
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πο-
λιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφί-

7. εἴσω: "Hier ist die πομπή
aus, und der Redner wird ernst."
(Blauw.)

§§ 132—138. Here the orator
alludes briefly to some lesser offences
of Antiphon, which preceded the
outbreak of the war with Philip. In
§ 139 there are called slight matters
compared with his conduct after the
war began.

§ 132. 1. οἶδεν, *knows of*.—ἀποψη-
φισθέντ', *rejected* from the list of
citizens. In 346-5 B.C. a general
revision of the lists of citizens was
ordered at Athens; and the members
of each deme went through its own
list (the γραμματεῖον ληξιαρχικόν),
voting on each name which was
mentioned. This process was called
διαψηφισίς (διαψηφίζομαι), and the
rejection of any person was called
ἀποψηφισίς (ἀποψηφίζομαι). De-
mosthenes wrote his oration against
Eubulides (I.VII.) for a client who
had been thus rejected and had ap-
pealed (as every such person might)
to a Heliastic court. Antiphon was
probably rejected at the same δια-
ψηφισίς (see Dem. I.VII. 2, πολλῶν
ἐξεληλαμένων δικαίως ἐκ πάντων τῶν
δήμων), and afterwards offered his
services to Philip.

4. καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν: it is hardly probable that

Demosthenes brought Antiphon be-
fore the Assembly without some official
authority. At the time of the passage
of his trierarchic law (340 B.C.) he
held the office of ἐπιστάτης τοῦ
ναυτικοῦ (Aesch. III. 222). Antiphon
was probably arrested by μήνυσις,
denunciation to the people, the pro-
cess by which those charged with
mutilating the Hermae in 415 B.C.
were dealt with. Except in the rare
cases in which the Assembly itself
undertook the trial (as in the μήνυσις
against Phidias, Plut. Pericl. 31), the
people either sent the accused to a
Heliastic court for trial or discharged
him. The appeals of men like Aes-
chines moved the Assembly to dis-
charge Antiphon: but the Areopagus
interposed, and ordered (through the
Assembly) that Antiphon be tried
before a court, which condemned him
to the rack and to death. See Hist.
§ 43.

6. ἠτυχηκότας: referring to Anti-
phon's "bad luck" (as Aesch. called
it) in losing his citizenship.

7. ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, i.e. *without*
a vote of the Assembly or Senate.
An Athenian citizen, like an English-
man, looked upon his house as his
castle. But in extraordinary cases
officers of the state with proper
authority could search private houses
and arrest persons concealed therein.

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ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προΐ-
 εσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε ^{καὶ} κάκεινην καὶ τοῦ 5
 πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπή-
 λασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε·
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε,
 272 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιᾶρῳ τούτῳ. καὶ ὅτι 11
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας Σουκιεὺς, Ζήνων Φλυεὺς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν καὶ ἡ βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶπεν καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

Ἴν μὲν τοίνυν τούτο τοιοῦτό πολίτευμα τοῦ 11
 κεινίου τούτου, ὁμοίον γε—οὐ γάρ;—οἷς ἐμοῦ κατη-

4. ἀπὸ... ἥσπερ (see G. 1025): cf. Alc. 155, ὅτε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦν ἦν (for καθ' ἣν) ἐγὼ νῦν.

5. ὡς προείλεσθε κάκεινην, i.e. when you had previously associated it (the Areopagus) with yourselves in the case, i.e. giving it the right to revise your choice (lit. when you had previously chosen it also, and given it power, etc.). καὶ in κάκεινην, which seems awkward, must refer to the association of the two bodies in power: in H. Wolf's emendation, προείλεσθε, προσ- would have the same force as καὶ.

7. λέγειν προσέταξε: i.e. as the σύνδικος of Athens.

8. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most solemn form of voting, here on a

religious question. See XLIII. λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον καιομένων τερπειῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τὸν Διὸς τοῦ φρατρῖου. Cf. Hdt. VIII. 12 Plut. Them. 17; Cic. pro Balbo v.

9. ἠνέχθη: like φέρουσα (above)—τούτῳ: cf. ἐμοὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἠνεγκοῖσα Isae. XI. 18.

§ 135. 10. τούτου μέλλοντι λέγειν, when he was to be the speaker, i.e. after his election.

12. ἀπέφηνεν, declared him to do so by its ἀπόφασις.

§ 136. 2. νεανίου: this sometimes (as here) expresses wantonness or insolence, like νεανικός. See E Alc. 679, ἀγαν ὑβρίζεις, καὶ νεανίου λόγους ῥίπτων ἐς ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.—οὐ γὰρ; this sarcastic question (after γε

γορεῖ· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμνησθεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα
 Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ
 συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰ- 5
 σχύνη ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε
 ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ρέοντι
 καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀνάστας ἀντεῖπον
 καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαι' οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδι-
 κοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε 10
 τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολο-
 γεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει
 τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη^{μα} ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 137
 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατάσκοπῳ^{μα} συνίων εἰς τὴν
 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν
 273 πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινο-
 λογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος 5
 καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

MARTYRES:

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμα-
 χος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ 10

plies a self-evident absurdity, which is heightened by calling this affair with Antiphon a *πολίτευμα* of Aesch. and so comparing it with the *πολιτεύματα* of Demosth. (see next note).—
 οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ: probably=τοῖς ἐμοῦ πολιτεύμασιν οἷς κατηγορεῖ.

3. Πύθωνα: this eloquent orator was sent to Athens by Philip in 343 B.C., to quiet apprehension and to repeat assurances of the king's friendly spirit. See Hist. §§ 44, 45.

7. Θρασυνομένῳ, with his insolent manner.—πολλῷ ρέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, *ushing upon you with a flood* (of eloquence). See Thuc. II. 5, ὁ Ἀσωπὸς

ποταμὸς ἐρρήη μέγας, and Ar. Eq. 526 (of Cratinus), *ὅς πολλῷ ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει*. All quote Hor. Sat. I. 7, 28, *salso multo que fluenti*, with the preceding *ruehat flumen ut hibernum*. See § 199¹, πολλὸς ἔγκιται.

8. οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, *did not retreat* (before the flood).

11. συμμάχους: i.e. the *παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις* of I. 5.

§ 137. 2. Ἀναξίνῳ: see Aeschines (III. 223, 224).

5. αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε...κατάσκοπος, *he was to be assumed to have the nature of a spy himself*. See § 95^b.

τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναί Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην
συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογού-
μενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου.
αὐταὶ ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος
τρίτη ἰσταμένου.]

15

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερόν εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παρα- 138
λείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πόλλ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι
τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς
χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων
εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ 5
μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατ' ἔθει
τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέ-
γοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζει καὶ
συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ
χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀντάλλαττόμενοι. 10
διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
ὑηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον
τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συνα- 139

§ 138. 2. οὕτω πως, somewhat as follows, where earlier writers use ὧδε.

3. ὧν: assimilated to τούτων from ἄ, cognate object of ὑηρετῶν and ἐπηρεάζων: for the latter see ἐπήρειαν, § 12⁴.

6. ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργὴν (with εἰς): τίθεται εἰς ὀργὴν naturally follows the familiar τίθεται εἰς μνήμην.

8. ὑποσκελίζειν, trip up (cf. σκέλη).

9. τῆς...ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος: abusive language (λοιδορία) not only pleased the populace, but also gratified their whims and low tastes. A good example of both ἡδονή and χάρις is the scene in the Assembly when the second embassy reported in July 346 B.C., described in XIX. 44—46. Demosthenes was insulted and jeered at by Aeschines and Philocrates, to

the delight of the people: notice the single sarcastic remark of Demosthenes (46), καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε. Hist. §§ 34, 35.

12. τὴν...πολιτεύεσθαι is to serve the state as a patriot, opposed to τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν.

§§ 139—159. Next follows the account of the conduct of Aeschines in stirring up the Amphissian war in 339 B.C. (See note on §§ 126—226.) §§ 139—144 are introductory, and §§ 158, 159 are a peroration.

§ 139. The first sentence depreciates the acts already mentioned, done in time of nominal peace, to heighten the enormity of helping Philip in time of war: cf. δότε...αὐτῷ τοῦτο (3).

I. πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς:

γωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ, — πῶς
 4 γὰρ οὐ; — κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος. δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε,
 δότ' αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα
 ἐσεσϋλήτο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν 5
 ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ
 πράγματ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν
 πώποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βασκανός οὗτος ἰαμ-
 βειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον
 οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμ' οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν 10
 συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν

emosth. often implies that the pre-
 ding peace was really a state of
 ar. See IX. 19, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
 εἶλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ'
 τὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. φανερώς
 repeated in l. 4.

3. **κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος**: not con-
 nected in construction with δεινὸν, but
 an independent exclamation, justify-
 ing the assertion in δεινὸν μὲν.

4. **ἐπειδὴ...ἐπορθεῖτο**, after your
 ips had been openly seized (§ 73)
 and the ravaging of the Chersonese
 as going on. The ravaging of the
 Chersonese was marching an army
 through the Athenian territory there
 to enable his fleet to pass the Helles-
 pont for the siege of Perinthus
 without molestation from the shore.
 Demosth. 53.

5. **ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ'**
 Philip's action at the Hellespont, if
 had not been checked, would have
 opened the way for him into Attica
 and the whole of Greece. Demosth.
 had repeatedly warned the people of
 this peril: even in the First Philippic
 (351 B.C.) he had said (50), κἂν μὴ νῦν
 ἐλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ'
 ὡς ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
 See especially VI. 35 (344 B.C.),
 ὕλας...ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος
 ἵς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς
 ελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, and fur-

ther τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου,
 ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον ἐπειδὴν παρῆ,
 γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. See
 § 143⁷.

7. **ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος**: cf. ὁ ἐνοστὰς
 πόλεμος, § 89⁴. These words end the
 clause with ἐπειδὴ.

8. **ἰαμβειογράφος**, writer of iam-
 bics (ἰαμβεῖα), probably refers to
 verses written by Aeschines in his
 youth, to which he perhaps alludes in
 I. 136, περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν
 φασιν οὗτοί με πεποιηκέναί. This
 reading has the best MS. authority;
 but ἰαμβειοφάγος, eater (or moucher)
 of iambs, was and is the common
 reading. If we read ἰαμβειοφάγος,
 we must refer it to the career of
 Aeschines as an actor, not to his
 λαιδορία, to which the ancient inter-
 preters generally referred it. See
 Etym. Magn. Ἰαμβοφάγος.

10. **Αἰσχίνῃ**, dat. of possession:
has none to show.

11. **ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι**, in my time:
 this general formula and ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ
 ὕδατος are often used when a speaker
 offers part of his own time to his
 opponent to prove something which
 he believes cannot be proved. It is a
 mere challenge, made with no idea of
 its being accepted. For the genitive
 with ἐπὶ see LVII. 61 (end). The
 time allotted to each speaker in most

τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκ' ἔργασασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν ἦν ἕτερον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς εἴκεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λαυθάνειν. ἐν δ' ἐπιχειρήσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολ-

cases was measured by the clepsydra or water-clock (Dict. Antiq. under *Horologium*), a fixed number of ἀμφορείς of water being poured in according to the importance of the case. Thus Aeschines (ii. 126) says, πρὸς τοσοῦτα γὰρ ἀμφορείς ἐν διαμετρομένην ἡμέραν κλίνομαι, eleven ἀμφορείς (about 100 gallons), allowed each speaker in cases of παραπρεσβεῖα, being the largest amount mentioned. The term *διαμετρομένη ἡμέρα* is explained in Aesch. iii. 197. In important public suits the day was divided into three parts, and the clepsydra was filled three times, the first measure of water being given to the accuser, the second (of equal amount) to the accused, and the third (in ἀγῶνι τιμητοῖ, if the accused was convicted), a smaller measure, to the εἰρησίου, the decision δὲ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

12. δυοῖν...θάτερον: there is no infinitive or other verb to be supplied, and αὐτὸν is subject of γράφειν and φέρειν. δυοῖν θάτερον (or θάτερα), ἀμφοτέρων or ἀμφοτέρα, οὐδέτερον, and similar expressions, may stand emphatically, as adverbial phrases, before ἢ...ἢ, καὶ...καὶ, τε...τε, and in other cases where we simply say

either...or, both...and, etc. See Pl. Theaet. 187 B, εἰδὼν οὕτω δρῶμεν, δυοῦθ' ἢ εὐρήσομεν ἢ εὐρήσομεν ἢ ἠττον οἰησόμεθα εἶδέναι δὲ μηδ' ἴσμεν. So II. iii. 179, ἀμφοτέρων, βίβλησ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητῆς. 13—15. μηδὲν...ἔχοντ' and ζητοῦντα are causal.—παρὰ ταῦθ', *opposition to these.*

§ 140. 1. ἄρ' οὖν...ἔγραφεν οὐδ'...οὐδ' correspond to καὶ...καὶ in positive expressions of this kind. We cannot express such negatives: the meaning is, *as he proposed no measure, so did he also abstain from talking (neither did he talk)?* The sins of omission just described set these of commission in a stronger light.

2. οὐ μὲν...ἕτερον, *why, nobody else could get a chance to talk!*

5. ἐπιχειρήσατο: the idea of addition, which ἐπὶ (like πρὸς) expresses, is further extended by ἐπέθηκε τέλος, *capped the climax.*

6. τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους, *his many words*, referring to the long and brilliant passage (iii. 107—129) in which Aeschines describes his doing at Delphi when he stirred up the fatal Amphissian war. Cf. Aeschyl. Ag. 1456, μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πᾶσι πολλὰς ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ'.

λοὺς ἀνήλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων [τῶν
 Λοκρῶν] διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τὰληθές.
 τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψει σὺ
 τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πόλλ' ἐρεῖς. 10

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς 141
 θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς
 πατρῶός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις,
 εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότε 5
 75 εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν
 μίᾱρον τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω
 γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτη-
 ρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ'
 αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν 10
 ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

7. τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, *e decrees* (of the Amphictyons) *about the Amphissians*, like τὸ Μεγαρίων ψήφισμα, *the Megarian decree*, huc. i. 140, called in i. 139 τὸ ἐπὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. So τούτων ἡφισμα, xx. 115. Two MSS. omit ἂν Λοκρῶν.

9. τὸ δ', *but in fact*: this τὸ δέ, with no correlative τὸ μὲν, is common in Plato, introducing an adversative statement. See Apol. 23 A, οἴονται...εἶναι σοφόν· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει. So ep. 340 D (end), 357 A.—οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, i.e. *this cannot be done* (*the case is not of such a nature*), referring to ὡς διαστρέψων τὰληθές.—πόθεν; cf. § 47^b.—ἐκνίψει: cf. Act. post. xxii. 16, ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου, *wash away thy sins*.

§ 141. The solemn invocation in this chapter, resembling those which begin and end the exordium (§§ 1, 8), calls attention again to the gravity of the charge about to be made, and to the supreme importance of the events

which led to the fatal issue on the field of Chaeronea. He defends his invocation and his general earnestness in §§ 142—144.

4. πατρῶος: Apollo was the *paternal* God of Athens, not only as the great Ionic divinity, but as the father of Ion (according to Athenian belief). See Schol. on Ar. Av. 1527, πατρῶον δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ Ἴων, ὁ πολέμαρχος Ἀθηναίων, ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ξούθου ἐγένετο. So in the Ion of Euripides.

5. εἰ ἀληθῆ εἶποιμι καὶ εἶπον, lit. *if I should speak the truth to you now and if I did speak it then on the spot*: a double condition combining a future and a past supposition (M.T. 509). We should rather invert the order and say, *if I then spoke the truth and (shall) speak it again now*. Cf. § 190^b.

9. πρὸς ἔχθραν, *with a view to enmity*: cf. διὰ...ἔχθραν in § 143¹⁰.—φιλονεικίας, *contentiousness* (against an enemy).

11. ἀνόνητον: so XIX. 315.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διεινιάμην οὕτωςι 142
 σφοδρῶς ; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα,
 ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς. καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ
 πεπραγμένα ἀποφασίζοντα. ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ
 τῶν εἰρησμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑπόληψθῆ' οὗτος 5
 ἐλάττω· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαι-
 πύρους Φοκαῖς ἐποίησε ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ'
 ἀπαγγέλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν 143
 εἰς Ἐλατεῖαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἠρέθη τῶν
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμῶν ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀπέτρεψε τὰ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων οἷτοι ἐστίν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ
 πάντων ἐξ αἰτῆρ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε 5
 εἰς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκ-
 κλησίᾳ πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις,
 Λισχίην πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ

§ 142. 1. ἐπήραμαι: referring to the whole *ισχυρισμὸς* of § 141, but especially to the *ισχυρισμὸν* in the last clause. *τι ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι*: is why have I said this? while *τι διεινιάμην οὕτωςι σφοδρῶς*: (acc.) is why have I said this with all this vehemence?

2. ἔχων and εἰδὼς (3) are connected. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, in the public assembly: this was in the *Μητρῶν* (see *ισχυρ.* III. 187. *Παυσ.* I. 3. 5).

3. μὴ ἐλάττων, i.e. lest Aeschines should be thought too small a man to have done this.

4. ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη: this allusion to a former time when Aeschines was driven from the Phocians by Demosthenes' denunciations, can refer only to the return of the second embassy in 340 B.C. (see §§ 32—36). This distinct statement that Aeschines was then thought "too insignificant to do so much harm," with the apprehension that the court may make the same mistake again in the

present case, is one of the strongest proofs that the case against Aeschines really came to trial, that the speeches de *Falsa Legatione* were actually spoken, and that Aeschines was acquitted by a small majority.

§ 143. 1. τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον: for this and the seizure of Elatea, see § 152⁸ and note.

2. ἠρέθη ἡγεμῶν ὃς (sc. *τις*), a man was chosen leader, who etc. (i.e. Philip).

6. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, i.e. in the meeting in which Aesch. made his report of his doings in the Amphictyonic Council (*Hist.* § 61).

7. εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν: Demosth. saw at once the full meaning of the Amphictyonic war, and knew that it must end in bringing Philip into Greece as the Amphictyonic general (see note on § 139⁵).

8. οἱ...συγκαθήμενοι, those who sat together by his summons, i.e. his *παράκλητοι*, with whom he had packed the meeting.

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πολεμούντων αὐτῷ, ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου 5
καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρί' ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ
ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ'
εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δ' οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ 146
τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν
δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θη-
βαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ, τῷ πολέμῳ
κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὀποιουσδήποτε ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε 5
στρατηγοὺς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ
τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κάκοπαθεῖν.
εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς 147
ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν'

ship there is only praise. These operations are probably those of the later part of 340—339, when Philip was in Scythia (Hist. § 56).

5. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. *by the mere state of war*.

6. ληστῶν: a state of war naturally encouraged pirates and plunderers.

7. τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων: see §§ 44⁴, 213¹².

8. ὧν ἐδεῖτ': sc. οὐδέν.—αὐτῷ, with εἰσήγετο.

§ 146. 3. μήτε...διέντων, i.e. εἰ μήτε Θετταλοὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν μήτε Θηβαῖοι διεῖεν: Philip depended on Thessalian troops to fill his army, but he would have been satisfied with Thebes (under the circumstances) if she had merely made no objection to his marching through Boeotia to attack Athens. There was probably a coolness already between Thebes and Philip, which appears later when Thebes refused to attend the Amphictyonic meeting in the autumn of 339 B.C. (See Aesch. III. 128.) See Hist. § 57, for these relations.

5. ὀποιουσδήποτε: here relative, while generally relative forms with οὖν and δήποτε are indefinite. See

τοὺς ὀποιουστίνασούν in VIII. 20, and *δου δήποτε ἔνεκα* in § 21¹⁰ (above).

7. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις, *of the relative resources of each*, i.e. of his own inferiority in resources, especially in naval power. See Thuc. I. 141⁸, where Pericles speaks of the comparative resources of Athens and her enemies: τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔχομεν.

§ 147. This is closely connected in thought with the beginning of § 145. How, thought Philip, can I induce the Thessalians and Thebans to join me? He remembered their zeal in the Phocian war: see XIX. 50, τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι...ποίοις; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ. A new Sacred war, or any war for the rights of the Amphictyonic Council, would be sure to rouse their interest again.

1. εἰ μὲν...συμπεῖθαι, i.e. *if he were to join in an attempt to persuade them* etc.: συμ- implies that he would depend greatly on the influence of his friends in Thebes and Thessaly.—ἔνεκ', *on the ground of*.

2. οὐδέν' ἤγειτο προσέξαι: I omit *ἀν* before ἤγειτο, with I, A 1, and

ἤγειτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἤγεμὼν αἵρεθῆ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζεν τὰ μὲν παρακρούσασθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; 5 ἐπιχερεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσασθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπο- 148 μένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θεβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξε-

most recent editors, because its intention is accounted for by the v. l. προσέχειν, with which it would be required. (See M.T. 208.) The simple προσέξειν is also supported by the following παρακρούσασθαι and πείσειν and by the infinitives in § 148. For the conditional forms in this section and the following, see note on 148^b.

3. ἐὰν...αἵρεθῆ, i.e. *if he should elect* (as his own) *some grounds common to both Thebans and Thessalians, and so be chosen general.* See τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, opposed to τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς (the real κοινὰς), § 158¹. The actual result of the theme is seen in §§ 151, 152.

5. τὰ μὲν...πέσειν, i.e. *to succeed sometimes by deception, sometimes by persuasion.* For the tense of the infinitive with ἐλπίζω, see M.T. 136.

6. θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, see how craftily: § 144^b.—πόλεμον ποιῆσαι (not ποιήσασθαι), *to get up a war*, i.e. to get the Amphictyons into a war.

7. τὴν Πυλαίαν: the meeting of the Amphictyonic Council was so called, because twice in each year (in the spring and the autumn) the council met first at Thermopylae in the sanctuary of Demeter Amphictyonis, and afterwards proceeded to Delphi, where the regular sessions

were held. See Hyper. Epitaph. § 18, ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν, θεωροὶ γενήσονται τῶν ἔργων κ.τ.λ., with Aesch. III. 126, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις, and Strab. p. 429 (of Thermopylae) Δήμητρος ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ πᾶσαν Πυλαίαν θυσίαν ἐτέλουν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. Records of Amphictyonic meetings at Delphi in the spring as well as the autumn are found in inscriptions.—εἰς ταῦτ'...δεήσασθαι, *would need him for these*, especially for the war, as the only available commander.

§ 148. Having made up his mind (1) that he must have the support of Thebes and Thessaly (§§ 145, 146), and (2) that he can secure this only by an Amphictyonic war (§ 147), he now (3) determines to find some Athenian to instigate the war, to disarm all suspicion in advance. For this important work he hires Aeschines (§ 148).

2. ἱερομνημόνων: for the constitution of the Amphictyonic Council see Essay v.—ἐκείνου, *his*, from the orator's point of view, just after ἑαυτοῦ, *his own*, from Philip's: cf. Xen. Mem. IV. 7, 1, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ὀμιλοῦντας αὐτῷ.

σθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων 5
 ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς
 οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ 14
 προειδότης, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ
 277 εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προβληθεῖς
 πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-
 σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα 5
 λαβῶν ἀφίκετ' εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τᾶλλ'
 ἀφείς καὶ παρίδων, ἐπέβαινε ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ
 λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία

. 5. ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ: we have the same antithesis here between ἂν...ἢ and the preceding εἰ...εἰσηγοίτο which we had in § 147 between ἂν...αἰρεθῆ (3) and εἰ συμπείθοι (1). It is commonly assumed that ἂν with the subjunctive expresses greater probability or likelihood that the supposition may prove true than εἰ with the optative; and this double antithesis is often cited as a strong confirmation of this view. It seems to be overlooked that all four suppositions are in *oratio obliqua* after past tenses, and would all be expressed in the *oratio recta* (i.e. as Philip conceived them) by subjunctives, ἂν συμπείθω, αἰρεθῶ, εἰσηγήται, Ἀθηναῖος ἢ, which would all be retained if the leading verb were present or future. If these forms now show any inherent distinction between subj. and opt. as regards probability, this has been introduced by the *oratio obliqua* after a past tense. The two subjunctives express the plans which Philip had most at heart, and the two optatives express the opposite alternatives. Cf. note on εἰ προαιρησόμεθ' in § 176¹. See Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc. for 1873, pp. 71, 72, and the Eng. Journ. of Philology vol. v. no. 10, p. 198.

§ 149. 3. προβληθεῖς, *nominated*:

the πυλάγοροι were chosen by ballot vote (χειροτονησάντων), while τὸν ἐλερομνήμων, the higher officer, was chosen annually by lot (λαχῶν, A. Nub. 623).

4. τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων: this small vote shows how little the Assembly understood the importance of the election.

5. ἀξίωμα, *prestige, dignity* (of delegate of Athens).

6. εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας: this was the meeting in the spring of 340 B.C., described by Aeschines (1. 115—124).

8. εὐπροσώπους, *plausible* (*saï faced*; cf. *barefaced*).—μύθους, *talk* referring to the eloquent account of the first Sacred war in the time of Solon (Aesch. III. 107—112).—ὅθεν, *καθιερώθη, from the time when the plain of Cirrha was consecrated*: cf. Aesch. III. 61, λέξω ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε. We see by this that Aeschines repeated to the Amphictyons in 339 his story of the consecration of the plain of Cirrha, with all the terrible curses which were imprecated against those who should cultivate the devoted land, which he told in court in 330. The consecration was made at the end of the first Sacred war, about 586 B.C.

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ἀρχῆς; εἶπε τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῆ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. 10
 περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων 151
 κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν, τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ
 Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
 συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἐτα- 5
 ράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν· ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ
 ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν
 Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόν' ἤγον οἱ
 κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν 10

10. Notice position of ταύτη.

§ 151. 1. περιόντων: cf. περιελθεῖν, § 150¹. See Aesch. 122, 123.

3. μικροῦ (M.T. 779^b), *almost*, belongs to κατηκόντισαν: cf. Aesch. 123, εἰ μὴ ἐξεφύγομεν, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀπολέσθαι. See § 269^b.

5. ἐγκλήμ...ἐταράχθη: we have *πολεμονταράσσειν*, like *proelia miscere* or *confundere*, Plat. Rep. 567A, and ἐγκλήματα ταραξείν, Plut. Them. 5 (Bl.).

6. Κόττυφος: the president of the Council, a Thessalian of Pharsalus.

7. οὐκ ἦλθον: e.g. Thebans and Athenians, and doubtless others.

8. οὐδὲν ἐποίουν: see Aesch. 129. —εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν...ἤγον (sc. τὰ πράγματα), *took measures at once, against the coming meeting* (autumn of 339), *to put things* (i.e. the war) *into the hands of Philip as commander*. See IX. 57, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

9. οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι (pass.), *those with whom arrangements had been made*.

10. πάλαι πονηροὶ: cf. § 158⁷, ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν.

Demosthenes distinctly implies that Cottyphus was made general at the spring meeting, but that, after a mere

pretence of war, intrigues at once began for superseding him by Philip at the autumnal meeting (εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν). Aeschines, on the contrary, whose whole object is to show that a real Amphictyonic war was intended, with no help or thought of help from Philip, and to represent Philip's final appointment as commander as a remote afterthought, states that no action was taken against the Amphissians in the spring, but that a special meeting was called before the regular autumnal Πυλαία, to take such action (124). At this special meeting, which Athens and Thebes refused to attend (Aesch. 126—128), Cottyphus was chosen general, (according to Aesch.) while Philip was "away off in Scythia"; and after a successful campaign the Amphissians were fined and their offending citizens were banished. But they refused to submit; and finally, "a long time afterwards" (πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον), a second expedition became necessary "after Philip's return from his Scythian expedition"; —he does not even then say that Philip was actually made general! See Hist. §§ 61—63.

καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις 152
 εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἢ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰσφέρειν καὶ
 278 ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ
 ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ 'κείνον αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ ε
 πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμῶν. καὶ 5
 μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν
 ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας, πολλὰ
 Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ 153
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους
 ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε·
 νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα
 μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινος εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 5

§ 152. 2. αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν...
 δεῖν, *they must themselves (ipsos) pay taxes.*

4. ἢ 'κείνον αἰρεῖσθαι: this alternative was one of the προφάσεις εὐλογοῖ (§ 152¹) for choosing Philip.

6. παρελθὼν (sc. εἰσω Πυλῶν): cf. § 35⁸.

7. ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ, *bidding many farewells (a long adieu):* so XIX. 248. Cf. ἔρρωσο, vale.

8. Ἐλάτειαν: when Philip had passed Thermopylae, he hardly made a pretence of entering into the war with Amphissa, for which he was chosen commander; and he soon appeared at the Phocian town of Elatea, which commanded the pass into Boeotia and "the road to Athens." This move left no further doubt as to his real intentions. Aeschines says (140) of Philip's sudden movement, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτῶν (i.e. the Phocian war), τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον (i.e. a similar sacred war) ἐπήγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας. Philip must have been made general

in the early autumn of 339 B.C., and probably, seized Elatea in the late autumn or early winter; so that the campaign lasted about eight or nine months until the battle of Chaeronea in August or September 338. A "winter battle" is naturally mentioned in § 216⁶. The startling effect at Athens of the news from Elatea is described in §§ 169 ff.

§ 153. 2. μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, *joined us.—ὥσπερ χειμάρρους, like a winter torrent:* most of the rivers of Greece are nearly or quite dry the greater part of the year, and in the winter and spring are often filled by rushing torrents. Many of these, when dry, still serve as paths over the mountain passes. Similar simple comparisons are ὥσπερ νέφος, § 188⁵ (cf. νυκτὶ εἰκῶς, II. 1. 47); ὥσπερ πνεῦμα, § 308⁹.

3. ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμ': we might say *this whole thing*, but with far less dignity.

4. νῦν, *as it was, in fact*, opposed to εἰ μὴ μετέγνωσαν: cf. § 133⁷.—τό γ' ἐξαίφνης, *for the moment..*

εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἑν' ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ.
 δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς
 ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγμαθ' ἢ
 μιὰ κεφαλὴ τὰράξασ' αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν.
 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

154

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς
 πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ
 κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπεύρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέ- 5
 μουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ
 στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισ-
 σεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

ἜΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς 155
 279 πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ
 κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν
 χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ
 κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ 5
 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας,
 τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς
 Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιούν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε
 Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοισιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν 10

6. εἶτα...δι' ἐμέ, lit. *but besides*,
and so far as depended on any one
man, also through me: the former
 καὶ connects ὅσον...ἄνδρα to εἶτα.

7. δόγματα ταῦτα are Amphicty-
 onic decrees about the Amphissian
 affair.—τοὺς χρόνους: we see from
 § 155¹⁴ that this was an official state-
 ment from the records, showing that
 these decrees were passed when

Aeschines was πυλάγορος.

8. ἢ μιὰ κεφαλὴ: cf. XXI. 117,
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἢ μιὰ καὶ ἀναιδῆς
 αὕτη κεφαλὴ ἐξεληλυθῶς κ.τ.λ., and
 XIX. 313.

9. τὰράξασ': we should express
 τὰράξασα by the leading verb, and
 δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν by *without being*
punished. With πράγματα τὰράξασα
 cf. § 151⁵ and note.

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ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν
 ἄνθρωποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν
 Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνε- 10
 στῶτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοη-
 ῥομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι
 πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις]
 ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε].

Ὅραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς 158
 ἑμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμ-
 παρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας
 ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστ'
 αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες 5
 Ἀθηναῖοι, περιμόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπουθεν
 ἢ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν
 καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστῃς, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν 159
 εἰς οὕτοσί, ὄν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθές εἰπεῖν
 δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν
 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων,
 τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος 5
 τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὄν ὅπως ποτ' οὐκ εὐθὺς

§ 158. 2. ἑμφικτυονικὰς: see
 §§ 147^a, 156.—καταφεύγει, *takes ref-*
uge, opposed to φεύγει (1), *shuns*.

3. προφάσεις ἐνδούς: cf. Thuc. II.
 87 (end), οὐκ ἐνδύσομεν πρόφασιν
 οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι.

5. μὴ λέγετε περιμόντες, *do not go*
about and tell.

6. ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, i.e. by
 Philip: cf. εἰς ἀνὴρ (of Philip), XIX.
 64. Philip (he says) could never have
 accomplished his purpose, had he not
 had such accomplices as Aeschines.
 Notice the effective collocation in ἢ
 Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου.

§ 159. 2. μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα,
without reserve.

3. κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον, *a common*
curse and destroyer. An ἀλιτήριος is

a man who has sinned against the
 Gods and is thereby under a curse,
 which curse he transmits to others
 with whom he has to do; also an
 avenging divinity: cf. Aen. II. 573
 Troiae et patriae communis Erinny
 (of Helen). See Andocides I. 130,
 131. Ἀλάστωρ is similarly used in
 both senses: see § 296^b, XIX. 305
 see also Aeschyl. Eum. 236, δέχεται
 δὲ πρηνεμένως ἀλάστορα (one who has
 already been purified); Pers. 394
 φανείσ ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποδῶν
 Aeschines twice (III. 131, 157) cf.
 Demosthenes τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον
 (see Blass).

6. τῶν φύντων κακῶν (so Σ), *of*
the harvest of woes: without κακῶν
 which many omit, we should have

81 ^{καὶ μὲν} ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε θαυμάζω. πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶν παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τοῦτοις ἐναντιού-
μενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι. ἃ πολλῶν μὲν
21 ἔνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι
αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ 5
ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ
τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη- 161

ie common saying about the harvest. ic. Phil. II. 22. 55 perhaps supports κῶν: ut igitur in seminibus est iusa arborum et stirpium, sic huius ictuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti.— ν: object of both ἰδόντες and ἀπεστράφητε: the latter becomes transitive in the passive, like φοβέω, πλήσσω, etc.

8. πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας: i.e. so as to conceal the truth from you.

§§ 160—226. The orator now passes to his own agency in opposing the joint plot of Aeschines and Philip. See introductory note on §§ 126—226. After speaking of the enmity between Athens and Thebes, which men like Aeschines had encouraged (§§ 160—163), he gives a graphic account of the panic excited at Athens by Philip's seizure of Elatea, and of the manner in which he took advantage of this emergency to bring Athens and Thebes to a better understanding and even to an alliance against the common enemy (§§ 168—226). Into this account he introduces (§§ 189—210) a most eloquent and earnest defence of the whole line of policy in opposition to Philip which Athens had followed chiefly by his advice. He pleads that Athens, with her glorious traditions, could have taken no other course, even if she had seen the fatal defeat

at Chaeronea in advance. This is the most eloquent and impassioned passage in the oration; and it is addressed not merely to the court, but to the whole people and to future ages.

§ 160. 4. ἀκούσαιτε: this reading, though it has slight MS. authority, is necessary here, with ἔνεκ' ἂν in Σ and L. Σ often has ε for αι or αι for ε, from their identity in later pronunciation.

5, 7. τὰ ἔργα... τοὺς λόγους: the actual labours, contrasted with merely listening to the account of them. Cf. λόγῳ and τὰ ἔργα, Thuc. I. 22.

The orator introduces this continuation of his political history in an apologetic way, as in § 110^b he professed to leave it doubtful whether he should speak at all of these later acts, τὰ μέγιστα..... πεπραγμένων (see note). This is a part of the skilful device by which he divides the long account of his public life, while at the same time he reminds the court that the brilliant passage which follows is over and above what is needed to defend Ctesiphon (see § 126¹), and asks their attention to it as a personal favour to himself.

§ 161. The orator recurs to the critical moment in the relations of Athens and Thebes, when both were astounded by the sudden seizure of Elatea, and the great question was

βαίους σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου
 φροῦνούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν
 ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερόν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον,
 τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ 5
 οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ
 προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο
 μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαυ-
 τοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων,
 ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα 162
 τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν,
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς
 τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεὶ. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὦ
 κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ 5

whether Thebes would join Philip against Athens, or Athens against the invader.

1. ὁρῶν: with παρορῶντας (5), φυλαττομένους, and ἔχοντας (M.T. 904).

2. ὑπὸ τῶν... διεφθαρμένων: expressing the *agency* by which the condition described in παρορῶντας etc. was effected, as if the participles were passive.

3. παρ' ἑκατέροις, i.e. in each city. For Athens the great danger was that her old enmity against Thebes might prevent her from taking the only safe course, union with Thebes. For Philip's way of working in such cases, see § 61. Dissen contrasts παρ' ἑκατέροις, apud utrosque seorsim, in each city, with ἀμφοτέροις (4), utrisque simul, both.

5. τὸ... αὐξάνεσθαι: appositive to the omitted antecedent of δ (3), which is the object of παρορῶντας etc.

7. ὅπως τοῦτο (τὸ προσκρούειν) μὴ γένοιτο (so Σ and L¹): most MSS. have the more common γενήσεται (M.T. 339, 340).

8. παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, I kept continual watch.

9. ταῦτα: the policy of friendship

with Thebes (ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, § 162²), implied in ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο.

§ 162. 1. Ἀριστοφῶντα (see § 70^b), a leading statesman of the earlier period and a strong friend of Thebes. Aesch. says of him (III. 139), πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάξειν ὑπομείνας αἴτιαν.—Εὐβουλον (cf. § 70^b): see Grote xi. 387.

2. βουλομένους and ὁμογνωμονοῦντας (4) are imperfect, past to εἰδὼς and διετέλουν: but ἀντιλέγοντας (3), though they opposed one another, is present to ὁμογν., to which it is subordinate.—ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν: the friendship for Thebes during the oppressive Spartan supremacy, which appeared in the aid privately sent by Athens to Thebes when she expelled the Spartan garrison from the Cadmea in 379 B.C. This friendship was broken after Leuctra in 371. See § 98⁴ and note.

5. παρηκολούθεις is more than *you were one of their followers*; it means *you followed them round or hung on to them* in a servile way. Eubulus was one of the συνήγοροι who supported Aesch. at his trial for παραπροσβεία (Aesch. II. 184). The anonymous

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Ἄττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδέν ἡγού- 5
 μενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπι-
 βάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις,
 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις,
 οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα 10
 μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ
 μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς
 ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἤρέθησαν
 ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φυλάσιος,
 Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπίθου, μηνός μουνυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ 165
 νέμ, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα
 Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκευάσται
 δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 283 παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρ- 5
 χούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι
 καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως
 ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε
 βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἤρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς 10
 Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Παλυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κήρυξ
 Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

166

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ
 τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν,
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιείσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βου- 5
 λόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοὺς· βέλτιον
 δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν
 ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ

κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' 10
οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν
πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός
εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβου-
λεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώ-
σητε. ἔρρωσθε.] 15

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ 167
τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι'
284 ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὄντως ἐμοὶ
ποιεῖτε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι
προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους 5
γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν
ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων
ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπι-
γνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ
ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἧσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς 10
ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι περὶ
τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εἰνοίᾳ· ὅπερ
οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἰάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης
μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλή- 168
λας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι
καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν
'Ελάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἔτι

§ 168. 1. οὕτω: as the documents showed.

4. ὡς οὐδ' ἂν... συμπνευσάντων ἂν, i.e. *feeling* (ὡς) *that under no possible circumstances would the Thebans and ourselves become harmonious*: συμπνευσάντων ἂν represents συμπνεύσαιμεν ἂν. The mss. all have συμπνευσόντων ἂν, which Bekker retains. The future participle with ἂν

is very rare and generally doubtful: but here it would represent the future optative with ἂν, for which there is no recognized authority. Moreover, the future of πνέω is not πνεύσω, but πνεύσομαι or πνευσούμαι, and this should be decisive (see Veitch). See M.T. 216; and for the repetition of ἂν, 223.

συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ^{Ἑλλήνων}Θαβαίων· ἀλλὰ 5
μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντ' ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν
ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσαθ' ὅμως [αὐτὰ τὰ] ἀναγκαιότατα.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς 169
τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες,
τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον
καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνέπιμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς 5

7. μικρὰ ἀναγκαιότατα (so Σ and L¹): see § 126⁴ and note. Most MSS. give αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα here, perhaps correctly.

§§ 169—180. Here follows the famous description of the panic in Athens when the news of the seizure of Elatea arrived, and of the meeting of the Assembly which was suddenly called to consider the alarming situation. This is a celebrated example of διατύπωσις, *vivid delineation*.

§ 169. 1. The succession of tenses, ἦν, ἦκε (*had come*), and κατείληπται (the direct form for the indirect), makes the narrative lively and picturesque at the outset. Much would have been lost if he had said ἦλθε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς κατείλημμένη εἶη. — ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις: the message came to the Prytanes, the fifty senators of one of the ten tribes, who for their term of one-tenth of the year represented the authority of the state. Their office was the θόλος or σκιάς, a round building with a cupola in the ἀγορά, adjoining the Senate-house and the μητρώον with its record-office. There the ἐπιστάτης of the Prytanes was expected to spend his whole day and night of office, with a third of the Prytanes whom he had selected (Arist. Pol. Ath. 44^b), so as to be accessible in emergencies like the present; and there the state provided meals for all the Prytanes. The θόλος is distinct from the ancient

Prytaneum or City Hall, where certain privileged persons (ἀείσιτοι) had their meals at a public table, to which ambassadors and other guests of the state were sometimes invited.

4. τοὺς...σκηνῶν: cf. § 44⁴.

5. τὰ γέρρα, probably the wicker-work with which the booths (σκῆναι) in the market-place were covered. The word can mean also anything made of twigs, and is used of a wicker fence which enclosed the ἐκκλησία (see Harpocr. under γέρρα, and LIX. 90). But the close connection of the two clauses, *drove out those in the booths and burnt the γέρρα*, shows that the γέρρα which were burnt were taken from the booths. Otherwise there is no reason for driving the poor hucksters out at all. If it is said that this was done to prepare for the "monster meeting" the next morning, we must remember, first, that the Assembly was held in the Pnyx, not in the ἀγορά; and, secondly, that there was to be a meeting of the Senate before that of the Assembly, which would give time enough to make all necessary preparations after daybreak. To suppose, further, that the booths were torn to pieces and burnt on the spot after dark, merely to clear the ἀγορά, when there was no pressure of time, even if the needed clearing at all, is to imagine the Prytanes conduct well wo

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μέν' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἤκοντα παρήγαγον καὶ κεῖνος
 εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βού-
 λεται; ¹⁷⁰ πᾶρῃ δ' οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος
 ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων
 μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν
 ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆ κοινῆ τῆς πατρίδος φωνῆ
 τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κήρυξ κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρί- 10
 δος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς 171
 σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,
 πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες
 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι
 αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ 5
 τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνους
 τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας
 ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ
 τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς 172
 καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα κείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνου καὶ πλούσιον
 ἄνδρ' ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγ-
 μασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος
 ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· 5
 ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακῶς, πόρρωθεν ἐπι-
 μελῶς, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν

the last meeting of the Assembly before the departure of the second embassy in 346: see Aesch. III. 74.

3. τὸν ἤκοντα, the messenger who had brought the news about Elatea: cf. § 28^b.

4. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; the regular formula for opening a debate: cf. § 191². Aeschines (III. 2 and 4) laments the omission of the additional words, τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, the Solonic form.

9. τὸν ἐροῦνθ' = ὅς ἐρεῖ, *the man to speak* (M.T. 565): cf. § 285³.

§ 171. 5. οἱ τριακόσιοι, *the Three Hundred*: see note on § 103⁴.

6. ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα: see note on § 139¹².

7. τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις, *the large contributions*, made after the battle of Chaeronea (Hist. § 67): μετὰ ταῦτα refers to the events which ended in that battle.

§ 172. 3. παρηκολουθηκότα, *one who had followed the track of events*.

μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅτι χρή ποιεῖν εἶσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν
 ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ 173
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου
 286 δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν,
 ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων
 ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, 5
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμενῃ τὰ δέονθ'
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δὲ, ὅτι
 μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ
 τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.

Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι

174

“Τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ
 λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ'
 ἠγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν
 ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατεία ὄντα, ἀλλ' 5
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὀρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἔτοιμα

See XIX. 257 (end), and Ev. Luc. i. 3
 παρηκολουθηκότι ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκρι-
 βῶς.

8. οὐδὲν...εἶσεσθαι, i.e. *was none
 the more likely to know*. The best
 MSS. have ἤμελλεν here and in § 192⁴,
 and ἔμελλον in § 101⁵.

§ 173. 1. οὗτος (pred.), *that man*,
 whom ὁ καιρὸς...ἐκάλει (§ 172¹): cf.
 § 282¹⁰, οὗτος εὐρέθης.

2. ἃ...ἀκούσατε: relative as obj.
 of imperative, as we say *which do at
 your peril*. For this in οἷσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον;
 and similar expressions, see M.T. 253.

3. προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, *atten-
 tively*, cf. *animum advertere*.

5. τὴν...ἔλιπον, *I did not desert
 my post of devotion to the state*, i.e.
 I was never guilty of λιποταξία here.
 This military figure was a favourite of
 Demosthenes. See III. 36, μὴ παρα-
 χωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι
 τῆς ἀρετῆς...κατέλιπον; XV. 32, 33
 (with the figure often repeated); XIX.
 9, 29; XXI. 120, λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ

δικαίου τάξιν. The same figure is
 seen in ἐξηταζόμενῃ (l. 6), in ἐξήτασαι
 (§ 197¹¹), ἐξητάζετο (§ 217⁷), ἐξεταζο-
 μένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (§ 277⁷), and in ἐξέ-
 τασις, a *mustering* (as of troops), a
call for (§§ 310¹, 320¹¹). Here there
 is always an idea of being *counted in*
 on one side or the other of some con-
 test.—εὐνοίας: see note on § 1².

6. λέγων...ἐξηταζόμενῃ (see last
 note), *I was found ready* (at my
 post), when the test came, *speaking
 and proposing measures*.

8. πολλῶ...ἐμπειρότεροι, *far more
 experienced for the future in the whole
 administration of the state* (πολιτείας).

§ 174. 1. εἶπον ὅτι: introduc-
 ing a direct quotation (M.T. 711).

2. ὡς...Φιλίππῳ, *in the belief* (ὡς)
that Philip can depend on the Thebans:
 cf. §§ 95⁵, 228⁸.

3. θορυβουμένους, *disturbed*: cf.
 θορύβου, § 169⁶.

6. ἵν'...ποιήσῃται, i.e. *to prepare
 Thebes for his appearance there as a*

ποιήσῃται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἤκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς
 δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος ὅσους 175
 ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατήσῃαι ἐνῆν,
 ἅπαντας εὐτρέπισται· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκό-
 τας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι
 δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα τὴν 5
 Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ
παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα, τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπάραι
καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους κατα-
 πλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἂ νῦν οὐκ
 ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' 176
 ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρα-
 κται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ
 ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι,
 πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα 5
 φοβοῦμαι μὴ, προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων
 287 αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν
 Ἄττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφοτέρω. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ'
 ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ

friend: cf. εὐτρέπισται (i.e. εὐτρεπεῖς πεποληται), § 175⁴.

§ 175. 6. πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας, *by making a display of force in their neighbourhood,* Elatea being near enough to Thebes to make Philip's presence there alarming.

7. ἐπάραι (cf. ἐπαρθεῖς, § 168³), with ποιῆσαι and καταπλῆξαι, depends on βούλεται understood, this answering τί βούλεται; as the following ἵν'... βιασθῶσιν answers τίνος ἕνεκα;

§ 176. 1. εἰ μὲν... προαιρησόμεθ': this most vivid form of future supposition here expresses what the orator wishes to make especially prominent by way of warning and admonition, though it happens that this is not what he wishes or what actually occurs. It is an excellent case of Gildersleeve's

"minatory and monitory conditions" (see Trans. of Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1876, p. 13, and M.T. 447, with footnote). On the other hand, ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ (8) happens to express what he most desires and what actually occurs. Compare the antithesis of subjunctive and optative in §§ 147, 148, with notes.

2. δύσκολον, *unpleasant,* euphemistic: cf. § 189⁶.

4. ὡς ἐν... μερίδι, *looking at them (ὡς) in the light of enemies* (M.T. 864): cf. § 292⁶ and III. 31, ἐν ὑπηρέτου... μέρει.

7. μιᾷ γνώμῃ, *uno consensu.*

8. ἀμφοτέρω, Thebans and Philip.

9. πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν... γένησθε, *devote yourselves to considering:* cf. VIII. 11, πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι.

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τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς
 Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; 5
 τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι
 Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγ-
 γελλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων
 ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δ' ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι προορω-
 μένων· ἴν' εἰάν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πειθῶσιν 10
 288 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθ' ὧμεν διφκημένοι καὶ μετὰ
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἂν
 δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῆ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοῖς

ject of βαδίζειν is ὑμᾶς, the Athenian army. The embassy probably departed for Thebes at once, so as to lose no time in securing the confidence of the Thebans; but the army could not march further than Eleusis until it was invited by Thebes to cross her frontier. This was done in due time (§ 215¹), after negotiations at Thebes (§§ 211—214). To facilitate this movement when the summons should come, the people were asked to empower the embassy at Thebes, in concurrence with the generals at Eleusis, to order a march to Thebes at any moment, and to decide all questions about *the march itself* (τῆς ἐξόδου).

5. χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι, *to manage the* (diplomatic) *business*.

6. τούτῳ...νοῦν: this special call for close attention was made to excite the audience with the expectation of hearing just what the embassy was to ask of the Thebans, and to impress them the more by the unexpected answer μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν. It was indeed an unheard of thing for an embassy to be sent to a semi-hostile state in such an emergency, with no demands or even requests, but with an unconditional offer of military help whenever it might be

asked for. Aeschines does not fail to misrepresent this noble act of Demosthenes, and to criticise the course of the embassy: see III. 145, τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος, καὶ μετήμεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμελαν.

9. ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, *in extremis*. — ἡμῶν...προορωμένων (also with ὡς), *on the ground that we foresee* (the course of events) *better than they* (τὸ μέλλον is omitted with Σ): cf. τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι προορᾶν, Plat. Theaet. 166 A.

10. ἴν'...ὧμεν διφκημένοι, *that we may* (then) *have accomplished what we wish*: the perfect subjunctive here and in l. 15 (ἢ πεπραγμένον) is future-perfect in time, in contrast to the simple future of πράξωμεν and ἐγκαλώσιν (M.T. 103).

12. προσχήματος, *ground of action*: πρόσχημα is what appears on the outside, which may be either mere show or (as here) an honest exhibition of the truth. Cf. the double meaning of πρόφασις, *ground of action* or *pretext*, in § 225⁶. — ἂν δ' ἄρα, *but if after all*: cf. § 278⁶.

13. κατατυχεῖν, *to succeed* (= ἐπιτυχεῖν, Hesych.), acc. to Blass is not elsewhere found in classic writers. — αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλώσιν, *may have themselves to blame*.

ἐγκαλῶσιν ἄν τι νῦν ἑξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν
 αἰσχροὺν μηδὲ ^{ἰσχυρὸν} ταπεινὸν ἢ ^{ἐπιπραγμένον} πεπραγμένον. 15

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. 179
 συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὔδενος εἰπόντος
 ἐναντίον οὔδεν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ,
 οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα
 μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς 5
 ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν
 ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς ^{περιεστηκότας} τῇ πόλει κινδύνους.
 καὶ μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυτὸν 180
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, δν
 ἂν σὺ λαιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτ-

§ 179. 1. καὶ παραπλήσια: we have here only a single passage of what must have been one of the most eloquent speeches of Demosthenes.

3—5. οὐκ εἶπον μὲν...Θηβαίους: a most famous example of *climax* (κλίμαξ, *ladder*), in which the antitheses of μὲν and δέ give a wonderful effect. Each of the three leading negatives (οὐκ, οὐδ', οὐδ') introduces a pair of clauses of which the second is negative, and which as a whole it negatives. Thus the first οὐκ negatives the compound idea, *I spoke, but proposed no measures*; then the positive conclusion thus attained, *I did propose measures*, is taken as an assumption in the next step. Without the help of μὲν and δέ the mixture of negatives would have made hopeless confusion. Quintilian (ix. 3, 55) thus translates the passage, skilfully using *quidem* for μὲν and *sed* for δέ: *non enim dixi quidem sed non scripsi, nec scripsi quidem sed non obii legationem, nec obii quidem sed non persuasi Thebanis.*

7. ἀπλῶς, *without reserve, abso-*

lutely.—τοὺς...κινδύνους: for the order see note on § 176¹¹.

8. τὸ ψήφισμα...γενόμενον: cf. Aesch. iii. 25, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμορος νόμον γενέσθαι, and ii. 160, ποῖον (νόμον) γενέσθαι κωλύσας.

§ 180. While the clerk is preparing to read the decree, the orator amuses the audience by a few jokes at his opponent's expense.

1. καίτοι, *and now*: cf. § 123¹.—τίνα βούλει...εἶναι θῶ; *whom will you that I shall suppose you, and whom myself, to have been on that day?* εἶναι is imperfect infinitive (= ἦσθα) with θῶ, which in this sense takes the infinitive of indirect discourse: cf. Aesch. iii. 163, βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι; See M.T. 287, 288, with the discussion of Plat. Rep. 372 E.

2. βούλει ἑμαυτὸν: sc. θῶ εἶναι;—δν ἂν...καλέσαις, i.e. *as you would call me, etc.*

3. Βάτταλον: this nickname of Demosthenes, which the orator said was given him by his nurse (Aesch. i. 126), probably referred to his lean and sickly look in childhood and youth. See Plut. Dem. 4.

ταλον, σὲ δὲ μῆδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων
 τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ 5
 δν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτ' Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας ;
 τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ
 Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος
 ἄξιος ὦν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν
 οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα προσῆκε 10
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά
 μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς, πρυτανευούσης Αἴαν- 181
 τίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους

4. μῆδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, *not even a hero of the common kind*: see note on ὦν ἔτυχεν, § 130².—ἀλλὰ...σκη-
 νῆς, *but one of those (great) heroes of the stage*.

5. Κρεσφόντην, in the Cresphontes of Euripides, in which Merope has the chief part: cf. Arist. Eth. III. 1, 17.—Κρέοντα: Aeschines played Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles as τριταγωνιστής: see XIX. 247, ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρετὸν ἐστὶν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.

6. Οἰνόμαον: i.e. this part in the Oenomaus of Sophocles, which represented the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaus, by which Pelops won the hand of Hippodameia. This was the subject of one of the pediment-groups of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.—κακῶς ἐπέτριψας, *you wretchedly murdered* (as we say of a bad actor). The anonymous Life of Aeschines (7) gives a story that Aeschines fell on the stage in acting this part. As Oenomaus was finally killed, there is probably a double meaning in κακῶς ἐπέτριψας.—ἐν Κολλυτῷ is an additional slur on the

tragic performance of Aeschines. See Aesch. I. 157, πρῶην ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις κωμῶδῶν διτῶν ἐν Κολλυτῷ. See ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, § 242^b.

7. τότε refers to time generally: κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν to a critical moment.

8. Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου: Aeschines was of the deme Κοθωκίδαί.

§§ 181—187 contain the spurious "decree of Demosthenes." Its date, the 16th of Scirophorion (June or July), once brought hopeless confusion into the chronology of the campaign before Chaeronea. See Clinton, Fast. Hellen. II. under 338 B.C. The real decree was passed in the autumn or early winter of 339—338 B.C., the year of the Archon Lysimachides. The style of the document is a ridiculous parody of that of Demosthenes (see § 182). Lord Brougham's remarks on this document, written of course in full faith in its genuineness, are now interesting. He says (p. 181): "The style of this piece is full of dignity, and the diction perfectly simple as well as chaste, with the solemnity of a state paper, but without the wordiness or technicality."

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καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὄπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφιλοβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον 186 ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῆ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμνησκέται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους 5 ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρίδος ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὄπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει 291 φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν 187 ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῖναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς, 5 Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεὺς, Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 188 καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὡσπερ 5

§ 188. 1. αὕτη...πρώτη, *this was the first step taken and the first settlement effected in our relations with Thebes*: ἐγένετο refers to the progress of the business in coming to a settlement. See Weil's note: "κατάστασις est ici le contraire de ταραχὴ." Cf. xx. 11, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐν ἤλθε καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐκεῖνα κατέστη (after the rule of the Thirty), and Ar. Ran.

1003, ἡνίκ' ἀν τὸ πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβης.

5. παρελθεῖν ὡσπερ νέφος, *to pass by like a cloud, or to vanish like a passing cloud*. The simplicity of this simile was much admired by the Greek rhetoricians, who quote it nine times (see Spengel's index). See Longinus on the Sublime, 39, 4: ὑψηλὸν γε τοῦτο δοκεῖ νόημα, καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι

νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε
 δειῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν
 ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ 189
 τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλή-
 λων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
 γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον
 τοῖς πεισθείσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ 5
 δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ,
 τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ 190
 καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
 τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν
 ποιῶμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον, ἢ
 ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλ' ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, 5
 ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἐόρακεν,

εὐμάσιον, ὃ τῷ ψηφίσματι ὁ Δημοσθέ-
 ς ἐπιφέρει... ἄλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας
 ἵκ' ἔλαττον τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ πεφώνηται.
 He then discourses on the fatal effect
 which would result from a change in
 the order of the words, or from the
 omission or addition of a single syl-
 lable (as ὡς νέφος or ὡσπερ εἰ νέφος).

7. τούτων, i.e. than my measures.

In the last sentence of § 188, the
 orator suddenly breaks off his narra-
 tive, and digresses into a most elo-
 uent defence of the policy of Athens
 in resisting Philip, and of his own
 conduct as her responsible leader.
 See note before §§ 160—226.

§ 189. 1. σύμβουλος, *statesman*.
 —συκοφάντης: no modern word,
 nearest of all the English *sycophant*,
 gives the full meaning of this ex-
 pressive term, though the same com-
 bination of malicious informer, dirty
 tattler, common slanderer and
 backbiter, is unhappily still to be
 seen. Cf. § 242². The word must
 have referred originally to the petty
 form of prosecution for violation of
 the revenue laws known as φάσις, in

which half of the penalty went to the
 informer. See Ar. Eq. 300: καὶ σε
 φαίνω τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν ἀδεκατεύτους
 τῶν θεῶν ἰρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

4. ὑπεύθυνον, *responsible* in the full
 Attic sense, e.g. liable to the εὔθυναί
 and to the γραφὴ παρανόμων.

6. δύσκολον: see note on § 176².

7. βασκαίνει, *reviles*: Harpocr.
 ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰτιᾶται καὶ μέμφεται καὶ
 συκοφαντεῖ· Δημοσθ. ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτη-
 σιφῶντος.

§ 190. 1. ὅπερ εἶπον: see the
 last sentence of § 188.

3. τῶν δικ. λόγων: with καιρὸς
 (West., Bl.), or (better) with φρον-
 τίζοντος.—τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποι-
 οῦμαι, i.e. I go so far beyond what
 could be asked of me.

5. ἐνῆν: used personally with τι
 ἄλλο: cf. ὅσα ἐνῆν, § 193⁴. So
 ἐνόοντων (11): such participles are
 very often personal (M.T. 761).—
 ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην: cf. § 192⁵, τὴν
 προαίρεσίν μου τῆς πολιτείας.

6. ἀδικεῖν, in its so-called perfect
 sense (M.T. 27).

7. τότε πραχθὲν = εἰ τότε ἐπράχθη.

ὁ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν
 ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτ' ἦν μήτ' ἂν
 292 εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν
 σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ 10
 ἐνόητων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, 15
 τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, τίς ἀγορεύειν
 βούλεται; οὐ τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρε-
 ληλυθόντων; οὐδὲ τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ'
 ἔσεσθαι; σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρό- 5
 νους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ παριῶν
 ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξομ'. εἶπέ
 τίς ἢ λόγος, ὄντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμ-
 φέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμ-
 μαχία, τίς πράξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει μ' ἀγαγεῖν 10
 τουτουσί;

Ἄλλὰ μὲν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν 15
 ἀφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ
 βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου
 τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς

—τοῦτ'...δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, *I say this ought not to have escaped me* (at the time): δεῖν...λαθεῖν represents ἔδει ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν.

8, 9. εἰ δὲ...τήμερον: for this compound protasis with a present, a past, and a potential optative united in one supposition, see M.T. 509: notice the three negatives and the emphatic καὶ in μήτ' ἂν...τήμερον. See § 141^b.—μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, *not yet, even at this day*.

10. τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόητων, *of the plans which offered themselves to us and were feasible*.

§ 191. 3. τίς...παρεληλυθόντων; a question to be addressed to a συγκοφάντης, not to a σύμβουλος.

7. οὐ τότε: sc. ἔδειξας.—ἀλλὰ νῦν (M.T. 513).

8. εὐπορεῖν (Σ, εὐρεῖν vulg.), *have been provided with*.

9. τῇ πόλει: often taken with συμφέρων; better with παρελείφθαι as in § 107¹¹, ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει.

10. μᾶλλον, *rather than to r own*.

§ 192. 2. ἀφείται (gnomic), *dismissed from consideration*.

3. τὴν...τάξιν, i.e. *the statesman at his post*: τάξιν keeps up the military figure of § 173^{5,6}.

4. τότε...παρῆν: application of the general principle to the case hand; τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν referring to Chaeronea and its results, τὰ δ' παρῆν to Philip's presence at Elaeus. Though these are now past, they were then future and present.

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πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ 5
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος
 κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που
 τῆς χώρας ταῦτο τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι
 χρῆν; ἀρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συνελθεῖν,
 ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς 10
 ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει; τότε δὲ—οὐκ
 ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ἅ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς
 εὐνοία καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν
 συμμαχίαν ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 196
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ
 ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατὰ πτύσσου
 βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοὶ

(which in fact we did not have to expect)? See M.T. App. v.

5. *πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς*, i.e. *used all his eloquence*: cf. Plat. Rep. 475 A, *πάσας φωνάς ἀφλετε*. See § 218^b.—*τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν*, *three days' journey*, i.e. from Chaeronea (via Thebes) to the Attic frontier at Eleutheræ, about 450 stadia. It was about 250 stadia from Eleutheræ to Athens; and the whole distance from Chaeronea to Athens is given (§ 230²) as 700 stadia, about 80 miles. (See Blass.)

9. *νῦν* here and *τότε* in l. 11 refer only to opposite alternatives (*as it was*, and *in that case*), but to the same time. See § 200¹. The *ἀποσιώπησις* after *τότε δὲ* is far more eloquent than any description.

10. *ἀναπνεῦσαι*: cf. Il. xi. 801, *ὀλίγη δὲ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο*.

12. *ἅ γε μηδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε*, *which never gave us even a trial* (of their horrors): *ἑαυτῶν* is omitted, leaving *πείραν ἔδωκε* absolute. See note on § 107^b. The negative is *μηδὲ* because the antecedent of *ἅ* is indefinite (M.T. 518).

13. *τῷ προβάλλεσθαι... συμμαχίαν*, *by the state having this alliance to shield her* (lit. *holding it before herself*). Cf. § 97¹⁰. The present emphasizes the continued protection; *προβαλέσθαι* would mean *putting it before herself*: cf. § 300¹, *ταῦτα προὑβαλόμην πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*.

§ 196. 1. *ἔστι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, i.e. *I intend it for you*.—*ταυτὶ πάντα τὰ πολλὰ*, *all this long argument* (so West.): *τὰ πολλὰ* may, however, be adverbial, *for the most part, chiefly*, the sense being *all this I intend chiefly for you*.

2. *τοὺς περιεστηκότας*, *the spectators*, of whom great crowds were present: see Aesch. iii. 56, *ἐναντιον... τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι*, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήκων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγοιεν ἐπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως· ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους.

4. *βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς λόγος*: this he now puts into a dilemma, *εἰ μὲν ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα* and *εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδει· ἐξήρκει*, *was enough for him*; i.e.

πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνω τῶν ἄλλων, 5
 ὄτ' ἐβουλευέθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότε ἔδει προλέ-
 γειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος
 εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατη-
 294 γορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ 197
 πολίτης γέγον' εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω
 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκ'
 ἔμμαντὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα
 κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δ' 5
 οὐθ' ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις
 ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν
 παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστα-
 τος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαί, καὶ ἅμ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξω 10
 καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς
 πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνη-

this would be a sufficient reply for him. ἐξήρκει sometimes has a force somewhat like that of δίκαιον ἦν, ἴσον ἦν, καλὸν ἦν, etc., when they are classed with ἔδει, χρῆν, etc. (M.T. 416). See Cic. Lael. xxvi. 96, satis erat respondere Magnas: Ingentes inquit, and Lane's Latin Grammar, 1496, 1497. Cf. θαυμαστὸν ἦν, § 248¹.

8. ταῦτα: the charge of ignorance which you bring against me.

§ 197. 2. ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω, i.e. the events which preceded Chaeronea.

4. τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα = ἃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει, with reference to votes of the people: cf. 274^b.

5. ἴδιον personal, e.g. the danger of a γραφή παρανόμων: cf. §§ 235¹¹, 249.

6. οὐ...ἐχρῶντο: sc. εἰ ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίω.

7. εἰς ταῦτα, in support of my measures.

8. ὅπερ δ' ἂν: sc. ποιήσειεν or ἐποίησεν. See § 291⁴.

9. τῇ πόλει: for the order see § 176¹¹.—πεποιηκῶς...ἐξήτασαι, you are shown to have done after the events: cf. Hdt. 1. 170, ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι, and § 284¹⁰.

10. Ἀρίστρατος, Ἀριστόλεως: these men and the condition of Naxos and Thasos at this time are known only from this passage. It appears that these islands were in the power of Alexander, and that his great successes in Asia were having the same effect in them as in Athens, encouraging the Macedonian party to vex their opponents by prosecutions.

11. καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ, outright enemies.

12. καὶ Ἀθήνησιν...κατηγορεῖ: this brings out clearly the meaning of τοῦτο πεποιηκῶς (9).

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Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ
 μετ' εὐνοίας δ' λέγω θεῶ^κρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι
 πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν 5
 πάντες, καὶ σὺ προῦλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου
 βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως
 295 ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἡ δόξης ἢ
 προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν 200
 μέν γ' ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι
 κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ·
 τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀπο-
 στᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν 5
 ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτ' ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ
 ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι,
 τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε,
 μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν ἂν 201
 τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ

He declares that there has been no "mistake," that no other policy was possible for Athens with her glorious antecedents, even if the whole future, with Chaeronea and its baneful consequences, had been foreseen from the beginning. This is the final answer to the petty criticisms of Aeschines "after the events" (ἐπι τοῖς συμβᾶσιν, § 197⁹).

6. καὶ σὺ προῦλεγες: the figure of Aeschines himself joining in the general warning adds greatly to the picture.

7. ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, you who did not even open your mouth.—οὐδ' οὕτως, not even then: οὕτως sums up in one word the whole of the preceding condition (4—7).

8. ἀποστατέον... ἦν = ἔδει τὴν πόλιν ἀποστῆναι.

9. τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, future ages.

§ 200. 1, 4. νῦν μὲν... τότε δ': see note on § 195⁹.

2. ἀποτυχεῖν, to have failed (in securing).—τῶν πραγμάτων, mere material objects, opposed to the high principles which would have been sacrificed in the other case (τότε).

4. ἀξιούσα (imperf.), while she had claimed, followed by the aorist ἀποστᾶσα, and then withδrew, both past to ἔσχεν ἂν. We might have had ἠξίον and ἀπέστη: cf. xv. 27, ὧν ἀπέστη.

6. ἀκονιτὶ, without a struggle, sine pugnare; cf. xix. 77.

7. οὐδένα ὄντιν' οὐχ, emphatic equivalent of πάντα: the natural nominative οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ (= πᾶς) is illogically declined.

8. σοῦ (accented), with special emphasis.—μὴ γὰρ (sc. εἰπέ), don't say the state, or me: πόλεως and ἐμοῦ merely continue the case of σοῦ.

§ 201. 1. τίσι δ'... ἐωρῶμεν ἂν; i.e. how should we now (dare to) look in the face, etc.?

2—8. εἰ τὰ μὲν... ἡρημένης: this elaborate protasis has three divisions.

μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἤρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πε- 5 ποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ 202 οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως 5 ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούση καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούση τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰάν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς 203 ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ

(1) εἰ τὰ μὲν...ἀπάντων, (2) τὸν δὲ... πεποιημένοι, (3) καὶ ταῦτα...ἡρημένης. The clause ἡγεμῶν δὲ...ἀπάντων belongs closely with the preceding εἰ μὲν περιέστη, and τὸν δ' (not ἡγεμῶν δὲ) corresponds to τὰ μὲν.

3. εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ, *to the present state*, explained by ἡγεμῶν δὲ...ἀπάντων.

4. τὸν...ἀγῶνα, *the fight to prevent this*.

5. ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν: this pathetic picture of Athens sitting still and seeing others fight the battle for Grecian liberty becomes more effective when we remember (what Demosthenes never forgot) that Greece at this crisis had no state except Athens able or willing to take the lead, or any important part, in such a struggle. See §§ 304, 305.

6. καὶ ταῦτα, *and this too*, introducing the participial clause which completes the supposition: hence μηδεπώποτε.

§ 202. 1, 2. τίς...βαρβάρων:

cf. XIX. 312.—παρὰ Θηβαίων: in the time of Epaminondas.

3. παρὰ...Λακεδαιμονίων: after the Peloponnesian war, and before Leuctra.

4. παρὰ...βασιλέως, from Xerxes: see the order given to Mardonius before the battle of Plataea, reported to Athens by Alexander, king of Macedonia (Hdt. VIII. 140): τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην ἐλέσθων αὐτοὶ, ἦντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι. See note on 204^b (end).

6. ὅ τι βούλεται...προεστάναι: i.e. *to keep her own and receive anything she wanted*, on condition of being subject to Persia.

§ 203. 1. ὡς ἔοικε, spoken with sarcasm: cf. § 212^b.

2. πάτρια, i.e. *inherited from their ancestors*.—οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ implies that they revolted morally against the idea; οὐδ' ἔμφυτα that it was against their nature as Athenians.

3. ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, *from*

παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ
 δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δου- 5
 λεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένην περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς
 296 καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.
 καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις 204
 ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προ-
 γόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε.
 εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιοτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεί-
 νων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν 5
 ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμ-
 βουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν
 δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
 Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 10
 αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ; οὐ γὰρ 205

the beginning of time, a rhetorical ὑπερβολή, as in § 66⁶; in § 26⁷ it means from the beginning of the transaction in question.

4. μὴ δίκαια: μὴ, not οὐ, as we should say οἱ μὴ δίκαια πράττουσιν (G. 1612).

5. προσθεμένην, *taking the side of, attaching herself to*: cf. § 227⁵.—ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν: the same idea of *security in slavery* is found in the speech of Pericles, Thuc. II. 63 (end).

6. ἀγωνιζομένη, as partic. of manner modifies κινδυνεύουσα διατετέλεκε.—πρωτείων, τιμῆς, δόξης: cf. § 66⁷.

§ 204. 2. ἤθεσιν, *moral feelings*: see note on § 114².

4. ἀγάσαιοτο: an epic aorist (see Blass).

5. πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν refers to the time before the battle of Salamis when, by the advice of Themistocles, Athens was abandoned to Xerxes, and all was staked on a sea-fight: so VI. 11. See Cicero, Offic. III. 11, 48: Cyrsilum quendam, suadentem ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque re-

ciperent, lapidibus obruerunt. Herodotus, IX. 5, tells a similar story of the stoning of a senator named Lycidas, with his wife and children, before the battle of Plataea, when Mardonius sent his second message to Athens (for the earlier message see note on § 202⁴).

6. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ...ποιῆσαι: ὑπὲρ with the gen. of the infin. for a final clause, as in § 205⁹, and in Aesch. III. 1, ὑπὲρ τοῦ...μὴ γίνεσθαι.

8. τὸν ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον, *who declared himself for obedience*: cf. γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, § 189⁴.

10. καταλιθώσαντες: acc. to Bl., the only Attic example of καταλιθώω for καταλεύω.

11. αἱ γυναῖκες...αὐτοῦ: the vividness of the picture in the easy flowing narrative is heightened by the irregular insertion of a new subject, αἱ γυναῖκες, as if without premeditation.

With this and § 205 compare the speech of the Athenian at Sparta more than a cent Thuc. I. 73—75.

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προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ
 ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμησείέ μοι. νῦν δ'
 ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀπο-
 φαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ 5
 φρόνημ' ἢ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκά-
 στοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἑμαυτῷ μετεῖναι φημι,
 297 οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὄλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς 207
 ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ
 τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμ' ἀποστε-
 ρῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρό-
 νον ἐγκώμι' ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ 5
 βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε,
 ἡμαρτηκένοι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ
 συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως 208

4. ὑμετέρας: sc. οὔσας.

6. διακονίας, i.e. what he terms the *menial service* is all that he claims for himself. This is in striking contrast with his claim for full recognition of his public services elsewhere: cf. §§ 297—300. But in this grand glorification of Athens and her noble services to freedom, the more he depreciates himself and exalts the state, the stronger does he make his argument that the condemnation of Ctesiphon now would be a condemnation of Athens herself and of all her glorious history.

Notice the antitheses in this passage:—first, the main one, εἰ μὲν and νῦν δὲ (§ 206^{1,3}); then, within the latter, ἐγὼ μὲν and οὗτος δὲ (§ 207¹); also ὑμετέρας and καὶ ἑμαυτῷ, προαιρέσεις and διακονίας.

§ 207. 1. τῶν ὄλων: opposed to τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις (διακονίας), § 206⁶.

3. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς: the crown.

4. τὰ...ἐγκώμι': i.e. your past glories will be lost for all future time

if they are condemned by your vote to-day.

5. ἀφαιρεῖται is conative: cf. § 13¹.

6. τουδὶ, Ctesiphon, like τουτονὶ in § 15⁶.

7. ἀγνωμοσύνη, *harshness* (want of feeling): cf. § 252¹. ἀγνωμονῶ may mean *to be thoughtless* or *inconsiderate*: cf. §§ 94², 248⁷. τὰ συμβάντα, *what befell you*, including Chaeronea.

§ 208. The famous oath by the heroes of Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium here follows. The grandeur of this solemn invocation of the shades of the mighty dead, to support the orator in his last and noblest assertion of the true spirit of Athenian liberty, will strike the most indifferent reader. We do not envy one who is strong enough to read this passage without emotion. Lord Brougham says: "The whole passage, which ends here, and begins εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκοιτὶ (§ 200), is deserving of close study, being one of the greatest pieces of declamation on record in any tongue." See Longinus

ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν 5 Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνημασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατή- 10 σαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἦν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτη κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὦ 209

on the Sublime 16: ἀπόδειξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων εἰσφέρει...“ οὐχ ἡμάρτετε, ὦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι· ἔχετε δὲ οἰκεῖα τούτου παραδείγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἤμαρτον οὐδ' οἱ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κ.τ.λ.”

1, 2. οὐκ ἔστιν...ἡμάρτετε, *it cannot be that ye erred*: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως = οὐδαμῶς.

3. ἀράμενοι: cf. πόλεμον ἀρασθαι, V. 5.—μὰ τοὺς: most MSS. prefix οὐ, which Σ omits, μά generally implying a negation.—τοὺς...προγόνων (*those of*) *our ancestors who bore the brunt of battle at Marathon*: προκινδυνεύω is here *stand forward* (as πρόμαχος) to face the foe; from its idea of *contending* it may take a dative like μάχομαι, as in Thuc. I. 73, φάμεν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνον προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ, a passage which may have suggested προκινδυνεύσαντας to Demosthenes here.

4. Μαραθῶνι: as the name of an Attic deme, this is usually a locative dative: but here all MSS. except Σ, and most quotations, prefix ἐν, which is regular with Πλαταιαῖς and Σαλαμῖνι (G. 1197).

5. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι: this battle was fought *at* Salamis; the other sea-fight was *off* (ἐπ') Artemisium.

7. δημοσίοις μνημασι: the *public tombs* were in the outer Ceramicus, on the road leading to the Academy: see Paus. I. 29, Thuc. II. 34. Those who fell at Marathon were buried on the battlefield, as a special honour.

8. ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, in apposition with the preceding accusatives: this was by no means a weak term of praise with Demosthenes: cf. I. 11.—ὁμοίως and τῆς αὐτῆς mutually strengthen each other.

10. αὐτῶν: I adopt this partitive gen. rather than αὐτοῦς (found in Σ, L¹), as I am not convinced that αὐτοῦς can have the force of *especially* (*distinguished from others*), ipsos solos (Rauchenstein). In defence of English, we may note that this renowned passage has no less than fifty *sigmas* in sixty-seven words.

§ 209. The descent from the impassioned patriotic eloquence of the preceding passage to the personal vituperation of this is depressing.

κατάρατε καὶ γραματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ
 τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι
 βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαί' ἔργ'
 ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖθ' ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν αὐτοσί; 5
 ἐμέ δὲ, ὦ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμ-
 βουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ'
 ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξι' 210
 ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντᾶν ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς,
 298 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τ'
 ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
 τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων 5
 νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέ-
 σεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματ' ἀποβλέποντας.

2. γραματοκύφων: ἀντὶ τοῦ
 γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκε-
 κυφότες γράφουσιν (Etym. Magn.).

4. τρόπαια... ἔλεγες: see Aesch.
 181.

6. τριταγωνιστὰ: effectively chos-
 en with reference to πρωτείων, which
 refers to Athens as competitor for
 the first prize in the political ἀγὼν,
 in which Demosthenes is her adviser.

7. τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ', in-
 spired by whose spirit?

§ 210. 2. δικαίως μὲντᾶν ἀπέ-
 θανον, but (in that case) *I should have
 deserved to die.* μὲντᾶν by crasis for
 μέντοι ἄν.—οὐδ' ὑμᾶς... δεῖ, neither
 should you (any more than I).

3. διανοίας, spirit (way of think-
 ing).

4. ἰδίας, δημοσίας: this has no
 reference to the ordinary distinction
 of γραφαί and δίκαι, public and private
 suits, which correspond generally to
 our criminal and civil processes.
 Here δίκη has its widest legal sense
 of lawsuit in general, including both
 γραφή and δίκη (in its narrower sense).
 ἰδία δίκαι are suits which concern
 individuals and their ordinary business
 relations (συμβόλαια), which of course

must be judged *with reference to special
 statutes* (ἐπὶ ἰδίων νόμων, cf. ἐπ' ἀλη-
 θείας, § 22¹), which may change from
 year to year, and *to special facts* (ἰδίων
 ἔργων), without regard to the general
 policy or the traditions of the state:
 even criminal suits (γραφαί) which
 involve nothing more than the acts of
 individuals would be included here.
 But δημόσιαι δίκαι are suits like the
 present one, which involve a judgment
 on the general policy of statesmen
 (κοινὰς προαιρέσεις), whose acts are
 not prescribed by special statutes, but
 must be governed to a great extent
 by general principles and traditions
 of state: these, the orator says, must
 be judged by reference to the glorious
 deeds of the past. Demosthenes
 insists here, as elsewhere, that the
 only real question involved in this
 case is that of his own statesmanship
 and his fidelity to the best traditions
 of Athens, while Aeschines constantly
 urges the court to treat it as a common
 ἰδία δίκη and settle it by reference to
 ordinary facts and petty details. (See
 Aesch. 199, 200.) Aeschines saw
 that here lay his only chance of
 success in his suit.

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ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πρα-
χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν
τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων
μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης
γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

10

299

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ- 213
ἦγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων
τάξις ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουσι
πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν
κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντί' ἐπράξατε
Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνησκόντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,
ἡξίουσιν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθησαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν
αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηθητο δίκην
λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ'
ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβάλλοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· καὶ ἐδεί- 10
κνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον
τὰς τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ
τᾶλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἡξόντα, ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς

7. συναίτιος, partner, opposed to
μόνος αἴτιος (9).—τῶν...ἀτυχηθέντων
= ἃ ἠτυχήσαμεν.

§ 213. 1. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: i.e.
at Thebes. The narrative is con-
tinued from § 211^b.

2. τῶν συμμάχων: i.e. of Thebes.

6. τὸ κεφάλαιον, adverbial, in
short.

7. ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθησαν, for the
benefits they had received, εὖ πάσχειν
as passive of εὖ ποιεῖν: this corre-
sponds to ὧν δ' ἠδίκηθητο (8).

8. αὐτοὺς: the Thebans, while
αὐτοὺς in 9 refers to the Macedonians.

9. ὅποτέρως βούλονται, in which-
ever way they pleased, in the mood
and tense of the direct form, the

exhortation being take vengeance in
whichever way you please.—διέντας
αὐτοὺς, i.e. by letting them pass
through Boeotia into Attica (cf.
§ 146^d). The aorists διέντας and
συνεμβάλλοντας have the better au-
thority here: when an aor. partic.
denotes that in which the action of
a verb (usually aorist) consists, so
that they really designate one act,
the two may coincide in time, as in
Plat. Phaed. 60 C, εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀνα-
μνήσας με, you did well to remind me.
(See M.T. 150, with the examples.)

11. ἐκ μὲν...συνεβούλευον, as a
consequence of following their advice,
opposed to ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν
in l. 13.

ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰν τῆ Βοιωτία διαρπασθησόμεν' ὑπὸ
 τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς 15
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ^{τενεα} συντείνοντ', ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς 214
 ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντός ἀν-
 τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ
 παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυ-
 σμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἠγούμενοι, μάταιον 5
 ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν
 ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε.
 λέγε ταυτὶ λαβῶν.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215
 ποντο. ἐξήητε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω,

§ 214. 1. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς: sc. ἐλέγομεν.

2. τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα, *the details*, with the subordinate ἐγὼ μὲν and ὑμᾶς ἐ, is in antithesis to ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν (i.e. the sum of what we accomplished) in l. 6.—ἀντὶ...τοῦ βίου, as we might say, *I would give my life*: cf. τιμᾶν and τιμᾶσθαι used of estimating the penalty in a lawsuit; and l. 1, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀν χρημάτων λέσθαι. It is not hard to see why Demosthenes should be unwilling to repeat any part of this brilliant speech. The hope of successes of the allies against Philip, which he probably held out, had been disappointed by the crushing defeat at Chaeronea; and the destruction of Thebes three years later must have made the whole none of this speech now sadly untimely. Plutarch (Dem. 18) gives a graphic account of the Theban assembly and of the address, which was probably one of the orator's greatest efforts.

4. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ...ἠγούμενοι, *as (you would think, ἐνομίζετε ἂν) if you believed, etc.* (M.T. 227, 868). Strictly we should have either ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ

ἠγεῖσθε (impf.) or ὥσπερ ἂν ἠγούμενοι (=εἰ ἠγεῖσθε), since a conditional participle is not regularly preceded by εἰ (M.T. 472). But it would seem that the colloquial use of ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ, *quasi*, sometimes caused the true ellipsis to be overlooked and the εἰ to be irregularly added.—καὶ κατακλυσμὸν; i.e. *also a deluge*, as well as the lapse of opportunity (παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν).

5. τῶν πραγμάτων, objective genitive after κατακλυσμὸν.

6. ὅ τι ἐπέισαμεν and (ὅ τι)...ἀπεκρίναντο are the same thing.

§ 215. 1. ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς, i.e. *called your army* to Thebes. This is what Demosthenes provided for in § 178²⁻⁴ (see notes), when he proposed to give the embassy concurrent power with the generals over the movements of the army. This march to Thebes, after the answer of the Thebans had been sent to Athens (μετὰ ταῦτα), is commonly thought to be directly opposed to the account of Aeschines in III. 140: Dissen exclaims indignantly, "Haecce manifesta mendacia

οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 300 καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ
 δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ 5
 τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρί' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θεβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ
 κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης,
 τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ'
 ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ 10
 ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν
 Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν

potuisse coram iudicibus dici!" But Aeschines says only that the march to Thebes took place *πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην*. Now that the "decree of Demosthenes" (181—187) is known to be a forgery, we have no reason for thinking that any formal treaty of alliance preceded the invitation of the Athenian army to Thebes. Demosthenes could have proposed such a treaty only after his return to Athens. It appears from the criticisms of Aeschines on the treaty (141—144) that it was an elaborate document; and it is probable that it was not made and ratified until some time after the march to Thebes, which required no further legislation than the decree appointing the ambassadors. It must be remembered that Demosthenes (§ 178) proposed that the embassy should simply offer the Athenian army to Thebes without insisting on any formal terms, *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν*.

3. *ἔξω... ὄντων*: this is commonly referred to the Athenian army, who are supposed to have first encamped outside the city and afterwards to have been invited to enter Thebes and occupy the houses. It is surely far more natural and agrees better

with the context to understand this while the Theban infantry and cavalry (i.e. the whole army) were encamped outside the walls, the Athenian army was quartered in the town. The lack of a pronoun to designate which army is meant is felt in both interpretation but as the subject is the Thebans, it is more natural to refer the absolute clause to them. Again, the emphasis *given twice* to *παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας* (5 and 13) implies that the men were absent; and *ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες* (13) as a testimony to the *σωφροσύνη* of the Athenians, implies this still more strongly.

7. *καθ' ὑμῶν*, *υφον σου*, as in VI. *καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*, not in its common hostile sense. See Arist. Pol. III. 114, *κατὰ δὲ τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσι νόμος*, *in respect to such men there is no law, for they are law unto themselves*. In the parallel passage of St Paul, Gal. v. 23, *κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων* is translated *against such*. See Rom. ii. 14, *ἐαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος* where we have the rest of the passage of Aristotle.

11. *δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν*, *that you made juster claims on them*.

12. *καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ'*, *and indeed (καὶ) with all mankind*, parenthetically after *παρ' αὐτοῖς*.

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μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσα, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς
 θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν
 301 ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς ; 10
 εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ
 δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτ' ἐλυπεῖθ'
 ὀρώων ; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἡμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι 218
 δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει
 τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον
 οὗτοι, αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί.
 ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τὸτ' ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν 5
 οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
 τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμ-
 πεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβῶν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἢ ἐμὴ
 συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαὶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
 ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο. 10

8. οὐδ' ὅσα, *euen impius*: cf. note on § 16.

8, 9. ὡς ἀρίστων...ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα: with reference to the words of Ctesiphon's decree, *ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ* (Aesch. 49). If Aeschines joined in the thanksgivings, he declared before the Gods that the policy of Demosthenes was good: but he now asks the court to declare this not good by condemning Ctesiphon.

10. ὀμωμοκότας: of the Heliastic oath.

11. ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις: cf. XIX. 110, *τρίς οὐχ ἀπαξ ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος*.

§ 218. 2. ἐν τῷ...νομίζειν, *in the belief*, corresponding to ἐν θυσίαις (1), both denoting what occupied their minds.

3. τοῖς...δοκοῦσιν (*impf.*), *to those*

who had seemed likely to need help, i.e. ourselves.—ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον, in antithesis to ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί: cf. § 213¹¹⁻¹³.

4. αὐτοῖς, *ipsos*, i.e. *ourselves*: for the accus. see Xen. Oec. 11, 23, *συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι*, where φίλοις would be more common (G. 928¹).—βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις: subj. of περιειστήκει, *it had come about*.

5. οἷας ἠφίει φωνὰς: cf. § 195⁶.

6. ἐπιστολῶν: for an earlier letter of Philip to Peloponnesus asking for help, see § 156.

9. πλάνοι refers especially to his frequent journeys to Thebes while the negotiations were going on, and also to his other embassies (cf. § 244).—τὰ πολλὰ, *the many*.

10. διέσυρε: see the general ridicule of his decrees in Aesch. 111.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγό- 219
 νασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλί-
 στρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβου-
 λος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων
 διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ 5
 μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ
 ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ
 ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ' εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν.
 τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας ῥώμη 220
 καὶ τόλμη ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα
 λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατ-
 ειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι
 χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας 5

οἱ 1-3. This remark may perhaps refer to the fierce criticism of the terms of the alliance with Thebes (II. 141—143).—τί ἀπειργάσατο: the position of τί is emphatic: cf. ἐψασθε πῶς, § 235⁴. We should expect συνέχεια etc. to be in the accus. by the usual attraction; but they are more expressive as they stand.

§§ 219—221 were spoken while the clerk was preparing to read the letters of Philip.

§ 219. 2. Καλλίστρατος: the famous orator whose eloquence is said to have inspired Demosthenes (as a boy) to devote himself to oratory: see note on § 99^b.

3. Ἀριστοφῶν: mentioned in § 99^b.—Κέφαλος: see § 251.—Θρασύβουλος, of Collytus, who served under his distinguished namesake in the restoration of 403 B.C. (XXIV. 134). He was afterwards a warm friend of Thebes: see Aesch. III. 138, ἀνὴρ ἐν ἡβαῖς πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος.

5. διὰ παντὸς, throughout; like γλῶσσι, §§ 88^b, 179¹.

6. οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν...ἔγραψεν: both iterative (M.T. 162): we often use would in such iterative expressions,

with no potential force; as he would often tell me stories (see M.T. 249).

8. ῥαστώνην, enjoyment of ease.—εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν, i.e. some retreat in case of accident: εἴ τι γένοιτο depends on an apodosis implied in ἀναφοράν; cf. Aeschyl. Sept. 1015, ὡς οὐκ ἀναστατήρα...εἴ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδῶν ἔστη δορί (M.T. 480). The direct form, εἴαν τι γένηται, might have been used: see Aesch. II. 104, αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφοράν ἀν μὴ πείθωμεν. The meaning comes from the middle ἀναφέρεσθαι, to carry oneself back.

§ 220. 1. ὑπερῆρας; did you excel? absolutely, or possibly sc. τούτους.—ῥώμη: i.e. so as to need no ἀναφορά (§ 219^b).

3. οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην, I had so thoroughly convinced myself.

4. ἔδόκει is first personal (sc. ὁ κίνδυνος); then (without οὐκ) understood as impersonal with ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι.

5. χώραν διδόναι is to allow room for considerations of personal safety; πρόνοιαν διδόναι is to allow thought for this. We should say to allow room for thought.

302 δίδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων
 τις ἂ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 221
 τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε
 γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα μήτε
 πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι
 προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐν πᾶσιν 5
 ἑμαυτὸν ἔταττον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ
 Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἢ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222
 Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς
 καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος
 λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τούτων, 5
 καὶ σὺ παρῶν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος 5
 Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι
 λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευ-
 γότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

6. ἀγαπητὸν...πράξειεν: in the direct form, ἀγαπητὸν ἐστὶν εἰάν τις... ἂ δεῖ πράξῃ, we must be content (impers.) if we (shall) do our duty, omitting nothing.

7. ἂ δεῖ = τὰ δέοντα, our duty: ἂ is here definite; but with a slight change in the view it might have been ἂ ἂν δέη or ἂ δέοι (Dobree's conjecture), with conditional force.

§ 221. 2. τυχὸν, perhaps, acc. abs. (M.T. 851).—ἀναισθητῶν, senselessly: I follow Vömel, Bekk., and West. in this reading, though ἀναίσθητον (adv.) has better MS. authority.—ὅμως, nevertheless, with reference to ἀναισθητῶν.—μήτε...γράφαι: the direct form would be οὐτ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψειε βέλτιον οὐδεὶς: for μή thus used with infin. in or. obl., see M.T. 685, and Liddell and Scott, art. μή, B. 5, c. ἂν belongs to γράψαι, πράξαι, and πρεσβεῦσαι, and βέλτιον to γράψαι and πράξαι.

§ 222. 3. ἐπαιρόμενος, of raising (as a threat). Harpocr.: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπανατεινόμενος, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. Cf. XIX. 153, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβρόν (of threats of Philip); and Eur. Iph. T. 1484, πάσῳ δὲ λόγχην ἦν ἐπαίρομαι ξένοις (of a spear uplifted to strike). (Bl.) ἐπαιρόμενος is imperfect, as is shown by τὰ πρὸ τούτων.

5. παρῶν, though present: see §§ 83^b and 117⁷.

6. Διώνδας: mentioned with contempt in § 249⁹.—τὸ μέρος (sc. πέμπτον), see notes on §§ 103², 266⁶.

7. ψηφίσματα: for the plural see note on § 223^b.—ἀποπεφευγότα, acquitted (on the γραφή παρανόμων): τὸ φεῦγον ψήφισμα, XXIII. 58, is the decree on trial.

8. γραφέντα, indicted: cf. γραφέντα, proposed, § 86⁴. See note on § 56⁴.

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ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, 225
οἶμαι, τότε δ' οὐκ οὐκ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ
ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἀ μήτε προήδει
μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν,
καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ 5
τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς 226
ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ
μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστ' ἐχόντων, πάντες
ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ
πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγῶν νῦν ἦκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα 5
νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμέ-
νων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν οὐχὶ
τοῦ τῆ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκο- 227

60 1' 1' 1'

7. ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, *on its own merits*: i.e. before any judgment of the court had been passed upon the case.

§ 225. 2. ὁ νυνὶ ποιεῖν: all MSS. except Σ have ποιεῖ for ποιεῖν.—παλαιῶν χρόνων: i.e. the time of the peace of Philocrates, about which Aeschines (III. 58—78) had cited many decrees which had no real bearing on the argument.

4. μήτ' ἂν... ῥηθῆναι, *or thought would be mentioned to-day* (ῥηθῆναι ἂν = ῥηθείη ἂν): see M.T. 220¹. The negatives μήτε etc. show that the antecedent of ἀ is indefinite.—διαβάλλειν, *to misrepresent* (*cast reproach upon*) the case.

5. προφάσεις, *grounds for action*, whether true or false. See note on § 178¹².

Demosthenes still clings to his plea that the story of the Peace of Philocrates is ancient history.

§ 226. 1. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας: cf. § 17².

3. ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν: for the figure

Westermann compares *manifestus*.—πάντες οἱ λόγοι, i.e. *the whole discussion*.

4. τοὺς...φυγῶν: cf. § 15².

5. ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα: cf. Thuc. III. 67²⁸, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων. Weil quotes XIX. 217: οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥητόρων οὐδὲ λόγων κρίσιν ὑμᾶς τήμερον...προσθήκει ποιεῖν.

7. λόγου...συμφέροντος: λόγου κρίσιν is a *trial of eloquence*. Cf. the verbal forms λόγον κρίνειν and τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον κρίνειν.

With § 226 the orator ends his grand comparison (begun in § 139) between the part played by Aeschines in rousing the Amphissian war and his own part in uniting Athens and Thebes against Philip.

§§ 227—296. At § 226 the proper defence ends, with the account of the alliance with Thebes. The remainder of the speech, before the epilogue, is devoted to a reply to three arguments of Aeschines, one comparing this trial

θεν ἤκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, ὡσπερ
 δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τω λογίζησθε, ἂν
 καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῆ, συγχωρεῖτε,
 οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέ- 5
 σθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ
 φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ 228
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμο-
 λόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν
 λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίπ-

an investigation of an account (§ 227—251), a second charging Demosthenes with being ill-starred (§ 252—275), and a third charging him with being a crafty rhetorician (§ 276—296).

In §§ 227—251 the orator refers to the exhortation of Aeschines to the judges (59—61) to cast aside any prejudices in favour of Demosthenes which they may have, and to proceed as they would if they were examining a long account, prepared to accept any result which the reckoning may bring out. Aeschines refers here only to the facts concerning the peace of Philocrates; but Demosthenes chooses to apply the marks to his whole political life. While Aeschines referred only to the debit side of the account, Demosthenes speaks of both sides, and especially of what stands on the credit side of his own account with the state, including credit for preventing calamities by his judicious policy. He ends (§ 251) by turning against Aeschines the case of Cephalus, which had been brought up against himself.

§ 227. 1. εἶτα σοφίζεται, *then puts on airs of wisdom*, or *becomes very subtle*, with the same sarcasm as σοφοῦ παραδείγματος, § 228².

2. ἀμελήσαι, *disregard*: Aeschines

(III. 60) says, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκούσῃ.

3. περιεῖναι χρήματά τω, *that one has a balance in his favour*.—λογίζησθε: cf. Aesch. III. 59, καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς.—ἂν καθαιρῶσιν... περιῆ, *if the counters are decisive and there is no balance remaining*. With most recent editors, I follow Σ¹ and read καθαιρῶσιν, the common text having καθαρά ὄσιν, which was referred to the counters being *cleared off* from the abacus (ἄβαξ or ἀβάκιον): cf. § 231⁸. This was a reckoning-board, on which counters (originally ψῆφοι, *pebbles*) represented units, tens, etc., according to their position. See the article *Abacus* in Smith's Dict. of Ant. Aeschines says (59), ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἴρῃ, *whatever the account proves* (cf. αἰρεῖν τινα κλέπτοντα), and there is a strong presumption that Demosthenes uses a similar expression in his reply. Köchly quotes Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. VII. 36, ὃ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν (and again, slightly changed, in 39): here the meaning *determine* is beyond question.

5. προσθέσθαι, *acquiesce in*: cf. προσθεμένην, § 203⁵.

7. ἢ πεπραγμένον: see § 178¹⁵, and note on § 178¹⁰.

§ 228. 3. ἡμᾶς (so Σ)...ἐγνω-

304 που· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης 5
 οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεώς· περὶ ἑκατέρου.
 καὶ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην 229
 τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς
 ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος
 λογισμὸς), ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστ' ἐν βραχέσι,
 λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν 5
 χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ,
 ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβалеῖν
 εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾔοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παρὰτάξα-
 μένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ 230
 Ἄττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἑπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ
 τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὄριοις γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ
 δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς
 Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἄττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι 5

σμένους, *that it is assumed that we* (Aesch. and myself) *have been thus judged* (have this reputation): in the direct form ὑπάρχομεν ἐγνωσμένοι. It appears that ἐγνωσμαι is always passive (see Veitch). The personal construction is like that of Ar. Nub. 918, γνωσθήσει τοί ποτ' Ἀθηναῖοις οἷα διδάσκεις τοὺς ἀνοήτους, *you shall be shown* (for *it shall be shown*).

5. μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης = εἰ μὴ τοιαύτη ἦν. The unique reading of the Oxyrh. papyrus, μὴ τοιαύτης ὑπαρχούσης, is suggestive.

§ 229. 2. οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (continuing the figure of § 227), i.e. not by mere arithmetic or book-keeping.

3. οὐ γὰρ...λογισμὸς, *for that is not the way to reckon affairs of state.* οὗτος is predicate.

4. ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστ': he renders his account, not by setting his services against his sins, but by setting the positive gain from his public policy against the calamities which

would have resulted from the opposite policy.

5. λογισταῖς: in the double sense of *computers* and *comptrollers of accounts*: see note on § 117⁸.—τοῖς ἀκούουσιν: addressed equally to the court and the spectators.

7. μετὰ and συν- emphasize one another.

9. κωλύειν: present, of the whole business of checking Philip; the aor. συνεμβалеῖν (7) of an incursion.

§ 230. 2. ἑπτακόσια στάδια, about 80 miles: see note on § 195⁶.

3. γενέσθαι: sc. ἐποίησε. By ὄριοις he means the *further confines* of Boeotia.

4. ληστὰς: see note on § 145⁶, and for pirates in general [VII.] 3, 4, 14, 15. The rescue of Oreus and Eretria from Philip (§§ 79, 87) prevented Euboea from being a nest for plunderers.—φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν: the common term for general plundering.

5. ἐκ θαλάττης, *on the side of the sea*, with reference to ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

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παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο—οὐχ ὄρας;— 5 γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥήμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν 233 ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστάς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, 5 παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πᾶρφέυγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, 234 οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ

—ῥήματα...μιμούμενος: besides the expressions (ῥήματα) repeated by Aeschines (probably with no little exaggeration) in III. 166, of which he asks (167), ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; we have in 209, ποῖ φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψατέ με· οὐκ ἐστίν ὅποι ἀναπτῆσομαι, quoted from Demosthenes. See other quotations in III. 71 and 72, especially ἀπορρηξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν. Imitations of gestures (σχήματα) are, of course, harder to detect; but there is a plain one in III. 167, κύκλω περιδιπῶν σεαυτόν.

5. παρὰ τοῦτο γέγονε, depend on this. See Cic. Orat. 8, 27: itaque se purgans iocatur Demosthenes: negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hoc an illo verbo usus sit, et huc an illuc manum porrexerit.—οὐχ ὄρας; cf. § 266¹.

6. μὴ τουτὶ: in the second member of an alternative indirect question, μὴ can be used as well as οὐ. (G: 1609.)

§ 233. 1. ἐπ'...ἔργων: cf. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, § 226¹.

2. ἀφορμὰς, means (for war): ἀφορμή is properly a starting-point, or something to set out from (ἀφ' ὧν τις ὀρμάται), as in Thuc. I. 90, τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἰκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν.—δυνάμεις: here in the same general sense as δύναμιν in § 234¹.

3. ὅτ'...εἰσῆειν: before the renewal of the war in 340 B.C. Cf. § 60⁴.

8. εἰ...λόγῳ: cf. § 252⁹, and XXIII. 24, ὡς ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

§ 234. 1. δύναμιν here refers to sources of military power, like allies, even when no actual troops are included: see ὀπλίτην δ', ἱππέα οὐδένα (5). Both δυνάμεις and δύναμις, however, may denote troops: cf. § 237⁶, τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, and 247⁶; so Xen. An. I. 3, 12 ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν.

2. οὔτε...ἦν: this refers to the early part of 340 B.C., when Chios

Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν·
 χρημάτων δὲ ^{ἀρχαίως} σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα
 τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξιλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ', 5
 ἰππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ
 φοβερώτατος καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὔτοι
 παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ
 φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ 235
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς
 ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ
 Φιλίππου, πρὸς δὲ ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς.
 πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο- 5
 κράτωρ, ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν
 ἀπάντων· εἶθ' οὔτοι τὰ ὄπλ' εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
 αἰεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἂ
 306 δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,

and Rhodes were independent of Athens as the result of the Social War (357—355 B.C.), but Byzantium, which then followed Chios and Rhodes, had already renewed her friendship (§ 230⁷): see Hist. §§ 2, 51. Corcyra, the old friend and ally of Athens, had become hostile to her before 353 B.C. (see XXIV. 202).

4. χρημάτων σύνταξιν: the payment of the original assessment made on the Delian confederacy by Aristides in 478—477 B.C. was first called φόρος from φέρω, as Thucydides explains it, οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. The First Athenian Empire made the name odious, so that, when the new federation was formed in 378, the term σύνταξις, *agreement*, was adopted for the annual payment.—πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα: this sorry amount of 45 talents shows the decline of the power of Athens after the Social War. The original tribute of 460 talents was raised to 600 under Pericles (Thuc. II. 13²⁸), and (if we

may trust Aesch. II. 175 and Plut. Arist. 24) to 1200 or 1300 after the Peace of Nicias, in large part by the allies commuting personal service for payments of money (Thuc. I. 99).

5. προεξιλεγμένα, *collected in advance*, probably by generals to pay their mercenaries. Aeschines (II. 71) speaks of τοὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μισθοφόρους, οἱ τοὺς μὲν τάλαιπώρους νησιώτας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα εἰσέπραττον σύνταξιν.—ὀπλίτην δ', ἰππέα: so Σ and L; cf. § 94^b.

7. οὔτοι: Aeschines and his party.

8. παρεσκευάκεσαν... ἐγγυτέρω: cf. τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν, Plat. Leg. 803 E.

§ 235. 2. οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, i.e. *this is what we had to depend on*.

9. οὐ προλέγων... βουλευόμενος: two important advantages of a despotism in war. Athens is not the last free state which has suffered from the opposite evils. With this whole passage compare § 249 and I. 4.

οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἰο
 συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
 παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὧν οὐδενὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς
 αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ 236
 πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι
 δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δη-
 μηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετείχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου
 προὔτιθεθ', ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ 5
 ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσ' οὗτοι περιγένοιντ' ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ'
 ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν),
 ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' 237
 ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττώματων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν
 ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θη-
 βαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν
 μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχιλιοὶ δ' 5
 ἵππεῖς, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, συνήχθησαν
 χρημάτων δ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη ἐγὼ πλείστην συντέ-
 λειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους 238

§ 236. 4. ^{βησιζήσασθαι} πρῶτον, *to begin with*:
 cf. xx. 54, ὁ λόγος πρῶτον ἀσχερός.—
 μετ-εἶχον: μετ- implies the *sharing*
 of the right which the preceding
 clause states.

5. προὔτιθεθ', *offered* (see § 273⁸):
 cf. iv. 1; εἰ προὔτιθετο λέγειν.

6. ὅσ'...περιγένοιντ' ἐμοῦ, i.e. *as*
often as they got the better of me.
 The omitted antecedent of ὅσ' ap-
 pears in ταῦθ' (8).

7. τύχοι (M.T. 532): sc. γενόμενον.

8. ταῦθ'—βεβουλευμένοι, i.e. *just*
so often had you taken counsel in
the enemy's interest when you left
the Assembly: ταῦθ' (cognate with
 βεβουλευμένοι) are the βουλευματα in
 which περιγένοιντ' ἐμοῦ, and these
 counsels you always took in the
 enemy's interest. Cf. Thuc. ii. 44^{1b},
 ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον (sc. βούλευμα) βουλευ-
 εσθαι.

§ 237. 2. ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττώμα-
 των, i.e. with such disadvantages at
 the outset.—συμμάχους...ἐποίησα:
 this refers to the grand league against
 Philip, formed early in 340 B.C. by
 Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis.
 See Hist. § 51 (end). For the
 Euboeans see § 79 (above): for
 the Euboeans, Peloponnesians, and
 Acarnanians see Aesch. iii. 95—97.

5. μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι: this
 includes the Theban forces, which
 were added a year after the league
 was formed.

6. πολιτικῶν, *citizen soldiers* (of
 the various states).

7. συντέλειαν: this term was ap-
 plied to the contributions of the new
 league, rather than σύνταξις (cf. Aesch. (iii. 97) calls them σ

§ 238. The orator he
 with great effect one o

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θρωπος ούτοσι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν. ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις ;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν, εἰ ταύτη γαυριάς ἐφ' ἣ 244
 στένειν σε, ὧ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν
 παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτως δὲ
 λογίσεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμ-
 φθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἠττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ 5
 φιλίππου πρέσβων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας οὐδ' ἐξ
 Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν
 βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν,
 οὐ τὰ τελευταῖ' ἐκ Θηβῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ
 πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιῶν 10
 κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ 245
 οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν ^{πυλίσσει} σκώπτων
 καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἐν' ὄντα κρείττω
 γενέσθαι ; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις ; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου
 κύριος ἦν ἐγώ ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γ' ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ 5

noun emphatically points out a present person or thing; as Plat. Gorg. 489 η, οὕτοσι ἀνὴρ οὐ παύσεται φλυαρῶν, and 505 C, οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομένει ὠφελούμενος: see Thuc. I. 51^b, νῆες ἐκεῖναί ἐπιπλέουσι, *yonder are ships sailing up*.

7. ἐμβρόντητε, *thunderstruck, stupefied by βροντή*: cf. ἐμβρονησθαι, XIX. 231. For the relation of these words to τετύφωμαι see note on § 11^b.

8. εἶτα νῦν λέγεις; see note on 1.

§ 244. 1. τὴν ἤτταν: still having in mind the figure of the reckoning (§ 227), he now argues that the chief item which his enemies place on the debit side, the defeat of Chaeronea, cannot justly be charged to him (cf. λογίσεσθε in 4).

2. τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ, *of what I was responsible for*.

4. ὅποι ἐπέμφθην: for the difference between this and ὅποι πεμφθῆην

in § 45 (referring to the same thing), and for ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν (9), see note on § 45². Little is known of any of these embassies of Demosthenes except those to Byzantium (§§ 87—89) and Thebes (§ 211 ff.).

10. ὅπλοις κατεστρέφετο, *i.e. he decided these cases by throwing his sword into the scale*.

§ 245. 1. ταῦτ' ἀπαιτεῖς, *you call me to account for these* (§ 244¹⁰).

2. εἰς μαλακίαν: West. cites Aesch. III. 148, 152, 155, and 175. In these Demosthenes is ridiculed for having run away at Chaeronea, when the whole allied army was put to flight. Aeschines is never charged with this; but he was probably not in the battle at all, being over fifty years old. Probably Demosthenes refers also to the nickname Βάνταλος: see note on § 180^b.

5. τῆς ψυχῆς, *the life*.

τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν 246
 ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν
 λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα;
 ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματ' ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ
 προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ 5
 ἔτι τὰς ἐκάσταχου βραδυτήτας, ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φι-
 9 λονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσσεστιν ἀπά-
 σαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖ' ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα
 συστειλαί, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν
 καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ 10
 ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὔρη
 κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιθ' ὄντιν- 247
 οὖν τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διω-
 κήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ
 μάναγεί

6. τῶν παραταξαμένων, *the com-
 stants*: §§ 208^b, 216^b.

7. εὐθύνας: used metaphorically.
 σκαιὸς, *awkward* (mentally): cf.
 120⁴.

§ 246. 3. λαμβάνετε: plural, as
 turns suddenly from Aeschines
 the whole assembly.

4. ἰδεῖν...ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ.: no one
 can read the earlier orations of Demos-
 thenes in the light of later events
 without feeling the justice of this
 aim to sagacity which he puts for-
 ward. He, indeed, of all the states-
 men of Athens, *saw things in their
 beginnings*, and steadily warned the
 people of the coming danger.

7. πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι, *inherent
 (free) governments*: a striking case
 of a favourite Greek form of emphasis,
 which repeats the idea of a noun in
 an adjective. Here the whole idea
 could have been expressed either by
 πολιτικὰ or by οἰκεία ταῖς πόλεσι; but
 this is made doubly strong by πολιτικὰ
 ταῖς πόλεσι. The Greek constantly

emphasizes by what we should call
 tautology, as in the repetition of
 negatives. In Aeschyl. Ag. 56, οἰωνό-
 θροον γόνον ὄξυβδαν, the whole idea
 could have been expressed by οἰωνῶν
 γόνον ὄξυν, *shrill cry of birds*, but the
 idea of *cry* is added in both adjectives.
 πόλεσι here has the same reference
 to free governments which is usually
 implied in πολιτεία (see note on
 § 65⁹): cf Soph. Ant. 737, πόλις γὰρ
 οὐκ ἔσθ' ἤτις ἀνδρός ἐσθ' ἐνός. With
 the whole passage cf. §§ 235, 236.

8. ὡς belongs to εἰς ἐλάχιστα,
into the smallest possible compass:
 see § 288^b.

9. συστειλαί, *to contract*: συστέλλω
 sometimes means *to shorten sail*,
 as in Ar. Ran. 999; cf. Eq. 432,
 συστειλας τοὺς ἀλλᾶντας.

11. πεποίηται: in the same sense
 as πέπρακται (5): see note on § 4^b.

12. κατ' ἐμὲ: most MSS. (not Σ
 and L¹) have τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ, as in § 247¹¹.

§ 247. 3, 4. τῷ δίδοναι, *by
 making gifts*.

διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμῶν ἦν 5 ἐγὼ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασι ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φίλιππον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα εἰάν πρίηται, οὔτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήτ- 10 τητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμεν εἰς τὸ δικαίως 248 τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἀ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑορακῶς πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔπραττον 5 ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἠνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνώμονῃσ' αἴ τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως

5. δυνάμεων, referring to στρατοπέδῳ (3): see note on § 234¹.

6. ταῦτα (i.e. δυνάμεις): cf. κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν (§ 212⁸).

7. τῷ διαφθαρῆναι ἢ μὴ, in the matter of being corrupted or not, far more expressive than τῷ μὴ διαφθαρῆναι. This corresponds to τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων, in place of a clause with δέ. Cf. XIX. 4, and 7, ὑπὲρ γε τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ.

8. ὁ ὠνούμενος: conative, *he who would buy*. Cf. § 239⁵.

9. ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς (Σ, L¹) = *ὅς μὴ ἔλαβε καὶ διεφθάρη*, better than *μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς* (vulg.), as it more closely unites the corruption with the bribe, *he who refused to take the bribe and be corrupted*.

§ 248. 1. εἰς τὸ...τοῦτον, i.e. to justify Ctesiphon's language in his decree: see § 57¹.

3. οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς: sc. παρέσχεσθε.

6. ἐμβεβηκῶς, *standing amid, surrounded by*: βέβηκα, *stand*, is related to ἵσταμαι as γέγονα to εἶμι and κέκτημαι to ἔχω.

7. ἠνίκ' οὐδ'...πρὸς ἐμέ, i.e. *when most men might have shown some want of feeling towards me without surprising anyone*: this rather awkward translation shows the force of the construction of θαυμαστὸν ἦν (without *ἄν*) and the infinitive, where the chief potential force falls on the infinitive. (See M.T. 415, 416, and Appendix V. p. 406.) We naturally (but incorrectly) translate *when it would have been no wonder*, throwing the chief force on θαυμαστὸν ἦν, so that *ἄν* seems necessary: Blass reads οὐδ' *ἄν*. For a similar case see Eur. Med. 490, *εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἀπαις, συγγνωστον ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους*, i.e. *in that case you might pardonably have been enamoured*: see M.T. 422¹.

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ρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι 10
 μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσφζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο
 γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ
 γνότων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲι οἷς 250
 εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος
 τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἰψηφί-
 ζεσθε τᾶριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς
 ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύ- 5
 μην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως
 καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμο-
 λογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκον ἢ
 τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν
 Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἐώρα τιθέμενον, 10
 οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
 παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

L. Cassii adipēs, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.

11. δι' ὑμᾶς, i.e. through the courts.

13. ἀληθές, in accordance with truth.—ὑπὲρ...δικαστῶν, to the credit of judges, etc.

14. γνότων τὰ εὖορκα, who (not only had sworn, but) gave judgment in accordance with their oaths.

§ 250. 1. ἐν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην (cf. ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον, § 19³). The εἰσαγγελία was partly a state prosecution, which was first brought before the Senate (rarely before the Assembly). If the Senate accepted the εἰσαγγελία, it referred the case to the Heliastic court for trial, unless it settled it by inflicting a fine not exceeding 500 drachmas.

2. τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων: cf. §§ 103², 266⁶. A comparison of Hyperides (Lycoph. 8), διὰ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, with Lycurgus (Leocr. 3), τὸν ἰδίᾳ κινδυνεύοντα,

and Pollux (viii. 52, 53), shows that in earlier times no penalty was inflicted on the εἰσαγγέλλων who failed to get one-fifth of the votes, but that afterwards he was subject to the fine without the ἀτιμία.

4. τᾶριστά με πράττειν: i.e. the judgment of the court justified this expression in Ctesiphon's decree (§ 57¹).

5. ἔννομα γράφειν: opposed to παράνομα γράφειν: see note on γραφὰς, § 249³.

6. τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, put your seal on my accounts: this probably refers to the official seal of the δικαστήριον before which Demosth. appeared to render his accounts (εἰθῆναι) at the end of each term of office. See Aristotle, Pol. Ath. 48¹⁶, 54⁶.

10. τὸν δῆμον τιθέμενον: this repeated approval of the people refers to the votes mentioned in § 248.

11. δικαστάς: sc. τιθεμένους. The present judges are addressed

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ 251
μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ ἰ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε.
311 ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε
δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ
τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 5
ναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι.
οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε
γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γ' ὠμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι
τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνω- 252
μοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δ'
ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν,

above (6) as if they had themselves judged the previous cases.—τὴν ἀλήθειαν: with special emphasis, after τὸν δῆμον and τοὺς δικαστάς.

This passage is a dignified and fitting conclusion to the line of argument beginning with § 227 concerning the orator's *account* (λογισμός) with the state. Now, after a brief allusion (§ 251) to the case of Cephalus, he passes to another matter.

§ 251. 1. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν may be exclamatory, *there is the glory of Cephalus*; cf. I. 6. But καλὸν is generally taken here as predicate to τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου (sc. ἐστὶ). (See Aesch. III. 194.) This Cephalus (already mentioned in § 219⁸) is not the father of Lysias, who opens the dialogue of Plato's Republic with Socrates and was ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ in the lifetime of Socrates; but a later statesman, who with Thrasybulus of Collytus was a leader of the Theban party in Athens, and highly respected.—τὸ...φεύγειν, *the (glory of) never being under indictment*. Aeschines (194), after mentioning the boast of Aristophon that he had been acquitted (ἀπέφυγεν) seventy-five times on the γραφὴ παρανόμων, compares this with

the higher boast of Cephalus, that he had proposed more decrees than any other man, and yet had never once been indicted by this process.

5. πρὸς γε τοῦτον, *so far as this man is concerned*; i.e. Aeschines has done nothing to prevent me from making the boast of Cephalus.

7. ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, *prosecuted an indictment*, cognate accusative, as in ἐγράψατο γραφὴν. The English translation obscures the construction.

8. μηδὲν εἶναι: see M.T. 685.

§§ 252—275. Here Demosthenes replies at great length to scattered remarks of Aeschines about his "bad fortune," which involved in calamity every person, state, or thing which he touched. Though Aeschines refers only to his general *fortune*, Demosthenes chooses to speak chiefly of his *fortunes* in life, which he compares with those of his opponent. He concludes (§§ 270—275) with some forcible remarks on his *fortune* in the other sense.

§ 252. 1. ἀγνωμοσύνην (cf. §§ 94², 207¹), *want of feeling*.

3. περὶ τῆς τύχης: see Aesch. III. 114, 157, 158, with 135, 136; cf. § 212

ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόη-
 του ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων 5
 καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη
 μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρῆ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ
 πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς
 ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ
 λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσαθ' 10
 ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ
 τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πό- 253
 λεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν
 Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι
 τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ
 δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν 5

(above).—ὄλις μὲν is opposed to the special exception, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος (8).

4. προφέρει, *sauntis with*.

5. ἦν, after suggesting the object of ἔχειν, is the object of οἶδεν.—βέλτιστα πράττειν: superlative of εἶ πράττειν. See Soph. O.C. 567: ἔξοιδ' ἀνὴρ ὦν χῶτι τῆς ἐς ἀβρίον οὐδὲν πλέον μοι σοῦ μέτεστιν ἡμέρας (Weil).

9. ὑπερηφάνως, *arrogantly*: opposed to ἀνθρωπινώτερον, *more humanly*, i.e. more as one man should speak of another: cf. ὅστις...προφέρει (4).—χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ: cf. εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, § 233^b.

§ 253. 1. τὴν...τύχην: the general good fortune of Athens, as it is here understood, is not mere chance or luck (as in §§ 207¹ and 306¹), but the result of divine protection and the care of the Gods. See the poem on Solon, quoted in XIX. 255, which begins

Ἐμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐ ποτ'
 ὀλεῖται
 αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθα-
 νάτων·
 τοιή γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμο-
 πάτρη
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεῖν ἔχει·

with the orator's comment (256), ἐγὼ δ' αἰεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς εἶρ' οἱ θεοὶ σφύζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν. So IV. 12: (τῆς τύχης) ἤπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα.

3. τὸν...Δωδωναῖον: cf. II. XVI. 233, Ζεῦ ἀνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίω, in the prayer of Achilles. Oracles sent from Dodona to Athens are quoted by Demosthenes, XXI. 53; cf. XIX. 299, ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ Διώνη (the Queen of Zeus at Dodona), πάντες οἱ θεοὶ. At this time Dodona was probably more revered at Athens because of the Macedonian influence at Delphi: cf. Aesch. III. 130, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὦν κ.τ.λ.

4. τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, *man-kind in general*, as opposed to Athens alone.

5. πολλῶν κακῶν: witness the destruction of Thebes by Alexander; and the overthrow of the Persian Empire, which was then going on. See Aesch. III. 132, 133; in 134 he includes Athens in the general bad fortune which she owes to the baneful influence of Demosthenes.

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μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγυῶ μηδεῖς. 5
 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν
 ἠγοῦμαι, οὔτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ
 βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους
 ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν 10
 δύνομαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπήρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257
 προσήκοντα διδασκαλεία, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή τὸν
 μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνθεον, ἐξελθόντι δ'
 ἐκ παιδῶν ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν,
 τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς πιλοτιμίας μήτ' 5
 ιδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
 πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολι-

§ 256. 5. ψυχρότητα, coldness,
 want of feeling.

7. ἐν ἀφθόνοις, in affluence.

8. χαλεποῦ, harsh, stronger than
 ψυχροῦ.

10. ἐκ τῶν... μετριώτατα, as mod-
 erately as the state of the case (τὰ
 ἐόντα) will permit. We have again
 an apology, perhaps an honest one,
 for the personal vituperation which
 follows, §§ 257—262.

§ 257. 1. ὑπήρξεν: the subjects
 are διδασκαλεία and the infinitives
 ἔχειν and πράττειν, with ἐλεῖσθαι (9).
 Most MSS. (not Σ and L¹) insert μὲν
 ἐπιφοιτᾶν οἱ ἅπτερ παιδί.

2, 3. προσήκοντα, i.e. such as chil-
 dren of the better classes attended:
 one of the charges against his guar-
 dian Aphobus (xxvii. 46) is τοὺς διδα-
 σκαλοὺς τοῦ εὐμισθοῦ ἀπειστέρηκε.—τὸν
 ποιήσοντα = ὃς ποιήσει, he who is
 to do etc. (M.T. 527, 530).—αἰσχρὸν,
 i.e. ἀνωλόγητον: this idea of the igno-
 rance of toil is a commonplace with
 the ἰσθηταί, as a slave-holding people.

Cf. Ar. Av. 1432, τί γὰρ πάθω;
 σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

4. ἀκόλουθα πράττειν is explained
 by the rest of the clause, χορηγεῖν...
 χρήσιμον εἶναι.—χορηγεῖν, τριηρα-
 ρχεῖν: testimony about all his λητουργίαι
 is given in § 267. He was χορηγός in
 350 B.C., when he was assaulted by
 Midias (xxi. 13 ff.); for his numerous
 trierarchies see xxi. 78, 154, Aesch.
 iii. 51, 52, and cf. § 99¹¹ (above).

5. εἰσφέρειν, to pay the εἰσφορά,
 or property-tax: this was assessed
 "progressively," the richer being
 taxed on a larger proportion (τὸ μῆκος
 of their actual property than the
 poorer. (See *Eisphora* in Smith's
 Dict. Antiq.) The guardians of
 Demosthenes, to conceal their pecu-
 lations, continued to enroll their ward
 in the highest class, so that he paid
 taxes on a τμήμα of one-fifth of his
 property (οὐσία), whereas he should
 have been placed in a much lower
 class after the inroads upon the estate.
 See xxvii. 7 and xxviii. 4.

313 τεύμαθ' ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ'
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλακίς ἐστεφανῶσθαι, 10
 καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ
 προειλόμην ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη 258
 συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν
 περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπησαί
 τιν' ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ
 διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τινὶ 5
 κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὦν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς
 ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ
 προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογ-
 γίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κὸρῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν οὐκ
 ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ 259
 τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα συνε-

9. ὥστε, with perfect and present infinitive: M.T. 590, 109.

10. ἐστεφανῶσθαι: see §§ 83, 120, 222, 223.

11. ἂ προειλόμην, i.e. τὴν ἐμὴν προαίρεσιν: cf. § 190⁵.

§ 258. 2. συμβεβίωκα...εἰπεῖν: an accidental dactylic hexameter.—πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων=πόλλ' ἂν ἔχοιμι, though *I might* etc.: cf. § 138^{1, 2}.

3. φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπησαί (M.T. 374): the object infinitive takes the place of μὴ λυπήσω, which in use had become an object clause (M.T. 303 C).

7. πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ: see notes on § 129²⁻⁴.

8. προσεδρεύων, attending (as a servant).—τὸ μέλαν τρίβων: the ink was probably rubbed from a cake (like India ink) and mixed with water.

9. παιδαγωγεῖον, probably a room in which the παιδαγωγοί, slaves who brought the boys to and from school, waited for these to be ready to go home: later it was used like διδασκαλεῖον for a schoolroom.—οἰκέτου... ἔχων: the mention of these menial

duties implies the same condition of father and son as appears in § 129.

§ 259. In this section and § 260 we have a lively comic description, highly caricatured, of some Asiatic ceremonies of initiation, in which the mother of Aeschines is said to have taken part. This was some form of Bacchic worship, with perhaps a mixture of Orphic mysteries. It seems there was a written service (τὰς βίβλους), which Aeschines read like a clerk while his mother officiated as priestess. The initiation of Strepsiades into the Socratic mysteries (Ar. Nub. 255—262) probably caricatures some similar worship.

1. τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ: see XIX. 281, Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγωγούσης, ἐφ' οἷς ἕτερα τέθνηκεν ἰέρεια, and cf. 249. In XIX. 199 we have τὰς βίβλους ἀναγιγνώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ, καὶ παῖδ' ὄντ' ἐν θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις καλινδούμενον.

2. τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, you helped to conduct the rest of the ceremony:

σκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων
καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ
πῆλῳ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστάς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρ- 5
μοῦ κελεύων λέγειν ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,
1 ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνύνο-
μενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγ-
γασθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμ-
προν), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων 260
διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ

σκευωροῦμαι is properly *look after* σκεύη (of any kind), and generally *manage, direct, devise, concoct* (often in a bad sense): cf. IX. 17 τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον (of Philip).

3. νεβρίζων and κρατηρίζων are probably transitive and govern τοὺς τελουμένους, like καθαίρων, ἀπομάττων, and ἀνιστάς, i.e. *dressing them in fawnskins and drenching them with wine*. See Eur. Bacch. 24, νεβρίδ' ἐξάψας χροός, and Sandys' note. They are sometimes taken as neuter, meaning *dressing yourself in a fawn-skin and pouring out wine*.

4. ἀπομάττων...πιτύροις, i.e. *plastering them over with clay and then rubbing them clean with bran*.

5. ἀνιστάς: the victim is supposed to be sitting during the operation, like Strepsiades (Nub. 256).—καθαροῦ: the process was a purification and also a charm.

6. κελεύων, subordinate to ἀνιστάς: i.e. *making him get up as he bids him say, etc.*—ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον: this formula was borrowed from initiations and other ceremonies of a higher character, meaning that a new life was opened as the result of the ceremony just ended. Suidas gives (under ἔφυγον...ἄμεινον): τὰττεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ κακοῦ εἰς κρεῖττον ἐλθόντων. The saying originally referred to the change from the acorns and thistles of primi-

tive life to the more civilized bread, and was used at weddings and other ceremonies. The words form a paroemiac, and probably belonged to some metrical formula.

7. ὀλολύξαι, used especially of *cries or shouts* in religious worship or prayers: see Oid. iv. 767, ὡς εἰποῖσ' ὀλόλυξε (after a prayer): Aeschyl. Eum. 1043, ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς: Eur. Bacch. 689, ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσσις σταθεῖσα Βάκχαις.

8. φθέγγεσθαι μέγα: the strong voice of Aeschines is often mentioned by Demosthenes; see below, §§ 280, 285^b, 291^b, 313⁷, and especially XIX. 206—208, 216, 337—340; in XIX. 216 he says, μηδέ γε εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγα οὗτος φθέγγεται, μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ, alluding to his own weakness of voice.

§ 260. 1. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις implies that the ceremonies just described were performed by night.—θιάσους, used especially of Bacchanals; see Eur. Bacch. 680, ὁρῶ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν.

2. τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ: from μάραθον, *fennel*, Marathon is said to have been named (cf. Strab. p. 160): for the fondness of serpents for it, see Ael. Hist. Animal. ix. 16. For serpents in the Bacchic worship, see Eur. Bacch. 102, 697. The white poplar, λεύκη, *populus alba*, is men-

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ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων 5
κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί'
οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ 262
μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις
ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύκκα καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριτα-
γωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρῦς καὶ ἐλάας¹ συλλέγων
ὥσπερ ὄπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω 5
λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς
περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ
ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν
πυλλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφῶς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν

Ἀρχιδίου. Ἀπὸ ἡφίτης: ἀρχίδιον is
ἡφίθ ἢ ἡφίθιτιν οὐ ἀρχή in the sense
of ἀρχων. See Aesch. III. 21, ἀρχὴν
ἠπειθύνων μὴ ἀποθνήσκῃ.

7. τῶν προὔπηργμένων, of your
misdeeds.

1. 262. 2. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, the
heavy runners.

1. Σιμύκκα (so Σ): Theophrastus
(Aithon, VIII. 348A) mentions Σιμ-
μύκκα τὸν ὑποκριτὴν.—ἐτριταγωνί-
στεισι a company of strolling actors,
such as performed at the country
festivals, was probably composed of
two men, who played the first and
second parts and hired another to
play the third parts.

4. σῦκα...χωρίων: the meaning of
these much disputed words seems to
be, that the band of players subsisted
chiefly on the fruit which Aeschines,
as their hired servant, collected from
the neighbouring farms by begging,
stealing, or buying, as he found most
convenient. He is compared to a
small fruiterer (ὄπωρώνης), who each
morning collects his load of fruit from
farms which he has hired, or wherever
else he can get it cheapest. Pollux
(VI. 128) includes ὄπωρώνης (with
πορνοβοσκός and ἀλλαντοπώλης) in
his long list of βλοῖ ἐφ' οἷς ἄν τις
ὄνειδισθεῖη.

5. πλείω...ἀγώνων, getting more
(profit) from these than from your
plays (contests).

6. οὓς (cogn. acc.)...ἠγωνίζεσθε,
which you played at the risk of your
lives (or in which you fought for your
lives), with a pun on the two meanings
of ἀγών and ἀγωνίζομαι, fight and
play: see IV. 47 τῶν στρατηγῶν
ἕκαστος δὲ καὶ τρεῖς κρινεται παρ' ὑμῖν
περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι
περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, where there is a
similar pun on being tried (ἀγωνίζεσθαι)
for their lives in court and in battle.

7. ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος, with-
out truce or herald, i.e. implacable,
without even the common decencies
of civilized warfare.

9. τραύματ' εἰληφῶς: see XI. 337,
ὅτε μὲν τὰ θεύστου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ
Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐ-
τὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων,
καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως ὥστε
τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀπο-
στῆναι. This account of the πόλεμος
makes τραύματ' here perfectly intelli-
gible; but the reading τούτων τραύ-
ματα in 6 (which all mss. except Σ
have) makes endless difficulty and
confusion. If τραύματα in 6 is referred
to wounds received in stealing fruit,
compared with those received on the

τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ 263
 παρὲς ὧν τὴν ἕννοιάν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ
 τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοι-
 αύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ'
 ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς 5
 πατρίδος λαγῶ βίον ἕξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ
 πληγήσασθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις
 ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὧν
 ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι· καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν 264
 ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
 ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν
 315 ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι
 προσόντ' αἰσχροῦ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδέη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν 5
 εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν
 ἐμοί.

stage or after the play, there is a strange repetition of the latter; if there is a reference (as Westermann suggests) to fruit used in pelting the actors, it is hard to see how figs, grapes, and olives could endanger the lives of the "heavy groaners."

10. ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις: see § 245².

Demosthenes (XIX. 246, 247) says that Aeschines was a τριταγωνιστής also to actors of high repute, as Theodorus and Aristodemus; and he reminds him of the time when he had to play the part of Creon in the Antigone with these actors. He adds the following: ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασιν τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρ' ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.

§ 263. 4. πολιτείαν, *position in public life*.—καὶ emphasizes the rest of the clause, τοῦτ'...ποιῆσαι, i.e. when at last you took it into your head to try this.

6. λαγῶ βίον ἕξης: Weil quotes

Trag. frag. incert. 373 (N.), λαγῶ βίον ζῆς, ὁ πρὶν ἄτρομος λέων. "Dicuntur leporis vitam vivere qui semper anxii trepidique vivunt; nam ut est apud Herod. III. 108, ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ac ne somnum quidem capit nisi oculis apertis" (Dissen).

8. θρασὺς ὧν...ὦψαι (M.T. 884): personal passive construction.

§ 264. 1. χιλίων ἀποθανόντων, at Chaeronea: see Diod. XVI. 86, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἠλώσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων. See Lycurg. Leocr. 142, χίλιοι τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοῦς ἠπόλις ἔθαψαν. Diod. XVI. 88 quotes an eloquent passage of the speech of Lycurgus at the trial of Lysicles, one of the Athenian commanders at Chaeronea, who was condemned to death.

5. προσόντ' αἰσχροῦ τούτῳ: cf. § 276⁵.

6. εὐχερῶς λέγειν, *to be ready to tell*: cf. § 70⁷.

Ἐξέτασον τοίμην παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι 265
 βεβιωμένα, πρῶως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτη-
 σον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος
 αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέ-
 λεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλη- 5
 σίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι
 πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ 266
 νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκι-
 μάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι,
 σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυ-
 νεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦ- 5
 σθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων.
 ἀγαθῆ γ'—οὐχ ὀρᾶς ;—τύχῃ συμβεβιωκῶς τῆς ἐμῆς
 κατηγορεῖς.

§ 265. In §§ 265, 266, the orator builds up vigorously the substance of §§ 257—264. Westermann points out that each of the five stages of the life of Aeschines is mentioned in order, when he was (1) a schoolmaster's assistant (§ 258), (2) initiator (§§ 259, 260), (3) scribe (§ 261), (4) actor (§ 262), (5) politician (§§ 263, 264). Many ancient rhetoricians quote these famous antitheses with approval and admiration. We are again shocked by the open avowal of the disgrace of earning an honest living; the ancients were certainly more honest than many of our generation in expressing this.

1. τὰ...βεβιωμένα: passive of ἀ...βεβιώκαμεν (cf. § 130¹).

4. ἐφοίτων, went to school: cf. Ar. Nub. 916, διὰ σέ δὲ φοιτᾶν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει τῶν μειρακίων.

5. ἐτελούμην, probably into the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. ἐξέπιπτες: ἐκπίπτειν, *exigi*, is used as a passive to ἐκβάλλειν; cf. XIX. 337, and Arist. Poet. 17², 18^{1b}.

§ 266. 2. ὑπὲρ...δοκιμάζομαι: δοκιμασία is any investigation to test the fitness or competency of a person for anything, as for office (its ordinary meaning) or for citizenship; and δοκιμάζομαι here implies that this trial is to test his fitness for the crown.

3. τὸ...ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι: § 86², ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἀριστα πρῆν. The articular infinitive in *obl.* is rare (M.T. 794, 743).

4. σοὶ ὑπάρχει, *it is in store you*.—κινδυνεύεις corresponds to ἐμάζομαι (2): the meaning is, *question with you is*.

5. τοῦτο ποιεῖν, *i.e. to go on being a sycofante*.—πεπαῦσθαι, *to be stopped* (once for all), *i.e. by ἀτιμία* (cf. § 82²).

6. τὸ πέμπτον μέρος: Dindorf omits πέμπτον because it is omitted in §§ 103, 222, 250, whereas it appears in other speeches frequently (e.g. XXII. 3). What modern orator or writer would submit to such rules of consistency as critics impose on the ancients?

7. οὐχ ὀρᾶς; cf. 232^b, 281^b.

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οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ 270

ransomed at Pella in 346 (Hist. § 30). See XIX. 166—170. Dem. lent various sums to these prisoners, which they paid for their ransoms; when afterwards Philip set the other prisoners free without ransom, Dem. forgave the first their debts to him (ἐδωκα δωρεὰν τὰ λύτρα), which otherwise they would have been strictly required by law to pay (XIX. 170).

6. *συνεξέδωκα*, i.e. *helped* poor citizens to *endow* their daughters: giving a dowry was an important part of giving a daughter in marriage. —οὔτε...οὐδέν, *nor anything else of the kind*. These words are rather loosely connected with the preceding clauses with οὔτε: in all three οὔτε repeats the negative of οὐδέν ἀνεῖποιμι κ.τ.λ., so that the construction here is οὔτε ἀν εἶποιμι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν.

§ 269. 1. ὑπέληφα: cf. pass. ὑπέλημμαι (8). —ἐγὼ...δεῖν: an iambic trimeter.

3. ποιήσαντ': sc. εὖ.—ἐπιλελῆσθαι: cf. πεπαῦσθαι, § 266^b.

4. μικροψύχου: see note on § 279^b.

5. ὑπομιμνήσκειν, i.e. *to be always calling to mind*.

6. μικροῦ δεῖν, the full form of μικροῦ, *almost* (M. T. 779): cf. § 151^b. West. quotes Cic. Lael. xx. 71,

odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit; and Sen. Benef. II. 10, haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam; lacerat animum et premit frequens meritorum commemoratio. Pericles (Thuc. II. 40) looks at the matter from a different point of view: οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους· κ.τ.λ. There is a New England saying, "If a man does you a favour, he follows you with a tomahawk all your lifetime."

8. προαχθήσομαι: cf. προήχθην (sc. τάξει), VIII. 71.—ὅπως ὑπέλημμαι, *as I have been understood*, i.e. the general opinion which has been formed of me.

9. ἀρκεῖ μοι: sc. οὕτως ὑπέληφθαι.

§§ 270—275. We have here a sort of peroration to the discourse on Fortune (§§ 252—275), in which the orator comes at last to the precise point of his opponent's remark, that Demosthenes has brought ill-luck upon every person or state with which he had to do (Aesch. III. 114). Hitherto Demosthenes has spoken

πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
 ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ
 νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν 5
 Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ τὴν
 ἐμὴν—εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει—
 πάντων γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόν- 271
 των ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ
 καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσω δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέ-
 στερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην 5
 κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ
 οἶαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' 272
 ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾶ,
 317 καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπι-
 βάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν 5

far more of his "fortunes" than of his "fortune." See remarks before notes on § 252.

§ 270. 3. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, as we say, *under the Sun* (poetic). See II. v. 267, ὄσσοι ξασιν ὑπ' ἡῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε: Od. xv. 349, ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο.

4. ἀθῶος, *unharméd*: cf. § 125¹, where we have the original meaning, *free from θωή, penalty*, as in xxiii. 78, ταύτης μὲν (δίκης) ἀθῶος ἀφλεται, *he is acquitted*.

5. δυναστείας: see §§ 67^{2, 8}, 322⁷, with notes.

8. πάντων γεγενῆσθαι, *has fallen to the lot of us all*: πάντων refers to *all the Athenians*, opposed to τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ in § 271¹. He might admit (he implies) that his own fortune had extended to Athens, were it not that foreign states had suffered the same ill fortune.

§ 271. 3. κατ' ἄνδρα, i.e. *individuals*, as opposed to πόλεις and ἔθνη.

6. φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων, *a rush of events*: φορὰ in this sense (*impetus*) belongs to φέρουαι, used as in βία φέρεται, Plat. Phaedr. 254 A, and φερόμενος, *with a rush* (M.T. 837): φορὰν, *crop*, in § 61², belongs to φέρω, *bear, produce*.—οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει, *not what it should be* (present in time, M.T. 417); ἔδει here is *ought to be* (but is not).

§ 272. 3. ἐπιβάλλει: see note on τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, § 254⁷.

4. ἅπασι: sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (cf. πάντων, § 270⁸).

5. εἰ μὲν... ἐβουλευόμην is past, while ἦν ἄν, its apodosis, is present.—κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ, *an absolute autocrat*: cf. αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, § 235⁵.

πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἣν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν
 ὑμῖν ἔμ' αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλη- 273
 σίαις ἀπάσαις, αἰεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις —
 προὔτιθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστ'
 εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ
 παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα 5
 προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν
 εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς
 τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίῳ;
 παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὀρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ- 274
 ποῖς διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα.
 ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν· ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου.

§ 273. 2. ἐν κοινῷ...προὔτιθει
 σκοπεῖν, *put forward for public con-
 sideration*: cf. IV. 1, εἰ περὶ καιροῦ
 τινος πράγματος προὔτιθετο λέγειν.
 See § 192², προτίθησι βουλήν, and
 § 236⁴, ἐξ ἴσου προὔτιθετε. γνώμας
 προτιθέσθαι often means *to open a de-
 bate*: cf. Thuc. I. 139¹⁸, and III. 38²,
 τῶν προθέντων αὐθις λέγειν, where
 λέγειν is like σκοπεῖν here.

4. ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, *out of devotion*, cor-
 responds to ἀλλὰ ἠττώμενος (7).—ἐμοὶ
 is dative of advantage with παρεχώρεις,
 but is also felt with ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ.

5. ζήλου, *pride*: see § 120⁶.

9. ὧν: with βελτίῳ.

Westermann thinks the argument of
 this section not quite fair, as it is not
 to be assumed that Aeschines assented
 to all which he did not oppose. But,
 apart from the obvious irony of parts
 of the argument (as in οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
 εὐνοίᾳ κ.τ.λ.), it was surely not too
 much to expect of the acknowledged
 "leader of the opposition" in such a
 desperate crisis, that he should at
 least protest strongly against measures
 of such vital importance as those which
 he censures afterwards, even if he
 could not propose any positive mea-

sures himself. Now it is an important
 part of the argument of Demosthenes,
 that Aeschines *said nothing whatever*
 on such occasions as the sudden seizure
 of Elatea by Philip. See § 191⁵, σοῦ δ'
 ἀφῶρου...καθημένου: see the whole pas-
 sage, §§ 188—191. The only ground
 on which such neglect can be excused
 is the one here assumed, that the
 opposition had no better plan to pro-
 pose. The plain truth is, of course,
 that Aeschines really wished to let
 Philip have his own way at this time.

§ 274. 1. παρὰ...ἀνθρώποις: see
 two similar cases of παρὰ in § 297^{4, 6}.
 —τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, i.e. all except
 Aesch.

2. τὰ τοιαῦτα, i.e. *such* (prin-
 ciples) as the following, explained by
 the statements in 3—8.

3. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν, *a man* (let us
 suppose) *is guilty of voluntary injus-
 tice*. We have three such suppositions
 in independent sentences, with para-
 tactic replies or apodoses. For a sim-
 ilar arrangement see § 117, ἐπέδωκα,
 ἦρχον, ἀδίκως ἦρξα, with the replies.
 See also § 198⁷⁻⁹.

ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν: sc. διωρισμέ-
 νην ὀρῶ.

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μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν
 318 ἐμὲ καὶ τῆρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι
 μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ
 τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἔαν πρότερός τις εἴπη τὰ 5
 προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως
 ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς
 ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι
 γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κακεῖν' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι 277
 τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὀρῶ
 τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖ-
 στον κυρίου· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς
 ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. 5
 εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη,
 ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζο-
 μένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ'

venience) as if he had spoken (*quasi vero dixisset*, West.), though there is nothing conditional in the participle with ὡσπερ, which merely expresses comparison (M.T. 867): *having, as it were, spoken*, would be more correct, though less clear. See ὡσπερ οὐχ, § 323⁷, and note on ὡς (5).

3. ἐκέλευεν: sc. ὑμᾶς.—ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι: the subject of the object clause appears by attraction (ἐμὲ) in the leading clause (M.T. 304²). This is a reply to Aesch. 16, 174, 206, 207, and other passages.

5—7. ὡς...οὕτως ἔχοντα (accus. abs., M.T. 853), i.e. *assuming that this must needs be so*. ὡς has no more conditional force than ὡσπερ (1), though we often find it convenient to use *as if* in translation (M.T. 864): notice οὐκέτι with σκεψομένους, *will not further consider*, showing that there is nothing conditional in the expression. τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ, i.e. *things which are true of himself* (cf. προσεῖναι, l. 10).

§ 277. 2. ἔστω γάρ, *well! grant that I have it*. Having broken his sentence, he proceeds to say that the hearers have it in their power to neutralize the highest gifts of eloquence by refusing to listen. See XIX. 340, αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπικεικῶς εἰσὶν αὐτάρκεις, ἢ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκούοντων ἀντιστῆ, διακόπτεται.

4. ὡς ἂν...πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, i.e. *according to your goodwill towards each*, εὐνοίας being partitive with ὡς, as in εἰς τοῦτο εὐνοίας. (G. 1092.) Cf. Thuc. I. 22.

5. οὕτως φρονεῖν, i.e. *εὖ or κακῶς φρονεῖν*.

6. ἐμπειρία, substituted modestly for the stronger δεινότητα of l. 2; the original construction being resumed by ταύτην (7).

7. ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, *marshalled on your side*, the familiar military figure: see notes on § 173⁵ and § 173⁶.

ἰδία, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον 10
 ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ
 δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. οὔτε 278
 γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν
 τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
 τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ
 βεβαιῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ 5
 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ'
 ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν
 τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν
 ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ
 πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, 10
 ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου.
 319 μηδενὸς δ' ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου—προσθήσω 279
 δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου—δίκην ἀξιῶσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ,
 μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου

9. τούναντίον (adv.): sc. ἐξεταζομένην εὐρήσετε.

II. κατὰ τούτων (sc. τῷ λέγειν),
 opposed to ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. τούτων
 refers loosely to τις: see § 99⁸ and
 II. 18, εἴ τις...τούτους. We are all
 familiar with *anybody* becoming *them*
 in conversation. The whole expres-
 sion εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι...κατὰ τούτων
 (*gratifying private grudges*) is op-
 posed to οὐδ' ἰδία (8), as ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν is opposed to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (8).

§ 278. 3. ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, with
 εἰσεληλυθότας, i.e. *who have come into
 court to give judgment for the public
 good*, opposed to ὀργὴν...βεβαιῶν.

4. ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, *to ask
 (them) to confirm for him*, i.e. by
 condemning his opponent.

5. ὑπὲρ τούτων, *for these ends*,
 i.e. to gratify his ὀργή or ἔχθρα.

6. μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*.—εἰ δ'
 ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, i.e. *but if after all he
 must have these feelings*. Cf. § 178¹².

7. ἐν τίσιν...δεῖ; when should an
 orator use all his vehemence?

9. τῶν ὅλων τι, *any of the supreme
 (entire) interests of the state*: cf.
 §§ 28⁹, 303⁹.

10. ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, *the people are
 concerned*, etc.

11. ἐν τούτοις: with strongest
 emphasis, in reply to ἐν τίσιν;

§ 279. Still answering the ques-
 tion ἐν τίσιν...δεῖ; (§ 278⁷), he de-
 scribes the present suit as one which
 does not justify vehemence in an orator.

2. μηδ' ἰδίου (sc. ἀδικήματος) con-
 tinues the construction of δημοσίου:
 cf. VIII. 39, 40, ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει...
 προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις.

3. στεφάνου...κατηγορίαν, *an ac-
 cusation against a crown and a vote
 of thanks (ἐπαίνου)* (i.e. against a pro-
 position to confer these): nearly all
 decrees conferring a crown had the
 words ἐπαινέσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι.

καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον καὶ
 τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνῆλῶκεναί, ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ 5
 φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς
 χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας
 ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν.
 καὶ μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν 280
 τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τούτου
 προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς
 λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος,
 Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ 5
 ταῦτ' προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὔσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως 281
 ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοία πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ'
 ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προοράται κίνδυνόν τιν' ἑαυτῇ,
 τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀρμῆι τοῖς
 πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει 5
 προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ'—ὀράς ;—ἐγώ· ταῦτ' γὰρ συμφέ-

4. συνεσκευασμ., *having trumped*
 up.

6. μικροψυχίας, *littleness of soul*,
 opposed to μεγαλοψυχία, § 68⁴: cf.
 § 269⁴.—οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ: neuter,
 cf. πάντα τὰ χρηστά, XX. 165.

7. τοὺς...ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα with ἐπὶ
 τόνδ' ἤκειν recurs to the idea of § 16.

8. καὶ strengthens πᾶσαν, *the very*
depth of baseness.

§ 280. 2. φωνασκίας, *declama-*
tion (practice of voice): cf. § 308¹⁰,
 and φωνασκήσας and πεφωνασκηκώς
 in XIX. 255, 336.—τούτον τὸν ἀγῶ-
 να, i.e. *this form of suit* (against
 Ctesiphon).

6. ταῦτ' προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολ-
 λοῖς: cf. §§ 281⁶, 292⁸.

§ 281. 4. τούτους renews em-
 phatically the antecedent implied in
 ἀφ' ὧν.—οὐκ...ὀρμῆι (sc. ἀγκύρας),
does not ride at the same anchor,
 an oft-quoted saying. See Harpocr.
 under οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κ.τ.λ., and Apo-

stolius XIII. 55 (Paroem. Gr. II.
 p. 591): both note the ellipsis of
 ἀγκύρας. Another expression was
 ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὀρμῆι (sc. ἀγκύραιν), ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἀστεμφῶς ἐχόντων (Apostol. VII. 61),
 to which Solon refers in his com-
 parison of Athens with her two
 senates to a ship with two anchors:
 Plut. Sol. 19, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοῖν βουλαῖς
 ὡσπερ ἀγκύραις ὀρμούσαν ἤττον ἐν σάλῳ
 τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι. Cf. Soph. Ant.
 188—190, quoted in XIX. 247.

5. οὔκουν οὐδὲ: the two negatives
 unite their force, and that of οὐν,
therefore, remains: οὔκοῦν οὐδὲ would
 give essentially the same sense.

6. ὀράς; see οὐχ ὀράς; §§ 232⁶,
 266⁷, and οὐ γάρ; § 136².—ἐγώ: the
 ellipsis may be supplied from οὕτως
 ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν (1), with the pre-
 ceding τὸ...μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν.

7. εἰλόμην, in the sense of
 προαιρεῖσθαι (§ 280⁶).—ἐξαιρέτον, *ex-*
clusive.

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μεμνησθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πο- 5
λέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ
καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι
ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν
ἀληθῆ. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν 284
τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ
φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ
ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης
ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέᾳ τῆς 5
τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἢ Φίλιπ-
πος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ
τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, οὔτω
φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ
μηνύτης ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγρονῶς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ 10
καὶ ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους
εὐρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, 285

5. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ: opposed to
μετὰ τὴν μάχην (§ 282³) when Ae-
schines went on his embassy to
Philip.

6. καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος,
cursing (i.e. protesting, with curses
on himself if he was false) and
swearing; like Matth. Evang. xxvi.
74, τότε ἤρξατο (Πέτρος) καταθεματι-
ζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν, *then began he to curse*
and to swear.

7. τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην: i.e. *the*
charge of intimate relations with
Philip.

§ 284. 2. ὠμολόγεις: i.e. your
friendship with Philip.

3. φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν: see §§ 51,
52.

4. μετατιθέμενος, *substituting* (*ap-
plying by exchange*).

6. τυμπανιστρίας, *tymbrel-beater*:
the τύμπανον, *kettle-drum*, was a
favourite instrument in the Asiatic
ceremonies described in §§ 259, 260.

—ἢ γνώριμος, *or even an acquaintance*.

9. κατὰ σαυτοῦ...συμβᾶσι, *an*
informant against yourself after the
facts, whereas παρὰ τὰ συμβᾶντα (cf.
§ 285⁴) he had denied everything
which told against him (§ 283⁶). See
§ 197⁹ and note.

11. πάντας μᾶλλον, i.e. *any rather*
than myself: most MSS. (not Σ and
L¹) add the implied ἢ ἐμέ.

§ 285. 1. πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
κ.τ.λ.: these accusatives are direct
objects of προείλετο, but cognate with
κατώρθωσε. Demosth. invariably uses
κατορθῶ in its neuter sense of *succeed*,
as in § 274⁶, οὐ κατώρθωσε. If an
object is added, as in XXI. 106, εἰ
γὰρ ἐν ὧν ἐπεβούλευσε κατώρθωσεν,
it is cognate: see XXIV. 7, XXXVII. 2.
So in Cor. § 290⁸ τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς
ἀγωνιζομένους is not *causing* the com-
batants to succeed, but *the success of*
the combatants, as in πάντα κατορθοῦν,

καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμνη-
μόνησεν. σημείον δέ· χειροτόνῳν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν
ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμ-
βάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν προβληθέντα, καίπερ 5
εὐφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν
εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα,
ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους
321 ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγοροῦν-
των ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' 10
ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησέν με. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς 286
μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γώ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν
αὐτοὶ, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν μεθ' ἧς τὰ
πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ
γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύ- 5
μενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισέν ἡ πόλις ὡμολογήσατε.
τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνου
λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ 7

to succeed in all things, just preced-
ing. In other authors κατορθῶ is
often active, as in Soph. El. 416,
κατώρθωσαν βροτοῦς.

3. τὸν ἐροῦντ', i.e. the orator for
the public funeral. The funeral
eulogy on those who fell in battle
was first introduced (acc. to Diod. xi.
33) in the Persian wars. We have
one genuine ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, that of
Hyperides in honour of those who fell
in the Lamian war (322 B.C.); the
famous eulogy of Pericles in 430 B.C.,
given in the words of Thucydides
(ii. 35—46); with one in Plat. Menex.
(236—249), sportively ascribed to
Aspasia by Socrates. The one as-
cribed to Lysias (ii.) is of doubtful
authenticity, and that found among
the speeches of Demosthenes (lx.)
is certainly spurious.

4. παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα: i.e.
when there might have been a
strong public prejudice against him,

as a leader who had failed (cf.
§ 248¹).

5. προβληθέντα, nominated: cf.
§ 149³.

7. Ἡγήμονα, mentioned by Ae-
schines (iii. 25): he belonged to the
Macedonian party at Athens with
Demades and Pythocles.

8. παρελθόντος before σοῦ καὶ
Πυθοκλέους, but κατηγορούντων after
these words.

10. ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, i.e. which you
again (καὶ) now charge me with.—
ἔτ' ἄμεινον, all the more eagerly.

§ 286. 3. αὐτοὶ, of themselves
(without being told).

4—6. ἃ γὰρ...ὡμολογήσατε re-
peats for the whole Macedonian party
what was said of Aeschines in §§ 282,
283. For διομνύμενοι see § 283⁶.

7. τοὺς...λαβόντας ἄδειαν, i.e.
those who gained license to speak their
minds with impunity, etc. See
§§ 198, 263⁷.

μερ. 2

τόθ' ἤγγησαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι· εἶτα καὶ προσή- 287
 κειν [ὑπολαμβάνοντες] τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευ-
 τηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μὴθ'
 ὁμωρόφιον μὴθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένου εἶναι τοῖς
 πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμά- 5
 ζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς
 μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα
 τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν
 ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ'
 εἴρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. 10
 διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ 288
 ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες

287. 1. εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν: sc. ἤγγησαντο (from § 286^o). I bracket ὑπολαμβάνοντες with Blass: a mere carelessness in style, aiming at no rhetorical effect, seems inadmissible in this oration: see note on § 317^o.

4. ὁμωρόφιον: to be under the same roof with anyone had a peculiar significance to the Greeks. Trials for homicide were held in the open air that neither the judges nor the prosecutor (usually a relative) might be under the same roof with the accused.—γεγενημένον εἶναι, not a mere pleonasm for γεγενῆσθαι, but expressing more forcibly the combination of past and future which is often seen in γεγενῆσθαι (M.T. 102, 109), i.e. they thought he should not be one who had been under the same roof, etc.

5. παραταξαμένοις: see § 208^b, nihil nota nisi συμπαταξάμενοι, § 216^b.

-καὶ κωμάζειν: the revelling in Philip's camp after the victory at Chaeronea was notorious. See Plut. Dem. 20, where the story is told of the drunken Philip rushing out among the slain and chanting the introductory words of the decrees of Demosthenes, which make an iambic tetrameter:

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιδῆς τὰδ' εἶπεν. See XIX. 128, where Aeschines is charged with joining familiarly in the festivities held by Philip after the destruction of the Phocians (see 'List. § 38).

7. τῶν αὐτοχείρων: αὐτόχειρ is properly one who commits any deed by his own hands or by his own act, as in Soph. Ant. 306, τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου. It also, when φόνου is easily understood, means a murderer, as in Eur. H. F. 1359, παίδων αὐθέντην ἐμῶν.

8. τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν: a strong metaphor, opposed to τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν (9).—ὑποκρινόμενον, like a play-actor.—τὴν τύχην: object of δακρύειν. Blass takes it with ὑποκρινόμενον, as in XIX. 246, Ἀντιγόνην ὑποκέκριται.

11. ὑμᾶς, i.e. any one of you. Cf. ὑμῶν, § 285⁷.

§ 288. 1. οὐχ, negating the two clauses with μὲν and δέ: cf. § 13¹¹, and the grand climax in § 179, with notes.

2. πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί: the public funeral was in charge of a committee of relatives of those who had fallen.

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μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δειμάτων οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχὰς ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
 οὔνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις:
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
 ἐν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορευ.] (10)

which contains parts of six words of an epigram in the Anthol. Pal. vii. 245: this epigram was evidently inscribed to the heroes of Chaeronea. The full epigram is as follows, the letters found in the inscription being printed in heavy type:—

ὦ Χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπί-
 σκοπε δαῖμον,
 Ἄγγελος ἡμετέρων πᾶσι γενοῦ πά-
 θεων
 Ὡς ἱερὰν σφῆζεν πειρώμενοι Ἑλλάδα
 χώραν
 Βοιωτῶν κλεινοῖς θνήσκομεν ἐν δαπέ-
 δοις.

This, though genuine, cannot be the inscription quoted by Demosthenes, as it does not have the verse *μηδὲν... κατορθοῦν*; but there were undoubtedly many epigrams commemorating the men of Chaeronea.

v. 1. ἔθεντο ὄπλα, *arrayed themselves* (lit. *placed their arms*): see Arist. Pol. Ath. 8²⁹, *ὅς ἂν στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως μὴ θῆται τὰ ὄπλα μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων*, i.e. *who takes sides with neither party*. So Plat. Rep. 440 E. This is enough to show that the old interpretation of *τίθεσθαι ὄπλα* (as in Thuc. ii. 2, twice), *to pile and stack arms*, is untenable, though it still lingers.

v. 2. ἀπισκέδασαν, *scattered, brought to nought*: a patriotic exaggeration as applied to Chaeronea, perhaps referring to some special exploits of the Athenians. Diod. (xvi. 86) says, *μέχρι μὲν τίνος ὁ ἀγὼν*

ἀμφιδοξουμένας εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης. Cf. Lycurgus (Leoc. 49), *εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἶπειν ἀληθὲς δὲ, ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθανον*.

v. 3. ἀρετῆς καὶ δειμάτων must depend on βραβῆ, *arbiter*, by an *hyperbaton* which would be incredible in the genuine epitaph; οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχὰς ἀλλ' being introduced in place of a participial clause like οὐ σώσαντες ψυχὰς. The meaning evidently is, *in the battle, while they sacrificed their lives, they left to the God of Death to judge whether they showed courage or fear*. There is a similar *hyperbaton* in Xen. Hell. vii. 3, 7: *ὁμοῖα τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, ... οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλ' ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε* (West.).

v. 5. οὔνεκεν Ἑλλήνων belongs to vv. 3, 4.—ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες, a strange expression for classical times, but common in later poetry, as in the Anthology (Blass).

v. 6. ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν (with μὴ), *have about them, wear, like a yoke*: cf. Od. iii. 486, *σειὸν ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες*.

v. 7. τῶν πλείστα καμόντων, *of men who most grievously laboured*, referring to the defeat; to these words ἐπεὶ (v. 8) refers back.

vv. 9, 10. μηδὲν... ἐν βιοτῇ, *it is the gift of the Gods (for men) never to fail and always to succeed in life*, i.e. this is a miraculous exception in mortal life; opposed to which is the

Ἄκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μηδὲν ἄμαρ- 290
 τεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ
 συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
 ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ',
 ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἅ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς 5
 σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291
 κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστα
 ἐθαύμασα πάντων ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ
 πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος πολί-
 τῆς ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε 5
 τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ

fixed rule that death is appointed for all, μοῖραν...ἔπορεν (sc. Ζεὺς βροτοῖς). The two verses contain the ἐκ Διὸς κρίσις; but the change of construction in μοῖραν...ἔπορεν is awkward, and ἐν βιοτῇ is an unnatural addition to v. 9. It is now known that μηδὲν ἄμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ (or θεῶν) καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν is a verse of the epigram of Simonides on the heroes of Marathon, of which two other lines are preserved:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι
 Μαραθῶνι
 χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστέρησαν δύνα-
 μιν.

Kirchhoff (Hermes VI. pp. 487—489) quotes from a MS. scholium: λέγει δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ῥηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῖς Μαραθῶνι πεσοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὸν στίχον τούτον, Μηδὲν ἄμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν. See Bergk, Poet. Lyr., Simon. fr. 82, with the note. See Themist. Or. XXII. p. 276 B, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἄμαρτάνειν ἔξω τῆς φύσεως κεῖται τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ...τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἀληθέστερον δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγέγραπται ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατορθοῦν

ἀπονέμει. These two quotations refer to a verse in which "never to fail and always to succeed" is called a divine prerogative; while in the same words in the inscription quoted by Demosthenes these are called a privilege sometimes granted by the Gods to favoured mortals (see § 290). The original verse of Simonides, μηδὲν... κατορθοῦν (without ἐν βιοτῇ), was probably used, as a well-known verse, in the genuine epigram on those who fell at Chaeronea (still without ἐν βιοτῇ), but with a different meaning; and in this new sense it was quoted by Demosthenes in § 290. The writer of our epigram probably borrowed the genuine line (perhaps from the text of Demosthenes), and added the whole of v. 10. See notes of West. and Bl.

§ 290. 4. ἀνέθηκε: the epigram or its composer, or perhaps ἡ πόλις, is the subject.

5. α...εἰς κεφαλὴν; cf. XIX. 130, ἃ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ δεῖ τρέψαι, and § 294⁸ (below).

§ 291. 4. ὡς ἂν: sc. ἔσχε or σχολή: cf. § 197⁸.

5. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, was disposed.

323 γεγηθώς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν
 δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς
 γεγεννημένοις ἀνιαιροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις.
 καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα 292
 φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο,
 τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτά λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτά
 χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν
 κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι· ὁ σὺ 5
 νυνὶ πεποιηκῶς εἰ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ
 δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν,
 οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξα-
 μένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν· ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ 293
 τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι
 τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν
 δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε.
 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν 5
 ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἴδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαίτε·
 οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ

7. λαρυγγίζων: see Hagrocr., τὸ πλατύνειν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεύειν περιεργότερον τῷ λάρυγγι χρῆσθαι οὕτως ἐλέγετο. Cf. Ar. Eq. 358, λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας, *I will screech down the orators.*

8. δείγμα ἐξέφερε, *he was making an exhibition, giving a specimen*: cf. XIX. 12.—ὅτι...τοῖς ἄλλοις: depending on the verbal force of δείγμα.—τοῖς γεγεν. ἀνιαιροῖς: causal dative with ἔσχε, *was affected*; cf. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην (5).

9. τοῖς ἄλλοις: with ὁμοίως.

§ 292. 1. τῶν νόμων: Aeschines began his speech (1—8) with a grand glorification of the laws, and of the γραφὴ παρανόμων as the great bulwark of the constitution.

3. ταῦτά...τοῖς πολλοῖς: cf. § 280^b.

4. τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν: c § 192^b and l. 8 (below); see §§ 93¹ 317².

5. τετάχθαι, *to be found (posted)*

6. πεποιηκῶς: in *or. obl.* with εἰ φανερός (M.T. 907).

7. πράγματα, *troubles*: cf. Ar. Ach. 310, ἀπάντων αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων. See Aesch. III. 57.

8. οὐκ...βοηθεῖν: i.e. the policy of helping friendly states against Philip has followed the true traditions of Athens: see §§ 95—100. Demosth. here only denies that he began this policy (οὐκ ἀρξαμένων).

§ 293. 3. τῇ...πραττομένῃ, *the dominion which was growing up*: cf. § 62².

6. εὖ οἱ δ' ὅτι, as usual, parenthetic: οἴδ' ὅτι can be thus used even with a participle, as in IX. 1, XIX. 9.

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ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ δια-
φθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν.—Θετταλοὺς Δάο-
χος, Κινέας, Θρασύδαος· Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἱερῶ-
νυμος, Εὐκαμπίδας· Ἀργείους Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος,
Μνασέας· Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσταιχ- 10
μος· Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ
παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρα-
τος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρετος·
Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Πέριλλος· Θηβαίους
Τιμόλας, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας· Εὐβοέας Ἴππαρ- 15
χος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέ- 29
γονθ' ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὔτοι
πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευ-
μάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὧν περ οὔτοι παρ'
ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιανοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, 5
ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν

maintaining that they did what they believed to be for the best interest of their own states. Demosthenes, looking back on his long struggle with Philip, felt that their selfish regard for the temporary interests of special cities, which always proved fatal to Hellenic unity, and their utter disregard of the good of Greece as a whole, really amounted to treachery.

§ 296. 1. ἐπιλείψει...ὀνόματα: emphatic *asyndeton*. Cf. the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 32, ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος, and Cic. Nat. Deor. iii. 32 (81), dies deficiat si velim numerare.

3. τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων, (men) of the same purposes: this genitive of quality is as rare in Greek as it is common in Latin. See Aesch. iii. 168, θεωρήσατ' αὐτὸν, μὴ ὀποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὀποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, and Thuc. iii. 45²⁹, ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐθελείας.

5. ἀλάστορες, accursed wretches

(applied to Philip in xix. 30, properly victims of divine vengeance as in Soph. Aj. 374, μεθῆκα τὴν ἀλάστορας. ἀλάστωρ also means *divine avenger*, as in Aeschyl. P. 354, φανείσ ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων. See note on ἀλιτήριος, § 159³.

6. ἠκρωτηριασμένοι, who have been mangled (lit. *mutilated*): see Hagnon ἀντὶ τοῦ λελυμασμένοι· οἱ γὰρ λυμμενοὶ τισὶν εἰώθασι περικόπτειν ἢ τὰ ἄκρα. In Aeschyl. Cho. 435, Soph. El. 445 there is the same in ἐμασχαλίσθη, μασχαλίζω heii. mutilate a dead body by cutting the extremities (τὰ ἄκρα) and putting them under the *armpits* (μασχάλας). Perhaps such strong metaphors like this suggested to Aeschines the absurd expressions which he pretends to quote from Demosthenes in iii. 16 ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τὰ τοῦ δήμου, and others.—τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες: for the successi-

ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ
 νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς
 αἰσχιστοῖς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ
 μηδέν' ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις
 Ἕλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνα-
 τετροφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχροῦς καὶ περι- 297
 βοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὧ ἄνδρες
 25 Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἄν-

eps by which προπίνω comes to mean *recklessly sacrifice*, see Liddell and Scott. An intermediate meaning, *present a cup* (or other gift) *after rinking one's health*, is seen in XIX. 39, πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπεύμενος πρὸς ὑτοῦς ὁ Φίλιππος ἀλλὰ τε δὴ πολλὰ, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προῦπινεν αὐτοῖς, i.e. in rinking their health, he gave them these various gifts. See also Pind. VII. 1—6, φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις... ῥήσεται νεανία γαμβρῶ προπίνων, οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, and the Schol. V. 5, προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἄμα

τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι... καὶ Δημοσθένους τοὺς προδιδόντας τὰς πατρίδας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προπίνειν ἔφη.

8. τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες: see note on § 48^b (on Τιμόβλας). See Cic. Nat. Deor. I. 40 (113), quod dubitet omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertineant ventre metiri.

11. ὄροι καὶ κανόνες, *bounds and rules*, i.e. they applied these as tests to whatever was presented to them as a public good.—ἀνατετροφότες, *having overturned* (i.e. reversed) these tests.

THE EPILOGUE, §§ 297—323. In these sections we have the four characteristics of the ἐπίλογος, as Aristotle gives them (Rhet. III. 19, 1): arguments which will dispose the hearers favourably to the speaker and unfavourably to his opponent, amplification and depreciation, excitement of passions, and recapitulation. He begins by claiming the credit of keeping Athens free from the notorious conspiracy against Grecian liberty just denounced; and he charges Aeschines with failing in all the characteristics of a patriotic citizen which his own conduct exemplifies (§§ 297—300). He recapitulates some of his chief

services in providing Athens with means of defence, and asks what similar claims Aeschines has to the public gratitude (§§ 301—313). He objects to being compared with the great men of former times, though he declares that he can bear such a comparison far better than his opponent (§§ 314—323).

§ 297. 1, 2. περιβοήτου, *notorious*.

3. εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, i.e. to call it by its right name, προδοσίας.

4. παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, i.e. *in the minds of all men*; but παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι (8), *among the Greeks*: in § 274¹ both ideas are combined.

θρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων 5
καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾶς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευο-
μένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων,
ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου
νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλαν- 28
θρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς
οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρην οὐδὲ προηγάγετο
ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι
οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε 5
τουτοισὶ, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ
τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγ-
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστάς, πάντα
ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' 10
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου 29
διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ

6. ἐρωτᾶς; see Aesch. 236.

8. ἀπάντων: exaggeration; but see § 304.

9. ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, i.e. yourself first and foremost.

§ 298. 3. ἐπήρην, *induced* (*roused*): cf. §§ 168², 175⁸.

5—7. οὐδ'...ὁμοίως ὑμῖν...συμβεβούλευκα (7), *nor have I given my advice, like you, inclining towards gain like a balance, i.e. as a balance would incline if a weight were put into one of the scales: ὥσπερ ἂν (sc. ῥέποι).* The MSS. are corrupt: ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη is nearest to ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτανῆ of Σ. We have ἐν τρυτ. in A, and ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτ. vulg. This is illustrated by a striking passage in V. 12: προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμι' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρτημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν,

ὅ τι ἂν ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνη ἀργύριον προσενέγκης, οἴχεται φέρει καὶ καθέλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτὴν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τειχισμὸς ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο.

7. ὀρθῆς...ἀδιαφθόρου: *predic- (cf. § 322⁶).*

8. μεγίστων...ἀνθρώπων, *i.e. weightiest concerns of (any one of) the men of my time (partitive).* (see § 299.

§ 299. 1. τειχισμὸν, the building of the walls of Athens in 436 B.C., for which Demosthenes was appointed τειχοποιός. See Aesch. 1113b. Demosthenes was then appointed τειχοποιός of his tribe, the Πανδιονίς, and τειχοποιός from the treasury (according to V. 12: 31) nearly ten talents for the ἐπάγγελμα (cf. § 113^{6,7}).—ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, cf. τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει § 28³. (see

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τύχη. τίνες αὐτῶν ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης
τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο- 5
πόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν
σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ
Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προῖδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν 302
σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοθηίας καὶ
λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον,
τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεία καὶ
σύμμιχ' ὑπάρξει πράξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, 5
τὴν Εὐβοίαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν
δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ

In §§ 301—313 the orator recapitulates his own chief services, with which he compares the public career of Aeschines.

§ 301. 1. τί χρῆν κ.τ.λ., i.e. *what was his duty?*—ποιεῖν, of a course of action, explained by several aorists, each of a special act. In the following series of questions, all introduced by χρῆν, the orator states the various problems which faced the Athenian statesman of that day and the obvious solutions of them.

3. ἐκ θαλάττης: cf. § 230^b.

4. προβαλέσθαι: cf. προῦβαλομένην, § 300². With this figure of *throwing forward* Euboea as a wall of defence to Attica, compare that in § 71² (see note). See Aesch. III. 84, καὶ, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντινοῖς τεύχεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησὶ, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ.

6. τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη, *our neigh-*

hours on this side, as Megara and Corinth (cf. § 237).

7. παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν (sc. γῆν): i.e. *that the corn-trade should pass along an entirely friendly coast*. For the subject of §§ 301, 302, see §§ 71, 79—82, 87—89, 240, 241, and Hist. §§ 46, 51, 52, 54.

§ 302. 1. The measures mentioned in τὰ μὲν σῶσαι and τὰ δ'... πράξαι (4) were designed to secure a friendly coast for the corn-trade.

2. βοθηίας: cf. § 305^b.

3. γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, *by proposing measures accordingly*.

4. ὅπως ὑπάρξει πράξαι, i.e. *to get possession of them* (cf. ὑπαρχόντων in 2).

6. Εὐβοίαν: Euboea, with its long coasts, was always essential to the safety of the corn trade.

7. τὰς μεγίστας: especially Thebes in 339 B.C.—ὧν ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, *what the city lacked*: ἐλλείπει is here

πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα
πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 303
ναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς
εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν
ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρέθεντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ
προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσ' εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν 5
καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός
τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότησ' ἢ
τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα
327 ταῦτ' ἐλύμαινετο τοῖς ὅλοις ἕως ἀνέτρεψεν, τί Δημο-
σθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν 304
ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων
ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἐν' ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία
καὶ ἐν' ἄνδρ' Ἀρκαδία ταῦτὰ φρονοῦντ' ἔσχεν ἐμοῖ,
οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω 5
τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν 305
ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας
ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονία τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας,
τούτων τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς

impersonal, like ἐνδεῖ; so Plat. Leg. 844 B, εἴ τισι τόποις... ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων, and 740 C.

§ 303. 1. βεβουλευμένα ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει (or. obl.) refers chiefly to πολιτεύματα.

4. οὐ παρέθεντα... προεθέντα, *opportunitatem cuiusque rei non per negligentiam praetermissam nec ignoratam nec proditam* (Dissen). παρέθεντα implies *carelessness* (cf. VIII. 34), προεθέντα *wilfulness* (cf. VIII. 56).

5. ὅσ' implies *τοσοῦτων*, depending on οὐδέν.

6. δαίμονος ἢ τύχης: cf. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, Aesch. III. 115, 157. The strength (*ισχύς*) of the superhuman powers is opposed to the weakness and *incapacity* (φau-

λότης) or the treachery of men. See notes on §§ 264¹ and 300⁷.

9. τοῖς ὅλοις: see note on § 278⁹. —ἀνέτρεψεν, *overset*, the familiar figure of the ship of state.

10. ἀδικεῖ, not *is doing wrong*, but *is to blame* for a past wrong (M.T. 27).

§ 304. 3. Θετταλία... Ἀρκαδία: see §§ 63, 64. "Philip's party in the one opened Northern Greece to him, and in the other neutralized the Peloponnesus" (Simcox).

6. ἐκέχρητ' ἂν, *would have experienced*.

§ 305. 1. ἂν is repeated with ᾤκουν (3), contrary to general usage, because of the change of time from ἐκέχρητ' ἂν to ᾤκουν (present time).

ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' 5
εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χρώμαι τῶν
ἔργων, ^{καὶ} εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ
ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ
ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν κελὸν 306
κάγαθόν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν με-
γίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχέν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ
δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν
εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν 5
πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην
κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν· οὐ μὰ Δί' 307

7. λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι: cf. § 28¹.

8. βοηθειῶν: forces sent out for special purposes, like those mentioned in § 302²: see IV. 32, μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριουμέν γὰρ ἀπάντων) ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει, and cf. IV. 41. The famous expedition which checked Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C. (IV. 17) is called a βοήθεια in XIX. 84. Often βοήθεια means a mere *raid*.

§ 306. 1. ταῦτα...πράττειν...δεῖ sums up the reply to the question τί χρῆν...ποιεῖν; in § 301¹, but with a change in tense. He asked *what was the duty*, with special reference to the case in hand; and he replies in general terms *this is the duty*. ποιεῖν (§ 301¹) and πράττειν here have the same sense, as have χρῆ (in χρῆν) and δεῖ.

2—4. κατορθουμένων=εἰ κατορθούτο, *if they had been successful* (as they were not), to which the apudosis is ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, *it belonged to us to be*, i.e. *we should properly have been* (M.T. 416).—μεγίστοις (sc. ἡμῖν)...

καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, i.e. *indisputably, and (I might add) justly, greatest*: δικαίως stands as a mere word with the article; and προσῆν is *belonged there*, i.e. *might properly be added*.

4. ὡς ἑτέρως, *otherwise*: see note on § 85⁶.—συμβάντων, simply temporal, *now, when they (have) resulted otherwise*.

5. περίεστι, *there is left to us*: the subject is τὸ εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὸ μηδένα... κρίνασαν (7).

7. κακίζειν: the subject is πάντα, to be supplied from the preceding subject μηδένα. The same carelessness of expression is always common; a famous case is the clause of the United States Constitution concerning fugitive slaves: "No person held to service or labor in one state, escaping into another, shall...be discharged from said service or labor, but shall be delivered up," etc.

§ 307. 1. οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ: emphatic repetition, not a double negative: δεῖ is understood here

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ἀπνευστεῖ, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτήσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης 309 καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἶπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους 5 χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτα- 310 σις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσῃ γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποσσοῦν, 5

12. ἀπνευστεῖ, *all in one breath* (without taking breath).

13. τῷ τυχόντι, *cuivis, to any one who happens to hear them.*

14. κοινὴν, *public*, opposed to τῷ τυχόντι.—αἰσχύνην: Blass refers this to the speech described in § 35.

§ 309. 1, 2. μελέτης, ἐπιμελείας, *practice, study*, referring to § 308¹⁰⁻¹².

3. τὰ...προηρημένης, *one which had made the interests of the fatherland its choice* (προαίρεσιν), connected by καὶ to δικαίας. Cf. § 315^B.

4. ἔδει εἶναι, *ought to have been*, implying that in the case of Aeschines they were not so.—γενναίους: often used literally of fruits, as in Plat. Leg. 844 E, τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα (Bl.).

6. ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν: (probably) securing new commercial rights for Athens in some foreign seaport: see XX. 33, κατασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θεοδοσίαν, with Sandys's note.

7. ἀποδειχθεῖσιν, *declared, open*. Cf. ἀποδείξεις, 310^B.

§ 310. 1. τούτων ἦν ἐξέτασις: ἐξέτασις is again a military term, as in § 320¹⁰, where it means a *mustering* or *review* of hirelings etc., in which they were called forth to show themselves. Here, with a genitive denoting public services, it means likewise *calling out* and *arraying* such services to a man's credit. (See note on § 173^b.)

2. ἔδωκεν...ἀποδείξεις, i.e. the past gave many opportunities for showing such services, as it were arraying them for a review.

3. ἐν οἷς, *in which class* (the καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί), as if ἀνδράσι had preceded.—οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 320^b.

5. οὐχ ὀποσσοῦν (cf. ὀστισοῦν), *not in any rank whatsoever*. Dissen thinks this alludes to a Delphic oracle given to the Megarians, quoted in the Scholia to Theoc. XIV. 48, 49, of which the last two verses are:

ὕμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι
οὔτε δωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

οὔκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμ- 311
 μαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ
 βοήθεια ἢ κτήσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία,
 29 τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν
 οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν οἷς ἐπέστης 5
 ἐπηνώρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι
 νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί
 τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ
 τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων;
 οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ 312
 προθυμία· ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε,
 οὐδ' ὅθ' ἅπαντες ὅσοι πρόποτ' ἐφθέγγαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βήματος εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
 Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, 5
 οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδὲν, οὐκ

6. οὔκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς, *at all events, at in matters in which*, etc.

§ 311. These questions are arguments for the judgment just pronounced upon Aeschines. After the third question, the conjunctions are omitted in the speaker's vehemence. With the whole passage compare X. 282.

5. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, opposed to τῶν οἰκείων, is the so-called *foreign policy* of Athens, i.e. her policy with her Greek states: see note on 59². Here τῶν ξενικῶν is added to include her relations to other than Greek states, both being opposed to τῶν οἰκείων, *her domestic policy*.

6. ποῖαι τριήρεις; sc. γεγόνασι τῇ πόλει.

7. τί...χρήσιμος εἶ; *what in the world (τῶν ἀπάντων) ARE you good for?*

8. τίς ἢ χρημάτων; *what public financial help has ever come from you either rich or poor (i.e. to anybody)?*

9. πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ is a rhetorical amplification, like the cases in the note to § 4⁶: in XXV. 22, ἔρανος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινὸς is a *public contribution for the general good*.

§ 312. 1. ὦ τᾶν, a familiar form of address, found in three other passages of Demosthenes, I. 26, III. 29, XXV. 78; in all introducing an imaginary retort of an opponent.

3. ἐφθέγγαντ': cf. § 199⁷.

4. εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, i.e. *made contributions (ἐπιδόσεις, § 171⁸) for the safety of the state*. Such were made after Chaeronea, and again before the destruction of Thebes by Alexander: for the latter see XXXIV. 38, ὅτε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Θήβας παρήει, ἐπέδωκαμεν ὑμῖν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου.

5. τὸ συνειλεγμένον (sc. ἀργύριον), i.e. *money contributed to pay some debt to the state which made him ἀτιμος*, and thus to make him again ἐπίτιμος. Every defaulting public debtor was *ipso facto* ἀτιμος.

ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν ἰοτριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου 313 λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίου γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύει. 5 ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἤνικ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

7. κεκληρονόμηκας... πεντεταλάντων, have inherited the estate of your brother-in-law Philo, which was (sc. δυτῶν) more than five talents.

9. διτάλαντον ἔρανον, a contribution of two talents. There is probably a sarcastic reference to the common meaning of ἔρανος.

10. ἡγεμόνων: see note on § 103⁴. —ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, for the damage you did: οἷς for a cognate εἰ, as in § 18⁶. The attack of Aeschines on the trierarchic law was not made when it was enacted in 340 B.C., but probably after Chaeronea. Demosthenes says (§ 107⁶) that through the whole war (i.e. 340—338 B.C.) the naval armaments were fitted out under his law; and the statement of Aeschines (III. 222), ἐξηλέγχθησ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηράρχους ὑψηρημέμος, shows that evidence as to the working of the new law in details was derived from actual experience.

§ 313. 1. λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων, by saying one thing after another.

2. τοῦ παρόντος (sc. λόγου) ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, cut myself off from

(discussing properly) the subject immediately before us.

3. ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, that it was not through poverty that you did not contribute; each negative having its own force, as the second is not a compound (G. 1618).

4. ἀλλὰ connects φυλάττων to δι' ἔνδειαν, both being casual.—φυλάττων τὸ...γενέσθαι: see M.T. 374; and note on § 258⁸.

5. τούτοις, οἷς: not simply to those for whom (which would hardly be τούτοις), but to these persons (§ 312¹), for whom (in whose interest), etc.

6. νεανίας, often used in the sense of vigorous, lively, like the adjective νεανικός: it occurs twice in Demosthenes, here and § 136².—ἤνικ' ἂν...τι δέη: supply εἰπεῖν, which all mss. except Σ¹ insert.

8. τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης: see Harpoc., τὸν γοῦν πάλαι μὲν ὑποκριτὴν τραγικὸν ἕστερον δὲ συκοφάντην εἰκότως ὠνόμασε τραγικὸν Θεοκρίνην, Theocrines is the one accused in Or. LVIII. Cf. § 242⁶.

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γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ἄγειν, 5
 ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι τῆς τούτων
 τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ 317
 τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ μ' εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ
 προαίρεσις, ἂν τις σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων
 ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ
 σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· 5
 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες, οἱ διασύ-
 ροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε τοὺς πρότερον γεγενημέ-
 νους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιοῦντες
 σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; 318
 σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος
 δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί.
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ'
 εἶπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ 5
 331 τᾶλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητὰς, τοὺς χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγω-
 νιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ, ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυ- 319

5. εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ἄγειν: cf. § 112^b.

7. τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας: cf. § 209^b.

§ 317. 1. εἰ...εἰπεῖν: he makes this slight apology for asserting even the following claim to be compared with the great men of old.

3. ἐπαινουμένων: imperfect, like συκοφαντούντων (5), as shown by τῆτε.

6. διασύροντες...ἐπήνουν: I keep *διασύροντες*, with Σ and I., but omit *δὲ* before *πρότερον* (7). *διασύρω*, *ridicule*, is a favourite word with Demosthenes: it occurs elsewhere in this speech in §§ 27^a, 126⁷, 180^b, 218¹⁰, 299², 323^{7,8}, always in the same sense.

7. τότε: with ὄντας.

§ 318. 2. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός: Aeschines had two brothers, Philochares, older, and Aphobetus, younger than himself.

4. ὦ χρηστὲ, *my good man*, ironical: cf. §§ 30^b, 89⁷.—*ἵνα...εἶπω*: this is generally understood to refer to the gentle style of address in *χρηστὲ*, to call you nothing more: see West. and Bl. But it may refer to πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας (4), and imply that he will not press the slight claim to a comparison with the men of old made in § 317: it will then mean, *to claim no more than this*.

5. τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν: with πρὸς (4).—*ὥσπερ τᾶλλα πάντα*, i.e. *as in other cases*, less exact than τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας.

6. τοὺς ποιητὰς...ἀγωνιστάς, i.e. as in dramatic and other contests of that nature, and in the public games.

§ 319. 1. Φιλάμμων is chosen as an Athenian who had recently returned as an Olympic victor. Glaucon the contrary, was one of the famous boxers of the time.

στίου καί τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπήει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστ' ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ 5
 σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτισθ' ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, 320
 ἐφαιμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδ' εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ 5
τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων 10

Persian wars, who, besides gaining a victory at Olympia, gained two Pythian, eight Nemean, and eight Isthmian prizes. Pausanias (vi. 10, 1—3) saw his statue at Olympia. See the fragment of the ode of Simonides in his honour (fr. 8, Bergk): οὐδὲ Πολυδεύκεος βία χεῖρας ἀντείναιτ' ἀνέναντιον αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ σιδάρεον Ἀλκμάνας τέκος. Aeschines (III. 189) refers to this comparison as one which he "heard that Demosthenes would make." This is evidently a bold addition made to his speech after it was spoken.

4. εἰσελθόντων: cf. Soph. El. 700; Xen. An. vi. 1, 9.

6. ὄρα με: cf. θεωρῶμαι; (§ 315^b) and ἐξέταζε (§ 318^b).

7. οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι, *I shrink from no one*: this reading of the best MSS. agrees with Lobeck's rule (note on Soph. Aj. 82), that ἐξίσταμαι, *declinare*, takes the accusative, but in

the sense of *cedere*, the dative. For the dative see Soph. Phil. 1053, νῦν δὲ σοί γ' ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι.

§ 320. 1. ὦν, partitive with κράτιστα λέγων (3).

2. ἐφαιμίλλου...κειμένης: the figure of a public contest is kept up, the privilege of showing devotion to the state being a prize open to general competition (ἐφαιμίλλου). Cf. ἐνάμιλλον, Plat. Rep. 433 D.

5. ἦν οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 310^b.—εἰ...τι δέοι: the optative implies frequent occasions for insulting the people.

6. ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν (sc. συμβῆναι), i.e. the defeat: see 288⁰, and note οὐκέτι (7), opposed to ὅτε...παρῆν (1).

9. ἕτερον: this is the vague term by which Demosthenes often alludes to Alexander: see § 323^{1, 10}.

10. ἐξέτασις: the familiar military figure recurs, i.e. a call for these, as for a review; and this is carried out in ἐν τάξει (11). Cf. note on § 173^b.

ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον 321 πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγουσι φνεπιφθουώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν 5 εὖνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἑμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσεθ' ἀπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, 322 332 οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούν-

11. ἵπποτρόφος: the keeping of horses was a sign of wealth, and the word implies that Aeschines had become a richer and more powerful man at Athens since the complete establishment of Alexander's supremacy. Cf. Ar. Nub. 15.

12. ἀσθενής: Aeschines (159) speaks of Dem. at this time as ὑπότρομος, παριῶν ἡμθυῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. Westermann refers this to the time when Philip was made a citizen of Athens and his statue was erected in the city (Plut. Dem. 22; Paus. 1. 9, 4). It more probably refers to the recent honours paid to Alexander: see C. I. Att. II. no. 741, dated by Köhler in 331 B.C., στεφάνων δυοῖν, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐστεφάνωσε Ἀλέξανδρον].

§ 321. 1. μέτριον: see § 107.8.
2. οὕτω (with εἰπεῖν): he uses μέτριος here modestly, as he is speaking of himself; but he means the man called καλὸς κάγαθος πολίτης in § 278⁸ and 306¹ (see Blass).

3, 4. ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, i.e. ὅτε... ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, 320¹, in time of power. —τὴν... προαίρεσιν, the policy which aims at nobility and pre-eminence; and τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν, to guard this always for the state. For τοῦ πρωτείου see § 66⁷.

5. πράξει (sc. ἐν πάσῃ) may mean in every act (of the statesman). But Blass is probably right in taking it in the sense of fortune, like εὖ and κακῶς πράττειν: see Aeschyl. Prom. 695, πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς; Hdt. III. 65 (end), ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πρᾶξιν: and Soph. Tr. 294, εὐτυχῆ κλύουσα πρᾶξιν τήνδε.

6. εὖνοιαν, loyal devotion to the state: so in § 322⁶. —τούτου, i.e. τὴν εὖνοιαν διαφυλάττειν.

7. ἕτερα, other things, as chance or Fortune, which he cannot control. —ταύτην: i.e. τὴν εὖνοιαν.

8. ἀπλῶς, absolutely, without exception.

§ 322. 1. ἐξαιτούμενος, i.e. by Alexander; see the next note and note on § 41¹⁰.

2. εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας, before the Amphictyonic Council: cf. ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν, XIX. 181 (also without the article). When Alexander demanded the orators of Athens in 335 B.C., he doubtless intended to have them tried by the Amphictyonic Council: see Aesch. III. 161, καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινώτατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ πρόβετε, οὐδ' εἰλάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ. Notice the spirit of this sentence. What a trial this would have been for Demosthenes,

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μενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσ' ἐπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων ὅ καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνου ἰομενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, 324

to report to Pella, or even to Alexander himself, that Demosthenes had congratulated him on the victory at Arbela, if he had any such pleasant fact to report? It would be interesting, though not quite pleasant, to find an allusion to the great philosopher in this striking passage.

4. τῶν...ἀγαθῶν: these *ἀτυχησάντων* may be the early successes of the Spartan king Agis in his revolt against Macedonia in the spring of 330 B.C. (Diod. xvii. 63). Aeschines (167) quotes Demosthenes as saying of this, *ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, "ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστήσαι· ὁμολογῶ Θεταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς ἀφιστάειν."* See Grote xii., ch. 95. The words τῶν...ἀγαθῶν more probably refer to the interest of Athens in the reverses of Alexander, which were occasionally reported from Asia. Aeschines (164) describes Demosthenes as once reporting that Alexander was shut up in Cilicia, and *αὐτίκα μάλᾳ ἔμελλε συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἰπποῦ*. This shows that the mere report of a disaster to Alexander roused the spirit of liberty at Athens, even in her deep humiliation.

6. κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν: cf. Caes.

B. G. i. 32, 2, *tristes capite demisso terram intueri*.

7. διασύρουσιν: see note on § 317^b.—ὥσπερ οὐχ with the participle shows that there is nothing conditional in the expression: see note on § 276¹.

8. ἔξω βλέπουσι: cf. Plut. Arat. 15, *ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων*.

9. ἐν οἷς (cf. § 19⁸) belongs equally to ἀτυχησάντων and εὐτύχησεν.

10. ταῦτ', *this state of things* (ἐν οἷς...ἕτερος), understood also as subject of μενεῖ.

§ 324. The Peroration is confined to this single impressive sentence. As he began his oration by beseeching the Gods to put it into the hearts of the judges to hear him impartially, so now he implores them to change the hearts of the traitors within the state, or, if it is too late for this, to annihilate them utterly as the only hope of safety to honest men.

2. μάλιστα μὲν, *if possible, best of all*.

3. ἐνθείητε, *may you inspire even in them*: this combines the wish with an exhortation (M.T. 725). In the corresponding clause with δὲ we have the imperatives ποιήσατε and δότε.—εἰ δ' ἄρ', *but if after all*.

τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς 5 λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

4. αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς: the strongest expression for *by themselves*. —ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ποιήσατε, *cause them to be destroyed utterly and before their time*: see Shilleto's note on XIX. 172, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης. Westermann quotes an inscription of Halicarnassus from Keil, Sched. Epigr. p. 36: ἐξώλης καὶ πανώλης ἔστω καὶ γένος ἐκ γένους, καὶ μήτε γῆ βατὴ αὐτῷ μήτε θάλασσα πλωτή.

5. ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ, i.e. in all their ways.

6. ἐπηρτημένων, *impending*: for the passive of ἐπαρτῶ see XXIII.

140, τοσοῦτος ἐπήρτηται φόβος. Cf. Aesch. I. 175, φόβους ἐπήρτησα τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, i.e. *I caused terrors to hang over them* (impendere).

7. σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, *safety which cannot be shaken*.

With these solemn but hopeful words of good cheer, Demosthenes leaves his case and his reputation with perfect confidence in the hands of the judges. Since the success of his burst of eloquence in §§ 51, 52, he has felt no anxiety about the judgment, and his courage has increased steadily in every stage of his argument.

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for the liberation of Euboea, of which Demosthenes often speaks with pride, when she cleared the whole island of Thebans in thirty days and wrested it permanently from Thebes, which had held it since the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. In 357 B.C. the new Athenian confederacy reached its greatest power and extent. It included a large part of the islands of the Aegean, Byzantium, the Chersonese and the south of Thrace, Potidaea, Methone, and Pydna, with much of the coast of the Thermaic Gulf. But in the autumn of that year the hopes of Athens were violently shattered by the outbreak of the Social War, in which Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, encouraged by Mausolus of Caria, suddenly revolted and weakened her power at its most vital points. This disastrous war ended in the spring of 355, when Athens was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the four seceding states. Thus crippled she found herself in the face of a new and more dangerous enemy.

3. In 359 B.C. Philip II. succeeded to the throne of Macedonia at the age of twenty-three. Macedonia had hitherto filled only a small place in Greek politics; and it threatened no danger to Grecian liberty. Under Philip this was suddenly changed. This crafty king lost no time in laying his plans for his great object, the extension of his power and influence over Greece. His regular policy was to interfere in a friendly way in the quarrels of Greek states, in the hope of getting one or both of the parties into his own power. He began at once by offering help to Athens in her dispute about the possession of her old colony Amphipolis. He proposed a treaty of peace with Athens, with the understanding that he would secure Amphipolis for her and receive Pydna (on his own coast) in exchange. These negotiations, though known to the Senate, were kept secret from the people of Athens¹; but great hopes were based on Philip's friendship, and Athens not only neglected to take Amphipolis when it was left ungarrisoned by Philip, but refused to help the town afterwards when Philip was besieging it². But when Philip captured the place in 357 he refused to give it to her, though he had again promised to do so during the siege³. This soon led to a war between Philip and Athens, called the Amphipolitan War, which after eleven years was ended in

¹ This is the *θρυλούμενον ἀπόρητον* of Dem. II. 6.

² Dem. I. 8.

³ Dem. XXIII. 116.

346 by the Peace of Philocrates. One of Philip's first acts in this war was the seizure of Pydna, which was to have been the price of Amphipolis. He soon afterwards (356) captured Potidaea, then subject to Athens, and gave it to Olynthus, with which he was then forming an alliance. Soon after the capture of Potidaea three messages came to Philip at the same time, one announcing a victory of Parmenio over the Illyrians, another a victory of his horse in the Olympic races, and a third the birth of his son Alexander¹. In the same year he founded Philippi, near Mt Pangaeus in Thrace, to enable him to work the gold-mines of that region, from which he soon derived a revenue of over a thousand talents yearly. In 353 he besieged and captured the Athenian possession Methone.

4. He now entered upon a grander scheme of intervention, of which perhaps he hardly suspected the issue. This was to end in the bitter humiliation of Athens, the annihilation of an ancient Greek race, and his own instalment as the leading member of the venerable Amphictyonic Council. In 356—355 B.C. the disastrous Phocian War between the Amphictyonic Council and Phocis had begun. It resulted from a quarrel between Phocis and Thebes, in the course of which the Thebans and Thessalians induced the Council to fine the Phocians for some act of real or constructive sacrilege. They refused to pay the fine, and the Council voted to treat them as it had treated the sacrilegious Cirrhaeans in the time of Solon², by seizing their land and consecrating it to the Delphian Apollo, and putting the whole Phocian race under a terrible curse. The Phocians, under their leader Philomelus, decided to resist; and they revived an old claim to the management of the temple of Delphi, which had caused a short Sacred War in 448 B.C.³ Philomelus with a body of Phocians now seized the temple. The loyal Amphictyons, now chiefly Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, raised a large army to attack them; and the Phocians in turn raised a large mercenary force to defend the temple. After many promises to respect the sacred treasures, Philomelus was soon reduced to the necessity of using these to pay his soldiers; and in a few years the costly offerings of gold and silver, with which the

¹ Alexander was born (Plut. Alex. 3) on the 6th of Hecatombaeon (July 21), 356 B.C.

² See below, § 59 (end).

³ Thuc. I. 112.

religious pride of Greece and the munificence of strangers had stored the temple, had been melted down to supply the needs of his mercenaries. Philomelus was killed in a skirmish in 354 B.C.; his successor Onomarchus continued the spoliation of the temple with still greater energy. He and his successors gave the most precious relics, as the necklaces of Helen and of Harmonia, to their wives or mistresses to wear. This state of things caused a scandal throughout Greece, which made it easy and attractive for an unscrupulous outsider like Philip to intervene on the side of piety, and thus to pose as the champion of the God of Delphi. This Philip did at the earliest opportunity.

5. He had already interfered in Thessaly by aiding the Aleuadae of Larissa against Lycophron, despot of Pherae. In 353—352 B.C. he attacked Lycophron with such vigour that the despot invoked the aid of Onomarchus. The Phocians had now become so powerful that they had marched forth from Delphi and were practically masters of Boeotia and of the whole region south of Thermopylae. A force of Phocians under Phayllus, the brother and afterwards the successor of Onomarchus, which marched to the aid of Lycophron, was defeated by Philip, and compelled to retreat beyond Thermopylae. Onomarchus then entered Thessaly with his whole army, and defeated Philip in two battles. But Philip soon returned with a new army, and defeated the Phocians completely. Onomarchus, it was said, was slain in the retreat by some of his own men. Lycophron abandoned Pherae, which was taken by Philip, who also captured the seaport of Pagasae, which gave him control of the Pagasaeon Gulf. The Phocian army was annihilated; but Phayllus took his brother's command, and easily raised another mercenary force by offering double pay, which the sacred treasures still provided¹.

6. While this new force was collecting, the road through Thermopylae lay open to Philip. Since his defeat of the Phocians he was hailed as a protector by their enemies; and he was already recognized as the avenger of Apollo, who was to restore the holy temple to its rightful lord; and it was confidently expected that he would pass Thermopylae with his army and become a power in central Greece. But at this momentous crisis Athens became fully alive to the danger

¹ Grote xi. 408—418.

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eighteen. Demosthenes immediately began legal proceedings against his chief guardian Aphobus. During two years he attempted to bring his guardians to terms by private negotiations; but all this time he was preparing for the great contest. He secured the services of Isaeus, a jurist of great experience in the courts, who was deeply learned in the Attic law relating to inheritance and the management of estates.

8. In 364 B.C. his suit came to trial, and he was awarded his full damages, ten talents. In this suit he delivered his two orations against Aphobus (xxvii. and xxviii.). But he found it impossible to obtain either his estate or his damages from his wily opponent. The training in law and rhetoric which Demosthenes gained in preparing for this early contest, and his experience in the courts, were by no means lost. He found himself, at the age of twenty-three, mainly dependent on himself for support; and he adopted the profession of *λογογράφος* or legal adviser, the duties of which included writing speeches for clients to deliver in court. But he soon aimed at something much higher than writing speeches and giving advice in private lawsuits. Before he was thirty years old he had distinguished himself as an advocate in cases of important public interest, in which the constitutionality of laws or decrees was judicially tested. His arguments in such cases (355—351 B.C.) are those against Androtion (xxii.), Leptines (xx.). Timocrates (xxiv.), and Aristocrates (xxiii.). He had already twice appeared as a speaker in the Athenian Assembly, once in 354—353, when he delivered his speech on the Symmories (xiv.), proposing a reform in the system of assessing taxes and equipping the navy, and once again in 353—352, when he defended the rights of Megalopolis (xvi.) against Spartan aggression. In neither of these public speeches is there anything which shows that the orator was seriously anxious about the dangers which already threatened Athens from the north; but he probably thought that the moment for open and energetic speech and action on his part against Philip had not yet come.

9. Probably the sudden panic in 352, which roused Athens to her energetic movement to Thermopylae (§ 6), gave the question of checking Philip a more serious importance. A few months later (Nov. 352) the alarming news came that Philip was besieging Heraion Teichos, a fortified post near the Thracian Chersonese. Again Athens acted with energy, and voted to equip forty triremes and to levy a tax

of sixty talents. But a report that Philip was ill, followed by another that he was dead, stopped these preparations, and nothing was done¹. Philip's cruisers committed some daring aggressions on the coasts of Euboea and even of Attica. In the spring of 351 the Athenian Assembly met to consider his hostile behaviour, which was now a familiar subject. Demosthenes was the first to speak, and he spoke with no uncertain sound. This earliest of his speeches against Philip, the First Philippic, is an earnest and solemn appeal to the people to take decisive steps against an enemy who is every day becoming more dangerous. Demosthenes is now thoroughly aroused, and henceforth the single object of his political life is to excite the Athenians to effective action against Philip. He now proposes a new plan for a permanent military and naval force, to supersede the spasmodic efforts of the past. In this speech he established his claim to statesmanship, on the ground of "seeing things in their beginning and proclaiming them to others"; and in his final review of his political life twenty-one years later he appeals to this with honest pride². So far as we know, this great speech produced no effect.

A few months after the First Philippic, probably in the autumn of 351, Demosthenes made his speech in the Assembly for the Freedom of the Rhodians (xv.).

10. Philip's intrigues in Euboea soon made new troubles. Since the victorious expedition in 357 (§ 2) Euboea had been nominally in friendship with Athens. But after Philip gained control of southern Thessaly (§ 5), he constantly used his influence to alienate the island from Athens. In the First Philippic letters were read from Philip to Euboeans, showing hostility to Athens; and we hear of his cruisers off Geraestus³. Early in 350 the Athenians were asked to help Plutarchus, a sort of despot in Eretria, who was hard pressed by his enemies and professed to be a friend of Athens. Against the strong opposition of Demosthenes, it was voted to send an army to help him, under the command of Phocion. This expedition had various fortunes in a few weeks. Plutarchus proved treacherous, and the Athenians were for a time in great danger; but Phocion gained a

¹ Dem. III. 4, IV. 11.

² Cor. § 246: *ιδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ.*

³ IV. 34, 37.

decisive victory at Tamynae, and soon returned to Athens with most of his army. Affairs remained in this position two years, until a peace was made in 348, in which the independence of Euboea was recognized. Athens and Euboea remained unfriendly, until the intrigues of Philip in 343—342 again brought them into amicable relations¹.

11. The Great Dionysiac festival of 350 was important for the fortunes of Demosthenes. His tribe, the Pandionis, chose no choregus for this year, and he volunteered to take the duties and bear the expense of the χορηγία. While he was sitting in the orchestra of the theatre at the festival, amid all the pomp and state of the ceremony, being a sacred as well as a public official, wearing his crown of office, his old enemy, the wealthy Midias, came forward and struck him in the face with his clenched fist². This was not merely a personal outrage, but an insult to the state and to a great religious festival; and it could be dealt with only by the most public legal process. This was the *πρβολή*, in which the case first came before the Assembly for its preliminary judgment, and afterward, if the decision was adverse to the accused, could be tried before an ordinary popular court. The Assembly, at a special meeting in the Dionysiac Theatre, unanimously condemned Midias. After this decisive victory it is not surprising that the young orator yielded to the advice of judicious friends and avoided a further contest with a powerful man, who could always give him trouble in his public career. He compromised the case, and received a sum of money as damages. The existing oration against Midias (xxi.), which appears to have been composed for delivery in court about a year after the assault, was never spoken.

12. A year later (in 349) Philip took a most important step in his grand plan by attacking the Olynthiac confederacy of thirty-two free Greek towns in the Chalcidic peninsula. In less than a year he had captured and destroyed all these, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. Olynthus, the head of this confederacy, had long been an important and flourishing city, generally hostile to Athens, and before 352 friendly to Philip. He encouraged her in her enmity to Athens by

¹ See § 46 (below).

² For the affair of Midias and its consequences, see Dem. xxi., against Midias; Grote xi. 478, 479; Schaefer, Dem. ii. 94—101. The date is much disputed: see large edition, p. 240.

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III. THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES.

347—346 B.C.

13. When Philip had destroyed Olynthus and the thirty-two Greek towns of Chalcidice, he naturally turned his eyes to the land of his hopes beyond Thermopylae. He now saw that at least a temporary peace with Athens was absolutely necessary. Even before the capture of Olynthus envoys from Euboea had brought to Athens a pleasant message from Philip that he wished for peace. Soon after this Phrynon of Rhamnus was captured by one of Philip's cruisers. He was released on payment of a ransom, and he persuaded the Athenians to send a public envoy with him to ask Philip to restore his ransom money. Ctesiphon (not the defendant in the suit on the Crown) was sent with him on this mission. Philip received them with great kindness and granted their request. Ctesiphon reported that Philip wished to make peace as soon as possible¹. The Athenians were delighted; and it was unanimously voted, on the motion of Philocrates, that Philip might send a herald and envoys to Athens to treat for peace.

At about this time Olynthus was captured (§ 12). The consternation caused by this event did much to excite the almost universal desire for peace at Athens. The relatives of two Athenians captured at Olynthus appeared in the Assembly with suppliant olive-branches and besought the people to rescue their kinsmen. The people were deeply moved, and voted to send the actor Aristodemus, who was professionally intimate at the Macedonian court, to intercede with Philip for the prisoners. This mission also was perfectly successful. Aristodemus reported that Philip was full of kindness and wished both peace and alliance with Athens. Aristodemus was complimented by a crown, on the motion of Demosthenes. His return to Athens took place after the beginning of 347—346, the archonship of Themistocles, in which Demosthenes was for the second time a senator, the year of the peace of Philocrates.

14. In the previous year, after the fall of Olynthus, a significant movement against Philip was made by Eubulus, with the active aid of Aeschines. Eubulus was the conservative statesman of the day, uni-

¹ For this and the following events of § 13, see Aesch. ii. 12—19.

versally respected, incorruptibly honest, but a strong advocate of peace at any price¹. Of Aeschines we then hear for the first time in political life. The famous rival of Demosthenes was the son of respectable parents, who had been reduced to poverty in the Peloponnesian War. We cannot accept as historical either of the two accounts of his parentage and his youth which are given by Demosthenes². Neither orator is authority for the life or personal character of the other. Like Demosthenes, he was left to his own resources to earn his living; but he was less favoured by genius and by fortune than his rival. As a young man he was a play-actor and took many important parts, as that of Creon in the *Antigone* and that of Oenomaus in the tragedy of Sophocles of that name³. He also did service as a clerk, publicly in the Senate and Assembly, and privately in the employ of Aristophon and Eubulus. His friendly relations with Eubulus were often of great service to him in his public life. He was strong and vigorous, had a powerful voice, and was a ready speaker⁴. In all these respects Nature had given him a great advantage over Demosthenes; but he lacked the steady rhetorical training by which his rival, even as a young man, made himself an accomplished orator. Though he was about six years older than Demosthenes, he appeared in public life much later.

15. On the occasion referred to (§ 14), probably in the winter or spring of 348—347, Eubulus addressed the Assembly, calling Philip the common enemy of the Greeks and swearing by his children that he wished that Philip were dead. He proposed a decree for sending embassies to the Peloponnesus and all other parts of Greece—Demosthenes says, “all but to the Red Sea”—to summon an Hellenic synod at Athens and inaugurate a general Greek war against Philip⁵. This measure was eloquently supported by Aeschines and was adopted with enthusiasm. Demosthenes says that Aeschines then professed to be the first Athenian who had discovered that Philip was plotting against the Greeks. Aeschines was one of the envoys sent out; and on his return he repeated the fine speeches which he had made in

¹ For Eubulus see Grote xi. 387, 388.

² Cf. Dem. XIX. 249, 250; Cor. 129, 130.

³ XIX. 246, 247; Cor. 180.

⁴ See Cic. de Orat. III. 28: suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit.

⁵ Dem. XIX. 292, 304.

behalf of Athens against Philip at Megalopolis¹. Demosthenes appears to have taken no interest in these embassies, of which he speaks in a disparaging tone. He probably distrusted any movement in which men like Eubulus were leaders, and experience had shown him that their grand plan of uniting all Greece in a war against Philip would end in failure and give Philip fresh encouragement for conquest. The event proved Demosthenes right. No Hellenic synod met in Athens, and within a year Eubulus and Aeschines were both playing into Philip's hands. It must be remembered that the "still absent envoys," who play so important a part in the story of the peace (as told by Aeschines in 330 B.C.), for whose return Demosthenes is said to have refused to delay the negotiations *for peace*, are these very messengers of war².

16. A year later it is certain that the prospect of an honourable peace with Philip was extremely welcome to all sober-minded men at Athens. Her recent losses and disasters secured a favourable hearing for the friendly messages from Pella. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes then felt strongly inclined to peace, as a matter of policy; and it is hardly possible that he had yet begun to suspect the crafty scheme by which peace with Philip would be turned to the disgrace of Athens and the triumph of her bitterest foes. And yet it seems hardly possible that the terrible spectre of the Sacred War, just beyond their borders, should not have filled all sober Athenians with alarm, especially when they remembered Philip's march to Thermopylae five years before (§ 6). Philip himself, we may be sure, never lost sight of the prize which had once seemed within his grasp.

17. Since Philip's repulse from Thermopylae in 352, the Sacred War had been waged with increasing bitterness, but with no prospect of a conclusion. In 351 the death of Phayllus left the leadership to Phalaecus, son of Onomarchus (§ 5), a mere boy. The Thebans were now the chief opponents of the Phocians, and Boeotia became the chief seat of war. Neither side gained any decisive advantage, and the resources of both parties were now exhausted. The Phocians had come to the end of the Delphic treasures, after robbing the temple of gold and silver of the value of about 10,000 talents. They received help from various Greek states, including 1000 men from Sparta and

¹ Dem. XIX. 11.

² See § 24 (below).

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a town claimed by Athens as an ally. Parmenio, Philip's general, was then besieging Halus, which Philip wanted to give to his friends the Pharsalians. The embassy passed through the Macedonian camp to Pagasae, Larissa, and Pella. On arriving at Pella the envoys were courteously received by Philip at a formal interview, in which they addressed the king in the order of their ages, Demosthenes speaking last, directly after Aeschines. Aeschines devotes the greater part of his story to his own eloquent argument, in which (as he says) he made a powerful appeal to Philip in defence of the right of Athens to Amphipolis. He spoke of the appointment of Iphicrates as the Athenian commander there, and reminded Philip of the occasion when his mother, Eurydice, placed him with his brother Perdiccas (both children) on the knees of Iphicrates, and begged the general to treat her two boys with brotherly affection, as their father Amyntas had adopted him as a son.

20. Aeschines then describes the appearance of Demosthenes before Philip. He was (we are told) so embarrassed that he could hardly utter a word; and after a few vain attempts to speak he became silent. Philip encouraged him and tried to relieve his embarrassment, but all in vain. He remained speechless, and the herald conducted the embassy from the royal presence. This account is probably much exaggerated; but it is hardly possible that the whole story is an invention. Grote is probably right in thinking that Demosthenes was taken with a kind of "stage fright" when he suddenly found himself formally addressing the king whom he had so often denounced, and when he was probably insulted by the officers of Philip who were in attendance, so that he may well have been physically unable to speak¹. Philip soon recalled the embassy, and replied to their arguments, ending his address with the usual assurances of friendship. Most of the envoys were struck by the dignity, wit, and gracious manners of Philip, and by his skill in replying to what had just been said to him².

21. The returning envoys arrived in Athens about the first of Elaphebolion (March 28) 346 B.C. They made their regular reports to the Senate and the Assembly; and they received the regular complimentary votes and the invitation to dinner in the Prytaneum.

¹ Grote xi. 530.

² Aesch. ii. 41—43: cf. 51, 52.

They brought home a letter from Philip, expressing great friendship and his hope of both peace and alliance. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes returned fully persuaded that *some* peace should be made as soon as possible, to settle the important questions which the war kept open. Down to this time—in fact, until the nineteenth of Elaphebolion—he had no suspicion of the loyalty and political honesty of Aeschines¹. There can be little doubt that Philocrates was already secured for Philip's interest; and it was not long before Aeschines (perhaps honestly at first) was acting with him to gain Philip's ends.

22. Immediately after the return of the embassy Demosthenes proposed two decrees in the Senate to secure peace at the earliest moment. The Great Dionysiac festival was approaching, during which all public business would be suspended. These decrees enacted that safe-conduct should be granted to Philip's envoys and herald, who were now on their way to Athens, and that the Prytanes should call a special meeting of the Assembly, to be held on the eighth of Elaphebolion (April 5) if Philip's embassy should then have arrived, to discuss terms of peace. The envoys came too late for this day; but after their arrival Demosthenes proposed another decree appointing the eighteenth and nineteenth of Elaphebolion (April 15 and 16), after the Dionysia, for two meetings, in which both peace and alliance with Philip should be considered. The two meetings were held on the appointed days, and the Macedonian envoys, Antipater, Parmenio, and probably Eurylochus, were present during a part of the sessions. Demosthenes, as senator, showed the distinguished envoys all proper courtesies, and proposed decrees to admit them to the Assembly and to make them guests of honour at the Dionysia. He personally escorted them to the theatre, where curtains had been provided to shield them from the early morning air and cushions to cover the stone seats. And when they departed for home he hired three yoke of mules for them and escorted them to Thebes.

23. One of the strangest charges made by Aeschines against

¹ Dem. XIX. 13: *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ...διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐλάμβανεν*. The remainder of XIX. 12—16 shows his opinion after his eyes were opened.

Demosthenes is that of corrupt collusion with Philocrates in making the peace. Philocrates went into exile as a convicted criminal early in 343 B.C., fleeing from Athens to escape the sentence of death which was soon passed upon him for treachery and bribery in making the peace which is a reproach to his name.] Aeschines can henceforth think of no graver charge than this, with which he introduces his accusation of Demosthenes with regard to the peace: "Now I return to the peace which you and Philocrates proposed." Can it be believed that this is the same Aeschines who fifteen years before had described this same peace as "the peace made by me and Philocrates"! His chief argument for the collusion is that Demosthenes caused the peace to be made in such unseemly haste that the Greek states which had been invited by Athens to an Hellenic council for mutual defence could not be represented in the negotiations. He constantly alludes to "the still absent embassies, which you sent to the Greeks."

24. These are the "roving envoys," which had been sent out on the motion of Eubulus, more than a year before, to unite the Greeks in a common cause against Philip. (See § 15.) Aeschines himself says that, when Philip's envoys came to Athens, the Athenian envoys were still absent, "summoning the Greeks against Philip²." On what possible ground now could Aeschines, who was one of the embassy which invited Philip's envoys to Athens to negotiate a peace, demand after their arrival that all negotiations should be suspended until the return of envoys who had been absent more than a year stirring up hostility against Philip, and had shown no signs of returning or reporting? These "absent envoys" were pure inventions. Aeschines declares positively that not one of them had returned when the peace was made, and Demosthenes that there was no embassy then out³. This contradiction can be reconciled only by the explanation given by Demosthenes, that all the Greeks had long ago been tried and found wanting—in fact, that Athens could find no states ready to join her in resisting Philip. Aeschines expressed the same opinion in

¹ Compare Aesch. iii. 57 with i. 174. See the reply in Dem. Cor. 21.

² Aesch. iii. 65, 68.

³ Aesch. ii. 58, 59; Dem. Cor. 23⁶⁷. See note on the last passage, and the whole of Cor. 20 and 24.

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Assembly rejected the proposition of Philocrates and adopted what was called the resolution of the allies whose regular synod (συνέδριον) was then in session at Athens. The Macedonian envoys were then recalled and informed of this action¹.

26. It is somewhat uncertain what is here meant by "the resolution of the allies" (τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα). We have two accounts of this from Aeschines². In one he mentions only a clause recommending a postponement of the discussion about peace until the return of the "absent envoys": but the fact that the discussion was going on by general consent makes it impossible that this clause was advocated by "all the speakers in the former Assembly." In the other he mentions a recommendation that only peace, and not alliance, should be discussed: but this he deduces from the entire omission of the word "alliance" in the resolution, and it is obvious that neither Demosthenes nor all the other speakers could have opposed alliance³. He there mentions also the proposed provision that three months should be allowed after the making of the peace, in which any Greek state might claim its advantages and be recorded on the same column with Athens and her allies⁴. This is the only part of the resolution which had any significance whatever on that day; and it must be this, *and this alone*, which was adopted by the Assembly. This provision, if it were granted by Philip, would ensure the safety of the Phocians; for they could then have claimed the protection of the peace as Greeks, without being recognized by Philip as allies of Athens. This important provision, supported, as it appears, by the authority of the synod of allies, was advocated by Demosthenes, as the only substitute for the fatal proposition of Philocrates which was at all likely to be accepted by the Assembly. Aeschines says that the general opinion, when the first Assembly adjourned, was that there would be peace, but that alliance would be made (if at all) later, in conjunction with all the Greeks.

27. The following night brought about a great and sudden change in the whole situation. Philocrates had been too bold in pressing on

¹ Dem. XIX. 144.

² Aesch. II. 60 and III. 69, 70, 71.

³ Aesch. III. 68, 71.

⁴ Aesch. III. 70: ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μηνσὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν.

the Assembly the plan of the Macedonian envoys. The sudden disclosure of Philip's designs against the Phocians had caused so great excitement and opposition, that it was hopeless to attempt to pass the original excluding clause. At the same time it was seen to be fatal to all Philip's plans to allow the proposition of the allies to be finally adopted. Philocrates therefore amended his decree during the night, probably in consultation with Antipater and Parmenio. He brought it before the Assembly the next day without the excluding clause, reading simply "the Athenians and their allies." This change, which after the statements of the previous day meant nothing, appears to have allayed the excitement in great measure, and the decree in this form was finally passed without much opposition. This could not have been effected until the public apprehensions about the Phocians had been quieted by diplomatic promises, like those which were so effectual after the return of the second embassy a few months later¹. Antipater and Parmenio simply maintained their ground, that Philip could not admit the Phocians as parties to the peace; but their friends in the Assembly (Philocrates and perhaps Aeschines) assured the people "on authority" that, though Philip then could not offend the Thebans and Thessalians by publicly recognizing the Phocians, he would still, when the peace gave him greater freedom of action, do all that Athens could ask of him¹.

28. It is impossible to determine precisely what was said or done by Aeschines and Demosthenes in the second meeting of the Assembly, in which the peace was actually voted. Nowhere are our two witnesses more hopelessly at odds. Demosthenes says that Aeschines, after his eloquent speech the day before, protesting

¹ Dem. XIX. 159: *τὴν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην οὐχὶ δυνηθέντων ὡς ἐπεχείρησαν οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἀλέων καὶ Φωκέων, γράψαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ταῦτα μὲν ἀπαλεῖψαι, γράψαι δ' ἀντικρυς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους.* See also 321: *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις προὔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι Φωκέας οὐ προσδέχεται Φίλιππος συμμάχους· οὗτοι δ' ἐκδεχόμενοι τοιαύτ' ἐδημηγόρουν, ὡς φανερώς μὲν οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσδέξασθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμμάχους διὰ τοὺς Θεβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, ἀν δὲ γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τύχη, ἅπερ ἀν συνθέσθαι νῦν ἀξιῶσαιμεν αὐτόν, ταῦτα ποιήσει τότε.* See further 220: *μείζονα ἢ κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τύχη τῆς εἰρήνης, Εὐβοίαν Ὀρωπὸν ἀποδώσειν, κ.τ.λ.*

vehemently against the motion of Philocrates, now told the people not to remember their ancestors nor to listen to stories of ancient sea-fights and trophies, but to enact that they would not help any who had not previously helped Athens (meaning the Phocians)¹. Instead of simply denying that he had made such a speech and proving his denial by witnesses, Aeschines undertakes to show that he could not have spoken at all on the second day because by the decree of Demosthenes no speeches were to be made on that day². But this argument (in 343 B.C.) is answered by his own account thirteen years later of a speech made by Demosthenes in that very meeting. He quotes what he calls a "disagreeable metaphor" then used by Demosthenes, that we must not *wrench off* (ἀπορρηξαι) alliance from peace³.

Though Aeschines denies so stoutly that no one could have spoken in the second meeting, he further recounts a speech of his own, which must have been the one to which Demosthenes alludes, in which he says he advised the people to remember the glorious deeds of their ancestors, but to forget their mistakes, like the Sicilian expedition and the delay in ending the Peloponnesian war⁴. But he maintains that this speech was made in the first meeting. When we consider that our testimony comes from the two opposing orators at the trial of Aeschines, and make all possible allowance for exaggeration and misrepresentation, [we must admit that Aeschines reports his speech more fairly than Demosthenes, but we must decide that it was delivered on the second day, as Demosthenes declares.] Eubulus finally told the people plainly that they must either accept the terms proposed by Philocrates, or man their fleet and levy a war tax⁵. We have the statement of Demosthenes that at the second meeting he opposed Philocrates (whom the people at first refused to hear) and tried to amend his proposition for the peace, still advocating the resolution of the allies⁶. He was probably made more hopeful by the

¹ Dem. XIX. 16.

² Aesch. II. 63—66.

³ Aesch. III. 71, 72.

⁴ See Aesch. II. 74—77, where the substance of this speech is given.

⁵ Dem. XIX. 291.

⁶ Ibid. 15 : ἐμοῦ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων συνηγοροῦντος δόγματι καὶ τὴν εἰρήσιν ὅπως ἴσῃ καὶ δίκαια γένηται πράττοντος. Cf. 292.

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twenty-seven days for Philip's return from his conquests in Thrace¹. In the time thus gained he had captured several Thracian towns.

30. The Athenians found at Pella envoys from Thebes, Thessaly, Sparta, and other Greek states, awaiting Philip's return. There were also envoys from Phocis, anxiously waiting to learn their fate. Philip received the Athenians in the presence of the other envoys, and surrounded by his army, which was ready for his march to Thermopylae. While the envoys were at Pella, Philip sent them large presents of gold, of which Demosthenes refused to accept his share². He devoted much of his time to procuring the release of the Athenian captives who were still in Philip's hands. He lent several of these the money needed for their ransom, which he later refused to receive back when Philip released the other prisoners without ransom³.

31. When Philip took his oath to the peace, the majority of the embassy allowed him formally to exclude the Phocians, the Hallans, and Cersobleptes from the recognized allies of Athens⁴. Demosthenes was generally outvoted in the deliberations of the embassy. They refused by vote to send to Athens a letter written by him, and sent one of their own with a different account of their doings⁵. Demosthenes hired a vessel to take him home alone; but Philip forbade him to depart⁶. In this state of things we can easily believe what Aeschines says, that no one would willingly mess with Demosthenes or lodge at the same inn with him⁷.

32. After Philip had sworn to the peace, the embassy had no further pretext for wasting time at Pella. Then followed a most disgraceful and humiliating spectacle. Philip marched forth from his capital with his army for the invasion of Greece, the result of which—whether he favoured the Thebans or the Phocians—must be the humiliation of a proud people; and in his train followed meekly (with one exception) an Athenian embassy which had basely betrayed the interests of Athens. There followed also a band of Phocian suppliants, who must now have known that their race was doomed. When they

¹ Dem. XIX. 154, 155: see note on Cor. § 30⁴.

² Dem. XIX. 166—168.

⁴ Ibid. 44, 174, 278.

⁶ Ibid. 51, 323.

³ Ibid. 169, 170.

⁵ Ibid. 174.

⁷ Aesch. II. 97.

arrived at Pherae, the long-neglected duty of administering the oath to Philip's allies—or rather to those whom Philip saw fit to summon as their representatives—was performed in a tavern, “in a manner which was disgraceful and unworthy of Athens,” as Demosthenes adds¹.

33. The embassy now returned to Athens without more delay, arriving on the thirteenth of Sciophorion (July 7), after an absence of about ten weeks. When they arrived, Philip was already at Thermopylae, negotiating with the Phocians for a peaceable surrender of the pass². This was just what Philip had planned. The Athenians had now little time to consider whether they should send a fleet to defend Thermopylae, and he trusted to the quieting reports of his friends on the embassy to prevent any hostile action. The scheme worked perfectly. A temporary obstruction was caused by the report of Demosthenes to the Senate. There he told the plain truth, that Philip was at the gates of Hellas, ready to attack the Phocians; and he urged that an expedition should even then be sent to Thermopylae with the fifty triremes which were kept ready for such an emergency. The Senate believed Demosthenes, and passed a vote expressing their approval of his conduct. They insulted the embassy in an unprecedented manner, by omitting the customary vote of thanks and the invitation to dine in the Prytaneum³.

34. But Philocrates and Aeschines had planned their scheme too artfully to be thus thwarted; and in the Assembly of the sixteenth of Sciophorion, probably held the day after the meeting of the Senate, all was changed. Here Demosthenes found a body of his enemies, who would not permit him to be heard or the vote of the Senate to be read⁴. Aeschines at once took the platform, and easily carried the meeting with him by disclosing the private information about Philip's real plans which (he said) Philip had confided to him at Pella. He assured the people that, if they would stay at home quietly two or three days, they would hear that Philip was besieging Thebes, and compelling the Thebans (not the Phocians) to pay for the treasure

¹ Dem. XIX. 158.

² Ibid. 58.

³ Ibid. 18, 31, 32; and 322, τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ἔδει κωλύσαι τὴν εἰς τὰς Πύλας, ἐφ' ἣν αἱ πεντήκοντα τριήρεις ὄμως ἐφώρμουν. See Cor. 32⁷⁻⁹.

⁴ XIX. 23, 35.

stolen from Delphi. He repeated the advice to this effect which (he said) he had given to Philip, for which a price had been set on his head at Thebes. He also implied that Euboea was to be given to Athens as a recompense for Amphipolis, and hinted obscurely at a restitution of Oropus to Athens¹. Then Philip's letter was read, full of general friendliness, but containing absolutely nothing about the Phocians and no promises of any kind.

35. In this temper the Assembly was ready to vote almost anything which would make it easy for Philip to carry out his beneficent plan. A decree was passed, on the motion of Philocrates, publicly thanking Philip for his friendly promises, extending the peace and alliance to posterity, and enacting that, if the Phocians still refused to surrender the temple "to the Amphictyons," the Athenians would compel them to do so by force². They then appointed ten ambassadors, chiefly members of the previous embassies, to report these proceedings to Philip at Thermopylae. Demosthenes at once refused to go on this embassy. Aeschines made no objection at the time; but afterwards, when it was thought that his presence in Athens would be important at the coming crisis, he excused himself on the ground of illness, and his brother went in his place³.

Soon afterwards came two letters from Philip, inviting the Athenians to send a force to join him at Thermopylae⁴. As Demosthenes shows, these were really sent to prevent them from marching out, as Philip thought this cordial invitation would quiet their alarm, and so be the surest means of keeping them at home. We hear of no appeals from Aeschines or his friends urging the acceptance of the invitation. Indeed, public opinion at Athens was changing, so that perhaps there was danger of the invitation being accepted in a different spirit.

¹ Dem. XIX. 19—22, 35, 74, 220, 324—327; Cor. 35; vi. 30; cf. Aesch. II. 136.

² Dem. XIX. 48—50: here it is said of the so-called Amphictyons, *πολεις*; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί.

³ Ibid. 121—124.

⁴ Ibid. 51, 52: ἐπιστολάς δύο καλοῦσας ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵν' ἐξέλθοιτε. See Aesch. II. 137: ὑμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξίέναι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσοντας τοῖς δικαίοις; *to help the cause of justice!*

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open. Even Aeschines admits the bitter disappointment at Athens and the bitter feeling against the ambassadors.

Soon after the surrender of the Phocians, Philip addressed a diplomatic letter to the Athenians, deprecating their indignation at his unexpected course, and trying to conciliate them by assurances of his continued friendship.

38. The embassy soon departed on its new mission by way of Thebes. Aeschines had now no fear of the Thebans or of the price they had set upon his head. They arrived at Philip's camp just in time for the festivities with which he and the Thebans were celebrating their triumph over the sacrilegious Phocians; and they appear to have had no scruples against joining in the celebration¹. Philip had entered Phocis as the champion of Apollo, whose violated temple he was to restore to the Amphictyonic Council. He therefore lost no time in calling a meeting of this venerable body, or rather what he chose to call by this distinguished name². The Council voted to expel the Phocians, and to give their two votes to Philip³. The Phocian towns, except Abae with its ancient temple of Apollo, twenty in number, were to be destroyed, and the people to be divided into villages of not more than fifty houses; their horses were to be sold for the benefit of the temple, and their arms thrown down precipices; and they were to pay sixty talents yearly to the temple until the stolen treasure should be made good⁴. We have records of large payments made by the Phocians on this account from 344 to 337 B.C.⁵ Any

¹ Dem. XIX. 128, 130, Cor. 287. See the lame defence of Aeschines, II. 162, 163.

² Demosthenes (v. 14) calls this assembly *τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τοῦτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι*. See XIX. 50: *οὐδεὶς δ' ἄλλου παρόντος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων πλὴν Θετταλῶν καὶ Θηβαίων*. Cf. XIX. 327.

³ A newly found inscription at Delphi records a meeting of the board of *ναοποιοί*, Temple-builders, in 346—345, *ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο*, at which Thessalians, Thebans, Athenians, Spartans, and a Delphian were present, but no Phocians. In their place stands the ominous entry, *Φίλιππος Μακεδῶν, Τιμαγόριδας Μακεδῶν*.

⁴ Diod. XVI. 60; Paus. X. 3, 3; Dem. XIX. 81, 141, Cor. 36, 42, IX. 19, 26. Cf. Aesch. II. 9, III. 80.

⁵ The French have found an interesting inscription at Delphi recording several of these payments made by the Phocians, published by Bourguet in

Phocian who was personally guilty of plundering the temple was declared accursed and outlawed. This terrible sentence was executed with more than strict exactness, with the Thebans for executioners. When Demosthenes went to Delphi more than two years later, he witnessed the pitiable condition of Phocis and its wretched people, with walls and houses destroyed, and nobody to be seen except old women and little children and miserable old men¹. A harder fate still befell Orchomenus and Coronea for their adherence to the Phocians. Their walls were razed and the inhabitants sold into slavery. Boeotia, with a substantial piece of Phocis², was then brought under the dominion of Thebes. Sparta, for assisting the Phocians, was excluded from the Delphic temple. The προμαντεία, precedence in consulting the oracle, which the Phocians had granted to Athens in the time of Pericles for her help in the short Sacred War of 448 B.C., was taken from her and given to Philip³. Still, it was the decided policy of Philip to have no open breach with Athens at this time.

39. The Pythian games were celebrated by Philip at Delphi at their regular time, in September 346 B.C., with unusual splendour⁴. No delegates were present from either Athens or Sparta. For 240 years Athens had sent her deputation to these games with great pomp and ceremony over the Sacred Way, which Apollo had once trodden on his progress from Delos to Delphi; and her absence now was an historic event. Thus was Philip formally installed in his long-coveted position as a power in Greece.

So ended the disastrous Sacred War, after a duration of more than ten years, with the exaltation of Philip and the humiliation of Athens, though neither was a party to the war or was even interested in it when it began.

40. Philip now determined to secure from Athens a formal recognition of his new position as an Amphictyonic power. He therefore sent thither a deputation to ask for a confirmation of his election to the Council⁵. The conspicuous absence of Athens from both Council

the Bull. de Corresp. Hellén. (Athens), 1897, pp. 321—344. (See American Journal of Archaeology, 1899, p. 306.)

¹ Dem. XIX. 64, 66, 325.

² Ibid. 112, 127.

³ Plut. Per. 21; Dem. IX. 32.

⁴ Diod. XVI. 60.

⁵ Dem. XIX. 111—113.

and games embarrassed and annoyed Philip greatly. Athens was in a delicate position. It would have been simple madness, in her isolation and humiliation, to defy him by a downright refusal. But the people were in no mood to assent to what they deemed a disgrace to Greece and an insult to themselves. When Aeschines came forward alone to urge compliance, he was hooted and could get no hearing. Demosthenes was perhaps the only man in Athens who could persuade the Assembly to take the humiliating course which prudence now made necessary. This he did in his speech *On the Peace* (v.), in which, while he makes no attempt to conceal the false position in which Athens had ignorantly allowed herself to be placed, he yet advises her not court further calamity by a vain resistance to an accomplished fact¹.

IV. SIX YEARS OF NOMINAL PEACE.

346—340 B.C.

41. The peace of Philocrates lasted, at least in name, until the formal renewal of the war with Philip in 340 B.C. But all this time Philip was busy in extending his power, especially to the detriment of Athens. He interfered in the disputes of Sparta with Argos, Messene, and Megalopolis, sending help to the latter. Athens, on the motion of Demosthenes, voted to send envoys to Peloponnesus to counteract this dangerous influence, and of these Demosthenes was chief. In the *Second Philippic* he repeats parts of his speech to the Messenians, in which he warned them of the fate of Olynthus and exhorted them to repel Philip's friendly advances². But Philip's promises were more powerful than the eloquence of Demosthenes, and we soon find Argos and Messene (instigated by Philip) sending envoys to Athens, complaining that she supported Sparta in preventing them from gaining their freedom. With these came envoys from Philip, complaining that Athens had charged their master with breaking his promises.

42. In the Assembly which discussed the reply to be given to these embassies (late in 344 B.C.), Demosthenes delivered his *Second Philippic*. This gives a statesmanlike review of Philip's conduct towards Athens since the peace, showing that he had been constantly aggressive

¹ See the speech *On the Peace*.

² vi. 9, 13, 15, 20—25.

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effectively that the feeling of the Assembly was soon turned against Python¹. He was followed by Hegesippus, another patriotic Athenian, who made two propositions for revising the peace. He proposed (1) that the clause which provided that *each should keep what they had*, ἐκατέρους ἔχειν ἂν ἔχουσιν, *uti possidetis*, should be changed to *each should have their own* (ἐκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν); (2) that the freedom of all Greek states not included in the treaty should be recognized by both parties to the peace, who should agree to defend them if they were attacked. A decree was passed with these two provisions; and Hegesippus was sent with other envoys to Philip to ask his approval of these terms, and further to ask for the return to Athens of the island Halonnesus, which Philip then held, and for the surrender of the towns in Thrace (Serrhium, Doriscus, etc.) which he had taken after the peace was made. This embassy was rudely received by Philip, who ignored all his promises about a revision of the peace, and it returned to Athens with nothing accomplished.

45. Eight or nine months later (early in 342 B.C.) Philip sent a letter to the Athenians, in which he once more deplored the misrepresentations of hostile orators and replied to some of the demands of Athens. We have the speech of Hegesippus in the Assembly, in which Philip's letter is discussed². Philip (1) offered to *give* Halonnesus to Athens if she would accept it as a gift from him. He (2) proposed a treaty (σύμβαλα) with Athens to provide for the trial of lawsuits between Macedonians and Athenians, reserving to himself the final ratification of the treaty. He (3) agreed to recognize and defend the freedom of Greeks who were not parties to the peace. He (4) offered to submit to arbitration all questions about the captured towns, with that about Halonnesus. He further denied that he had broken any promises.

Hegesippus in reply objects to receiving Halonnesus as a gift, while the right of Athens to the island is denied. He treats the proposed σύμβαλα as a mere trick of Philip, and spurns his offer of arbitration.

¹ Aesch. II. 125; Dem. Cor. 136.

² This (VII. in editions of Demosthenes) is now universally recognized as a speech of Hegesippus. It professes to be made by the mover of the two proposals sent to Philip, who was also one of the embassy. This speech is the authority for many of the details of §§ 44 and 45.

Demosthenes also discussed Philip's letter in the same spirit¹. So far as we know, no result followed these negotiations.

In the late summer or autumn of 343 B.C. Aeschines was brought to trial on the charge of *παραπροσβεία* for his misconduct on the second embassy to Philip in 346. The speech of Demosthenes as accuser (xix.) and that of Aeschines as defendant (ii.) were delivered at the trial; and Aeschines, who was defended by Eubulus, was acquitted by a small vote. (See large edition, Essay IV.)

46. At about this time Philip renewed his intrigues in Euboea. The formal peace which Athens had made with the towns of Euboea in 348 B.C. recognized the independence of the island². Philip saw more and more plainly the importance of Euboea as a basis of operations against Athens, and he never lost an opportunity of establishing his influence there. In 343—342 he supported Clitarchus, who had made himself tyrant of Eretria, and he sent troops to expel the popular party. An embassy sent by Athens on the motion of Demosthenes to counteract the intrigues of Philip was refused a hearing at Eretria, and the town fell into Philip's power. The banished democracy took possession of Porthmus, a harbour of Eretria, and Philip sent against them 1000 soldiers and destroyed the walls of Porthmus. He also sent troops to Oreus, to establish there the tyrant Philistides; and under the Macedonian influence the popular leader, Euphraeus, was sent to prison, where he slew himself to escape the vengeance of his enemies³. Athens, by the help of Demosthenes, was more fortunate in establishing her influence at Chalcis, where two brothers, Callias and Taurosthenes, who had once acted in Philip's interest, were now firm friends of the Athenians. Callias sent an embassy to Athens, and a treaty for mutual defence was made⁴. Aeschines violently attacks Callias as a friend of Demosthenes and an enemy of Athens.

47. In the winter of 343—342 Philip marched into Epirus, and placed Alexander, brother of his queen Olympias, on the throne⁵.

¹ The speech of Demosthenes is lost; but Aeschines probably alludes to it when he ridicules Demosthenes for "quarrelling about syllables." See Aesch. III. 83: 'Αλόνησον ἐδίδου' κ.τ.λ.

² See § 10 (above).

³ Dem. IX. 57—62, 66: Cor. 71, 79, 81.

⁴ Aesch. III. 91—93.

⁵ See Paus. I. 11³⁻⁵; Just. VII. 6, VIII. 6. 1.

He also threatened to attack Leucadia and Ambracia (colonies of Corinth) and to cross into Peloponnesus. He made a treaty with the Aetolians, in which he agreed to restore to them Naupactus, which the Achaeans then held. He was foiled by Athens, which sent Demosthenes and other envoys to urge Corinth and Achaëa to defend their rights¹.

48. On his return from Epirus, Philip entered Thessaly, where he appointed tetrarchs, one for each of the original districts of Thessaly. — Thessaliothis. Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis². This completed the subjugation of Thessaly, which had been one of his main objects since his attack on the despots of Pherae in 353—352³. At about this time (342) Philip sent for Aristotle and made him the tutor of his son Alexander, who was now fourteen years old. In this year he gave great offence to Greece by sending a deputy to hold the Pythian games in his name⁴.

49. Early in 342 B.C. Philip undertook to complete his conquest of Thrace, and especially to wrest the Thracian Chersonese from Athens. This ancient possession of Athens was equally important to her as a protection to her trade with the Euxine, and to Philip as a point of departure for invading Asia. Soon after the peace of 346, Athens had sent settlers to the Chersonese under Diopithes⁵, an able and enterprising general, who was determined to defend the rights of Athens to the last extremity and to brook no interference from Philip. The Cardians, who had been admitted to the peace in 346 as Philip's allies, annoyed the Athenian settlers in every way. Philip sent troops to aid the Cardians, and Diopithes raised an army in Thrace to attack them, with which he invaded Philip's territory beyond Cardia. Against this Philip protested vehemently in a letter to the Athenians, and a meeting of the Assembly was held to consider the question. In this Demosthenes delivered his eloquent oration on the Affairs of the Chersonese. He admits that the action of Diopithes has not been precisely peaceful, but maintains that Philip has broken all the terms of the peace and that Athens is really at war with him by his own act.

¹ Dem. IX. 27, 34, 72. See § 65 (below).

² Dem. IX. 26.

³ See § 5 (above).

⁴ See Dem. IX. 32, τῶς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει.

⁵ Dem. VIII. 6, IX. 15.

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He stoutly objects to making any concessions to Philip at this crisis, and above all he protests against recalling Diopithes or passing any vote which might discredit him or his conduct in Thrace¹.

50. Soon after this speech, before midsummer 341, Demosthenes delivered his Third Philippic. This powerful argument deals with the whole history of Philip's aggressions since the peace was made. He declares that Athens has been actually at war with Philip for a long time, indeed ever since the destruction of the Phocians². He earnestly beseeches the people to recognize this fact and to prepare for active warfare. He justifies the recent proceedings of Athens in the Chersonese only as measures of defensive war, to which Philip's offensive acts have driven her. It would be madness, he urges, for the Athenians to allow Philip to wage war on them and not to defend themselves by arms.

The whole tone of the Third Philippic and the speech on the Chersonese shows that Demosthenes had no longer the least expectation of maintaining even a nominal peace; while the increasing boldness of Philip's aggressions shows that he merely aimed at securing all possible advantages before the inevitable declaration of war.

51. We have only meagre and scattered accounts of the events of the year 341—340, before the outbreak of the war. One important result of the powerful arguments of Demosthenes was that Athens now universally recognized his leadership and gave him almost complete control of her foreign affairs. For this department, from this time until the battle of Chaeronea, he declares himself responsible in the fullest sense³. One of his wisest strokes of policy was his forestalling of Philip's designs on Byzantium by his embassy thither, probably in the summer of 341. He thus secured for Athens the friendship and alliance of Byzantium, the control of the Hellespont,

¹ For a full discussion of these important events, which led directly to the renewal of the war with Philip, see the two orations of Demosthenes On the Chersonese (viii.) and the Third Philippic (ix.). See Grote xi. 623—625.

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and the protection of her trade with the Euxine. Athens and Byzantium had had so many grounds of enmity, especially since the Social War, that it now required no ordinary diplomatic skill to bring them into friendship. Later in 341—340 an embassy was sent to the King of Persia, perhaps on the suggestion of Demosthenes, asking for help against Philip; but the King sent back a very insulting letter, refusing his assistance¹.

Even more important were the embassies to Peloponnesus which were undertaken by Demosthenes with Callias of Chalcis. These resulted in the formation of a powerful league against Philip, which, according to Aeschines, proposed to raise 100 talents, and to equip 100 ships of war, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 1000 horsemen, besides 2000 militia from Peloponnesus and 2000 from Acarnania. The leadership of the league was given to Athens, and a formal meeting of the allies at Athens was appointed, which probably was never held². But the proposed forces appear to have been actually raised, as Demosthenes gives the number of the allies in the field as 15,000 mercenaries and 2000 cavalry, besides the militia³.

52. These vigorous preparations, which preceded the open outbreak of the war, amply justify the boasts of Demosthenes about the allies and the revenues which were raised for Athens by his influence⁴. One of the most important results of the close union between Demosthenes and Callias was the formal alliance of Athens and the cities of Euboea, which grew out of the treaty made two years before⁵. This alliance was closely connected with the expulsion of Philip's tyrants at Oreus and Eretria. In the summer of 341, on the motion of Demosthenes, an expedition was sent, which freed Oreus from the tyrant Philistides, who was put to death⁶. Several months later a more decisive expedition was sent under Phocion, on the motion of

¹ Aeschines (III. 238) probably refers to the King's reply: *ἐγὼ ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε.*

² Aesch. III. 94—98.

³ Cor. 237, where he includes the later Theban allies. The *Ἀριθμὸς βοηθειῶν* (Cor. 305) probably contained all the forces raised directly or indirectly by Demosthenes. See Cor. 301, 302.

⁴ Cor. 234—237.

⁵ See § 46 (above).

⁶ Cor. 79^b, *τὴν ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν ἐξοδόν*: cf. 87.

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men, besides his large fleet, and employed the most improved engines of war and towers two hundred feet high, the defenders were finally successful. They were constantly aided by their neighbours of Byzantium, and at last by a force sent by the King of Persia; though no help came from Athens or any other Greek city. Philip at length decided to abandon the siege; but he still hoped to surprise Byzantium, which was his real object, by a sudden attack. The better and larger part of the Byzantine army was at Perinthus. He therefore left about half his army at Perinthus, under his best commander, to make a show of continuing the siege, while he hastened with the rest to Byzantium and besieged it with all his skill. The Byzantines were at first greatly alarmed; but timely help came to them from a powerful friend. Athens was now openly at war with Philip, and her naval power soon came to the help of her new ally. A fleet under Chares, which was previously cruising in the northern Aegean, was sent to Byzantium, and was followed by another under Phocion, which was more powerful and more efficient. Chios, Cos, and Rhodes also sent their help. Byzantium was rescued, and Philip wisely abandoned this second siege. By some skilful device his fleet eluded the Athenian ships in the Bosphorus and escaped into the Aegean.

55. In the late summer or early autumn of 340, probably after the siege of Perinthus was begun, Philip sent to the Athenians a long letter, full of complaints of their aggressions and justifications of his own¹. To this communication, which ended in a declaration of war, Athens replied only by her own declaration of war and a vote to remove the column on which the treaty of 346 B.C. was inscribed. The special occasion alleged by Demosthenes for the declaration of war was the capture of some Athenian merchant ships by Philip's cruisers in the Hellespont²; but war had been an avowed fact on both sides many weeks before it was declared.

When the Byzantine war was ended by the help of Athens and the wise counsels of Demosthenes, the gratitude of Perinthus, Byzantium,

¹ A document purporting to be this letter appears as no. XII. in the editions of Demosthenes. This is accepted as genuine, at least in substance, by Grote, Weil, and Blass. The document in Cor. 77, 78 is spurious.

² Cor. 73.

and the towns in the Chersonese was expressed to Athens as their deliverer by votes of thanks and crowns¹.

56. We have very scanty accounts of Philip's movements from this time (probably early in 339 B.C.) until we find him the next summer fighting with the Scythians and the Triballi. An unimportant quarrel with Ateas, a Scythian king, gave him a ground for invading his dominions; and the aged king himself was defeated on the Danube and killed. Philip carried off as booty 20,000 boys and women, much cattle, and 20,000 breeding mares. On his return from Scythia, he passed through the country of the Triballi, with whom he had previously been in conflict². These warlike mountaineers attacked him furiously; and in the battle he was severely wounded, his horse was killed under him, and he was thought to be dead. In the panic which followed, the Triballi took possession of the Scythian booty. Thus again humiliated, Philip returned to Macedonia³.

About the time of the renewal of war with Philip, Demosthenes proposed and carried his important trierarchic reform, by which the navy of Athens was put on a new footing and many old abuses were corrected. It was under this new system of trierarchy that all the fleets were fitted out during the war, and its success in removing grievances is described by Demosthenes with glowing pride and satisfaction⁴.

V. THE WAR WITH PHILIP, FROM 340 B.C. TO THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA IN 338 B.C.

57. When Philip returned from Scythia in the summer of 339 B.C., he found that his war with Athens had been waged on both sides during his absence without decisive results. Though the Athenians had generally been defeated by land, yet the Macedonians felt

¹ Cor. 89—93.

² Cor. 44¹ with note.

³ See Justin IX. 2, and Lucian, Macrob. II. Aeschines alludes briefly to the Scythian expedition, when he says of Philip in the summer of 339, *οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος*. At the time of the regular meeting of the Amphictyonic Council (Aug. or Sept.), he had already returned, and he was then made general of the Amphictyons (Cor. 152; cf. Aesch. III. 129).

⁴ Cor. 102—108: see note on 103⁴.

severely their naval weakness, by which they suffered a constant blockade of their coast without being able to retaliate by sea¹. It was obviously impossible for Philip to invade Attica by land without the coöperation of both Thessaly and Thebes, and his relations with them did not warrant even a proposal to this end. Thessaly had been alienated by the abolition of her free governments; and Thebes, though she had gained the lion's share of the spoils at the end of the Sacred War, was deeply offended by the loss of Nicaea in the pass of Thermopylae, which Philip had given to Thessaly, and of her own colony Echinus, which Philip had taken for himself². Without the consent of Thessaly he could not command the pass of Thermopylae; and without Thebes he could not use the fertile plain of Boeotia for military operations. Some undertaking which would unite the two in a common interest with himself seemed indispensable³. Such was Philip's perplexity when he found himself again at war with Athens after six years of nominal peace. When he departed for Scythia this problem was still unsolved, though possibly he may already have confided to Aeschines directly or indirectly some practical hints for its solution. However this may have been, it so happened that before Philip's return Aeschines had suddenly stirred up an Amphictyonic war, which delivered him from all his difficulties and opened the way for himself and his army into the very heart of Greece⁴. He had passed Thermopylae in triumph in 346 as the champion of the God of Delphi; he was now to enter Greece a second time clothed with the same sacred authority, to aid the Amphictyonic Council in punishing new offenders who were openly defying their commands.

58. We are here reduced to the alternative of believing either that Aeschines deliberately devised this Amphictyonic war to give Philip a free passage into Greece (or at least took advantage of a slight incident at Delphi to excite a general conflict), or else that he ignorantly and recklessly roused a war which could have no other end than bringing Philip into Greece at the head of an army. The latter alternative attributes to Aeschines a reckless ignorance of Greek politics with which we have no right to charge him. We are almost wholly dependent on his own graphic narrative for the facts as to the

¹ Cor. 145, 146.

² Dem. IX. 34 (with Schol.); Aesch. III. 140.

³ Cor. 147.

⁴ Cor. 149.

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τάναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο. This renewal of the ancient disgrace of Thebes in fighting on the side of the Persians at Plataea was, it must be confessed, neither a friendly nor a politic act; it shows the abiding exasperation between Thebes and Athens which followed the victory of Leuctra. But this was of little consequence now. The Hieromnemon sent for Aeschines, and asked him to attend the Amphictyonic meeting on that day in his place, as if he were a delegate with full powers, and defend Athens against the Locrian accusation. Aeschines was therefore present at the meeting by special authority. As he began to speak, apparently referring in some excitement to the threatened charge against Athens, he was rudely interrupted by an Amphissian, who protested against the very mention of the Athenians, declaring that they should be shut out of the temple as accursed because of their alliance with the Phocians. Aeschines replied in great anger; and among other retorts "it occurred to him" to mention the impiety of the Amphissians in encroaching on the accursed plain of Cirrha, which had been solemnly devoted to everlasting sterility and desolation by the Amphictyonic Council about 250 years before, on the motion of Solon¹, at the end of the first Sacred War.

60. Cirrha was the ancient seaport of Delphi on the Gulf of Corinth, while Crissa (often confounded with it) was a town on the height above the river Pleistus, on the road to Delphi (near the modern Χρυσό)². The broad plain of Cirrha, one of the most fertile in Greece, lay between the foot of Parnassus and the coast, and was called by both names Cirrhaean and Crissaeon. In obedience to the Amphictyonic curse, Cirrha with its harbour was destroyed, and the plain had remained uncultivated until recently, when the Amphissians had re-established the ancient port as a convenient landing-place for visitors to Delphi, and levied tolls on those who used it. They had also cultivated a part of the accursed plain and erected buildings upon it. The Amphictyons seem to have quietly acquiesced in this violent

¹ Aesch. III. 115—118. The destruction of Cirrha and the consecration of its plain took place in 586 B.C., at the end of the ten years' Sacred War.

² The ancient walls of Crissa, enclosing a large space on the brink of the cliff, are still to be seen, though buried and overgrown so as often to escape observation.

of the sacred edict, doubtless seeing the advantages of the newly opened port to themselves, and thinking little of the almost forgotten curse. But they were not proof against the arts and eloquence of an accomplished Athenian orator, who ingeniously presented the case in impassioned language and with powerful appeals to the prejudices and the bigotry of an antiquated religious assembly, with which a venerable curse had greater weight than the strongest political motives or the abstract idea of Hellenic unity. From the hill near Delphi where the Amphictyonic Council sat under the open sky, there is a magnificent view of the sacred plain, extending to the gulf of Corinth. Here Aeschines stood in the excited assembly, and showed them the plantations and buildings of the Amphissians on the forbidden land; and he caused the terrific imprecations of the ancient curse to be repeated, which declared any man, city, or state, which should cultivate or occupy the plain of Cirrha, accursed of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena, and devoted to utter destruction with their houses and their race. He reminded them that the same curse was invoked on all who should permit others to violate the sacred edict. We cannot wonder that the whole assemblage was fired with fierce enthusiasm to avenge the wrongs of Apollo upon the sacrilegious Amphissians. When Aeschines had finished his speech, as he tells the court, the question of the Athenian shields was wholly forgotten, and the only thought was of the punishment of the Amphissians. The flame had now been kindled, which was to end in the conflagration that Philip was eager to see. An Amphictyonic war was begun, which could be ended only by the intervention of Philip and his army. Thebes and Thessaly could now be united in a common cause with Philip¹.

61. Late in the day the meeting adjourned; and a herald was ordered to proclaim that all Delphians, freemen and slaves, above the age of eighteen, and all the Amphictyonic delegates, should meet the next morning at daybreak with spades and picks, ready "to aid the God and the sacred land"; and that any state which failed to obey should be accursed and excluded from the temple. This Amphictyonic mob assembled and descended to the plain, where they burned the houses and destroyed the moles which enclosed the harbour. On

¹ Aesch. III. 119—122.

their way back to Delphi, they were attacked by a crowd from Amphissa, and barely escaped with their lives: some of the Council were captured. The next day an Amphictyonic Assembly (*ἐκκλησίαι*) was summoned, consisting of the delegates and all other citizens of Amphictyonic states who happened to be at Delphi. This body voted that the Hieromnemons, after consulting their respective states, should meet at Thermopylae at some time before the regular autumnal meeting of the Council, prepared to take some definite action concerning the Amphissians¹. When this vote was first reported at Athens by her delegates, the people "took the pious side" (as Aeschines calls it); but a few days later, after a little consideration and when the influence of Demosthenes had prevailed, it was voted that the Athenian delegates "should proceed to Thermopylae and Delphi at the times appointed by our ancestors," and further that no Athenian representatives should take any part in the irregular meeting at Thermopylae, "either in speech or in action." This wise step precluded Athens in the most public manner from taking any part in the mad Sacred War which Aeschines had stirred up: in his own words, "it forbids you to remember the oaths which your ancestors swore, or the curse, or the oracle of the God²."

62. The appointed meeting was held at Thermopylae, with no representatives from Athens, and (what was more ominous for Philip's designs) with none from Thebes. It was voted to make war upon the Amphissians, and Cottyphus, the president of the Council, was made commander. The Amphissians at first yielded, and were fined and ordered to banish the leading rebels. But they paid no fine, and soon restored their exiles, and banished again "the pious" whom the Amphictyons had restored. The autumnal meeting of the Council (339 B.C.) found things in this condition; and it is hard to believe that the leaders in this miserable business expected any other issue. The Council was told plainly and with truth, that they must either raise a mercenary army and tax their states to pay for it, fining all who refused to do their part, or else make Philip the Amphictyonic general. It is not surprising that Philip was at once elected³. We are now

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the obscure words (Aesch. III. 124), *ἔχοντας δόγμα (?) καθ' ὃ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς*.

² Aesch. III. 122—127.

³ Dem. Cor. 152: see the whole description 149—153.

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the traditional feud between Athens and Thebes would bring Thebes into his alliance; but he trusted to his commanding position on the frontier of Boeotia to convince her that her only hope of safety lay in his friendship. The prospect of Boeotia being the seat of war was an alarming one, from which a united invasion of Attica by Thebes and Philip was the only sure escape¹. Demosthenes states that the Macedonian party in both Athens and Thebes had long been fomenting discord between the two cities, which were now so estranged that Philip felt that there was no possibility of their uniting against him.

64. We are almost wholly dependent on Demosthenes for what we know of the skilful diplomacy by which Thebes was secured as an ally of Athens against Philip². This was the crowning achievement of the political life of Demosthenes, and he always alludes to it with honest pride. We have his own graphic story of the wild excitement at Athens when a messenger at evening brought the news from Elatea, and of the solemn meeting of the people the next morning when he made his eloquent speech, by which he laid the foundation for a right understanding with Thebes and secured the appointment of a friendly embassy, of which he was himself the leader. He then describes briefly but clearly the critical negotiations with Thebes, which ended in a treaty of alliance. We are not informed of the details of this treaty; but the carping criticisms of Aeschines indicate that the liberal spirit towards Thebes which inspired Demosthenes in his first proposals was felt in all the negotiations. Aeschines gives one important item, designed to protect the alliance against the defection of any Boeotian cities to Philip. This provided that in case of any such defection Athens would stand by "the Boeotians at Thebes³." Demosthenes brings forward a letter addressed by Philip to his former friends in Peloponnesus when the Thebans deserted him, in which he solicits their help on the ground that he is waging an Amphictyonic war in a holy cause⁴. During the campaign which followed, Demosthenes appears to have had equal influence at Athens and at Thebes. Theopompus says that the generals at Athens and the Boetarchs at Thebes were equally obedient to his commands, and that the public

¹ Dem. Cor. 213.

² Aesch. III. 142.

³ Ibid. 169—188, 211—216.

⁴ Dem. Cor. 156, 158.

assembly of Thebes was ruled by him as absolutely as that of Athens¹.

65. Of the campaign itself very little is known. We hear of one "winter battle" and one "battle by the river," in which the allies were victorious². These victories were celebrated by festivals and thanksgivings; and they caused Philip to renew his solicitations for help in letters to the Peloponnesians. The alliance with Thebes was so popular in Athens, that Demosthenes, as its author, was publicly crowned at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 338³. The allies suffered one serious defeat near Amphissa, which Philip—perhaps for the sake of appearances—finally attacked and destroyed⁴. He also captured Naupactus, put to death the Achaean garrison with its commander Pausanias, and gave the town to the Aetolians, thus fulfilling his promise of four years before⁵. At some time during this campaign, he sent a herald with proposals of peace to Thebes and Athens, which, it appears, the Boeotarchs were at first inclined to entertain. Even at Athens a peace-party appeared, with Phocion as its advocate. Aeschines relates that Demosthenes was so disturbed by the peace-movement at Thebes, that he threatened to propose to send an embassy to Thebes to ask for the Athenian army a free passage through Boeotia to attack Philip⁶. We hear no more of this movement, and a visit of Demosthenes to Thebes probably brought it to a speedy end.

66. Our accounts of the battle of Chaeronea are as meagre as those of the preceding campaign⁷. This decisive battle was fought on the seventh of Metageitnion (either August second or September first), 338 B.C. At first the battle was rather favourable to the allies; but soon the superior discipline of the Macedonians prevailed, and the

¹ Theopompus, fr. 239: see Plut. Dem. 18: *ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγούς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιούντας τὸ προσταττόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἡττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων.*

² Dem. Cor. 216, 217.

³ Ibid. 218, 222, 223.

⁴ Polyæn. IV. 2, 8; Strab. 427; Aesch. III. 147.

⁵ See § 47 (above).

⁶ Aesch. III. 148—151.

⁷ See Diod. XVI. 86.

Greeks were driven back on both wings. A general flight ensued, after which the Greeks were scattered, so that there was no longer any military force between Philip's camp and Thebes or Athens. These cities lay at his mercy; their armies were disbanded, and neither could help the other. A thousand Athenians were killed, and about two thousand were taken prisoners. The Boeotian loss was also great, and the famous Sacred Band of three hundred Thebans perished to a man.

67. The panic and despair in Athens when the first tidings of the defeat arrived were most pitiable. No one knew how soon the victorious army might follow in the steps of the messengers who brought the terrible news¹. But the leaders of the people who were at home, especially Lycurgus and Hyperides, and Demosthenes after his return from the battlefield, did all that was possible to restore courage, and the panic soon changed to a resolute determination to save the city from destruction or capture. Hyperides, who was one of the Senate of Five Hundred (regularly exempt from military service), immediately proposed a bill ordering the Senate to go to the Piraeus under arms and there to hold a meeting to provide for the safety of the port; and further providing that all slaves in the mines and the country districts who would enlist should be free, and that exiles should be recalled, public debtors and other *ἄτιμοι* should be restored to their rights, and metics should be made citizens, on the same condition. It was hoped that these last measures might furnish a force of 150,000 men for immediate defence². It was also voted to bring the women and children and such sacred property as was movable from unprotected places into the Piraeus. Lycurgus, who had charge of the finances, did wonders in replenishing the empty treasury, and in providing arms and ships for the emergency. Large sums of money were raised by private contributions, the *μεγάλαι ἐπιδόσεις* of Cor. § 171, Demosthenes giving one talent. Demosthenes devoted himself especially to preparing the city for immediate defence, especially by repairing the dilapidated

¹ See Lycurg. Leoc. 39, 40.

² Lycurg. Leoc. 37, 41; Hyper. fr. 29 (Blass). When Hyperides was indicted by *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for the illegality of some of these measures, he replied: *ἐπεσκότει μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὄπλα· οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἡ δ' ἐν Σαιρωνείᾳ μάχη.*

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Alexander himself went as a special messenger with offers of peace and friendship¹. The result was the treaty of peace, known as the Peace of Demades, by which both peace and alliance were again established between Philip and Athens. The Athenians were to remain free and independent, and Philip probably agreed never to send ships of war into the Piræus. Oropus, which had been taken from Thebes, was now at length restored to Athens. Athens was to hold certain islands, among which were Salamis, Samos, and Delos; but all trace of her recent alliance and all thought of maritime empire had disappeared for ever². Philip left it open to her to join the general Greek League which he proposed to form, and of which he was to be the head. This step would sacrifice the independence of Athens in many important points; but in the absence of Demosthenes, and in spite of the scruples of Phocion, who asked for more time to consider the question, the Assembly adopted the proposals of Demades in full, and these made Athens a member of the League³. By this step, which was probably a necessary one under the circumstances, Athens ceased to have any independent political existence; and the peace of Demades ends her history as a free state and as a power in the Hellenic world.

69. The feeling of Demosthenes about this peace after eight years' experience is seen in Cor. § 89. While he doubtless acquiesced quietly in it at the beginning, he never forgot the bitter humiliation. Under the influence of this quiet submission to Philip's authority, cloaked under the name of independence, the Macedonian party, with Aeschines at its head, again became powerful at Athens⁴. It was then that it was safe for the whole herd of the enemies of Demosthenes to persecute him with every form of process which was known to the Attic law, when (as he says) he was "brought to trial every day." But he mentions this only to testify to the affection of his fellow citizens, who always acquitted him in the popular courts, and thus justified his conduct in the most effective manner⁵. Indeed, though the party of Aeschines then had the courage to speak its sentiments more freely than ever before⁶.

¹ See Polyh. v. 10; Justin ix. 4^b; Diod. xvi. 87.

² See Paus. i. 25. 3.

³ Plut. Phoc. 16.

⁴ Dem. Cor. 320.

⁵ Ibid. 248—250.

⁶ Ibid. 286^b.

and in so doing gained the favour of Philip and his partizans, the sober sense of the people always recognized the services of men like Demosthenes in better times and expressed itself whenever an occasion offered. There was no testimony of the public esteem and affection which Demosthenes valued more highly than the choice of the people in making him their orator to deliver the eulogy on the heroes of Chaeronea¹. Here the genuine feeling of patriotic gratitude to the man who had fought the battle of Grecian liberty almost single-handed impelled the citizens to reject all candidates who were in sympathy with Philip or his cause, including Aeschines and even Demades, and to choose the man who was most heartily identified with the lost cause for which these heroes had died. And the same public respect for Demosthenes and for his honest and unswerving devotion to what was now seen more clearly than ever to have been the cause of Grecian liberty, the cause which had made their ancestors glorious, was shown in the overwhelming vote by which the popular court acquitted Ctesiphon and condemned Aeschines, at the very moment when such a judgment might have been deemed a public defiance of Alexander's authority, while the whole Greek world was ringing with the news of the victory of Arbela.

¹ Dem. Cor. 285.

TABLE OF DATES.

- B.C.
- 384—383. Birth of Demosthenes. (§ 7.)¹
- 382—381. Birth of Philip of Macedon. (§ 3.)
- 378—377. New Athenian Confederacy formed. Financial reforms of Nausinicus. Introduction of Symmories for property tax.
- 376—375. Death of Demosthenes, father of the orator. Guardians appointed for the son. (§ 7.)
- 371—370. Battle of Leuctra (July 371).
- 366—365. Demosthenes comes of age at 18; devotes two years to preparation for the lawsuit against his guardians. (§ 7.)
- 364—363. Trial of suit against Aphobus. (§ 8.)
- 362—361. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas. (§ 1.)
- 359—358. Accession of Philip of Macedon. (§ 3.)
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) becomes king of Persia.
- 358—357. Symmories for the Trierarchy established.
- 357—356. Athenian expedition to Euboea frees the island from the Thebans. (§ 2.) Outbreak of Social War. (§ 2.) Philip captures Amphipolis, which leads to war with Athens, and takes Pydna and Potidaea from Athens. (§ 3.)
- 356—355. Birth of Alexander the Great, July 21, 356 B.C. (§ 3.)
Beginning of sacred (Phocian) War: seizure of temple of Delphi by Philomelus. (§ 4.)
End of Social War, spring of 355. (§ 2.)
- 355—354. Speeches of Demosthenes against Androtion and Leptines.
- 354—353. First public speech of Demosthenes, on the Symmories. (§ 8.) Eubulus takes charge of the finances of Athens. Philomelus killed. Sacred War continued by Onomarchus. Spoliation of temple of Delphi. (§ 4.)
- 353—352. Philip takes Methone from Athens. (§ 3.)
He attacks and defeats Lycophron of Pherae; has battles

¹ The references in () are made to sections of the Historical Sketch.

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- 347—346. Same envoys sent again to Philip, to ratify the peace (Second Embassy). (§ 29.)
 Assembly 25th of Elaphebolion, Demosthenes presiding: see note on Cor. § 170². Φίλιππος of Isocrates. (§ 28.)
 Decree of Senate ordering the departure of the Embassy (April 29). Further delays. (§§ 29—31.)
 Return of Embassy to Athens, 13th of Scirophorion (July 7). Reports to Senate and Assembly. Philip already at Thermopylae. Assembly votes 16th of Scir. (July 10) to compel the Phocians to deliver the temple of Delphi to “the Amphictyons.” Philip’s letters. (§§ 33—35.)
 Ten envoys (Third Embassy) sent to Thermopylae, to report action of the Assembly to Philip: they depart about 21st of Scirophorion (July 15). (§§ 35—37.)
 Phalaecus surrenders Thermopylae to Philip 23rd of Sciroph. (July 17). Athenian envoys hear this news at Chalcis and return. Meeting of Assembly in Piraeus 27th of Scir. (July 21). Embassy ordered to proceed to Thermopylae, and departs at once. (§§ 36—38.)
 End of Sacred War. (§ 39.)
- 346—345. Demosthenes and Timarchus begin proceedings against Aeschines for παραπρεσβεία (autumn of 346). See Essay IV. 1, 2.
 Archias Archon. Philip summons Amphictyonic Council, which expels the Phocians and gives their two votes to Philip. Terrible punishment of the Phocians. (§ 38.)
 Philip celebrates the Pythian games (Sept. 346). (§ 39.)
 Philip demands recognition of his position in Amphictyonic Council. Speech of Demosthenes on the Peace. (§ 40.)
 Prosecution of Timarchus by Aeschines (winter). See Essay IV. 1.
- 345—344. Philip interferes in disputes in Peloponnesus. Demosthenes sent as envoy to counteract his influence. (§ 41.)
- 344—343. Second Philippic of Demosthenes (late in 344). Philip’s influence in Peloponnesus. (§ 42.)
 Trial and condemnation of Antiphon. (§ 43.)
 Prosecution of Philocrates on εἰσαγγελία by Hyperides, and his exile (before midsummer 343). See Essay IV. 2.

- 344—343. Case of temple of Delos before Amphictyonic Council: Hyperides advocate of Athens. (§ 43.)
Mission of Python to Athens (before midsummer 343).
Discussion of the peace and of Halonnesus. (§ 44.)
- 343—342. Trial and acquittal of Aeschines on charge of παραπροσβεία (late summer or autumn of 343). (§ 45.) See Essay IV.
Philip's intrigues in Euboea: he supports tyrants at Eretria and Oreus. Chalcis makes treaty with Athens. (§ 46.)
Philip invades Epirus, threatens Ambracia and Acarnania, and establishes tetrarchs in Thessaly. (§§ 47, 48.)
Philip's letter to Athens about Halonnesus and modifications of the peace. Speech of Hegesippus on Halonnesus (Dem. VII.). (§ 45.)
Aristotle made tutor of Alexander. (§ 48.)
- 342—341. Philip extends his power in the Thracian Chersonese, and comes into conflict with the Athenian general, Diopithes. Speech on the Chersonese and Third Philippic of Demosthenes (before midsummer 341). (§§ 49, 50.)
- 341—340. Mission of Demosthenes to Byzantium (summer): alliance of Athens and Byzantium. (§ 51.)
League against Philip formed by Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis. (§ 51.) Expeditions of Athens to Euboea, which overthrow tyrants in Oreus and (later) in Eretria. (§ 52.)
Alliance of Athens with Euboea. Demosthenes crowned at the Great Dionysia for liberating Euboea. (§ 52.)
The people of Peparethus seize Halonnesus. Philip in return ravages Peparethus. (§ 53.)
- 340—339. Theophrastus Archon. Philip besieges Perinthus (late summer of 340): in autumn raises this siege and attacks Byzantium. (§§ 53, 54.)
Before the attack on Byzantium Philip makes open declaration of war. Two fleets sent by Athens to relieve Byzantium: siege raised by Philip. (§§ 54, 55.)
Philip (winter) invades Scythia. Returning with booty, he is attacked by the Triballi and wounded. (§ 56.)
Speech of Aeschines at Delphi (spring of 339), which stirs up the Amphisian War. (§§ 59, 60, 61.)

- 339—338. Amphictyonic Council (early autumn of 339) chooses Philip general. (§ 62.) Shortly afterwards Philip passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea. (§ 63.)
Negotiations between Athens and Thebes, ending in alliance against Philip. (§§ 63, 64.)
Campaign (winter and spring): allies victorious in “winter battle” and “river battle.” Capture of mercenaries and destruction of Amphissa by Philip. (§§ 64, 65.)
- 338—337. Battle of Chaeronea, 7th Metageitnion 338 (August 2 or September 1): utter defeat of the allies. (§ 66.) Active measures at Athens. (§ 67.)
Action of Philip. Peace of Demades. (§ 68.)
Position of Demosthenes after the peace. He delivers the eulogy on those who fell at Chaeronea. (§ 69.)
- 337—336. Demosthenes director of the Theoric Fund and *τοιχοποιός*. Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes at the Great Dionysia (spring of 336). Aeschines brings *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon. (See 330—329.)
- 337—336. Philip assassinated, summer of 336. Alexander succeeds him.
- 335—334. Rebellion of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys the city (autumn of 335).
Alexander demands the delivery of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and other Athenian orators.
Aristotle returns to Athens and teaches in the Lyceum.
- 334—330. Alexander's victory at Arbela (Oct. 1, 331).
Rebellion of Spartan King Agis (early in 330), crushed by Antipater.
- 330—329. Aristophon Archon. Trial of suit of Aeschines against Ctesiphon (August, 330). Ctesiphon acquitted by more than four-fifths of the votes. See Essay III.
- 324—323. Demosthenes condemned to a fine of 50 talents in the affair of Harpalus. Unable to pay, he went into exile.
Death of Alexander the Great (May, 323) at Babylon.
- 323—322. Triumphant recall of Demosthenes from exile.
322. Death of Aristotle at Chalcis, autumn of 322.
Death of Hyperides October 5, and of Demosthenes October 12, 322.

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This was a leap year of 384 days, beginning July 6 and ending July 24. Other arrangements are possible; but these would not affect any of the dates by more than a single day.

1.	Hecatombaeon	(30 days)	begins	July	6,	347 B.C.
2.	Metageitnion	(29 ")	"	August	5	"
3.	Boedromion	(30 ")	"	Sept.	3	"
4.	Pyanepsion	(29 ")	"	Oct.	3	"
5.	Maemacterion	(30 ")	"	Nov.	1	"
6.	Posideon	(29 ")	"	Dec.	1	"
7.	[Posideon II.]	(30 ")	"	"	30	"
8.	Gamelion	(29 ")	"	Jan.	29,	346 B.C.
9.	Anthesterion	(30 ")	"	Feb.	27	"
10.	Elaphebolion	(29 ")	"	March	29	"
11.	Munychion	(30 ")	"	April	27	"
12.	Thargelion	(29 ")	"	May	27	"
13.	Sciophorion	(30 ")	"	June	25	"

Thus Elaphebolion 18, 19 = April 15, 16;

Munychion 3 = April 29;

Thargelion 22 = June 17;

Sciophorion 13 = July 7;

" 23 = " 17;

" 27 = " 21.

Hecatombaeon 346—345 begins July 25.

ESSAYS.

I.

The Argument of the Oration, with Remarks on §§ 120, 121.

1. THE argument of this Oration follows no recognized model, and it cannot be brought under any rhetorical system of rules. The occasion was unique; and the orator treated it uniquely, and with a masterly skill which is far beyond the art of a mère rhetorician. Demosthenes is technically defending a client on a question of constitutional law; he is really defending his own public life and his reputation as a patriot and a statesman against the unscrupulous charges of a personal enemy. He feels sure that the large body of his fellow-citizens who form the court will listen chiefly to his defence of himself and of his public policy and will overlook the technical questions of law; and he judges rightly. The skill, however, with which he keeps these technical questions in the background, so that the judges shall never lose sight of the higher questions of state policy, and the art by which he conceals this art, are worthy of careful study.

2. The indictment (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) brings three charges of illegality (*παράνομα*) against Ctesiphon's bill for conferring a crown on Demosthenes: (1) the bill proposes to crown Demosthenes while he is a responsible magistrate (*ἀρχων ὑπεύθυνος*), which is forbidden by law; (2) it proposes to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Great Dionysiac festival, whereas the law requires such a crown to be proclaimed elsewhere; (3) it violates the law forbidding the insertion of false statements into the public records, such false statements being found in the clauses of the bill which praise Demosthenes, especially

in the words ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας,—ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἀριστα τῷ δήμῳ,—and πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι δύναται ἀγαθόν¹. Aeschines, who must have felt the weakness of the vague charge of illegality in the last count, dwells with great energy and with his most powerful arguments on the first count, on which (so far as we can see) his position was legally unassailable. He shows beyond question that Demosthenes held two important offices at the time of Ctesiphon's proposal, for which he would still be responsible (ὑπεύθυνος) when the crown was proclaimed; and this would be illegal. He naturally puts this strong argument in the front of his attack. On his second point, the illegality of the proposed place of proclamation, the actual state of the law is uncertain, and we cannot judge of the strength of the argument. He then discusses the life and character of Demosthenes, to show that the statements on which Ctesiphon justifies his proposal to crown him are false and therefore illegal. After a few words of introduction, followed by a short account of the private life of Demosthenes, he treats of his public life at great length, under four heads (see 3). He occupies the remainder of his time in the discussion of various matters, aiming in all to show the falseness of the terms used by Ctesiphon. He urges the judges not to allow Ctesiphon to call on Demosthenes to plead his cause; or, if they permit Demosthenes to speak at all, to compel him to follow the same order of argument in the defence which he has himself adopted in the attack. This last would have compelled Demosthenes to reply in the beginning to the strong argument of Aeschines on the illegality of crowning a responsible magistrate; this Demosthenes has no idea of doing, as it would weaken his whole position before the court.

3. The argument of Aeschines, briefly stated, is as follows:

I. Prooemium: §§ 1—8.

II. Argument on the responsibility of magistrates: §§ 9—31.

III. Argument on the place of proclamation: §§ 32—48.

IV. Review of the Life of Demosthenes (§§ 49—167):—

1. Introduction: §§ 49, 50.

2. Private life of Demosthenes: §§ 51—53.

¹ See Aesch. III, 49, 237, Dem. Cor. 57, where the genuine decree professes to be quoted.

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the charges "foreign to the indictment" (ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς, § 34) which Aeschines has brought against him; and to these he proposes to reply before he comes to the charges which properly belong to the case. Under this head he puts the charges relating to the Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.), and he proceeds at once to deal with the negotiations which led to this event. He would never have thought of omitting this important matter, in which later events had triumphantly vindicated his own course of action; and his indignation at Aeschines for bringing it into the case is all feigned. He is thus able to tell the story of this important period of his public life before he begins the real argument (as he represents it), even before the reading of the indictment. This has the effect of securing the goodwill of the court for himself and damaging the case of Aeschines in advance, by an eloquent harangue on a subject which (he claims) has been unfairly brought into the case (§§ 17—52).

5. After the reading of the indictment and a few general remarks upon this document, he proceeds (§§ 60—101) to a general defence of his policy of opposition to Philip, and of the course taken by Athens under his leadership before the renewal of the war with Philip in 340. He then speaks of his own trierarchic reform (§§ 102—109), and now (§ 110) declares that he has brought forward sufficient evidence to justify the language of Ctesiphon's decree in his praise. He states that he is here omitting the most important of his public acts (those concerning the alliance with Thebes and the other events which preceded the battle of Chaeronea), and he leaves it doubtful whether he will speak of these hereafter. He really has not the slightest intention of omitting these most important events, in which he gained the greatest diplomatic triumph of his life; but he postpones them until he can introduce them later as an offset to the acts of Aeschines done in Philip's interest, where the account of them forms the most eloquent passage in the oration (§§ 160—226). By this skilful plan he gains two important objects. First, he divides the account of his political life into three parts, and avoids wearying the judges by telling the whole story (covering eight most eventful years) in one continuous narrative, in which it would have been far less effective. Secondly, he succeeds in introducing his replies to the arguments *περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου* (§ 110) just after one exciting historic narrative and just before another, where they are least conspicuous, and where the weak-

ness of the reply on the *εὐθυναί* is soon forgotten amid the exciting events which led to Chaeronea. The three courses of events thus divided are so naturally distinct, that nothing is lost by their division to be compared with the double gain.

6. The following is the course of the argument in the oration on the Crown¹.

I. Prooemium : §§ 1—8.

II. Reply to charges foreign to the indictment (§§ 9—52) :—

1. Introduction : § 9.

2. Charges against private life : §§ 10, 11.

3. Public policy (§§ 12—52) :—

A. Introductory : §§ 12—16.

B. Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17—52) :—

(a) Introductory : § 17.

(b) Narrative : §§ 18—49.

(c) Conclusion : §§ 50—52.

III. Reply to the charges of the indictment (§§ 53—125) :—

1. Introductory : §§ 53—59.

2. Defence of his public policy (confined chiefly to the period from 346 to 340 B.C.) and of his trierarchic law : §§ 60—109.

3. Reply to charge of responsibility as a magistrate : §§ 110—119.

4. Reply to argument about the place of proclamation : §§ 120, 121.

5. Conclusion : §§ 122—125.

IV. Life and character of Aeschines : and his public policy in the interest of Philip, compared with his own agency in negotiating an alliance with Thebes against Philip (§§ 126—226) :

1. Parentage and life of Aeschines : §§ 126—131.

2. Lesser political offences of Aeschines : §§ 132—138.

¹ The subject of each of the seven main divisions is stated with greater detail in the notes where the division begins. See the remarks which precede the notes on §§ 1, 9, 53, 126, 227, 297, 324.

3. The Amphissian War, stirred up by the speech of Aeschines at Delphi (339 B.C.): §§ 139—159.
4. Negotiation of Theban alliance by Demosthenes (339—338 B.C.),—continuation of narrative interrupted at § 110. Into this account is introduced (§§ 189—210) a defence of the whole policy of Athens, under his leadership, in opposition to Philip: §§ 160—226.

With § 226 the defence of Ctesiphon, properly so called, is finished. The orator has reviewed his whole political life and has justified the language of Ctesiphon's decree; and he has replied briefly to the other charges of illegality. In the time which remains he discusses other matters suggested by the speech of Aeschines.

V. Replies to three arguments of Aeschines (§§ 227—296):—

1. Discussion of the comparison (Aeschines 59—61) of the case against Demosthenes to an account of money expended: §§ 227—251.
2. Reply to the remarks of Aeschines upon his “bad fortune,” and comparison of his own fortune with that of Aeschines: §§ 252—275.
3. Reply to the charge of being a crafty rhetorician: §§ 276—296.

VI. The Epilogue follows, in which he compares himself with Aeschines, protesting against the comparison of himself with the heroes of the past. There is also a recapitulation of some matters already discussed: §§ 297—323.

VII. The Peroration, in a single earnest sentence, is an appeal to the Gods for help to Athens in her humiliation: § 324.

Remarks on the Argument of §§ 120, 121.

(1) In these sections Demosthenes replies briefly, but with wrathful indignation, to the elaborate argument of Aeschines (32—48) about the place of proclamation. He simply quotes a few words from a law, which was read entire to the court, and then bursts out in triumphant invective against Aeschines for his audacity in suppressing the one important clause *in this law* in presenting it before the court. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the law presented by Demosthenes; but this must be authentic: *πλὴν εἰάν τις αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω.* It

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ὁ κήρυξ as the subject of the imperative. Now the last part of Aeschines 44 and ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος in 47 are the only real quotations from the Dionysiac law in Aeschines, and πλὴν ἐὰν τινὰς...ἀγορευέτω is evidently a quotation from the law read by Demosthenes (121). If we fit these together, we have the most probable reconstruction of the Dionysiac law as it was presented by Demosthenes, as follows:—μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενός, ἢ ἀτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα, πλὴν ἐὰν τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλή ψηφίσῃται, τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω. This might easily have been read to the court in opposition to the other law read by order of Aeschines; and, so far as we can see, Demosthenes was justified in assuming that μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενός referred to all who had crowns to confer, not excluding the Senate and the Assembly.

(4) This explanation becomes much simpler if we suppose that all the confused talk about the Dionysiac law in Aeschines is an addition to his speech made after hearing the reply of Demosthenes. It seems incredible that Demosthenes could ignore so elaborate an argument as that of Aeschines (35—48) in his reply and merely quote "the law" as if there were but one. The court would never have been satisfied with so contemptuous an answer, which took no notice of the account of the Dionysiac law which they had just heard.

One fact is now made certain by inscriptions: whatever may have been the letter of the law against proclamation in the theatre, such proclamations were very frequent at Athens in the fourth century B.C., and earlier and later. The law was a dead letter, and Demosthenes was justified in making light of this part of the accusation. See note on Cor. § 120^a.

II.

The γραφή παρανόμων.

I. The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, or *indictment for proposing illegal measures*, could be brought by any citizen against one who was charged with proposing a decree (*ψήφισμα*) which violated a law (*νόμος*), or with causing the enactment of a law which was opposed to an existing law without expressly providing for the repeal of the latter. The laws (*νόμοι*) of Athens were a comparatively fixed code, ascribed generally to Solon, but consisting of the original Solonic laws, enlarged and otherwise modified by succeeding enactments. These were

superior to the enactments of the Senate and the Assembly and were not subject to repeal or modification by these bodies. An enactment of the Senate and Assembly, the ordinary legislative bodies (in the modern sense of the term), was called a *decree* or ψήφισμα. This could legally contain no provisions which were opposed to a νόμος, and any such provision made it void. The γραφή παρανόμων was the simple but efficient process provided by the Attic law for causing an "illegal" decree or law to be annulled, and also for punishing the proposer. The mover, however, could be held personally responsible only for one year from the time of the proposal of a decree or the enactment of a law; after a year the decree or law could be attacked and annulled by the same process, while the mover was exposed to no risk. Whoever brought a γραφή παρανόμων was required to bind himself publicly by an oath (called ὑπωμοσία) to prosecute the case; after this oath was taken, a decree or law was suspended if it had already been enacted, and a decree which had passed only the Senate (a προβούλευμα) could not be brought before the Assembly for action until the suit had been tried and settled in favour of the defendant. (See note on Cor. § 103⁷.) It is probable that the γραφή παρανόμων could be brought against a νόμος only after its actual enactment, while it could be brought against a ψήφισμα at any one of three stages: (1) after its acceptance by the Senate, (2) after passing the Assembly, (3) after the lapse of a year from its proposal.

2. The distinction between a νόμος and a ψήφισμα at Athens was most important. A ψήφισμα was an enactment of the Senate and Assembly, which, if it was not in conflict with a νόμος, had the full force of a law. A νόμος could be changed only by an elaborate process, which was chiefly under the control of a court of law. In the first Assembly in each year a general question was put to the people, whether they would permit propositions to be made for changes in the laws. If the people voted to permit these, all who had such proposals to make were required to post them in the market-place, and the clerk of the Assembly read the proposals to the people in each of the two following meetings. In the last of these meetings (the third of the year), the people, if they saw fit, voted to refer the proposed changes to a special commission, called νομοθέται, chosen like an ordinary court (δικαστήριον) from those who were qualified to sit as judges for that year and had taken the Heliastic oath. The whole

proceeding before this board was conducted according to the forms of law. The proposer of the new law appeared as plaintiff and argued his case against the old law and for his own proposal, while advocates appointed by the state defended the existing law. The question of enacting the new law or retaining the existing one was decided by a vote of the *νομοθέται*, which, if favourable to the new law, made that one of the fixed code of *νόμοι*. It was strictly commanded by the Solonic law, that no new law should be enacted unless all laws opposed to it were expressly repealed; and, further, that no law should be repealed unless a new law were proposed, and accepted by the *νομοθέται* as suitable and fitting (*ἐπιτήδειος*) to take its place.

3. It was natural, as the democracy increased in power, that the distinction between decrees and laws should be neglected, and that the sovereign people should pass decrees which usurped the functions of laws and violated the spirit, if not the letter, of existing laws. Against this dangerous tendency the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was the only legal security. We cannot wonder, therefore, that this is extolled as the great stronghold of constitutional liberty, the chief protection of free government against lawless demagogues. Even Aeschines, who was doing as much as any man to degrade the process, speaks of it as we speak of the *habeas corpus*¹. It is significant that one of the first steps taken by the oligarchs who established the government of Four Hundred in 411 B.C. was the suspension of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*².

4. The principle upon which the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* is based must always be recognized wherever the legislative power is limited by a superior code of laws or a written constitution to which all its enactments must conform. In such a case the allegiance of every citizen is due, first and foremost, to the superior law, as the supreme law of the land, and he cannot legally be compelled to obey the lower enactment. But as each citizen cannot be allowed to decide for himself whether an act of the legislature is or is not in harmony with the superior law.

¹ See Aesch. III. 3—8: ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί. εἰ δὲ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ... προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες (5). See the whole passage.

² Thuc. VIII. 67: ἐσήνεγκαν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἀσκήμιον εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἢν ἂν τις βούληται. ἢν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. So Aristot. Pol. Ath. 29²⁸.

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this duty to the highest court in her judicial system. When we come to the details, the differences are more striking. The most serious fault in the Athenian process was its personal character as a criminal suit, which any citizen could bring directly before the court, and the liability of the defendant to be punished at the discretion of the court by a fine or even by death. This of course embittered the whole process, which tended to degenerate into a vituperative quarrel of rival litigants. This evil was to a great extent removed after the expiration of a year, when the process became a sober and dignified trial of a legal question, the nominal defendant being now exposed to no personal risk. We may fairly compare the arguments addressed to the judges in such cases (as in that of Leptines), after making due allowance for the composition of the court, with those addressed to modern judges in similar cases.

7. Even in the ordinary criminal process we notice a marked difference between the older cases of *γραφὴ παρανόμων* in which Demosthenes appears as counsel for the plaintiff and the process against Ctesiphon as it is managed by Aeschines. The speeches of Demosthenes against Androtion (355 B.C.), Timocrates (353—352), Aristocrates (352), like that against Leptines (355), are in great part legal arguments of high character, showing great legal knowledge, and delivered with dignity and authority. This is especially true of the discussion of the Draconic law of homicide in the oration against Aristocrates (§§ 18—94), which is our chief authority for this important department of Attic law. But when we come from these legal arguments to the speech of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, we are struck at once, in the greater part of it, by the almost total absence of all that makes the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* worthy of its name. Aeschines devotes less than a tenth of his speech to a strictly legal argument, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as a magistrate; this is the strongest point in his argument, and he elaborates it with great skill and cogent reasoning. He also speaks more briefly of another legal point, the question of the place of proclamation; but this concerns a law of which we have very little knowledge. The greater part of the speech is taken up with a most absurd attempt to connect his general account of the public life and the character of Demosthenes with his legal argument. He charges the references to Demosthenes in Ctesiphon's decree, in which he is said to seek the best interests of Athens in all

that he says and does, with violating the law *forbidding the falsification of the public records!* It is absurd to suppose that the law in question had any reference to a case like this: for this would have exposed every personal compliment in a laudatory decree to public prosecution at any one's will. It clearly related to malicious and fraudulent falsification of the public records in the Metroon by adding, erasing, or changing. And yet this is brought forward soberly and earnestly by Aeschines as a legal argument in support of his indictment. Of course Demosthenes, as the defendant's advocate, was bound to reply to the plaintiff's argument, so that we cannot fairly compare this later with his earlier treatment of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. But the case against Ctesiphon, as Aeschines presents it, is in striking contrast to the cases against Leptines, Aristocrates, and others as Demosthenes presents them.

III.

The Suit against Ctesiphon.

I. Late in the year of Chaerondas (June 337 B.C.) Demosthenes proposed and carried a measure for permanent repairs of the walls of Athens. The hasty work done under the excitement of the defeat at Chaeronea had been only temporary. A commission of ten *τειχοποιοί*, one to be appointed by each tribe, was now established, to hold office during the following year, that of Phrynichus, 337—336 B.C.¹ Demosthenes was chosen by his own tribe, the Pandionis, to be one of this commission. The fortifications of the Piraeus were assigned him as his special charge, and he is said to have received ten talents from the state to be used in the work, to which he added a substantial amount on his own account, usually stated as a hundred minas

¹ Aesch. III. 27. As Ctesiphon's bill proposed to crown Demosthenes during his year of office, and as the bill was indicted shortly after it passed the Senate, the bill and the indictment belong to the year of Phrynichus (337—336). This agrees with the statement of Aeschines (219) that he brought the indictment before Philip's death (summer of 336), and with other data. This chronology was once hopelessly confused by the date in the spurious indictment in Cor. § 54.

(1½ talents). He also held the important office of superintendent of the Theoric Fund, which Aeschines says at that time included “nearly the whole administration of the state¹.” It was gratitude for his great public services in these offices and for his generous gift, together with the increasing confidence in his statesmanship and patriotism, which had recently been expressed in his appointment to deliver the funeral oration on those who fell at Chaeronea, that caused his political friends to propose to crown him in the theatre at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 336, as a mark of the public approbation of his whole political life.

2. Ctesiphon accordingly proposed a bill in the Senate to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown for his services and generosity in his two offices and for his life devoted to the interests of Athens. The bill passed the Senate at once, and it would doubtless have passed the Assembly with equal alacrity if it could have been brought to a vote there. Before it could be presented to the people, Aeschines brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon, charging his bill with illegality. This made it impossible to carry the measure further until the lawsuit was settled. For reasons of which we are not informed, but in which both Aeschines and Ctesiphon as well as Demosthenes must have acquiesced, the trial was postponed more than six years, until August 330. The destruction of the Persian Empire after the battle of Arbela (Oct. 1, 331 B.C.), when Darius was a fugitive and Alexander was at the summit of his glory, probably seemed to Aeschines a good occasion to revive his suit. He must have felt that no time could be more favourable for a judgment against Demosthenes; while Demosthenes naturally felt that shrinking from the trial would imply want of confidence in the goodwill of his fellow citizens, of which he was constantly receiving most flattering tokens. For these or other reasons, this famous case came before the Heliastic court, under the presidency of the six Thesmothetae, in the late summer, probably in August, 330 B.C.² We do not know the number

¹ Aesch. iii. 25, 26.

² We have several independent data which fix this time. (1) See Dion. Hal. ad Amm. i. 12 (p. 746): οὗτος (the speech on the Crown) γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον (the campaign of Chaeronea), ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφῶντος ἀρχοντος (330—329), ὀγδόῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην (338), ἕκτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευταίην (336), καθ’ ὃν χρόνον

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party to the suit was required to plead his own cause; or, if he called in advocates, as Aeschines summoned Eubulus, Phocion, and others to support him in the suit for false legation, to do this at the end of an elaborate argument of his own. But here, as Demosthenes was the real defendant, it would have been absurd to object to his arguing the case in full. That the procedure was unusual is shown by the audacious attempt of Aeschines to induce the court to refuse Demosthenes a hearing¹; and his argument shows that the court had a legal right to refuse to hear any except the parties to the suit. But the great audience had not come to hear Ctesiphon, and we hear of no further attempt to interfere with the argument of Demosthenes. The orator probably delivered his famous speech substantially in the form in which it has come down to us.

4. When the arguments were finished, the judges voted on the question of convicting Ctesiphon; and the result was his triumphant acquittal by more than four-fifths of the votes². This subjected Aeschines to the two penalties of malicious prosecution, a fine of a thousand drachmas, and partial *ἀτιμία*, which deprived him of the right to bring a similar suit hereafter³. This result mortified him so deeply that he withdrew from Athens and spent the rest of his life chiefly in Rhodes, where he is said to have been a teacher of rhetoric in his later

¹ Aesch. III. 202—205.

² Plut. Dem. 24: οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. Cf. Dem. Cor. 82, 266.

³ Harpocr. under *ἐάν τις*: ἐάν τις γραψάμενος μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὀφλισκάνει χιλίας καὶ πρόσεστιν ἀτιμία τις. Theophrastus (in Schol. to Dem. p. 593, 24 R.) adds to this (explaining *ἀτιμία*) οἷον τὸ ἐξεῖναι μῆτε γράψασθαι παρανόμων μῆτε φαίνειν μῆτε ἐφηγεῖσθαι. But see Andoc. I. 76, ἑτέροις οὐκ ἦν γράψασθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐνδείξαι, where *γράφασθαι* seems to include all *γραφαί*. See also [Dem.] XXVI. 9, ὅταν τις ἐπεξιῶν μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ γράφεσθαι μηδ' ἀπάγειν μηδ' ἐφηγεῖσθαι. These quotations leave the precise nature of the partial *ἀτιμία* somewhat uncertain. But Theophrastus seems to mean that the *ἀτιμος* lost his right to bring the same form of ordinary *γραφὴ* in which he had been defeated (of which he gives the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as an example), or any one of the special forms of *γραφὴ* (in the wider sense), like *εἰσαγγελία*, *φάσις*, *ἐφήγησις*, etc. See the full enumeration of *γραφαί* in Pollux, 40, 41.

years¹. After such a decisive vindication of Demosthenes, there can be no doubt that his friends renewed in the Senate the bill for crowning him, and that this was promptly passed in both Senate and Assembly in time for the orator to receive his golden crown with enthusiastic applause at the Great Dionysia of 329.

IV.

The trials of Aeschines and Philocrates for misconduct in making the Peace of 346 B.C.

1. The trial of Aeschines in 343 B.C.² for his conduct on the second embassy, which negotiated the peace with Philip in 346, and the speech of Demosthenes as his accuser, have an important bearing on the discussions of the peace in the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes thirteen years later. The suit against Aeschines was technically called *εὐθυναί*, i.e. a process arising from the *εὐθυναί* or

¹ Plut. Dem. 24: *εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾤχετ' ἀπιῶν, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε*. Vit. x. Orat. 840 D: *ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν*. While teaching at Rhodes, Aeschines is said to have read his speech against Ctesiphon to a Rhodian audience; and when all were astonished that he was defeated after so eloquent a plea, he replied, *οὐκ ἂν ἐθαυμάζετε, Ῥόδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἠκούσατε*. Vit. x. Orat. *ibid.* Other versions of the story give his answer, *εἰ ἠκούσατε τοῦ θηρίου ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἠπόρητο*. See Phot. Bibl. No. 61.

² Dionys. ad Amm. 1. 10 (p. 737), under the archonship of Pythodotus (343—342): *καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους*. Hypoth. 2, § 11, to Dem. XIX.: *μαθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τῶν Φωκέων ἀπώλειαν, ... μετὰ τρία ἔτη εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσων Αἰσχίνου*. It has often been doubted whether the case ever came to trial, chiefly because of a doubt of Plutarch (Dem. 15), *ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἄδηλον εἰ λέλεκται*. *καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνas τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν*. For Plutarch's objection, that neither orator mentions the trial in the speeches on the Crown, see note on Cor. 142^b. See also note 3, p. 277.

scrutiny which Aeschines, as an officer of state, was required to pass before he could be relieved of his responsibility as an ambassador¹. Within thirty days after the return of the second embassy to Athens (13 Scirophorion, 7 July, 346), Aeschines must have presented himself for his εὐθυναί. Demosthenes and Timarchus, with perhaps others, there appeared against him with a γραφή παραπρεσβείας, an *indictment for misconduct on an embassy*². The presiding Logistae, who had the presidency also in this suit, would naturally have brought the case at once before a Heliastic court. But before this could be done, Aeschines challenged the right of Timarchus to appear as an accuser in the courts, on the ground that he had once led a shameless life (αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκέναι). He served upon him publicly an ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας, i.e. a summons to appear at a δοκιμασία ῥητόρων, an investigation of his right to appear as a ῥήτωρ³. He charged him with ἐταίρησις and also with squandering his paternal estate, both of which disqualified a man from appearing as a speaker in either the Assembly or the courts of law. This case came to trial early in 345 B.C., and Timarchus was easily convicted. Aeschines then delivered the first of his three orations. This result suspended the case against himself for a time; and by disgracefully disqualifying one of his accusers, discredited the case in the eyes of the people. It is strange that such a man as Timarchus was allowed to be associated with Demosthenes in so important a political suit, and it soon appeared that this was a most fatal mistake.

2. This mortifying rebuff put off the trial more than two years. In the meantime the friends of Demosthenes prepared the way for a renewal of his suit against Aeschines, by a state prosecution of Philocrates for treasonable conduct in negotiating the peace which bore his name. Early in 343 B.C. Hyperides brought before the Senate of Five Hundred an εἰσαγγελία against Philocrates, charging him with

¹ See Dem. XIX. 17, ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης, ἥσπερ εἰσὶν αἱ νῦν εὐθυναί, and 82, 133, 256.

² Hypoth. 2, § 10, το Dem. XIX.: ἐπέστη Τιμαρχος καὶ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσοντες τούτου.

³ Aesch. I. 19, 20, 28—32: τίνας δ' οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν; τοὺς αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκότας· τούτους οὐκ ἐᾷ δημηγορεῖν.—δοκιμασία ῥητόρων, εἴαν τις λέγῃ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸν πατέρα τύπτων ἢ τὴν μητέρα...ἢ πεπορνευμένος ἢ ἡταιρηκῶς,...ἢ τὰ πατρῶα κατεδηδοκῶς. Cf. I. 154.

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3. This triumphant success inspired Demosthenes with new hopes for his own suit against Aeschines. This came to trial after mid-summer in 334 B.C. when Demosthenes and Aeschines delivered their speeches *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*. The court probably consisted of 1501 judges; and the Logistae presided, as the case still belonged to the *εὐθυναί* of the second embassy, for which Aeschines was still *ὑπεύθυνος*. Demosthenes brings his accusation under five heads, covering the five points on which an ambassador should be called to account at his *εὐθυναί*. These are (1) *ἧν ἀπήγγειλε*, (2) *ἧν ἔπεισε*, (3) *ἧν προσετάξετε αὐτῷ*, (4) *τῶν χρόνων*, (5) *εἰ ἀδωροδοκῆτως ἢ μὴ* (or *τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ*). In his elaborate argument he strives to prove that Aeschines (1) made a false report, (2) advocated pernicious measures on the ground of his report, (3) disobeyed his instructions, (4) wasted his time, (5) acted corruptly, being bribed by Philip¹. The argument on these five heads occupies §§ 17—178, the remainder of the oration being chiefly given to general arguments tending to show the corruption of Aeschines and his collusion with Philip².

4. The reply of Aeschines, though eloquent and effective in certain passages, is weak and trifling as an answer to the powerful argument of Demosthenes. Though he denies some special statements, perhaps successfully, he says nothing which breaks the force of the main argument against himself. In cases in which we have other evidence, we sometimes find his most solemn assertions false or misleading³. He answers the grave charge of falsely reporting Philip's intentions by saying that he "only made a report and promised nothing⁴." He replies to the charge of joining Philip in the paeans and other rejoicings over the destruction of the Phocians by saying that, though he was present, he was only one of two hundred, and that Demosthenes (who was not present) has no evidence whether he sang with the chorus or not⁵ |

¹ Dem. XIX. 4—8, 177—179.

² See, for example, the argument in 106—110.

³ See Hist. § 28.

⁴ Aesch. II. 119. The best that Aeschines could say on this subject thirteen years later is seen in III. 79—83.

⁵ II. 162, 163: e.g. *καὶ τῷ γε δῆλος ἦν, εἰ μὴ γε ὡς περ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς προῆδον;*

5. He brought before the court his aged father, his two little children, and his two brothers, to excite pity¹; and he finally called on Eubulus, Phocion, and other influential men to come forward as his supporters². Eubulus addressed the court in his behalf, and probably urged prudential reasons for acquitting Aeschines. It might easily be thought by cautious men that the recent sacrifice of Philocrates was as much as it was safe to demand under the circumstances; and this, added to the influence of men like Eubulus and Phocion, probably saved Aeschines from conviction. We are told merely that he was acquitted by only thirty votes³; and this was no triumph—indeed, no justification—for a man in his position.

V.

The Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council.

1. Aeschines (II. 116) gives eleven of the twelve tribes which formed the Amphictyonic Council as follows: Thessalians, Boeotians (“not merely Thebans”), Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magnesians, Locrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians (i.e. the Achaeans of Phthiotis), Malians, Phocians. He professes to give twelve names, and it is generally assumed that the Dolopians are accidentally omitted. An important inscription recently discovered at Delphi seems to me to show clearly that the Delphians are the omitted people. Bourguet, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1896, p. 241, gives from this inscription a list of the Council at the time of Alexander. This has the Thessalians, “King Alexander,” Delphians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians (with Dolopians), Boeotians, Locrians, Achaeans (i.e. of Phthiotis), Magnesians, Aenianians, and Malians, each with two delegates. King Alexander now holds the two Phocian votes; the Aenianians represent the Oetaeans, of whom they were an important tribe; the Dolopians are included with the Perrhaebians; and the Delphians, who are constantly mentioned in the Delphic inscriptions relating to

¹ Aesch. II. 179, 180.

² Ibid. 184.

³ Vit. x. Orat. 840 c: ἐφ’ ἧ (πρεσβεία) κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ... συνειπόντος αὐτῷ Εὐβούλου, ... τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν.

the Council, are added. If we add the Delphians to the list of Aeschines, the two lists substantially agree.

2. Each of the twelve tribes had two votes in the Council, given by delegates called *ἱερομνήμονες*, two of whom were sent by each Amphictyonic tribe. But the Dorians, Ionians, and Locrians were geographically divided, so that each of two divisions had a single Hieromnemon with a single vote. Thus the two Dorian votes might be divided between the Spartans (with other Dorians of Peloponnesus) and the ancient Dorian Tetrapolis, near Parnassus; the Ionian votes between the Athenians and the other Ionians (in Euhoea and Asia Minor); the Locrian votes between the Eastern and Western Locrians. Aeschines explains that each tribe had the same representation with two equal votes. The Hieromnemon of Athens was chosen each year by lot: see Arist. Nub. 623, λαχῶν Ὑπέρβολος τῆτες ἱερομνημονεῖν.

3. Besides the twenty-four Hieromnemons, certain towns sent another class of delegates, called *πυλάγοροι*, who appear to have had the right to speak, but not to vote, in certain meetings of the Council. They represented the towns which sent them, not the tribe as a whole. Athens sent three, chosen by the people apparently for each Amphictyonic meeting. The meeting at which Aeschines made his inflammatory harangue, which stirred up the Amphissian War, appears to have been one of the *ἱερομνήμονες* exclusively, which Aeschines, as a *πυλάγορος*, attended by special invitation of the Hieromnemon and only as his representative, but with all his rights. See Hist. § 59.

VI.

The Hero Physician and the Hero Καλαμίτης.

1. In Demosthenes XIX. 249 the father of Aeschines is said to have kept a school near the shrine of the Hero Physician (πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ); and in Cor. 129 his mother is said to have lived a shameful life near the shrine of the Hero Καλαμίτης (πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι), while his father is said to have been the slave of a schoolmaster near the Theseum (πρὸς τῷ Θεσείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα). Many scholars identify the two heroes, though on slight evidence. If the Hero

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might be explained by the figure lying flat on the ground, as Lucia describes it; and it must have been flat on its back, or the pointed quiver could never have been mistaken for a book. If it was covered by earth that only the front and the two hands, with the bow and the apparent book, were visible, it would have been a natural mistake to call it a *στήλη*. Indeed, any further exposure of the figure would at once have made the quiver visible. I therefore think there is sufficient evidence to identify this figure with the one seen by Lucia or his informant. See note on Cor. § 129^b.



Figure of Scythian Bowman.

VII.

The Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown.

1. The chief of all the mss. of Demosthenes, the basis of the present text, is Σ or S, of the tenth century, written on parchment, no. 2934 of the Greek mss. of the National Library of Paris. On its last leaf is written, in a hand of a later period, Βιβλίον μονῆς τῶν Σωσάνδρων, showing that it once belonged to a society of monks named after Sosander, who is not otherwise known. The manuscript first appears in Europe in the possession of Janos Lascaris, a learned Greek, who left Constantinople after the Turkish capture and was in high favour with Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. Lascaris was twice sent by Lorenzo to Greece and the neighbouring lands in search of manuscripts for the Medicean library. How rich a store he brought back to Florence may be seen from the curious manuscript now in the Vatican library, which was published by K. K. Müller in the Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen for 1884. This contains a wonderful list of 300 or 400 books which were "bought" for Lorenzo by Lascaris, and also a πίναξ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρως, ἃπερ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Among the latter we find Δημοσθένης, περγαμηνόν. The same volume probably appears in a list of the books of Lascaris made after his death at Rome in 1535. Here we find Δημοσθένης, παλαιός, no. 34 (corrected to 35). In the catalogue of the books of Cardinal Ridolfi, who is said to have acquired the books of Lascaris after his death, we find "35. Δημοσθένους λόγοι ξβ'," evidently the same book.

Ridolfi's manuscripts after his death came into the possession of Queen Catherine de' Medici. The title "Demosthenis Orationes" appears in a catalogue of the Queen's library, in the inventory of her goods after her death in 1589, and again in 1597 in the list of her books which had passed into the Royal library. The Codex Σ still has a splendid binding of red leather, bearing the united arms of France and Navarre and monograms of Henry IV., with the date 1602. From this time it appears in the various catalogues of the Royal library, until it was entered in the catalogue of 1740 with its present number 2934. We are therefore safe in assuming that Σ is one of the

manuscripts which Lascaris, as the envoy of the Medici, brought to Florence from Greek lands at about the time of Lorenzo's death in 1492; and it may have come from Mount Athos, as Dindorf asserted.

The manuscript is written with great care, in large square upright minuscules, which mark the transition from the uncial to the cursive text. It is unquestionably by far the best manuscript of Demosthenes, and with its recently discovered companion L it forms a distinct class, which preserves a purer and older text than any others. The passages are few in which Σ and L^1 are not decisive against all other MSS.

The photographic facsimile of Σ has brought this precious document within the reach of scholars in all parts of the world. This, with the reproductions of the Medicean Aeschylus, the Laurentian Sophocles, and the Bodleian Plato, is a special boon to American scholars.

2. L (Vömel's Laur. S), the new companion of Σ , is in the Laurentian Library at Florence (LVI. 9, no. 136). It is written by various hands. It contains orations VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XXII, XXIV., all written in the 13th century (with some parts of IX. and X. wanting), followed by XX., XVIII., XIX., in another hand of the same century, and further by XXIII. in another of the same age, and by XII. in a later hand. Orations I., II., and III., and the missing parts of IX. and X., are added by a much later hand. The older parts, as originally written (L^1), generally have the same purer form of the text which is in Σ ; but, though the two MSS. have a common archetype, L was not copied from Σ or descended from it. The second hand of L (L^2) generally agrees with the class represented by F and B. One interesting bond of union between the first hands of Σ and L is that both omit the same disputed passages in the Third Philippic.

3. A 1, Augustanus primus, formerly at Augsburg (whence its name), now no. 485 in the Royal Library at Munich, on parchment, of the 11th century, is generally reckoned as next in rank to Σ and L^1 . It is the chief basis of the text current before Bekker's study of Σ , the text as established by Reiske. It represents a text far below that of Σ and L in purity, and much corrected by grammarians.

4. A 2, Augustanus secundus, formerly at Augsburg, now in the Munich Library, is a paper manuscript of the 15th century. It has little distinctive character of its own.

5. F (or M) and Φ (or Q) of the 11th century, in St Mark's library in Venice, and B (or Bav.), Bavaricus, in Munich, of the 13th century

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GREEK INDEX

The references are made to pages, and relate especially to the notes.

A

- ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι 138
 ἀγάσαιτο 126
 ἀγνοία (ὧν ἐν) 38
 ἀγνωμοσύνη 54, 128, 155
 ἄγραφα νόμιμα 169
 ἀγών, *lawsuit*, 4, 8, 11. ἀγῶνα εἰσ-
 ελθεῖν 61
 ἀγωνία 23
 ἀγωνίζομαι 3, 60, 111, 126, 162
 ἄδειαν λαβεῖν 175
 ἀδίκημα, ἀμάρτημα, ἀτύχημα, distin-
 guished 168, 169
 ἀδικῶ as perfect 187
 ἄθως 76, 167
 αἰτία 5
 ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος 162
 ἀκονιτί 124
 ἀκούουσιν, *audiunt*, 30
 ἀκρωτηριάζω 182
 ἀλάστωρ 182
 ἀλιτήριος 100
 ἀλλὰ νῦν 118
 ἄμεινον πράττειν 157
 ἀμπνευστεῖ 190
 Ἄμφικτύονες 94, 96, 196. Ἄμφικτύοσι
 δόξαντα 99
 ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς 81
 Ἄμφισσέων δόγματα 89
 ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα 88, 108
 ἀναγκαιότατα (αὐτὰ τὰ) 78, 106
 ἀναισθησία, ἀναίσθητοι 24, 28, 79
 ἀναλαβεῖν 103
 ἀναληθσία, ἀνάληθοι 24, 28
 ἄν after comma 4; ἄν w. all past
 tenses of indic. 22
 ἀναπνεῦσαι 121
 ἀναφορά 137
 ἀνέδην 8
 ἀνευ, *besides*, 52
 ἀντανελεῖν 143
 ἀντί, *rather than*, 66
 ἀντωνούμενος (conative), *bidding*, 147
 ἄνω καθῆτο (in the Pnyx) 107
 ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν 67
 ἀξιῶ, *judge*, 157; ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι 5,
 23. ἀξιούσα as impf. 124
 ἀξίωμα 94
 ἀπήντηκα 12, 77
 ἀπλῶς 189
 ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέρειν ψῆφον 84
 ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; 95
 ἀπολύσασθαι 32
 ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις 136
 ἀπομάτων 160
 ἀπόνοια and μανία 153
 ἀποπεφευγότα 138
 ἀπόρρητα 75
 ἀποσιώπησις 3, 16, 121
 ἀποστολεῖς 65
 ἀπόστολος and ἀποστέλλω 47, 65
 ἀπόφασις (of Areopagus) 84
 ἀποψήφισις and ἀποψηφίζομαι 82
 ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος 149
 ἄρρητα 75
 ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις 116
 ἀρχιτέκτων (of theatre) 20
 ἄς μὲν...ἄς δέ 43
 ἄσπονδος πόλεμος 162
 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν 126
 ἀτιμώσαντες and ἀτιμία 48
 ἄττης ὑῆς 161
 ἀτυχηθέντα 132
 αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντάς 41; cf. 59

αὐτόματος θάνατος 127
 αὐτοτραγικός πύθηκος 149
 αὐτοῦ, *on the spot*, 65
 αὐτόχειρ 176
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (conative) 9, 128
 ἀφορμάς 144

B

Βαδίζω 4, 36, 163
 βακτηρία 131
 βαρεῖς 14
 Βάτταλος 113, 114
 βοᾶν 17. βοᾶς ἔχων 48
 βέλτιστα πράττειν 156
 βελτίω καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων 7
 βλασφημία and βλασφημῶ 7, 55,
 75
 βούλει θῶ; 113
 βουλομένῳ τι κί ἐστίν 8

Γ

γεγενημένον εἶναι 176
 γενόμενον w. ψήφισμα 113
 γέρρα (τά) 106, 107
 γίγνεσθαι, genuine, 81 (§ 130⁹)
 γιγνόμενον (τὸ), *μοῖα*, 63
 γράμματα 80
 γραμματεῖον ληξιαρχικόν 82
 γραμματεύειν 161
 γραμματοκύφων 130
 γραφήν (οἱ δίκη) διώκειν 155. —ἐλεῖν
 3. —γράφεσθαι 155. γραφή in
 παρtower sense 153
 γράφω, *propose, enact*, 5, 35, 186.
 γράφομαι (mid.), *indict*, 10, 49, 72.
 γέγραμμαι and ἐγράφη pass. of
 both γράφω and γράφομαι 35, 50,
 71, 72, 138. γράφειν παράνομα and
 γράφεσθαι παρανόμων 10, 72.

Δ

δειγμα 180
 δελεαζομένων 30
 δευτέρου κηρύγματος 49; cf. 73
 δῆμος used for Heliastic court 10
 δημοτικός 5, 74
 διὰ ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς (cond.) 32
 διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας 22 (cf.
 28)
 δι' ὧν and δι' οὗς 23
 δαιτηταί 111

διακονία 128
 διαμαρτύρομαι 29
 διαμετρημένη ἡμέρα 88
 διασύρω 19, 78, 136, 194, 198
 διατελῶ w. participle 1, 102
 διατύπωσις 106
 διαψήφισις and διαψηφίζομαι 82
 διδάσκειν γράμματα 80
 δίδοναι, ἐδίδουσαν, *offered*, 62, 63
 διῆγεν ὑμᾶς 52
 δίκαιον ἦν, *we ought*, 12
 δίκαιος εἶναι (personal), 4, 34. δίκαια
 5, 7
 δικαιοτέρα ἀξιούν 134
 δίκας ἐπάγειν 95, 153, 197
 διωβελία 20
 δοκιμασία 164, 274
 δόξαν, εὐνοίαν 54
 δύναμις 29, 65 (w. refer). *δυνάμεις*
 144
 δυναστεία 40, 167, 197
 δυοῖν θάτερον (without verb) 88
 δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν (ἐν τοῖν) 20
 δύσκολον 110

E

ἐγγράφεσθαι (εἰς δημότας) 161
 ἐγκλήματα ἐταράχθη 96
 ἐγκώμια 128
 ἐγνωσμαι always passive 142
 ἐθελοντής 41, 59
 εἰ w. ἔστι, ἦν, and ἂν ἔχοι 118
 εἰ w. fut. ind. and ἔάν w. subj. com-
 pared 110. εἰ w. opt. and ἔάν w.
 subj. compared 92, 93, 94
 εἰ γ' ἔγραφεν (for εἰ γέγραφεν) 47
 εἰ δοκοῖη...οὐδέν ἐστὶ 15
 εἰ εἶποιμι καὶ εἶπον 89
 εἰ ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν 60
 εἰ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσειε 127
 εἰμαρμένης θάνατος 127
 εἵνεκα 73, 91, 110
 εἶπε λέγων 32
 εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν 96
 εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβάλλεσθαι 41
 εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας ἀγειν 68
 εἰσαγγελία and εἰσαγγέλλειν 10, 275
 εἰσφορά 158
 εἶτε...εἶτε (after article) 15
 ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου 19, 40, 125, 126
 ἐκνήψει 89

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θιάσους 160
θεώρημα 41
θόλος 106
θρασυνομένη 85

I

ιαμβειογράφος and ιαμβειοφάγος 87
ἴδιαι καὶ δημόσιαι δίκαι 130
ιδίων (ἀπὸ τῶν) 75
ιδιωτῶν 29, 30
ιερομνήμονες 95, 239, Essay V.
ικετηρία (sc. ῥάβδος) 65
ἵνα w. perf. subj. 112
ἵπποτρόφος 196

K

καθ' ὑμῶν 134
καθαιρῶσιν (ἀν ψῆφοι) 141
κάθαρμα 79
καθαρμός 160
καθυφεῖναι 64
καὶ expr. parallelism 4, 35, 37
κακαγγελεῖν 165
κακία 15, 41, 54, 172
κακοήθης 8, 65
Καλαμίτης (ἤρως) 80, Essay VI.
καλῶς ποιεῖν 143
κάμνοντες, *patients*, 149
κατακλυσμὸν w. τῶν πραγμάτων 133
καταλιθώσαντες 126
καταλύω, *lodge*, 48
κατατυχεῖν 112
κατηγορία and κατηγορῶ 6, 11, 75
κατορθῶ w. accus. 174, 175
Κεφάλου (τὸ καλόν) 155
Κέων, τὰς (for Κλεωνὰς) 56
κίναδος 148
κιττοφόρος 161
κλείσιον 80
κλέμμα 22
κοινός 165
κομίσασθαι χάριν 70
κρατηρίζων 160
κτησαμένης, *acquired*, 56
κύκλω (τὰ) 56

Λ

λαγὼ βίος 163
λαρυγγίζων 180
λέγει and ἀναγιγνώσκει (of documents) 19

λεύκη 160, 161
λησταί 142
λητουργία (not λειτ.) and λητουργῶ, 61, 62, 65, 165
λικνοφόρος 161
λογισταί 71, 142
λόγον διδόναι (or λαβεῖν) 6, 38
λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων 192
λόγου κρίσις 140
λοιδορία and λοιδορεῖσθαι 5, 7, 8, 11, 75, 86
λοιπὸν ἦν 17

M

μακράν (εἰς) 25
μανία and ἀπόνοια 153
μάραθος, λεύκη 160, 161
Μαραθῶνι, locative, 129
μασχαλίζω 182
μεγαλοψυχία and μεγαλόψυχος 41
μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι 80
μέλλοντος λέγειν 84
μέρει or μερίδι (ἐν) 110, 180
μέρος (τὸ, or τὸ πέμπτον) τῶν ψήφων 61, 138, 164
μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος 189
μεταθέσθαι 111
μεταξύ (τὸν μ. χρόνον) 18
μέτριος 7, 78
μέχρι... ἀφ' ἧς 40
μέχρι τούτου ἕως 31
μὴ μεταδοῖεν (Σ) 52, 53
μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι 48
μήνυσις 82
μήτ' ἀν ᾤθηθη ῥηθῆναι 140
Μητρῶν 90
μικροῦ, *almost*, 96 (cf. ὀλίγου). μικροῦ δεῖν 166
μικροψυχία 166, 172
μισθωτός 33
μνησικακεῖν 54; as active 58
Μυσῶν λεία 43

N

ναύκληρος, figure of, 120
νεανίας 84, 192
νεβρίζων 160
νομιζόμενα (τὰ) φέρειν 149
νῦν, as *it was*, 97
νῦν and τότε, not temporal, 121, 124, 148

O

Οἰνόμαος 114, 149
 οἴχομαι w. partic. 27, 39
 ὄλα (τά) 20, 128, 171, 187
 ὄλεθρος 78
 ολίγου δεῖν 14 (cf. μικροῦ)
 ὀλολύξαι 160
 ὀμοίως, quite as well, 22
 ὀμωρόφιον 176
 ὀπηνίκα w. unreal cond. 11
 ὀπλίτην δ' ἱππέα 145
 ὄπλοις (τοῖς μὲν) 50
 ὄπλοις κατεστρέφετο 150
 ὄποι πεμφθείην and ὄποι ἐπέμφθην 29,
 150
 ὄποιουσδήποτε (rel.) 92
 ὄποστοσοῦν 190
 ὄρα μὴ ἦς 77
 ὄρθην (τήν) sc. ὄδον 67
 ὄρθῶς ἔχον 10
 ὄρκον ἀπολαμβάνειν and ἀποδοῦναι
 18, 19
 ὄομεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς (sc. ἀγκύρας) 172
 ὄς συνήδειν 40
 ὄτι before direct quotation 26, 109
 ὄτου δήποτε ἔνεκα 16
 ὄτω ἀπέκειτο 123
 οὐ γάρ; 84, 85
 οὐ...ἐνταῦθα 76, 77
 οὐδ' ἂν εἰς 41
 οὐδ' ἐγγύς 9, 57
 οὐδ' ὄσια 136
 οὐδ' οὕτως 124
 οὐδαμοῦ (temporal) 12, 16
 οὐδέ (sc. μόνον) 2, 54
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσαν (iter.) 137
 οὐκ ἦν...εἰ μὴ ποιήσῃς 91
 οὐκουν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς 191
 οὐκουν οὐδέ 172
 οὐσία and τίμημα 63, 158
 οὐτε, οὐτε, οὐτε, after οὐ 10
 οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω 103
 οὐχ ὄπως...ἀλλά 81
 οὐχ ὄρᾱς; and ὄρᾱς; 144, 164, 172
 ὄφθαλμὸν ἐκκόπτεσθαι 40, 41

Π

παιδαγωγεῖον 159
 πάντα ἦν (τινι) 28
 πάντα τὰ πολλά 121

πανταχοῦ, anywhere, 48
 πάντων, anything, 4
 παρὰ τοῦτο γέγονε 144
 παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι 67
 παράκλητοι 90
 παραπρεσβεία 88, 274
 παράσημος 149
 παραστῆσαι 2, 6
 παραταξάμενοι 129, 135, 176
 παρεδύετο 47
 παρεθέντα and προεθέντα 187
 παρείαι 161
 παρελθεῖν ὡς περ νέφος 116, 117
 παρηκολούθεις 102. παρηκολουθηκότα
 108
 παρών 16, 49, 71, 138, 147
 πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη 31
 πατρῶος ('Απόλλων) 89
 πείραν διδόναι 64, 121
 πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων 164 (cf.
 μέρος)
 πεπαῦσθαι 164
 περιβαλλόμενος 143
 περιδειπνον 177
 περιείργασμαι 44
 περιελθεῖν, περιέναι 95, 96
 περίεστιν 79. περιεῖναι χρήματά τω
 141
 περιδεῖν w. pres. or aor. partic. or
 infin. 39
 περιουσίας (ἐκ) 3
 περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς 78
 πλησίον δείξας 110
 πλίνθοι 185
 πόθεν; 30 (w. refer.), 89. πόθεν...
 ἀξιωθέντι; 33, 79
 ποιῶ and πράττω 4, 38, 151
 πολιτεῖαι (Aristotle) 39, 40
 πολιτεύεσθαι 86
 πολίτευμα 84, 85
 πολιτικά ταῖς πόλεσι 151
 πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ 191
 πολιτικόν 10
 πολλῶ ῥέοντι 85
 πομπεία and πομπεύειν 8, 75, 76. Cf.
 ἐξ ἀμάξης
 πονησάντων σκευῶν 120
 πρᾶξις, fortune, 196. πρᾶξιν καὶ συμ-
 μαχίαν 16, 118
 πράττω and ποιῶ 4, 38, 151
 πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας 101

προαίρεσις and προαιρεῖσθαι 9, 18, 65, 172, 177, 190, 196. προαίρεσις πολιτείας 36, 119. προαίρεσις καὶ πολιτεία 54, 194, cf. 180
 προβάλλεσθαι ἐλπίδα, συμμαχίαν, etc. 57, 121, 185, 186
 προβληθεῖς 94, 175
 προβολή 208
 προβούλευμα (of Senate) 6
 προβουλεύω 34, 107
 πρόεδροι 107
 προεθέντα and παρεθέντα 187
 προείλεσθε 84
 προεξιλεγμένα 145
 προθεσμία 76
 προτεσθαι 41, 44. πρόοιτο 157
 προκινδυνεύω 129
 προπίνω 182, 183
 πρὸς ἱστορίαν 91
 πρὸς τινι γίνεσθαι 110
 προσάγειν (πρέσβεις) εἰς ἐκκλησίαν 20
 προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ 10
 προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν 112. προσσχόντες τ. νοῦν 109
 προσθεμένην 126. προσθέσθαι 141
 πρόσχημα 112
 προτιθέναι 168
 προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε 37
 πρόφασις 140 (cf. 112)
 προώλεις 199
 πρυτάνεις 106, 107
 πυλάγοροι 94, 239, Essay V.
 Πυλαία 93

P

ῥαστώνη 137
 ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα 184
 ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα 123
 ῥήματα μιμούμενος 144
 ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα 75
 ῥητόρων ἀγών 140

Σ

σαλπικτής 107
 σεμνολόγου 83
 σεμνότης (of Aesch.) 24 (w. ref.)
 σεμνῶς 24, 81
 σῆτος ἐπείσακτος 51
 σιτώνης 153
 σκαιός 151
 σκευαγωγεῖν 25

σκηπτός 119
 σοφίζεται 140, 141
 σπάσματα 123
 σπερμολόγος 78
 στρεβλώσαντες 83
 στρεπτούς 161
 συγκαθήμενοι 90
 συγκρούω 14, 103
 συκοφάντης 117, 148
 σύμβολον 131
 συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας 135
 συμπνευσάντων ἄν (not -σόντων) 105, 10
 σύνδικος 83
 συνειλοχῶς 189
 συνεξέδωκα 166
 σύνταξις 145
 συντελής, συντέλεια 62, 63, 146
 συσκευωροῦμαι 159, 160
 συστειλαί 151
 σφετεριζόμενος 42, 58
 σωτηρίας (gen. of purpose) 60

T

τὰ πρὸς με 11
 τᾶν, ᾧ 191
 τάξει (ἐν) 10, 38, 195
 τάξιν ἔλιπον 109 (w. ref.)
 ταρασσεῖν (act. and pass.) 96, 98
 τειχίζω and τειχισμός 185
 τειχοποιοί, board of, 69, 269
 τετύφωμαι 8
 τί ἐδύνατο 18
 τί κακὸν οὐχί; 31
 τίθημι w. infin. in *or. obl.* 157. νόμος τιθεῖς 5
 τίμημα and οὐσία 63, 158
 τιμησαίμην ἄν (w. ἀντί and gen.) 133
 τίμησις 88
 τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; 108
 τίς ἦν (w. aor. partic.) 51
 τίς τίνος; 44
 τὸ δ' αἴτιον (without *δι*) 65
 τὸ δέ (without τὸ μέν) 89
 τὸ καὶ τὸ 149
 τὸ πόλει (or πόλεως) συμφέρον 20, 21
 τολμήσαι (opt.) 41
 τοσοῦτῳ (or τοσοῦτου) δέω 67
 τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν 111, 112
 τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους 88
 τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς (temporal) 34

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ENGLISH INDEX

The references are made to pages.

A

- Abydos 186
Achaean 146
Aeacus, Rhadamanthus, and Minos 78
Aegina 56
Aeschines: parentage and youth 79, 80, 211; as clerk 161, 211; as actor 114, 162, 163; opposes Philip w. Eubulus 211, 212; at Megalopolis 212; envoy to Philip 213, 221, 224, 226; suit ag. Timarchus 274; rejected as counsel in case of Delos 83, 84, 229; supports Python 85, 229; tried for *παρὰ πρεσβεία* and acquitted, Essay IV.; speech at Delphi (339 B.C.) 239—241; envoy (w. Demades) to Philip after Chaeronea 247; indicts Ctesiphon, trial of case and acquittal of Ctesiphon, Essay III.; voluntary exile at Rhodes 272; five periods of life 164; his two brothers 194
Aleuadae of Larissa, aided by Philip 31, 204
Alexander I. of Macedonia 125
Alexander the Great: born 203; destroys Thebes 27, 28, 254; demands Attic orators 28; receives crowns from Athens 196; dies at Babylon 254
Amphictyonic Council 94, 96, Essay V.; summoned by Philip in 346 B.C. 226; addressed by Aeschines 239—241
Amphipolis 42, 202, 203, 214
Amphipolitan War 15, 202
Amphissa destroyed by Philip
Amphissian War stirred up by 91—101, 103, 240, 241
Anacharsis 279
Anacoluthon 77
Anaxinus 85
Antiphon condemned 82, 229
Aphobetus, brother of Aesch.
Aphobus 206
Apollo, *πατρῷος* of Athens 89
Arbela, battle of 249, 254, 270
Arbiters, public 111
Arcadians 14
Areopagus 82, 83, 229
Aristides 145
Aristodemus 15, 210
Aristoleos of Thasos 122
Aristonicus 49, 73, 139
Aristophon 42, 102, 137
Aristotle quoted 40, 127, 169, 205; tutor of Alexander 2
Athens in 330 B.C. 197; death 254
Aristratus, of Sicyon 31, 111
Naxos 122
Artemisium 129
Assembly (Athenian), two *π* to discuss peace in 346 B.C. 221
Athenian Confederacy (New)
Athens and Philip at war (346—235—237)
Atrometus, father of Aesch. 70
Attic year 255, 256

B

- Battalus 113, 114
 Boeotians, *ἀναισθησία* and *ἀναλγησία*
 of 24
 Byzantium 47, 51, 53, 143, 202,
 233—236

C

- Callias of Chalcis 146, 231, 234;
 embassies to Pelopon. w. Demosth.
 234
 Callisthenes, decree of 25, 225
 Callistratus, heard by Demosth. 59,
 137
 Cephalus 137, 155
 Cephisophon 16, 45
 Cersobleptes 222
 Chaeronea, battle of 39, 150, 163,
 245, 246; panic in Athens follow-
 ing 246; measures of Hyperides,
 Lycurgus, and Demosthenes after
 246, 247; eulogy of Dem. upon
 heroes of 175, 176, 249
 Chares 91, 236
 Charidemus 69
 Chersonese 47, 201; ravaging of 87,
 235; Demosth. speech on 232
 Chios 145, 202
 Cirrha, plain of 94, 240
 Clepsydra 87, 88
 Climax, example of 113
 Clitarchus of Eretria 48, 231;
 killed 235
 Collytus 114
 Corcyra 145, 146
 Corinthian War 56, 57; battle of
 Corinth 57
 Corinthians 146
 Cos 202
 Cottyphus 96, 243
 Cresphontes 114
 Ctesiphon (envoy to Philip) 210, 213
 Ctesiphon (defendant in case of the
 Crown) 10, 35, 270, 272
 Curses in Senate and Assembly 80,
 81, 173
 Cyrsilus 126

D

- Decelean War 57
 Delian contest at Delphi 82, 84

- Delphi, temple of, pillaged by Pho-
 cians 203, 204, 212; destroyed
 about 373 B.C., rebuilt before 330
 B.C. 239. Inscriptions recently
 found 226, 227
 Demades, envoy to Philip 173, 175;
 peace of 248
 Demomeles 139
 Demosthenes: birth 205; father's
 death 205; under guardians 205;
 consults Isaeus 206; suit against
 Aphobus 206; voluntary trierarch
 59; speeches ag. Androtion, Lep-
 tines, Timocrates, and Aristocrates
 206, 268; on Symmories and for
 Megalopolis 206; First Philippic
 37, 87, 181, 207, 209; speech for
 Rhodians 207; assaulted by Midias
 208; suit against Midias 208;
 Olynthiacs 209; twice Senator 210,
 251; envoy to Philip 213; speech
 before Philip 214; 2nd embassy to
 Philip 221—223; ransoms prisoners
 222; Second Philippic 47, 87, 228;
 arrests Antiphon 229; speech on
 the Peace 228; opposes Python
 229, 230; discusses Philip's letter
 231; indicts Aeschines for *παπα-
 πρεσβεία* Essay IV.; opposes Philip
 in Euboea 231; mission to Corinth
 and Achaëa 232; speech on Cher-
 sonese 232; Third Philippic 233;
 embassy to Byzantium 233; em-
 bassies to Pelopon. (w. Callias) and
 formation of league ag. Philip 234;
 frees Euboea from tyrants 235;
 receives thanks and crowns from
 Byzantium and Perinthus 236, 237;
 trierarchic reform 61—66, 237;
 speech after seizure of Elatea 109—
 113, 244; negotiations with Thebes
 244; energy after Chaeronea 246,
 247; delivers eulogy on the fallen
 175, 249; speech on the Crown
 249, Essays I. and III. Later
 events (330—322 B.C.) 254. Death
 at Calauria 254
 Dercylus 225
 Dexileos, monument of, w. inscrip-
 tion 57
 Diondas 138, 153

Dionysiac Theatre 20
 Diotimus 69
 Documents in text of Dem. 21, 34,
 114
 Dodona, oracle of 156
 Dörpfeld and Reisch on Dionysiac
 Theatre 20

E

Elatea, seizure of 90, 97, 103, 106,
 243, 244
 Embassies of Athens to Philip (346
 B.C.): First 213—215; Second
 221—223; Third (to Thermop.)
 224, 225, returns to Athens 225,
 sent again to Philip 225, 226
 Empusa, 81
 Epaminondas 14, 58, 201
 Epigram on heroes of Chaeronea (not
 genuine) 177, 178
 Epilogue, Aristotle on 183
 Euboea 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 145, 146,
 186, 202, 207, 231, 234, 235
 Eubulides, speech against 82
 Eubulus 16, 42, 102; w. Aeschines
 against Philip 210—212
 Euphraeus 231
 Euripides: Hec. 1—3 quoted 165;
 Telephus 43
 Eurybatus 17
 Eurydice (Philip's mother) 214

F

Foreign policy of Athens 37, 38, 191
 Fortune 128, 188; of Demosth. 164,
 167—169; of Athens 155—157

G

Gildersleeve cited 110
 Glaucothea, mother of Aesch. 81, 159
 Glaucus 194
 Grain imported by Athens 51
 Greek League formed by Philip 248

H

Haliartus, battle of 56
 Halonnesus 42, 230, 235
 Halus and Haliens 213, 214, 217, 222
 Harmosts and Decarchies of Lysander
 56

Hegemon 175
 Hegesippus 230
 Heliastic oath 2, 5, 74
 Hellespont 43, 143, 148
 Hero Καλαμίτης and H.
 79, 80, Essay VI.
 Hyperides 73, 83, 139, 1

I

Illyrians 29, 150
 Infin. w. τὸ 2, 50
 Iphicrates 58, 214
 Isaeus 206

K

Kings of Thrace 150

L

Lasthenes 31
 Leuctra, battle of 13, 58,
 "insolence" of Thebes
 Long walls of Athens de
 Lycidas 126
 Lycophron of Pherae 20
 Lycurgus (Athens) 20, 2
 Lynceus, verse of 165
 Lysander's governments
 Lysicles condemned 163

M

Mantineia, battle of 58,
 of 185
 Manuscripts of oration of
 Essay VII.
 Marathon, heroes of 129
 Mausolus of Caria 202
 Megalopolis 14, 58, 201, 2
 Megara 43, 56, 145, 146,
 Melantus 153
 Messene 14, 58, 201, 228
 Methone 203
 Midias 158, 208, 239
 Munychia 65
 Mysians 43

N

Nausicles 69

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R

Rhodes 202, 272
River battle 135, 245

S

Salamis 129. Ships in battle of 147
Scythian exped. of Philip 237
Senate and Assembly summoned by
Prytanes 106, 107
Serrhium, etc. 19, 42
Simonides, epigram on heroes of
Marathon 179
Simus of Larissa 31
Solon 5; poem of 156
Sosicles 153
Sparta invaded by Epaminondas 201
Statesman and *συκοφάντης* compared
117
Subj. and fut. indic. contrasted 110;
subj. and opt. 94
Symmories, leaders of 61, 62, 108
Symmories, speech on 13, 37, 206
Synod of allies of Athens 16; reso-
lution of 217, 218

T

Talent (Attic), modern value of 205
Tamynae, battle of 208
Taurosthenes of Chalcis 231
Telephus 43
Theagenes 185

Theatre, Dionysiac 20
Thebes after Leuctra 58; fee
Demosth. towards 13; c
of Thebes and Thessaly t
Philip in 339 B.C. 92, 238;
allied w. Athens in 339 B.C.
Athenian army in 133, 13
destroyed by Alexander 13, 27
Themison of Eretria 59
Theoric fund 68
Thermopylae, Philip checked
69, 205, 206; surrender
Phocians 25, 225
Theseum 79, 278
Thrace, kings of 150
Thracian gold mines 19
Thrasybulus of Collytus 137
Timarchus, trial of 274
Timolaus 31
Toxaris 79; see Essay VI.
Triballi 29, 237
Tribute of Athens 145
Trierarchs 59, 63. Trierarc
form of Dem. 61—66
Tromes (Atrometus) 81

W

War between Philip and
(Amphipolitan) 15, 202, 2
newed in 340 B.C. 44, 45, 23
Winter battle (339—338 B.C.)
135, 245.