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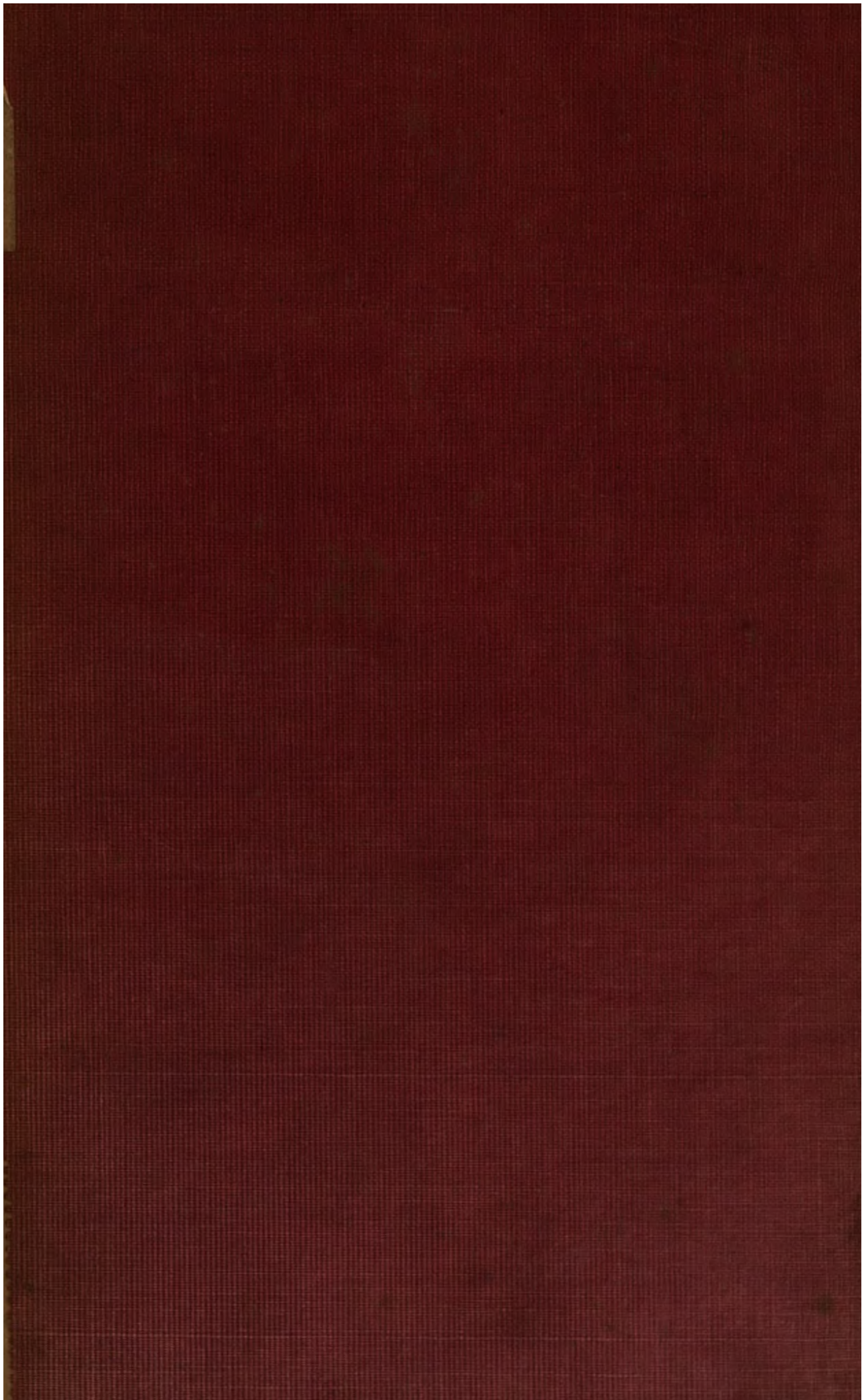
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PROSPECTUS
OF THE
THEOLOGICAL CRITIC,
A QUARTERLY JOURNAL,

EDITED BY THE REV.
THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.
RECTOR OF LYNDON,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE principal object I have in view in editing this Journal is the furtherance of Biblical Criticism :—a most important branch of Theological Literature, which has been of late years all but entirely neglected in England.

The Journal will embrace Theology in the widest acceptation of the term, as comprehending the Criticism of the Sacred Text, Ecclesiastical Biography, the History of Natural and Revealed Religion, the History and Criticism of Dogmatic Theology, the History and Constitution of the Church, and the Constitution, Discipline, and Doctrines of particular Churches, and of Dissenting and Heretical Communities. The kindred subjects of Morality and Polity will also be occasionally introduced ; and, from its importance to Biblical Criticism, even Classical Literature will not be entirely excluded. I am very anxious to give the Work a *permanent* value, by so arranging the subjects discussed, that in the course of a few years nearly all the Doctrines of primary importance, especially those which are still agitated in the controversies that disturb the peace and destroy the visible unity of the Church, may have received a full discussion in its pages.

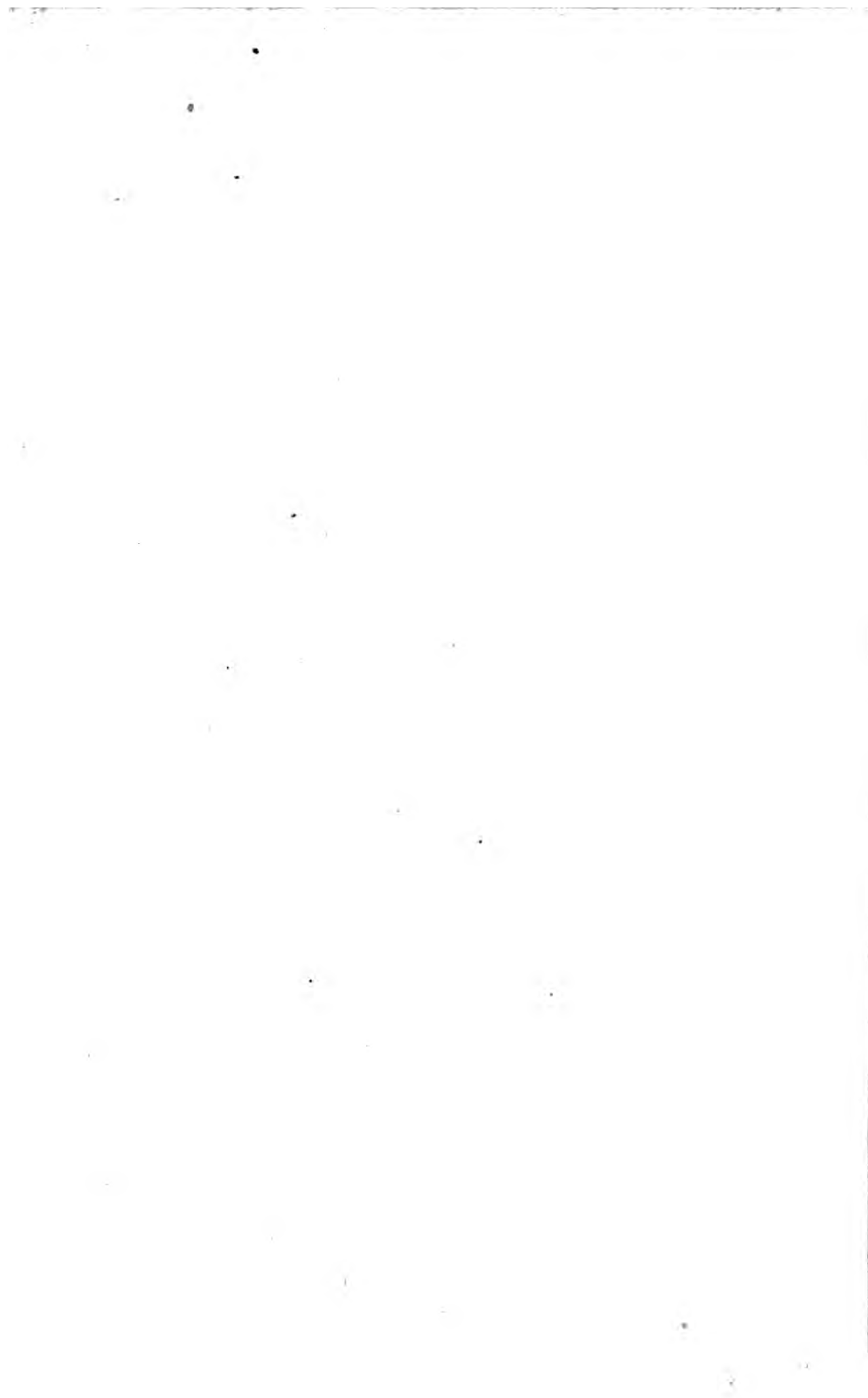
In using the abundant and valuable treasures of German Theology, it will be my endeavour to introduce *nothing*—except for refutation or warning—that cannot stand the test of sound criticism, as both founded and conducted on the principles of Christian *Faith*. In publishing my name as the responsible Editor of the Work, I give a pledge that I shall not willingly and intentionally allow any article or statement to appear in its pages in violation of Christian charity, candour, or courtesy.

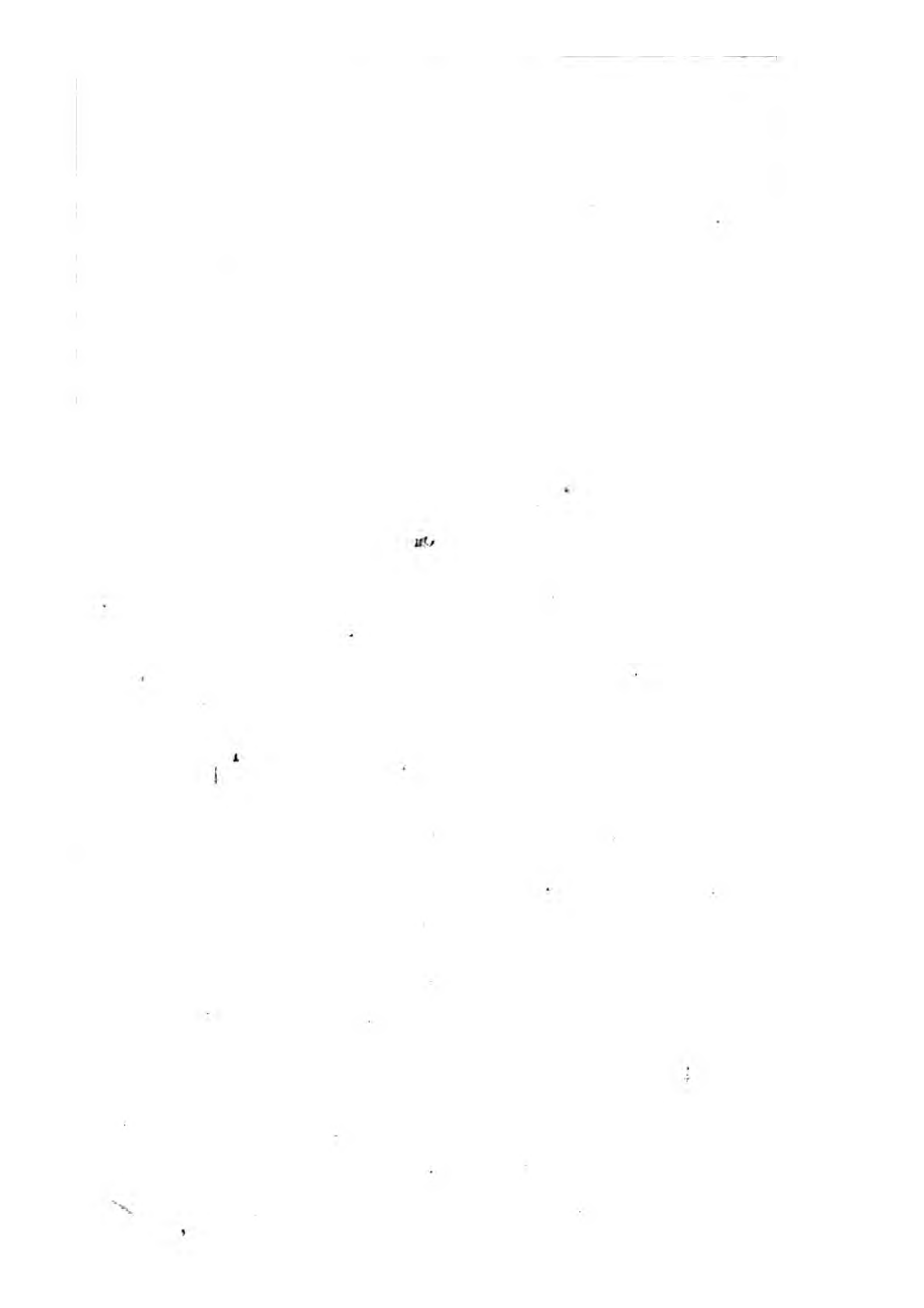
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WITH
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BY
J. T. CHAMPLIN,
PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND LATIN IN WATERVILLE COLLEGE.

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, INCLUDING THOSE OF
PRESIDENT WOOLSEY,
BY THE REV.
THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M.A.
RECTOR OF LYNDON,
AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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TO
CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON, LL.D.

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

THIS CONTRIBUTION

TO THE ILLUSTRATION OF ATTIC ORATORY

IS INSCRIBED,

AS AN EXPRESSION OF FRIENDSHIP

AND A MEMORIAL OF CONGENIAL STUDIES,

BY

THE EDITOR.

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PREFACE.

IN bringing before the public the productions of the rival orators in this most famous contest for the Crown, I have not followed the chronological order, but the order of pre-eminence and demand; so that, as in many other things, "the last has become first, and the first last." While the name of Æschines has undoubtedly been ennobled by its association with that of Demosthenes, in this and the other contests left on record, at the same time he has unavoidably suffered from so close proximity to a superior luminary. The acknowledged position of Demosthenes as the first of orators, and the reputation of his Oration on the Crown as the first of his orations, have cast into comparative obscurity the scarcely less able¹ production of Æschines, and led to the inconsistency, in nearly all of our colleges, of reading the defence without having previously read the attack. In accordance with this practice of our colleges (a practice, to be sure, inconsistent in itself, but which, I think, no wise teacher would recommend to be generally abandoned, unless both the Orations can be read), the Oration of Demosthenes was first published, and is now followed by that of Æschines.

The two Orations, though not intended necessarily to be bound together, have been edited with mutual reference to each other, and with the same general object in view. The aim, in each case, has been, to give a plain and unpretending exposition of the sentiments of the author, based upon philological principles, and illustrated by the requisite historical and archæological information. It has

¹ [Surely this praise is *far* too strong.]

not, however, been attempted to do this in an exhaustive way, so as to leave no difficulties to be overcome by the student, but sufficiently to encourage effort, and furnish the means of success to the diligent and persevering. To what has sometimes been called "the higher criticism," such as is displayed in ingenious interpretations, bold conjectures, and happy emendations, this book makes but little pretension. The editor will be satisfied if it shall be thought to contain a fair amount of common sense, guided by a competent knowledge of the Greek language in interpreting the thoughts of a great orator, who lived more than two thousand years ago, and bringing them into connexion with thoughts and things as they now are. The classics are too often read as some tale of a far-off, enchanted land, beautiful and entertaining, to be sure, but having no possible connexion with what is now passing on the earth. Happily the tendency of the labours of recent editors has been to dispel this illusion, by exhibiting them as a field of useful as well as of entertaining study; by treating them as productions of the human mind in its various workings; thus attaching them to human nature, and making them reflect it under some of its most interesting aspects. All honour to the men who, like Böckh in Germany, and Arnold [of Rugby] in England, have contributed to bring about this change!

This Oration is one of three which have been left by *Æschines*. They have been denominated "the three Graces," of which, undoubtedly, this is the crowning Grace. They were all made against Demosthenes, one directly in self-defence, in a prosecution for corrupt conduct on his embassy to Philip, and the others through third persons, Timarchus and Ctesiphon. Coming to a rupture on their second embassy to Philip, the two orators took directly opposite sides in the subsequent struggle with that crafty monarch; the one vehemently urging resistance to his encroachments, the other conciliation, if not submission. Their differences came out in the report of their proceedings made before the Assembly on their return from the embassy, and about three years afterwards, on occasion of *Æschines* passing the usual examination before the court

for his conduct on the embassy, were fully discussed, first in the preliminary trial of Timarchus, and then of Æschines himself; and finally reached their highest intensity and most indignant expression in this action against Ctesiphon. In this closing struggle, therefore, of the two orators, we have, at the same time, the best specimen of their individual power and relative strength. In gracefulness of style and cogency of logic, Æschines is fully equal to his rival; but his words are far less solemn and elevated, and his logic works by dryer formulæ, and within much narrower limits. With almost every quality of style deemed desirable in an orator, we yet miss the convincing earnestness, the fiery energy, as well as the magnificent sweep and flow of Demosthenes. Consequently, he is more trivial, more extravagant, more personal than his antagonist. There is a vein of extravagance which runs through many of his expressions and statements, which greatly injures the effect of the Oration; while I know of nothing in which it suffers so much, in comparison with the production of his rival, as in the more exclusively personal character which it wears. Demosthenes, it is true, exhibits personal feeling towards Æschines, and, speaking in self-defence, is necessarily somewhat egotistical; but, as Mr. Legare¹ has well said of his masterly production, "it is the grandest piece of egotism on record. Yet is the subject so dexterously, or, rather, so simply, so sincerely, so sublimely managed, that you forget the orator in the statesman, the statesman in the patriot, the patriot in his country; which seems to have engrossed, penetrated, transformed, and elevated his whole being."

As to the merits of the main question at issue between the two orators—the integrity and policy of the course which they had respectively pursued towards Philip—it is difficult positively to decide. It is possible that the policy of Æschines, which was, at the same time, the policy of a large party, at whose head stood the accomplished Isocrates and the stern and incorruptible Phocion, was dic-

¹ "Demosthenes, the Man, the Statesman, and the Orator," Writings, vol. ii. p. 481.

tated by a real though mistaken regard for the interests of his country, supposing that conciliation would be more effectual than resistance. But, considering all the known facts of the case—the sudden change of his feelings towards Philip after the first embassy, his subsequent connexion with the Macedonian party through all the course of Philip's aggressions, even to the downfall of his country, and many other suspicious circumstances urged by Demosthenes in his reply and the Oration on the False Legation—it can hardly be doubted that there was something criminal in his connexion with Philip. That his course was unpatriotic is involved in the very nature of the case, since he sided with the conqueror of his country. And though we need not believe him to have been, what the rival orators mutually charge each other with being, the guilty cause of all the evils of his country (ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος), still his name must always rest under some suspicion.

It now only remains for me to say, that the text of this edition is that of W. Dindorf¹, with such slight alterations as seemed to be required alike by the sense and manuscript authority. I have constantly consulted the edition of Bremi, as well as the collection of Notes, Scholia, and Various Readings, contained in Dobson's edition of the Attic orators, and adopted from them whatever seemed to my purpose. Thankful for the encouragement and assistance of many valued friends, both in the present and previous editorial labours, and assured by the favour with which those labours have thus far been received, I venture to add this little volume to those already before the public.

¹ [The text of *this* edition is Baiter and Sauppe's. T. K. A.]

WATERVILLE COLLEGE,

January, 1850.

PREFACE

TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

PROFESSOR CHAMPLIN'S edition of this Oration was reviewed with great ability by President Woolsey, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of July, 1850. "Mr. Champlin," says the President, "has adopted a reputable text; he has explained all the difficulties which demanded an explanation from his hands, and is usually *au courant* of Grecian antiquities."

On procuring the work I found that it deserved this character; and as my reprint of Baiter and Sauppe's admirable text had already been for some years waiting for its notes, I resolved to introduce those of the American editor and his able critic to the English public. I felt myself at liberty to do this without any hesitation, both because I found that the work was quite unknown in England—I had some difficulty in procuring it, even by a special order—and, still more, because I learnt from the advertisements at the end of it, that Professor Champlin has himself—as he was quite at liberty to do—edited American editions of several works of mine.

The additions of President Woolsey, as well as my own,

are enclosed in crotchets, those of the former having the letter *W*. appended to them. I have substituted references to Mr. Jelf's Grammar and my own two Grammars, for those of the American edition; and here and there have made a slight verbal change, where I *felt quite sure* that the original editor would now wish it to be made.

I may mention that the Lists of Words in this and my other recent editions, are arranged in parallel columns, that, in an examination, the words may be taken in several *different orders of succession*; which will be accomplished if the examiner begins at different points (*e. g.* at the *top* or *bottom* of this or that column), and proceeds in different directions; sometimes *up*, sometimes *down* the columns; sometimes *horizontally* from left to right, or right to left; and that, *ascendendo* or *descendendo*.

T. K. A.

LYNDON,
July 12, 1851.

ERRATUM.

Page 50, line 12, for *μέλλον* read *μέλλων*.

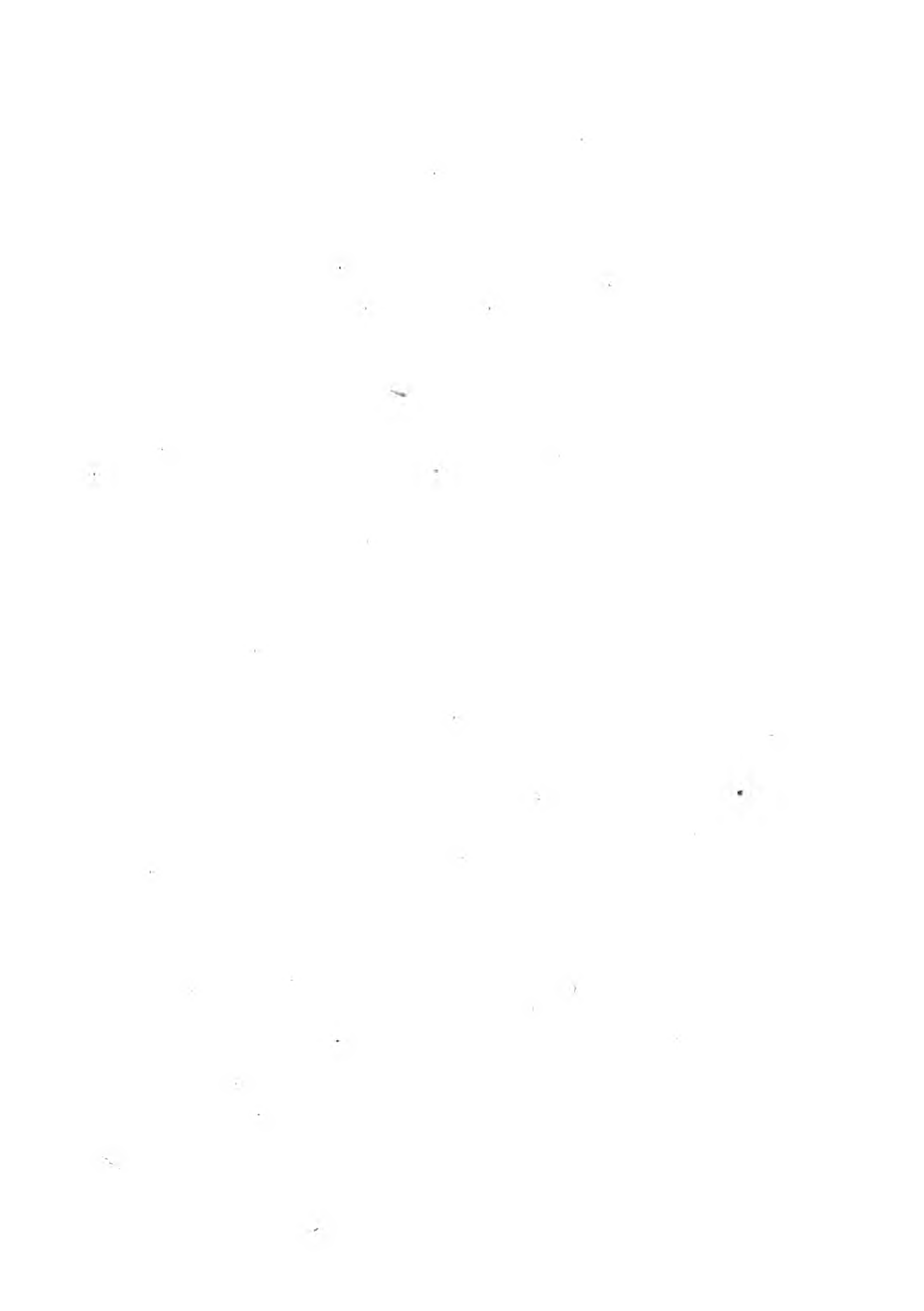
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2	9	55	35	107	498
3	13	55	36	pt. of 112	503
4	16	56	37	113	503
5	17	56	38	125	516
6	23	57	39	128	518
7	24	57	40	130	520
8	24	57	41	132	522
9	25	57	42	137	530
10	27	57	43	145	535
11	28	57	44	148	537
12	31	425	45	152	540
13	32		46	159	545
14	33	427	47	168	559
15	34	427	48	171	561
16	40	431	49	pt. of 176	
17	48	437	50	177	567
18	49	438	51	183	572
19	51	440	52	186	575
20	58	445	53	189	578
21	62	450	54	190	
22	69	458	55	191	580
23	71	460	56	201	589
24	pt. of 75	465	57	214	609
√ 25	76	466	58	215	610
26	77	467	59	228	619
27	79	470	60	230	623
28	84	478	61	234	626
29	85	478	62	236	628
30	94	486	63	241	634
31	102	494	64	242	634
32	103	494	65	255	645
33	pt. of 105		66	260	648



ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ

ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κτησιφῶν ἔγραψε ψήφισμα στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανία χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν, ὅτι διατελεῖ τὰ ἀριστα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράψατο Αἰσχίνης παρανόμων, καὶ εἰσάγει κεφάλαια γενικὰ τρία, ἐν μὲν ὅτι ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐστεφάνωσε τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπεύθυνον ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν, περὶ οὐσίας, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀνεκέρυξε τὸν στέφανον ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου μηδένα στεφανοῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, περὶ ποιότητος, τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἔγραψεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι· οὐκ εἶναι γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην, οὐδὲ ἀξίον τοῦ στεφάνου. Καὶ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ παράνομον ἀνακτέον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ κωλύων τὰ ψευδῆ γράφειν ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν· ἔστι δὲ περὶ ποιότητος. Ὑποφοράς δὲ λαμβάνει τρεῖς· πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον δισσωῶς ἐροῦντος Δημοσθένους, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρχων οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἀρχὴ ἢ τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομῇ ἀλλὰ διακονία τις καὶ ἐπιμέλεια, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρχή, τῷ γε ἐπιδεδωκέναι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μηδὲν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν ὑπεύθυνος, περὶ ποιότητος ἀμφοτέρως· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αἰσχίνης εἰσάγει στοχαστικὸν κεφάλαιον, οὐ μέντοι κατασκευάζει· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἶχε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τοῦτο δέκα τάλαντα, περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον κεφάλαιον παρεχομένου Δημοσθένους νόμον ἕτερον, κελεύοντα ἀνακηρύττειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἂν ψηφίσσῃται ὁ δῆμος, Αἰσχίνης οὐ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, περὶ οὐσίας. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τρίτον πολλὰ κατὰ μέρος. Οἶεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην εἰς τέσσαρας καιροὺς διγρηκέναι τὴν ἀπολογία, τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἕκαστα εἰς τούτους μερίσαντα. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φησιν εἶναι καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρώτου τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γενομένου, δεύτερον δὲ τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειας ἥττης, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολιτευμάτων. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ

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

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

Ἡ στάσις τοῦ λόγου ἐστὶ πραγματικὴ ἐγγραφος, ὡσπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου. Τὰ δὲ κεφάλαια δηλονότι τῆς πραγματικῆς περιέχει ἅ περ καὶ ἐκεῖ, οἷον τὸ νόμιμον τεμνόμενον εἰς τρεῖς νόμους, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον εἰς τέσσαρας καιροῦς. “Οὐρα δὲ πῶς ἐπιλογικῶς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ συνηγῶρων ἐκβολῆς, ὡσπερ καὶ Δημοσθένης.

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

- 1 Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾶτε ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ἃ ὄση γεγένηται, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεήσεις, αἷς κέχρηνται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπιστευκῶς ἤκω πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν, ἡγούμενος οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν ἰσχύειν παρ' ὑμῖν μείζον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαίων. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὖν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν βουλήν τρούς πεντακοσίους καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ὀρθῶς διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Σόλων περὶ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων εὐκοσμίας ἰσχύειν, ἵνα ἐξῆ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ

πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι, σωφρό- A
 νως ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρελθόντι ἄνευ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἐξ
 ἐμπειρίας τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ πόλει συμβουλεύειν, δεύτερον δ'
 ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν βουλόμενον καθ' ἡλικίαν
 χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει περὶ ἐκάστου γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὕτω
 γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε πόλις ἄριστα διοικεῖσθαι αἶ τε κρίσεις
 ἐλάχιστα γίνεσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα τὰ πρότερον ὡμο-
 λογημένα καλῶς ἔχειν νυνὶ καταλέλυται, καὶ γράφουσί τέ
 τινες ῥαδίως παρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦτα ἕτεροὶ τινες τὰ
 ψηφίσματα ἐπιψηφίζουσιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ δικαιωτάτου τρόπου
 λαχόντες προεδρεύειν ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἂν B
 δέ τις τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ὄντως λάχῃ κληρούμενος προ-
 εδρεύειν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύῃ, τοῦ-
 τον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν κοινὴν οὐκέτι ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι
 ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγέλλειν, καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ
 δυναστείας ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ
 τῶν νόμων καταλεύκασι τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ' ὀργῆς
 κρίνουσι, σεσίγηται μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον
 κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ
 πενήτηκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων
 Ἀθηναίων,” τῆς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀκοσμίας οὐκέτι κρατεῖν C
 δύνανται οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι οὔθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις οὔθ' οἱ πρόεδροι οὔθ'
 ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλὴ, τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς πόλεως. Τούτων
 δ' ἐχόντων οὕτως, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει τοιούτων
 ὁποῖους τινὰς αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ἐν ὑπολείπε-
 ται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, εἴ τι καγὼ τυγχάνω γινώσκων, αἶ
 τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἢ
 τοῖς καταλύουσιν ἐπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ
 μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὧ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι πολιτεῖαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις,
 τυραννὶς καὶ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία, διοικοῦνται δ' αἶ μὲν D
 τυραννίδες καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, αἶ
 δὲ πόλεις αἶ δημοκρατούμεναι τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς κειμένοις.
 Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἕκαστος ἐπι-
 στάσθω, ὅτι ὅταν εἰσὶν εἰς δικαστήριον γραφὴν παρανόμων
 δικάσων, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλει τὴν ψηφὸν φέρειν περὶ
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρῤῥησίας. Διόπερ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο πρῶτον
 ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν ὄρκῳ, “ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς
 νόμους,” ἐκεῖνό γε εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι ὅταν διατηρηθῶσιν οἱ νόμοι
 τῇ πόλει, σώζεται καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία. Ἄχρη διαμνημο-
 νεύοντας ὑμᾶς μισεῖν τοὺς τὰ παράνομα γράφοντας, καὶ μηδὲν

- A** ἡγεῖσθαι μικρὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὑπερμέγεθες, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν τὸ δίκαιον μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, μήτε τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν συνηγορίας, οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον συνεργοῦντές τισι τῶν ῥητόρων λυμαίνονται τὴν πολιτείαν, μήτε τὰς τῶν ξένων δεήσεις, οὓς ἀναβιβαζόμενοι τινες ἐκφεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων, παράνομον πολιτείαν πολιτευόμενοι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αἰσχυνηθῆ τὴν τάξιν λιπεῖν ἢ ἂν ταχθῆ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν αἰσχυνηθῆτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἢν τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων φύλακες τῆς δημοκρατίας τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Κακεῖνο δὲ χρὴ διαμνη-
- B** μονεύειν, ὅτι νῦν ἅπαντες οἱ πολῖται παρακαταθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν διαπιστεύσαντες οἱ μὲν πάρεισι καὶ ἐπακούουσι τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως, οἱ δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων· οὓς αἰσχυνομένοι, καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὓς ὠμόσατε μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἂν ἐξελέγξωμεν Κτησιφῶντα καὶ παράνομα γράψαντα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀσύμφορα τῇ πόλει, λύτετε ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς παρανόμους γνώμας, βεβαιούτε τῇ πόλει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κολάζετε τοὺς ὑπεναντίως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολιτευομένους. Καὶν ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν ἀκούσητε τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι
- C** λόγων, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δίκαια καὶ εὖορκα καὶ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ψηφιεῖσθε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.
- 2** Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας μετρίως μοι ἐλπίζω προειρηθῆσθαι· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων οἱ κείνται περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, παρ' οὓς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο τυγχάνει γεγραφῶς Κτησιφῶν, διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἄρχοντές τινες τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς προσόδους διοικοῦντες, καὶ δωροδοκοῦντες περὶ ἕκαστα τούτων, προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς τε ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πόρρωθεν προκατελάμβανον τὰς εὐθύναις
- D** ἐπαίνοις καὶ κηρύγμασιν, ὥστ' ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰς τὴν μεγίστην μὲν ἀπορίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς κατηγορούμενους, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς δικαστάς. Πολλοὶ γὰρ πάνυ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ κλέπται τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ὄντες ἐξελεγχόμενοι διεφύγγανον ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων. Εἰκότως· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ οἶμαι οἱ δικασταί, εἰ φανήσεται ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει, τυχόν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ποτε ἀναγορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅτι στεφανοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου κλοπῆς ἕνεκα τὰς εὐθύναις ὠφληκῶς· ὥστε

ἠναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ περι τοῦ παρ- **A**
 όντος ἀδικήματος ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου. Κατ-
 ιδῶν δὲ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον καὶ μάλα καλῶς
 ἔχοντα, τὸν διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ
 στεφανοῦν. Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως εὖ προκατειληφότος τοῦ νομο-
 θέτου εὐρήνται κρείττονες λόγοι τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ τις
 ὑμῖν ἔρεϊ, λήσετε ἕξαπατηθέντες. Τούτων γάρ τινες τῶν
 τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανούντων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ μὲν φύσει
 μέτριοί εἰσιν, εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστι μέτριος τῶν τὰ παράνομα γρα-
 φόντων· ἀλλ' οὖν προβάλλονται γέ τι πρὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης.
 Προσεγγράφουσι γάρ πρὸς τὰ ψηφίσματα στεφανοῦν τὸν **B**
 ὑπεύθυνον ἐπειδὴν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας τῆς ἀρχῆς δῶ. Καὶ ἡ
 μὲν πόλις τὸ ἴσον ἀδίκημα ἀδικεῖται (προκαταλαμβάνονται
 γὰρ ἐπαίνοις καὶ στεφάνοις αἱ εὐθύнай), ὁ δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα
 γράφων ἐνδείκνυται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅτι γέγραφε μὲν παρά-
 νομα, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἠμάρτηκε. Κτησιφῶν δέ, ὦ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπερπηδήσας τὸν νόμον τὸν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων
 κείμενον, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν ἣν ἐγὼ ἀρτίως προεῖπον ὑμῖν
 ἀνελῶν, πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι, γέγραφε μεταξὺ
 Δημοσθένην ἄρχοντα στεφανοῦν.

Λέξουσι δὲ ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπεναντίον τῷ **3**
 ἀρτίως εἰρημένῳ, ὡς ἄρα ὅσα τις αἰρετὸς ὢν πράττει κατὰ **C**
 ψήφισμα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ἀλλ' ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία·
 ἀρχὰς δὲ φήσουσιν ἐκείνας εἶναι ἄς οἱ θεσμοθέται ἀποκλη-
 ροῦσιν ἐν τῷ Θησειῷ, κάκεινας ἄς ὁ δῆμος εἴωθε χειροτονεῖν
 ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, στρατηγούς καὶ ἱπάρχους καὶ τὰς μετὰ
 τούτων ἀρχὰς, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ταύτας πραγματείας προστεταγ-
 μένας κατὰ ψήφισμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τούτων
 νόμον ὑμέτερον παρέξομαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐνομοθετήσατε λύσειν
 ἠγούμενοι τὰς τοιαύτας προφάσεις, ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται,
 “ τὰς χειροτονητάς ” φησὶν “ ἀρχὰς ” ἀπάσας ἐνὶ περιλαβῶν
 ὀνόματι ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ προσειπῶν ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας εἶναι ἄς **D**
 ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, “ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας ” φησὶ “ τῶν δημο-
 σίων ἔργων ” (ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιός, ἐπιστάτης
 τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἔργων) “ καὶ πάντα ὅσοι διαχειρίζουσί τι
 τῶν τῆς πόλεως πλέον ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅσοι λαμ-
 βάνουσιν ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων ” (οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐπι-
 στάται πάντες ἡγεμονία χρῶνται δικαστηρίου), τί τούτους
 κελεύει ποιεῖν; οὐ διακονεῖν ἀλλ' ἄρχειν δοκιμασθέντας ἐν
 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐκ ἀδοκίμαστοι
 ἀλλὰ δοκιμασθεῖσαι ἄρχουσι, καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγρά-

Α φειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστάς, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς, κελεύει. "Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται.

NOMOI.

- 4 "Ὅταν τοίνυν, ὧ Ἴ�θηναῖοι, ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζῃ, οὗτοι δὲ προσαγορεύουσι πραγματείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν, καὶ ὑποβάλλειν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρήσειν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἄμεινον λέγῃ παράνομα γεγραφώς, τοσοῦτῳ μείζονος ὀργῆς τεύξεται. Χρὴ γὰρ ὧ Ἴ�θηναῖοι τὸ αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δὲ ἑτέραν μὲν φωνὴν ἀφίῃ ὁ νόμος ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ, τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ χρὴ δίδόναι τὴν ψῆφον, οὐ τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντίᾳ.
- 5 Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸν ἄφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, βραχέα βούλομαι προειπεῖν. Λέξει γὰρ οὗτος "τειχοποιός εἰμι· ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ἐπιδέδωκα τῇ πόλει μναῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον μείζον ἐξείργασται. Τίνος οὖν εἰμι ὑπεύθυνος, εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστὶν εὐνοίας εὐθύνη;" πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα. Ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἀρχαία οὔση καὶ τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν καὶ ὀπωσοῦν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων. Διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων· οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα μόνον λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γένη, Εὐμολπίδας καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας. Πάλιν τοὺς τριηράρχους ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος οὐ τὰ κοινὰ διαχειρίσαντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων πολλὰ μὲν ὑφαιρουμένους βραχέα δὲ κατατιθέντας, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ φάσκοντας, ἀποδιδόντας δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὁμολογουμένως τὰς πατρώας οὐσίας εἰς τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνηλωκύτας φιλοτιμίαν. Οὐ τοίνυν μόνοι οἱ τριηράρχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συνεδρίων ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἔρχεται ψῆφον. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βουλήν τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας δίδόναι, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κύριον ἄγει ὑπὸ τὴν

ὑμετέραν ψῆφον. Οὐκ ἄρα στεφανωθήσεται ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀ
 Ἀρείου πάγου; οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν. Οὐκ ἄρα
 φιλοτιμοῦνται; πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἕάν τις παρ'
 αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικῆ, ἀλλ' ἕάν τις ἐξαμαρτάνῃ κολάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ
 ὑμέτεροι ῥήτορες τρυφῶσι. Πάλιν τὴν βουλήν τοὺς πεντα-
 κοσίους ὑπεύθυνον πεποίηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης. Καὶ οὕτως ἰσχυ-
 ρῶς ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, ὥστ' εὐθέως ἀρχόμενος τῶν
 νόμων λέγει, “ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον” φησὶ “μὴ ἀποδημεῖν.”
 Ὡς Ἡράκλεις, ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις, ὅτι ἤρξα, μὴ ἀποδημήσω; ἵνα
 γε μὴ προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις δρασμῶ
 χρήσῃ. Πάλιν ὑπεύθυνον οὐκ ἔα τὴν οὐσίαν καθιεροῦν οὐδὲ Β
 ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι οὐδ' ἐκποίητον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι
 τὰ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδ' ἄλλα πολλά· ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἐνεχυράζει τὰς
 οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ἕως ἂν λόγον ἀποδῶσι
 τῇ πόλει. Ναί, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τις ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐτ' εἴληφεν οὐδὲν
 τῶν δημοσίων οὐτ' ἀνήλωκε, προσῆλθε δὲ πρὸς τι τῶν κοινῶν.
 Καὶ τοῦτον ἀποφέρειν κελεύει λόγον πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς.
 Καὶ πῶς ὃ γε μὴδὲν λαβὼν μὴδ' ἀναλώσας ἀποίσει λόγον τῇ
 πόλει; αὐτὸς ὑποβάλλει καὶ διδάσκει ὁ νόμος ἃ χρὴ γράφειν·
 κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι “οὐτ' ἔλαβον οὐδὲν
 τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐτ' ἀνήλωσα.” Ἀνεύθυνον δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέτασ- C
 τον καὶ ἀζήτητον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. “Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

“Ὅταν τοίνυν μάλιστα θρασύνηται Δημοσθένης λέγων ὡς 6
 διὰ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπεύθυνος, ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε
 “οὐκ οὖν ἐχρῆν σε ὦ Δημόσθενες ἕασαι τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν
 κήρυκα κηρῦξαι τὸ πάτριον καὶ ἔννομον κήρυγμα τοῦτο, τίς
 βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; ἕασον ἀμφισβητῆσαί σοι τὸν βουλό-
 μενον τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν D
 ἔχεις εἰς τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν μικρὰ κατέθηκας, δέκα
 τάλαντα εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἴληφώς. Μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν
 φιλοτιμίαν, μὴδὲ ἐξαιροῦ τῶν δικαστῶν τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῶν
 χειρῶν, μὴδ' ἔμπροσθεν τῶν νόμων ἀλλ' ὕστερος πολιτεύου.
 Ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρθοῖ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.”

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς κενὰς προφάσεις, αἷς οὗτοι προφασιοῦνται, 7
 μέχρι δεῦρο εἰρήσθω μοι· ὅτι δὲ ὄντως ἦν ὑπεύθυνος ὁ Δημο-
 σθένης ὅθ' οὗτος εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἀρχῶν μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ
 τῷ θεωρικῷ ἀρχὴν, ἀρχῶν δὲ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν, οὐδετέρας
 δὲ πῶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων λόγον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐθύνας δεδωκώς,

Α ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων. Καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ.

ΔΙΑΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ.

- 8 Οὐκοῦν εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι περαιτέρω τούτου δείξαιμι, δικαίως ἂν ἀλίσκοιτο Κτησιφῶν· αἰρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡ κατηγορία ἢ ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα.
- 9 Πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ Ἰ Αθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεὺς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἐκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβουλον γενομένην πίστιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μὲν πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχήν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεώριον καὶ σκευοθήκην ὑποκόδοι, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπιτιμῶν λέγω, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, εἴαν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ἦ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἔῃ πρὶν ἂν λόγους καὶ εὐθύνας δῶ στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ ὤκνησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.
- 10 Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν τειχοποιῶν ἀρχὴν ἦρχεν ὅθ' οὗτος τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψε, καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διεχειρίζε καὶ ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, καὶ δικαστηρίων ἡγεμονίας ἐλάμβανε, τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Κτησιφῶντα μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος ἐκκλησίας οὐσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένης ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν φυλῶν σκιροφοριῶνος δευτέρᾳ ἰσταμένου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐκάστη τῶν φυλῶν ἐλέσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἔργων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ταμίας, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς, ἴν' ἡ πόλις ἔχοι ὑπεύθυνα σώματα, παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήψεσθαι. Καί μοι λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

- 11 Ναί, ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαπλέκει πρὸς τοῦτο εὐθέως λέγων ὡς οὗτ' ἔλαχε τειχοποιὸς οὗτ' ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. Καὶ περὶ τούτου Δημοσθένης μὲν καὶ Κτησιφῶν πολὺν ποιήσονται

λόγον· ὁ δὲ γε νόμος βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ταχὺ λύων τὰς Α
 τούτων τέχνας. Μικρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρῶτον προ-
 ειπεῖν βούλομαι. Ἔστι γὰρ ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
 εἶδη τρία, ὧν ἓν μὲν καὶ φανερώτατον οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ
 χειροτονητοὶ ἄρχοντες, δεύτερον δὲ ὅσοι τι διαχειρίζουσι τῶν
 τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων
 ἐπιστάται· τρίτον δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι
 αἰρετοὶ ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τούτους ἄρχειν
 δοκιμασθέντας. Ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφέλη τις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
 κεχειροτονημένους καὶ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχοντας, καταλείπε-
 ται, οὓς αἱ φυλαὶ καὶ αἱ τριττύες καὶ οἱ δήμοι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Β
 αἰροῦνται τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν, τούτους αἰρετοὺς
 ἄρχοντας εἶναι. Τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν, ὡσπερ νῦν, ἐπι-
 ταχθῇ τι ταῖς φυλαῖς, ἢ τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἢ τριήρεις
 ναυπηγεῖσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων
 μαθήσεσθε.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Ἄναμνήσθητε δὴ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν 12
 νομοθέτης τοὺς ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχειν κελεύει δοκιμασθέντας
 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἢ δὲ Πανδιονίς φυλὴ ἄρχοντα καὶ τειχο-
 ποιὸν ἀπέδειξε Δημοσθένην, ὃς ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως εἰς ταῦτα
 ἔχει μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα, ἕτερος δ' ἀπαγορεύει νόμος
 ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον μὴ στεφανοῦν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁμωμόκατε κατὰ C
 τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ γέγραφε τὸν ὑπεύθυνον
 στεφανοῦν μὴ προσθεῖς “ἐπειδὴν δὲ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας,”
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξελέγχω τὸ παράνομον μάρτυρας ἅμα τοὺς νόμους
 καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδίκους παρεχόμενος. Πῶς
 οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἄνθρωπον παρανομώ-
 τατα γεγραφότα;

Ὡς τοίνυν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τοῦ στεφάνου παρανόμως ἐν 13
 τῷ ψηφίσματι κελεύει γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς διδάξω. Ὁ D
 γὰρ νόμος διαβρήδην κελεύει, εἴαν μὲν τινα στεφανοῖ ἢ βουλή,
 ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, εἴαν δὲ ὁ δήμος, ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ. Καί μοι λέγε τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχει. Οὐ γὰρ 14
 (οἶμαι) ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν ῥήτορα σεμνύνεσθαι πρὸς
 τοὺς ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ μὴ ἐργολαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς κηρύγμασιν. Ὁ μὲν

^A οὖν νομοθέτης οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν πῶς; Ἐαναγίνωσκε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 15 Ἄκούετε ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης κελεύει ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνακηρύττειν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον ὑπερβάς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον μετενεγκῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν. Οὕτω τοίνυν περιφανῶς παράνομα γεγραφώς, παραταχθεὶς μετὰ Δημοσθένους ἐποιεῖσι τέχνας τοῖς νόμοις· ὥς ἐγὼ δηλώσω καὶ προερῶ ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητε ἔξαπατηθέντες. Οὗτοι γάρ, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττειν ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχ ἔξουσι λέγειν, οἴσουσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον, καὶ χρῆσονται τοῦ νόμου μέρει τινὶ κλέπτοντες τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑμῶν, καὶ παρέξονται νόμον οὐδὲν προσήκοντα τῇ γραφῇ τῇδε, καὶ λέξουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ τῇ πόλει δύο νόμοι κείμενοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, εἷς μὲν ὃν νῦν ἐγὼ παρέχομαι διαβρῆδην ἀπαγορεύων τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕτερον δ' εἶναι νόμον φήσουσιν ἐναντίον τούτῳ, τὸν δεδωκότα ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάβρῃσιν τοῦ στεφάνου τραγωδοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐὰν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φήσουσι γεγραφέναι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς τούτων τέχνας παρέξομαι συνηγόρους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ὅπερ διατελῶ σπουδάζων παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν κατηγορίαν. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀληθὲς καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὥστ' ἀκύρους νόμους ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ δύο περὶ μιᾶς πράξεως ὑπεναντίους ἀλλήλοις, τί ἂν ἐτι ταύτην εἴποι τις εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν ἣ ταῦτα προστάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει ταῦθ' οὕτως· μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποτε εἰς τοσαύτην ἀταξίαν τῶν νόμων προβαίητε, οὔτε ἡμέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντι, ἀλλὰ διαβρῆδην προστέτακται τοῖς θεσμοθέταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν διορθοῦν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς νόμους, ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσαντας καὶ σκεψαμένους εἴ τις ἀναγέγραπται νόμος ἐναντίος ἑτέρῳ νόμῳ ἢ ἄκυρος ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις, ἢ εἴ πού εἰσι νόμοι πλείους ἐνὸς ἀναγεγραμμένοι περὶ ἐκάστης πράξεως. Κἂν τι τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκωσιν.

ἀναγεγραφότας ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέναι κελεύει πρόσθεν τῶν **A**
ἐπωνύμων, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιγράψαντας
νομοθέταις, τὸν δ' ἐπιστάτην τῶν προέδρων διαχειροτονίαν
διδόναι τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖν τῶν νόμων τοὺς δὲ
καταλείπειν, ὅπως ἂν εἷς ἢ νόμος καὶ μὴ πλείους περὶ ἐκάστης
πράξεως. Καί μοι λέγε τοὺς νόμους.

ΝΟΜΟΙ.

Εἰ τοίνυν ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀληθῆς ἦν ὁ παρὰ τούτων λόγος καὶ **16**
ἦσαν δύο κείμενοι νόμοι περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης
(οἶμαι) τῶν μὲν θεσμοθετῶν ἐξευρόντων τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων **B**
ἀποδόντων τοῖς νομοθέταις ἀνήρητ' ἂν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν νόμων,
ἦτοι ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δεδωκῶς ἀνειπεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀπαγορεύων· ὅποτε
δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γεγένηται, φανερώς δὴ που ἐξελέγχονται οὐ
μόνον ψευδῆ λέγοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι.
Ὅθεν δὲ δὴ τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦτο ἐπιφέρουσιν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ὑμᾶς
προειπῶν ὧν ἔνεκα οἱ νόμοι ἐτέθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ
θεάτρῳ κηρυγμάτων. Γινομένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγω-
δῶν ἀνεκέρυττον τινες, οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι
στεφανοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν·
ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ὑποκηρυζάμενοι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκέτας ἀφίεσαν **C**
ἀπελευθέρους, μάρτυρας τῆς ἀπελευθερίας τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ποιούμενοι. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐπιφθονώτατος, προξενίας τινὲς εὐρη-
μένοι ἐν ταῖς ἔξω πόλεσι διεπράττοντο ἀναγορεύεσθαι ὅτι
στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἢ Χίων
ἢ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας.
Καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ὑμετέ-
ρας στεφανούμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ
ψηφίσματος, πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ προελό-
μενοι ἄνευ δόγματος ὑμετέρου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου
συνέβαινε τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς καὶ τοὺς χορηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἀγω- **D**
νιστὰς ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνακηρυττομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
μείζοσι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων. Τοῖς
μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδέδεικτο τόπος ἢ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἣ ἤ χρῆν στεφανοῦσ-
θαι, καὶ ἀπείρητο ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ κηρύττεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀνηγο-
ρεύοντο ἐνώπιον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· κάκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ
ψηφίσματος, πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, οὗτοι δ' ἄνευ ψηφίσματος.
Συνιδῶν δὴ τις ταῦτα νομοθέτης τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν ἐπικοι-
νωνοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένων νόμῳ,
οὔτε λύσας ἐκεῖνον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἠνοχλεῖτο ἀλλὰ τὸ
θέατρον) οὔτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις τιθεῖς

A (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν), ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ὑμετέρου στεφανουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπελευθερούντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων, καὶ διαβρῆδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησί) μηδενός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα. Ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρήθῃναι, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν στεφανουμένοις καὶ φυλετῶν ἀπείπη μὴ
 B κηρύττεσθαι τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐρανίζων στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα ψευδῆ φιλοτιμίαν κτᾶται, προσαπείπη δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μὴδ' ὑπὸ ἄλλου μηδενός ἀνακηρύττεσθαι, ἀπούσης βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν, — ὅταν δέ τις ταῦτα ἀφέλῃ, τί τὸ καταλειπόμενόν ἐστι πλὴν οἱ ξενικοὶ στέφανοι; Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μέγα σημεῖον ὑμῖν τούτου ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξω. Αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ὃς ἂν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει ἀναρρήθῃ, ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς κελεύει ὁ νόμος, ἀφελόμενος τὸν στεφανούμενον. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ὑμῶν τολμήσειε τοσαύτην ἀνελευθερίαν καταγνῶναι τοῦ
 C δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων; μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ εἰς οὕτως ἀγεννῆς γένοιτο, ὥστε ὃν αὐτὸς ἔδωκε στέφανον ἅμα ἀνακηρύττειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ καθιεροῦν. Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, διὰ τὸ ξενικὸν εἶναι τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἢ καθιέρωσις γίνεται, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίαν εὐνοίαν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τῆς πατρίδος χεῖρων γένηται τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ στέφανον ἀναρρήθέντα οὐδεὶς καθιεροῖ, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸ ὑπόμνημα, μηδέποτε κακοὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον γίνωνται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 D προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἔαν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ἵν' ἢ πόλις ἢ βουλομένη τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στεφανοῦν πρέσβεις πέμψασα δεθῇ τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κηρυττόμενος μείζω χάριν εἰδῆ τῶν στεφανούντων ὑμῖν, ὅτι κηρῦξαι ἐπετρέψατε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.

NOMOI.

17 Ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν ἕξαπατῶντες ὑμᾶς λέγωσιν ὡς προσγέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦν, ἔαν ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος, ἀπομνημονεύετε αὐτοῖς ὑποβάλλειν· Ναί, εἴ γέ σέ τις

ἄλλη πόλις στεφανοῖ· εἰ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, ἀποδέδεικται ἄ σοι τόπος ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ “ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ” ὅ τι ἔστιν ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν λέγε· οὐ γὰρ ἀποδείξεις ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφας.

Ἔστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐφ’ ᾧ 18 μάλιστα σπουδάζω· τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἡ πρόφασις δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῖ στεφανοῦσθαι. Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, “καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας” καὶ τὸ μέγιστον “ὅτι διατελεῖ λέγων B καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ.” Ἀπλοῦς δὴ παντάπασιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν λόγος γίνεται, καὶ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι κρῖναι εὐμαθῆς· δεῖ γὰρ δή που τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦντα ἐμὲ τοῦθ’ ὑμῖν ἐπίδεικνύναι, ὡς εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι ψευδεῖς καὶ ὡς οὐτ’ ἤρξατο λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα οὔτε νῦν διατελεῖ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπίδειξω, δικαίως δὴ που τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ γράμματα ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. Τῷ δ’ ἀπολογουμένῳ τούναντίον τούτου δεικτέον ἐστίν. Ἵμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν ἔσεσθε τῶν C λόγων κριταί. Ἔχει δ’ οὕτως.

Ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν βίον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἐξετάζειν μακροτέρου 19 λόγου ἔργον ἠγοῦμαι εἶναι. Τί γὰρ δεῖ νῦν ταῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα, ὅτ’ ἐγράψατο εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανιέα ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτομήν· ἢ τὰ περὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν νεῶν ἔκπλουν τὸν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, ὅτε εἷς ὢν τῶν τριηράρχων Δημοσθένης καὶ περιάγων τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς καὶ συσσιτῶν καὶ συνθύων καὶ συσπένδων, καὶ τούτων ἀξιώθεις διὰ τὸ πατρικὸς D αὐτῷ φίλος εἶναι, οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἀπ’ εἰσαγγελίας αὐτοῦ κρινομένου περὶ θανάτου κατήγορος γενέσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη τὰ περὶ Μειδίαν καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ χορηγὸς ὢν, καὶ ὡς ἀπέδοτο τριάκοντα μνῶν ἅμα τὴν τε εἰς αὐτὸν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου καταχειροτονίαν, ἣν ἐν Διονύσου κατεχειροτόνησε Μειδίου. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι δοκῶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὑπερβήσεσθαι, οὐ προδιδούς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαριζόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο φοβούμενος μὴ μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ, τὸ δοκεῖν μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀρχαῖα δὲ καὶ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα. Καίτοι ὦ Κτησιφῶν, ὅτῳ τὰ

A μέγιστα τῶν αἰσχυρῶν οὕτως ἐστὶ πιστὰ καὶ γνώριμα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὥστε τὸν κατήγορον μὴ δοκεῖν ψευδῆ λέγειν ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ καὶ λίαν προωμολογημένα, πότερα αὐτὸν δεῖ χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι ἢ ψέγεσθαι; καὶ σὲ τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ παράνομα τολμῶντα γράφειν πότερα χρὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἢ δίκην τῇ πόλει διδόναι; Περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων πειράσομαι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ πυνθάνομαι μέλλειν Δημοσθένην, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος ὑποδοθῆ, καταριθμεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄρα τῇ πόλει τέτταρες ἤδη γεγένηται καιροὶ ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς πεπολίτευται. Ὡν ἓνα

B μὲν καὶ πρῶτον, ὡς ἔγωγε ἀκούω, καταλογίζεται ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολεμοῦμεν· τοῦτον δ' ἀφορίζειται τῇ γενομένῃ εἰρήνῃ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ, ἣν Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος μετ' ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐγὼ δεῖξω. Δεύτερον δὲ φησι γενέσθαι ὃν ἤγομεν χρόνον τὴν εἰρήνην, δηλονότι μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἣ καταλύσας τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ῥήτωρ ἔγραψε τὸν πόλεμον· τρίτον δὲ ὃν ἐπολεμοῦμεν χρόνον μέχρι τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν νῦν παρόντα καιρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ καταριθμησάμενος, ὡς ἀκούω, μέλλει με

C παρακαλεῖν καὶ ἐπερωτᾶν ὁποῖου τούτων τῶν τεττάρων αὐτοῦ καιρῶν κατηγορῶ καὶ πότε αὐτὸν οὐ τὰ βέλτιστά φημι τῷ δήμῳ πεπολιτεῦσθαι· κἄν μὴ θέλω ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀλλ' ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω, ἐκκαλύψειν μέ φησι προσελθὼν καὶ ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ ἀναγκάσειν ἀποκρίνασθαι. "Ἴν' οὖν μήθ' οὗτος ἰσχυρίζηται ὑμεῖς τε προειδῆτε, ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι ἐναντίον σοι τῶν δικαστῶν Δημοσθενες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἕξωθεν περιεστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ὑπακούειν τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως (ὄρω δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς

D ἀγῶνα δημοσίον παραγενομένους) — ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν τεττάρων καιρῶν κατηγορῶ σου, οὓς σὺ διαιρῆ, κἄν οἱ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐξ ἴσου ἡμῶν ἀκούσωσι· κἀγὼ δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ἅ σοι σύννοϊδα, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξειν τοῖς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους γεγενημένους καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων Δημοσθένην αἴτιον γεγενημένον. Καὶ χρήσομαι τῇ τοῦ λόγου τάξει ταύτῃ ἣν τοῦτον πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖσθαι μέλλειν, λέξω δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καιροῦ καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτον περὶ τοῦ ἐφεξῆς καὶ τέταρτον περὶ

τῶν νῦν καθεστηκότων πραγμάτων. Καὶ δὴ ἐπανάγω ἑμαυτὸν Α
ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν σὺ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγράψατε.

Ἵμῖν γὰρ ἐξεγένετ' ἄν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην 20
εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι μετὰ κοινου συνέδριου τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
εἴ τινες ὑμᾶς εἶασαν περιμεῖναι τὰς πρεσβείας ἃς ἦτε ἐκπε-
πομφοῦτες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακα-
λοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, — μετασχεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦ συνέδριου καὶ
προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπολαβεῖν
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ τούτων ἀπεστερήθητε διὰ Δημοσθένην καὶ
Φιλοκράτην καὶ τὰς τούτων δωροδοκίας, ἃς ἐδωροδόκησαν
συστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ ὑμέτερον. Εἰ δέ τισιν ὑμῶν Β
ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστότερος προσπέπτωκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος
λόγος, ἐκείνως τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ποιήσασθε ἀκρόασιν, ὥσπερ
ἔταν περὶ χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου καθεζώ-
μεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς. Ἐρχόμεθα δὴ που ψευδεῖς οἴκοθεν
ἐνίοτε δόξας ἔχοντες κατὰ τῶν λογισμῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπειδὴν
ὁ λογισμὸς συγκεφαλαιωθῆ, οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐστιν οὕτω δύσκολος
τὴν φύσιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦθ' ὁμολογήσας καὶ ἐπινεύ-
σας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῆ. Οὕτω καὶ
νῦν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιήσασθε. Εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσ-
θεν χρόνων ἤκουσιν οἴκοθεν τοιαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν, ὡς C
ἄρα ὁ Δημοσθένης οὐδὲν πώποτε εἶρηκεν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
συστὰς μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, — ὅστις οὕτω διάκειται, μήτ' ἀπο-
γνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃ· οὐ γὰρ
δίκαιον. Ἄλλ' ἔάν ἐμοῦ διὰ βραχέων ἀκούσητε ὑπομιμνήσ-
κοντος τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα παρεχομένου ὃ μετὰ
Φιλοκράτους ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, ἔάν αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας
λογισμὸς ἐγκαταλαμβάνῃ τὸν Δημοσθένην πλείω μὲν γεγρα-
φότα ψήφισματα Φιλοκράτους περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης καὶ
συμμαχίας, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δὲ αἰσχύνης κεκολακευκότα D
Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις, αἴτιον δὲ γεγονότα B
τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ κοινου συνέδριου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιή-
σασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκδοτον δὲ Φιλίππῳ πεποιηκότα Κερσο-
βλέπτην τὸν Θράκης βασιλέα, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῇ
πόλει, — ἔάν ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σαφῶς ἐπιδείξω, δεήσομαι ὑμῶν
μετρίαν δέησιν· ἐπινεύσατέ μοι πρὸς θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν
τεττάρων καιρῶν μὴ καλῶς αὐτὸν πεπολιτεῦσθαι. Λέξω δὲ
ὅθεν μάλιστα παρακολουθήσετε.

Ἐγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξείναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ 21
πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη
παρανόμων. Ἦκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγόρει μὲν

A Λυκῖνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελο-
 γεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. Μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐπῆει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται βου-
 λευτῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ'
 ἐπιλαχὼν, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πριάμενος, ἵν' εἰς ὑποδοχὴν
 ἅπαντα καὶ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι Φιλοκράτει, ὡς αὐτὸ ἔδειξε τὸ
 ἔργον. Νικᾶ γὰρ ἕτερον ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης, ἐν ᾧ κελεύει
 ἐλέσθαι δέκα πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον
 ἀξιώσουσιν αὐτὸν δεῦρο πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορας πέμπειν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς εἰρήνης. Τούτων εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Κάκεῖθεν ἐπαινή-
B κων ἐπαινέτης ἦν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσ-
 βεσιν ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν ἔγραψε
 σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν,
 ἀκόλουθα γράφων Φιλοκράτει· ὁ μὲν γε τὴν ἐξουσίαν δέδωκε
 τοῦ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ
 σπένδεται. Τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε τὸν
 νοῦν. Ἐπράττετο γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις τοὺς
 πολλὰ συκοφαντηθέντας ὕστερον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὑπὸ Δημο-
 σθένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Φιλοκράτην καὶ Δημοσθένην (εἰκότως·
 τοὺς ἅμα μὲν πρεσβεύοντας, ἅμα δὲ τὰ ψήφισματα γράφον-
C τας), πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε τοὺς πρέσβεις οὓς ἦτε
 ἐκπεπομφότες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην· δεύτερον
 δ' ὅπως μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν εἶναι
 ψηφιεῖσθε πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἵν' εἴ τινες προσέχοιεν τῷ πλήθει
 τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐμπέσοιεν ἀθυμίαν ὀρῶντες ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς μὲν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἴκοι δὲ μὴ μόνον
 εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐψηφισμένους ποιεῖσθαι· τρίτον
 δὲ ὅπως Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ Θράκης βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔσται ἔνορκος,
 μηδὲ μετέσται τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτῷ. Παρ-
D ηγγέλλετο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατεία. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν
 ἐξωνούμενος οὐκ ἠδίκηι (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν συνθη-
 κῶν ἀνεμέσητον ἦν αὐτῷ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα), οἱ δ' ἀπο-
 δόμενοι καὶ κατακοινωνήσαντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρὰ μεγά-
 λης ὀργῆς ἦσαν ἄξιοι. Ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων
 εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ
 προφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, γράφει ψήφισμα, τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς
 πόλεως ὑφαιρούμενος, ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῇ
 ὀγδόῃ ἰσταμένου τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, ὅτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκλη-
 πιῷ ἡ θυσία καὶ ὁ προαγών, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ὃ πρότερον
 οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γενόμενον, τίνα πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος; ἵνα,

φησίν, ἂν ἤδη παρῶσιν οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, βουλευ- **Α**
σθται ὁ δῆμος ὡς τάχιστα περὶ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον, τοῖς οὐπώ
παροῦσι πρέσβεσι προκαταλαμβάνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς
χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων,
ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπανελθόντων τῶν ὑμετέ-
ρων πρέσβειων ἀλλὰ μόνοι ποιήσησθε τὴν εἰρήνην. Μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦγον οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις· οἱ δὲ
ὑμέτεροι ἀπεδήμουν παρακαλοῦντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Φίλιπ-
πον. Ἐνταῦθ' ἕτερον ψήφισμα νικᾷ Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γράφει
μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίας ὑμᾶς βουλεύ-
σασθαι, μὴ περιμείναντας τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀλλ' **Β**
εὐθύς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ
δέκα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν ψηφισμάτων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεληλύθει τὰ Διονύσια, ἐγί- **22**
νοντο δὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
ἀνεγνώσθη δόγμα κοινὸν τῶν συμμάχων, — οὗ τὰ κεφάλαια
διὰ βραχέων ἐγὼ προερῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγραψαν ὑπὲρ
εἰρήνης ὑμᾶς μόνον βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας
ὄνομα ὑπερέβησαν, οὐκ ἐπιλεησμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι· ἔπειτα ἀπήν-
τησαν ὀρθῶς ἰασόμενοι τὸ Δημοσθένους δωροδόκημα, καὶ **С**
προσέγραψαν ἐν τῷ δόγματι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ'
Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, δύο
μέγιστα προκαταλαμβάνοντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν χρόνον τὸν
τῆς τριμήνου ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις ἰκανὸν γενέσθαι
παρασκευάζοντες, ἔπειτα τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίαν τῇ πόλει
μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου κτώμενοι, ἵν' εἰ παραβαίνονται αἱ συν-
θῆκαι, μὴ μόνοι μηδ' ἀπαράσκευοι πολεμήσαιμεν, ἃ νῦν ἡμῖν
παθεῖν συνέβη διὰ Δημοσθένην. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ **Д**
αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντες μαθήσεσθε.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ.

Τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι συνειπεῖν ὁμολογῶ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ **23**
προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγοροῦντες· καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπῆλθε
τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν εἰληφώς, ὡς ἔσται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, περὶ δὲ
συμμαχίας οὐκ ἄμεινον εἶη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράκλησιν
βουλεύσασθαι, ἔσται δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων.
Νῦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρῆμεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Α Ἐνταῦθα δὴ προκαταλαμβάνων Δημοσθένης τὸ βῆμα, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπῶν λόγον, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη τῶν χθὲς εἰρημένων εἶναι λόγων, εἰ ταῦθ' οἱ Φιλίππου μὴ συμπεισθήσονται πρέσβεις, οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔφη τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπούσης συμμαχίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδῖαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος) ἀπορῥῆξαι τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμένειν μελλήματα, ἀλλ' ἢ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ ποιῆσθαι. Καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακάλεσας Ἐπίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἠρώτα, προειπῶν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται,

Β προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι. Καὶ τέλος ταῦτ' ἐνίκα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προβιασαμένου Δημοσθένους, τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Φιλοκράτους. Ὁ δὲ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, Κερσοβλέπτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον ἔκδοτον ποιῆσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπραξαν ἔκτη φθίνοντος τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους Δημοσθένην· ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος καὶ μισοφίλιππος ὑμῖν οὐτοσί ῥήτωρ δις ἐπρέσβευσεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐξὸν μηδὲ ἅπαξ, ὁ νυνὶ κελεύων τῶν Μακεδόνων καταπτύειν. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν τῇ ἔκτη λέγω, καθεζόμενος βουλευτῆς ὢν ἐκ

C παρασκευῆς, ἔκδοτον Κερσοβλέπτην μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἐποίησε. Λαβάνει γὰρ ὁ μὲν Φιλοκράτης ἐν ψηφίσματι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων παρεγγράψας, ὁ δ' ἐπιψηφίσας, Δημοσθένης, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται “ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ὄρκους τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχων.” Παρὰ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου σύνοδος οὐκ ἐκάθητο· γράψας δὲ τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας ὀμνύειν τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην οὐ συνεδρεύοντα ἐξέκλεισε τῶν ὄρκων. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθί μοι τίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα γράψας καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίσας πρόεδρος.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ.

- 24 Καλόν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καλὸν ἢ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων
- D φυλακῆ· ἀκίνητον γὰρ ἔστι καὶ οὐ συμμεταπίπτει τοῖς αὐτομολοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ, ὁπότε βούληται, συνιδεῖν τοὺς πάλαι μὲν πονηροὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς δ' ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι χρηστούς.
- 25 Ὑπόλοιπον δὲ μοί ἔστι τὴν κολακειάν αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσας οὐδεμίαν πώποτε φανεῖται πρεσβείαν εἰς προεδρίαν καλέσας, ἀλλὰ τότε μόνον καὶ πρῶτον πρέσβεις εἰς προεδρίαν ἐκάλεσε καὶ προσκεφάλαια

ἔθηκε καὶ φοινικίδας περιεπέτασε καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἠγεῖτο **A** τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ὥστε καὶ συρίττεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ κολακείαν. Καὶ ὅτ' ἀπήεσαν, ἐμισθώσατο αὐτοῖς τρία ζεύγη ὀρικὰ καὶ προὔπεμψεν εἰς Θήβας, καταγέλαστον τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν. "Ἴνα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως μείνω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Οὗτος τοίνυν, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ τηλικούτος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ **26** πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον **B** κατεψεύσατο, ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὐς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν, ἐβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρενόμει, τὴν μόνην ὃ δειλαιὸς καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας. Καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. Ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστὸς, οὐδὲ ὃ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα **C** σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὃ ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶν οἴκοι φαῦλος, οὐδέποθ' ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν καλὸς κάγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν.

Πόθεν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἦλθε τῶν πραγμάτων (οὗτος **27** γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δεύτερος καιρὸς), καὶ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι Φιλοκράτης μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων Δημοσθένει **D** φυγὰς ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας γεγένηται, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων κατήγορος, καὶ πόθεν ποθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἀτυχίας ὃ μιὰρὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐμβέβληκε, ταῦτ' ἤδη διαφερόντως ἀξιὸν ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι. Ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα εἶσω Πυλῶν Φίλιππος παρῆλθε καὶ τὰς τε ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις παραδόξως ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, Θηβαίους δέ, ὡς τόθ' ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν φοβηθέντες ἐσκεναγωγήσατε, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσαντες, πολὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Φιλοκράτης

- Α καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψήφισματα γεγραφέναι, συνέβη δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις διαφέρεισθαι τι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ Φιλοκράτην σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπωπτεύσατε διενεχθῆναι, — τοιαύτης δὲ ἐμπιπτούσης ταραχῆς μετὰ τῶν συμφύτων νοσημάτων αὐτῷ ἤδη τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, μετὰ δειλίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Φιλοκράτην ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄρωδοκίας ζηλοτυπίας, καὶ ἠγήσατο, εἰ τῶν συμπρεσβευόντων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατήγορος ἀναφανείη, τὸν μὲν Φιλοκράτην προδήλως ἀπολεισθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμπρέσβεις κινδυνεύσειν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ προδότης ὧν τῶν φίλων καὶ πονηρὸς πιστὸς τῷ δήμῳ φανήσεσθαι. Κατιδόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇ τῆς πόλεως προσπολεμοῦντες ἡσυχίᾳ ἄσμενοι παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν μόνον ἀδωροδόκητον ὀνομάζοντες τῇ πόλει· ὁ δὲ παριῶν ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανίδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον. Καὶ εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν μὴ πέμποι Φίλιππος πρέσβεις, καταφρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ πέμποι, κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἄλλ' οὐ πρέσβεις. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐθέλοι πόλει τινὶ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, οὐκ εἶναι κριτὴν ἴσον ἡμῖν ἔφη καὶ Φιλίππῳ. Ἀλόνησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον στεφανώσας τοὺς μετὰ Ἀριστοδήμου εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν παρὰ τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας ἐπιστρατεύσαντας τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην διέλυσε, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασεν.
- 28 Naί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς
- D φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ. Ἄλλ' ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ταῦτα τρία μέγιστα ἠδίκησθε καὶ μάλιστα ἠγνοήκατε. Σπεύδων δ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς μεγίστης συμμαχίας τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων, ἴν' ἐφεξῆς εἴπω, περὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων πρῶτον μνησθήσομαι.
- 29 Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἠδικημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, τοῦ Καλλίου καὶ Ταυροσθένους πατρός, οὓς οὗτος νυνὶ μισθὸν λαβῶν Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τολμᾷ γράφειν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, ὃς ἡμῶν εἰρήνης οὔσης Ὀρωπὸν ἀφείλετο, τούτων ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ διέβησαν εἰς Εὐβοίαν Θηβαῖοι καταδουλώσασθαι τὰς

πόλεις πειρώμενοι, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς καὶ **A**
ναυσὶ καὶ πεζικῇ δυνάμει, καὶ πρὶν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας διελθεῖν
ὑποσπόνδους Θηβαίους ἀφήκατε, κύριοι τῆς Εὐβοίας γενόμενοι,
καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀπέδοτε ὀρθῶς καὶ
δικαίως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις, οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι
τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πιστευθῆναι. Καὶ τηλικαῦθ'
ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν
ἀπέδυσαν χάριτας, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα διέβητε εἰς Εὐβοίαν
Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρόνους ἀλλ' οὖν
προσεποιούνηθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι φίλοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα εἰς Ταμύ-
νας παρήλθομεν καὶ τὸ Κοτύλαιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὄρος ὑπερ- **B**
εβάλλομεν, ἐνταῦθα Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃν Δημοσθένης
μισθὸν λαβὼν ἐνεκωμιάζεν, ὄρων τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῆς
πόλεως εἰς τινὰς δυσχωρίας κατακεκλειμένον, ὅθεν μὴ νική-
σασι μάχην οὐκ ἦν ἀναχώρησις οὐδὲ βοθηθείας ἐλπίς οὐτ' ἐκ
γῆς οὐτ' ἐκ θαλάττης, συναγείρας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Εὐβοίας
στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππου δύναμιν προσμεταπεμφά-
μενος, ὃ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ταυροσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ πάντας δεξιού-
μενος καὶ προσγελῶν, τοὺς Φωκικοὺς ξένους διαβιβάσας,
ἦλθον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν
θεῶν τις ἔσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπειθ' οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑμέτε- **C**
ροι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τὸν
ἰππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμύναις ἐκ παρατάξεως μάχῃ κρατή-
σαντες ἀφεῖσαν ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν
ἢ πόλις αἰσχίστα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ δυστυχεῖν κατὰ πόλε-
μον μέγιστόν ἐστι κακόν, ἀλλ' ὅταν τις πρὸς ἀνταγωνιστὰς
ἀναξίους αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύων ἀποτύχῃ, διπλασίαν εἰκὸς εἶναι
τὴν συμφορὰν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες πάλιν
διελύσασθε πρὸς αὐτούς. Τυχῶν δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης
Καλλίας ὁ Χαλκιδεύς μικρὸν διαλιπὼν χρόνον πάλιν ἦκε
φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, Εὐβοϊκὸν μὲν τῷ λόγῳ συν- **D**
έδριον εἰς Χαλκίδα συνάγων, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐφ'
ὑμᾶς ἔργῳ παρασκευάζων, ἐξαιρέτον δ' αὐτῷ τυραννίδα περι-
ποιούμενος. Καὶ ταύτης ἐλπίζων συναγωνιστὴν Φίλιππον
λήψεσθαι ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ περιήει μετὰ Φιλίππου,
καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων εἰς ὠνομάζετο. Ἄδικήσας δὲ Φίλιππον
κάκεϊθεν ἀποδράς ὑπέβαλλεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων Θηβαίοις. Ἐγ-
καταλιπὼν δὲ κάκείνους, καὶ πλείους τραπόμενος τροπὰς τοῦ
Εὐρίπου παρ' ὃν ᾧκει, εἰς μέσον πίπτει τῆς τε Θηβαίων
ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου. Ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ,
καὶ παραγγελλομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη στρατείας, μίαν ἐλπίδα

Α λοιπὴν κατεῖδε σωτηρίας ἔνορκον λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, σύμμαχον ὀνομασθέντα, βοηθήσειν εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι· ὁ πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς κωλύσαίτε. Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἀποστέλλει δεῦρο πρέσβεις Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἐμπέδωνα καὶ Διόδωρον τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, φέροντας τῷ μὲν δῆμῳ ἐλπίδας κενάς, Δημοσθένει δ' ἀργύριον καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν. Τρία δ' ἦν ἅ ἅμα ἐξωνεῖτο, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ διασφαλῆναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμμαχίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ μέσον, εἰ μνησθεὶς τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων ὁ δῆμος μὴ προσδέξαιτο τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ ἢ φεύγειν ἐκ Χαλκίδος ἢ

Β τεθνάναι ἐγκαταληφθέντι· τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπεστράτευον, ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ ἢ Θηβαίων. Δεύτερον δ' ἦγον οἱ μισθοὶ τῷ γράψαντι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνεδρεύειν Ἀθήνησι Χαλκιδέας, τρίτον δὲ ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν συντάξεις. Καὶ τούτων τῶν προαιρέσεων οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπέτυχε Καλλίας, ἀλλ' ὁ μισοτύραννος Δημοσθένης, ὡς αὐτὸς προσποιεῖται, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν, ἀπέδοτο μὲν τοὺς καιροὺς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἔγραψε δ' ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ βοηθεῖν ἡμᾶς Χαλκιδεῦσι, ῥῆμα μόνον ἀντικαταλλαξάμενος ἀντὶ τούτων, εὐφημίας ἕνεκα προσγράψας Χαλκιδέας βοηθεῖν

Γ εἰάν τις ἴῃ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους· τὰς δὲ συνεδρίας καὶ τὰς συντάξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύσειν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμελλεν, ἄρδην ἀπέδοτο, καλλίστοις ὀνόμασι αἰσχίστας πράξεις γράφων καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς, τὰς μὲν βοηθείας ὡς δεῖ τὴν πόλιν πρότερον ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δεομένοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὰς δὲ συμμαχίας ὑστέρας ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. Ἴνα δ' εὖ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὴν Καλλίου γραφὴν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

30 Οὕπω τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δεινόν, εἰ καιροὶ πέπρανται τηλικούτοι καὶ συνεδρίαὶ καὶ συντάξεις, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούτου δεινότερον ὑμῖν φανήσεται ὁ μέλλω λέγειν. Εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προήχθη Καλλίας μὲν ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ὕβρεως καὶ πλεονεξίας, Δημοσθένης δέ, ὃν ἐπαινεῖ Κτησιφῶν, δωροδοκίας, ὥστε τὰς ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἐρετρίας, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ὀρώντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων συνέδρους παρ' ὑμῶν μὲν ἀνέστησαν, πάλιν δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Εὐβοϊκὸν συνέδριον συνήγαγον. Ὅν δὲ τρόπον καὶ δι' οἷων κακουργημάτων, ταῦτ' ἤδη ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι. Ἀφικνεῖται γὰρ πρὸς

ὑμᾶς οὐκέτι δι' ἀγγέλων ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ παρελθὼν **A**
 εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγους διεξῆλθε κατεσκευασμένους ὑπὸ
 Δημοσθένους. Εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ἦκοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νεωστὶ
 σύνταγμα συντάξας εἰς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων πρόσοδον ἐπὶ
 Φίλιππον, καὶ διελογίζετο ὅσον ἑκάστους ἔδει συντελεῖν,
 Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν πάντας καὶ Μεγαρέας ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα, τὰς
 δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις ἀπίαςας τετταράκοντα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν
 χρημάτων ὑπάρξειν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζικὴν δύναμιν· εἶναι
 δὲ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὓς βούλεσθαι κοινωνεῖν
 τῆς συντάξεως, ὥστε οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιωτῶν ἔσεσθαι
 ἀπορίαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ φανερά· ἔφη δὲ καὶ πράξεις **B**
 πράττειν ἑτέρας δι' ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τούτων εἶναι τινὰς μάρτυ-
 ρας τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὀνομαστὶ παρεκάλει
 Δημοσθένην καὶ συνειπεῖν ἡξίου. Ὁ δὲ σεμνῶς πάνυ παρ-
 ελθὼν τὸν τε Καλλίαν ὑπερεπήνει τό τε ἀπορρήτον προσεποι-
 ῆσατο εἰδέναι· τὴν δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείαν, ἣν ἐπρέσ-
 βευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἔφη βούλεσθαι ὑμῖν ἀπαγ-
 γεῖλαι. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων πάντας μὲν
 Πελοποννησίους ὑπάρχειν, πάντας δ' Ἀκαρνανᾶς συντεταγ-
 μένους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἶναι δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα χρη-
 μάτων μὲν εἰς ἑκατὸν νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν πληρώματα καὶ **C**
 εἰς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας μυρίους καὶ ἰππεῖς χιλίους, ὑπάρξειν δὲ
 πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
 μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους
 τοσοῦτους· δεδῶσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 ὑμῖν· πραχθήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν
 ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός· εἰρῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν
 ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρηγγέλθαι πάντας ἡκεῖν συν-
 εδρεύσοντας Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὴν πανσέληνον. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο
 ἄνθρωπος ἴδιον καὶ οὐ κοινὸν ποιεῖ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀλα-
 ζόνες ὅταν τι ψεύδωνται, ἀόριστα καὶ ἀσαφῆ πειρῶνται λέγειν, **D**
 φοβούμενοι τὸν ἔλεγχον· Δημοσθένης δ' ὅταν ἀλαζονεύηται,
 πρῶτον μὲν μεθ' ὄρκου ψεύδεται, ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρώμενος ἑαυτῷ,
 δεῦτερον δέ, ἃ εὖ οἶδεν οὐδέποτε ἐσόμενα, τολμᾷ λέγειν
 ἀριθμῶν εἰς ὅπότ' ἔσται, καὶ ὧν τὰ σώματα οὐχ ἑώρακε, τού-
 των τὰ ὀνόματα λέγει, κλέπτων τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ μιμούμενος
 τοὺς τάληθῆ λέγοντας. Διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἄξιός ἐστι μισεῖσθαι,
 ὅτι πονηρὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν σημεῖα διαφθείρει.
 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τῷ γραμματεῖ
 μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὓς
 εἶθε λέγειν καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ

Α ἔσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων. Ἄπαγαγὼν δ' ὑμᾶς ἄποθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέμματος καὶ ἀνακρεμάσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συστρέψας γράφει κελεύων ἐλέσθαι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, οἵτινες δεήσονται τῶν Ἐρετριέων (πάνυ γὰρ ἔδει δεηθῆναι) μηκέτι διδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν ὑμῖν τὰ πέντε τάλαντα ἀλλὰ Καλλία, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρους αἰρεῖσθαι εἰς Ὀρεὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας πρέσβεις, οἵτινες δεήσονται αὐτοῖς τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομίζειν εἶναι. Ἐπειτα ἀναφαίνεται περὶ ἅπαντ' ὧν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πρὸς τῷ κλέμματι, γράψας τὰ πέντε τάλαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀξιοῦν τοὺς Ὀρεῖτας μὴ ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλία διδόναι. Β Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κόμπον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦ κλέμματος ἄψαι, ὃ ὑφείλετο ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ ἀνόσιος ἄνθρωπος, ὃν φησι Κτησιφῶν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι διατελεῖν λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

- 31 Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν τριήρεις καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὴν πανσέληνον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους λόγῳ ἠκούσατε, τὰς δὲ συντάξεις τῶν συμμάχων, τὰ δέκα τάλαντα, ἔργῳ ἀπωλέσατε.
- 32 Ὑπόλοιπον δὲ μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι λαβὼν τρία τάλαντα C μισθὸν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔγραψε Δημοσθένης, τάλαντον μὲν ἐκ Χαλκίδος παρὰ Καλλίου, τάλαντον δ' ἐξ Ἐρετρίας παρὰ Κλειτάρχου τοῦ τυράννου, τάλαντον δὲ ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ καταφανῆς ἐγένετο, δημοκρατουμένων τῶν Ὀρειτῶν καὶ πάντα πραττόντων μετὰ ψηφίσματος. Ἐξανηλωμένοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπόρως διακείμενοι πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσιδήμον τὸν Χαριγένους υἱὸν τοῦ δυναστεύσαντός D ποτε ἐν Ὀρεῶ, δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφιέναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελλόμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν Ὀρεῶ. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τῷ Γνωσιδήμῳ ὅτι ἐλαχίστου χαλκοῦ οὐδὲν δέοιτο, τὸ δὲ τάλαντον διὰ τοῦ Καλλίου εἰσπράττειν. Ἀναγκαζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ὀρεῖται καὶ οὐκ εὐποροῦντες ὑπέθεσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ ταλάντου τὰς δημοσίας προσόδους, καὶ τόκον ἤνεγκαν Δημοσθένει τοῦ δωροδοκήματος δραχμὴν τοῦ μηνὸς τῆς μῆνης, ἕως τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπέδοσαν. Καὶ πάντ' ἐπράχθη μετὰ ψηφίσματος τοῦ δήμου. Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ὀρειτῶν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχύνῃ μὲν τῆς 33 πόλεως, ἔλεγχος δὲ οὐ μικρὸς τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων, ἁφανερὰ δὲ κατηγορία τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος· τὸν γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς δωροδοκοῦντα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρα γεγονέναι ἀγαθόν, ἃ τετόλμηκεν οὗτος γράψαι ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη τέτακται καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καιρῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ὁ 34 πάντων πικρότατος χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ Δημοσθένης ἀπώλεσε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις· ἀσεβήσας μὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἴσῃν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν γράψας. Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Β θεοὺς αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων λέγειν.

Ἔστι γάρ, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ Κιρράϊον ὠνομασμένον πεδῖον 35 καὶ λιμὴν ὁ νῦν ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος ὠνομασμένος. Ταύτην ποτὲ τὴν χώραν κατώκησαν Κιρράϊοι καὶ Κραγαλίδαι, γένη παρανομώτατα, οἱ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡσέβουν, ἐξημάρτανον δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας. Ἀγανακτήσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις μάλιστα μὲν, ὡς λέγεται, οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ ὑμέτεροι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες μαντείαν ἐμαντεύσαντο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, τίνι χρῆτιμωρίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους μετελθεῖν. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναι- c ρεῖ ἢ Πυθία πολεμεῖν Κιρράϊοις καὶ Κραγαλίδαις πάντ' ἤματα καὶ πάσας νύκτας, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐκπορθήσαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδισαμένους ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Προναίᾳ ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργίᾳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν μὴτ' αὐτοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλον ἔᾶν. Λαβόντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐψηφίσαντο Σόλωνος εἰπόντος Ἀθηναίου τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς καὶ νομοθε- τῆσαι δυνατοῦ καὶ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατετριφότος, ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· D καὶ συναθροίσαντες δύναμιν ἰκανὴν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἔχωσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καθιέρωσαν κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄρκον ὤμοσαν ἰσχυρὸν μὴτ' αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν ἐργάσεσθαι μὴτ' ἄλλῳ ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ [καὶ φωνῇ] καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον μόνον τὸν ὄρκον ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προστροπῆν

- A καὶ ἄρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποίησαντο. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ, “εἴ τις τάδε” φησί “παραβαίνοι ἢ πόλις ἢ ἰδιώτης ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγής” φησιν “ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας.” Καὶ ἐπέυχεται αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν, μήτε γυναῖκας τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἐοικότα ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μηδὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιῆσθαι, ἤτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμου καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορῶν, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνων. “Καὶ μήποτε” φησὶν “ὁσίως θύσαιεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ’ Ἀθηνᾷ
B Προναίᾳ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.” “Ὅτι δ’ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀνάγνωθι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖαν. Ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς. Ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὄρκων, οὓς ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνώμοσαν.

ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ.

- 36 [Ὅν πρὶν τῆσδε πόλης ἐρείψετε πύργον ἐλόντες, πρὶν γε θεοῦ τεμένει κνανώπιδος Ἀμφιτρίτης κῦμα ποτικλύζῃ, κελαδοῦν ἱεραῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀκταῖς.]

ΑΡΑ. ΟΡΚΟΙ.

- 37 Ταύτης τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας γενο-
C μένης, ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ προεστηκότες αὐτῶν, ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπειργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον πάλιν ἐτείχισαν καὶ συνώκισαν, καὶ τέλη τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἐξέλεγον, καὶ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων εἰς Δελφοὺς πυλαγόρων ἐνίους χρήμασι διέφθειραν, ὧν εἷς ἦν Δημοσθένης. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ ὑφ’ ὑμῶν πυλαγόρας λαμβάνει χιλίας δραχμὰς παρὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδεμίαν μνεῖαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι ποιήσασθαι. Διωμο-
D λογήθη δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀποσταλήσεσθαι Ἀθήναζε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου μνᾶς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐξαγίστων καὶ ἐπαράτων χρημάτων, ἐφ’ ᾧτε βοηθήσειν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· ὅθεν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἂν προσάψηται ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν. Σκέψασθε δὴ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὡς περιεγένετο τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων ἀσεβείας. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστιοῦ, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκείνον

τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον, ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἕνεκα ζῆν, καὶ Ἀ
 Θρασυκλέα τὸν Λέκκιον, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ.
 Συνέβη δ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα
 δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διόγνητον πυρέττειν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
 συνεπεπτώκει καὶ τῷ Μειδίᾳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθηοντο
 Ἀμφικτύονες. Ἐξηγγέλλετο δ' ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν βουλομένων
 εὐνοίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς ὑποπεπτω-
 κότες τότε καὶ δεινῶς θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Θηβαίους εἰσέφερον
 δόγμα κατὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις
 ζημιῶσαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας
 ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξαράσασθαι, καὶ ἐπεγρά- Β
 ψαμεν τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα “Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ
 Θηβαίων ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο.” Μεταπεμ-
 ψάμενος δέ με ὁ ἱερομνήμων ἠξίου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον
 καὶ εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
 αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον. Ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν καὶ
 προθυμότερόν πως εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, τῶν ἄλλων
 πυλαγόρων μεθεστηκότων, ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων,
 ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος καὶ (ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο) οὐδεμιᾶς παι-
 δείας μετεσχηκῶς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν
 αὐτὸν προαγομένον, “ἀρχὴν δέ γε” ἔφη “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, C
 εἰ ἐσωφρονεῖτε, οὐδ' ἂν ὠνομάζετο τοῦνομα τοῦ δήμου τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγεῖς ἐξήγετε
 ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.” Ἄμα δὲ ἐμνήμητο τῆς τῶν Φωκέων συμμα-
 χίας, ἣν ὁ Κρωβύλος ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψε, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ
 δυσχερῆ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως διεξήει λέγων, ἃ ἐγὼ οὔτε τότε ἔκαρ-
 τέρουν ἀκούων οὔτε νῦν ἠδέως μὲννημαι αὐτῶν. Ἀκούσας δὲ
 οὕτω παρωξύνθη ὡς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ ἔμαντοῦ βίῳ. Καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους λόγους ὑπερβήσομαι· ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν
 γνώμην μνησθῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν
 ἱερὰν ἀσεβείας, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστηκῶς ἐδείκνυον τοῖς Ἀμφι- D
 κτύοσιν· ὑπόκειται γὰρ τὸ Κιβράϊον πεδῖον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἔστιν
 εὐσύνοπτον. “Ὁρᾶτ’,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀμφικτύονες,
 ἐξεργασμένον τοῦτο τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων καὶ κερα-
 μεῖα ἐνφοδομημένα καὶ αὐλία· ὁρᾶτε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν
 ἐξάγιστον καὶ ἐπάρατον λιμένα τετειχισμένον· ἴστε τούτους
 αὐτοὶ (καὶ οὐδὲν ἑτέρων δεῖσθε μαρτύρων) τέλη πεπραχότας
 καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λιμένος.” Ἄμα δὲ
 ἀναγινώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν
 ὄρκον τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ἄρὰν τὴν γενομένην, καὶ διωριζόμενην
 ὅτι “ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ σώματος

A καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ οἰκίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ βοηθῶ κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον
καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ γῆ τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ
παῖσιν οἷς δύνamai, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς ἀφοσιῶ· ὑμεῖς δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευέσθε.
Ἐνηρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, παρέστηκε δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς τὰ θύματα,
μέλλετε δ' αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς τὰγαθὰ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ.
Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ποία φωνῇ, ποία ψυχῇ, ποίοις ὄμμασι, τίνα
τόλμαν κτησάμενοι τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσεσθε, τούτους παρέντες
ἀτιμωρήτους τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς ἐνόχους. Οὐ γὰρ
δὲ αἰνιγμάτων ἀλλ' ἐναργῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ κατὰ τε
B τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, ἃ χρη παθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπι-
τρεψάντων, καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ γέγραπται, μὴδ' ὁσίως
θύσαιεν οἱ μὴ τιμωροῦντες, φησί, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μὴδὲ τῇ
Ἄρτεμίδι μὴδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μὴδ' Ἀθηνᾶ Προναίᾳ, μὴδὲ δεξαιντο
αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερά." Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξ-
ελθόντος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ποτε ἀπηλλάγην καὶ μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ
συνεδρίου, κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων,
καὶ λόγος ἦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀνέθεμεν,
ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τιμωρίας. Ἦδη δὲ πόρρω
τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε, Δελφῶν ὅσοι ἐπὶ
C δίετες ἤβῳσι, καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ἦκειν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἔχοντας ἅμα καὶ δικέλλας πρὸς τὸ Θύστιον ἐκεῖ καλούμενον·
καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἀνηγόρευε τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας καὶ
πυλαγόρους ἦκειν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον βοηθήσοντας τῷ θεῷ
καὶ τῇ γῆ τῇ ἱερᾷ. "ἦτις δ' ἂν μὴ παρῆ πόλις, εἶρξεται τοῦ
ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐναγῆς ἔσται καὶ τῇ ἀρᾷ ἐνοχος." Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἦκομεν ἔωθεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, καὶ κατέβημεν εἰς
τὸ Κιρράϊον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς
οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόν-
των οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς, ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἀποθεν οἰκοῦν-
D τες Δελφῶν, ἦκον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὄπλων πανδημεῖ· καὶ εἰ μὴ
δρόμῳ μόλις ἐξεφύγομεν εἰς Δελφούς, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἂν ἀπ-
ολέσθαι. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Κόττυφος ὁ τὰς γνώμας ἐπι-
ψηφίζων ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίει τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ
ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερο-
μνήμονας συγκαλέσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ χρω-
μένους τῷ θεῷ. Ἐνταῦθ' ἤδη πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῶν
Ἀμφισσέων κατηγορίαι, πολὺς δ' ἔπαινος ἦν κατὰ τῆς ἡμε-
τέρας πόλεως· τέλος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου ψηφίζονται ἦκειν
τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ
εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα καθ' ὃ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισ-

σεῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν ἱεράν καὶ τοὺς Ἀ
 Ἀμφικτύονας ἐξήμαρτον. "Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται
 ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τοῦ δόγματος τούτου ἀποδοθέντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ 38
 καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν ἀποδεξαμένου
 τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως πάσης προαιρουμένης εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ
 Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεσεγγυήματος τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης ἀντι-
 λέγοντος καὶ ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ἐξελέγχοντος,
 ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν πόλιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἠδύνατο B
 σφῆλαι, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μεταστησάμενος
 τοὺς ιδιώτας ἐκφέρεται προβούλευμα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-
 λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος ἀπειρίαν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι δήμου
 ψήφισμα ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπεληλυθότος ἐμοῦ
 (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐπέτρεψα) καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων·
 οὗ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι, "τὸν ἱερομνήμονα" φησί "τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας πορεύ-
 εσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις
 ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων," εὐπρεπῶς γε τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔργῳ C
 αἰσχυρῶς· κωλύει γὰρ εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαν-
 τᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἔμελλε χρόνου
 γίνεσθαι. Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψηφίσματι πολὺ καὶ
 σαφέστερον καὶ πικρότερον σύγγραμμα γράφει, "τὸν ἱερομνή-
 μονα" φησί "τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς αἰεὶ
 πυλαγοροῦντας μὴ μετέχειν τοῖς ἐκεῖ συλλεγομένοις μήτε
 λόγων μήτε ἔργων μήτε δογμάτων μήτε πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς."
 Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχειν τί ἐστι; πότερα τάληθές εἶπω ἢ τὸ ἡδιστον
 ἀκοῦσαι; τὸ ἀληθές ἐρῶ· τὸ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενον
 οὕτως τὴν πόλιν διατέθεικεν. Οὐκ ἔῤ μεμνησθαι τῶν ὄρκων, D
 οὓς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὤμοσαν, οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ
 θεοῦ μαντείας.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι κατεμείναμεν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ 39
 ψήφισμα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν εἰς Πύλας
 πλὴν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἧς ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν τοῦνομα εἶποιμι, μήθ' αἰ
 συμφοραὶ παραπλήσιοι γένοιντο αὐτῆς μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
 Καὶ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισ-
 σέας, καὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον τὸν τότε
 τὰς γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζοντα, οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ
 Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις

- Α οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος· ὃν αὐτίκα μάλα τολμήσει λέγειν Δημοσθένης ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπήγαγον. Καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῶ χρόνῳ προεῖπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐναγεῖς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰτίους μετεστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ δι' εὐσεβείαν φυγόντας κατήγαγον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγεῖς κατήγαγον καὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κατελθόντας διὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐξέβαλον, οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν
- Β στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐποίησαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανεληλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότων, τῆς δὲ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκίας ἐμποδῶν γεγεννημένης.
- 40 Ἄλλ' οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι, μόνον οὐκ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς προσκτησάμενοι; οὐδεμίαν τοι πώποτε ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἐώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνίων ἀπολλυμένην. Οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἦν τὸ τοῖς μυστηρίοις φανέν σημεῖον φυλάξασθαι,
- C ἢ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή; οὐ περὶ τούτων Ἀμεινιάδης μὲν προὔλεγεν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερησομένους τὸν θεὸν ὅτι χρὴ πράττειν, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ ἀπολαύων καὶ ἐμπιπλάμενος τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερῆτων τῶν ἱερῶν ὄντων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; καίτοι γε πρόην ἀπετόλμησε λέγειν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦτο Φίλιππος οὐκ ἦλθεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιός εἰ τυχεῖν, ὃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε;
- D εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κρατῶν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν κρατουμένων χώραν, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, σὺ δ' οὐδὲν προειδὼς τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι πρὶν καλλιερῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψας, πότερον στεφανοῦσθαί σε δεῖ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχίαις ἢ ὑπερωρίσθαι;
- 41 Τοιγάρτοι τί τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτων ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐ γέγονεν; οὐ γὰρ βίον γε ἡμεῖς ἀνθρώπινον βεβίωκαμεν, ἀλλ' εἰς παραδοξολογίαν τοῖς ἔσομένοις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφνυμεν. Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὁ τὸν Ἄθω διορύξας, ὁ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, ὁ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἰτῶν,

ὁ τολμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφειν ὅτι δεσπότης ἐστὶν **A**
 ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέχρι δυομένου, νῦν
 οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ
 σώματος σωτηρίας; καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀρῶμεν τῆς τε δόξης
 ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἡγεμονίας ἠξιωμένους, οἳ καὶ
 τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἠλευθέρωσαν. Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις
 ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρ-
 πασται, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, περὶ τῶν ὄλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσά-
 μενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε θεοβλάβειαν καὶ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὐκ
 ἀνθρωπίνως ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως κτησάμενοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οἱ
 ταλαίπωροι, προσαψάμενοι μόνον τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ **B**
 ἀρχῆς περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ
 ἀξιούντες ἡγεμόνες εἶναι, νῦν ὀμηρεύσοντες καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμ-
 πεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνῳ
 δόξη, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ προηδικημένου μετριότητι
 κριθήσονται. Ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις, ἡ κοινὴ καταφυγὴ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, πρὸς ἣν ἀφικνοῦντο πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ
 πρεσβεῖαι, κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐρη-
 σόμενοι, νῦν οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνί-
 ζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους. Καὶ ταῦθ' **C**
 ἡμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐξ ὅτου Δημοσθένης πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν
 προσελήλυθεν. Εὖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιη-
 τῆς ἀποφαίνεται. Λέγει γάρ που, παιδεύων τὰ πλήθη καὶ
 συμβουλεύων ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν δημαγωγῶν μὴ
 προσδέχεσθαι. Λέξω δὲ κἀγὼ τὰ ἔπη· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι
 ἡμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γνώμας ἐκμανθάνειν, ἵν'
 ἄνδρες ὄντες αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

πολλάκι δὴ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
 ὅς κεν ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάσται.
 τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγα πῆμα δῶκε Κρονίων, **D**
 λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·
 ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὅ γε τεῖχος,
 ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ ἀποτίννυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.

Ἐὰν δὲ περιελόντες τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὸ μέτρον τὰς γνώμας ἐξετά-
 ζητε, οἶμαι ὑμῖν δόξειν οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσιόδου εἶναι ἀλλὰ
 χρησμὸν εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικὴ καὶ
 πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην εἰσὶν ἀνηρασμένοι ἐκ τῆς
 τούτου πολιτείας.

Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, οὔτε Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὔτ' ἄλλος **42**

Α οὐδείς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο, ὅς, ὧ γῆ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὅσοι βούλεσθε ἀκούειν τάληθῆ, τολμᾷ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσ-
 ωπα τὰ ὑμέτερα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαῖοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν ἐποίη-
 σαντο οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρόν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα
 αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς Δημοσθένους
 δημηγορίας. Καίτοι πολλὰς μὲν πρότερον πρεσβείας ἐπρέσ-
 βευσαν εἰς Θήβας οἱ μάλιστα οἰκείως ἐκείνοις διακείμενοι,
 πρῶτος μὲν Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐν Θήβαις πισ-
 τευθεὶς ὡς οὐδείς ἕτερος, πάλιν Θράσων ὁ Ἐρχιεύς, πρόξενος
Β ὢν Θηβαίους, Λεωδάμας ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, οὐχ ἦττον Δημοσθένους
 λέγειν δυνάμενος ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἠδίων, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Πήληξ,
 καὶ δυνατὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πολλὰ κекινδυνευκῶς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
 διὰ Θηβαίους, Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν
 τοῦ βοιωτιάξιν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν, Πύβρανδρος ὁ Ἀναφλύσ-
 τιος, ὅς ἐτι καὶ νῦν ζῆ. Ἄλλ' ὅμως οὐδείς πώποτε αὐτούς
 ἐδυνήθη προτρέψασθαι εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλίαν. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον
 οἶδα μὲν, λέγειν δ' οὐδὲν δέομαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας αὐτῶν.
 Ἄλλ' οἶμαι ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος Νίκαιαν Θετ-
 ταλοῖς παρέδωκε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὃν πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ
Γ τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτῶν, τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον
 ἐπήγαγε διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχαράκωσε καὶ φρουρὰν εἰσήγαγεν,
 ἐνταῦθ' ἦδη, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῶν ἤπτετο, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀθη-
 ναίους, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξήλθετε καὶ εἰσήειτε εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις διεσκευασμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς καὶ οἱ πεζοί, πρὶν περὶ
 συμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην. Ὅ
 δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ
 χρεία συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης, ἐπεὶ περὶ γε ταύτας
 τὰς πράξεις τρία τὰ πάντων μέγιστα Δημοσθένης εἰς ὑμᾶς
Δ ἐξημάρτηκε, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππου τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι πολε-
 μοῦντος ὑμῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῦντος Θηβαίους,
 ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν;
 ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἀπεκρύψατο, προσποιη-
 σάμενος δὲ μέλλειν τὴν συμμαχίαν γενήσεσθαι οὐ διὰ τοὺς
 καιροὺς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας πρῶτον μὲν συνέπεισε
 τὸν δῆμον μηκέτι βουλευέσθαι ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ ποιείσθαι τὴν συμ-
 μαχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν μόνον εἰ γίνεται, τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν
 ἔκδοτον μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν ἐποίησε Θηβαίους, γράψας
 ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔάν τις ἀφιστῆται πόλις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων,
 βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις, τοῖς ὀνόμασι

κλέπτων καὶ μεταφέρων τὰ πράγματα, ὡσπερ εἶωθεν, ὡς τοὺς A
 Βοιωτοὺς ἔργῳ κακῶς πάσχοντας τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσιν
 τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγαπήσαντας, ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς
 κακῶς πεπόνθησαν ἀγανακτήσαντας· δεύτερον δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν
 πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς
 ἦσαν ἀπωτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις, δωρο-
 δοκῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τούτων, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ
 θάλατταν ἐποίησε κοινήν, τὸ δ' ἀνάλωμα ἴδιον ὑμέτερον, τὴν
 δὲ κατὰ γῆν, εἰ μὴ δεῖ ληρεῖν, ἄρδην φέρων ἀνέθηκε Θηβαίοις,
 ὥστε παρὰ τὸν γενόμενον πόλεμον μὴ κύριον γενέσθαι Στρατο-
 κλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγὸν βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν B
 στρατιωτῶν σωτηρίας. Καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν κατηγορῶ
 ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, ἀλλὰ καγὼ λέγω καὶ πάντες ἐπι-
 τιμῶσι καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε καὶ οὐκ ὀργίζεσθε. Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ
 πεπόνθατε πρὸς Δημοσθένην· συνείθισθε ἤδη τὰ δίκηματα τὰ
 τούτου ἀκούειν, ὥστε οὐ θαυμάζετε. Δεῖ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ'
 ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι, εἰ χρὴ τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ πόλει καλῶς
 ἔχειν.

Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ πολὺ τούτου μείζον ἀδίκημα ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι 43
 τὸ βουλευτήριο τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἄρδην
 ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος καὶ μετήνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδ- C
 μείαν, τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πράξεων τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις συν-
 θέμενος· καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δυναστείαν κατεσκεύασεν,
 ὥστ' ἤδη παριῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρεσβεύσειν μὲν ἔφη ὅποι ἂν
 αὐτῷ δοκῇ, κἂν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἐκπέμπητε, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν ἀντίποι, καταδουλούμενος τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ
 συνεθίζων μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν διαδικασίαν ἔφη γράψειν
 τῷ βήματι πρὸς τὸ στρατήγιον· πλείω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ ἔφη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πεπονθέναι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ στρατηγίου. Μισθοφορῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς
 χώραις, καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα κλέπτων, καὶ τοὺς D
 μυρίους ξένους ἐκμισθώσας Ἀμφισσεῦσι πολλὰ διαμαρτυρο-
 μένου καὶ σχετλιάζοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμοῦ, προσέμιξε
 φέρων ἀναρπασθέντων τῶν ξένων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπαρσκευῶ
 τῇ πόλει. Τί γὰρ ἂν οἴεσθε Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς
 εὔξασθαι; οὐ χωρὶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν δύναμιν χωρὶς
 δ' ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαγωνίσασθαι, ἀθύμους δὲ
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας λαβεῖν τηλικαύτης πληγῆς προγεγενημένης;
 καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν αἴτιος γεγενημένος Δημοσθένης οὐκ
 ἀγαπᾷ εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
 στεφανωθήσεται ἀγανακτεῖ· οὐδ' ἰκανόν ἐστίν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον

- A** ὑμῶν κηρύττεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον ἀναβρῆ-
 θήσεται, τοῦτ' ἀγανακτεῖ. Οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικε, πονηρὰ φύσις
 μεγάλης ἐξουσίας ἐπιλαβομένη δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμ-
 φοράς.
- 44 Τρίτον δὲ καὶ τῶν προειρημένων μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω
 λέγειν. Φιλίππου γὰρ οὐ καταφρονούντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
 οὐδ' ἀγνοούντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνετος) ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
 των ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιῖται, καὶ διὰ
 ταῦτα βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρεσβείας
B φοβουμένων τὸν ἐπίοντα κίνδυνον (εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ῥήτωρ
 ἀστράτευτος καὶ λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοὺς ἐνουθέτησεν, ἀλλ'
 ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετῆς γεγωνὼς αἰμίμηστον παιδείαν
 αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσεν), τούτων δὲ ἐχόντων οὕτως αἰσθόμενος
 Δημοσθένης, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτάρχας ὑποπτέυσας μέλλειν εἰρή-
 νην ἰδίᾳ ποιῆσθαι χρυσίον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβόν-
 τας, ἀβίωτον ἠγησάμενος εἶναι εἴ τινος ἀπολειφθήσεται δωρο-
 δοκίας, ἀναπηδήσας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων λέγον-
 τος οὐθ' ὡς δεῖ ποιῆσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην οὐθ' ὡς οὐ
 δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς ᾤετο, τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι τοῖς Βοιωτάρχαις προ-
C κηρύττων ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη τῶν λημμάτων, διώμνυτο
 τὴν Ἀθηναῖν (ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο
 καὶ ἐνεπιορκεῖν Δημοσθένει) ἢ μὴν εἴ τις ἐρεῖ ὡς χρὴ πρὸς
 Φίλιππον εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, ἀπάξειν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον
 ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπομιμούμενος τὴν Κλεοφῶντος
 πολιτείαν, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου, ὡς
 λέγεται, τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσεν. Ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ οἱ
 ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς
 ὑμετέρους πάλιν ἀνέστρεψαν ἐξεληλυθότας, ἵνα βουλευσθε
 περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐνταῦθα παντάπασιν ἔκφρων ἐγένετο, καὶ
D παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προδότας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βοιωτάρ-
 χας ἀπεκάλεσε, καὶ γράψειν ἔφη ψήφισμα ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις
 οὐδέποτε ἀντιβλέψας πέμπειν ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας αἰτή-
 σοντας Θηβαίους δίοδον ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. Ὑπεραισχυθέντες
 δὲ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις ἄρχοντες μὴ δόξωσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι προ-
 δόται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπετρέποντο, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τὴν παράταξιν ὥρμησαν.
- 45 Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐπιμνησθῆ-
 ναι, οὓς οὗτος ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερότων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν
 ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον ἐτόλμησε τοῖς δραπέταις
 ποσὶ καὶ λελοιπόσι τὴν τάξιν ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν

τετελευτηκότων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν. Ὡς πρὸς **A** μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε, ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα, βλέπων εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα, λέγειν ὡς δεῖ σε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς στεφανοῦσθαι; ἐὰν δ' οὗτος λέγη, ὑμεῖς ὑπομενεῖτε, καὶ συναποθανεῖται τοῖς τελευτήσασι, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα μνήμη; γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄρῳ προίοντα τὸν κήρυκα καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάρρησιν μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι, καὶ λογίσασθε πότερ' οἴεσθε τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν τελευτησάντων πλείω **B** δάκρυα ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τραγωδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἥρωικοῖς πάθεσι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεισιούσιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀλγήσειεν ἄνθρωπος Ἑλληναὶ καὶ παιδευθεῖς ἐλευθέρως, ἀναμνησθεῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκεῖνό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ὅτι ταύτη ποτὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μελλόντων ὡσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν γίνεσθαι, ὅτ' εὐνομεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ πόλις καὶ βελτίοσι προστάταις ἐχρήτο, προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ καὶ παραστησάμενος τοὺς ὀρφανούς ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἦσαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότες, νεανίσκους πανοπλία κεκοσμημένους, ἐκήρυττε τὸ κάλλιστον κήρυγμα καὶ προτρεπτικώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅτι **C** τούσδε τοὺς νεανίσκους, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ἐτελεύτησαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν ἡβῆς ὁ δῆμος ἔτρεφε, νυνὶ δὲ καθοπλίσας τῇδε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἀφήσειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ καλεῖ εἰς προεδρίαν. Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκήρυττεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ παραστησάμενος τὸν τῆς ὀρφανίας τοῖς παισὶν αἴτιον τί ποτ' ἀνερεῖ ἢ τί φθέγγεται; καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτὰ διεξίη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προστάγματα, ἀλλ' οὐ τό γ' ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχροὺς σιωπηθήσεται ἀλλὰ τὰναντία δόξει τῇ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῇ φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀνὴρ, στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθη- **D** ναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τὸν κάκιστον, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα τὸν ἀνανδρὸν καὶ λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν. Μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἰκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τρόπαιον ἴστατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ὀρχήστρᾳ, μηδ' αἰρεῖτε παρανοίας ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μηδ' ὑπομιμνήσκετε τῶν ἀνιάτων καὶ ἀνηκέστων κακῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Θηβαίους, οὓς φυγόντας διὰ τοῦτον ὑποδέδεχθε τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἱερὰ καὶ τέκνα καὶ τάφους ἀπώλεσεν ἡ Δημοσθένους δωροδοκία καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ παρεγένεσθε, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε διανοίαις

- A** ἀποβλέψατ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ νομίσαθ' ὄρῃν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας ὀψὲ μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι. Οὔτε πόλις γὰρ οὔτ' ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησά-
- B** μενος. Ὑμεῖς δ' ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμύοντας νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα, τὸν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνατετροφότα, τοῦτον ἐάσετε πάλιν ἐπευθύνειν τὰ κοινά;
- 46 Ἴνα δ' εἶπω καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου καιροῦ καὶ τῶν νυνὶ καθ-
 εστηκότων πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνησαί βούλομαι, ὅτι
 Δημοσθένης οὐ τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μόνον τάξιν ἔλιπεν
C ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, τριήρη προσλαβῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἠργυρολόγησε. Καταγαγούσης δ' αὐτὸν εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν πρώτους χρό-
 νους ὑπότρομος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ παριῶν ἡμιθνης ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα
 εἰρηνοφύλακα ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ
 μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰᾶτε τὸ
 Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσ-
 ἐτάττετε· νυνὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ. Ἐπειδὴ δ'
 ἐτελεύτησε Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη,
 πάλιν αὖ τερατενόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἰδρύσατο Πανσανίου, εἰς
D αἰτίαν δὲ εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν, ἐπωνυ-
 μίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο, ἀπετόλμα δὲ λέγειν ὡς
 οὐ κινήσεται ἐκ Μακεδονίας· ἀγαπᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν
 Πέλλῃ περιπατοῦντα καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα. Καὶ
 ταῦτα λέγειν ἔφη οὐκ εἰκάζων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι αἷματός
 ἐστὶν ἢ ἀρετῆ ὠνία, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχων αἷμα καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίας. Ἦδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρα-
 τεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον
 παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον,
 πρεσβευτῆς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθεῖς, ἀποδράς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ

Κιθαιρῶνος ἦκεν ὑποστρέψας, οὐτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὐτ' ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀ
 χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχων. Καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον,
 ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ' εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ' ὑμᾶς νῦν προδέδωκεν, εἶπερ
 ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέγεται. Ὡς γάρ φασιν οἱ Πάραλοι καὶ οἱ
 πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰκότως
 πιστεύεται), ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταϊκός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστο-
 βούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπῶλου υἱός, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ὑμῶν γινώσκει.
 Οὗτος ποτε ὁ νεανίσκος ἐτέρων τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρων γενόμενος
 ᾤκησε πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους οἰκίᾳ· ὅ τι δὲ πρῶ-
 των ἢ πάσχων, ἀμφίβολος ἢ αἰτία καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμῶς Β
 εὐσχημον ἐμοὶ λέγειν. Οὗτος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἠγνοημένος
 ὅστις ποτ' ἔστι καὶ πῶς βεβιωκώς, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει
 καὶ πλησιάζει ἐκείνῳ. Διὰ τούτου γράμματα πέμψας ὡς
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἄδειάν τινα εὔρηται καὶ διαλλαγᾶς καὶ πολλὴν
 κολακείαν πεποίηται. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ θεωρήσατε ὡς ὁμοίον ἔστι
 τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἐφρόνει Δημοσθένης
 καὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ φησί, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, τρεῖς
 αὐτῷ καιροὶ κάλλιστοι παραγεγόνασιν, ὧν οὐδενὶ φαίνεται
 κεχρημένος. Εἷς μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ πάλαι
 καθεστηκώς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπαρασκευῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἰδίων ὄντων C
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη, ἤκμαζε δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ
 ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς
 τὴν συμμαχίαν προσεδέξατο διὰ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους αὐτῷ
 κινδύνους. Εἰπάς τινα ἐνταῦθα λόγον Δημόσθενες, ἢ
 ἔγραψάς τι ψήφισμα; βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρήσασ-
 θαι τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ; καίτοι ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος
 καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει Δαρεῖος
 κατεβεβήκει, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ἀπειλημένος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
 πάντων ἐνδεής, ὡς ἔφησθα σύ, αὐτίκα μάλα δ' ἤμελλεν, ὡς
 ἦν ὁ παρὰ σοῦ λόγος, συμπατηθήσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς D
 ἵππου, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀηδίαν ἢ πόλις οὐκ ἐχώρει καὶ τὰς ἐπιστο-
 λὰς ἄς ἐξηρητημένος ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων περιήεις, ἐπιδεικνύων
 τισὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένου καὶ ἀθυμοῦντος,
 καὶ χρυσόκερων ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατεστέφθαι φάσκων εἴ τι
 πταῖσμα συμβήσεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔπραξας οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' εἰς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίῳ. Ὑπερβᾶς τοίνυν
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν νυνὶ καθεστηκόντων λέξω. Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι μὲν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἐπέτυχον μάχῃ καὶ διέφθειραν τοὺς
 περὶ Κόρραγον στρατιώτας, Ἡλεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς συμμετεβᾶ-
 λοντο καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες πλην Πελληναίων καὶ Ἀρκαδία

- Α πᾶσα πλὴν Μεγάλης πόλεως, αὕτη δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλῶναι, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης μεθειστήκει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος πολὺν χρόνον συνῆγε στρατόπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐσό-
 μενον ἄδηλον ἦν. Ἐνταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσαι, Δημό-
 σθενες, τί ποτ' ἦν ἢ ἔπραξας ἢ τί ποτ' ἦν ἢ ἔλεγες; καὶ εἰ
 βούλει, παραχωρῶ σοι τοῦ βήματος, ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς. Ἐπειδὴ
 δὲ σιγᾶς, ὅτι μὲν ἀπορεῖς, συγγνώμην ἔχω σοι, ἢ δὲ τότε
 ἔλεγες, ἐγὼ νῦν λέξω. Οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μιὰ καὶ
 ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἢ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς ὦ σιδήρεοι ἐκαρτερεῖτε
 Β ἀκρωμένοι; ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν “ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν
 πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέμνη-
 ται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμοῦραφούμεθα, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά
 τινες ὡσπερ τὰς βελόνας διεύρουσι.” Ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ
 κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν
 σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
 “ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικὰ συστῆσαι, ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ
 Περῆραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι.” Σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην ἀποστήσῃς; σὺ
 γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοις μὴ ὅτι πρὸς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς οἰκίαν ὅπου
 κίνδυνος πρόσεστιν; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν που χρήματα ἀναλίσκεται,
 C προσκαθιζήσῃ, πρᾶξιν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις; εἰ δ' αὐτόματον
 τι συμβῆ, προσποιήσῃ καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γεγενημένον ἐπι-
 γράψῃς; ἂν δ' ἔλθῃ φόβος τις, ἀποδράσῃ; εἰ δὲ θάρ-
 ρήσωμεν, δωρεὰς αἰτήσῃς καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφα-
 νοῦσθαι.
- 47 Naί, ἀλλὰ δημοτικός ἐστίν. Ἐὰν μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν
 εὐφημίαν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ἀποβλέπητε, ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε
 ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον; εἰ δ' εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
 οὐκ ἐξαπατηθήσεσθε. Ἐκείνως δὲ ἀπολάβετε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν
 λόγον. Ἐγὼ μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν λογιόμην ἢ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι ἐν τῇ
 D φύσει τῷ δημοτικῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σώφρονι, καὶ πάλιν ἀντιθήσω
 ποῖόν τινα εἰκὸς ἐστίν εἶναι τὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
 φαῦλον; ὑμεῖς δ' ἀντιθέντες ἑκάτερα τούτων θεωρήσατ' αὐτόν,
 μὴ ὅποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὅποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. Οἶμαι
 τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν ὁμολογήσῃν ὑμᾶς τάδε δεῖν ὑπάρξαι τῷ
 δημοτικῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πατρός
 καὶ πρὸς μητρός, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀτυχίαν δυσ-
 μενῆς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις οὐ σώζουσι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, δεύτερον δ'
 ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
 ὑπάρχειν, ἢ τό γ' ἀναγκαιότατον μηδεμίαν ἔχθραν, ἵνα μὴ
 βροθῶν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀτυχήμασι κακῶς ἐπιχειρῆ ποιεῖν

τὴν πόλιν. Τρίτον σώφρονα καὶ μέτριον χρὴ πεφυκέναι αὐτὸν **A**
 πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν
 τῆς δαπάνης δωροδοκῆ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου, τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα
 καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι
 τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον
 πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν γ' εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ
 προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου. Πέμπτον ἀνδρεῖον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν,
 ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐγκαταλείπη τὸν
 δῆμον. Τὸν δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν πάντα δεῖ τάναντία τούτων ἔχειν·
 τί γὰρ δεῖ πάλιν διεξιέναι; σκέψασθε δὴ τί τούτων ὑπάρχει
 Δημοσθένει· ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔστω ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

Τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύ- **48**
 θερος· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τοῦ **B**
 πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πῶς ἔχει αὐτῷ; ἐγὼ φράσω. Γύλων
 ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων. Οὗτος προδὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις Νύμφαιον
 τὸ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο,
 φυγὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο θανάτου καταγνωσθέντος αὐτοῦ,
 τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Βόσπορον, κάκεῖ
 λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὠνομασμένους
 Κήπους, καὶ γαμῆ γυναικα πλουσίαν μὲν νῆ Δία καὶ χρυσίον
 ἐπιφερομένην πολὺ, Σκύθην δὲ τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς γίνονται αὐτῷ
 θυγατέρες δύο, αἷ ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων **C**
 στείλας συνῴκισε τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν ὄψωδήποτε, ἵνα μὴ πολλοῖς
 ἀπεχθάνωμαι· τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔγημε παριδῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
 νόμους Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἐξ ἧς ὑμῖν ὁ περίεργος καὶ
 συκοφάντης Δημοσθένης γεγένηται. Οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ
 πάππου τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πολέμιος ἂν εἴη τῷ δήμῳ (θάνατον
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῶν προγόνων κατέγνωτε), τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς
 Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ποιη-
 ρίαν οὐκ ἐπιχώριός ἐστι. Περὶ δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν
 τίς ἐστιν; ἐκ τριηράρχου λογογράφος ἀνεφάνη, τὰ πατρῷα
 καταγελάστως προέμενος· ἄπιστος δὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα δόξας **D**
 εἶναι καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα· πλεῖστον δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφῶς ἀργύριον ἐλά-
 χιστα περιεποιήσατο. Νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπι-
 κέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ, ἔσται δ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἱκανόν· οὐδεὶς
 γὰρ πώποτε πλοῦτος τρόπου πονηροῦ περιεγένετο. Καὶ τὸ
 κεφάλαιον, τὸν βίον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πορίζεται
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων κινδύνων. Περὶ δ' εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ
 λόγου δύναμιν πῶς πέφυκε; δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιῶναι.
 Οὕτω γὰρ κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παιδοποιία,

- A ὥστ' ἐμὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἂ τούτῳ πέπρακται· ἤδη γὰρ ποτε εἶδον μισηθέντας τοὺς τὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰσχροῦ λίαν σαφῶς λέγοντας. Ἐπειτα τί συμβαίνει τῇ πόλει; οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλοί, τὰ δ' ἔργα φαῦλα. Πρὸς δὲ ἀνδρίαν βραχύς μοι λείπεται λόγος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἠρνεῖτο μὴ δειλὸς εἶναι ἢ ὑμεῖς μὴ συνήδείτε, διατριβὴν ὁ λόγος ἂν μοι παρέσχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ὑμεῖς σύνιστε, λοιπὸν ὑπομῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων κειμένους νόμους. Ὁ γὰρ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ᾤετο δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λελοιπὸτα τὴν
- B τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὁμοίως· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ δειλίας γραφαί. Καίτοι θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὑμῶν εἰ εἰσὶ φύσεως γραφαί. Εἰσὶν. Τίνος ἔνεκα; ἵν' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίας φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμείνων ἀγωνιστῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχη. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν δειλὸν καὶ τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιβραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει, καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ στεφανοῦσθαι οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερά τὰ δημοτελεῖ· σὺ δὲ τὸν ἀστεφάνωτον ἐκ τῶν νόμων κελεύεις ἡμᾶς στεφανοῦν, καὶ τῷ σταντοῦ ψηφίσματι τὸν οὐ προσήκοντα εἰσκαλεῖς τοῖς τραγυ-
- C δοῖς εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν τὰ ἱερά διὰ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα.
- 49 Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐκεῖνο μέμνησθε ὅταν φῆ δημοτικὸς εἶναι. Θεωρεῖτ' αὐτοῦ μὴ τὸν λόγον ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ σκοπεῖτε μὴ τίς φησὶν εἶναι ἀλλὰ τίς ἔστιν.
- 50 Ἐπεὶ δὲ στεφάνων ἀνεμνήσθη καὶ δωρεῶν, ἕως ἔτι μέμνημαι, προλέγω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ καταλύσετε τὰς ἀφθόνοους ταύτας δωρεὰς καὶ τοὺς εἰκῆ διδομένους στεφάνους, οὐθ' οἱ τιμώμενοι χάριν ὑμῖν εἶσονται οὔτε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐπανορθωθήσεται· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πονηροὺς οὐ μὴ
- D ποτε βελτίους ποιήσετε, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖτε. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, μεγάλα τούτων οἶμαι σημεῖα δείξειν ὑμῖν. Εἰ γὰρ τις ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσῃ πότερον ὑμῖν ἐνδοξότερα δοκεῖ ἢ πόλις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν νυνὶ καιρῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιτε, ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων. Ἄνδρες δὲ πότερον τότε ἀμείνους ἦσαν ἢ νυνὶ; τότε μὲν διαφέροντες, νυνὶ δὲ πολλῶν καταδέεστεροι. Δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ σιτήσεις ἐν πρυτανείῳ πότερον τότε ἦσαν πλείους ἢ νυνὶ; τότε μὲν ἦν σπάνια τὰ καλά παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὄνομα τίμιον· νῦν δ' ἤδη κατα-

πέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸ στεφανοῦν ἐξ ἔθους ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ Α
 προνοίας ποιεῖσθε. Οὐκ οὖν ἄτοπον οὕτωςι διαλογιζομένοις
 τὰς μὲν δωρεὰς νῦν πλείους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς
 πόλεως τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἰσχύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας νῦν μὲν
 χείρους εἶναι, τότε δ' ἀμείνους; ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχει-
 ρήσω διδάσκειν. Οἴεσθ' ἂν ποτε ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐθέλησαί τινα
 ἐπασκεῖν εἰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἢ εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν στεφανιτῶν
 ἀγῶνων παγκράτιον ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν βαρυντέρων ἄθλων,
 εἰ ὁ στέφανος ἐδίδοτο μὴ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ;
 οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτ' ἠθέλησεν ἐπασκεῖν. Νῦν δ' οἶμαι διὰ τὸ σπά-
 νιον καὶ τὸ περιμάχητον καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀείμνηστον ἐκ Β
 τῆς νίκης ἐθέλουσί τινες τὰ σώματα παρακαταθέμενοι καὶ τὰς
 μεγίστας ταλαιπωρίας ὑπομείναντες διακινδυνεύειν. Ὑπο-
 λάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρε-
 τῆς, κάκεινο ἐκλογίσασθε, ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς ὀλίγοις καὶ
 ἀξίοις καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διδῶτε, πολλοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἔξετε
 τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ τοῖς διαπραξαμένοις
 χαρίζησθε, καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φύσεις διαφθερεῖτε. Ὅτι δὲ
 ὀρθῶς λέγω, ἔτι μικρῷ σαφέστερον ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διδάξαι.
 Πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατη-
 γήσας ὅτε τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ C
 Δημοσθένης ὁ τὴν τάξιν λιπῶν; Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ τὴν ἐν
 Μαραθῶνι μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος; ἔτι δ' οἱ
 ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες; Ἀριστείδης
 δ' ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν Δημοσθένει;
 ἀλλ' ἐγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς
 ἡμέραις ἄξιον ἠγοῦμαι μεμνησθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου καὶ ἐκεί-
 νων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ
 αὐτοῦ λόγῳ εἰ που γέγραπται τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων στεφα-
 νῶσαι. Ἀχάριστος ἄρ' ἦν ὁ δῆμος; οὐκ, ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων,
 κάκεινοί γε οἱ μὴ τειμημένοι τῆς πόλεως ἄξιοι· οὐ γὰρ ᾤοντο D
 δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ
 πεπονθότων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέ-
 ρας ἀθάνατος οὕσα διαμένει. Δωρεὰς δὲ τίνας ἐλάμβανον;
 ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι.

Ἦσάν τινες κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπο- 51
 μείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ
 ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους· οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον
 ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὡς
 τότε ἔδούκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἐρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν

A Ἐρμῶν, ἐφ' ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων εἴσεσθε. Ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐρμῶν

ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων
 παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στυρνμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,
 λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα
 πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ

B ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν
 ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.
 μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
 ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἐρμῆ

ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλῃος ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεύς
 ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἄμ πεδίον,
 ὃν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων
 κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἕξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.
 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
 κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης.

C Ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

52 Προσέλθετε δὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ εἰς τὴν στοᾶν τὴν ποικίλην· ἀπάντων γὰρ ὑμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται. Τί οὖν ἔστιν, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω; ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ γέγραπται. Τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ στρατηγός; οὕτως μὲν ἐρωτηθέντες ἅπαντες ἀποκρίναισθε ἂν ὅτι Μιλτιάδης, ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται. Πῶς; οὐκ ἦτησε τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην; ἦτησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, D ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ πρώτῳ γραφῆναι, παρακαλοῦντι τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μετρώφῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς (καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἕλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον), ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανοῦσθαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσῷ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος,

νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται. Καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ Α
πρᾶξι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλήν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ
τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλήν, οὐχ ὅσοι
τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων. "Ὅτι
δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΥΛΗΣ.

Παρανάγνωθι καὶ ὁ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένει τῷ τῶν
μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίῳ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξαλείφεται ἡ τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν Β
δῆμον δωρεά. Εἰ τοῦτ' ἔχει καλῶς, ἐκεῖνο αἰσchrῶς· εἰ ἐκεῖνοι
κατ' ἀξίαν ἐτιμήθησαν, οὗτος ἀνάξιος ὢν στεφανοῦται.

Καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ' αὐτὸν μέλλειν λέγειν ὡς οὐ δίκαια 53
ποιῶ παραβάλλων αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα· οὐδὲ γὰρ
Φιλάμμωνά φησι τὸν πύκτην Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι νική-
σαντα Γλαῦκον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον πύκτην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ'
ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιστάς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
πύκταις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δ' ἀξιοῦσι στεφα-
νοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἧς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται. C
Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν κήρυκα ἀψευδεῖν, ὅταν τὴν ἀνάβρῃσιν ἐν τῷ θεά-
τρῳ ποιῆται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Μὴ οὖν ἡμῖν ὡς Παται-
κίωνος ἄμεινον πεπολίτευσαι διεξιθῆ, ἀλλ' ἐφικόμενος τῆς
ἀνδραγαθίας, οὕτω τὰς χάριτας τὸν δῆμον ἀπαίτει.

"Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώ- 54
σεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς
ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων D
δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους
θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πρῶτοι πόλεως καταπαύειν
ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

"Ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τοῦτ' 55
αὐτούς φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς τιμηθῆναι. "Ἐναυλον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι
τότε πᾶσιν ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς
γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον. Καὶ γὰρ τοι, ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ
πατρὸς τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐπυνθανόμην, ὅς ἔτη βιοῦς ἐνενήκοντα

A καὶ πέντε ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπάντων μετασχὼν τῶν πόνων τῇ πόλει, ὃς πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξήκει ἐπὶ σχολῆς· ἔφη γάρ, ὅτε ἀρτίως κατεληλύθει ὁ δῆμος, εἴ τις εἰσίοι γραφὴν παρανόμων εἰς δικαστήριον, εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτερον ἀνδρὸς παράνομα λέγοντος καὶ πράττοντος; καὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐποιοῦντο ὥσπερ νῦν γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἦσαν πολὺ χαλεπώτεροι οἱ δικασταὶ τοῖς τὰ παράνομα γράφουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ

B ἠλίσκοντο οἱ παράνομα γράφοντες οὐκ εἰ πάντα παραπηδήσαιεν τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' εἰ μίαν μόνον συλλαβὴν παραλλάξαιεν. Τὸ δὲ νυνὶ γινόμενον πρᾶγμα ὑπερκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τὸ παράνομον, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπώδην ἢ ἀλλότριόν τι πρᾶγμα ἀκροώμενοι πρὸς ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τὴν γνώμην ἔχουσιν. "Ἦδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχροὺς ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. Μετενήνεκται γὰρ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μὲν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταί, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν.

C Λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ἂν ἄρα ποθ' ἀψῆται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὡς ἔνομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ νυνὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἀκούω Κτησιφῶντα. Ἐτόλμα δ' ἐν ὑμῖν ποτε σεμνύνεσθαι Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς λέγων ὅτι γραφὰς παρανόμων πέφευγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Κέφαλος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ δοκῶν δημοτικώτατος γεγονέναι, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων γεγραφῶς ψηφίσματα οὐδεμίαν πώποτε

D γραφὴν πέφευγε παρανόμων, καλῶς (οἶμαι) σεμνυνόμενος. Ἐγράφοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλους παρανόμων οὐ μόνον οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς φίλους, εἴ τι ἐξαμαρτάνοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοῦτο γνώσεσθε. Ἀρχῖνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἐγράψατο παρανόμων Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριάα γράψαντά τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἓνα τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτῷ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, καὶ εἶλε νεωστὶ γεγενημένων αὐτῷ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ ὑπελογίσαντο οἱ δικασταί· ἠγοῦντο γάρ, ὥσπερ τότε αὐτοὺς φεύγοντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς Θρασύβουλος κατήγαγεν, οὕτω νῦν μένοντας ἐξελαύνειν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γράφοντά τι. Ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον γίνεται·

οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν τὰς σιτήσεις τινὲς εὐρημένων **A**
 ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, οὓς
 ὑμεῖς ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε· εἰ γὰρ τις
 ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ τετιμημένος, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ἦν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ
 οἱ νόμοι σώζουσι, τολμᾶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς παράνομα γράφουσι,
 καταλύει τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφ' ἧς τετίμηται. Τίς οὖν ἀποδέδεικ-
 ται λόγος ἀνδρὶ συνηγόρῳ δικαίῳ καὶ σώφρονι; ἐγὼ λέξω.
 Εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρα-
 νόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγορῷ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ
 δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ **B**
 πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ
 παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῆσει καὶ τῷ
 μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τιμή-
 σει τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται·
 ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὄρκον αἰτεῖ,
 νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὄσιον
 οὐδενὶ οὔτ' αἰτηθέντα ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι. Κελεύσατε οὖν αὐτούς,
 ἑάσαντας ὑμᾶς τὴν πρώτην ψῆφον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους διενεγ-
 κεῖν, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τιμῆσιν. Ὅλως δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν ὡς καὶ νόμον δεῖ τεθῆναι ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς **C**
 μόνον τῶν παρανόμων, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τῷ κατηγορῷ συν-
 ηγόρους παρασχέσθαι μήτε τῷ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν παρανόμων
 φεύγοντι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀόριστόν ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ὠρισμένον
 τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν
 εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μῆ, τὸν κανόνα προσ-
 φέρομεν ᾧ διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν
 παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον,
 καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. Ταῦτα συμ-
 φωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε· καὶ τί δεῖ σε Δημο-
 σθένην παρακαλεῖν; ὅταν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν ἀπο- **D**
 λογίαν παρακαλῆς κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων,
 κλέπτεις τὴν ἀκρόασιν, βλάπτεις τὴν πόλιν, καταλύεις τὴν
 δημοκρατίαν.

Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ἀποτροπὴ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων; ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. 56
 Ἐπειδὴν προσελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλεθ' ἐπὶ ὑμᾶς
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προοίμιον, ἔπειτ' ἐνδιατρίβη
 καὶ μὴ ἀπολογῆται, ὑπομνήσατ' αὐτὸν ἄνευ θορύβου τὸ σανί-
 διον λαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους τῷ ψηφίσματι παραναγνῶναι.
 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ προσποιῆται ὑμῶν ἀκούειν, μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου
 ἐθέλετε ἀκούειν· οὐ γὰρ τῶν φευγόντων τὰς οὐ δικαίας ἀπο-

A λογίας εἰσεληλύθατε ἀκροασόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐθειλόντων
δικαίως ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Ἐὰν δ' ὑπερπηδήσας τὴν δικαίαν
ἀπολογίαὶν Δημοσθένην παρακαλῆ, μάλιστα μὲν μὴ προσ-
δέχεσθε κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον, οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους
ἀναιρήσειν, μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω,
ὅς ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφῶντος “ ἢ καλέσω Δημοσθένην ;”
πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ “ κάλει, κάλει.” Ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ
τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς. Ἄν δ' ἄρα
ὑμῖν δόξῃ ἀκούειν, ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-
πον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὄνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα. Ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς
B κατηγόρηκα ; ἵνα καὶ ὑπομνήσω ὑμᾶς. Οὔτε τὸν ἴδιον βίον
τὸν Δημοσθένους πρότερον διεξῆλθον οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων ἀδι-
κημάτων οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ἄφθονα δῆπου καὶ πολλὰ
ἔχων λέγειν· ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἶην ἀπορώτατος· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον
μὲν τοὺς νόμους ἐπέδειξα ἀπαγορεύοντας μὴ στεφανοῦν τοὺς
ὑπευθύνους, ἔπειτα τὸν ῥήτορα ἐξήλεγξα γράψαντα Δημοσθέ-
νην ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα στεφανοῦν οὐδὲν προβαλλόμενον, οὐδὲ
προσεγγράψαντα “ ἐπειδὴν δῶ τὰς εὐθύνας,” ἀλλὰ παντελῶς
καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καταπεφρονηκότα· καὶ τὰς ἐσομένας
πρὸς ταῦτα προφάσεις εἶπον, ἃς ἀξιῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς διαμνημο-
C νεύειν. Δεύτερον δ' ὑμῖν διεξῆλθον τοὺς περὶ τῶν κηρυγ-
μάτων νόμους, ἐν οἷς διαρρήδην ἀπείρηται τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
στεφανούμενον μὴ κηρύττεσθαι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ
ὁ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν τόπον, κελεύων
οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν ἀναρρήσιν γίνεσθαι,
οὐδ' ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ μελλόντων τραγῳδῶν
εἰσιέναι. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν μικρὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἶπον, τὰ
δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ
τὸν Δημοσθένην ἀξιώσατε ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὑπευ-
D θύνων νόμον πρῶτον καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων δεύτερον,
τρίτον δὲ τὸ μέγιστον λέγω, ὡς οὐδὲ ἀξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς.
Ἐὰν δ' ὑμῶν δέηται συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ
λόγου, κατεπαγγελόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς ἀπολογίας
λύσει τὸ παράνομον, μὴ συγχωρεῖτε, μηδ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι
πάλαισμα τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δικαστηρίου· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαυθίς ποτε βού-
λεται πρὸς τὸ παράνομον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔχων
δίκαιον εἰπεῖν ἐτέρων παρεμβολῇ πραγμάτων εἰς λήθην ὑμᾶς
βούλεται τῆς κατηγορίας ἐμβαλεῖν. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς
γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλή-
λοις διαγωνιζομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ

τῆς πόλεως περὶ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου μάχεσθε, καὶ μὴ ἄ
 ἔατε αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ παρανόμου περιστάσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐγκαθήμενοι
 καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει εἰσελαύνετε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς
 τοῦ πράγματος λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων
 ἐπιτηρεῖτε. Ἄλλ' ἂ δὴ συμβήσεται ὑμῖν, ἐὰν τοῦτον τὸν
 τρόπον τὴν ἀκροάσιν ποιῆσθε, ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἤδη δίκαιός εἰμι
 προειπεῖν. Ἐπεισάξει γὰρ τὸν γόητα καὶ βαλαντιοτόμον
 καὶ διατετμήκοτα τὴν πολιτείαν. Οὗτος κλαίει μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ
 ἄλλοι γελῶσιν, ἐπιορκεῖ δὲ πάντων προχειρότατα· οὐκ ἂν
 θαυμάσαιμι δὲ εἰ μεταβαλλόμενος τοῖς ἔξω περιεστηκόσι λαιδο-
 ρήσεται, φάσκων τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας διηριθμημένους ἦκειν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ βῆμα, τοὺς
 δὲ δημοτικούς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος. "Ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα λέγη,
 πρὸς μὲν τοὺς στασιαστικούς λόγους ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ ὑποβάλλετε
 "Ὁ Δημόσθενες, εἰ σοὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα
 τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες, οὐκ ἂν ποθ' ἢ δημοκρατία κατέστη.
 Νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μεγάλων κακῶν συμβάντων ἔσωσαν τὴν
 πόλιν τὸ κάλλιστον ἐκ παιδείας ῥῆμα φθεγζάμενοι, μὴ μνησι-
 κακεῖν· σὺ δὲ ἐλκοποιεῖς, καὶ μᾶλλον σοὶ μέλει τῶν αὐθημερόν
 λόγων ἢ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως." "Ὅταν δ' ἐπίορκος ὢν
 εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὄρκων πίστιν καταφυγάνη, ἐκεῖνο ἀπομνημο-
 νεύσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιορκοῦντι ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὄρκων ἀξιοῦντι πιστεύεσθαι δυοῖν θάτερον
 ὑπάρξαι δεῖ, ὢν οὐδέτερόν ἐστι Δημοσθένει ὑπάρχον, ἢ τοὺς
 θεοὺς καινοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀκροατὰς μὴ τοὺς αὐτούς. Περὶ δὲ τῶν
 δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ "ποῖ
 φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας·
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἀναπτήσομαι," ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ "ὁ δὲ
 δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημοσθενες; πρὸς ποίαν
 συμμάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλό-
 μενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; ἂ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ
 βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρῶμεν. Ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ
 οἰκεῖς, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως,
 ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαντοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον
 καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκῆματα." "Ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς
 ἢ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς; οὐχ ὁ μὲν τὴν γραφὴν
 φεύγων ἐστὶ Κτησιφῶν, ὁ δ' ἄγων οὐκ ἀτίμητος, σὺ δ' οὔτε
 περὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας
 ἀγωνίζῃ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τίνος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ σπουδή; περὶ χρυ-
 σῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρὰ τοὺς
 νόμους· ὃν ἔχορην, εἰ καὶ μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τῶν καθεστηκότων

- A** ἐπιλελησμένος ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας ἐβούλετο στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰπεῖν “ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον δέχομαι, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἀποδοκιμάζω ἐν ᾧ τὸ κήρυγμα γίνεται· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἐφ’ οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένησε καὶ ἐκείρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι.” Ἄλλ’ οἶμαι, ταῦτα μὲν ἂν εἴποι ἀνὴρ ὄντως βεβιωκῶς μετ’ ἀρετῆς· ἃ δὲ σὺ λέξεις, εἴποι ἂν κάθαρμα ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετὴν. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῦτό γε ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς φοβήσεται, μὴ ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων, ἀποτυχῶν τῶν ἀριστείων οἵκαδε ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσεται·
- B** ὃς τοσοῦτον καταγελαῖ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ὥστε τὴν μιὰν κεφαλὴν ταύτην καὶ ὑπεύθυνον, ἣν οὗτος παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γέγραφε στεφανῶσαι, μυριάκις κατατέτμηκε καὶ τούτων μισθοὺς εἴληφε τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας γραφᾶς γραφόμενος, καὶ κατακεκονδύλισται, ὥστε αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κονδύλων ἴχνη τῶν Μειδίου ἔχειν ἔτι φανερά· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον κέκτηται.
- 57** Περὶ δὲ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην βραχέα βούλομαι εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ ὑπερβήσομαι, ἵνα καὶ πεῖραν λάβω, εἰ δύνασθε τοὺς σφόδρα πονηροὺς, κἂν μὴ τις προείπη,
- C** διαγινώσκειν· ὁ δ’ ἐστὶ κοινὸν καὶ δίκαιον κατ’ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ’ ἐρῶ. Περιέρχονται γὰρ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀληθεῖς κατ’ ἀλλήλων ἔχοντες δόξας καὶ λόγους οὐ ψευδεῖς λέγοντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κτησιφῶν οὐ τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν φησι φοβεῖσθαι (ἐλπίζει γὰρ δόξειν ἰδιώτης εἶναι), ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίαν φησι φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμπληξίαν καὶ δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης εἰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποβλέπων θαρρῶν φησιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος πονηρίαν καὶ πορνοβοσκίαν ἰσχυρῶς δεδιέναι. Τοὺς δὲ δὴ κατεγνωκότας ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν μηδαμῶς ὑμεῖς οἱ κοινοὶ κριταὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσητε.
- 58** Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν λαιδοριῶν βραχέα βούλομαι προ-
- D** εἰπεῖν. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ λέξειν Δημοσθένην ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μὲν ὠφέληται πολλά, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ καταβέβλαπται, καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας ἀνοίσειν ἐπ’ ἐμέ. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικε, δεινὸς δημιουργὸς λόγων, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπόχρη αὐτῷ, εἴ τι πεπολίτευμαι παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἢ εἴ τινος δημηγορίας εἴρηκα, τούτων κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν μου τοῦ βίου διαβάλλει καὶ τῆς σιωπῆς μου κατηγορεῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ τόπος ἀσυκοφάντητος παραλείπηται, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις μετὰ τῶν νεωτέρων μου

διατριβάς καταμέμφεται, καὶ κατὰ τῆσδε τῆς κρίσεως εὐθύς **A**
 ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου φέρει τινὰ αἰτίαν, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν
 γραφὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγραψάμην ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. Καὶ νῆ Δί', ὡς ἐγὼ
 πυθάνομαι, μέλλει με ἀνερωτᾶν διὰ τί τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς
 πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ψέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἐκώλυον οὐδ'
 ἐγραφόμην, ἀλλὰ διαλιπὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πυκνὰ
 προσιῶν ἀπήνεγκα τὴν γραφὴν. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε τὰς Δημοσθέ-
 νους διατριβάς ἐζήλωκα, οὔτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑμαυτοῦ αἰσχύνομαι,
 οὔτε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐν ὑμῖν λόγους ἑμαυτῷ ἀρρήτους εἶναι
 βουλοίμην, οὔτε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δημηγορήσας ἐδεξάμην ἂν **B**
 ζῆν. Τὴν δ' ἐμὴν σιωπὴν ὧ Δημοσθένης ἢ τοῦ βίου μετριό-
 τῆς παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχυρῶς
 οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. Σὺ δ'
 οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας. Λέγεις
 δὲ οὐχ ὀπόταν σοι δοκῇ οὐδ' ἂ βούλει, ἀλλ' ὀπόταν οἱ μισθο-
 δόται σοι προστάττωσιν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δὲ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἂ
 παραχρῆμα ἐξελέγχη ψευδόμενος. Ἀπηνέχθη γὰρ ἢ κατὰ
 τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφὴ, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνδείξεώς με φῆς ἀπενεγκεῖν, ἔτι **C**
 Φιλίππου ζῶντος, πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήναι,
 οὐπω σοῦ τὸ περὶ Πausανίαν ἐνύπνιον ἑωρακότος οὐδὲ πρὸς
 τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Ἑραν νύκτωρ διειλεγμένου. Πῶς ἂν
 οὐν ἐγὼ προενεδεικνύμην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, εἴ γε μὴ ταῦτ' ἐνύπ-
 νιον ἐγὼ καὶ Δημοσθένους εἶδομεν; Ἐπιτιμᾶς δὲ μοι εἰ μὴ
 συνεχῶς ἀλλὰ διαλείπων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προσέρχομαι, καὶ
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην οἶμαι λανθάνειν μεταφέρων οὐκ ἐκ δημο-
 κρατίας ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτέρας πολιτείας. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρ-
 χίαις οὐχ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ὁ δυναστεύων κατηγορεῖ, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ. Καὶ τὸ **D**
 μὲν διὰ χρόνον λέγειν σημεῖόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ
 συμφέροντος ἀνδρὸς πολιτευομένου, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν παραλεί-
 πειν ἡμέραν ἐργαζομένου καὶ μισθαρνοῦντος. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
 μηδέπω κεκρίσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τιμωρίαν
 ὑποσχεῖν, ὅταν καταφεύγῃς ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους, ἢ τοὺς
 ἀκούοντας ἐπιλήσμονας ὑπολαμβάνεις ἢ σαυτὸν παραλογίζῃ.
 Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἠσεβημένα σοι καὶ τὰ περὶ
 τὴν Εὐβοίαν δωροδοκηθέντα, χρόνων ἐγγεγεννημένων ἐν οἷς
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φανερῶς ἐξηλέγχον ἴσως ἐλπίζεις τὸν δῆμον ἀμνη-
 μονεῖν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἀρπάγ-

A·ματα τίς ἂν ἀποκρύψαι χρόνος δύναιτ' ἂν, ὅτε νομοθεήσας
 περὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, καὶ σαυτὸν πείσας Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστά-
 την τάξει τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ
 πέντε νεῶν ταχυναυτουσῶν τριηράρχους ὑψηρημένους, πλέον
 τῆς πόλεως ἀφανίζων ναυτικὸν ἢ ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐν Νάξῳ
 ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πόλλιν ἐνίκησαν; οὕτω δὲ
 ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαυτοῦ τιμωρίας, ὥστε τὸν
 κίνδυνον εἶναι μὴ σοὶ τῷ ἀδικήσαντι ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπεξιούσι,
B πολὺν μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐν ταῖς διαβολαῖς
 φέρων, αἰτιώμενος δέ τινας ἐμποδίζειν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως και-
 ρούς, αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν λυμαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ μέλλον κατεπαγγελ-
 λόμενος. Οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,
 τὴν Ἀναξίνου σύλληψιν τοῦ Ὀδρείτου κατασκευάσας, τοῦ τὰ
 ἀγοράσματα Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀγοράζοντος, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα
 δις στρεβλώσας τῇ σαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἔγραψας αὐτὸν θανάτῳ
 ζημιῶσαι; καὶ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀρεῷ κατήγου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἔφαγες καὶ ἔπιες καὶ ἔσπειςας, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν
 ἐνέβαλες ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξένον ποιούμενος. Καὶ τοῦτον
 ἀπέκτεινας, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐξελεγχθεὶς
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ κληθεὶς ξενοκτόνος οὐ τὸ ἀσέβημα ἠρνήσω, ἀλλ'
C ἀπεκρίνου ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι περιέστασαν
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἔφησθα γὰρ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄλλας περὶ πλεί-
 ονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς ξενικῆς τραπέζης. Ἐπιστολάς δὲ σιγῶ
 ψευδεῖς καὶ κατασκόπων συλλήψεις καὶ βασάνους ἐπ' αἰτίαις
 ἀγειήτοις, ὡς ἐμοῦ μετὰ τινων ἐν τῇ πόλει νεωτερίζειν βουλο-
 μένου. Ἐπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει,
 τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν
 ἀσθενοῦντι μηδὲν συμβουλευοί, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν
 εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγιῆς
 ἂν ἐγένετο. Σαυτὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντερωτᾶς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς
D τοιοῦτος ὅστις τὸν μὲν δῆμον θωπεῦσαι δύναιτο, τοὺς δὲ και-
 ρούς ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀποδοῖτο, τοὺς δ' εὖ φρο-
 νοῦντας κωλύει διαβάλλων συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδράς δ' ἐκ τῶν
 κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς περιβαλὼν ἀξιοῖ
 στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκῶς μηδὲν, πάν-
 των δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγονώς, ἐπερωτῶν δὲ τοὺς συκο-
 φαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν ὅτ' ἐνῆν
 σώζεσθαι, διὰ τί αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἔξαμαρτάνειν· ἀποκρύπ-
 τοιτο δὲ τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης
 οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
 σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι

δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς καταγέλαστον ἐν α
τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.

Καὶ νῆ τούτους θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους, ὧν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι 59
Δημοσθένην λέξειν, ἐφ' ᾧ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν ἀγανακτῶ μά-
λιστα. Ἀφομοιοῖ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν ταῖς Σειρήσιν, ὡς ἔοικε.
Καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλεῖσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους
ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων
μουσικὴν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν
μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. Καίτοι τὸν
λόγον τοῦτον ὄλως μὲν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ πρέπειν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ β
ἐμοῦ λέγειν· τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας αἰσχροῦν τὸν αἰτιώμενόν ἐστι τὸ
ἔργον μὴ ἔχειν ἐπιδειξάι· εἰ δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ῥηθῆναι, οὐ
Δημοσθένους ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στρατηγοῦ μεγάλα μὲν
τῇ πόλει κατειργασμένου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυνάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν
ἀντιδίκων διὰ τοῦτο ἐζηλωκότος φύσιν, ὅτι σύννοιδεν ἑαυτῷ
μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν διαπέπρακται δυναμένῳ φράσαι, τὸν δὲ κατήγο-
ρον ὄρᾳ δυνάμενον καὶ τὰ μὴ πεπραγμένα ὑφ' αὐτοῦ παριστά-
ναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὡς διώκηκεν. Ὅταν δ' ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγ-
κείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, ἔπειτα
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καταφύγη, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο; c
οὔ τὴν γλῶτταν ὡσπερ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐάν τις ἀφέλη, τὸ λοιπὸν
οὐδὲν ἐστίν.

Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε ὑμῶν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζητῶ πρὸς τί 60
ἂν ἀποβλέποντες ἀποψηφίσαισθε τὴν γραφὴν. Πότερον ὡς τὸ
ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἔννομον; ἀλλ' οὐδεμία πώποτε γνώμη παρα-
νομωτέρα γεγένηται. Ἄλλ' ὡς ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας οὐκ
ἐπιτήδειός ἐστι δίκην δοῦναι; οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθῦναι
βίου, εἰ τοῦτον ἀφήσετε. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λυπηρόν, εἰ πρότερον
μὲν ἐνεπίμπλατο ἢ ὀρχήστρα χρυσῶν στεφάνων οἷς ὁ δῆμος
ἔστεφανοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς στεφάνοις d
ταύτην ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολι-
τευμάτων ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀστεφάνωτοι καὶ ἀκήρυκτοι γίνεσθε,
οὗτος δὲ κηρυχθήσεται; καὶ εἰ μὲν τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιη-
τῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεισαγόντων ποιήσειεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ τὸν
Θερσίτην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανούμενον, οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν
ὑπομείνειεν, ὅτι φησὶν Ὀμηρος ἄνανδρον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ
συκοφάντην· αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε,
οὐκ οἶεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι; οἱ μὲν
γὰρ πατέρες ὑμῶν τὰ ἔνδοξα καὶ λαμπρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀνετίθεσαν τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ καταδεέστερα εἰς τοὺς

- A** ῥήτορας τοὺς φαύλους ἔτρεπον· Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶεται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ. Καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἐστέ, καλῶς ποιῶντες, ψηφιεῖσθε δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφθαι, ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους δὲ εὖ πεπονθέναι; καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοὺς μὲν τὰς τῶν δώρων γραφὰς ἀλισκομένους ἀτιμοῦτε, ὃν δ' αὐτοὶ μισθοῦ πολιτευόμενον σύνηστε, στεφανώσετε; καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε·
- B** αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ κυκλίων χορῶν καθεστηκότες ἀλλὰ νόμων καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ὀλίγοις καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀλλὰ τῷ διαπραξαμένῳ δώσετε; ἔπειτ' ἔξεισιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὁ τοιοῦτος κριτῆς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἀσθενῆ πεποιηκῶς, ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα. Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἰδιώτης ἐν πόλει δημοκρατουμένη νόμῳ καὶ ψήφῳ βασιλεύει· ὅταν δ' ἐτέρῳ ταῦτα παραδῶ, καταλέλυκεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν. Ἐπειθ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκος, ὃν ὁμωμοκῶς δικάζει, συμπαρακολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ· δι' αὐτὸν γὰρ οἶμαι γέγονε τὸ ἀμάρτημα· ἢ δὲ χάρις πρὸς ὃν ἐχαρίζετο ἄδηλος γεγένηται· ἢ γὰρ ψῆφος ἀφανῆς φέρεται.

- 61 Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀμφότερα καὶ κατορθοῦν καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ σωφρονοῦντες. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις προΐεσθε τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἰσχυρά, οὐκ ἐπαινῶ· ὅτι δ' οὐ γεγένηται φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων πονηρῶν ἅμα καὶ τολμηρῶν, εὐτυχοῦμεν. Πρώτερον μὲν γὰρ τοιαύτας φύσεις ἤνεγκε τὸ δημόσιον, αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτω κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον· ἔχαιρε γὰρ κολακευόμενος, ἔπειτ' αὐτὸν οὐχ οὖς ἐφοβεῖτο, ἀλλ' οἷς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχειρίζε, κατέλυσαν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἱ πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν πρὶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκοῦσαι ἐφ' αἷς ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἐκφοράς τῶν τελευτησάντων εἶων τοὺς προσήκοντας παραγενέσθαι. Οὐχ ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; οὐ μέμνησθ' ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐπέθετο πρότερον τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, πρὶν ἂν μεῖζον τῶν δικαστηρίων ἰσχύση;

- 62 Ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὁμολογησαίμην πρὸς τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα, διὰ ποίας εὐεργεσίας

ἀξιοῖ Δημοσθένην στεφανῶσαι. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέγεις, ὅθεν τὴν Ἀ ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τείχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. Τοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐξεργασθῆναι καλῶς τὸ γεγενησθαι τούτων αἴτιον μείζω κατηγορίαν ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τείχη οὐδὲ τὰς δημοσίας ταφὰς ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει. Εἰ δὲ ἤξεις ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐν ᾧ τετόλμηκας γράφειν ὡς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ διατελεῖ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀφελῶν τὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν καὶ τὸν κόμπον τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, Β ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν ὅ τι λέγεις. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας δωροδοκίας παραλείπω· ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῆς Δημοσθένει, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶς, τοὺς δ' εἰδότας καὶ αἰσθανομένους ὑβρίζεις. Ἀφελῶν γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τούτων, δι' ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ συμμαχία, οἷοι λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα Δημοσθένει περιτιθείς. Ἡλίκον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀλαζόνευμα τοῦτο, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μεγάλῳ σημείῳ διδάξαι. Ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέπεμψε τῷ C δήμῳ καὶ μάλα ὑβριστικὴν καὶ βάρβαρον ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἣ ἡ τά τε δὴ ἄλλα καὶ μάλ' ἀπαιδευτῶς διελέχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐνέγραψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “ἐγὼ” φησὶν “ὑμῖν χρυσίον οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε.” Οὗτος μέντοι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων αὐτῷ κινδύνων, οὐκ αἰτούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κατέπεμψε τριακόσια τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ· ἃ σωφρονῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο. Ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρυσίον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμάχων. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν ἐξεργάζετο. Σὺ δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συ- D μαχίας ἐνοχλεῖς αἰεὶ λέγων, τὰ δ' ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπᾶς ἃ προλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπεστέρησας. Οὐ δι' ἐνδειαν μὲν χρημάτων ἔνεκα πέντε ταλάντων οἱ ξένοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τὴν ἄκραν οὐ παρέδοσαν; διὰ ἐννέα δὲ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἐξεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν ἢ πρᾶξις οὐ γεγένηται; σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς σπαντοῦ χορηγεῖς. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸ μὲν βασιλικὸν χρυσίον παρὰ τούτῳ, οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν αὐτῶν θεωρῆσαι. Εἰ 63

Α γὰρ τολμήσει Κτησιφῶν μὲν Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν λέξοντα εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὗτος δ' ἀναβὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάσει, βαρύτερον τῶν ἔργων ὧν πεπόνθατε τὸ ἀκρόαμα γίνεται. "Οπου γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ὄντως ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ σύνισμεν ἔργα, ἔαν τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπαίνους λέγωσιν, οὐ φέρομεν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγονώς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζῃ, τίς ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα καρτερήσειεν ἀκούων;

- 64 Ἄπο μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναισχύντου πραγματείας, ἔαν σωφρονῆς, ἀποστήσῃ, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧ Κτησιφῶν διὰ σαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πον τοῦτό γε σκήψῃ, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ λέγειν.
- Β Καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπόν σοι συμβαίνει, εἰ πρόφην μὲν ποθ' ὑπέμεινας πρεσβευτῆς ὡς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Φιλίππου θυγατέρα χειροτονεῖσθαι συναχθεσθιόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Μολοττῶν βασιλείῳς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, νυνὶ δὲ οὐ φήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν. Ἐπειτα γυναῖκα μὲν ἄλλοτρίαν πενθοῦσαν δύνασαι παραμυθεῖσθαι, γράψας δὲ μισθοῦ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἀπολογήσῃ; ἢ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὃν γέγραφας στεφανοῦσθαι, οἷος μὴ γινώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων, ἂν μή τίς σοι συνείπῃ; ἐπερώτησον δὴ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἰ ἐγίνωσκον Χαβρίαν καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, καὶ πυθοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τί τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔστησαν. Ἄπαντες γὰρ ἅμα σοι ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι Χαβρία μὲν διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν, Ἰφικράτει δὲ ὅτι μόραν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτεινε, Τιμοθέῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν περίπλου τὸν εἰς Κέρκυραν, καὶ ἄλλοις, ὧν ἐκάστῳ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα πέπρακται. Δημοσθένει δ' ἔαν τις ἐρωτᾷ διὰ τί; ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε. Καὶ πότερον τοῦτον τιμήσετε, ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμώσετε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας; οὐς νομίζεθ' ὀρᾶν σχετλιάζοντας εἰ οὗτος στεφανωθήσεται. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἶη δεινόν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὸν σίδηρον, τὰ ἄφωνα καὶ ἀγνώμονα, ἔαν τῷ ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερορίζομεν, καὶ ἔαν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσῃται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν, Δημοσθένην δέ, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν γράψαντα μὲν τὴν πανυστάτην ἔξοδον, προδόντα δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς τιμήσετε. Οὐκοῦν ὑβρίζονται μὲν οἱ τελευτήσαντες, ἀθυμότεροι δὲ οἱ ζῶντες γίνονται ὀρῶντες τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλον τὸν θάνατον κείμενον, τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσαν. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἔαν ἐπερωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς ποῖον χρῆ παράδειγμα αὐτοὺς τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι, τί κρινεῖτε; εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι οὐχ αἱ παλαιστραὶ οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὐδ' ἡ μου-

σική μόνον παιδεύει τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ A
δημόσια κηρύγματα. Κηρύττεται τις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφα-
νοῦται ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἄνθρωπος
ἀσχημονῶν τῷ βίῳ καὶ βδελυρός· ὁ δὲ γε νεώτερος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν
διεφθάρη. Δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρὸς καὶ πορνοβοσκὸς ὡσπερ
Κτησιφῶν· οἱ δὲ γε ἄλλοι πεπαίδευνται. Τὰναντία τις ψηφι-
σάμενος τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἐπανελθῶν οἵκαδε παιδεύει
τὸν υἱόν· ὁ δὲ γε εἰκότως οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοθετεῖν
ἐνταῦθα ἐνοχλεῖν ἤδη καὶ δικαίως ὀνομάζεται. Ὡς οὖν μὴ
μόνον κρίνοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ θεωρούμενοι, οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον
φέρετε, εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῖς νῦν μὲν οὐ παροῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν, B
ἐπερησομένοις δὲ ὑμᾶς τί ἐδικάζετε. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὧ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, ὅτι τοιαύτη δόξει ἢ πόλις εἶναι, ὅποιός τις ἂν ἦ ὁ
κηρυττόμενος· ἔστι δὲ ὄνειδος μὴ τοῖς προγόνοις ἀλλὰ τῇ
Δημοσθένους ἀνανδρίᾳ προσεικασθῆναι. Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις τὴν
τοιαύτην αἰσχύνῃν ἐκφύγοι; ἔαν τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας
τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀπίστους ὄντας τοῖς
ἦθεσι, φυλάξῃσθε. Ἡ γὰρ εὐνοια καὶ τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας
ὄνομα κεῖται μὲν ἐν μέσῳ, φθάνουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ καταφεύγον-
τες τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ τοῖς ἔργοις πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντες.
"Ὅταν οὖν λάβητε ῥήτορα ξενικῶν στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων C
ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ἐπανάγειν αὐτὸν κελεύετε τῶν
λόγων, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων ὁ νόμος
κελεύει ποιεῖσθαι, εἰς βίον ἀξιόχρεων καὶ τρόπον σῶφρονα.
"Ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ μαρτυρεῖται, μὴ βεβαιοῦτε αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπαί-
νους, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐπιμελήθητε ἤδη διαφενγούσης ὑμᾶς.
"Ἡ οὐ δεινὸν δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι εἰ τὸ μὲν βουλευτήριον καὶ ὁ
δῆμος παροραῖται, αἱ δ' ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ πρεσβεῖαι ἀφικνοῦνται
εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας, οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ
παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ; καὶ ἐφ'
οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημία θάνατος, ταῦτά τινες οὐκ ἔξαρ- D
νοῦνται πράττειν ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὰς ἐπι-
στολὰς ἀλλήλοις παραναγινώσκουσιν, καὶ παρακελεύονται ὑμῖν
οἱ μὲν βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα ὡς φύλακες τῆς δημο-
κρατίας, ἕτεροι δ' αἰτοῦσι δωρεὰς ὡς σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως ὄντες.
Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων ὡσπερ παρα-
γεγηρακῶς ἢ παρανοίας ἑαλωκῶς αὐτὸ μόνον τοῦνομα τῆς
δημοκρατίας περιποιεῖται, τῶν δ' ἔργων ἑτέροις παρακεχώ-
ρηκεν. "Ἐπειτ' ἀπέρχεσθε ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐ βουλευσάμενοι,
ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐράνων, τὰ περιόντα νειμάμενοι. "Ὅτι δ'
οὐ ληρῶ, ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον θεωρήσατε. Ἐγένετό τις (ἄχθο-

- A** μαι δὲ πολλάκις μεμνημένος τὰς ἀτυχίας τῆς πόλεως) ἐνταῦθ' ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, ὃς ἐκπλεῖν εἰς Σάμον ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθιμερὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐζημιώθη. Ἔτερος δ' ἐκπλεύσας ἰδιώτης εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάδρωσ ἠνεγκε, πρῶην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλθη καὶ ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἂν ἢ ἀπέθανεν. Ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τὸ νῦν γινόμενον. Ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὗτος στεφανοῦσθαι ἀξιοῖ καὶ κηρύττεσθαι οἶεται δεῖν. Οὐκ ἀποπέμψετε
- B** τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς κοινὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφορὰν; ἢ συλλαβόντες ὡς ληστὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπ' ὀνομάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα, τιμωρήσεσθε; καὶ τὸν καιρὸν μέμνησθε ἐν ᾧ τὴν ψῆφον φέρετε. Ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλέγεσθαι· διαβέβληται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους πολιτευμάτων περὶ τοὺς νῦν καιρούς· δόξετε δ', εἰ μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον τούτου πράξητε, ἀπολύσετε τὸν δῆμον τῶν αἰτιῶν.
- 65** Μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίας ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας τῆς πόλεως
- C** βουλευέσθε, καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας μὴ νέμετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἰς βελτίω σώματα καὶ ἀξιολογώτερους ἀνδρας ἀπόθεσθε. Καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὤσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλευσασθε, τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, οὐχ ὅς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται. Ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀποβλέψαντες, ὅταν φῆ Βυζαντίους μὲν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν
- D** πρεσβεύσας ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἀποστῆσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνανᾶνας, ἐκπληξαι δὲ Θηβαίους δημηγορήσας· οἶεται γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς τοσοῦτον εὐηθείας ἤδη προβεβηκέναι ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπεισθήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ Πειθῶ τρέφοντας ἀλλ' οὐ συκοφάντην ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ πόλει. Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἤδη τοῦ λόγου συνηγόρους τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δωροδοκημάτων αὐτῷ παρακαλῆ, ὑπολαμβάνετε ὄρᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, οὗ νῦν ἐστηκώς ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀσέλγειαν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτας, Σόλωνα μὲν τὸν καλλίστοις νόμοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἄνδρα φιλόσοφον καὶ νομοθέτην

ἀγαθόν, σωφρόνως, ὡς προσῆκεν αὐτῷ, δεόμενον ὑμῶν μηδενὶ ἁ
 τρόπῳ τοὺς Δημοσθένους λόγους περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι
 τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν νόμων, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν τοὺς φόρους
 τάξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας
 ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, σχετλιάζοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαιοσύνης προ-
 πηλακισμῷ, καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα εἰ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ οἱ μὲν πατέ-
 ρες ὑμῶν Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεΐτην κομίσαντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 τὸ ἐκ Μήδων χρυσίον, ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρόξενον
 ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀπο-
 κτεῖναι, ἐξεκήρυξαν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἧς Ἀθη- Β
 ναῖοι ἄρχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὐ κομίσαντα τὸ ἐκ
 Μήδων χρυσίον ἀλλὰ δωροδοκήσαντα καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν κεκτη-
 μένον, χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ μέλλετε στεφανοῦν. Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τελευτήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς
 καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους τοὺς τῶν προγόνων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε στε-
 νάζαι, εἰ ὁ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμολογῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν
 ἀντιπράττειν στεφανωθήσεται ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὃ γῆ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ ἀρετῆ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ 66
 παιδεία, ἣ διαγινώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα
 καὶ εἶρηκα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀδικήματος κατ-
 ηγόρηκα, εἶπον ὡς ἐβουλόμην, εἰ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνά-
 μην. Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρα-
 λελειμμένων αὐτοὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πόλεως ψηφίσασθε.

INTRODUCTION.

(The numerals enclosed in crotchets [] refer to the corresponding sections of *Reiske*.)

THE Oration was made in a prosecution of Ctésiphón, for proposing to bestow an honorary crown upon Demosthenes, on the ground of the illegality of the measure (*παρὰ νόμων γραφή*). It was delivered B.C. 330, nearly eight years after the indictment was moved. The following may be taken as a general outline of the course of thought:—

1. That he trusted the factious array against him would be controlled by the law, since, as factious proceedings in the Assembly had opened the way for illegal measures, and led to the substitution of arbitrary trials, instead of the regular trials before the courts, there remained only one remedy for these disorders—trials for proposing illegal decrees, which, if they did not sustain, all was lost. § 1 [§ 1—8].

2. Necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate before the accounts of his office have been accepted. § 2 to τοῦ δήμου, p. 5, A [§ 9]. Remainder of § 2 [§ 10].

3. That some violated this law under a plausible pretext, but Ctesiphon without any at all. § 3 [§ 11, 12].

4. That neither the manner of the appointment of a magistrate, nor the fact of his having expended his own money in his office, cleared him from responsibility, as all magistrates whatever were responsible at Athens. § 3—6 [§ 13—23].

5. That Demosthenes held two important offices at the time Ctesiphon proposed to crown him, and that these offices were such as the laws describe as responsible. § 7—12 [§ 24—31].

6. That with regard to the proclamation of the crown, the law provides, and with very good reason, that crowns shall be conferred only in the senate-chamber or the Pnyx, whereas Ctesiphon had proposed to confer it in the theatre. § 13—15 (down to *τιμῶμεν*, p. 10, B) [§ 32—34].

7. That the pretence of his adversary, that there is another law

authorizing proclamations in the theatre, is absurd, since it was provided that the laws should be revised every year, and all obsolete and conflicting laws annulled. § 15 (from *οὐτω τοίνυν*)—17 [§ 35—48].

8. That with regard to the merits of Demosthenes, he should show the statements of Ctesiphon to be false. § 18 [§ 49, 50].

9. That he might dwell upon his private misdeeds, but should pass them by. § 19 to *διδόναι*, p. 14, A [§ 51—53].

10. That of his public misdeeds he should speak more at large, with respect to four principal periods of his public life. § 19 (from *περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων*) [§ 54—57].

11. That, in the first period, he acted in concert with Philocrates, in making the peace with Philip against the interests of his country; exhibited a servile spirit of flattery towards Philip and his ambassadors; prevented the peace being made in conjunction with a common congress of the Greeks, and, especially, sacrificed Kersobleptes, their ally, to Philip. § 20—26 [§ 58—78].

12. That, in the second period, after Philip had passed Thermopylæ and made a descent upon Phocis, Demosthenes, to avoid the responsibility of these unfavorable results of the peace, suddenly changed his course, and charged the blame upon his fellow-ambassadors, while he instigated the declaring uncompromising war against Philip; to carry on which, he formed a most disadvantageous and disgraceful alliance with the Eubœans (at a later period, also, with the Thebans), in which transaction he was guilty of the grossest corruption. § 27—33 [§ 79—105].

13. That during the third period he brought disgrace upon himself and ruin upon his country; first, by his impious course in upholding the Amphisseans in their violation of the sacred country of Cirrha, and, secondly, by the alliance which he formed with Thebes, which was highly objectionable on three grounds:—first, its terms were much more favorable to Thebes than to Athens; second, it diminished the dignity of Athens and increased the power of Thebes; and, third, it prevented the Thebans from making peace with Philip; all which rendered it most unfitting that he should be crowned as it was proposed. § 34—45 [§ 106—158].

14. That after the battle of Chæroneia he slunk away from Athens, on a tour to collect taxes from the allies, and after his return offered no decree in his own name till the death of Philip, when he suddenly assumed new courage, procured the passage of decrees honouring Philip's murderer, and of public rejoicing, while he ridiculed his successor, Alexander, when at a distance, but shrunk from him when near, and finally sold himself to him. § 46 [§ 159—167].

15. Nor was Demosthenes, as was supposed, a true democrat, when tried by the proper tests of that character. § 47—49 [§ 168—176].

16. That the frequent conferring of public honours, such as Demosthenes was contending for, had a very injurious effect upon the country, and was directly opposed to the practice of the city in its earlier and better days, when, also, the judges were much more strict than at that time in trials, and confined the speakers much

more to the subject, as he trusted they would Ctesiphon and Demosthenes on the present occasion, who would employ every art to mislead them. § 50—56 [§ 177—212].

17. That Ctesiphon and Demosthenes each professed great anxiety for the other, but pretended to have no concern for themselves. § 57 [§ 213, 214].

18. That, with regard to the charge which he understood Demosthenes would bring against him, of having stood aloof from public affairs, and allowed him to carry through so many pernicious measures, without ever bringing him to trial for any of them at the time, and now, so long after the events, bringing against him a sweeping accusation for all his public life, he would say that this might be accounted for by his simple and quiet habits of life, and by the litigious and quarrelsome character of Demosthenes, which rendered it dangerous for any one to oppose him in any thing. § 58, 59 [§ 215—229].

19. That it was impossible for them to set aside the indictment, either on the ground of the legality of the decree of Ctesiphon, or the character of Demosthenes, if they had any regard to their duty as judges, or the safety of the democracy. § 60, 61 [§ 230—235].

20. That neither the repairing of the walls, nor the public measures of Demosthenes, (which were the grounds of the application for a crown,) constituted any reason for crowning him. § 62 [§ 236—240].

21. That least of all should the court be outraged by Demosthenes speaking his own praise, who had no claims whatever to the honour demanded, and, if he received it, would furnish a most pernicious example to all who were acquainted with the fact, which should lead them to be severe in their judgement, that the democracy might not be destroyed by such men. § 63, 64 [§ 241—254].

22. That, in deciding the cause, they should not only guard against the influence of personal friendship for Demosthenes, but also against the effect of his impudent confidence, placing before themselves for their guidance the worthies of their past history. § 65 [§ 255—259].

23. That if he had not spoken in the cause as he wished, he had spoken as he could, and it remained for them to decide it justly, not only from what he had said, but also from what he had left unsaid. § 66 [§ 260].

NOTES.

The numbers to which § is prefixed refer to Mr. Jelf's edition of Kühner; the rest to my Grammars; those enclosed in parenthetical marks being to the *smaller* Grammar.—Additional notes are enclosed in crotchets. Those to which *W.* are appended are by President Woolsey, who reviewed Mr. Champlin's edition in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

References to the *usual* division of the text into paragraphs, and to the pages of H. Stephens's edition, are enclosed in crotchets.

PAGE 2. § 1 [§ 1, p. 53].

παρασκευὴν παράταξιν, *preparation array*, i. e. of the (P. 2).
friends and supporters of Demosthenes. As the number of judges ^A or jurymen (*δικασταί*) in the Athenian courts was large, and as these judges were drawn from the common people, there was necessarily considerable opportunity for the influence of faction even in the courts of justice. We know from § 19, c, as well as from the reply of Demosthenes (§ 196), that the court was thronged by hearers on the present occasion, most of whom, it is natural to suppose, attached themselves to the interest of the one or the other of the great orators. It is probable, indeed, from the peculiar constitution of other Athenian courts, (the number of judges being so large, and not of a professional character,) that factious arts were carried much farther than in our courts, and that, as at the meetings of the Assembly, applause, groans, hisses, and other like means, were employed in turn, to influence the decision. The orators often allude to the bustling activity and overawing influence of factions in the courts of justice; as, Lysias, *Pro Bonis Aristoph.* § 20, *τὴν μὲν οὖν παρασκευὴν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὁρᾶτε*, and Dem. de Falsâ Legatione, § 1. The terms here are military and figurative, on which account they seem to be unsuited to the commencement of an oration. But the occasion was an exciting one; and, besides, the words had probably acquired, in this sense, something of the force of common terms, as is the case with the corresponding terms in our language.

Æschines.

G

(P. At any rate, they are often used by the orators at the beginning of 2). their speeches. See Lysias, as above. || [τὴν παράταξιν, ὅση γένηται, Gr. 1404 (1011) § 898, 2.] || δεήσεις, *solicitations*. This refers to the same factious proceedings. The Scholiast supposes it to refer to attempts to gain over the judges by demagogical arts, which is confirmed by a comparison of Dem. F. L. § 1. Cf. Liv. 3. 14 (B.): "*Benigne salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro permulcendo tractandoque mansuefacere plebem.*" The Agora was the great rallying point of the people, and hence was the place to find or make partisans. Besides, most of the courts were held in the Agora, and were many of them open to the air, so that what was going on around could be seen from them; hence the use of ὁρᾶτε. || τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ συνήθη, *what is proper, and according to usage*. The second τὰ is omitted in some MSS., but it seems to be required by the distinct nature of the two classes of objects referred to (lit. *the proper and the customary, not the proper and customary*). Gr. 677 (547) § 459, 9. || τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ὑμῖν. The laws were of no avail, of course, unless they were faithfully administered by the judges, and hence they are presented together as a ground of confidence. || ἐβουλόμην [lit. *I would (that &c): would as the perf. of to will = I could wish*. Cf. Gr. 790 (623) § 858, 3. Both ἐβουλόμην ἄν and (though very rarely) ἐβουλόμην only are found. On Hermann's explanation, cf. Pract. Intr. ii. 123, sqq. The truth would seem to be, that ἐβουλόμην ἄν is the natural and usual form, but that the speaker may, when he pleases, use the equally correct form ἐβουλόμην, the statement being then, in form, the statement of an *objective* fact. Ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἴσου μοι καθεστάναι τῇ τε συμφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς γεγενημένοις· νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (*Antiph. de Cæd. Herod. init.*)] μὲν is responded to by δέ in p. 3, A (ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . .). || τὴν βουλὴν τοῦς πεντακοσίους. In apposition with each other. The Council or Senate of Five Hundred (so called to distinguish it from the Council of the Areopagus) was a deliberative body consisting of fifty members from each of the ten tribes of Athens, appointed annually by lot. The Senate had the initiative in all decrees (and, generally, in all deliberative matters) to be acted upon by the Assembly, since that body could pass no decree which had not been first prepared and approved by the Senate. It had also various financial duties. See Handbk of Greek Antiqq. 103. || τὰς ἐκκλησίας, *the popular assemblies*: open to all the citizens of Athens, and indeed of all Attica, in person. The government of Athens was a pure democracy. || τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, *of the presiding officers*. Who these were may be learned from note on ἐπιψηφ. (p. 3, A) and on πρυτάνεις (p. 3, c). From what is there said, it appears that a departure from the wholesome rules of order prescribed by Solon had led to great irregularities in the management of the assemblies, since it had given scope for the influence of factious and demagogical arts. || ἐξῆ. In the subj. after an historical tense, because the writer still desired this result. [But cf. Gr. 1306 (952) § 806, 1, 2.] The original practice, as established by Solon, was

to call first upon all above fifty years to speak on any question (P. proposed in the Assembly, and then any who were younger, in 2). order (see just below). This, of course, tended to give a right direction to all questions, by securing the maturest views first, and to prevent irregular and unjust proceedings, by preventing disorder. If the speakers were to follow each other according to their age, there was no chance for partisans to call out a favorite at the fortunate juncture, and give undue weight and influence to his views by applause.

PAGE 3.

βουλόμενον. By a change of construction here, the acc., instead of the dat., is used with the infin. after *ἔξεστι*. Gr. 1147, b (869, b) § 711. || *χωρὶς καὶ ἐν μέρει*, *separately and in turn*. || *ἄν . . . δοκεῖ*. Gr. 1071 (822, a) § 676, 2, a. JN. *ἂν διοικεῖσθαι* [on present inf. cf. Gr. 1807 (830) § 405, 2] *αἱ τε κρίσεις* [*δοκοῦσιν*] *γίνεσθαι* [*ἂν*] *ἐλάχιστα* (predic.). || *γνώμας*, *opinions; motions, propositions*. || *ταῦτα . . . τὰ ψηφίσματα*. Strictly speaking, *ταύτας τὰς γνώμας*, but these are by anticipation spoken of as already voted or decreed. See § 60, c. || *ἐπιψηφίζουσιν*, *put to the vote*. This duty belonged to the *proedri*, as they were called. As there were ten tribes at Athens, the year was divided into ten parts, and the fifty senators of each tribe exercised the presidency in deliberative matters in turn. The presiding tribe for the time being was called *φυλὴ προτανεύουσα*, the period of their office *προτανεία*, and the members *προτάνεις*. One of their number was appointed daily by lot as president (*ἐπιστάτης*), who presided not only in the senate, but in the assemblies of the people also. In the time of Æschines the president was assisted in the assembly by nine vice-presidents, chosen daily by himself from the other nine tribes, called *proedri*, and also by a tribe selected for this purpose, called *φυλὴ προεδρεύουσα* (see n. on p. 64). Now, as these presiding officers were appointed by lot, there was opportunity for deception, as in all lotteries, on the part of those who had the management of the lots, for the purpose of placing their friends or the friends of certain factions in power. This seems to be what is alluded to in the text. The protest of any one of the *proedri* was sufficient to prevent the vote from being put; but he was liable to the severest penalty for preventing it illegally.

καθεζόμενοι, i. e. *sitting as proedri by arrangement*, i. e. not by a *bonâ fide* election by lot, but by shuffling. The presiding officers probably occupied the front seats. || *ἀναγορεύη*, *declare*. The votes were counted by the crier, and declared by the *epistatês*. || *εἰσαγγέλλειν* [*to impeach*], *to bring to summary justice, to try by the process called εἰσαγγελία*, i. e. for the abuse (as they pretended) of his power as president. See *εἰσαγγελία*, Dict. Antiqq. || *τοὺς ἰδιώτας*, *the common people* [*private persons*], opposed to *ῥήτορες* (public men). || *καὶ τὰς κρίσεις . . . κρίνουσι*, *and while they have put an end to the actions* [*prescribed*] *by the laws, try with passion those brought on by votes*, i. e. special actions, such as the *εἰσαγγελία*, where a crime was asserted, such as

(P. either in itself or in its circumstances was unprovided for by any particular law. Such causes were brought before the popular Assembly for investigation ; and, as there was a better opportunity for crushing a rival in this way than in the regular process before the courts, there seems to have been a strong tendency to increase causes of this kind. *ὀργή* corresponds almost precisely to our word *passion*, which more commonly means *anger*, but also any other *feeling*. In Soph. Antig. 356, it means *an aptitude for civil affairs*.

c οὐθ' οἱ νόμοι οὐθ' οἱ πρυτάνεις. [This passage affords clear proof that the *prytanes* had still something to do with the preservation of order at public meetings ; although this duty has been assigned by some entirely to the *proedri* and the *epistatês*. Böckh, Schömann, &c., following the authority of one class of grammarians, hold that there were *two sorts* of *proedri*, (1) those from the tribe which had the *prytany*, and (2) [*proedri non contribules*], those from the nine other tribes ; K. F. Hermann regards the existence of the former class of *proedri* as extremely improbable. All agree that the *proedri* here named were the *proedri non contribules*. An argument in favour of this view may be derived from p. 3, B, where the orator speaks of *proedri fraudulently chosen by lot* to fill their office. If there were *proedri* from the presiding tribe in the senate, that is, if the *prytanes* were divided into five decades, each of which presided about seven days, as this allotment must have happened at the commencement of their *prytany*, it is not easy to see what collusion could have taken place. But it is very easy to see how the *epistatês* of the senate on the day of a public assembly may have made a fraudulent election by lot of *proedri* out of the nine other tribes. W.] || ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή. [The usage is alluded to only in three passages ; in the present passage ; in the first oration against Aristogiton (§ 90, Bekker,) where the same phrase occurs ; and also in the oration of Æschines against Timarchus, where an explanation is given of its origin. Æschines there says, (§ 33, Bekker,) that after some gross proceedings of Timarchus, a new law was passed ἀποκληροῦν φυλήν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἥτις προεδρεύσει. How long this singular custom continued we do not know, but we see from this passage that it arose but a few years before the oration on the Crown was delivered. W.] || τὸ δέκατον . . . πόλεως, *i. e.* the representatives of one of the ten tribes. See n. on ἐπιψηφ., p. 63, A. || ὀποίους τινάς, *as somewhat, as about* [to be construed, 'as']. He does not wish to go into detail, and hence refers the case to their own conceptions [and here increases its importance, by this reference to an *indefinite* degree]. The Scholiast says, τὸ ἐπαχθές ἔφυγεν, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ. For this use of *τις*, see Gr. 1028 (800) § 659, 4. || τῆς πολιτείας, *of the constitution*. More properly, that of *free governments*. || αἱ τῶν . . . γραφαί, *the indictments for illegal measures, i. e.* such as were contrary to any of the laws of Solon ; of which kind, he contended, the decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was, which called forth the present oration and the immortal reply of Demosthenes. See Dem. de Coron. § 9, 17, notes. || καὶ ταύτας, *these also, i. e.* these as well as the other ordinary trials required by law (§ 1, B [§ 4]).

τοῖς τρόποις, *the habits, wills, caprices*. Opposed to τοῖς νόμοις (P. below. || παρρησίας, *liberty of speech, right to participate in public* 3). *affairs*. || ὁ νομοθέτης, *i. e.* Solon, who was called *the lawgiver*, by D way of eminence, by the Athenians.

PAGE 4.

μηδένα . . . ἐξαιρείσθαι depends upon ἡγεῖσθαι, taken (by zeugma) ^A in the sense of φυλάττεσθαι ¹. Gr. 1398 (1006) § 895, *d.* This artful appeal to the professional pride of the judges, whom he represents as in danger of being deprived of the legitimate business of their office, by the gradual encroachments of the assembly upon their duties (see § 1 [§ 4]), is well calculated to secure their favour. || τὰς . . . συνηγορίας. “Sæpe accusant oratores τοὺς στρατηγούς, quod tantum absit, ut reipublicæ hostes foris devincant, ut, otiosi domi manentes, seditiosorum consilia adjuvent otiumque et libertatem reipublicæ perturbent.” *Bremi*. || τῶν ξένων, *i. e.* persons of weight and influence produced as witnesses (ἀναβιβαζόμενοι) from foreign countries, in defence of some general or other public man, to whom they had become beholden for favours rendered while engaged in the service of his country abroad. It was thus that Jason of Pheræ came to the aid of Timotheus, when on trial at Athens. See Nepos, *Life of Timotheus, fin.* || παράνομον . . . πολιτευόμενοι, *pursuing an illegal policy, following an illegal course of civil life*. For the meaning and usage of πολιτεύεσθαι, see Dem. de Coron. § 4, note. || ἀλλ’ . . . πολέμῳ. A hit at Demosthenes for deserting his post in the battle of Chæronæa. See § 46 [§ 159], note. || φύλακες. “Munus quasi indicatur, quod ipsis sit demandatum ὥστ’ εἶναι φύλακες.” *Bremi*. The preservation of the democracy, as he had before shown (§ 1, D, *fin.* [§ 6]), depended upon maintaining the supremacy of the laws.

Κτησιφῶντα. Ctesiphon had proposed to bestow an honorary ^B crown of gold upon Demosthenes for his eminent public services, which Æschines opposes, as *illegal, based upon falsehood, and injurious to the state*.

§ 2 [§ 9, p. 55].

τῆς ὅλης κατηγορίας; *the whole accusation, the general bearings of* ^C *the accusation*. He has thus far (*i. e.* in his introduction) spoken of

¹ [Such a zeugma is quite out of the question. Zeugma is allowed only when one notion of the same genus supplies the place of another, specifically different, as an affirmative in the place of a negative notion of the same kind, a notion of sense pertaining to the sight, the place of one pertaining to the hearing. But ἡγεῖσθαι has no communion of meaning with φυλάττεσθαι. Reiske from one codex supplied ἔαν, *you ought to*

allow no man to take away, &c. On which Bremi observes, that ἔαν is unnecessary. *Concedendi enim et prohibendi notionem antiqui supprimunt quum ea ex contextu sponte in animum influat.* And of this seeming ellipsis there are frequent examples. If this be so, the clause does not depend on ἡγεῖσθαι, and the same is true if we content ourselves with the expedient of simply supplying χρή.

W.]

- (P. the cause in its general character and bearings. Taylor makes this 4). refer to the general discussion of the illegality of the question, which follows the preliminary statement of the necessity of the law forbidding to crown a magistrate, *i. e.* after § 2, B [§ 12]. But it seems to me that both the composition and the tense of *προειρησθαι* oppose this. || *κείνται*, *lie*, *i. e.* in the public archives; consequently, *exist*. || *τῶν ὑπευθύνων*, *those [who are] accountable [to the public]*; *i. e.* magistrates and public functionaries having any considerable interests, especially of a pecuniary nature, entrusted to them, who had not passed the accounts of their office before the Logistæ and Euthyni, and obtained their approval of them. See Handbk of Greek Antiqq., 108, D. || *τυγχάνει γεγραφώς*, *happens to have written [has written or drawn up]*. It was a mere circumstance, or by chance, that these particular laws were infringed in the case; the general aspects of the cause would be the same in case of the violation of any other laws; but he was to speak of the violation of the laws in this particular case. For this use of the partcp. with *τυγχάνω*, see Gr. 1105, b (838) § 694. || *ἄρχοντες*, *magistrates, public officers*. || *δωροδοκοῦντες . . . τούτων*, *receiving bribes in each of these*. *ἕκαστα* is neuter, because the nouns to which it refers designate inanimate objects, and are of different genders. || *προσλαμβάνοντες*, "*in auxilium vocantes oratores*.—Duplex genus *ρητόρων* hic memoratur, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου et οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου. Illi videntur esse, qui ipsi senatores, quum res a senatu deliberatas proponerent, loquebantur; hi, qui surgerent pro ordine ex populo." *Bremi*. || *προκατελάμβανον*, [*anticipated*,] *forestalled, preoccupied*. The imperf. implies that they were in the habit of doing it.
- D *τῶν ἀρχῶν*, *of their magistracies, offices [i. e. abstr. pro concret. magistrates]*. || *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ*, [*lit. upon*] *the very act, in the very act*. || *εἰκότως*, *justly, with reason*. Because, as he goes on to say, they felt ashamed to condemn one as a peculator, who had just been crowned by the people for his virtue and justice. || [*τυχόν* = *it may be; perhaps*. Gr. 1140 (863) § 700, 2.] || *τὰς εὐθύνας ὠφληκώς*, *having failed in the scrutiny of his accounts, i. e. having been found guilty of malversation in his office*. || [*μικρὸν ἐπισχών*, *a short time afterwards*. Gr. 1121, γ (852, γ) § 696.]

PAGE 5.

- A *ὑπέρ*, *out of regard to, i. e. to prevent*. *ὑπέρ* implies a stronger interest than *περί* (see *περί*, above); and when the object in which the interest is felt is not desirable, it may be rendered as here. See Dem. Olynth. I. § 5. || *καὶ μάλα καλῶς ἔχοντα*. Gr. 1476, § 759, 1. || *μὴ στεφανοῦν*. For the negative, see § 15, B [§ 35], note. || *λόγοι*, *words, i. e. of the orators, special pleadings*. || *τις . . . ἐρεῖ*. He is preparing the way for what he was about to do himself, namely, to name and expound the laws on this subject. || [*τῶν . . . στεφανούντων*, *of those who propose to crown, &c. the present partcp. de conatu; of what they will do if their proposed bills are passed.*] || *οἱ μὲν*. Opposed to *Κτησιφῶν δέ*, below (§ 2, B [§ 12]). || *εἰ δὴ*, *if indeed*. || *ἀλλ' . . . αἰσχύνῃς*, *any how, they interpose something at least between themselves*

and shame, *i. e.* cover up the open illegality of their proposition to (P. crown a favorite, by the addition of the clause, *when he has given 5). account and proofs, i. e.* of his office (see § 3 [§ 15, note]. For the meaning of ἀλλ' οὖν (*any how [yet at least]*), see Gr. 1444, n. 3, § 774, 1. Observe, too, the force of the word προβάλλονται (*they put forward for their own protection, or as a screen for themselves*).

αἰσχύνεται . . . ἡμάρτηκε, *yet blush at their offences.* δὲ stands opposed to μὲν in the preceding sentence. In such cases these particles are to be rendered variously, but always so as to shape their clauses with reference to each other. See Gr. 1458, a, § 764, e. || τὴν πρόφασιν, *the pretext, the semblance of a reason.* Referring to the addition (named above) made to their decrees for conferring crowns, by some of the more modest. || μεταξύ . . . ἄρχοντα, *while in the full exercise of his office.* The idea of time (*while*), expressed by the participle alone, is expressed more exactly by the addition of the adverb [Gr. 1125 (854) § 696, 5]. The decree was proposed by Ctesiphon in the autumn of B.C. 338, and the accusation of Æschines was lodged with the Archon in the following spring, but was not called up for trial till eight years after, when the complete triumph of the Macedonian party at Athens led him to hope for success.

§ 3 [§ 13, p. 55].

λέξουσι, *i. e.* Ctesiphon and Demosthenes in their replies. These anticipations of what an opponent would say are more common in ancient than in modern oratory. They abound particularly in this oration; so much so, that it is generally supposed that many of them, with some other things, were added after the reply of Demosthenes was made. But as this was an old dispute, and turned mostly upon points which they had often discussed before with each other, and many of which, it is probable, were at issue between the two great parties,—the conservative and the revolutionary,—many of them, we may suppose, were real anticipations. But there can be no doubt that much was added by Æschines after the reply of Demosthenes was made. See §§ 50. 58 [§§ 180. 225]. Demosthenes makes no attempt to avail himself of the distinction here referred to, in his reply, but maintains the propriety of his being crowned, upon the ground that he had furnished from his own private fortune a large part of the money expended in his office as repairer of the walls of the city, and that others had been crowned in such cases while undischarged of their office (see § 111—119 of his reply). It is probable that the law upon this point, though such as here stated by Æschines, was often dispensed with on particular pretexts, and was rapidly going into disuse at the time of this trial. The nation had become so corrupt, that the laws were but cobwebs. || ὡς ἄρα, *that forsooth.* It generally indicates disbelief or contempt. See Dem. Pop. Orat. VIII. § 4, note [Champlin's ed.]. || ἐπιμέλειά τις καὶ διακονία. These terms indicate certain temporary and subordinate kinds of public service, for which those who exercised them were not required to render an account. Some seem to have contended, (of whom Æschines would have it that Demosthenes was one,) that all persons ap-

(P. pointed to any duty by a special vote, belonged to this class. || οἱ 5). **θεσμοθέται**, *the Thesmothetæ, i. e. the six inferior Archons*—all except the Eponymus, the King, and the Polemarch. They superintended the lots for the election of nearly all the regular magistrates (**ἄρχοντες**), at the temple of Theseus. See Handbk of Greek Antiqq., 110, D, A. || **ἀρχαιρεσίαις**, *assemblies for electing magistrates*, doubtless held at stated times. See Schömann, *Assemb. Ath.* p. 395. || **μετὰ τούτων**, *connected with these*. || **πραγματείας**, *commissions*. || **λύσειν ἡγούμενοι**, *thinking to put an end to*.

D **τειχοποιός**. This appears to have been a regular magistracy, filled annually by the choice of one from each of the ten tribes. The appointment was made by the tribes at the command of the people (see § 10. 12 [§ 27. 31]). Their business was to see that the walls and fortifications around Athens were kept in repair. Demosthenes seems to have been one of the ten commissioners for this purpose, in the year of the battle of Chæronæa, B.C. 338 (see § 10 [§ 27, note]), and to have been employed in making some repairs on the walls immediately after that event. [In the instance mentioned (§ 10 [§ 27]), it is created by special vote, and not a stated magistracy. We doubt not, however, that some stated functionary had the ordinary oversight of the walls; probably the *ὄδοποιοί*. W.] || **ἡγεμονίας δικαστηρίων**, *i. e. the right of instituting the preliminary judicial investigations in all causes coming within their respective departments*. This right belonged to all magistrates, properly so called; in which capacity they were called **εἰσαγωγεῖς** (see *εἰσαγωγεῖς* in Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*). || **κελεύει**, *i. e. the decree of which he had quoted the introductory part*. || **οὐ . . . δικαστηρίῳ**, *not to serve, but to exercise a magistracy, having been approved in the court*. Their office, then, was not a *διακονία*, but an *ἀρχή* (see § 3, c [§ 13]). But before they could enter upon their office they must pass the customary examination, or *δοκιμασία*, before the court. See Handbk of Greek Antiqq., 107. || **αἱ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαί**, *the magistrates chosen by lot*. See § 3, c [§ 13], note. || **καὶ . . . λογιστάς**, *and enter an account and proofs for the secretary and the accountants*. Bremi supposes that, properly, *διδόναι* is understood with *εὐθύνας*, which is often expressed. See § 5, D [§ 20]. **λόγος** (or **λογισμός**) was the account itself, and *εὐθύναι* the accompanying statements, designed to elucidate or prove it. It was somehow with reference to these two parts of the account, it is probable, that the two classes of examiners (*Logistæ* and *Euthῆni*) received their appellations. The secretary referred to was, probably, what was called the scribe of the city, or of the senate and people. See Böckh's *Pub. Econ. Ath.* pp. 189—193; Schömann, p. 303. [Handbk of Greek Antiqq., 108.]

PAGE 6. § 4 [§ 16, p. 56].

- A **NOMOI**. The documents are merely referred to by their titles in this oration, and not introduced. || **ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν**, *to call up and oppose*. || **ὑποβάλλειν**, *to reply, show*.
- B **τῷ τοῦ νόμου δικαίῳ**, *to the justice of the law*. Opposed to *τῇ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναισχυντή*. The case is well put here, and the sentiment just.

§ 5 [§ 17, p. 56].

πρὸς δὲ . . . Δημοσθένους, *but with regard now to the invincible argument which Demosthenes speaks of. He had probably spoken of it in 6).* private circles, unless this be one of those passages added after the reply of Demosthenes. He does make use of this argument in his reply, and very plausibly at least, if not convincingly. It was expressly for his benefactions to the state that Ctesiphon purposed to crown him. See the decree of Ctesiphon, Dem. de Coron. § 119. || μνᾶς ἑκατόν. A misrepresentation, or mistake (arising, perhaps, from confounding it with the sum he gave as manager of the Theoricon, Dem. de Coron. § 119). He gave in this case three talents, or *one hundred and eighty minæ*, besides other benefactions. See the above-named decree in Dem. "Hoc est oratorum Atticorum flagitium, ut adversarii quæ fecerunt laudabilia consulto deminuant et corrumpant." Bremi.

τὸ μέγεθος, *in size.* Accusative of nearer definition. See § 26 c [§ 77]; also Gr. 954 (751) § 579, 3. || τῶν καὶ . . . προσεληλυθότων, *lit. of those who have come forward to the management of public affairs, even in any way whatever [of all who take any part, be it what it may, in the management of state affairs].* || ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων, *upon extreme cases ['in instances scarcely credible,' L.], even in cases where it would not be expected.* || οἷον, *for instance.* This implies τοιούδε, which, however, is more commonly understood, like other demonstratives in Greek. See Plato, Gorg. 464, A. || κατὰ σῶμα, *individually.* See § 10 [§ 27]. || τὰ γέρα, *i. e. the sacrifices, contributions, &c., presented at the temples.* || τὰ γένη, *the families, i. e. certain families in which the priesthood was hereditary. [Such were the Κήρυκες, the gens out of which were selected the sacred Crier and the Dadūchus at the Eleusinia, and to which the wealthy family of the Calliæ and Hipponici belonged. The Eumolpidae held the dignity of Hierophant at the same mystical feast, besides other honours. W.]*

τοὺς τριηράρχους, *the trierarchs, i. e. citizens who were required to fit out galleys for the public service. They fitted them out at their own expense.* See Handbk Greek Antiqq. 165, p. 100, A. || πολλὰ μὲν . . . τὰ ὑμέτερα, *filching much while they lay out but little, and saying that they give of their own means (ἐπιδιδόναι), whereas they only give what is yours.* A hit at Demosthenes. Observe μὲν followed by δὲ repeated three times, distributing the clauses into pairs, contrasted among themselves and with each other. See § 12 [§ 31], note. Their gift, he says, was not such, but a *bonâ fide* one. || συνεδρίων, *of the councils.* Such as that of the Areopagus, and the Senate of Five Hundred, named below. || ὑπὸ . . . ψήφον, *comes under the vote of the tribunals, i. e. was held responsible to the people.* || καὶ . . . τὴν . . . ψήφον, *and brings under your vote that august council there, arbiter of the weightiest matters.* The reading varies here, but this is that adopted by Bekker, and seems the most satisfactory, on the whole.

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οὐκ ἄρα . . . τρυφῶσι, *shall not, then, the council of Areopagus be crowned (i. e. since their office was for life)? No, for it is not an here-*

(P. ditary right to them. Are they not ambitious, then? Most assuredly; 7). but they are not satisfied if one of their number merely does no wrong, whereas, if he does wrong, they punish him (i. e. their strict notions of merit keep them from such aspirations); while your orators put on airs, or run riot in their demands for public honours. This is the best interpretation which I can give of this obscure passage. [See note at end of volume.] || [οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ἑάν. Gr. 1303, 7 (949, c) § 804, 7.] || μὴ ἀποδημήσω; may I not leave the country? Questions asked by μὴ require a negative answer. [But ἀποδημήσω is not fut., but deliberative subjunctive. Cf. Gr. 1160 (875) § 741, c.] || ἵνα γε . . . χρήσῃ, no, lest, perchance, having embezzled the public money, or executed slightly the business of your office, you may take to flight. προλαβών, by zeugma, is taken in different senses with χρήματα and πράξεις.

B καθιεροῦν, to devote to sacred purposes. Because it was not certain that all his property would not be required to settle his account with the state. || ἐκποίητον, adopted. Because no one could be adopted who had not the right of citizenship; and, if one failed in giving a satisfactory account of his office, he lost this right. See Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 124.

§ 6 [§ 23, p. 57].

C τίς βούλεται κατηγορεῖν; At the passing of one's accounts before the Logistæ, a general invitation was given to all to bring forward any charges which they might have against the magistrate relative to the exercise of his office.

D δέκα τάλαντα. There were ten commissioners for this purpose, one from each tribe. Whether Demosthenes had this sum assigned to him alone, or only his proportion, is a little uncertain. Æschines himself, in another place (§ 12 [§ 31], μικροῦ δεῖν δέκα τάλαντα), abates somewhat from the sum here named. See Böckh, p. 204. || ὕστερος, after, in conformity with. Opposed to ἔμπροσθεν.

§ 7 [§ 24, p. 57].

οὔτοι. Ctesiphon and Demosthenes, both of whom would reply,— Ctesiphon first, as being the one directly arraigned, and then Demosthenes, as deeply implicated. || μέχρι . . . μοι, let it thus far have been spoken by me, i. e. I have thus far spoken, and this must suffice. The imperat. of the perf. expresses the state resulting from a perfected action, as well as the action itself. || οὔτος, Ctesiphon. || ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, over the theoric fund. A large fund, devoted to defraying the expenses of theatrical and other entertainments for the people. See Smith's Dict. Antiqq., Art. Theorica. Handbk Greek Antiqq. 158.

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A ἤδη, now at length. And thus, generally, ἤδη is now, in some way out of season, i. e. too early or too late, like the Latin jam. [Whenever the notion of too soon or too late is found in ἤδη, it is due to the context. Aristotle gives the following definition of this word (Phys. Auscult. 4, 13), "ἤδη is the portion of future time which is nigh the

present moment. *When do you walk?* ἤδη [*i. e.* at once], because (P. the time is near in which he is to walk. And of past time it is the 8). portion which is not far off from now. *When do you walk?* ἤδη βεβήδικα [*i. e.* I have walked *already*]. But we do not say that *Troy is (ἤδη) already taken*, because it is very far from now." From this simple and natural definition all the uses of ἤδη can be without much difficulty evolved. *W.*] || ἐπί, *under*, or, more strictly, *upon*. It denotes time, or a course of events, as *dependent upon* some person (lit. *during the course of events dependent upon what Archon*).

§ 8 [§ 24, p. 57].

ἀλίσκοιτο, *should be convicted*. This verb serves as the passive of αἰρεῖν (see αἰρεῖ, following).

§ 9 [§ 25, p. 57].

ἀντιγραφεύς, *checking-clerk, comptroller, i. e.* of the accounts of the B collectors of the revenues. This was the ἀντιγραφεύς τῆς βουλῆς. See Böckh's *Pub. Econ.*, p. 188. || Εὐβουλον. An orator at Athens, who had great power with the people. The theoric fund was one of his hobbies for gaining popular favour. [Eubulus was the foe of Demosthenes for a long period previous to the battle of Chæronæa. He was the patron of Æschylus, and one of the leaders of the peace-party at Athens. *W.*] || ἥρχον, *exercised* [or, *held*]. || Ἡγήμονος. An illiterate demagogue at Athens, attached to the interest of Philip. [It is uncertain when Hegemon's law was passed. Böhneke assigns it to some time between Olymp. 111, 2 and 112, 2, that is, at all events, after the accession of Alexander. *W.*] || ἀποδεκτῶν, *collectors and disbursers of the public money, paymasters*. There were ten of these. See Böckh, p. 159. || νεώριον . . . σκευοθήκη . . . ὁδοποιοὶ, κ.τ.λ. This concentration of offices in the managers of the theoric fund was to give them sufficient power to prevent the diversion of the fund to other purposes. Such an unnatural amalgamation of offices could not have continued long. See *Dict. Antiqq.*, Art. *Theorica*. || αὐτῶν, Eubulus and Hegemon.

ἀπάσας. As described above.

§ 10 [§ 27, p. 57].

ἐπιβολὰς ἐπέβαλλε, *inflicted penalties* [or rather, *imposed fines*, for C the most part of trifling amount. Æschines, *de Fals. Leg.*, says that Demosthenes incurred an epibolê from the Areopagus for dropping the prosecution of his cousin Demomêles. *W.*] This was evidence of his holding a magistracy. See *Lys. Orat. in Nicom.* § 3. || ἐπί, κ.τ.λ. ["*in the archonship of Chæronidas, on the last day but one of Thargêlion, at an assembly of the people, Demosthenes proposed a resolution to hold a meeting of the tribes* [*i. e.* of each separate tribe] *on the second and third days of Skirophorion,*" (*i. e.* on the third and fourth days after the passing of the resolution which had respect to the appointment of inspectors of the walls, of whom Demosthenes was chosen one. See note A, at the end of vol. *W.*] There is some difficulty in reconciling the designations of time here given with

(P. others pertaining to the same events. The facts in the case seem to 8). be these. Chærondas was well known to have been Eponymus in the year of the battle of Chæronēa (B.C. 338—337). That battle was fought in the *second* month of the year of Chærondas (Meta-geitnion, August, 338). The decree of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes was proposed in October of the same year (Dem. de Coron. § 119), and Æschines lodged his accusation of Ctesiphon with the Archon in the following March (Dem. de Coron. § 54), the *ninth* month of the year of Chærondas. If now Demosthenes was not appointed *τειχοποιός* until the following Skirophorion (the following June, the last month of the year of Chærondas), as seems to be stated here, he did not hold the office at the time it was proposed to crown him, and hence was not responsible. Nor is it consistent with the language here employed (without some intermediate explanation, as below) to suppose, with Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii. p. 446), that the reference is merely to the fact of his *being* in office at that time, and not that he was then *appointed* (see *καὶ ἐπέταξεν . . . ἐλίσθαι . . . ταμίας*). The appointment, then, must have been made at the close of the preceding year; and, as it is hardly probable that the true Eponymus of this year would have been given as the *pseudeponymus* of the preceding, I would suggest, whether (since he was appointed at the very end of the previous year, and *for* this year) the phrase *ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου* was not unconsciously used, by way of anticipation, with reference to the time of his *holding* the office, and not to the time of his *appointment*. Demosthenes, it is true (De Coron. § 248), speaks of his having procured the appropriation of the money for the repair of the walls *after* the battle of Chæronēa, but not of his appointment to the office of *τειχοποιός* at that time. The office was probably an annual one (see § 3 [§ 14, note]). || *δευτέρῃ φθίνοντος*, *the last day but one*, of this month, *the twenty-ninth day*. For the mode of reckoning the days of the month at Athens, see Handbk Greek Antiqq. 175, B.

D *ἀγοράν*. Often used thus for an assembly of the tribes or demes. || [*τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους*, *persons to superintend*, &c. Fut. partcp. denoting the *purpose*.] || *ταμίας*, *treasurers*. All such offices, which involved the handling of the public money, were furnished with treasurers. See Böckh, p. 171. || *σώματα*. See § 5, c [§ 18].

§ 11 [§ 28, p. 57].

ἀντιδιαπλέκει, *he gives the artful or disingenuous reply* [‘the tortuous reply.’ *L. and S.*]. || *ἔλαχε τειχοποιός*. Understand *εἶναι* (lit. *did not have the lot to be repairer of the walls, was not chosen by lot*). Thus often. Demosthenes in his reply makes no use of this argument, that he was not chosen to the office by the people, but by his tribe. See § 3, c [§ 13], note.

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A *τῶν περὶ . . . τρία*, there are *three kinds of magistrates*. The article, followed by *περὶ* and an abstract noun, is often equivalent to the corresponding concrete noun, as in the very common phrases, *οἱ περὶ*

τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, γραμματικὴν, ῥητορικὴν, κ.τ.λ., = οἱ φιλόσοφοι, κ.τ.λ. (P. The first class of magistrates named (οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονη-9). τοὶ) were either chosen by lot or by hand vote, upon the nomination of the Archon, at assemblies appointed for the purpose; and the other two classes, either by special vote of the people, or by the tribes or demes at the command of the people; these were called *αἰρητοὶ*. See Schöm. Assemb. Ath. p. 294. || καταλείπεται, *it remains*.

τριπτύες, *thirds*, i. e. of the tribes. There were twelve *τριπτύες*, B founded, probably, upon the four original tribes at Athens [in Attica. *W.*]. This division was for financial purposes. See Herm. Polit. Antiqq. § 99, 5. [Rather this division was probably retained for financial and administrative purposes. *W.*] Handbk Greek Antiqq. 94.

§ 12 [§ 31, p. 425].

μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δ' . . . δὲ . . . δὲ . . . δέ. All the clauses stand opposed to that with *μὲν*, which contains the fundamental truth upon which all the others hang and become significant. But, at the same time that they are all opposed to the first, the separate parts stand opposed to each other, and should be so rendered as to bring out this contrast (*whereas . . . and also . . . while . . . and at the same time . . . when finally*). See Gr. § 770, 2. [Omit the first *μὲν*, and construe *δέ* by *whereas* (Gr. 1458, ο): the clause *ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ, κ.τ.λ.*, is opposed to the two preceding clauses with *δέ* and *again—and—but* (or, *whereas*). *ἐγὼ δέ*, *now I.*] The points thus far established are very concisely and ably summed up here. This closes the first count in the indictment,—*The illegality of proposing to crown a magistrate before he is discharged of the accounts of his office.* || [*μικροῦ δεῖν*, *nearly*. Gr. 1519, 6 (684) § 864.]

§ 14 [§ 33, p. 427].

σεμνύνεσθαι . . . ἐξῶθεν, *to magnify himself, or put on airs before D strangers*, i. e. by having the proclamation of his being crowned made in the theatre at the great Dionysiac festival (as was proposed in the decree of Ctesiphon), which was attended by people from all parts of Greece. See Smith's Dict. Antiqq., Art. *Dionysia*. || [*ἀγαπᾶν*, *to be satisfied.*] || *ἐργολαβεῖν*, *to work for pay, to seek personal advantage and glory.*

PAGE 10. § 15 [§ 34, p. 427].

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ . . . ἐκκλησίᾳ, *among the people in Pnyx, the assembly. A τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* seems to be in apposition with the two preceding nouns, or else it must mean here, the *place* of the assembly, and be in apposition with *Πυκνί*. The Pnyx was a semicircular excavation in the side of a hill, a little to the west of the Acropolis, inclosed by a low wall, and entirely open above. This was the place for the meetings of the Assembly of Athens in her best days. See Wordsworth's Athens, p. 65, seq. [*in the presence of the people, in Pnyx, in a full assembly*] (Leland): *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐν Πυκνί* must not be taken as *one* notion; *ἐν Πυκνί* adds a second particular: *ἐν δήμῳ* is opposed to *Æschines.*

(P. before the other Greeks ; in the Pnyx to in the theatre : and τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 10). is probably dat. of time (virtually), in a sitting of the assembly, i. e. when the people are transacting public business, opp. to when they are sitting as spectators of the new tragedies. K. says: τῇ (προτέρᾳ) ἐκκλησίᾳ is sometimes found without ἐν, Æsch. 2, 65 ; 3, 34 (this passage). || τραγῳδῶν . . . καινῶν, i. e. at the great Dionysia, in March, when new tragedies were represented. The expression, therefore, designates the time. [The great Dionysia in March or April. When the Attic year began at the earliest date possible, that is on the 25th of June, the first of Elaphebolion answered to the 17th of March. In this case the great Dionysia, which fell about the middle of that month, ended just about the beginning of our April. In all other cases, in fifteen years out of the cycle of nineteen, they must have been included within our April. W.]

B παραταχθεὶς . . . νόμοις, having been in concert with Demosthenes, will assail the laws by cunning devices. || ἵνα . . . ἐξαπατηθέντες, that you may not unconsciously be deceived. See Gr. 1105, b (838) § 694. || μὴ κηρύττειν. After words of a negative and prohibitive signification, the Greek employs another negative (μὴ) with the following infinitive, when we do not. Generally, too, where the negative verb is accompanied, as here, by οὐκ, or some other negative word, μὴ οὐ, instead of μὴ alone, is found with the infinitive. Gr. 1177 (885) § 750, 2, obs. 4. || τὸν Διονυσιακὸν νόμον. This is the law by which Demosthenes justifies the proposition to proclaim his crown in the theatre, a fragment of which is given in his reply (§ 120). It is evident, from all the reasoning of Æschines upon it, that there was such a law, and that it was not obsolete. But there appear to have been different interpretations put upon one part of it. After forbidding any who were crowned by the tribes or the demes, being proclaimed in the theatre, it seems to have added, as Dissen (Dem. de Coron. § 120) supposes (see also § 16, p. 12, A [§ 44, 47]) : μηθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενός (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον), ἢ ἀτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα, πλὴν εἴαν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται τούτους δ' ἀναγορεύετω. The exception here made, Æschines (see § 16, 17 [§ 47, 48]) applies to crowns bestowed upon Athenian citizens by other states ; such, he says, might indeed be proclaimed in the theatre, if the senate or people voted so. It is obvious, however, that the clause is capable of a different interpretation, as applicable to special cases, where there was an express vote to proclaim a crown in the theatre. Besides, there can be no doubt that this was the common understanding of the passage, and that crowns were often bestowed to be proclaimed in accordance with it (see Dem. de Coron. § 83, 213). And, in general, it is plain that both upon this and the previous point, while the common law, and perhaps common usage, were on the side of Æschines, special laws and usage were on the side of Ctesiphon. If there was no law and no usage in his favour, why was the proposition made in this form, when substantially the same ends might have been gained in a legal way ? For certainly the mere place of the proclamation of the crown was of no account ; and, even according to Æschines (§ 12 [§ 31]), if he had

only added to the proposition to crown him, *when he has rendered up* (P. *his accounts*, the decree would have been legal on that point. In 10). In short, one familiar with the history of Athens at this period, and with all the circumstances connected with the present trial, cannot help feeling, to say the least, that the decree of Ctesiphon was not so inconsistent with the laws and usages of the times, as to have provoked a prosecution from any one but an embittered enemy. And it is in this light that Demosthenes treats it in his reply (see § 12—16, 121, et al.).

συνηγόρους, *as supporters or advocates*. || **ὅπερ διατελώ σπου- C**
δάζων, *which I continually aim at or strive after*, *i. e.* to sustain all his points by laws. || **ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν**. “*Lenis est metathesis pro εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμῶν.*” *Bremi.*

οὔτε ἡμέληται, *nor has it been overlooked*. || **τῷ νομοθέτῃ**. See D § 1, c [§ 6], note. || **τοῖς θεσμοθέταις**. The Thesmothetæ (see § 3, c [§ 13], note) were required to review the laws every year, that they might detect any inconsistencies or superfluities in them, and report upon the same to the people, who referred the necessary alterations to a committee called Nomothetæ. See Handbk Greek Antiqq. 99, A. || **διορθοῦν**, *to rectify*, *i. e.* see that there were no conflicting or abrogated laws in the public records. See above. || **ἀναγράφεται**. “*Id est, κείται, ἔστιν: verbum proprium de legislatione.*” *Bremi.*

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σανίσιν, *i. e.* the tablets upon which the laws that needed revision A were inscribed and exposed (*ἐκτιθέναι*) before the statues of the Eponymi (*Ἐπωνύμων*) [*i. e.* of the Heroes who gave their names to the tribes. Handbk Greek Antiqq. 91, D]. || **ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέτας**¹, *having inscribed upon the call (i. e. assigned) Nomothetæ*. This is the interpretation of F. A. Wolf, which seems to me much better than that of Schömann (*Assemb. Ath.* p. 249), which makes these words merely indicate the general subject to be attended to at the meeting (*having added, i. e.* as the subject of the meeting, *Nomothetæ*). The Nomothetæ seem to have been appointed by the Prytanes (see *Dem. contr. Timoc.* § 27). They were taken from such of the people as acted as jurymen for the year, and were, at one time, a thousand in number. Business was done before them as in a regular assembly of the people, of whom they constituted a part. I would suggest, therefore, that **τῷ δήμῳ**, in the following clause, refers to them only, and that they, with the presiding officers and the advocates on each side, constituted the assembly which was to be called. If this be so, it is not necessary to suppose, with Schömann (*Assemb. Ath.* p. 248), that the reference here is to a *second* revision of the laws, at the direction of the Thesmothetæ, different from the ordinary annual revision; which

¹ [Our text, that of Baiter and Sauppe, has **ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέταις**, with the inscription ‘for the Nomothetæ.’ Stock compares *Dem. Fals. Leg.* 185: ὅταν ἡ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις προγεγραμμένον, the general object of a bill being prefixed as a heading to the programme.]

(P. in itself is very improbable, and is based upon this passage alone. 11). See Schömann, p. 246—249. [Handbk Greek Antiqq. 99. See Woolsey's opinion in the Additional Notes at the end of the volume.]

§ 16 [§ 40, p. 431].

- B **παρά**, *from, coming from, i. e. uttered by.* || **ἦτοι . . . ἦ**, “Hoc ordine semper leguntur hæ particulæ, non vice versa ἦ . . . ἦτοι Prius membrum est vel admirantis vel mirantis, interdum tota disjunctio admirantis.” *Bremi.* [The single known exception to this remark, occurring Pindar, Nem. vi. 5, is noticed by Hartung, and by the lexicographers¹. *W.*] || **ἀδύνατα γενέσθαι**, *unable to be, which cannot be [what is impossible].* || **ἐν ἄστει**. This, standing between the article and its noun, has an attributive relation to the noun (the city [*i. e.* those that were exhibited at the Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει]). These were distinguished from *tragedies* exhibited in the country, both as to time and magnificence. || [**τραγωδῶν**, *tragedians = tragedies, as in many other passages (W.).* Hence **γινομένων: ἀγωνιζομένων** would be the strictly correct word.] || **οὐ πείσαντες τὸν δῆμον**, *i. e. without the vote of the people.*
- C **προξενίας . . . εὐρημένοι**, *having obtained the rights of a πρόξενος.* || **εἰ οὕτω τύχοι**, *perchance [it may be].* || **ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων**, *i. e. ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥοδίων.*
- D **τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ**. For the usage of **μὲν** and **δέ**, see § 2 [§ 12], note. || **ἠνωχλείτο** [Baiter and Sauppe read *ἠνοχλείτο*]. For the augment before both the preposition and the root, see Gr. 402 (322) i. § 179.

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- A **περὶ τῶν ξενικῶν στεφάνων**. In connexion with the interpretation here given of the provisions of the law, see § 15, B [§ 35], note. || **μὴ κηρύττεσθαι**. See § 15, B [§ 35], note.
- B **ἐρανίζων**, *begging [propr. of begging contributions].* || **ἀπούσης βουλῆς, κ.τ.λ.**, *the council being left out, or aside from the council, &c.* The partep. expresses a condition. Gr. 1118 (849) § 697, b. || **ἄν . . . ἀναρρήθῃ**, *may have been proclaimed.* || **ἱερὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς** [Gr. 851 (697) § 521, 3], *to be a votive offering to Athénâ.* Just as the tripods of the victors, in certain games, were devoted to Apollo; and of the *Chorēgi*, at the Dionysia, to Dionysus. I do not see, therefore, how this proves that foreign crowns are alluded to, unless it proves the same in the other case. || **τοσαύτην . . . Ἀθηναίων**, *to charge upon the people of Athens so great illiberality.* Verbs of accusing, when compounded with **κατά**, take the person in the genitive. Gr. 896 (696).

¹ [This rule recalls the similar rule that, in hypothetical propositions, where *εἴτε . . . εἴτε* occur, *οὐν* is found with that clause which is regarded as true. See Passow, and Liddell and Scott, voce *οὐν*. The rule is shown to

be wholly erroneous by such passages as Soph. Electr. 560, *εἴτ' οὐν δικαίως [ἐκτεινας] εἴτε μή λέξω δέ σοι | ὡς οὐ δίκη γ' ἐκτεινας*, where the clause, the truth of which is denied, contains the *οὐν*. *W.*]

μη γὰρ ὅτι . . . ἀλλ' οὐδ'. "Μή ellipticum est : Μη γὰρ ὑπολαμ- (P. βάνετε, ὅτι ἂν γένοιτο πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἰδιώτης . . . γένοιτο, ne 12). opinemini civitatem fore, sed ne fuerit quidem privatus tam illibe- c ralis." *Bremi.* Gr. 1492, a (1041, b) § 762, 2, 3. || τὴν ψυχὴν Accusative of nearer definition. So below, § 16 [§ 47]. Gr. 950 (751) § 579, 2. || οὐκ . . . οὐδέις. Observe the double negative; one a direct negative, and the other a negative pronoun. Thus generally in Greek. Gr. 1194 (889) § 747, 1.

PAGE 13. § 17 [§ 48, p. 437].

τὸ γὰρ . . . λέγε, *for say all the day what that ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ A means, i. e. spend the whole day [if you like] in endeavouring to explain it away. [The imperative is virtually conditional, Gr. 800, 2.] This closes the second count in the indictment,—The illegality of the proposition to proclaim the crown in the theatre.*

§ 18 [§ 49, p. 438].

ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάξω, *upon which I am specially earnest.* He now enters upon the discussion of the merits of Demosthenes, which had been put forward as the ground of the proposed honour. Upon this point he lays the greatest stress, and bestows his principal strength.

μετὰ ταῦτα, *after these things, i. e. from this point.* || κρίναι εὐ- B μαθῆς, *intelligible to judge [one in which it is easy to come to a determination].* || τὸν μὲν . . . ἐμέ, *me, the accuser.* || κατὰ Δημοσθένους. "Κατὰ proprie motum ex superiore loco in inferiorem locum significat; hinc tropice vel de vituperiis vel de laudibus dicitur, quæ quasi *dejiciuntur* in aliquem, et facile intelligitur significationem malam esse frequentiore. Interdum tamen etiam in ejusmodi locutionibus reperitur, in quibus aut omnino significat *quod attinet ad*, aut *in favorem, honorem.* Vide § 63 [§ 241]." *Bremi.* || τὴν γραφὴν ἐλώσεται, *will be convicted on the indictment.* ἀλίσκεσθαι usually takes the genitive of the crime or charge, like other verbs of convicting. For this construction, see § 60 [§ 232], note. || ἅπαντες . . . ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. He denies that the merits of Demosthenes were such as described in the decree of Ctesiphon; and, hence, that his decree was illegal. This, therefore, is the third point to be made out,—*The illegality of the decree of Ctesiphon, on account of its false statement of the merits of Demosthenes.*

τούναντίον τούτου, *the opposite of this.* Τούναντίον is the sub- c ject of (δεικτέον) ἐστίν.

§ 19 [§ 51, p. 440].

ταῦτα, *these things, i. e. what follows [against its usual meaning].* Gr. 1012 (793, n. 8) § 656, n. 8. || τὴν τοῦ τραύματος γραφὴν, *the prosecution for wounding.* Such causes were tried before the Areopagus; and, in order to be sustained, required that purpose or forethought (προνοία) should be proved. Of the particular case here referred to nothing is known, as far as I am aware, beyond what is here said. || τὴν Κηφισοδότου στρατηγίαν. Kephisodótus was an Athenian

(P. general sent with a squadron to the Hellespont, who was supposed to have sacrificed the Athenian interests to Charidémus, in the terms upon which he received Alopeconnêsus, and was deprived of his command in consequence. See the account of the affair in Dem. contr. Aristoc. p. 675, seq. Demosthenes appears to have been in the squadron, and to have been honoured by the presence of the general in the vessel (flag-ship) which he had equipped as trierarch. But I see nothing in this circumstance which should have prevented him from becoming his accuser, if he thought him guilty of the crime charged upon him. There does, however, seem to have been a sort of severity in the character of Demosthenes, as is evident from what Æschines says of him in this and other places, such as is often conjoined with a strong will and vigorous intellect, and uncompromising moral principles.

D ἀπ' εἰσαγγελίας, by the process called εἰσαγγελία. See p. 3, A, B, note. || καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη, κ.τ.λ. This affair with Meidias seems to have been much more disgraceful on the part of his adversary than on the part of Demosthenes. Meidias was a wealthy and influential citizen, who, with a sort of purse-proud insolence, undertook to domineer over Demosthenes, and annoy him in every possible way, till he finally struck him with his fist (κονδύλους), while acting as χορηγός in the theatre. Demosthenes prosecuted him for impiety (as the offence was committed at the festival of Dionysus), and obtained a sort of preliminary decision of the people (καταχειροτονίαν) in his favour; but, on account of the great wealth and influence of Meidias, as is supposed, settled the case for a sum of money, before it was brought before the regular tribunal. It is probable, therefore, that the oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, which is extant, was never delivered. For the nature and object of the καταχειροτονία, spoken of in the text, see Schöm. Assemb. Ath. p. 230. [Demosthenes brought the public action called a *probdlé* against Meidias, which was based upon a judgement of the people favorable to the plaintiff. The γραφή ἀσεβείας was a different process. W.] || τὸν ἀγῶνα καταχαρίζομενος. “Καταχαρίζεσθαι est prodere aliquid contra jus fasque in gratiam alicujus.” *Bremi.* || ἀπαντήση, may fall to, may be awarded to [= lest it should be my fate]. Being intransitive, it is constructed like a passive verb. On παρά, cf. Gr. 723 (580) § 637, 1. || ὄτω, against whomsoever. Dat. of disadvantage (*incommodi*).

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A περὶ δέ. δέ stands opposed to μέν at the beginning of § 19 [§ 51], where he commences speaking of the private misdeeds of Demosthenes, as he here proposes to speak of his public misdeeds. || ὁ λόγος, the speech, i. e. the customary opportunity of replying. || ὡς ἄρα. See § 42 [§ 137], note. Demosthenes makes no such division of his public life, but considers the history of the first two periods as wholly irrelevant to the cause; and hence, after having briefly replied to some of the charges of Æschines pertaining to them, commences at the third period. See De Coron. § 6, note.

ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐπολεμοῦμεν, *i. e.* eleven years, from B.C. 335 to 346— (P. from the taking of Amphipolis by Philip, to the peace of Philocrates, 14). here spoken of. || ἤγομεν, *we were enjoying*. The peace continued, B nominally, seven years, till B.C. 339, when Demosthenes, after Philip had virtually been at war with them for years, finally induced the Athenians formally to renew hostilities with him. || τῆς ἀτυχίας, *the mishap*. A euphemism. The reference is to the unfortunate battle of Chæronæa, in which the Athenians and Thebans received a signal defeat from Philip, that secured his supremacy in Greece. This occurred in the year following the renewal of hostilities. The fourth period referred to is that of the humiliation of Athens under Philip and Alexander, which ensued.

ἐὰν ἐγκαλύπτωμαι καὶ ἀποδιδράσκω, *if I cover my face (i. e. from C shame) and slink away [attempt to shirk it]*. In other places ἐγκαλύπτεισθαι means to cover the face from grief, *i. e.* to grieve. || ἰσχυρίζεται. “*Ἰσχυρίζεσθαι de pertinace dicitur, qui superbe et impertune, non argumentorum pondere, sed sua unius auctoritate nixus, aliquid ita esse asseverat, ut ipse pronuntiet, et mendacia dicere eos, qui aliud quid affirmant.*” *Bremi.* || σοι. Governed by ἀποκρίνομαι, below.

καιρῶν. This denotes that *relative to which* he accused him. Thus, D also, § 19 [§ 55]. Gr. 895 (693). Generally, κατηγορεῖν governs the gen. of person and acc. of thing. || καὶ γὰρ, *i. e. and if I*. The influence of ἀν extends to this clause also. || ἃ σοι σύνοιδα, *which I know in common with you*. || τοὺς φιλανθρώπως . . . χρησαμένους. “*Intelligit sobriam et humanam rerum civilium rationem, alienam a superbia et arrogantia.*” *Bremi.* || τάξει, *order, arrangement*.

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καὶ δὴ . . . εἰρήνην, *and now I (take myself back to =) return to the A peace*. δὴ is employed here in resuming the discourse at the point from which he had departed. Thus often.

§ 20 [§ 58, p. 445].

τὴν προτέραν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην, *i. e.* the peace of Philocratès, made with Philip at the close of the Amphipolitan war (B.C. 346), as distinguished from the peace of Démadès, made after the battle of Chæronæa (B.C. 338). || κοινῶν συνεδρίων . . . Ἑλλήνων, *i. e.* a congress; not only of the regular allies of Athens, but of as many of the Greek states as they could induce to join them in conducting their negotiations with Philip. This is evident from what follows, as well as from Æsch. de F. L. p. 35. It is clear that Demosthenes, for certain reasons (see Thirlwall, chap. 44), was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible; but that he prevented its being made in conjunction with a common council of the Greeks is not so clear. The facts in the case, after weighing carefully the contradictory statements of the rival orators, seem to be something as follow. Æschines proposed such a council about a year before the discussions upon the peace, and, in pursuance of his plan, himself went on an

(P. embassy to Megalopölis (Dem. de F. L. p. 344) ; but, as is evident 15). from his own statement (F. L. p. 38), the plan was never carried out, or was unsuccessful, as none came to their aid up to the time of the proposed peace. As to the pretence of Æschines, that certain ambassadors were out, at the time of the discussions on the peace, for the purpose of inviting the co-operation of the other states, and that the congress of the allies at Athens proposed at that time (see Æsch. de F. L. p. 35) to wait till their return, this seems improbable on many grounds, but, especially, is contradicted by Æschines himself, in the account which he gives of the contents of the decree of the allies, in the present oration (§ 22, c [§ 70]), and is expressly denied by Demosthenes (De Coron. § 23, 24). There was, however, as is admitted by both orators, a congress of Greeks at Athens at that time, which, therefore, must have been wholly, or mostly, a congress of the regular allies of Athens. And these, as it would seem from an expression of Demosthenes (F. L. § 16), had been called together in pursuance of the plan of Æschines, above named. This view of the case, it is believed, will sufficiently account for all the statements of the rival orators on the point. || *τινες*, *i. e.* Demosthenes and his party. || *ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες*, *lit.*, *were having sent out*, *i. e.* *had sent out*. The periphrastic form expresses better the state of *expectancy*, which he pretends they were in, in *consequence* of the embassies which they had despatched. Gr. 762 (610) § 375, 4. || *καὶ . . . ἀπολαβεῖν*, to be joined with *ποιήσασθαι*, before the intermediate clauses. || *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, *the primacy, the supremacy*, *i. e.* *a leading and controlling position among the Greek states*.

B *ἐξαίφνης*, *suddenly, unexpectedly*. This shows that the public sentiment was in danger of being shocked by the charge (p. 50, foot [§ 227]) of corruption made against Demosthenes. Demosthenes, in his reply, in alluding to the figure of the accounts, which follows, makes an admirable use of the current opinion in his favour, which is so clearly implied in the language of Æschines. || *ἐκείνως*, *in that way, thus*, *i. e.* as in the case of the accounts. It is used instead of *οὕτως*, because it refers to the illustration, and hence to what is more remote, like *ἐκεῖνος*. It is more fully explained by the sentence with *οὕτω*, near the end of § 20, c [§ 60, *init.*]. || *χρημάτων ἀνηλωμένων*, *money expended*, *i. e.* by some one to whom it had been entrusted. || *ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμούς*, *for the accounts*, *i. e.* to obtain the results of casting up the account. || *συγκεφαλαιωθῆ*, *has been summed up*. || *ὅστις*. Strictly *ὥστε* is required here, to correspond to *οὕτω*, but the adjective clause is often used in the place of the adverbial clause, introduced by *ὥστε*. Gr. 1248, *d* (923, *d*) § 836, 5. || *αἰρῆ*, *may carry*, = *may establish, prove* [*which the account itself exhibits*, L.]. || *ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων*, *from the former times, in former times*. To be connected with *ἔχοντες* rather than *ἤκουσιν*, but perhaps influenced by that to take *ἐκ* for *ἐν*. However, see Dem. Pop. Orat. p. 148 (Philip. I. § 1).

ἀπογνώτω . . . καταγνώτω. "Judicandi verba, quæ cum *ἀπό* composita sunt, significationem habent *absolvendi*, quæ cum *κατά* *condemnandi*." Bremi. || *πρὶν . . . ἀκούση*. The subj. after *πρὶν* is

occasionally found thus without *ἄν* in the Attic writers. Gr. 1269 (P. (936, a) § 842, 2. || *μὲν* (*πλείω μὲν*) *δὲ* *δὲ* *δέ*. See 15). § 12 [§ 31]. || *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* bears an attributive relation to *εἰρήνης* (*the original peace, i. e. the first peace, or the peace in its incipient state*).

§ 21 [§ 62, p. 450].

ἐγράφη παρανόμων, *was accused of illegality; was indicted as illegal*. D Thus generally the pass. of *γράφειν* is used; so in the middle, *indicting*. See *γραψάμενος*, following.

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συναπελογεῖτο *Δημοσθένης*. This does not seem to imply A any *political* connexion with Philocrates, any more than the defending of one in our courts implies such a connexion with him. || [*ἐπήει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων*, *there followed the time of the archonship of Themistocles* (B.C. 347). *Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων* is an *apposition* defining *χρόνος*. Baiter and Sauppe refer to Andoc. I, 96: *ἄρχει χρόνος τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἢ βουλή οἱ πεντακόσιοι λαχόντες τῷ κυάμφ ὅτε Κλεογένης πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευεν*, *it begins, 'the time of this decree was the year of that senate of 500 which was elected when Cleogenes was clerk for the first time,'* and to Böckh, *Inscriptt.* 1, 29 and 877.] || *οὔτε λαχὼν . . . πριάμενος*, *having obtained the place neither as principal nor substitute, but having purchased it by arrangement*. The reference seems to be to the abuse of the lottery principle before alluded to (p. 3, A). In choosing public officers, substitutes were chosen to take the place of the principal, in case of his failure for any reason, which accounts for the use of *λαχὼν* and *ἐπιλαχὼν*. || *εἰς ὑποδοχὴν*, *by way of supporting*. || *νικᾷ*, *carries* (lit. *conquers*). So also with *γνώμη*, as Plat. Gorg. 456, A: *οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας*. || *ἐν ᾧ* *πρέσβεις*. This was the first embassy (*περὶ εἰρήνης*).

σπείσασθαι, *to give pledges of safe conduct to, i. e. in coming to* B Athens and returning. || *ἀκόλουθα*, *in keeping with Philocrates, i. e. in keeping with what Philocrates proposed*. It is of the nature of what is called the *compendious comparison*. Gr. 1337 (773) § 781, d. || *τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα*, lit. *the after these things; in relation to what followed*. An adverbial acc. || *ἐπράττετο*, *it was effected, brought about*. This, it will be observed, is followed by *ὅπως μὴ*, first with the subj. (*περιμείνητε, ποιήσησθε*), and then with the fut. (*ψηφιεῖσθε*). This is to give greater animation to the discourse, representing what was past as present. The subj. and fut. differ in this, that the fut. represents the idea as definite and actual, while the subj. represents it as contingent. Gr. 1313, a (954) § 812, 1, *end*. This charge of co-operating with Philocrates Demosthenes expressly denies, and throws it upon Æschines and his friends. See De Coron. § 21. || *πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, κ.τ.λ.* *πρὸς*, *out of regard to, by means of, on the part of*. This sense grows out of the original meaning of *πρὸς* (in the presence of). [*πράττειν πρὸς* must mean *to bring about by management with, to enter into negotiations with, and so effect*. W.] || *συκοφαντηθέντας*, *slan-*

(P. *dered.* || ὕστερον. That is, after their return from the second embassy, when Demosthenes accused his colleagues, and especially Æschines, of malversation. See the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, De Falsa Legatione.

C παρακαλοῦντες, *stimulating, stirring up*, i. e. the Greeks (see § 21, A, B [§ 68]), refers back to the subject of περιμείνητε (i. e. the Athenians), and not to πρέσβεις. || προσέχοιεν . . . ὑμετέρῳ, *should think of joining themselves to your democratic ranks [should feel favorably inclined towards the cause of you Athenians. W.]*. προσέχειν in this sense usually has τὸν νοῦν (lit. *to turn the attention to* [with ref. to sentiment, = *to regard, also care for, trouble oneself about*]) with it. See Dem. Olynth. II. § 13; Philip. I. § 6. τῷ πλήθει does not denote mere *multitude*, but the *character* of the Athenian party. (See Xen. Mem. I. 2, 43.) The Athenians formed the rallying point for all the democratical states. || Κερσοβλέπτης. Why Kersobleptes was not included in the treaty of peace with Philip is uncertain. The reason here assigned is the least probable of all. It is most probable that Kersobleptes was not fairly entitled to be considered as an ally of Athens, and, as such, was excluded by Philip, according to the terms of the treaty (see Thirlwall, chap. 44). His ruin, together, with that of the Phocians, is ascribed by Demosthenes, with much more plausibility, to the unnecessary delays made by Æschines and his friends in obtaining the ratification of the treaty from Philip. See De Coron. § 30—40. || παρηγγέλλετο . . . στρατεία, *but already an expedition (i. e. made by Philip) was announced against him (Kersobleptes)*.

D ὁ μὲν ἐξωνούμενος, i. e. Philip. *He did nothing out of the way, the orator says, in purchasing these advantages, but the traitors who sold them to him deserved eternal reprobation.* || μισαλέξανδρος . . . μισοφίλιππος, adjectives formed from proper names, as verbs often are, in Greek. || ὁ τὴν . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου. See the keen retort of Demosthenes on this point, De Coron. § 51, 52. || τῇ ὀγδόῃ . . . μηνός. For the method of reckoning the days of the months at Athens, see Handbk Greek Antiqq. 175, B. || ἔτ' ἦν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, κ.τ.λ. This, of course, indicates haste; but it is admitted that Demosthenes was anxious to conclude the peace as soon as possible, and for good reasons. See § 20 [§ 58]. [The Æsculapia are called a προαγών, as being a sort of introduction or prelude to the great feast of the Dionysia immediately following. W.]

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B τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει. The city Dionysia were the Great Dionysia, which, it seems from this place compared with § 21, D, *fin.* [§ 67], occurred somewhere between the 8th and 18th of Elaphebolion. Besides this festival to Dionysus, there were, also, the Lesser Dionysia and the Lenæa. See Handbk Greek Antiqq. 143, 2. [It has been a very general opinion although not universally received, since Böckh's treatise on the Dionysia, (Trans. of Berl. Acad. 1816,) that there were four Attic festivals in honour of Bacchus; the Dionysia

ἐν ἄσσει, the Dionysia ἐν ἀγροῖς, the Lenæa and Anthesteria. Be- (P. fore Böckh wrote, the Lenæa were identified by some with the 17). country Dionysia, and by others with the Anthesteria. W.]

§ 22 [§ 69, p. 458].

ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐκκλησίαι, when now, Athenians, the Dionysia had passed,—but in the mean time there were two assemblies. What intervenes between Διονύσια and the beginning of § 23 [§ 71] is a sort of parenthesis, consisting of intermediate clauses, preparing the way for the apodosis to the clause beginning with ἐπειδὴ. However, on account of the great number of these intermediate clauses, the structure of the sentence is changed, and what is the apodosis in sense is expressed independently. The main idea is, that when the festival of Dionysus had passed, and the assemblies occurred, he advocated the decree of the allies. But this main idea is modified by the intervening clauses. This anacolūthon, as it were, accounts for the use of δέ after ἐγίνοντο. For a similar construction after ἐπειδὴ, see Dem. de Coron. § 126. [We suspect that δέ here accompanies the apodosis as in Thuc. 2, 65, ἐπεὶ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται, κ.τ.λ. Comp. Thuc. 3, 98. For such sentences see Jacobs on Ælian, præf. p. xxvii., and Hartung, 6 Partikellehre, 1, 185, who, however, while he allows that δέ is found in the apodosis, knows of no place in Attic writers where the protasis contains ἐπεὶ. He therefore wishes to read, in the place of Thuc. cited above, ἐπεὶ δέ, and regards the second δέ as a mere repetition. W.] || ἔγραψαν. Supply οἱ σύμμαχοι from τῶν συμμάχων. || καί, even (even the peace, much more the alliance). || [ἀναγκαιοτέραν ἢ καλλίω. Gr. 1339 (771) § 782, f.]

ἰασόμενοι, (intending) to cure or remedy. Fut. partep. denoting c purpose. || καὶ προσέγραψαν, κ.τ.λ. This, probably, is the true account of the purport of the decree of the allies. See § 20 [§ 58]. || στήλην. “Suidas: στήλη ἢ λίθος ἢ χαλκὸς ἐπιμήκης, τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἰδρυμένος. Quicquid publicæ memoriæ mandari volebant, ejusmodi columnis inscribatur. Cujus rei varia exempla habet Suidas.” Bremi. || τριμήνου. An adjective agreeing with περιόδου, understood. So Bremi. [But as χρόνος περιόδου is awkward, προθεσμία, a limitation, a time within which something must be done, were better. This is also a word well known to the Attic orators. W.]

§ 23 [§ 71, p. 460].

πάντες. Understand συνείπον, to be supplied from συνειπεῖν. D

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προκαταλαμβάνων . . . βῆμα. But how can this be, when Æschines A himself, in another place (F. L. § 69), says that, by a decree of Demosthenes, no speaking was allowed on the second day? || ἀπορήξαι, to break, to separate, depends upon δεῖν. I see nothing so harsh in the metaphor as Æschines affects to (διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν). See § 46 [§ 166], note. || τελευτῶν, finally. See Gr. 1121 (852) § 696, obs. || Ἀντίπατρον. One of Philip's ambassadors, probably

(P. the same who was afterwards one of the generals of Alexander. 18). || προειπών . . . ἀποκρίνασθαι, *i. e.* by a previous arrangement between them.

B τέλος, *in the end, finally.* Adverbial acc. Often used thus. See Soph. Antig. 233. || ἐνίκα, *prevailed,* takes ταῦτ' as nom., and has no objective. Thus often. See Dem. Philip. I. § 51. || αὐτοῖς, Demosthenes and Philocrates. || τὸν . . . ποιῆσαι, *to abandon the region on the coast of Thrace, i. e. the Chersonesus.* For τόπος = *regio,* see Dem. Pop. Orat. IV. § 32. The periphrasis ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι is equivalent to ἐκδοῦναι. || ἕκτη φθίνοντος, *i. e.* as Elaphebolion had twenty-nine days in this year (see Franke's Chronological Table to the Philippics), the *twenty-fourth day.* On this day (see § 23, c [§ 74]) the allies were required to confirm the treaty; *i. e.* five days after it was voted in the assembly.

C λανθάνει . . . παρεγγράψας, *slyly inserts, lit. escapes notice, having inserted.* λανθάνει is understood, also with ἐπιψηφίσας (*slyly puts it to the vote*). Gr. 1105, b (838) § 694. || πρόεδρος, *presiding officer.* See p. 3, c, note. The reference is to Demosthenes.

§ 24 [pt. of § 75, p. 465].

D καλὸν . . . φυλακῆ. The public records at Athens were kept under the custody of the public scribe in the Metrôum, or temple of the mother of the gods, the key of which was entrusted to the care of the president of the presiding tribe for the time being (*ἐπιστάτης*). See Schöm. Assemb. Ath. p. 131. || αὐτομολούσιν. "*αὐτομολεῖν [to desert] proprie dicuntur milites, qui ad hostes transfugiunt. In re civili facile transfertur ad eos, qui alio tempore alias partes secuti, modo in perniciem patriæ aperte agunt, modo in ejus salutem agere se simulant.*" Bremi.

§ 25 [§ 76, p. 466].

προεδρίαν, *the front seat, i. e.* in the theatre of Dionysus, at the Great Dionysia, which occurred while the ambassadors of Philip were at Athens. As there was no special minister of foreign affairs at Athens, foreign ambassadors were received, and the usual courtesies were shown them, by some one of the senators. As Demosthenes had recently visited the court of Philip, on an embassy connected with the same subject, this office was very properly assumed by him in the present case. See the reply of Demosthenes on this point, De Coron. § 28. [The ambassadors of Philip were, according to the argument of the oration of Dem. de Fals. Leg., Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. Hereby the τρία ζεύγη ὀρικά is explained. W.]

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A καὶ . . . περιεπέτασε. In order to make their seats comfortable. || ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. For the purpose of securing the best seats. [So Bremi. But as Demosthenes had invited the ambassadors to the proedria, or seat of honour, to which, by vote of the senate (Æsch. de Fals. Leg. § 55), he had authority to escort them, he probably

intended, by calling so early, to show the greater attention. W.] (P. || προὔπεμψεν, escorted, accompanied [lit. sent them forward]. 19).

§ 26 [§ 77, p. 467].

τὸ μέγεθος, in extent, degree. See § 5, c [§ 17]. || κατασκόπων, spies, i. e. at the court of Philip, to report any matters of interest relative to him.

συμπλάσας, having feigned or made up. This feigning a vision, ^B which is attested also by Plutarch, seems puerile, to say the least, to us; but was undoubtedly a stroke of policy, to give greater weight to the event, and call out from a superstitious people a more enthusiastic demonstration of feeling on the occasion. It must be looked upon, at the worst, as a sort of pious fraud, invented for the purpose of committing the people, by an enthusiastic demonstration, more thoroughly against the Macedonian power, and awaking a new spirit of patriotism. || μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν, swearing falsely by, by day. This is said, perhaps, with more special reference to the present case, but also as descriptive of his general character. || ἐβδόμην . . . ποιῆσαι. The customary period of mourning for the dead was probably thirty days, during which time certain outward signs of grief were assumed, and various sacrifices and ceremonies were performed in their honour. See Becker's Charicles, p. 294. || παρενόμει, al. παρηνόμει, committed an outrage, violated the laws of propriety, i. e. in the act referred to. [Παρανομίῳ (= I am a παράνομος) takes παρηνόμουν, &c., as if from παρά and ἀνομίῳ: usually, however, pf. παρανενόμηκα' and Bek. here and Dem. 17, 21, reads παρενόμουν. Kr.] || τὴν μόνην . . . ἀπολέσας, wretched man, having lost his only daughter, and the first to call him father. This sacrificing private grief to the public interest is an honour, rather than a reproach, to Demosthenes. See Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes. || καὶ οὐ . . . ἐξετάζω, [and (here) I am not throwing his misfortune in his teeth (am not insulting over his misfortune), but enquiring into his character]. He makes it a test of character, and attempts to prove by it much more, with regard to the general character of his adversary, I apprehend, than intelligent readers will think he succeeds in doing. Indeed, the extremity to which he carries the point, as is the case also with some others, has rather a sinister appearance. It looks as though he was hard pushed for arguments.

οὐδέ γε . . . οὐκ. The negative here is repeated by οὐκ, as in the ^C other sentences by the negative adverb; perhaps by an unconscious imitation of their structure, or it may be, as Bremi supposes, because the force of οὐδέ was not felt, on account of the interposition of several words. See § 55, c [§ 194]. || τρόπον . . . τόπον. Paronomasia. The passage reminds one of that line of Horace (Epist. I. 11, 27): "Coelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt."

§ 27 [§ 79, p. 470].

ἦλθε, i. e. Demosthenes.

Δημοσθένει, governed by τῶν αὐτῶν. Gr. 917, d (724, c) § 594, D
2. || φυγὰς . . . γεγένηται, has been arraigned by a summary process
Eschines. I

(P. (lit. has been a defendant by *εἰσαγγελία*). See § 19 [§ 52]. || *ἐπέστη*. 19). "Hoc verbum significat Demosthenem repente et contra omnium opinionem accusatoris partes suscepisse." *Bremi*. || τὰς ἀτυχίας, the misfortunes, i. e. those familiar to all. Referring to the disasters which befell them in the contest with Philip, to which Demosthenes instigated them. || ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. See § 23, B [§ 73], note. || περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, more than there was any occasion for; more than was proper or advisable. On the return of the ambassadors from the second embassy, Æschines, in his report to the Assembly, according to Demosthenes, had assured the people, that if Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, and make an expedition into Greece, he would chastise their enemies, the Thebans, and, especially, would relieve from their tyranny the Bœotian towns; just the reverse of which happened. See the charge of Demosthenes, F. L. p. 347, and the unsatisfactory reply of Æschines, F. L. p. 43, 44. || [ἰσχυροῦς, proleptic acc. Gr. 648 (523) § 439, 2.] || ἐσκευαγωγῆσατε. "Cuncta, quæ moveri poterant, in urbem transveristis: quod est metuentis, ne hosti repente irrumpenti resisti nullo modo possit." *Bremi*. || ὡς . . . αἰτίαις, were in the greatest accusations; lay under the heaviest charges.

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- A ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . διενεχθῆναι, about which also you suspected they differed. The subject of their difference is not named, as being sufficiently well known. || [δέ (= autem) in enuntiatione quæ in unum complectitur plura. *Herm. Vig. 847. Br.*] || μετὰ τῶν, κ.τ.λ., in conjunction with, &c. What these innate diseases or vices of his nature were, is explained below, by *δειλιάς*, &c.
- B ἡσυχία, peace, quiet (those opposing the peace of the city [the enemies of our tranquillity. L.], i. e. the war party, to which Demosthenes belonged). || παριών, coming forward to the bema. || Σέρριον τεῖχος, κ.τ.λ. These were fortresses on the coast of Thrace, in the vicinity of the Sacred Mountain, so called, and belonged to the kingdom of Kersobleptes, but were defended by Athenian troops (Philip. III. § 15). Philip, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the delays in negotiating the peace, had taken possession of them. Many of these places, at least, were not so unknown or unimportant as is pretended by Æschines. Demosthenes frequently alludes to the taking of these places by Philip, in his extant orations delivered about this time. (See F. L. § 156; De Cherson. § 64; Philip. III. § 15.) It is worth observing, however, that in neither place are all the names found which are here given by Æschines; who evidently, in ridicule, throws together a number of obscure names, as a sort of jumble. It is in this light that Demosthenes views them in his reply (§ 27). || καὶ εἰς τοῦτο . . . πράγματα, and speedily brought the affairs to this state. For this usage of φέρων, see Gr. 1138 (861) § 691, 8.
- C πόλει . . . ὁμοίᾳ, to some just and impartial city, i. e. as an arbiter. || Ἀλόνησον . . . διαφερόμενος, he (i. e. Philip) gave Halonnesus; but he dissuaded from receiving it, if he gives it instead of giving it back,

differing about syllables. Demosthenes maintained that it was already (P. their own, and could not be accepted as a mere gift (see Orat. de 20). Halon.). The passage reminds one of the terms employed by politicians about the reception of Texas, as to whether it should be *annexed* or *re-annexed*. || καὶ τό, κ.τ.λ. This expedition seems to have been undertaken about the time of that to Ambracia (B.C. 343). See Thirlwall, chap. 45. || τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν, *the calamity, i. e. their defeat at Chæronæa.*

§ 28 [§ 84, p. 478].

ναί, κ.τ.λ. He here enters upon the examination of the alliance D which Demosthenes entered into with the Eubœans for resisting Philip. That entered into with the Thebans he defers to § 42 [§ 137], seq. See the reply of Demosthenes to the charges which follow, De Coron. § 95, seq.

§ 29 [§ 85, p. 478].

ἡδικομημένοι ὑπὸ Μνησάρχου. "Quas injurias passi sint Athenienses a Mnesarcho et quo tempore, nusquam potui invenire." *Bremi.* || Ἀθηναίους . . . γράφειν, *dares propose that they should become Athenians, i. e. to grant them citizenship at Athens.* This was often granted to public benefactors, such as they were (see § 30, A [§ 95, 96]); and the injuries done the state by their father, constituted no reason for refusing to honour his sons. || ὑπὸ Θεμισωνος τοῦ Ἐρετριέως, *by Themison of Eretria, i. e. having been injured by him.* Eretria, as well as Chalcis, was a town in Eubœa. Orôpus, which he took from the city, was an Athenian town opposite Eretria, across the Eurîpus, the strait or sea which separates Eubœa from Attica. For the defence of Demosthenes, see de Coron., as above. || ἐκόντες ἐπιλαθόμενοι agree with the subject of ἐβοηθήσατε. This expedition to expel the Thebans was a very brilliant affair. It took place B.C. 358, in the archonship of Cephisodôtus. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 99) makes use of this very expedition, among others, in justifying himself in entering into alliance with the Eubœans, notwithstanding the many injuries they had done Athens.

PAGE 21.

Πλουτάρχῳ βοηθήσοντες, *i. e. against his subjects, the Eretrians, A* headed by Clytarchus, and urged on, probably, by Philip. This expedition was conducted by Phocion (B.C. 350). || ἀλλ' οὖν, *at least, certainly, i. e. if nothing else, they at least professed, &c.* See § 2, A [§ 11], note. || Ταμύνας, *Tamynæ.* The place where they conquered the enemy. This being accomplished, the Grecian force seems to have been betrayed by Plutarchus, in concert with Callias, and, in their isolated position, to have narrowly escaped being captured.

μη νικήσασι μάχην, *unless they gained a battle.* μη is used with B the partcp. because it is equivalent to a conditional sentence (Gr. 1164 (877) § 746, 2). For the construction, see § 21, A [§ 63]. || ὁ τ' . . . διαβιβάσας, (*Callias, having collected an army from Eubœa,*) . . . and

- (P. his brother *Taurosthenes*, who is now (*i. e.* since his adoption as an Athenian citizen) saluting and smiling upon all, having transported the Phocian mercenaries (came upon us). The Phocians, at this time (during the Phocian war), were well-trained soldiers, § 29 [§ 91].
- C ἦκε φερόμενος . . . φύσιν, he went borne on to his own nature; he returned headlong to his old practices, *i. e.* of acting in bad faith. For φερόμενος, see n. on φέρων, § 27, B [§ 82].
- D τῷ λόγῳ . . . ἔργῳ, in pretence . . . in reality. He professed to be merely forming a congress of deputies from the different towns, but was really, as Æschines contends, devising plans for excluding the Athenian influence, and establishing himself in power. || καὶ πλείους . . . Εὐρίπου, and having turned more turns than the Euripus, *i. e.* many sudden turns, the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus being frequent and violent. See Liv. xxviii. 6. Hence Εὐριπος ἄνθρωπος became a proverb for an inconstant man. See Plat. Phæd. 90, c. || ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ, [not knowing what to do]. "Formula, qua quis significatur summis premi angustiis, nec ullam salutem undecunque sperare posse." Bremi. Gr. 947 (748).

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- A ἔνορκον λαβεῖν, to bind by an oath, *i. e.* by forming an alliance with them. || ἐσόμενον, εἰ μὴ . . . κωλύσαιτε, should hinder [= ἔσται, εἰ μὴ . . . κωλύσαιτε, on which cf. Gr. 1295 (946) § 855, b.—The ἦν (an historical tense) favours the optative here, al. κωλύσετε.] || τὸν δολιχοδρομήσαντα, the δόλιχος runner, the redoubtable. ["The man was well known to some of the audience as a runner in the long race." W.] The δόλιχος was the long course, opposed to the στάδιον. See Xen. Anab. iv. 8, 27. || ἐξωνεῖτο, *i. e.* of Demosthenes and his party. The numerous and sweeping charges of corruption brought by Æschines against Demosthenes, unsustained, as they are, by any adequate proof, excite the suspicion that none of them are true.
- B συνεδρεύειν, to sit in the council of the allies, *i. e.* that the Chalcidians should not be required to be represented at Athens, as the other allies were; but might have a separate congress in their own country. It was all-important, of course, that, in resisting Philip, Athens should have allies, which were to be obtained on such terms as they could be. || μισοτύραννος. Demosthenes was a stern democrat, and the uncompromising enemy of monarchical and oligarchical governments. See his oration "For the liberty of the Rhodians." || ἀντὶ τούτων, as an offset to these things, *i. e.* they were bound by the treaty of alliance to assist the Athenians, as the Athenians were bound to assist them; but this obligation, he says, on the part of the Chalcidians, was a mere form.
- C τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς. "Blandis et speciosis verbis ad sententiam suam perducens. In MSS., fere confunditur cum προβιβάζειν, quod est impellere bona plerumque significatione." Bremi. || τὰς μὲν . . . εὐεργεσίας, first to furnish aid to such of the Greeks as might at any time require it, and subsequently alliance, after these favours. [On ἀεὶ cf. Gr. 1521, 2.]

§ 30 [§ 94, p. 486].

(P.
22).

ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ. Another city of Eubœa, which Demosthenes released from the peculiar duties of allies (representation at Athens and taxation), that it might join the Eubœan congress. || ἔλαθον . . . ὑφελόμενοι, *took away unperceived*. The object of Demosthenes in promoting a confederation of the Eubœan cities, was to present an effectual barrier to the Macedonian ascendancy.

PAGE 23.

δι' ἀπορρήτων, *by secret means, secretly, i. e. that they might not be known to Philip*. Opposed to φανερά, above. || ἦν ἐπρέσβευσε. "Demosthenes legationem in Peloponnesum obibat Ol. 109, 1 (A.C. 343). Fortasse rediens ex Peloponneso Acarnaniam, regionem in occidentali Helladis parte non inopem, adiit." *Bremi*.

εἰς, *for (for furnishing of, &c., for ten thousand foot-soldiers, &c.)*. || τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις, *forces from the cities*. Opposed to σύνταγμα χρημάτων, and hence the μέν and δέ. Undoubtedly the hopes of Demosthenes, with regard to assistance from other states in the contest with Philip, were much beyond the reality; but not so extravagant, probably, as is here represented. || τοῦτο . . . ποιεῖ, *for the man does this on peculiar, and not on common principles*. All that is said on this point, instead of being a reproach, is an honour to Demosthenes, since all goes to show that he was honest in his expectations of aid, though interpreted differently by Æschines. [Whether ἄνθρωπος = ὁ ἄνθρωπος (see Dem. de Coron. § 139), or ἄνθρωπος, the reading of Bekker and others, is the true one, it is not so very easy to decide. See Hermann on Soph. Philoct. 40, and Bernhardy's Grammar, p. 317, with the references there made. It may be added, that ἄνθρωπος can be contemptuous—the fellow. W.]

κλέπτων, *deceiving, cheating*. So, also, § 15, B [§ 35]. || μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος. A pretty good hit, as Demosthenes was famous for his long decrees. See De Coron. § 181.

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ἀπαγαγὼν . . . ἐλπιδῶν, *having led you far away from the artifice [i. e. having completely diverted your attention from his fraud], and suspended you upon hopes*. ἀποθεν [with ἀπό] forms a parallelism [or parâchêsis], and makes the idea more intense. || συστρέψας, *having collected himself = summis viribus*. Especially used of beasts preparing to spring on their prey. See Plat. Rep. 336, B. || οἷτινες . . . εἶναι. [JN. οἷτινες δέησονται [sc. αὐτῶν] νομίζειν τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι αὐτοῖς (ipsis).—τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίους. Gr. 917, d (724, c) § 594, 2. Cf. Hor. idem facit occidenti.] || ἔπειτα . . . διδόναι. "Deinde præter cetera omnia aperte in decreto in fraudem scripsit, ut quinque talenta Oritas legati juberent non vobis, sed Calliæ tradere." Rauchenstein.

ἀφελῶν, *having laid aside, stripped off*. || ἄψαι [imperat. aor. 1 B

(P. mid.), *touch, seize upon, find* [i. e. *put, as it were, your finger upon that* 24). part, and don't read it all]. See § 61, A, *fin.* [§ 237]. || **ὑφέιλετο**, *clandestinely took from you, practised upon you.*

§ 31 [§ 102, p. 494].

λόγῳ ἔργῳ. See § 29, D [§ 89], note.

§ 32 [§ 103, p. 494].

C **Κλειτάρχου**. He succeeded Plutarchus (§ 29, A [§ 86]) as king of Eretria, having been established in his place by Philip. Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 81), refers to the expedition which he despatched, under Phocion, for the expulsion of this tyrant and Philistides, tyrant of Orëus, as evidence of his proof against corruption, and charges Æschines with corruption, on the ground of his having entertained their ambassadors when they visited Athens. || **καταφανῆς ἐγένετο**, (*he became evident =*) [*he was discovered*], i. e. to have received the talent from them [= *he was detected*]. Because, as he goes on to say, after the expulsion of their king they became a democracy, and hence transacted all business by votes, of which one existed, he pretends, upon this subject. The discrepancies between this passage and the corresponding passage in the reply of Demosthenes, especially the fact that Demosthenes makes no allusion to this pretended vote of the Oreans, have led to the conjecture, that this passage must have been greatly changed by the orator, after the delivery of the oration, on its publication. This seems very probable. Indeed, the corresponding passage in Demosthenes does not seem at all as though it were framed as a reply to such a passage as this.

D **ὄτι δέοιτο**, *that he did not want most worthless brass*. What he did want is expressed by the infin. which follows. || **ὑπέθεσαν**, *pledged*. || **δραχμὴν μνᾶς**, *a drachma per month for each mina*. Observe the distributive use of the article. As a drachma was a hundredth part of the mina, this was *twelve per cent. per annum*. This whole account is so extravagant as to make it not only incredible, but ridiculous.

PAGE 25. § 34 [§ 106, p. 497].

A **ἐνταῦθ'**, *here, at this point*. He passes now to the third period of his public life,—that in which they were avowedly at war with Philip, and which ended in the disastrous battle of Chæronëa. See § 19, B [§ 55].

§ 35 [§ 107, p. 498].

B **Κιρραίων πεδίων**. On the Corinthian gulf, around the ancient city of Cirrha, or Crissa, which, before its destruction on account of its ill-treatment of pilgrims to the temple, was the port of Delphi. See Demosthenes's account of the transactions here referred to, De Coron. § 149, seq. [Cirrha and Crissa have been confounded by others, but were undoubtedly distinct. Cirrha lay

near the sea, while Crissa was situated at the distance of an hour (P. and a half of travelling time from it, near the modern village Chryso, 25). to which it has given its name, and on the way towards Delphi. Crissa was a Homeric town, and probably sank as Delphi on the one hand, and Cirrha before its sack on the other, rose into importance. See for the topography of this region an admirable little volume, by the late Professor Ulrichs, of the university of Athens, 'Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland.' It appears that there were properly two plains, one of greater fertility than the other, and also of greater extent, and still renowned for its olive-trees, called the Plain of Crissa; while the other, which is here referred to, lay nearer to the sea, and was uncultivated until it was encroached upon by the citizens of Amphissa. It is now used for pasturage, and, until the liberation of Greece, supplied a considerable part of Peloponnesus, and of continental Greece, with tiles for roofing. W.] || **ἐξάγιστος καὶ ἐπάρατος**, *devoted and accursed*. Why it was thus styled appears from what follows. || **μαντεῖαν . . . θεῶν**, *sought an oracle at the temple of (παρά) the god*.

μετελθεῖν, *to pursue*. || **ἡ Πυθία**. The priestess of Apollo, who presided at the oracle and gave the responses. || **Προναία** [epith. of Athēna at Delphi, where her *chapel* was *before* the great temple of Apollo: **πρό· ναός**], *al. Προνοία, goddess of forethought*. In this character she was worshipped at Delphi, in conjunction with the other divinities here named. || **ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀεργία**, *to perpetual waste or desolation* [i. e. *to remain untilled for ever*].

ἔχωσαν, *filled up*. || **αὐτοί**, *themselves*, i. e. the Amphictyons. It is in the nom. by attraction, to agree with the subject of the preceding verb. Gr. 1066 (819) § 672, 3.

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ἀράν, *imprecation*. || **ἐναγής**, *accursed*. This takes the gen. from the idea of separation which it contains. || **ἐπεύχεται**. "Scilicet: ἡ ἀρά, quod subjectum est etiam ad antecedens interjectum φησι." *Bremi.* || **τέρατα**, *monsters*. || **ἀγορῶν**. "Id est, ἐκκλησιῶν, Homericō loquendi usu. Cf. Schömann de Com. p. 28." *Bremi.* || **μηδὲ . . . ἱερά**, *nor even receive at their hands the sacrifices*. The dat. here seems to be causal in its character (*out of regard to them, on their account*). [Cf. Pors. Hec. 539. *So τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐμενῆς*, Arist. Lysistr. 204. *Br.*] In repeating the phrase (§ 37, B [§ 121]) he uses the gen. of the person. [It is there *possessive*.]

§ 36 [part of § 112, p. 503].

οὐ πρὶν, κ. τ. λ. "Omnino factum videtur mihi sæpius, ut in locis, ubi deessent scita, leges aliæne litteræ publicæ, sic unde nota essent, aut ex ipsa oratione suppleri possent, a doctis lectoribus insererentur. Pro tali habuerim etiam fragmentum oraculi apud Æschinem in Ctesiph. p. 503, R." *F. A. Wolf*.

(P.
26).

§ 37 [§ 113, p. 503].

- C** **πυλαγόρων**, *pylagoræ* [or -i]. One class of deputies to the Amphictyonic council. See Handbk Greek Antiqq. 201, A.
- D** **ἐφ' ᾧτε**, *upon condition that*. The agreement with him, that he should be fed yearly, was made upon condition that he should defend them, &c. || **ᾄθεν**, *i. e.* from receiving of this money thus sacrilegiously obtained. This, he says, made him more ill-starred than before, so that he involved in ill fortune whatever he touched. See the most masterly comparison of their fortunes which Demosthenes goes into, in reply to this taunt, De Coron. § 256—266. || **ἐπὶ γὰρ . . . ἄρχοντος**, *i. e.* B.C. 340. || **ἱερομνήμονος**. For the character and duties of this class of deputies to the Amphictyonic council, see Dem. de Coron. § 148, 149, note. || **Ἀναφλυστίου**, *Anaphlystian*. It denotes the *deme* or borough to which he belonged. || **Μειδίαν**. A violent enemy of Demosthenes, before referred to. See § 19, D [§ 52].

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- A** **πυρέττειν**, *to fall sick of a fever*. || **ὑποπεπτωκότες τότε**, *who then devoted themselves to [fawned upon, sc. Θεβαίους]*. || **εἰσέφερον δόγμα, κ.τ.λ.** [*were introducing, were thinking of introducing. W.*] Demosthenes (De Coron. § 150) denies this, since such a measure could not have been proposed without a special summons having been served upon the Athenians, to appear and defend themselves against the charge. The crime for which they were to be fined, according to Æschines, was for dedicating certain shields, in an unfinished chapel at Delphi¹, with an inscription commemorating their ancient victory over the Persians and Thebans, which, of course, was offensive to the Thebans. Demosthenes says this whole account of his being provoked to attack the Amphisæans is false, and that he was employed to do it by Philip, for the purpose of getting up an Amphictyonic war, which would give him an opportunity of introducing his army into Greece. See Dem. de Coron. § 140—150.

¹ [So Bishop Thirlwall, but no one pretends to say what new chapel can be intended. The scholiast has an exceedingly valuable remark here, that Æschines refers to the new temple of Apollo, constructed upon the burning of the old one, in Olymp. 58, 1, and not fully finished until Nero's time. Of this new temple we know from other sources that the Alcmaeonids of Athens, during their exile, constructed it, but that it was incomplete in the time of Mark Antony. A reading here,

ἐξάρασθαι (before the completion of the prayers usual at the foundation of new temples), instead of **ἐξεργάσθαι**, is preserved by Harpocration, and by some MSS., and is perhaps to be preferred. From all this it appears quite possible that the temple of Apollo is intended, and that an old affair, of more than 200 years' standing, was raked up, much after the same fashion as the Lacedæmonians rake up their charge of pollution upon Pericles (Thuc. 1, 126). *W.*]

καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτω προηρημένον, *even myself having thus determined* (P. to do, i. e. if he had not been excited, as he afterwards relates, and 27). provoked to a direct attack upon the Amphisseans. || προθυμότερον, ^B more zealously, i. e. than was common. || μεθεστηκότων, *having taken sides with me*. [This is Bremi's explanation, which, however, is not capable of the slightest defence. Bremi says that it is to be understood thus: "*Senatores Æschinis oratione permotos sententiam commutasse.*" But unfortunately Æschines says, ἀρχομένου δέ μου λέγειν, *as I was beginning to speak*, so that the effect must have preceded the cause. Besides μεθέστηκα never means *I change my opinion*, without something added to show that it was taken in a transferred sense. The sense no doubt is, "and as I was beginning to speak, and had entered somehow with more than usual earnestness into the session-room, owing to the fact that the other pylagori had withdrawn." For the perfect understanding of this last clause it is necessary to determine two things: first, who are intended by the other pylagoræ. Does the orator intend the other Athenian pylagoræ, or the others of that name in general? He cannot mean the Athenian only, because one of the two others, Midias, being ill of a fever, cannot have been at the meeting; and μεθέστηκα implies not only *absence* but *previous presence*. We must suppose, then, that all the pylagori had retired, unless the deputy from Amphissa was of their number. In the second place, what is the connexion of this clause? It may be joined *causally* with what precedes it. The other pylagori had retired; it was time for the hieromnemons to hold a session by themselves, either as having the sole right of legislating or as deliberating about religious matters, which were perhaps their exclusive province. To anticipate the close of the session when the pylagoræ were heard before the council, Æschines came in with more than usual haste. Or the haste and *empressement* of the orator may be ascribed to the errand on which he was bound, and to his anger against the men of Amphissa. Then this clause will be a mere incidental circumstance, giving life to the narrative. "While I was beginning to speak,—all the pylagoræ having retired,—a man from Amphissa," &c. It may be observed that Æschines also, as soon as he had finished his business with the council, retired, and then the body passed their resolution. W.]

ἀρχήν, lit. *at the beginning*. [This is taken with οὐδέ, and is the usual ἀρχήν of *negative* sentences, which is nearly equivalent to *omnino*, at all. W.] || Κρωβύλος. A nickname of Hegesippus, which he received from wearing his hair in a *knot* or *roll* on the top of his head, called κρωβύλος. He was on the same side, in politics, with Demosthenes. The alliance with the Phocians was generally unpopular in Greece, on account of their sacrilegious character. || ἐπήλθε . . . γνώμην. *it occurred to me then in my thoughts*, = *venit mihi in mentem*.

αὐτόθεν, i. e. *from their place of victory, on the spot*. || ἔστηκώς, ^D *having taken my stand*, i. e. *fearlessly*.—[αὐτόθεν ἔστηκώς, *from the very spot where I stood*, i. e. from his place in the council-house, which may have been open to the day. This building is afterwards called a *ιερόν*, as being a temple proper, or a consecrated place. With regard

(P. to the position of the building, Ulrichs observes that there exists a 27). chapel of St. Elias opposite to some threshing-floors, and near a quarter of a mile below the ruins of Apollo's temple. Above this spot the view of the plain is cut off. From it there is just such a view as Æschines describes. The ancient remains here indicate a building, the position of which determines it to be the synedrium. *W.*] || **ἴστε . . . τέλη πεπραχότας**, *you know that they have received revenues, have exacted toll.* The partep. is from **πράττω**. || **διωρίζομην**, *I set forth, declared.*

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- A **ἀφοσιῶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποκαθαίρω, ἀφαγνίζω**. *Harpocration*: i. e. *keep pure, clear.* || **ἐνήρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ**, *the sacred rites have begun, i. e. suppose them to have commenced.* The **κανᾶ** were baskets used for carrying the sacred barley-cakes (**οὔλαι**) in at the sacrifices. || **παρέντες**, *having passed by, left.* || **κατὰ τε . . . καὶ κατὰ**. As **τε** is an enclitic, it follows the preposition, while **καί** stands before its word.
- B **φησί**. Understand **ἡ ἀρά**. See § 35, A [§ 111]. || **μετέστην ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου**. “*Videtur moris fuisse, ut qui fecerat ipse rogationem discederet, ut liberum esset reliquorum consilium.*” *Bremi.* || **πὸρῶ τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης**, *the day being far spent.* || **ἄσσοι ἐπὶ διετέσ ἡβῶσι**, *as many as have been youths for two years, i. e. as many as were eighteen years old, having passed the two years of youth, and arrived at their majority.* Athenian youths became men at eighteen, but were not liable to serve out of Attica till they were twenty. *Herm. Polit. Antiqq. 123.*
- C **ἧτις δ' . . . ἱεροῦ**, *and whatever city (i. e. of those belonging to the league) shall not be present, shall be excluded from the temples.* For the fut. mid. (**εἰρξεται**) in a pass. sense, see Gr. 499 (401).
- D **ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . θεῶν**, i. e. the private individuals from the different states embraced in the Amphictyonic League, who attended the session of the council for the purpose of participating in the religious rites connected with it. See *Dem. de Coron. § 154, note.* || **τῆς ἐπιούσης πύλαίας**. As it was the spring session that was just closing, the next regular one was in the autumn; but they were to meet at a special session at an appointed time (**ῥητῶ χρόνῳ**). [See the remark on § 64 [§ 254], additional Notes. *W.*]

PAGE 29. § 38 [§ 125, p. 516].

- A **ὑφ' ἡμῶν**, *by us*, meaning himself and colleagues, as he is here speaking of their laying the decree before the senate and people on their return. || **μεσεγγυήματος**. See § 37 (*χειροτ., κ.τ.λ.*) [§ 114].
- B **ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ**, *in an open or direct way.* || **μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ιδιώτας**, *having sent out the private persons [having ordered private persons to withdraw].* The senate was often thronged by the common citizens. See *Dem. de F. L. § 18.* || **προσλαβόν**, *having taken advantage of.* || **διεπράξατο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι**, *he caused to be confirmed by a vote.* || **ἤδη ἐπαναστάσης, κ.τ.λ.**, i. e. just at the close

of the session, and after most had gone out. || [καὶ . . . δέ. Gr. (P. 1458, n (1053, c).] || τοὺς ἀεὶ πύλαγορῶντας, *those acting as deputies* 29). *in each case* [i. e. *the pylagoræ for the time being*]. The effect of this decree was to prevent deputies being sent to the *special* session to be called.

μετέχειν. For the dat and gen. after this verb, see Gr. 860 (678) c § 588, 3. || τὸ δὲ . . . ἐστὶ ; *but not to participate, what is it?* The question is answered, after the parenthesis, by οὐκ ἐστὶ, κ.τ.λ. || [πότερα . . . ἤ, *utrum . . . an?*]

οὕτωςί. “Hoc vocabulum sæpe ex contextu definitur imprimis d in malam partem. Hic significat οὕτω κακῶς.” *Bremi.*

§ 39 [§ 128, p. 518].

μῆϊς πόλεως, i. e. *Thebes*, which had since (B.C. 335) been destroyed by Alexander. || οὐτ’ ἄν . . . μῆθ’. Observe the change from οὐτε to μῆτε, in passing from the expression of a simple negative to the expression of a negative wish (*I neither would . . . and would to God there may not be*). || Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον. For the probable reason of his being called an Arcadian in Dem. de Coron. § 155, see Appendix to that Oration, p. 247.

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μακρᾶν, used as an adverb, but properly an adjective, referring originally to ὀδόν, or some other feminine noun, understood. || ἀντίκα μάλα. Μάλα is often found thus after ἀντίκα, (and sometimes before it,) in the sense of *very*, to strengthen its meaning. See Dem. de F. L. § 39, 42. || τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι, *to pay to the god, i. e. to pay into the treasury of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.* || τοὺς δὲ . . . κατήγαγον, *but those who had fled for conscience sake they restored, i. e. those who were opposed to the sacrilegious proceedings referred to, and who had left the country to avoid participating in them. These they restored to their country, while they banished (μετεστήσαντο [lit. removed]) the offenders.* || κατελθόντας, *having returned, having been restored.* [The *verbum proprium* of returning from exile.]

πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον. “Oratio hyperbolica eo oratoris consilio nata, ut ne ipse videtur Philippum in Græciam vocare voluisse. Hinc rem ita exponit, quasi altera in Amphissenses expeditio longo tempore post primam, cui interfuit Æschines, locum habuerit. Sed utraque fere conjuncta censenda, aut una nonnisi, ut patet ex iis, quæ habet Weiske de Hyperb., P. III. p. 23.” *Bremi.*

§ 40 [§ 130, p. 520].

μόνον οὐκ, *only not = almost.* || μᾶλλον, *rather, more, i. e. than Athens on the occasion referred to.*

ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή, *the death of the initiated, i. e., as the Scholiast says, the devouring of some of the novitiates by a sea-monster, as they descended into the sea to perform the purificatory ablutions.* || φιλιππίζειν . . . φάσκων, *saying that the Pythia Philippizes, i. e. was in the pay and under the influence of Philip, and hence, that*

(P. they could not obtain an impartial response if they sent to consult
30) the oracle. || ἀπαίδευτος . . . ἐξουσίας, *being rude (i. e. as it regards religious cultivation), and enjoying and being gluttoned with the power granted him by you.* Even Æschines thus bears testimony to the great public influence of Demosthenes. || ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων, *inauspicious and ill-omened.* The words are nearly synonymous, and used for oratorical effect. The reference is to the preliminary rites before the unfortunate battle of Chæronæa, to which, he says, Demosthenes sent out the army against the omens derived from the sacrifices. || πρῶην, *lately, i. e. in some of their sparring, probably some time after the battle of Chæronæa, and before this trial.* Various reasons have been given for the course of Philip in not entering and ravaging Attica after the battle of Chæronæa; but it was not, probably, dictated wholly by magnanimity. See Thirlwall, chap. 46. || ἀλιτήριε, *guilty destroyer.* The ἀλιτήριος of a nation was a sort of Achan, who called down the divine vengeance by his wickedness and impiety. See how Demosthenes turns the charge upon Æschines, De Coron. § 159.

§ 41 [§ 132, p. 522].

ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *in our age, lit. upon us, while we say, under one.* || ἀλλ' . . . ἔφουμεν, *but we live for a marvel to those who shall come after us, i. e. on account of the strange things which had taken place in their day, through the bad management and evil genius of Demosthenes.* || ὁ τὸν Ἄθω, κ.τ.λ. Xerxes, in his invasion of Greece, is said to have made a bridge across the Hellespont, and to have cut a canal through Mount Athos. These feats are often referred to as marvels by Greek authors. (See Isoc. Panegy. § 89.) A king once so mighty and so haughty, he goes on to say, had in their day (*i. e. by Alexander, then on his Eastern expedition*) been reduced to the utmost extremity. [It might be well to remark here, that the Persian king is spoken of as a *perpetua persona*. The first two participles in the aorist refer to Xerxes; the third and fourth refer, perhaps, to what several kings had done ("who used to demand earth and water from the Greeks, and used to dare to write," &c.), while the verb διαγωνίζεται points to Darius Codomannus. For the use which Böckh has made of this passage, see the remark on § 64 [§ 254]. W.]

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- A τοὺς αὐτούς, *i. e. the Macedonians.* || περὶ τῶν ὄλων οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευσάμενοι. "Τὰ ὅλα Græcis sæpe sunt res summæ, gravissimæ quæ spectant reipublicæ salutem et felicitatem. Sententia nostri loci est: *quanquam parum Græciæ saluti consulerent. Post Leuctricam pugnam nimium sibi arrogarunt Thebani.*" Bremi. || ἀλλά, *yet, stands opposed to εἰ καὶ (if also justly . . . yet at least receiving their judicial blindness and folly, not from men, but from the gods).*
- B προσαψάμενοι . . . κατάληψιν, *only meddling [= though they only meddled, &c.] with these affairs at first in taking the temple.* The Lace-

dæmonians, having been fined by the Amphictyons for occupying the (P. Cadmēa of Thebes, had assisted the Phocians, at first, in seizing the 31). temple, but had taken no active part in the war which ensued upon that event. || *νῦν . . . ἀναπέμπεσθαι*, now about to become hostages, and give an example of the calamity, are on the point of being sent to (ὡς) Alexander, i. e. in consequence of having made an unsuccessful attempt to resist the Macedonian power during the absence of Alexander in the East (B.C. 331). This allusion proves that the time of the delivery of this oration must have been as late as the time usually assigned to it (B.C. 330). || [*ὀμηρεύω* here means, *I give a hostage*; and *ἀναπέμπομαι* is middle in form, and not passive. The sense is, *The Lacedæmonians are now about to send their envoys up to Alexander, with a view to offer to give hostages, and to make an exposition of their misfortune.* W.] || [*πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον* (πάσχω), prepared to suffer; to suffer.]

ἀπηύρα, suffered from; strictly, received, whether good or ill, from. C The imperf. has the aorist meaning. || *ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται*, devises arrogant things. See the same passage referred to by Æschines, F. L. p. 49. The calamities sent upon a people cursed with such a man are described in the lines that follow; which, he says, laying aside the metre, are an accurate description of what had happened under the conduct of Demosthenes. Thus ends this long story (see Dem. de Coron. § 140) about the Amphisseans.

§ 42 [§ 137, p. 530].

Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος. These were shameless traitors and D deceivers, such as magicians and jugglers (*μάγος καὶ γόης*) usually are. For Eurybatus, or, as some would have it, Eurybates, see Dem. de Coron. § 24.

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ὡς ἄρα, that forsooth. Observe the disbelief and contempt implied A in these words, and see § 19, A [§ 54]. He here enters upon an examination of the character of the alliance which Demosthenes formed with Thebes, and on which he prided himself so much, and which, therefore, might be considered as a redeeming feature in his public career. But even here he allows him no merit. He referred to this alliance as a point to be examined in connexion with that formed with the Eubœans (§ 28 [§ 84]); but, to preserve chronological order, examined that first, and now, having brought down the history of affairs to the time the alliance with Thebes was formed, i. e. till just before the battle of Chæronæa, when Philip had already taken Elatæa, proceeds to examine this. Demosthenes replies to what is said on this point, De Coron. § 238, seq.

τὸ δ' αἴτιον οἶδα μὲν. The cause consisted partly in the rivalry B of the neighbouring states, and partly in the unpatriotic course of the Thebans in joining the Persians in the first Persian war. As Thebes had been overthrown by Alexander, he says he will not rake up these grounds of their differences,—*nil de mortuis nisi bonum*. || *Νίκαιαν*. “Hanc urbem in bello Phocensi Thessaliis a Phocen-
Æschines. κ

(P. sibus ereptam Philippus illis restituit, ut eos sibi devinciret. Cf. 32). Demosthenis Philip. II. p. 71." *Bremi.* But Æschines here says he took it from the Thebans, *i. e.* they had confidently expected to receive it.

- c τὸν αὐτὸν πόλεμον, *i. e.* the Phocian war, I suppose, referring, perhaps, to his having first carried it on in Thessaly, and afterwards in Phocis. || Ἐλάτεια. This was the principal city of Phocis, on the borders of Bœotia, and commanding the defiles which led to Bœotia and Attica. || πρὶν . . . Δημοσθένην. This, if taken literally, is a downright falsehood. But it would seem, from what follows, that it should be taken in a limited sense, as expressing what *virtually happened*, though not *actually*. He says the necessity of the case virtually brought the two cities together, and not the negotiations of Demosthenes; though he, by the form and direction which he gave to the alliance, did infinite mischief. See a full account of the negotiations of Demosthenes for bringing about the alliance, in his reply, § 179—187, § 211—214.
- D ὡς αὐτὰ . . . δεδήλωκε. Referring to the severity with which Philip treated Thebes after the battle of Chæronæa, and the lenity with which he treated Athens. This, he says, proves that he was more hostile to Thebes than Athens. Possibly so; but see § 40 [§ 131], note. || ταῦτα, *i. e.* the true feelings of Philip towards Athens and Thebes respectively. || πρῶτον μὲν. As the first objection which he makes to the alliance resolves itself into two parts, after having stated the general character of the objection, he here commences to state more particularly the first point; and at δεύτερον δέ (§ 42 [§ 143]), introduces the second point. For a similar use of πρῶτον and δεύτερον, in expressing the subdivisions under the first general division of a subject, see Dem. de Cherson. § 39—43. || ἐπὶ τίσι, upon what conditions. || ἀγαπᾶν, to be satisfied. || τοῦτο δὲ προλαβὼν, but having secured this point, *i. e.* that no special conditions should be insisted upon. || Βοιωτίαν πᾶσαν. Thebes was but the capital of Bœotia, to which the other cities and towns owed a sort of allegiance, but otherwise were independent. It was a fundamental principle in the Athenian policy to keep these towns independent of Thebes; but by the arrangement entered into with Thebes on the present occasion, Demosthenes, in the view of Æschines, so far departed from that policy, as to put them in the power of Thebes. [Thebes gradually encroached upon the liberties and independence of the Bœotian towns, but the primitive relation was one of entire independence. *W.*] || τοῖς ὀνόμασι . . . πράγματα. Referring to his denominating the Thebans by the general name of *Bœotians*. But this was not a mere trick on the part of Demosthenes; his object was to form an alliance with the Bœotians as a nation, and not simply with Thebes.

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- A ὡς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, κ.τ.λ. This gives [the supposed reason why Demosthenes employed such terms in speaking of the Thebans,

namely, that the *Bœotians* would be pleased by such a combination of (P. terms, in designating the *Thebans*, as excluded any express naming of 33). their hated oppressors. For *ὡς* with the acc. absolute of participles, see Gr. 1143 (866) § 703, c. || *οἷς . . . κίνδυνοι*. As Philip was at Elateia, the Athenians, of course, were further from danger than the Thebans. || *ἡγεμονίαν*. See § 20 [§ 58], note. || *ἄρδην φέρων*, wholly bearing = at one sweep. [*ἄρδην* (*αἶρειν*) implies that the object is lifted up to be entirely removed.] || *Στρατοκλέα*. No Athenian general of this name is mentioned as acting in this war. The leaders were Chares and Lysicles.

ἕτεροι δὲ παραλείπουσιν, while (*δέ*) others pass them by. [On B this mode of resolving a clause with *δέ*, cf. Gr. 1458, o, § 764, e.] These were common charges against Demosthenes, he says; but they had become so accustomed to hear charges against him, that they had no effect upon them. They were not then, most probably, convinced of their truth.

§ 43 [§ 145, p. 535].

ἄρδην . . . ὑφελόμενος. As Thebes was nearer the seat of war, it must have been more convenient to conduct the military counsels there than at Athens. Besides, there was a shrewd policy, as Demosthenes remarks (De Coron. § 195), in keeping the whole war out of Attica, by a union with Thebes. [The sense is, *Without being perceived, he completely stole away the senate-house* (or else the meeting of the senate) *and the popular government*; i. e. by the joint council convened at Thebes, he slyly took away the power of the senate and people of Athens to decide on questions of public policy. W.]

διαδικασίαν . . . στρατήγιον, he said that he would institute a trial of merit for the rostrum against the prætorium. The *διαδικασία* was a suit to decide the superiority of claim to certain property or rights between two or more litigants, as in the case of heirs, &c. || *μισθοφορῶν . . . χώραις*, but drawing the pay for blank places in the mercenary force, i. e. the force sent out to Amphissa to oppose Philip, just before the battle of Chæronæa. The charge is that he, having got the complete control of this affair, drew for the pay for a certain number of soldiers, and, as the ranks were not all full, took that himself which was intended for the absentees, just as the more rapacious military leaders were wont to do.

προσέμιξε . . . πόλει, the mercenary troops having been taken (i. e. D in Amphissa), he hurried on the danger to the city. For this use of *φέρων*, see § 27 [§ 82]. || [*ἀπαρασκευῶ τῇ πόλει*. Gr. 681 (550) § 458, obs. 2.] || *ἄν* belongs to *εὔξασθαι*, but is placed after *γάρ*, as the word which turns the sense of the sentence. Gr. 819 (654) § 431. [Cf. Gr. 1087-9 (830) § 455, obs. 2.] || *χωρίς*, separately. || *εἰ μὴ δίκην δέδωκεν*, i. e. he is not satisfied with merely escaping punishment. || *οὐδ' ἱκανόν, κ.τ.λ.* Referring to the proposition to proclaim his crown, not in the assembly, but in the theatre, at the great Dionysiac festival. See § 14 [§ 33], note.

(P.
34).

PAGE 34. § 44 [§ 148, p. 537].

- A ὅτι . . . διαγωνιέται, *that he should stake all the advantages he has acquired [possesses] (τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν) in a small part of a day, i. e. in the battle which must be fought with the Athenians and Thebans.*
- B τοῦτο κήρυγμά τι, *this, as it were a command. κήρυγμά τι belongs to the predicate. [Gr. 716 (562) § 453, b.]*
- C Φειδίας . . . Δημοσθένει, *Phidias made for Demosthenes to make gain and swear by. If Demosthenes conducted himself as here described, he was more of a fool than a knave. The evident exaggeration of many parts of the oration injures its effect very much. || Κλεοφῶντος. "Turbulentus erat demagogus et similis Hyperbolo et Cleoni, quibuscum sæpe jungitur." Bremi. || ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . εἰρήνης, but even turned back again (i. e. towards home) your soldiers who had come out, in order that you may [might] consult concerning the peace. The subj. after ἵνα is used instead of the opt., on account of the vividness of the conception of the speaker. Gr. 1306 (952) § 806, 1, 2.*
- D καὶ γράψειν . . . Φίλιππον, *and said that he would propose (i. e. if he should be compelled to return to Athens to deliberate upon these matters) a decree (the man who never looked the enemy in the face) for you to send ambassadors to Thebes, to demand of the Thebans a passage through their country against Philip. || ὡς ἀληθῶς, in very deed. ὡς qualifies the adverb, as it often does the superlative. Gr. 1513, a. § 870, obs. 4.*

§ 45 [§ 152, p. 540].

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, *i. e. those who fell at Chæronæa, and upon whom Demosthenes was employed to pronounce a funeral oration. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 285) justly prides himself upon this appointment, as showing the confidence of the people in him. || τοῖς δραπέταις . . . τάξιν. Referring to his deserting his post in the battle. See § 46 [§ 159], note.*

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- A σπουδαῖα, *serious duties. || [βλέπων εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα, the challenge to try and look a man in the face implies, of course, that the person or persons so challenged could not do this without blushing.] || τὴν διάνοιαν, in thought, imagination. Acc. of nearer definition. Gr. 950 (751) § 579, 1. || νομίσαθ' ὄρῳν, imagine that you see. Here he gives, with his peculiar colouring, the scene which would be presented at the crowning of Demosthenes, should they sustain the proposition of Ctesiphon.*
- B τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνωμοσύνῃ, *the perverse folly of the city, i. e. in honouring the man who had been the cause of the death of their friends. || τοὺς ὀρφανούς. By a law of Solon, the sons of those who had fallen in war were brought up at the public expense.*
- C προεδρίαν, *i. e. the seat of honour in the theatre. || [τότε . . .*

ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν, sc. *κηρύττει*.] || **παραστησάμενος**, *having placed before* (P. *you*, agrees with *κήρυξ*, understood. || [**καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν . . . ἄλλ' οὐ**, 35). *for even if . . . yet not, &c.* Gr. 1444, n. § 774, 1: and in this oration, § 42, A, *fn.* (§ 133)]. || **ἀλλὰ τὰναντία . . . φθέγγεσθαι**, *but the opposite of the words of the crier will seem to be spoken, i. e. as is described in what follows.* [The sense is, *But it will seem to utter the opposite of what the crier shall proclaim.* The subject of *δόξει* is *ἡ ἀλήθεια*, or else *τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αἰσχρόν*. W.]

μὴ . . . αὐτῶν, *do not triumph over yourselves, do not proclaim your own shame.* || **παρανοίας**, *of madness, folly.* This, together with *τὸν δῆμον*, is governed by *αἰρεῖν*, in the sense *to convict.* Gr. 885 (692) § 501. || **ταῖς γε διανοαῖς**, *in imagination.* This description of the fate of Thebes has been much admired. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 41) derides his pathos, as being feigned, since he profited by their fall.

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αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, *may practise upon, make experiments upon, endanger*, B [*may without previous practice act rashly.* W.] See the reply of Demosthenes to the foregoing remarks of his adversary, and others of the same kind, as to his evil fortune, De Coron. § 252, seq. [We may remark here, in passing, that the ferry spoken of by Æschines seems to have lain between the town of Salamis and the nearest adjoining mainland, where the strait is less than two miles wide; between which place, under Mount Ægaleos, and Athens, along the coast, there are traces of an ancient road. W.]

§ 46 [§ 159, p. 545].

τὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *his post in the city*, lit. *from the city.* But this C is by attraction, through the influence of *ἔλιπεν*, just as in the previous sentence; or perhaps *ἔλιπεν* should be taken in a pregnant sense (*he left his post by going from the city*). [These are instances of attraction well worth noticing. We should notice, also, the more remarkable use of prepositions in § 30, B [§ 97], *τὴν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείαν, ἣν ἐπρέσβευσε, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας*, *i. e. the embassies into Peloponnesus and Acarnania from which he had returned.* W.] See Gr. 1435 (1039) § 647. The manner in which, and the purpose for which he left the city, are named in what follows; *i. e.* he left in a vessel to collect the taxes from the tributaries of Athens. It does not appear that Demosthenes deserted his place in the battle in any other sense than all that survived did. "He was certainly reproached with cowardice, because he escaped in the general flight, only by those who wished that he had been left on the field." *Thirlwall*, chap. 46. || **τῆς ἀπροσδοκῆτου σωτηρίας**. Referring to the leniency of Philip towards the city. See § 12 [§ 31], note. || **ἐπιγράφειν**. Plutarch relates that, distrusting his fortune, he for some time presented his decrees in the name of his friends, of whom Nausicles was one. || **ἐπειδὴ . . . Φίλιππος**, *i. e.* B.C. 336. || **τερατευόμενος**, *dealing in the marvellous.* This is intended to describe a prominent trait in the

(P. character of Demosthenes, often alluded to by Æschines, § 26 [§ 77], 36). § 30 [§ 99], § 42 [§ 142], and which he represents as a species of *solemn imposture*, but which should be regarded as the result of a strong religious, combined with a strong patriotic tendency. Demosthenes evidently possessed something of those austere and often mysterious views which sometimes laid him open to the charge of humbuggery. When the good of his country seemed to be at stake, the end, undoubtedly, often seemed to him to sanctify the means. In this way we may account for his pretending to have been informed by a vision of the death of Philip (§ 77), as well as the act here ascribed to him, and many others calculated to awaken the patriotism of his countrymen. Witness, too, the frequent invocation of the gods in his orations, his solemn array of the ancient heroes, and the patriotic raptures in which he often indulges. || *ἱερὰ . . . Πανσανίου*, he caused to be erected sacred symbols (a statue) of Pausanias, i. e. of the murderer of Philip. [So Br., *statuam coronatam cum ara*.—The Lexx. do not give such a meaning of *ἱερόν*.] || *εἰς αἰτίαν . . . κατέστησεν*, while he involved the senate in a charge of sacrificing thank-offerings for the good news, i. e. of the death of Philip.

D *Μαργίτην*, i. e. a mock hero, who figures in a pseudo-Homeric fragment. Alexander, too, it should be recollected, was a great admirer of the Homeric heroes, and especially of Achilles, upon whose character he modelled himself. There may be some allusion to this fact in the appellation under consideration. || *τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττοντα*, inspecting the entrails of victims, i. e. in order to see if it would be safe to move from home, like a timid and superstitious person. || *οὐκ εἰκάζων*, not conjecturing. || *ὅτι . . . ὠνία*, that valour is to be purchased by blood, i. e. by incurring danger fearlessly. *αἷματος*, gen. of price. In the next clause, which refers to Demosthenes, Bremi takes *αἷμα* in the sense of *robur, vigour, manliness*. [So said he, who has no blood in his veins.] || *τοῦ νεανίσκου*. Alexander, who at this time was twenty-one years of age. || *πρεσβευτῆς . . . ὑποστρέψας*. Plutarch alludes to this embassy to Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, and to the circumstance of Demosthenes returning from dread of the anger of the king, after he had proceeded as far as Mount Cithæron. And it would have been utter presumption for him to have thus placed himself in his power.

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A *οὗτ' ἐν . . . παρέχων*. See how Demosthenes turns this charge upon Æschines, De Coron. § 180, 196—198. || *δεινότατον*, i. e. to name what is most shocking. A preparatory acc. [nom.] in apposition with what follows. Gr. 1516, 12. § 580, obs. 2; also Dem. Pop. Orat. II. § 1. || *οὐ προὔδοτε*, you did not give him up, i. e. to his enemies. Referring, perhaps, to the demand which Alexander made for him and other Attic orators to be given up to him. || *ἐν τῷ . . . συνέδριῳ*, i. e. the Amphictyonic council, undoubtedly. See Dem. de Coron. § 322. || *Πάραλοι*, i. e. ambassadors conveyed in a *πάραλος*, or sacred galley. [This word denotes the crew of the *Paralus*; who, per-

haps, conveyed the ambassadors next spoken of to some port on their (P. way to Alexander. *W.*) || *εἴ τις ἄρα*, if perchance any, &c. = *si quis forte*. || *ἐτέρων . . . γενόμενος*, being distinguished above others in his appearance. For the combination *διαφέρων γενόμενος*, see § 2 [§ 10].

τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑποτρέχει, insinuates himself into the favour of Alexander. And thus, as Æschines would have us believe, served as a go-between from Demosthenes to Alexander, by whom they carried on a secret correspondence, and came to a secret understanding. But such hearsay is unworthy to be produced before a court in a serious cause. || *καιροὶ κάλλιστοι*, i. e. of showing his hostility to Alexander.

καθεστηκώς, having been established, i. e. on his throne. || *αὐτῷ*.^C Referring to the king of Persia. || *τῷ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ*, your own habit, i. e. of cowardice. Gr. 998 (790) § 654, b. || *ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν*, rhetorical cowardice, i. e. real cowardice, rising into indignation in the flow of rhetoric. || *ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος*, κ.τ.λ. Referring to the battle of Issus.

συμπατηθήσεσθαι . . . ἵππου, to be trampled under foot by the Persian cavalry [*ἡ ἵππος*, Gr. 1523]. The infin. depends upon *ἤμελλεν*. || *οὐκ ἐχώρει*, could not away with.—[*χωρεῖν*, to hold, contain.] || *ὡς . . . περιήεις*, which having suspended from your fingers, you went around with, i. e. holding them in an ostentatious way in his hand. The letters were represented as being from persons near Alexander, and who were acquainted with the facts of the case. || [*ἐξηρημένος* is *pass.* Cf. Horace's *Lævo suspensi loculos . . . lacerto*. || *καὶ χρυσόκερων . . . φάσκων*, stigmatizing me as a golden-horned victim, and saying that I have [had] been crowned for the sacrifice. Referring to the ambiguous oracle which the Pythia gave out to Alexander before he set out on his expedition to the East: "Ἔσται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων. As Æschines was the active leader of the Macedonian party at Athens, Demosthenes very naturally expressed his exultation over him, in the present critical state of the affairs of Alexander. || *εἷς τινα καιρὸν ἀνεβάλλου καλλίω*. "Oratores Attici medium ἀναβάλλεσθαι usurpant ad indicandam cunctationem ac procrastinationem rerum eam, quæ fit desidia et languore, activum autem ἀναβάλλειν ratione hominum, quos de industria retinemus, aut vero malitiose retardamus, dein etiam ratione rerum, quarum eventum consilio malo reprimimus. Nostro loco est *ex ignavia rem rejicere*." Bremi. || *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . μάχῃ*, the Lacedæmonians and the mercenary force fought a successful battle. This seems to have been at the commencement of their revolt against the Macedonians, which ended in their defeat, the year previous to the delivery of this oration. See § 41 [§ 133]. The mercenary force spoken of was, most probably, a force sent into the Peloponnesus by Darius, to act in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, in overturning the Macedonian power there.

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ὀλίγου δεῖν, almost, lit. so as to want little. Gr. 1520, 6 (684) A § 364.

τὰ νεῦρα: "τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων sunt χρήματα καὶ σύμμαχοι." B

- (P. *Bremi*. || φορμοῤῥαφούμεθα . . . διείρουσι, *we are sewed* (or, perhaps, *squeezed*) *up into the straits* [are 'packed up' and 'matted,' L.], *some first thread us as needles*. The figures seem to refer to the manner in which they were pressed and vexed on all sides by domestic enemies. Demosthenes unquestionably used very strong language on some occasions, but it is hardly supposable that he often made use of so harsh and incongruous figures as are here ascribed to him. It is no wonder that Æschines complains of the insufferable harshness of such language. See the retort of Demosthenes to these and the like strictures upon his language, § 127. [The expression *τινές ὡσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι* we confess ourselves unable to explain. It is commonly regarded as a *locus depravatus*. W.] || κίναδος, *monster*. || ὁμολογῶ . . . ἀφιστάναι, *I acknowledge that I united the Lacedæmonian powers, I acknowledge that I instigated the Thessalians and Perrhæbans to revolt, i. e. from Macedonia* [I acknowledge that I arranged the Spartan movements, referring perhaps to the affairs preceding the death of King Agis III., who was slain in battle against Antipater, towards the end of B.C. 331. W.] || μὴ ὅτι [= *nedum; multo magis* or *minus*]. Understand εἶπω with this (*Let me not say to a city, but even*). Gr. 1492, a (1041) § 762, 2, 3.
- C σαυτὸν . . . ἐπιγράψεις, *will inscribe yourself upon that which has taken place, i. e. claim the honour of it*.

§ 47 [§ 168, p. 559].

- δημοτικός ἐστίν, *he is a man of democratic character and principles*.
|| εὐφημίαν, *plausibleness*.
- D ποῖόν τινα, *of what distinctive character*. For this meaning of *τις*, see Gr. 1027 (800) § 659, 2. || φαῦλον, opposed to *σώφρονι* (*virtuous, temperate, good*) in the description of *δημοτικός*. || ἐλεύθερον, *free-born*. || εὐεργεσίαν, *good-will*. || βοηθῶν . . . ἀτυχήμασι, *avenging* (lit., *coming to the aid of*) *the injuries of their ancestors*.

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- A δίαιταν, *mode of life, style of living*. || ἀσέλγειαν, *wanton excess, profusion*. || εὐγνώμονα, *fair minded, sound-minded*, referring to that freedom from prejudice and general soundness of views which are essential to success as a statesman. || διάνοιαν, *thought, mind*. || παρά, *during, in the midst of*. See Dem. Pop. Orat. II. § 22. || ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις, *upon condition of entire justice*. See the same phrase, Dem. Pop. Orat. VIII. § 10. The above characteristics of a *δημοτικός* are evidently drawn to meet the case of Demosthenes, and hence are arbitrary. It is in this light that Demosthenes treats them in his reply (§ 122), setting them aside by a single pertinent illustration.

§ 48 [§ 171, p. 561].

- B Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων, *Gylon (i. e. the maternal grandfather of Demosthenes) was of Kerameis, an Attic deme of that name*. || τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, *i. e. the Tauric Chersonesus, where Nymphæum was*

situated. || τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπομείνας. [Gr. 668, a (538) § 444, e.] (P. And hence he could never return to his country. || τοὺς ὄνομα- 39). σμένους Κήπους. "Urbs erat haud exigua, ab hortis amoënis appellata, Milesiorum colonia." *Bremi.* || ἐπιφερομένην. "ἐπιφέρεσθαι de uxore dotem ferente habuimus in Lysiae pro Bonis Aristophan. § 14." *Bremi.*

συνώκισε, *married* [them to . . .]. || ὄψωδήποτε, *to whosoever he c may be* [to somebody, no matter who it was]. He did not wish to name him, lest he should give offence to him also in what he was about to say of Demosthenes. His name was Demochares. See Dem. adv. Aphob. p. 818. || παριδὼν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους, *i. e.* by marrying a woman who was not a native-born Athenian. [It may be remarked here, that in all probability this is a mis-statement of Æschines. Before the archonship of Euclid in B.C. 403, the issue of an Athenian man and a foreign woman had the rights of citizenship. Now, as Demosthenes was born in or before B.C. 381, his grandfather Gylon most probably allied himself to the Scythian lady before 403, so that her children must have been legitimate Athenians. Æschines here and elsewhere carries the effect of a law of his own time further back than the time of its enactment. *W.*] || [πρὸς μητρός, *on the mother's side.*] || προγόνων. "Pluralis positus est ratione sententiæ. Proprie unus respicitur avus Gylon." *Bremi.* || τὴν πονηρίαν, [in his wickedness; which is not that of a Greek, but of a semi-barbarian]. || ἐκ τριηράρχου . . . ἀνεφάνη, *from a trierarch he became a pleader of causes before the courts, i. e.* although a rich man (as all trierarchs were), he took up the profession of a writer of pleas for pay.

τοὺς λόγους . . . ἀντιδίκους, *producing* [rather, *publishing* or *dis-* D *closing* (*W.*)] *the speeches for the opposing parties, i. e.* for both the parties in a suit, as in the case of Phormio and Apollodorus. See Plutarch's life of Demosthenes. [ἐκφέρων would not bear the sense of *producing* or *composing*, as a literary composition. It can only mean *publishing, disclosing*. The orator wishes to say that Demosthenes, being thought to be unworthy of confidence in this trade of writing speeches (περὶ ταῦτα), and being used to make known the contents of the speeches to the opposite party in suits, pushed himself all at once into politics. The phrase ἐκφέρειν λόγους is used in the same sense in the oration of Demosthenes against Nicostratus, § 14: ἐπειτ' ἀγώνων μοι συνεστηκότων πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς τε λόγους ἐκφέρει εὐ εἰδῶς, κ.τ.λ. It is quite probable that the plurals which Æschines uses, λόγους and ἀντιδίκους, loosely refer to one particular affair; and that affair, without doubt, must be the same to which Æschines alludes in the Or. de Fals. Leg. § 165. He there says, "Wherein shall we perceive the innate traitor? Shall we not in his using, as you have done, those who have intercourse with him, and have trusted him;—in his writing speeches for pay to be delivered in the courts, and then divulging them to the opposite party (λόγους γράφοντα μισθοῦ τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκους). You wrote a speech for Phormio the banker, and took money for it. This speech you divulged (communicated, ἐξήνεγκας) to Apollodorus, who

(P. was plaintiff in a capital suit against Phormio (τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος 39). κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα, *i. e.* in a suit affecting the civil status of Phormio).³⁹ It is quite probable that this charge is entirely unfounded. Plutarch, who refers twice to the transaction (in the life of Demosthenes and in the parallel between him and Cicero), in all probability knows nothing of it which we do not learn from Æschines, and from the orations themselves which have come down to us; and also blunders in saying, what Æschines does not affirm, that the orator wrote for both parties to a suit. The facts, as far as we can gather them from the orations for Phormio and against Stephanus are these, that, in the first instance, Demosthenes wrote a speech for Phormio, when used by Apollodorus for capital lying in his hands. The speech is a plea against the admissibility of the action, as being already decided by selected arbitrators. The speech for Apollodorus, on the other hand, was written for a subsequent plea, on an action of false witness (which was a private action at Athens) against one Stephanus, a witness for Phormio. It is, indeed, possible that, in the first action, what Æschines mentions may have occurred; and it is possible, also, that some other quarrel arose between these men of which we know nothing; but, in the general looseness of the Attic orators as to facts, it is pretty safe to conclude that Æschines had no more ground for his charge, than that Demosthenes wrote a speech first for Phormio, and then, in a new suit, arising out of the same affair, for his adversary. *W.*] || τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον. It is admitted that Demosthenes received money from the king of Persia, to be used in stirring up opposition throughout Greece against the Macedonian power, which was then extending its ravages through the Persian empire; but there is no proof that he appropriated it to his personal benefit. || [ἐπικέκλυκεν, ἐπικλύζειν.] || δεινῶς λέγειν, κακῶς βιώναι, *so as to speak vehemently* [rather, *powerfully*; it does not refer merely to *vehemence*], *to live shamefully*. || παιδοποιία, *power of procreation*. These disgusting personalities, as well as those in the reply of Demosthenes (§ 129, seq.), are unworthy of orators of so great renown, but were according to the fashion of the times, and are attributable, in the present case, to the intense personal animosity of the antagonists, which had been accumulating for years.

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B ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων, *i. e.* as a person in disgrace. "Sunt cancelli, intra quos nemini ἀριμῶ intrare licebat." *Bremi.* || σύ, *i. e.* Ctesiphon. || τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, *at the tragedies, at the exhibition of the tragedies.* It expresses time. Thus often. See Dem. de Coron. § 54.

§ 50 [§ 177, p. 567].

C οὐ μὴ . . . ποιήσετε, *do not suppose that you will ever make better* [you will never make . . . better]. οὐ belongs to some verb of fear or anxiety, understood. Gr. 797 (633) § 748.

D ἀμείνους, *braver.* So more commonly. See Dem. de Coron.

§ 219. || καταπέπλυται, *has been washed out, has been forgotten.* (P. [καταπλύνειν rather: *the thing (i. e. virtue itself) is diluted all away*: 40). “*is tarnished and effaced.*” L.]

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ἄτοπον, *strange, inexplicable.* || οἴεσθ' ἄν' ἄν belongs to ἐθελῆσαι, ^A *do you think that any one would be willing?* [Gr. 1089, e (830, e) § 405, obs. 2.] || νῦν δ', *i. e. according to the existing arrangement for bestowing rewards at the games.* Gr. 1485 (1053, m) § 719, 2.

ἐπιεικέις φύσεις, *gentle natures, i. e. modest but deserving men.* ^B
 ἔτι δ' οἱ . . . καταγαγόντες; ^C The reference is to Thrasybūlus and his associates, who rallied the citizens that had fled from Athens during the reign of the Thirty, at the fortress of Phylê, on the borders of Bœotia, whence he carried on his operations for the overthrow of this hateful oligarchy. See § 53 [§ 187, fin.]. Of course, the comparison expressed in the previous sentences between other ancient worthies and Demosthenes, is implied here between these and him. It is worth observing, too, that each case for comparison is introduced by δέ. Upon this Bremi remarks: “*Singula exempla in progressu enumerantur per particulam δέ, nonnunquam cum indignatione.*” || ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις, *in the same days.* Just as we say, *not to name in the same day.*

§ 51 [§ 183, p. 572].

ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι. “*Intelligitur Cimonis expeditio in Thracia cujus ^D regionis flumen erat Strymon, quod cum valido exercitu eum trajicere jubebant Athenienses, ut sociis urbibus auxilium ferret et quæ Persarum adhuc præsiidiis tenebantur, in libertatem vindicaret. Primum enim Eionem Persarum jugo adhuc pressam dolo cepit, et terra marique pari fortuna usus est. Qui labores erant Atheniensibus tolerandi, perspicitur ex Herod. VII. 107.*” Bremi. This occurred B.C. 476 (Ol. 76, 1), and not, as Bremi has it, Ol. 77, 3, 4. See Clinton and Thirlwall. || τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς. The Hermæ were square pillars of stone, ending in a head or bust. There seems to have been a street or colonnade lined with them at Athens, called *the Stoa of the Hermæ*, which led from the Pœcilê to the Stoa Basileios. See Cramer's Ancient Greece, Vol. II. p. 320.

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ἵνα μὲν, understand *δοκῆ εἶναι ἐπίγραμμα*, found in the following ^A clause. These inscriptions were to be made upon the Hermæ, but not to contain the name of the persons honoured by them. || ἦν ἄρα, “*Ἦν pro ἦσαν.* Uberius de hac forma exponit Chæroboscus Anecd. Becker. p. 1293.” Bremi. || αἰθῶνα, *raging, consuming.* As we say, *consuming hunger.* || πρῶτοι . . . ἀμηχανίην. “*Primi omnium viam et rationem invenerunt, quæ hostes in consilii inopiam conjicerent.*” Jacobs.

108 § 52—55. [p. 42, c, d. p. 43, A, B, c, d. p. 44, A, B, c.

(P.
42).

§ 52 [§ 186, p. 575].

- C τὴν στοᾶν τὴν ποικίλην, *the picture Stoa*. A large hall in the agora at Athens, adorned with fresco paintings of great national events, especially of the battle of Marathon. See Cramer's *Ancient Greece*, Vol. II. p. 318.
- D Μητροφίω. See § 24 [§ 75], note. || Κοίλης. An Attic *deme*, belonging to the tribe Hippothoontis.

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- A ἀναγνώσεται, understand γραμματεῖς, as often. See § 54 [§ 190], where it is expressed.

§ 53 [189, p. 578].

- B καίτοι πυνθάνομαί γ', κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes, in his reply (§ 209), briefly alludes to the unfair use made by Æschines of these ancient deeds of renown in their early history, but replies more fully to the comparison made between him and the ancient worthies near the close of his speech (§ 314—320), where, it is to be observed, he employs the same illustration of the two celebrated gymnastic wrestlers as is here employed by Æschines. The coincidence is so striking, as not only to create a suspicion, but to render it almost certain, that Æschines added this passage after the reply of Demosthenes, when he published the oration.
- C ἐφικόμενος τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας, *having attained to their manly virtue*.

§ 55 [§ 191, p. 580].

- D ἔναυλον. "Vocabulum subtiliter adhibetur tum de sermone, quo tanquam tibiæ sono aures personant, tum de re qualibet, cujus adhuc recens est memoria. Accurate exposuit de vocabulo Rhunk. ad Tim. Lex. p. 100." Bremi. || ὅτι τηρικαῦτα, κ.τ.λ. The γραφή παρανόμων was regarded as the great safeguard of the democracy, since it was designed to prevent all encroachment upon the constitution of Solon. See § 2 [§ 5, 6]. Hence it is that Æschines fixes upon this as the characteristic feature of the unjust reign of the Thirty. || βιούς, *having lived*. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 130) gives a very different account of the father of Æschines from that here given.

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- A διεξήει. Supply the object from the context (*gave me an account of these things*). || εἶναι ὅμοιον τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἔργον, "*pari culpa eos habitos fuisse, qui contra leges locuti sint et egerint*." Bremi. || τὴν ἀκρόασιν, *the hearing of the cause*. || ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα, *called back the clerk, stopped the clerk*.
- B ἤδη, *at length, finally*. The appropriate meaning of ἤδη. See § 7 [§ 24], note.
- C ἐφ' ᾧ, κ.τ.λ. The speech of Ctesiphon has not been preserved, but Demosthenes makes use of this argument (§ 223—225). What

is here said, I think, implies, as already remarked in another case (P. (§ 15 [§ 35], note), that usage was against law on this point. || Κέ- 44). **φαλος**. A renowned Athenian orator, who flourished during the Peloponnesian war. See the reply of Demosthenes to this case of Cephalus, § 251.

οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι, *those who belonged to opposite parties in politics*. D [The partcp. = partcp. of imperf.] The **γραφὴ παρανόμων** was often abused, undoubtedly, by being employed as an instrument for silencing a troublesome opponent. See Herm. Polit. Antiqq. § 132. || **καὶ εἶλε . . . εὐεργεσιῶν**, *and convicted him, these good deeds having been recently performed by him*. [To be resolved *adversatively* by *though*, &c.] || **μένοντας**, *i. e.* in the city, opposed to **φεύγοντας**, above.

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καὶ τῶν . . . πρυτανείῳ, *i. e.* *those citizens who, either from personal A or ancestral services to the state, were honoured with the privilege of taking their meals at the Prytanæum, at the public expense*. Some of these, he says, and their honoured generals, were in the habit of begging off from (**ἐξαιτοῦνται**) trials for illegal measures. || **ἀν ὑπολαμβάνοιτε**, *you should*. A mild expression of a command. [No : *you would rightly*, &c.] || **τίς οὖν . . . σώφρονι**; "*Quænam oratio convenit homini justo et sobrio, qui patroni partes suscipit?*" Bremi. || **εἰσίῃ . . . δικαστήριον**. Here **γραφὴ** is nom. to the verb; but in § 55, A [§ 191] [we have **εἰσιέναι γραφήν εἰς δικαστ.**] the person being expressed in the nom. || **τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ**, *the first measure of water*. Referring to their method of measuring time by the clepsydra or water-clock. In most causes, a certain time was allotted to the speakers on each side, and a certain time for fixing the penalty.

τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ, *at the first vote, i. e.* *the vote as to his guilt or B· innocence*. After one was convicted, the question of the penalty still remained to be discussed and determined upon. The **γραφὴ παρανόμων** belonged to the **ἀγῶνες τιμητοί**, or causes without a specific penalty affixed. The accuser fixed the fine at a certain sum (see the **γραφὴ** of Æschines, Dem. de Coron. § 55), but the defendant, if convicted, had the right of naming a counter penalty (**ἀντιτιμᾶν, ἀντιτίμησις**), and of discussing the question before the court. Herm. Polit. Antiqq. § 143, 10. || **τῷ μεγέθει . . . ὑμετέρας**, *the measure of your indignation, i. e.* *at the crime, which would be expressed by the penalty they affixed to it*. || **τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ**, *demand the vote, i. e.* *in his favour*. || **παραιτεῖται** [*deprecates*]. See **ἐξαιτοῦνται**, § 55 [§ 196]. || **τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ**, *i. e.* *on the question of his guilt or innocence*. || **ὄρκον αἰτεῖ**. "*Flagitat, ut sua causa perjuriam admittatis; νόμον αἰτεῖ, flagitat, ut negligatis legem; δημοκρατιαν αἰτεῖ, flagitat, ut a rationibus democratiae deficiatis.*" Bremi. || **ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τίμησιν**, *to come to the question of fixing the penalty*.

μὴ ἐξεῖναι . . . φεύγοντι. This he says, as will be seen from what follows, to suggest to the judges the propriety of refusing Demosthenes the opportunity of replying to him as the **συνήγορος** of Ctesiphon. It is to this attempt to prevent his speaking in self-
Æschines.

(P. defence that Demosthenes refers in his reply, § 13. || **τουτὶ τὸ 45). σανίδιον**, *this little tablet*; containing (see § 56, D [§ 201]) the decree of Ctesiphon (**ψήφισμα**) and the laws violated by it written opposite (**οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι**), just as the conflicting laws to be revised by the Nomothetæ were to be inscribed upon **σανίδες** (of which **σανίδιον** is the diminutive), and exposed before the statues of the Eponymi (see § 15 [§ 39]). The tablet itself is specially mentioned, and then its contents, because he is speaking of a *rule* of judgement, which he had illustrated by the rule of the mechanic. Singularly enough, we have no account of **σανίδιον**, nor of **σανίδες** (except in the sense of *doors*), in Smith's Dict. Antiqq.; nor have I been able to find a good account of them in any of the common books which treat of such matters. [See ed. 2, p. 403, *mid.*]

D **ὑπερπηδήσας**. “*Ὑπερπηδᾶν, levi pede aliquid præterire et migrare quasi rem parvi momenti.*” Bremi. || **κακουργὸν ἄνθρωπον**, *i. e.* Demosthenes.

§ 56 [§ 201, p. 589].

τίς . . . λόγων; *what, now, is the preventive of such speeches? i. e.* such as he had said Ctesiphon would make, *i. e.* a mere sham speech, neglecting the whole merits of the case, and then calling on Demosthenes. We see how much Æschines feared the reply of Demosthenes. || **παραναγνῶναι**, *to read in connexion or in comparison with*; in order that he might be brought back to consider the true merits of the case, namely, how these could be shown to be consistent. || **μὴ προσποιῆται**. The negative is with the principal verb (as it often is in Greek, especially with **φάναι** and other words which imply *speaking* or *thinking*), instead of being with the infin. Gr. 1172 (878) § 738, obs. 3.

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A **μάλιστα μὲν**, *especially, above all things, if possible*. It is responded to by **ἀν δ'**, below. || **ἐπανερομένου**, *inquiring, i. e.* of the court. || **κάλει, κάλει**. “*Perspicitur hinc, quantum fuerit populi Atheniensis studium Demosthenis audiendi, quum, simul ac quis ejus mentionem fecerat, solerent alta voce clamare, ut vocetur et progrediatur orator.*” Bremi.

B **ἀπορώτατος**, “*inertissimus, stolidissimus*. **Ἀπορος* interdum is dicitur, qui propter ingenii tarditatem nil expedire queat.” Bremi.

C **οὕτω δὲ, κ.τ.λ.** Demosthenes, in his reply, follows the order of the charges in the indictment; in which, by an oversight, Æschines had placed the denial of his merits as a public man first, which was just the topic Demosthenes wished to treat first, and refer all the others to. See Dem. de Coron. § 56—60.

D **ἐτέρων . . . πραγμάτων**, *by an introduction of other things*. It cannot be denied that this is the general character of the reply of Demosthenes. The written laws were certainly against him, and hence, on the law points, he could only plead a certain extenuating usage. See § 15 [§ 35]. || **περὶ τῆς στάσεως**, *about their relative position, i. e.* for instance, which should have his face turned towards the sun

and which from it, or which towards the wind and which from it, &c. (P. So, he goes on to say, they should insist upon a certain arrangement 46). (τάξεως) in the reply of Demosthenes. || ὑπὲρ περί. A fine illustration of the difference between these prepositions. See § 2 [§ 9], note.

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περίστασθαι, to go around, turn aside [hence to evade]. || ἐγκαθή- A
μενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες. "His verbis indicatur diligentissime ipsis a
dolis et callidis fallaciis hominis fraudulentum cavendum esse." Bremi.
Compare Pop. Orat. II. § 18. || [τὰς ἐκτροπὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων,
'the evasive windings of his speech.' L.] || ἐπεισάξει πολιτείαν,
well, then, he (i. e. Ctesiphon) will introduce this juggler, cutpurse, and
sunderer of the constitution. These terms are not used in their literal
sense, but with reference to his wizard-like power as a speaker. See
Dem. de Coron. § 276, seq.—γάρ is explicative, as often. Pr. Intr. ii.
|| μεταβαλλόμενος, changing, i. e. from tears and protestations to re-
proaches and maledictions.

ὑπ' αὐτῆς . . . διηριθμημένους, distinguished by the truth itself, i. e. B
by the true distinction, taken in the most comprehensive sense [dis-
criminated by the actual fact; i. e. by the actual conduct of each party].
|| ἐκ παιδείας, from their liberal culture, from their generous nature.
|| ἐπίορκος ὢν, being a perjured man.

πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς, before the same persons. The principle here C
stated, about the effect of frequent oaths or protestations upon one's
credibility, is a sound one. || περιγράψατε πολιτείας, exclude
me from civil privileges. Bremi remarks upon this: "Æschines affec-
tare videtur orationem flebilis hominis et timidi, qui ipse perspicit
civibus non solum jus esse, sed officium eum puniendi, sed ita eos
flagitat hoc jure uti, ut deminuto honore ipse tamen salvus evadat."
|| προβαλλόμενος, throwing before it, in the way of protection. These
interrogatories are designed as a taunt upon Demosthenes in failing
to protect the city against Philip.

ἐκλιπὼν μὲν πόλεως. "Sensus est: urbe relicta non in D
Piræo domicilium, ut videtur, constituisti, sed opportunum locum
elegisti, unde, quando tibi placet, peregre abeas." Bremi. || οὐκ
ἀτίμητος. The influence of οὐκ in the previous clause extends to
this as well as the following (is not the action not one with a definite
penalty affixed?). See § 52 [§ 197], note. [Handbk Greek Antiqq.
133, n. 3.] || μανείς, having become mad, i. e. having lost all sense
of propriety.

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ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἀκαιρίας, so unreasonably, on so unfitting an occasion. A
The preposition with its case has the force of an adverb, as often.
|| καιρόν. Referring to the unhappy condition of the country brought
about by his policy. || ἐκέρατο, lit. cut off the hair; and hence, as
cutting off the hair was a sign of grief, grieved, mourned. || κάθαρμα
ζηλοτυποῦν ἀρετήν, a wretch hating virtue. See the same epithet ap-
plied to Æschines by Demosthenes, De Coron. § 128. ["Wretch

(P. *affecting or pretending to virtue.*" This, which Bremi rejects, is al-
48). most required by the contrast. "Such things would a man say who
had really lived virtuously; but what you will say, a wretch would
say who pretended to (wished the reputation of) virtue." W.]
|| *ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσεται*, lit. *will use himself up*, i. e. *will kill himself*,
commit suicide.

B *τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας*, *honour in your eyes*. Observe that
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, by being placed between the article and its noun, ac-
quires an attributive meaning (lit. *the before-you honour*). || *οὗτος*,
Ctesiphon. || *κατατέμμηκε*, *has cut in pieces, hacked*. Alluding to
the blows on the head which, he says, Demosthenes had received at
different times, and had been satisfied with merely the pecuniary
satisfaction obtained by an appeal to law. See § 19 [§ 51]. These
repeated allusions to the brutal assaults of Meidias and others
upon Demosthenes, are exceedingly ungentlemanly, not to say mean.
There is nothing in the reply of Demosthenes which approaches
them in scurrility. || *οὐ κεφαλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον*, *not a head, but a*
revenue, i. e. it served him as a revenue rather than as a head.

§ 57 [§ 214, p. 609].

C *ἔμπληξιαν*. "Dicitur de iis, qui tonitru tanguntur. Hinc tropice
de iis, qui non sunt sanæ mentis." Bremi. [Like *ἔμπληκτος* in
many passages, the word here has the specific sense of *fickleness*,
changeableness. This, indeed, is shown by the sense, and derives some
support from the circumstance that one article suffices for this word
and for *δειλίαν*. As fickleness and cowardice are closely connected
qualities, the orator binds them together by one article. Another
abstract noun, of unlike nature, he would have been apt to keep
more distinct, by using two articles. W.] || *τοὺς κατεγνωκότας*
ἀλλήλων ἀδικεῖν, *those who have condemned each other for crime* [*have*
pronounced each other guilty].

§ 58 [§ 215, p. 610].

D *ἀνοίσειν ἐπ' ἐμέ*, i. e. will make use of his connexion with them
against him. || *ἀλλὰ καὶ διαβάλλει*. See Dem. de Coron.
§ 307, seq.

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A *ἐνδεικνύμενος . . . ἔχθραν*, *displaying myself to Alexander* [= to
display my officious zeal to Al. L.] *on account of his* (Alexander's)
enmity to him (Demosthenes). Demosthenes does not, as I recollect,
formally make this charge in any place. || *τὸ κεφάλαιον*, "*summam*
et scopum rationis civilis." Bremi. Much stress, and with great jus-
tice, is laid upon this point by Demosthenes. He asks why, now that
the evil is all done, he comes with his sweeping charges, and did not
object to his measures when they were proposed. This thought,
besides being alluded to in several other places, runs through all that
portion (perhaps the most masterly part) of the speech from § 37
[§ 188] to § 56 [§ 210].

σὺ δ' . . . κέκραγας, *whereas you, I opine, are silent when you have* (P. received, but clamour when you have spent, i. e. his public speaking was 49). prompted, not by love of his country, but by the hope of securing a B' bribe by it. See the turn which Demosthenes gives this, De Coron. § 82.

ἔτι Φιλίππου, κ.τ.λ. See § 2 [§ 12], note. || οὐπω σου, κ.τ.λ. See C § 26 [§ 77], note. || καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν . . . δημοκρατίας, *and taking this maxim, not from a democracy, but from a different civil polity (i. e. an oligarchy), you think to escape our observation.* How this principle belongs to oligarchies, he proceeds to show in what follows. || κατηγορεῖ, *brings accusations.* I retain the MS. reading in preference to the conjecture of Becker, δημηγορεῖ, because, although speaking of harangues before the people, still it is rather as *accusations* than in a general sense, that they are referred to.

διὰ χρόνου, *after a length of time, i. e. occasionally.* || σημεῖόν D ἔστιν . . . πολιτευομένου, *is a sign of a man engaging [= that a man engages] in public duties out of regard to the occasions and advantage of his country.* || ὑπὲρ δέ, κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes often alludes to the fact that Æschines had never brought him to trial for any of the misdeeds which he now charges upon him. See De Coron. § 15, 251, et al. || τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας . . . καὶ τὰ περὶ, κ.τ.λ. The charges here referred to have been discussed at length in the previous parts of the oration, but I am not aware that there is any account of Æschines having brought Demosthenes to trial for them in any other author. || τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς τριήρεις, κ.τ.λ. Reference is here made to the reform of the Trierarchy by Demosthenes, while superintendent of the navy, which he (De Coron. § 102—109) boasts of as a great improvement, and as having been carried through with integrity, when he might have received any sum as a bribe for desisting; while Æschines here claims to have convicted him of having, by his arrangement, in collusion with the trierarchs, diminished their number sixty-five, and taken hush-money (ἀρπάγματα) for it. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 103) alludes to a prosecution which grew out of the case, and (§ 312) accuses Æschines of having received a talent from those interested in defeating his measure, for his services in the cause. In alluding to these conflicting representations of the case, Böckh (Pub. Econ. Ath. p. 574) says, "Which shall posterity believe when it wishes to form a judgement from the accounts of deceitful orators? It appears to me that the statement of Demosthenes is defended by the fact itself, and the general opinion concerning his whole public life."

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τὴν ἐν . . . ἐνίκησαν; "De re vide Diodor. Sic. xv. 34." Bremi. A || οὐτω δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέφραξας, κ.τ.λ. "Sensus est: Quum tibi pœna metuenda sit, tu partibus mutatis, accusas eos, qui te in iudicium produxerunt, ita ut, quamvis ipsi sint insontes, ob calliditatem tuam et perfidiam in maximo discrimine versentur, tu autem quasi innoxius evades." Bremi.

- (P. τὴν Ἀναξίνου . . . κατεσκευάσας (but Baiter and Sauppe read 50). κατασκευάσας, partcp.), *did you not get up the seizure of Anaxinus?*
 B *i. e.* in order to escape the εἰσαγγελία with which he was threatened. This Anaxinus was taken as a spy in concert with Æschines (see Dem. de Coron. § 137), and, as it would seem, was condemned to death for the offence. What is here said about his having been brought to trial by Demosthenes, who had previously been his friend, is nothing to the discredit of Demosthenes, if he was now in the service of the enemies of his country. Anaxinus seems to have visited Macedonia under the pretence of carrying wares to Olympias, the wife of Philip, where he entered into arrangements with Philip to act as a spy at Athens.
- C τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἅλας, lit. *the salt of the city, i. e.* (as to have eaten salt together was the sign of friendship and of sacred obligations to each other) *the duty owed to the city, fidelity to the city.* || ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾶν με, κ.τ.λ. The language here is so entirely like that employed by Demosthenes (De Coron. § 243), that there can be little doubt that this, with many other passages, especially in this latter part of the oration, were added by Æschines after the reply of Demosthenes had been made. || ἔνατα, *offerings made to the dead on the ninth day after the funeral.* For the funeral services among the Greeks, see Becker's Charicles, p. 286.
- D τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας, "*qui per calumnias a rerum publicarum administratione depulsi sunt.* Demosthenes περὶ Στεφ. p. 273, jungit eadem, ni fallor, significatione ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν." Bremi.

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- A ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην, κ.τ.λ. This defence of himself, in allowing Demosthenes to go on in a course of pernicious acts, which, years afterwards, he called him to account for (*viz.* that he and others were driven from a participation in public affairs by his quarrelsome habits), is certainly a very lame one, but shows the reluctance which was felt at encountering Demosthenes.

§ 59 [§ 228, p. 619].

- ὦν ἐγὼ . . . μάλιστα. "Hæc verba, ob duplicem attractionem obscuriora, in hunc modum resolvat: τούτων ἂν ἐγὼ . . . πυνθάνομαι Δημοσθένην λέξεν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀγανακτῶ μάλιστα. Rost." Bremi.
- B τῆς γὰρ αἰτίας. Governed by τὸ ἔργον (*not to be able to prove the reality of the accusation*). || καὶ τὴν . . . φύσιν, *and envying the nature of his opponents on this account, i. e.* because they could speak so much better than he could. || ὡς διώκηκεν, *as if he had done them.* || ἐξ ὀνομάτων . . . περιέργων, *a man made up of words, and these bitter and over-wrought.* "Contra has Æschinis criminationes defendit Demosthenem Dionysius Halicarn. περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος c. 55." Bremi.
- C οὐ τὴν γλῶτταν, κ.τ.λ. "Demadis hic fertur jocus fuisse in Athenienses: Δημάδης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶκαζεν ἀύλοῖς, ὧν εἶ τις ἀφέλοι τὴν γλῶτταν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστι. Faceta sane compa-

ratio! Quod si enim hoc tempore Athenienses erant satis loquentes (P. disertis, plerumque etiam gloriosi, in agendo tamen inertissimi et 51). languore suo et desidia nimium quantum verborum vanitatem testabantur." *Bremi*. By γλωτταν here is meant the *mouth-piece* of the flute, which was usually taken off when the instrument was not in use.

§ 60 [§ 230, p. 623].

γνώμη. Meaning the same as ψήφισμα, as often. See § 1 [§ 3, note]. || ἐπιτήδειος, *fit, deserving*. For the infin. following, see Gr. 1043 (809) § 666, iii. || εὐθῦναι βίου, "censura morum." *Reisk*. If he was acquitted, all offenders must be.

διὰ τὸ ξενικοῖς . . . τὴν ἡμέραν, *because this day has been devoted D to foreign crowns, i. e. the day of the great Dionysiac festival*. See § 16, 17 [§ 47, 48]. || τῶν μετὰ . . . ἐπεισαγόντων, *of those who immediately after this introduce [begin to exhibit] their plays, i. e. after the proclamation of the crown of Demosthenes*. δράματα is to be understood as the object of ἐπεισαγόντων. || ποιήσειεν, *should make, represent*. For the character of Thersites, see Hom. Il. ii. 212, seq. || ἐν ταῖς . . . δόξαις, *in the thoughts or opinions of the Greeks, i. e. if not in words*. || ἀνετίθεσαν, *attributed to*.

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περιθεῖναι, *to confer it upon, devolve it upon*. ἀδοξίαν is to be supplied from the previous clause. || καλῶς ποιοῦντες, *lit. doing well*; but it does not necessarily imply any merit of one's own, but the favour of fortune; hence, *by the favour of fortune, by the blessing of God*. See Dem. de Coron. § 231; Olynth. ii. § 27. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 207) reasons just the reverse of Æschines here, that, by condemning him, they would condemn themselves. || τὸ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον. A preparatory acc. explained by what follows. See § 46 [§ 161], note. || τοὺς μὲν . . . ἀλίσκομένους, *those convicted in the actions for bribery*. The more common construction of ἀλίσκεσθαι is either with the gen. or partep., and I do not find the construction with the acc. referred to in any of the grammars in common use, though it occurs § 18 [§ 50], and is recognized in the Lexicon of Liddell and Scott. || τοὺς μὲν . . . Διονυσίων. "Eosdem intelligit, quos Demosthenes in Mid. p. 520, appellat τοὺς κριτὰς τῶ ἀγῶνι τῶν ἀνδρῶν: qui iudices sedebant certaminis, eumque coronabant, qui præstantissimus iudicatus erat." *Bremi*. || κυκλίους. Commonly interpreted like ἐγκύκλιοι, *cyclic, appointed for a regular period, annual*; but in Smith's Dict. Antiqq., *circular*, from the original practice of dancing around a blazing altar as they sang.

αὐτός, *i. e. the judge who has given his vote for one wrongfully*. B || συμπαροκολουθῶν αὐτὸν λυπεῖ. "Jurisjurandi violatio perpetua memoria, furiarum instar, conscientiam terret et vexat." *Bremi*.

§ 61 [§ 234, p. 626].

ἀμφότερα. A preparatory acc. governed by the general idea of c

(P. *doing* contained in the two following verbs. See § 60 [§ 232, note]. 52). || κατορθοῦν . . . εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, *to be fortunate, and yet to be in danger with regard to our civil polity.* How this is, he explains in what follows. || φορὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥητόρων, *a harvest of orators in our time, i. e. a great number.* See φορὰ in this sense, Dem. de Coron. § 61. || τὸ δημόσιον, *the democracy, the democratic form of government.* || κολακευόμενος agrees with δῆμος understood. || ἔνιοι δὲ . . . ἐγένοντο, *and these very ones were some of the Thirty, i. e. the Thirty Tyrants, who were established in power at Athens, by Lacedæmon, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and who ruled as with a rod of iron.*

ἐπέθετο, *set himself to, undertook.*

PAGE 53. § 62 [§ 236, p. 628].

- A τού γὰρ . . . ἔχει, *for to have been the cause of our needing these repairs, conveys a censure greater than the credit of their having been well made.* This appears to be the meaning of the passage, expressed somewhat more fully than in the text. || οὐδὲ . . . ἀνελόντα, *nor even in violating the public sepulchres.* When the walls of Athens were built, under Themistocles, such was the urgency, for fear of the interference of the Lacedæmonians to prevent their being reared, that all the inhabitants, of all classes, were set to work upon them, and directed to urge them forward, without regard to any place, whether sacred or profane; so that they were said to be built of altars and sepulchres. See Cornel. Nepos, Themist. c. VI. In repairing the walls, therefore, there would necessarily be a disturbance of the public sepulchres.
- B ἄψαι τῶν ἔργων, *seize upon (come to) the realities or facts.* See § 30 [§ 101]. || τὰς αἰτίας, *the causes.* See § 42 [§ 137]. || τὸ τῆς πόλεως . . . περιτιθείς, *ascribing the dignity of the city to Demosthenes, i. e. the dignity and authority which he had as an ambassador of the city to Thebes, and which enabled him to succeed in his mission.* He seems determined to strip Demosthenes of the honour universally accorded to him for his success on this mission.
- C οὗτος, *i. e. the king of Persia, when pressed by Alexander.* His situation, he says, led him, even against his declaration, to make the offer, for the sake of securing allies, just as the situation of the Thebans led them to accept the alliance of Athens.
- D τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα . . . ὑποσιωπῆς. "Hæc omnia nonnisi ex adversariis Demosthenis cognita habemus, ut incertum sit, num fidem ullam mereantur. Ipsa certe narratio est tenebrosa." *Bremi.* || ἔνεκα πέντε . . . παρέδοσαν; *i. e. as Wolf supposes, the Cadmeia, probably upon the occasion referred to below, when they were to be assisted by the Arcadians in throwing off the Macedonian yoke.* [Leland (after the Lat. version) is nearly correct: *was it not from the want of money, from the want of only five talents, that the foreign troops refused to give up the citadel to the Thebans?* The ἔνεκα here gives the preventive cause.] [The first οὐ, affecting the whole interrogative sentence, requires an affirmative answer; while the second οὐ denies παρέδοσαν. *Did not the mercenaries fail of delivering up the Cadmeia?*

The events here referred to are dwelt on more at large by another (P. enemy of Demosthenes, Dinarchus (Or. in Demosth. § 18, Bekker), and 53). derive illustration from Arrian (Anab. 2, 7, and 1, 10). While the citadel of Thebes was occupied by a garrison in the Macedonian pay, the city revolted, and the Arcadians, who had started from home for the aid of Thebes, on learning that it was taken and sacked by Alexander, turned back and punished the instigators of their expedition with death. Dinarchus says that Astylus, their general, demanded ten talents as his price for aiding Thebes; and that ambassadors came in vain to implore Demosthenes to furnish that sum of money; while an agent of the opposite party paid the Arcadians the same sum for going back. W.] || καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς . . . χορηγεῖς, and you gratify your appetites. [χορηγεῖν here to administer to; to supply funds for, &c.] For this sense of ἡδοναί, see Xen. Mem. I. 2, 23, Kühner's note.

PAGE 54. § 63 [§ 241, p. 634].

βαρύτερον . . . γίνεται, what is heard becomes more intolerable than ^A the actual evils which you have suffered. Demosthenes was aware of the difficulty and delicacy of the task of defending himself, and anticipates the objection on this score in the introduction to his speech.

§ 64 [§ 242, p. 634].

τῆς ἀναισχύντουπραγματείας, the shameless business, i. e. of calling on Demosthenes to assist him in the defence. He thinks it would be altogether better for Ctesiphon to make his own defence. See § 55 [§ 200, seq.]. [Livy (viii. 24) says that Alexandria was founded, and Alexander of Epirus slain, in the same year. The Roman year to which these events are assigned does not synchronize with the veritable Olympian year; yet this is too common a thing in earlier Roman history to trouble any one, while the concurrence of two such events as the above-mentioned upon the same year is likely to be a positive fact, and may serve to rectify chronology. Now, the time of the foundation of Alexandria is well ascertained to belong to the end of 332 B.C., or to the beginning of 331. And, again, Justin says that about the time of the death of Darius (dum hæc aguntur, xii. 1), Alexander received letters from Antipater informing him of the defeat and death of Agis III., king of Sparta in Greece, and of the death of his own brother-in-law, Alexander of Epirus, in Italy (cognitis mortibus duorum æmulorum regum, ibid.). Now, the date of no event of antiquity is more certain than that of the death of Darius. It occurred, according to one of the most cautious of ancient historians, Arrian, in the first Attic month of the Archon Aristophon, which month commenced July 1, 330 B.C. If, now, we would allow for the time necessary to transmit news from Italy, and to forward messengers to Alexander, we must assign the death of Alexander of Epirus to the end of 331 or the beginning of 330. W.]

ὑπέμεινας . . . τελευτηῆ, allowed yourself . . . to be chosen an ambas- ^B sador to express sympathy, &c. This daughter of Philip had married Alexander, king of the Molossians, in Epirus, who was slain in Italy

- (P. (B. C. 331), in assisting the Tarentines against the Bruttii. || [ὡς = 54). *πρός*. Gr. 1418 (1025) § 626.] || [οὐ φήσεις . . . δύνασθαι. Gr. 1172 (878) § 738, obs. 2.] || *μισθοῦ*, for *pay*, i. e. from Demosthenes. It is gen. of price. || *ὅλος μὴ . . . πεπονθότων*, such as not to be known by those who have been benefited by him. The infin. after *ὅλος*, in the sense of *ὥστε*. The negative is *μὴ*, and not *οὐ*, because it is merely a supposed case. [Infin. with *μὴ*, Gr. 1165 (877) § 745; with *ἐάν*, Gr. 1162 (876) § 744, 1.]
- C *μόραν*, a division. This was the war called the Corinthian (B.C. 394). || *διὰ τὸν περίπλου*. [The word *περίπλους* denotes not so much a circuitous voyage, as a voyage around any point or peninsula. The necessary circumnavigation of peninsular Greece gave rise to the word. *W.*] || *διὰ τὸν . . . Κέρκυραν*, on account of that circuitous voyage to *Corcȳra*. He went first to Thrace after vessels, and then south, round the Peloponnesus, to *Corcȳra*, which he subjugated to Athens, B.C. 376 (the same year as the battle of Naxos), in what was called the Bœotian war. || *σχετλιάζοντας*, complaining bitterly, deeply distressed.
- D *χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος*, apart from the body, as though it were foreign to the body and an enemy to it. || *τὴν πανυστάτην ἐξοδον*. "Intelligit fatalem illam expeditionem, quæ clade Chæronensi finita est." *Bremi*. || *τὴν δὲ μνήμην ἐπιλείπουσιν*, while (δέ) there is no grateful remembrance of them.

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- A *παιδεύει*, instructs, i. e. goes through the forms of instruction, and hence attempts to instruct. || *ἀλλὰ τὸ . . . ὀνομάζεται*, but in this case certainly (*ἤδη*) to admonish is justly called to vex. [*ἤδη* does not mean certainly, but rather at once, without more ado. It implies that the admonition has now advanced to the sphere of annoyance.]
- B *τοὺς προκαταλαμβάνοντας . . . ὀνομάτων*, those who preoccupy all the popular and generous-sounding names. Such as are named in what follows. Such persons, he says, ought to be suspected of having a corresponding meanness of life. || *ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ*, *plerumque*, *sæpissime*, or, according to some, *sæpe*, while *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ* (which is found here in two MSS.) is *sæpissime*. See *Xen. Mem. I. 1, 10*; also *Gr. § 870, 4*.
- C *τὰς βεβαιώσεις τῶν κτημάτων*. "*αἱ βεβαιώσεις sunt pignora, quæ dari solebant in emendo et vendendo. Centesima enim pretii pars deponebatur in fidem, si lis exoriretur inter emtorem et venditorem. Hæc summa dicebatur ἀξιοχρεως. Hinc jubetur orator, qui publice velit coronari, provocare ad vitam fide dignam et laude, venditoris instar, qui fidem suam præstat. Ex eodem genere petatum est μὴ βεβαιούτε τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ne confirmate laudes.*" *Bremi*.
- D *παρνοίας ἐαλωκώς*, convicted of folly or dotage. Like a superannuated person. See § 45 [§ 156]; also *Xen. Mem. I. 2, 49*. || *τῶν δ' . . . παρακεχώρηκεν*, while from the realities (i. e. in fact) you have retired for others, i. e. they had given up to ambitious leaders every thing except the name of the democracy. || *ἀλλ' . . . νειμάμενοι*, but, as if from a picnic [or, 'entertainment where each man hath paid

his club,' L.], having distributed among yourselves what remains, i. e. of (P. the public money, &c. || ἐκεῖθεν . . . θεωρήσατε, behold the proof 55). hence, i. e. from what follows. || ἐγένετό τις, there was one, i. e. formerly. It is supposed that the reference is to one Autolycus.

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ἕτερος δ'. Leocrates, who, after the battle of Chæronæa, fled in a ^A cowardly manner to Rhodes, and on his return, eight years afterwards, was brought to trial, and barely escaped conviction by a tie vote. || μία. Understand ψῆφος. || ἀποπέμψετε, will send away, rid the country of, i. e. as a homo piacularis. See § 40 [§ 131].

ὡς . . . πλέοντα, as a pirate of the public transactions, sailing ^B through the constitution upon names, i. e. having undermined the democracy while professing great attachment to it, and concealing their true character, by a studious use of democratic terms. See § 64 [§ 248]. Æschines is liable to the same charge of harshness of metaphor here, which he several times censures in Demosthenes. || ἡμερῶν μὲν . . . συλλέγεσθαι. "Æschines significat consilium Amphictyonum et certamina Pythica eodem fere tempore habitasse : quod eo probabilius est, quum Amphictyones præsiderent his ludis. Non tamen eodem mense singulis annis videntur locum habuisse, plerumque tamen mense Elaphebolione (Martio)." *Bremi*. See Woolsey's discussion on this subject in the Additional Notes at end of vol.

§ 65 [§ 255, p. 645].

μὴ νέμετε ἀλλὰ κρίνετε. "Idem est ac si dixisset νέμετε κρί- ^C νοντες, cum iudicio tribuete, re pensitata, num honorem meritis sit is, qui eum appetit." *Bremi*. || ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, in youth. When it was customary to engage in sporting and gymnastic exercises to invigorate and establish the constitution, which, however, he goes on to say, Demosthenes spent in studying tricks against the wealthy, or those having the estates (τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους). Referring, perhaps, more particularly to the reform which Demosthenes afterwards made in the law of the Trierarchy (De Coron., § 102—109), which compelled the rich to perform their part of this public burden. || ἀλλ' εἰς . . . ἀποβλέψαντες. This seems to refer back and respond to διαβλέψαντες εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, and hence requires that βουλευσασθε should be supplied from that sentence. The exact correspondence of the two sentences, however, is disturbed by the long intervening parenthesis.

ἀποστήσαι δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, i. e. from Philip. || ἐκπλήξαι δὲ Θε- ^D βαίους δημηγορήσας. For the effect of the eloquence of Demosthenes upon the Thebans, see Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes. || Πειθῶ, persuasion, personified. This is said because Demosthenes claimed to have accomplished such wonders by his eloquence. || ὑπολαμβάνετε ὄραν, imagine that you see. This summoning before them the worthies of the past, to sustain them in resisting the impudence of Demosthenes and his associates, is happily conceived, and executed in a manner worthy of a great orator.

(P.
57).

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^A τὰς θυγατέρας. "Duas reliquit filias, quæ a populo, teste Plutarcho in Aristidis vita, dotem acceperunt ter mille drachmarum." *Bremi.* || ἄρθμιον. See Dem. Phil. III. § 43. || παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἦλθον ἀποκτεῖναι [*were scarcely restrained from killing, &c. L.*], like the Latin: *minimum aberat, quin interficerent*: [*lit. they came within [next to] nothing of killing him.* Their feelings were such, that a very little more, and they would have put him to death. *W.*]

§ 66 [§ 260, p. 648].

^C ὦ γῆ καὶ ἤλιε, κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes (De Coron. § 127) seizes upon these words, as furnishing, on account of their flippant, pretending character, a fit occasion for returning the ridicule, which Æschines, in several places, has bestowed upon his language. || βεβοήθηκα, *I have come to your aid, i. e. of virtue, knowledge, and education.* This close compares with that of the reply of Demosthenes very much as the oration, as a whole, compares with that. It is much more flippant and pretending, with much less real earnestness and solemnity.

APPENDIX

OF

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

§ 5, A [§ 20].

[οὐδὲ γάρ = καὶ γὰρ οὐ. “Then shall [the members of] the council of Areopagus not be crowned at all? No: for it is their traditional and customary practice not [to be so].—Are they then insensible to the love of glory?—Nay, exceedingly sensible to it, since they are not satisfied if any one amongst them does not commit an act of injustice, but if he does any thing whatever that is wrong, they chastise him.” Professor Woolsey praises Mr. Champlin’s version, but objects to his making the conclusion that they could not be crowned depend on the fact that their office was for life. But does not the ἄρα imply that this *was* the reasoning intended? The orator has just stated that the members of the Areopagus must have their accounts examined. It would not follow from this, that they could not be crowned, unless there was *no time* when they had *not* some account to render.

I may remark that ἐξαμαρτάνειν is a more general term than Liddell and Scott’s rendering, ‘to sin greatly,’ would lead one to suppose. It is a general term for all *errours, mistakes, failures, or sins*. Hence we find ἀγνοία ἐξαμαρτάνειν, Cyr. 3, 138: τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὁμολογεῖς οὐκ ἀναμαρτήτους εἶναι ἀλλὰ τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, Pl. Rep. 340, c. The version I have given is, in substance, that of the Latin version, of Leland, and of the French translator Stiévenart, who illustrates the passage by the anecdote quoted by Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, 5, 19): “One is surprised at the punishment inflicted on that Areopagite, who killed a sparrow that had flown into his bosom for refuge. But we must observe, that it was not the condemnation of a crime, but a sentence pronounced on a point of morals in a republic founded upon morality.”—“The object was” (says Barthélemi) “to remind the senator, that he whose heart is closed to pity, ought not to dispose of the lives of citizens.” (Voy. d’Anacharse, c. xvii.)

Æschines.

M

NOTE A, on § 10 [§ 27].

ON these words of Æschines a perplexing discussion hangs, and it will be convenient here to insert certain dates, that the whole subject may lie in a brief form before the eyes of the reader.

In Olymp. 110, 2=summer of 339, B.C. Lysimachides archon.

Olymp. 110, 3=summer of 338, B.C. Chærondas archon.

Metageitnion 7=August 4, 338, B.C. Battle of Chæronēa.

Elaphebolion 6=March 26, 339, B.C. Date of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* brought by Æschines, according to record in Dem. de Coron. § 119.

Thargelion 29=June 16, 339. Date of resolution of Demosthenes to appoint inspectors of the walls.

Skirophorion 2 or 3=June 19 or 20, 339. Demosthenes appointed inspector of the walls. For conduct during that office, a crown is proposed to be given him by Ctesiphon. This proposition is attacked by Æschines as illegal *three months before Demosthenes* was invested with the office.

This glaring absurdity of bringing an action several months before the illegality on which it was grounded could have been committed, is removed in several different ways. And, first, attempts have been made to remove it *on the supposition that the record in Demosthenes is genuine, and has the true date.* Mr. Clinton's solution (*Fasti Hellenici*, p. 363, note *f*) is that the reference in Æschines is merely to the fact that Demosthenes was in office, and not to the time of his appointment. Another solution is that Æschines suffered a lapse of memory: the appointment took place the month and day named in the year before, and the phrase *ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου* instead of *ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου*, "was used unconsciously by way of anticipation, with reference to the time of his *holding* his office, and not to the time of his appointment." That Æschines might forget dates cannot, indeed, be pronounced impossible. And yet he certainly knew when the battle of Chæronēa took place, if he knew any thing, and must have had a distinct recollection of the time, relative to that event, when his foe received his appointment. Nor is it credible that such a blunder, if he had fallen into it, could have failed of being discovered by him or his friends before he gave the last touches to his oration. This, therefore, will not be considered a successful solution. Finally, Böckh's solution is none other than that the text of Æschines is corrupt. The orator wrote *πρὸ Χαιρώνδου*, meaning in the year before that archon, and used that form because every body knew what important events fell within that year, while the mention of his predecessor Lysimachides would have awakened no definite recollection of the times. But this, being an unusual form of speech, was altered by a scribe into *ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου*. This conjecture of so very eminent a man carries great weight with it, and has been to some extent adopted. It derived its strength, no doubt, in the author's mind, from a conviction, that the repairs of the walls must have been undertaken before the battle of Chæronēa,

and in preparation for a possible attack of Philip during the war. But when it is considered, that that persuasion may be shown to be not well founded, that the solution is a violent surgical process, and that the phrase *πρό τινος ἀρχοντος*, with the sense *in the year before*, is a phrase of questionable authority, it will not be thought strange if this theory be discarded. Another theory, framed with a view to explain this chronological discrepancy, proceeds on the supposition that the decree in Demosthenes is a genuine document, but the name of the archon incorrectly given. It is well known that Böckh's theory, in which he is followed by Winiewski and others, is that these documents were inserted into the oration on the Crown by a later editor; that he extracted them from some collection of public acts derived from marbles, and from the records of the Metroum; that these records, arranged in pigeon-holes, according to the series of archons, had, in the course of time, lost the names of these magistrates; and that the name of the scribe (the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρωτανείαν*), which was attached to the decrees, was, by some great blunder, supposed to be the name of the archon Eponymus. The editor who inserted these documents into the first half of the oration committed a still greater blunder; he put them into the wrong place, and thus entirely falsified history, so as to involve in a perfect fog all the older inquirers from Corsini down to Clinton, and to force Böckh and succeeding writers, particularly Böhneke, to the most laborious researches as to the true historical niche which the records are to fill. If such a date could be satisfactorily assigned, if history opened its arms to receive these documents, or even did not reject them, it would be strong testimony in favour of their genuineness that they even conformed to known events. But this is not the case. Thus Böckh and Winiewski assume a peace between the Athenians and Philip, in Olymp. 110, 2, B.C. 339, to which the documents in § 29, 37 of the oration on the Crown is supposed to relate. But Böhneke has shown satisfactorily that no such peace existed; and the same diversity of opinion extends to several other documents. The most skilful historical inquirers find no hole where they exactly fit. The decree for crowning Demosthenes (§ 119, Or. de Coron.) has confessedly a wrong date, as there was no archon Euthycles. The copy of the *graphê* in § 54 Böckh thinks to have a correct date; but Böhneke, with reason, dissents from him, and shows that the whole affair, from its very commencement, was posterior to the fight at Chæronæa; that the date in Æschines, the passage before us, is right; and that for the archonship of Chærondas, the archonship of Phrynichus, his next successor, ought to be read. And certainly, if no urgent reasons required us to adhere to the date of this record as a true one, the mistake which so many of its brethren carry on their faces is a strong presumption against it. A third theory still disposes more summarily of this whole tribe of records, as being forgeries, or, at least, as a mixed mass of true copies of letters picked out of Theopompus (or some other historian) in company with documents wholly or in part false. We must confess that we incline to this view, and we find ourselves in the company of K. F. Hermann,

who, in his work on the political antiquities of Greece (third ed. § 138, note 5) thus expresses himself, "am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt mir die gänzliche Unächtheit der Urkunden bei Demosth. de Corona." The forgery in the particular case of the document in § 37 [§ 118], the decree to crown Demosthenes, comes out to the light, unless something can be said in its favour. For while Æschines jeers, in his oration, at the *ἀνδραγαθία* of Demosthenes, there we find mention of his *καλοκαγαθία*; while Æschines quotes *διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων ὅ τι ἀν δύνηται ἀγαθόν*, of all this there is not a word in the decree; and while Æschines mentions, as in the said document, the good will which Demosthenes continually showed towards the Greeks, this too has given way in favour of a new expression: *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων*. But for all these differences Winiewski and Böhneke have a ready answer. The document is not as Ctesiphon originally wrote it, but was altered after the cause was tried, because the question on the decree could be carried in a modified shape, to suit the times the better; but as Demosthenes, on this supposition, had just gained a brilliant victory in the court, which assured him of a large majority in the assembly on his side, how can he be supposed to have consented to such an alteration of the decree as *καλοκαγαθία* for *ἀνδραγαθία*, which looks like a tacit admission of his cowardice, or to modifications which decidedly lower the tone of eulogy? The supposition seems a very unnatural one. *W.*

NOTE B.

§ 15, p. 11, A [§ 39]. *ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέτας* [which is the usual reading]. A simple translation is like this: *If the thesmothets find that there are inconsistent or abrogated laws, or more than one relating to the same subject, the lawgiver "bids that having inscribed them on [whitened] boards, they publish them in front of the statues of the heroes from whom the tribes are named, and that the prytanes cause an ecclesia to be held, having written upon the programme these words Nomothetæ [or, for the Nomothetæ = νομοθέταις]: (1) and that the president of the proedri put the question between the laws to the people, (2) and that they [the people?] annul some and leave in force others, that there may be one law, and not more than one, applying to each subject-matter."* And immediately afterwards the orator says, that if there had been two such clashing laws, when it was discovered by the thesmothets, and the prytanes had handed (3) the business over to the Nomothetæ, one or the other of the laws would have been abrogated. The passage is clear, but the brevity of the orator is perplexing as to the customs of his country: the points of doubt are indicated above by Arabic numerals. In the oration against Timocrates, the following account is given of this annual revision of the Athenian code, during the first prytany of the year, and on the eleventh of the first month the people voted concerning the laws; and if any were voted against, the prytanes for the time being were to cause the third of the three

assemblies, which occurred during their prytany, to be held in relation to these rejected laws. And the proedri for the day were required, as the first business to be done, to consult the people concerning the Nomothetæ, καθ' ὃ τι καθεδοῦνται [*i. e.* under what regulations they should sit] and how they should be paid. Meanwhile, every citizen who wished alterations was to publish his proposed amendments daily before the statues of the eponymi, that the people might judge in view of the number of new projects of laws how long the Nomothetæ should sit. The Nomothetæ should be taken from the sworn jurymen of the year. Advocates, five in number, should be chosen by the people to defend the old laws before the Nomothetæ. At the meeting of this body the law ordered (*c. Timoc. § 33*), διαχειροτονίαν ποιῆν τοὺς προέδρους περὶ τούτων τῶν νόμων, κ.τ.λ.—To recur now to the points of doubt, in the order in which they are marked: (1) According to Schömann, ἐπιγράφειν “hoc loco dictum est pro eo quod alias solemne est;—προγράφειν et νομοθέτας ἐπιγράφειν breviter dictum pro: ecclesiam de Nomothetis habendam esse, in Programmate scribere.” H. Schelling (*de Solon. leg. apud Orat. att. dissert. p. 51*) interprets the passage thus: “postquam Nomothetas (nomina Nomothetarum in tabulis inscripserunt), scilicet, ut populus suffragium ferret num illa nomina sibi placerent necne.” If Schelling means, by the names of the Nomothetæ, the names of individual persons to the number of a thousand and one, or it may be of three thousand and one, it is utterly incredible that the prytanes could have taken this trouble. If he, or any one else, should conjecture that the prytanes assigned this business to one or another detachment of the sworn judges for the year, that is quite possible. At the same time, since we learn, from the oration against Timocrates, that the people determined the rules according to which this body should sit, and how long they should sit, and how they should be paid, it is quite probable, if not almost certain, that they determined also their number. Now, this being fixed, the natural course would be for the thesmothets to make a draft by lot out of the annual jurymen, just as they did for the ordinary courts. The Nomothetæ were merely a court sitting on the laws, and hearing them defended and attacked, instead of a court hearing complaints arising under the laws. We conclude, therefore, that Schömann has understood this passage correctly; and that ἐπιγράφειν is the same nearly as προγράφειν (spoken of with reference to a subsequent meeting of the people) or ἀναγράφειν ἐπὶ λευκώμασι or σανίσι, which seems to denote inscribing, and putting in some public place where the inscription can be consulted. There is still an enquiry remaining. Does ποιῆν ἐκκλησίαν mean what all seem to have taken for granted that it means—to have an ordinary assembly of the people convened according to the usual formalities; or can ἐκκλησία here be used of the meeting of this large committee of Nomothetæ, acting in lieu of the people? If the latter, we must suppose that Æschines leaves out of sight all those intermediate steps which are described in the *Or. c. Timoc.*, and hurries forward to the conclusion of the whole matter—to the meeting of the Nomothetæ, which alone to him was

of any importance. This last view will relieve the subject of difficulties; and yet so very marked was the difference between a true ecclesia and a meeting of the Nomothetæ,—in which all the people, excepting a fractional detachment, would be interlopers,—that we can hardly conceive of an Attic orator calling the two by the same name. In § 10 [§ 27] we have an instance of the nice use of terms, where the meeting of each tribe apart is called an *ἀγορά*. The convention of the people, when called in an unusual way, might be called either *σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία* or *σύλλογος* (see Thucyd. 2, 59); but, conversely, it would be an incorrect use of language to extend the sense of *ἐκκλησία* to other assemblies of a part of the people. (Cf. Plat. Gorg. 456, c.)

(2) *And that the president of the proedri (διαχειροτονίαν δίδοναι τῷ δήμῳ).* Platner interprets this as if the assembly decided which of two inconsistent laws was to be abrogated. Schelling's view would require him to understand *διαχειροτονίαν* of a vote of the people between two different sets of candidates for the office of Nomothetæ. We are not acquainted with any other attempts to explain this clause made by writers on Attic law or polity. Both attempts must be regarded as failures; Platner's, because the people only passed a provisional vote as to whether the old laws satisfied them. It is to this that the words of Demosthenes apply (c. Timoc. § 25): *Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐποίησαν διαχειροτονίαν, πότερον εἰσοιστέος ἐστὶ νόμος καινός, ἢ δοκοῦσιν ἀρκεῖν οἱ κείμενοι.* But the words of Æschines cannot refer to this first measure of the people's admitting or preventing all change in the laws, for he immediately adds, "and that they annul these laws, and leave in force the others;" which the *people* had nothing to do with. The view which Schelling is forced to take cannot be admitted, for reasons already given. Granting that the people decided between detachment A and detachment B of the sworn judges, as the body to compose the Nomothetæ, so very small a matter would not be deemed worthy of mention by the orator. There remains to explain this passage another suggestion, namely, that by *δῆμος* here the Nomothetæ themselves are to be understood. This view is supported by the fact, that *ἀναιρεῖν* can have no other subject but what we find in *δῆμος*, unless the orator expresses himself very enigmatically. Schelling, indeed, supposed that *τούτους* has fallen out of the text before *ἀναιρεῖν*; while Schömann, feeling the same difficulty, merely observes, that the clause following *δῆμος* must be separated by a colon from the preceding text. He says, "*Neque enim ad ecclesiam neque ad epistatam pertinent, sed ad Nomothetas, populi jussu, post illam ecclesiam, constituendos.*" It is not against usage for the orators sometimes to ascribe the doings of the courts to the Athenian people; and such, we think, must be the case here, unless *τῷ δήμῳ* be an interpolation or a gloss instead of *τούτοις*, referring to the Nomothetæ. The procedure here spoken of is that described in nearly the same words in the Or. c. Timoc. § 33: *Διαχειροτονίαν ποιεῖν τοῦς προέδρους περὶ τούτων τῶν νόμων. Ὅποτερον δ' ἂν χειροτονήσωσιν οἱ νομοθέται, τοῦτον κύριον εἶναι.* Here we find the proedri

presiding over the assembled Nomothetæ, just as over an ordinary ecclesia; and this circumstance may be used to show how easy it might be to transfer the name of the demus to this body.

(3) What is to be understood by *πρυτανέων ἀποδόντων*? It has appeared already, that when the Nomothetæ convened, the proedri (with their epistates, of course) were the presiding officers. Of course the agency of the prytanes must be restricted to the time before the meeting. There may be a doubt as to what this agency consisted in. If it consisted in preparing business for this body, as the prytanes would for an assembly, and in summoning them to their sitting, then *ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπιγράψαντας νομοθέτας* will refer, very likely, to these same acts of the prytanes, and *ἐκκλησίαν* must denote the meeting of the Nomothetæ, which we have decided against. If it consisted merely in the fact that the prytanes took the initiative in the appointment of the Nomothetæ, this will be consistent, indeed, with other facts, but the meaning of *ἀποδόντων*, which implies a reference of a subject by a preparing or presiding magistrate to an assembly, will not be exhausted. It may also be conjectured that *πρυτανέων* here is loosely used for *προέδρων*; but that does not seem probable. *W.*

NOTE C.

§ 64 [§ 254]. Æschines here says that, in a few days, the Pythian games were to be held, and the Amphictyonic council was to meet. A few remarks must be made on this point, on account of its historical importance. The death of Darius, then, as we have seen, occurred in July 330, during the first month of the archon Aristophon at Athens; and the rival orations of Æschines and Demosthenes are assigned, on the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to the same year. Alexander would, without fail, send speedy news to Greece of the death of the Persian king. But he is spoken of as alive by Æschines in § 41 [§ 132], where he says, "Is not the king of the Persians . . . now contending, not for mastery over others, but for the safety of his person?" These orations, then, were delivered during that archonship, before the news of the death of Darius could reach Greece; that is, we may say without being venturesome, before the first three months of the year had run out. The Pythia and the meeting of the council, then, fell upon the early part of the autumn. The force of this argument—which, in the words of Æschines, we may call an *ἄφυκτος λόγος*—is sought to be turned aside in a very strange and unsatisfactory way by Böckh, in his notes on the Amphictyonic marble. (Corp. Inscr. vol. i. No. 1688.) He says, "This could have been said even if the death of Darius were known. Nay, were it so known, so much the more weight does the sentence have, in which Æschines lays before the minds of the Athenians a very sad event lately announced, and in gentle words expresses his pity. All that Æschines says could be retained, although something relating to the death of Darius be added. He might have written after this manner: *Νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται,*

ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας· ὃν ἐναγχος ἠκούσατε ἀπεσφάχθαι· but he does not add this last clause, because all knew of the fact." Moreover, continues Böckh, the passage where Æschines (§ 46 [§ 165]) speaks of Alexander as (ἐξω τῆς ἄρκτου, κ.τ.λ.) beyond the north, and almost outside of the world, must refer to his northern expedition, after the death of Darius. With regard to the first of these arguments, it is enough to say, that if Æschines had written, as this eminent scholar says he might have done, he would have written absurdly, even if Darius had left a successor; how much more when his empire fell with him! With regard to the second, we affirm that the words of Æschines are hyperbolic; and what renders it certain that they cannot have the reference which Böckh seeks in them is, that they are connected in time by the orator with the warlike movements in Peloponnesus, on the part of the Lacedæmonians and others, in 331 B.C. "The Lacedæmonians and mercenaries met in battle and crushed the troops with Corrageus; and all Arcadia had gone over except Megalopolis, and that was under siege, and daily its capture expected, while Alexander had retired beyond the north, &c.; and Antipater was a long time collecting an army, and the issue was uncertain." Can any thing be clearer than that none of these circumstances is of later date than the death of Darius, unless they all are? Böckh entertained the opinion that the Pythia were held in the spring; but nearly every body who has expressed himself on this subject of late has looked for them on the opposite side of the year, in the autumn, although the exact time cannot be ascertained. The important marble to which reference was made above informs us that they were to be celebrated in the Delphic month Bucatius. Without entering into the question in what part of the year that month fell, we can only say here, that K. F. Hermann regards it as made out and settled that it fell within the autumn, and he synchronizes it with the Attic month Boëdromion. The evidence as to the time of the Pythia may be found in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, Appendix I., and in Böhneke's *Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 307. As the Amphictyonic council met at Delphi in the autumn, their spring session was at Thermopylæ. Hence the documents in Demosthenes de Cor. (§ 154, 155) which speak of a spring session at Delphi, on the occasion of which Æschines discourses at length (§ 37, 38 [§ 115—125]), are likely to prove forgeries. We know that their character has been defended by Schömann (*Antiqq. Jur. Publ. Græc.* p. 391), who accepts an hypothesis once started by Heeren, that the deputies always met in spring and autumn, first at Thermopylæ, and then, after some sacred rites were performed, adjourned to Delphi. But Æschines again oversets this theory; for the only meeting at the former place of which we know any thing was, according to his statement (§ 39 [§ 128]), full of very important business. Meanwhile, five marbles have become known, dug up at Delphi by the lamented Ottfried Müller, and published by his fellow-traveller, Ernest Curtius (*Anecdota Delphica*, Berl. 1843), which contain Amphictyonic decrees. On three of these marbles it is said that the decrees were passed at the autumnal session, while

the others are without date. We have, then, evidence of a session in the autumn at Delphi, and of a meeting for business at the Straits; we have, on the other hand, no evidence of a meeting in the spring at Delphi, except that furnished by the documents in Demosthenes. These documents are defended by Böhneke on the plea that they belong to the actual spring session; not to that where Æschines made his speech, nor to the extraordinary one of which Æschines speaks (§ 39 [§ 128, 129]), but to a regular one in the spring. One of the documents, however, refuses to have these screws put upon it; for it requires the deputies of the council to go to the sacred land and set up boundaries, and tell the Amphissans not to commit encroachment. Whereas, even at the extraordinary session, before this supposed meeting, the council, so far from being thus mild, decreed a military expedition against the invaders of the sacred soil, and appointed a general; and the subsequent complaints against the Amphissans were not for using that ground for pasturage and arable land, but for not paying their fine, and restoring the exiles whom the council had required them to banish. To sum up all in a word, the Pythia were held in autumn; the Amphictyonic council convened at Delphi in the autumn, and, as far as any thing is known, only there; and the events in which Æschines was an actor at Delphi were, therefore, in the autumn of B.C. 340, soon after his election, probably, to the office of Pylagoras. *W.*

LIST

OF THE

MORE DIFFICULT WORDS AND PHRASES.

[A prefixed numeral indicates the section in which the word or phrase occurs.—A prefixed asterisk means that, in the passage referred to, the word occurs in a peculiar sense.]

<p>1 παρασκευή παράταξις δεήσεις (pl.) ἐβουλόμην οἱ ἐφεστηκότες γνώμαι ἐπιψηφίζειν πρυτάνεις ἐπιστάτης προεδρεύειν</p>	<p>1 οἱ καθεζόμενοι ἀναγορεύειν εἰσαγγέλλειν εἰσαγγελία ἡ πολιτεία οἱ τρόποι παρῤῥησία ἐξαιρεῖσθαι ἀναβιβάζεσθαι πολιτεύεσθαι</p>	<p>2 ὑπεύθυνος προσλαμβάνειν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἰκότως ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ πρόφασις μεταξὺ ἀρχῶν 3 ἐπιμέλεια διακονία</p>
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1 τὴν βουλήν τοὺς πεντακοσίους. αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί.
2 ἡ ὅλη κατηγορία. νόμοι κεῖνται. τὰς εὐθύνας ὠφληκένας. μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν.

<p>3 ἀρχαιρεσία πραγματεία τειχοποιός λογιστής λόγος λογισμός εὐθύνη 4 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἀντιτάττειν ὑποβάλλειν</p>	<p>5 ἐπιδιδόναι ψῆφος τροφᾶν ἀγαπᾶν ἀποδημεῖν καθιεροῦν ἐκποίητος 7 τὸ θεωρικόν ἤδη 8 ἀλίσκεσθαι</p>	<p>9 ἀντιγραφεὺς ἀποδεκτής νεώριον σκευοθήκη ὄδοποιός 10 ἐπιβολή τειχοποιός ταμίας 11 ἀντιδιαπλέκειν τριττύες</p>
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3 ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίων. 5 ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων. κατὰ σῶμα.
μὴ ἀποδημήσω; 10 δευτέρα φθίνοντος.

14 σεμνύνεσθαι ἀγαπᾶν ἐργολαβεῖν	16 ἐρανίζεῖν 19 κόνδυλοι χορηγός	20 ἡ ἡγεμονία ἐξαίφνης ἐκείνως ἀπογνῶναι καταγνῶναι
15 παραταχθῆναι (τινι) συνήγορος διορθοῦν ἀναγεγράφθαι σανίδες ἐντιθέναι	καταχειροτονία καταχαρίζεσθαι ἀπαντᾶν ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τάξις	21 νικᾶν ψήφισμα σπείσασθαι ἀκόλουθος συκοφαντηθεῖς παρακαλεῖν
16 ἐνοχλεῖσθαι (αυγμ.?)		

12 μικροῦ δεῖν. 16 προξενίας εὐρημένοι. ἀπούσης βουλῆς. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ. 18 τὴν γραφὴν ἀλίσκεσθαι. 19 τραύματος γραφή. 20 ἦτε ἐκπεπομφότες. αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ (τι). 21 εἰς ὑποδοχὴν. πράττειν πρὸς.

21 προσέχειν παραγγέλλεται στρατεία ἐξωνεῖσθαι μισαλέξανδρος προαγών	24 αὐτομολεῖν 25 προεδρία περιπετάσει 26 κατάσκοπος συμπλάσσω παρανομέω 27 σκευαγωγεῖν παριών	29 δόλιχος ἐξωνεῖσθαι συνεδρεύειν μισοτύραννος 30 ὑφέλεσθαι δι' ἀπορρήτων { ἄνθρωπος { ἄνθρωπος κλέπτων συστρέψας
22 ἰασόμενος στήλη	29 διαβιβάζειν { *φερόμενος { *φέρων	
23 ἀπορρήξαι τελευτῶν		

25 τρία ζεύγη ὀρικά. 26 μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπισηκῶν. 27 ὄνειδιζειν τινί τι. ἀναστάτους ποιεῖν. 29 Εὐριπος ἄνθρωπος. ἀπορῶν ὅ τι χρήσαιτο αὐτῷ. ἐνορκον λαβεῖν τινα. τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζων ὑμᾶς.

30 ἀφελών ἄπτεσθαι (τούτου)	37 πυρέττειν ὑποπεπτωκέναι ἀρχή διωρίζεσθαι ἀφοσιοῦν παρεῖς	40 πρῶην ἀλιτήριος 41 ὁμηρεύειν ἀναπέμπεσθαι ἀπηύρα ἀτάσθαλος
35 ἐξάγιτος ἐπάρατος μετελθεῖν ἀρά ἐναγής τέρατα	38 μεσεγγύημα 39 μακράν	42* ἀγαπᾶν *προλαβεῖν ἄρδην
37 πυλαγόρας ἱερομνήμων	40 φιλιππίζειν ἀπαίδευτος	43 διαδικασία

35 τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξίν. 37 αὐτόθεν ἐστηκώς. τέλη πεπραχώς. ἐνῆρκται τὰ κανᾶ. πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης. ἐπὶ διετὲς ἤβῃ. τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας. 38 μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας. διεπράξατο τοῦτο ἐπιψηφισθῆναι. τοὺς αἰεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας. 40 ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή.

45 σπονδαῖα διάνοια ἢ ἀγνωμοσύνη προεδρία φθέγγεσθαι *αἰρεῖν αὐτοσχεδιάζειν (τι)	46 ὦνιος Πάραλοι ὑποτρέχειν τινά ἢ ἵππος χωρεῖν ἐξηρητημένος τι χρυσόκερως ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἀναβάλλειν ὀλίγου δεῖν	46 φορμοῤραφεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι 47 δημοτικός εὐφημία εὐεργεσία δίαιτα ἀσέλγεια ἐπιφέρεσθαι συνοικίζειν ὅστισδήποτε
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43 μισθοφορῶν κεναῖς χώραις. 45 βλέπειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον.
46 εἰς αἰτίαν τινά καταστήσαι. τὰ σπλάγχνα φυλάττειν. τὰ νεῦρα
τῶν πραγμάτων. 47 ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις.

48 πρὸς μητρόσ ἐπικλύζειν τὰ περιβραντήρια	55 ἀντιτιμᾶν παρατεῖσθαι σανίδιον ὑπερπηδᾶν	56 περιγράψατε κείρασθαι κάθαρμα ζηλοτυπεῖν διαχρῶμαι πρόσυδος
50 καταπλύνειν ἄτοπος	56 ἀποτροπή παραναγνῶναι	57 ἐμπληξία
52 ἀναγιγνώσκειν	ἐπανέρεσθαι	58 κέκραγα
53 ἐφικέσθαι τινός	ἄπορος	ἔνατα
55 ἔναυλος οἱ διαπολιτευόμενοι ἀγῶνες τιμητοί	περίστασθαι ἐκτροπή	60 ἐπεισάγειν (δρᾶμα)

48 ἐκφέρειν λόγους. 50 οὐ μὴ ποιήσετε. 55 σιτήσεις—ἐν τῷ
πρυτανείῳ. εἴσειμι γραφήν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον· γραφή εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸ
δικαστήριον. τῇ πρώτῃ ψήφῳ. τὴν ψήφον αἰτεῖ. ὄρκον αἰτεῖ.
ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν τιμῆσιν. οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. 58 οἱ τῆσ
πόλεως ἄλλες.

60 ἀνατιθέναι (τί τινι) ἀδοξία συμπαρακολουθεῖν	64 προκαταλαμβάνειν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ αἱ βεβαιώσεις παρανοίας ἐαλωκέναι	64 παραχωρεῖν ἔρανος 65 ἀποστήσαι
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60 καλῶσ ποιοῦντες. κύκλιοι χόροι. 65 παρ' οὐδέν ἤλθον ἀπο-
κτεῖναι.

T A B L E

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES OF ÆSCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>389</u> 388	97.4	Antipater.	—	ÆSCHINES born.
<u>382*</u> 381	99.3	Evander or Menander.	—	DEMOSTHENES born, about July, 382.— The Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, make war upon Olynthus, and send an army thither, under Phœbidas, in the spring of 382. He takes the Cadmea on his way, for which he is recalled, and Teleutias is sent to take his place, in the spring of 381.
<u>381</u> 380	99.4	{ Demo- philus.	2	Teleutius is conquered and slain before midsummer, and Agesipolis sent out to take the command.
<u>380</u> 379	100.1	Pytheas.	3	Agesipolis dies in midsummer (380), and is succeeded by Polybiades, who takes Olynthus and unites it to the Peloponnesian confederacy, in the spring of 379.
<u>379</u> 378	100.2	Nicon.	4	The Cadmea recovered by the Theban exiles under Pelopidas. Cleombrotus sent out by the Spartan government to reduce the Thebans to subjection again. He returns without succeeding, and leaves Sphodrias in command, who makes an unsuccessful attempt upon the Piræus, which arouses Athens and certain other allies to unite with the Thebans in carrying on what was called the Bœotian war against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus is sent to Bœotia, with a large army, during the summer of 378.
<u>378</u> 377	100.3	{ Nausini- cus.	5	Agesilaus, after some indecisive battles, returns to Sparta, leaving Phœbidas in

* The Attic year commenced in July; hence, according to our mode of reckoning, it included about a half of each of two years.

Æschines.

N

B. C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
$\frac{377}{376}$	100.4	Callias.	6	command, who is conquered and slain by the Thebans. Agesilaus returns, in the spring of 377, and conquers the Thebans at Tanagra. On his way home he falls sick.
$\frac{376}{375}$	101.1	{ Chari- sander.	7	Cleombrotus is again sent out to Bœotia, but with no better success than before.
$\frac{375}{374}$	101.2	{ Hippo- damas or Hippo- damus.	8	Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos (Sept. 376), and Timotheus, after having taken Corcyra and other Lacedæmonian islands and cities, gains another naval victory other them at Alyzia, in June, 375, which restores the naval supremacy to Athens.—Demosthenes left an orphan.
$\frac{374}{373}$	101.3	Socratides.	9	The Lacedæmonians are overcome by the Thebans at Tegyra, in the summer of 375, and Cleombrotus is sent to their aid. This increases the pride of the Thebans and awakens the jealousy of the Athenians, so that they make peace with the Lacedæmonians, and recall Timotheus from Thrace, where he had reduced several cities to subjection to Athens.
$\frac{373}{372}$	101.4	Asteius.	10	Timotheus, on his way home, stops at Zacynthus (in the summer of 374), to reinstate a band of exiles, who had been banished by the oligarchical government of the place, which leads to a renewal of the war between Athens and Sparta. In the mean time the Thebans destroy Plataea (in the summer of 374), and soon after Thespiae and Orchomenus (the latter not till 364). Timotheus is sent to oppose Mnasippus in Corcyra, but, before he sails, is superseded by Iphicrates, who has Callistratus and Chabrias as colleagues.
				Iphicrates reaches Corcyra in the summer of 373, just as Mnasippus had been slain, and carries on the war successfully against Sparta. In the autumn of the same year, Timotheus is tried and acquitted, and leaves to join the king of Persia in the spring of 372.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
$\frac{372}{371}$	102.1	{ Alcisthenes.	11	The Athenians, indignant at the course of the Thebans towards the Bœotian towns, propose a peace with the Lacedæmonians, which is concluded (July, 371) in a common council at Sparta, which the Thebans also attended, but would not sign the treaty, because it required, not only that each of the belligerent parties should disband their forces, but should acknowledge the independence of all the other Grecian cities (they were not willing to acknowledge the independence of the Bœotian towns).
$\frac{371}{370}$	102.2	{ Phrasiclides.	12	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis upon Bœotia, where, twenty days after the peace, he encounters the Thebans under Epaminondas, and is overcome in the famous battle of Leuctra, which gave the Thebans the supremacy of Greece. — Megalopolis founded and Mantinæa restored by the aid of the Thebans, to be the rivals of Lacedæmon in the Peloponnesus.
$\frac{370}{369}$	102.3	{ Dyscinitus.	13	Agesilaus is sent into Arcadia (in the winter of 370) to check the spirit of independence which seemed to be rising there, but returns without having accomplished much. In the same winter, while Pelopidas was assisting the Thessalians against the Macedonians, the Thebans, under Epaminondas, make an expedition into the Peloponnesus to assist their friends there against Agesilaus, but, not meeting him, they invade Laconia and remain there three months. After this they restore Messenia, and return home in the beginning of 369, having been hurried home by the pressure of want and the forces sent by Athens to aid the Lacedæmonians, under Iphicrates. After the Thebans withdraw, the Athenians complete a treaty with the Lacedæmonians against Thebes.
$\frac{369}{368}$	102.4	{ Lysistratus.	14	The Thebans again enter the Peloponnesus; but, as the Lacedæmonians receive aid from Dionysius, they return

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				after a few days (summer of 369).— An unsuccessful embassy from Ariobarzanes, king of Persia, to negotiate a peace between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans.—Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and accession of his oldest son, Alexander, to the throne, by the aid of Iphicrates, who was in those parts on account of Amphipolis.
$\frac{368}{367}$	103.1	{ Nausigives.	15	Archidamnus gains a great victory over the Thebans (367), in consequence of which Pelopidas goes on an embassy to the king of Persia for aid.—Ptolemy Alorites obtains the throne of Macedon, having slain Alexander.
$\frac{367}{366}$	103.2	Polyzelus.	16	After the return of the Persian embassy, Epaminondas makes an expedition into Achaia (366), in order to secure the fidelity of his allies in the Peloponnesus.
$\frac{366}{365}$	103.3	{ Cephisorus.	17	Oropus is wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodorus, and delivered over to Thebes. Callistratus, with Chabrias and others, accused of treason for advising the relinquishing of Oropus, makes that celebrated speech, which first excited Demosthenes to the study of eloquence.—The Athenians and Arcadians form an alliance.—Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen.
$\frac{365}{364}$	103.4	Chion.	18	War between Arcadia and Elis.—Perdiccas, the second brother of Philip, gets possession of the throne of Macedonia, having, by the aid of his mother, destroyed Ptolemy.
$\frac{364}{363}$	104.1	{ Timocrates.	19	War between Arcadia and Elis continued into this year, and battle of Olympia during the games (July, 364).—Demosthenes prosecutes his guardians.—Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Pheræ in a bloody battle, and makes him dependent upon Thebes.—Timotheus takes Torona and Potidæa, opposed by the Macedonians and Olynthians.—War with Perdiccas concerning Amphipolis, which is brought to a close by a truce made by Callisthenes,

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>363</u> <u>362</u>	104.2	{ Charicli- des.	20	which left the place in the power of the Macedonians. Fourth expedition of the Thebans into the Peloponnesus, in which the battle of Mantinea (at which Æschines was present) is fought (June, 362), and Epaminondas slain.
<u>362</u> <u>361</u>	104.3	Molon.	21	The Athenians undertake two expeditions,—one against Alexander of Pheræ, concerning Tenos; the other to Thrace, in support of Miltocythes, who had revolted from Cotys.
<u>361</u> <u>360</u>	104.4	{ Nico- phemus.	22	A general peace among the Greeks, which the Lacedæmonians refuse to enter into, because the Messenians are included.
<u>360</u> <u>359</u>	105.1	{ Callime- des.	23	Timotheus repulsed from Amphipolis by the Olynthians, in whose possession it then was.—Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia; defeats Argæus, the Athenian candidate; declares Amphipolis free, and makes peace with Athens.
<u>359</u> <u>358</u>	105.2	{ Eucha- ristes.	24	Philip subdues the Pæonians and reduces a great part of Illyria under his authority.
<u>358</u> <u>357</u>	105.3	{ Cephiso- dotus.	25	Amphipolis threatened by Philip, and, not being protected by Athens, under the promise that, if he took it, he would restore it to them, is taken by him, soon after the celebrated expedition of the Athenians to Eubœa, to expel the Thebans thence. He soon after took Pydna, also. A war ensued with Philip in consequence, which lasted eleven years.—Near the end of 357, before Amphipolis was taken, the Rhodians, excited by the overbearing conduct of Chares, and urged on by Mausolus of Caria, unite with the Byzantians, Chians, and Coans in revolting from Athens. Thus arose the Social War, which lasted three years.
<u>357</u> <u>356</u>	105.4	{ Agatho- cles.	26	Philip, after taking Amphipolis, takes Potidæa, and, in order to reconcile the Olynthians to his course, presents to them Potidæa.—Death of Chabrias at the siege of Chios.

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>356</u> 355	106.1	Elpines.	27	Iphicrates and Timotheus are sent out with a fleet of sixty ships to join Chares in reducing to obedience the rebellious allies, but are soon after removed from their office, on the accusation of Chares, for refusing to engage the enemy in a storm. Soon after this, Chares, destitute of means to support his fleet, leaves for Asia, and assists Artabazus against the king, in order to replenish his military chest. The Athenians, learning that the king, indignant at this conduct of Chares, was about to send aid to the rebellious allies, make peace with the confederates in the summer of 355.—Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Pæonians, and Illyrians to unite their efforts against him. — Demosthenes makes his speeches against Androtion and Leptines.
<u>355</u> 354	106.2	{ Callistratus.	28	The Social or Phocian War, carried on by the Locrians and Thebans since 356, becomes a general war, and engages most of the Grecian states.— Philip seems to have invaded, during this year, the islands of Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos.
<u>354</u> 353	106.3	Diotimus.	29	Philomelus, the Phocian general, severely beaten by the Thebans, and apprehending that he should not long survive, delivers up the command to his brother Onomarchus. — Demosthenes commences his political career by delivering his oration <i>Περὶ Συμμοριῶν</i> , in which he dissuades the Athenians from undertaking a war against the king of Persia.—In the spring of 353, Philip lays siege to the Macedonian city Methone, which was in alliance with Athens.
<u>353</u> 352	106.4	Eudemus.	30	Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasæ and Magnesia in Thessaly, whither he had been invited by the Thessalians to expel the tyrants of Phæræ and their allies, the Phocians. After succeeding in part, he is repulsed, but, immediately returning with

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
352 351	107.1	{ Aristodemus.	31	a larger army, he effects their complete expulsion, and, in order to transfer the war to Phocis, attempts to pass Thermopylæ, but is prevented by the Athenians (in the spring or summer of 352).—Demosthenes delivers his orations against Timocrates and for the Megalopolitans.
351 350	107.2	Thessalus.	32	War of Lacedæmon and Megalopolis.—Demosthenes (summer of 352) delivers his first Philippic, in order to stir up the Athenians to prosecute the war against Philip more vigorously.—Philip, repulsed from Thermopylæ, enters Thrace and lays siege to Heræum, in order to open the way to Byzantium.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Aristocrates.
350 349	107.3	{ Apollodorus.	33	Demosthenes delivers his speech for the Rhodians.
349 348	107.4	{ Callimachus.	34	While Philip is still occupied in Thrace, Phocion conducts an expedition to Eubœa, in aid of Plutarchus, against the tyrant Clitarchus, and, in the end, ejects Plutarchus for his treacherous conduct.—Demosthenes χορηγός in this year, and delivers his orations against Bœotus and Phormio.
348 347	108.1	{ Theophilus.	35	The Olynthians, who had made peace with the Athenians in 352, threatened with war by Philip, send ambassadors to Athens for aid. Three embassies are sent during the year, either by Olynthus or the Chalcidian towns, and as many armaments sent out by Athens, the first under Chares, the second under Charidemus, and the third of citizen soldiers. It was on these three different occasions that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiacs.
347 346	108.2	{ Themistocles.	36	Philip, having taken most of the Chalcidian towns, takes Olynthus, in the spring of 347.—Demosthenes delivers his oration against Midias.
				The Athenians, having endeavoured in vain to arouse the other Greeks to unite with them in prosecuting the war

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.
			<p>against Philip, and learning that he was desirous of peace, send to him the first embassy (<i>περι ειρήνης</i>) to negotiate for a peace, which returns early in 346. Philip consents to a peace, but improves the time before it is formally made in taking certain northern possessions of Athens. Peace and alliance with Philip are voted at Athens on the 19th of Elaphebolion (March 18th, 346), and on the 22d a second embassy is appointed to obtain the ratification of the treaty from Philip. In the mean time, the ambassadors of the allies which are at Athens (but the Phocians and Cersobleptes had no ambassadors present) sign the treaty, and, as the ambassadors still remain in the city, Demosthenes procures the passage of a decree directing them to perform the embassy with all despatch. Still they do not leave Athens till the 9th of the following month (Munychion), and from various unnecessary delays, by which Philip gets in readiness to pass Thermopylæ in order to finish the Phocian war before the peace is concluded, do not return till about three months from the time of their appointment (Scirophorion 13). About fourteen days after their arrival at Athens, Philip, having passed Thermopylæ and hastened into Phocis, takes possession of the Phocian towns, which is announced at Athens by Dercyllus, who, with others, had lately been sent on an embassy to Philip. The Athenians receive the news with indignation, but refrain from declaring war.</p>
$\frac{346}{345}$	108.3	Archias.	37 Thus the Phocian war is brought to a close, after ten years. At a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, convoked by Philip in the autumn of 346, but which the Athenians, indignant at the course of Philip, refuse to attend, Phocis is doomed to destruction, and Philip elected to fill its place in the

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
345 344	108.4	Eubulus.	38	council. Subsequently the Athenians, when visited by ambassadors from Philip (among whom was Python) and the Thessalians, for the purpose of obtaining their approbation of the measures of the council, at the instance of Demosthenes (Orat. de Pace), acquiesce in them and keep the peace. Philip subdues the rebellious Illyrians ; enters Thessaly to quiet intestine troubles ; and, in order to reduce it to a greater state of obedience, divides it into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men appointed by himself.— Æschines delivers his speech <i>κατὰ Τιμάρχου</i> , being in his 45th year.
344 343	109.1	Lysicus.	39	Philip, having sent aid and encouragement to the Argives and Messenians, that they might make war upon Lacedæmon, and even being upon the point of going to their aid in person, Demosthenes is sent as an ambassador into the Peloponnesus to frustrate his designs.—Demosthenes delivers his second Philippic, on occasion of certain complaints being made against them by Philip and his friends in the Peloponnesus, advising a renewal of the war with Philip. But the Athenians first send an embassy to him, requiring, as a condition of continuing the peace, that he should restore to them and the other states of Greece the places which he had taken during the peace. He promised only the restoration of Halonesus.
343 342	109.2	{ Pythodotus.	40	Philip is frustrated in his attempts upon Megaris by Phocion ; also in Ambracia and Acarnania, by a force despatched thither, and by an embassy, of which Demosthenes was a member, who visited both Ambracia and the Peloponnesus, every where stirring up the Greeks to resist Philip.—Philip attempts to establish tyrants in Eubœa, to the prejudice of Athens. Demosthenes avails himself of the public indignation excited by this event

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
				against Philip and his friends, to prosecute Æschines for treason, on the second embassy to Philip (Orat. de Falsa Legatione). Orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, <i>περὶ Παρὰ-προσβείας</i> : Æschines being assisted by the influence of Eubulus. In the spring of 342, Philip leaves for Thrace, upon what is commonly called his Scythian expedition, and sends ambassadors to Athens complaining of the course of Diopceithes in disturbing his interests and possessions in Thrace, and again offering them Halonesus. Demosthenes, Hegesippus (author of the oration on Halonesus), and others, advise the Athenians not to take as a gift what is their own by right.
$\frac{342}{341}$	109.3	Sosigenes.	41	In the winter of 341, while Philip was passing his tenth month in Thrace, Demosthenes delivers his oration on the Chersonesus, which arouses the Athenians to send ambassadors to Philip, and also to Diopceithes, in order to endeavour to save Cersobleptes and the Chersonesus. They succeed in saving the country, but Cersobleptes is conquered by Philip, and driven from his kingdom to Athens. Philip finally succeeds in establishing the tyrants Clitarchus and Philistides in Eretria and Oreus, having obtained possession of Porthmus through the dissensions of the Eubœans. It was at this time that Demosthenes delivered his third Philippic.
$\frac{341}{340}$	109.4	{ Nicoma- chus.	42	At the instance of Demosthenes, an expedition, under Phocion, is sent into Eubœa to expel the tyrants, and succeeds; for which Demosthenes is publicly crowned by a bill proposed by Aristonicus.—Philip besieges Selymbria.
$\frac{340}{339}$	110.1	{ Theo- phrastus.	43	Philip attacks Perinthus, and lays siege to Byzantium.—Philip ravages the Chersonesus.—The bill of Demosthenes, reforming the trierarchy, is passed.—Æschines sent as Pylagoras

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
<u>339</u> <u>338</u>	110.2	{ Lysimachides.	44	to the Amphictyonic Council ; procures the passage of the decree against the Locrians of Amphissæ, which leads to the Amphictyonic war. The siege of Byzantium being still continued, the Athenians are at length induced by Demosthenes, after the peace had continued ten years, to vote that Philip had violated the peace, and send to the aid of the Olynthians forces under Chares, and afterwards under Phocion, by which Philip was compelled to raise the siege both of Byzantium and Perinthus. The command of the Amphictyonic war is given to Philip, and he takes Elateia in Scirophorion (June, B.C. 338), just before the passage of the decree of Demosthenes for negotiating an alliance with Thebes.
<u>338</u> <u>337</u>	110.3	{ Chæronidas.	45	Embassy of Demosthenes to Thebes, where he succeeds in adding the Thebans to the other allies which he had gained within a few years past for resisting Philip.—Battle of Chæronæa, August, B.C. 338.—Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes, October, B.C. 338.—Æschines lodges his accusation against Ctesiphon with the archon in the following March (B.C. 337), at which time Demosthenes was repairer of the walls of Athens and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes an expedition into the Peloponnesus.
<u>336</u> <u>335</u>	111.1	{ Pythodemos.	47	Murder of Philip, and accession of Alexander at the age of twenty.
<u>335</u> <u>334</u>	111.2	Euænetus.	48	Revolt of Thebes and its destruction by Alexander. The Athenian orators demanded by Alexander.
<u>334</u> <u>333</u>	111.3	Ctesicles.	49	Alexander leaves Greece on an expedition to the East, on which he is absent till his death, in B.C. 323.
<u>330</u> <u>329</u>	112.3	{ Aristophon.	53	Æschines brings on the prosecution of Ctesiphon. The speeches on the Crown. The cause was <i>early</i> in the year, for Æschines had not heard of the death of Darius.—Æschines withdrew to Asia ; resided at Rhodes, and

B.C.	Olymp.	Archon.	Age Dem.	
$\frac{324}{323}$	114.1	Hegesias.	59	taught eloquence there after the death of Alexander.
$\frac{323}{322}$	114.2	{ Cephisodorus.	60	Demosthenes tried for taking a bribe of Harpalus, a refugee from Alexander, is condemned, and retires to Trœzene and Ægina.
$\frac{322}{321}$	114.3	Philocles.	61	Demosthenes, in banishment, joins the embassy sent out from Athens to stir up the Greeks to another effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and, when it has completed its circuit, is recalled to Athens.
$\frac{314}{313}$	116.3	Nicodorus.	—	This effort at resistance proving unsuccessful, Demosthenes is pursued by the agents of Antipater, governor of Macedonia during the absence of Alexander in the East, and being overtaken in the temple of Poseidôn, in the island of Calaura, puts an end to his life by poison.
				Death of Æschines (if he lived to the age of seventy-five).

THE END.

