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THE FIRST THREE

PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL,

BY

SAMUEL WOODS, M. A.,

HEAD MASTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, KINGSTON.

TORONTO:

ROLLO & ADAM,

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TO THE
REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO,
THIS VOLUME
IS INSCRIBED BY ONE WHO
GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES
HIS MANY OBLIGATIONS TO HIM
BOTH AS
PRESIDENT AND AS PROFESSOR.

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PREFACE.

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In presenting the present edition of the First Three Philippic orations of Demosthenes, a few words of explanation, and some general observations are deemed necessary. The text is with few exceptions that of the Third Edition of W. DINDORF published in 1864, and embodying the latest researches into the various manuscripts and editions of the author. The very small number of instances in which any departure has been made, is authorized by the names of BEKKER, SCHÆFER, WOLF and REISKE.

In the preparation of the notes I have made use of the labours of previous editors, and have taken great care to append to every selected note the name of the editor to whom it is due. If any instances occur in which this has been overlooked, the fault is to be attributed to my inadvertence, and not to any desire of appropriating the labours of others as my own. The Chronological Table has been carefully compiled, and no event has been given unless a conviction of its correctness was fully felt. In this part of the work great use was made of the histories of Greece by GROTE and THIRLWALL. The events of the life of Demosthenes with the list of Archons, the parallel years, and the dates of the speeches are taken from the edition of DINDORF above mentioned.

It will be seen that in the Notes and Introductions the references are given by page to the edition of REISKE,

which is the plan of reference now almost universally adopted. For various reasons I did not care to do otherwise, and at the end of the book I have added a table of parallel pages in order to facilitate the references to the present edition. ~~No life of Demosthenes~~ has been considered necessary, and many of the proper names have been entirely passed over, and others only partially touched upon. So many excellent works on History; Mythology, and Geography are now in the hands of University Students, that it would only have been burdening the notes with matter which can easily be obtained elsewhere. The references to parallel readings and forms of expressions in other authors have been made with great care, and it is hoped will be found generally correct. However in the great number of them some errors have doubtless remained, and for these an ample apology is offered.

It only remains for me to convey my sincere thanks to the friends who aided me in the preparation of the present work. To the President of University College I am especially indebted for his kindness in placing the University Library at my disposal; to the Hon. A. Campbell for allowing me the use of the Parliamentary Library; to the Rev. J. Ambery, M.A., of Trinity College, and W. H. Vandersmissen, Esq., B.A., of University College, whose care in revising the press has contributed so much to the general accuracy of the Notes; and to the Rev. Prof. Mowat, of Kingston, for many acts of kindness.

SAMUEL WOODS.

EARL STREET, Kingston.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
385-4 1	98.4	Dexitheus.	Demosthenes born according to the Pseudo-Plutarch in the <i>Lives of the Ten Attic Orators</i> , p. 845. D. The son of Demosthenes, the Pæanian and Cleobule daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Evander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdicaas. The Cadmeia seized by Phœbidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phœbidas recalled, and Teleutias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Teleutias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated.
381-0	99.4	Demophilus.	Agessipolis sent out to succeed Teleutias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380 } 379 }	100.1	Demophilus.	The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful he returns, leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
378-7	100.3	Nausinicus.	A new valuation at Athens for Taxes. Sphodrias recalled, and Agesilaus succeeds; he ravages the Boeotian territory for some time until Chabrias and Gorgidas defeat him at Thespiae. He returns and Phoeidas succeeds, who is slain soon after by the Thebans.
387-6	100.4	Callias.	The father of Demosthenes died, leaving a widow, and Demosthenes, seven, and a sister, five years of age. The guardians were Aphobus, Demophon and Therippides, to each of whom legacies were left. Battle of Tanagra, in which Agesilaus defeats the Thebans. The Sacred Band of 300 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	101.1	Charisander	In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Demosthenes is carefully trained in his rudimentary education, and acquires the nickname of <i>Batalus</i> . Demetrius Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter ϕ . Chabrias conquers the Lacedaemonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Aegean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Coreyræ to renew the treaty with Athens.
375-4	101.2	Hippodamas	Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegyra, and routs the Spartans; Cleombrotus again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Coreyræ which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the

373-2	101.4	Astias.	islands of the Ægean. Mnasippus the Spartan general lands in Corcyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corcyra, and Cephalonia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespieæ shares the same fate.
372-1	102.1	Alcisthenes.	Shortly after the death of Mnasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Corcyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Acarnania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia. Athens being enraged with Thebes on account of the treatment of the cities of Thespieæ and Plataea, sends ambassadors to conclude a peace with Sparta. Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.
371-0	102.2	Phrasiclides.	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Boeotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Phæræ having arrived a few days after the battle advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Pammenes advises the Acadians to build a city, and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in Peloponnesus.
370 } 369 }	102-3	Dysnicetus.	Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Phæræ, intending to march into Delphi, and pre- side at the Pythian games, is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphron succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilaus; ravage the country and then retire. The Thebans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	Arcadians, and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish; the latter retire, and enter Messenia, where the city of Messena is founded, and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there, and returns to Thebes. The Lacedæmonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Alenadæ invoke the aid of Alexander of Macedon, who puts garrisons in Larissa and Crannon, but is recalled into Macedonia by some intrigues. Ptolemy of Alorus, having slain Alexander, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, but the third year afterwards is murdered by Perdiccas, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry, enters Achaia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phœra, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and bend they unite with the Athenians and Corinthians. Epaminondas forces their lines, and having attacked Corinth is repulsed by Chabrias and returns home. Pelopidas visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phœra. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states. Aristotile visits Athens. Aphobus having divorced the mother of Demos-
368-7	103.1	Nausigenes.	
367-6	103.2	Polyzelus.	

366-5	103.3	Cephisodorus.	thenes, marries the daughter of Philonides, the sister of Onetor, in the last month of 367. About this time Demosthenes applies himself to the study of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Philus make a separate peace with Thebes.
365-4	103.4	Chion.	Oropus wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodorus and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achæans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.
364-3	104.1	Timocrates.	Ptolemy is slain by Perdicas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages; they are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace. Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech <u>contra Onetorem</u> , against and Aphobus is fined ten talents which he is unable to pay. The other guardians are then attacked by law. Sparta assists the Eleans against Arcadia. The battle of Olympia is fought during the game by the Arcadians, who attempted to exclude the Eleans from the control of the Games. The Arcadians are defeated. Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Phæræ, and makes him dependent upon Thebes. Callisthenes commander of the Athenian fleet on the coast of Macedonia is superseded by Timotheus, who takes Torone and Potidæa. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdicas and Athens, ended by the truce of Callisthenes which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phæræ besieges Peparethus,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	and attacks some of the <i>Ægean Islands</i> ; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica, and plunders the Piræus. Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Peloponnesus; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Messenia.
363-1	104.3	Molon.	Timotheus captures Sestus, Orithote, and Eleus, in the Chersonese; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Phere, and another to Thrace, to co-operate with Mitrocythes, who revolted from Cotys; Cotys amuses them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Mitrocythes.
361-0	104.4	Nicophemus.	Samos capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the Athenian orator, banished. Messene recognized by Sparta.
360 } 359 }	105.1	Callimedes.	Timotheus and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated, owing to the arrival of succor from Macedonia. Cotys captures Sestus. Perdiccas is slain in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedon. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Argæus supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matters with Pausanias and Cotys.
359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀμμοσθένης ὁ πῆρσις ἐγγραφέτης</i> . Philip subdues the Pæonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake Lychnidus. Cotys lays siege to Crithote and Eleus, but is soon after mur-

dored, and leaves three sons, Amadocus, Berisades and Corsobleptes. The latter is slain into three parts. Chastamius defeats the Athenians.

dered, and leaves three sons, Amadocus, Berisades and Cersobleptes. The kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.

358-7 105.3 Cephisodotus.

Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Pheræ assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out; Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Euboea to expel the Thebans.

357-6 105.4 Agathocles.

The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general, Chabrias. The Thebans obtain an Amphictyonic decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Sacred War. Philip takes Potidea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmenio conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the nine district of Pangeus, and establishes Philippi on the site of the site of Isocrates, *De Pace*. Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.

356-5 106.1 Elphines.

Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares with sixty ships are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Chares accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the Aegean. Chares having no supplies hires his army to Artabazus the Persian satrap in revolt, and obtains large rewards. The King enraged at the Athenians is about to aid the allies, when Athens makes peace with them in the summer of 356.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
356-5	106.1	Elphines.	Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paonians and Illyrians to unite against him.
355-4	106.2	Callistratus.	In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against <i>Androtion</i> , and against <i>Leptines</i> . DION. HAL. p. 724. Philomelus the Phocian general seizes the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedæmon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thesalians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos. Corcyra revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphicrates brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies.
354-3	106.3	Diotimus.	Demosthenes <i>περὶ τῶν Συμφορῶν</i> , in which he advises the Athenians not to disturb the existing peace with Persia, and not to begin war before they prepare a naval force; and he explains how it is to be done. His first speech in political life. Philomelus is attacked by the Thebans, largely reinforced, in the defiles of Parnassus; and to prevent himself falling into the hands of the enemy throws himself from a high rock. Onomarchus succeeds him, and the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
353-2	106.4	Thudemos.	The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by DINDORF, and also <i>Pro Megalopolitanis</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasæ and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Pheræ and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by the arrival of an Athenian force. Onomarchus takes Thronium, invades

352-1	107.1	Aristodemus.	Boeotia, and is defeated at Chéronœa. War is declared against Megalopolis by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his queen Artemisia. First Philippi, and oration against <i>Aristocrates</i>. In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and the plundering of the Athenian coast. Philip after his repulse at Thermopylæ, retreats towards Thrace; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Heræum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon, and Messene; the Spartans thus oppressed and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Boeotia, and is defeated by the Thebans.
351-0	107.2	Thessalus.	Demosthenes <i>De Lib. Rhodiorum</i>. Phayllus overruns the country of the Epicnemidian Locrians; and after another battle with the Boeotians at Aryca dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalæcus. The Rhodians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians remonstrate with Philip for retaining Pagasæ and Magnesia. Phalæcus invades Boeotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>περὶ Βοιωτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδράγατος</i>.
350 } 349 }	107.3	Apollodorus.	Demosthenes <i>ὅτι ἐπὶ Φωκυλάωνος</i>. Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamynæ, expels Cleitarchus, and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year.
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	The three Olynthian Orations. The Olynthians, having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers goes to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the Chal-

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	cidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself. Demosthenes one of the 500 this year. In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthycrates. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to <i>DEM.</i> <i>de FALS. LEG.</i>, 4,000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 trimemes. The Oration against <i>Meidias</i> is stated by some authors to have been delivered this year. Phalaecus is deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually languishes. Philip celebrates his triumph over Olynthus at Diium in Pieria. Philip, invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complies towards the end of the following year. Æschines, as envoy to Peloponnesus, addresses the <i>Ten Thousand</i> at Megalopolis. Others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedon, but are all equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace first was entertained probably through some indirect hints of Philip, and the Eubœans still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Nicæa and Alponus under the charge of Athens, if they would assist them in resisting Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians, fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phœræ, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and
348-7	108.1	Theophilus.	
347-6	108.2	Themistocles.	

captured several of the Phocian towns. The Athenians become alarmed, and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.

The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his *De Pace* advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.

Colonies sent to the Chersonese, under Diopithes, by Athens. Philip harasses the Illyrians and Thessalians, and divides the latter country into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men nominated by himself. Python comes to Athens from Philip in the spring of 344 to complain of the embassy to Peloponnesus. Philip sends aid to the Argives and Messenians. Halonesus taken possession of by pirates under Sostratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.

In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the *Second Philippic*, urging the Athenians to renew the war against Philip. They decree to send an embassy requiring him to deliver up to the states of Greece all his conquests, which, with the exception of Halonesus, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.

The speech, *de Haloneso*, delivered in this year, which is now ascribed to Demosthenes, but according to the best critics was delivered by Hegesippus the leader of the embassy to Philip mentioned under the last year. Philip states his claims, which are unreasonable. Phocion sent to Megara, to oppose Philip; forces and an embassy sent to Acarnania to thwart him there; in both cases unsuccessfully. Philip makes attempts upon Euboea to

346-5 108.3 Archias.

345-4 108.4 Eubulus.

344-3 109.1 Lyciscus.

343-2 109.2 Pythodotus.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
343-2	109.2	Pythodotus.	establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of the odium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses <i>Aschines</i>, in his oration, <i>De Falsa Legatione</i>, of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up <i>Halonesus</i> to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take <i>Halonesus</i> as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued. Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration <i>De Rebus Chers.</i> in the winter of 341, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers Teres the king of the country, and expels <i>Cersobleptes</i>, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches towards the <i>Propontis</i>, and at the same time his allies become successful in <i>Euboea</i>, and establish <i>Cleitarchus</i> and <i>Plutarchus</i> as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his <i>THIRD PHILIPPIC</i>. The Athenian cornships intended for the relief of <i>Selymbria</i> are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i>, of the Athenians. The tyrants expelled from <i>Euboea</i> by <i>Phocion</i>, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures <i>Selymbria</i>, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i> (not genuine) is placed by <i>Dionysius</i>.
341-0	109.4	Nicomachus.	<i>Perinthus</i> attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches against <i>Byzantium</i>. Demosthenes carries his bill for reforming the trierarchy,
340 } 339 }	110.1	Theophrastus.	

now nearly thirteen years since he had indirectly proposed it. *Æschines* having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian *Pylagoræ* accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.

Aid voted to Byzantium at Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Athens, and Chares is sent to assist them. They refuse to receive him in the city, and Phocion is substituted. Demosthenes induces the Athenians to vote that Philip had broken the peace, and they send aid to Olynthus, thereby causing him to raise the siege and return home. He is given the command against the Locrians, and advancing towards them captures *Elateia*. Demosthenes carries a law authorizing a treaty with Thebes a few days before.

Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Python to become allies of Athens. The war then commences. Chares defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at *Charoneia*, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general *Lysicles* to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia.

Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by *Æschines*. Philip having sent *Parmenio* and *Attalus* into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries *Cleopatra*.

Philip while celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Epirus at Edessa is murdered by *Pausanias*, and Alexander succeeds in his twentieth year. Active measures taken to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and embassies sent to all Greece, and to *Attalus* in Asia to revolt from Alexander.

339-8 110.2 Lysimachides

338-7 110.3 Chæronidas.

337-6 110.4 Phrynichus.

336-5 111.1 Pythodemos.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemus.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
335-4	111.2	Euænetus.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Ctesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Æschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Æschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
334-3	111.3	Ctesicles.	Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable flies to Megara, and thence to Trozene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demopheles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	
323-2	114.2	Oephisodorus	

322-1 | 114.3 | Philocles.

After various skirmishes, in one of which Leosthenes is defeated and slain, Antipater meets the allied army at Crannon, and gains a victory which is rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ, are there put to death. But Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison, and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B. C., 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription :

Εἴπερ ἴσῃν βόμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενης, εἶχες,
οὐποτ' ἀν' Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἀργυ Μακεδόν.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemus.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes.
335-4	111.2	Euænetus.	Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
334-3	111.3	Otesicles.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon.
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	The decree of Otesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Æschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Æschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable flies to Megara, and thence to Trozene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
323-2	114.2	Oephisodorus	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demopheles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.

322-1 | 114.3 | Philocles.

After various skirmishes, in one of which Leosthenes is defeated and slain, Antipater meets the allied army at Crannon, and gains a victory which is rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ, are there put to death. But Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison, and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B. C., 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription:

Εἴπερ τὴν βίωμην γνώμη, Δημόσθεves, εἶχες,
οὐκ οὐκ ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδόν.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Boeotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
335-4	111.2	Euaenetus.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Otesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Aeschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Aeschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
334-3	111.3	Otesicles.	Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable flies to Megara, and thence to Trezene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demopheles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	
323-2	114.2	Oephisodorus	

322-1 | 114.3 | Philoetes.

After various skirmishes, in one of which Leosthenes is defeated and slain, Antipater meets the allied army at Crannon, and gains a victory which is rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ, are there put to death. But Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison, and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B. C., 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription :

Ἐπερ ἴσῃν βίωμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενης, εἶχες,
οὐ ποτ' ἀν' Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

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ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

decs - dec. i:

προϋτίθετο, ὡ ἄνδρες

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ΤΠΘΕΣΙΣ.

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τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσήκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούονσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησκόμενοις, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὥς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσασθε ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερόν οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἷον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατέετε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὑβρεὶ τούτου, δι' ἣν ταρατόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρήν, εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἵχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν καὶ Ποτιδαίαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τούτον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἔθνων αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταῦτα ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτεχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἐπράξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παρούσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ χρῆσάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὥς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ

δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ
 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι
 παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἅ χοή. ἂν τοῖνυν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσῃτε
 γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ ^{καὶ} ~~πρότερον~~ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν,
 οὐ δει καὶ δύναται ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,
 πᾶσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἑτοιμὸς πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν
 χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνε-
 λόντι δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσῃτε γενέσθαι καὶ
 παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ
 πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομι-
 εῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατέρρα^{σαν} ὑμῆμενα πάλιν ἀναλήψ-
 εσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ
 τὰ παρόντα πεπηγῆναι πράγματα ἄθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις
 ἐκεῖνον καὶ δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
 πάννυ νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ
 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου
 χρή νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν,
 οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυ-
 μίαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φῆμι δεῖν ἤδη. ὁράτε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, αἷ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος, ὃς
 οὐδ' αἶρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός
 ἐστίν ἔχων ἅ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι
 προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλω πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ
 καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 πότε ἅ χρῆ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δί'
 ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ
 μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιιώντες
 αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι και-
 νότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

εἰπε

Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί, ἀλλ' ἀσθε-
νεῖ. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως
ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην
τοσοῦτον ἐπηρύξεται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι
καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἥπερ
αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῦμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξε-
ργάσαιτο ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι
τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὥς δὲ
νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύ-
ναισθ' ἂν, ἀπρητημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαῖς.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν
ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύο-
μαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν
τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον,
καὶ πόρους οὐστinas χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα
καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσσομαι λέ-
γειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ
ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρόξερρον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ'
ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ φινι καὶνὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν
με φὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω, οὐ γὰρ οἱ φαχὺ καὶ φήμερον εἰπόν-
τες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν φὰ γε ἤδη γεγενη-
μένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσθαι δυνηθείημεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δείξη-
ις πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνησε-
ται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώ-
μεθα φῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν
κακῶς. οἶμαι φοῖνον ἐγὼ φαῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις
ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται φι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη,
φὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἤδη τὸν ἐλεγχον δώσει· κρίνατε δ' ὑμεῖς ἐσεσθε.

Πρῶτον μὲν φοῖνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φριγέρις πενή-
κοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἰφ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω φας γνώ-
μας ἔχειν ὥς, εἰάν τι δέη, πλεονστέον εἰς φαύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν.

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγούς τριήρεις
 καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν
 ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαιρέτης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ
 στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι
 βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ζούτῳ ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστήναι, ὥς
 ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ
 πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλάρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόην
 εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιή-
 σαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἢ
 ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς — εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·
 εἰσὶ γὰρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 πλείους τοῦ δέοντος — ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παριδὼν ταῦτα ἀφύλακ-
 τος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς αὐτος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν
 ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημι
 δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευασθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
 δυνάμιν τινα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημι προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν
 ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ
 μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους
 ταύτας δυνάμεις ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, κἂν ὑμεῖς ἓνα κἂν
 πλείους κἂν τὸν δεῖνα κἂν ὄντικόν χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγόν,
 τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφήν ταύτῃ πορίσαι
 κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν
 τροφήν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐβελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ'
 ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως
 μὴ ποιήσετε ὁ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἐβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομί-
 ζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν
 αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε. ἀλλὰ τὰ
 μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω
 φαίνεται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τού-
 των δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημι δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος
 ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατεύομένους,
 μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-

χῆς ἀλλήλοις. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ
τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίους.
τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατειο-
μένους· καὶ ἱππαγωγούς τούτοις. εἰεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι;
ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δει γάρ, ἔχοντες ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ
ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλὴν· πόθεν
δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ
δείξω, ἐπειδὴν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

23 Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν-
νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῃ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ
λυστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι
τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτὴν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθός.
οὐδὲ τροφή, οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ
παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ'
ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Πολύστρατος
ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοὺς
ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους
παραταπτόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ'
ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται,
τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ
δέοντος ἰγέγονασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλε-
μον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχθὶ μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὃ
δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, ἐκέρως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα
μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατη-
γοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰ-
κείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαν-
τας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ
ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Δί' οὐχ
ἡμεῖς γε, εἵποιτ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν, οὐκ ἐχείροτο-
νεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλ-
άρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἐνός

ἄνδρὸς, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποίων· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἄρχῃν, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι ἵν' ᾗν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Αἰμικὸν τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχὸν δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾗ.

Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσθαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω· χρήματ' αὖτε τοίνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνενήκοντα, κατὰ μικρὸν τι πρὸς δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναυὶ μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαύτ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππέεσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἂν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν, οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. καγὼ δὲ συμπλέων ἐβελοντῆς πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἂν μὴ ταυτ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ ἴσος τῶν χρημάτων. ἂ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι κἀν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολέμῃτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πόλεμείτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἑτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι.] δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμονμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν, ὑπεριούμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥᾶδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος κατατάξας ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλεύσεται· ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δυνάμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατήγου τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμῇ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον· εἰς Λήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολέτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιῳ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων

τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῇσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτήν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τε ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὄσῃ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδααν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιάρθρωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκώπουμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκούντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἃς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἴομεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἰαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὃ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ο Λ Α Ι.

Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ μὲν ἔστι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅσα ἂν τις υπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα υπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ' ἢ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται.

αἰσχρόν ἐστι φενακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους
 ἂν ἢ δυσχερῇ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο
 δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ
 ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν
 πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥστε τῶν στρατευμάτων
 ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράτ-
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάλλοντα ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς δ',
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριή-
 ρεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι
 τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδενὸς
 δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πικτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν
 Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς αἰεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται,
 κὰν ἐτέρωστέ πατάξῃ τις ἐκεῖσέ εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι
 δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἂν ἐν
 Χερρόνῃσιν πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, ἐὰν
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί που, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω,
 καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖ
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορ-
 ᾶτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἂν ἡ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε.
 ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνὶ νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἡκεῖ τὴν
 ἀκμὴν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος τὴν
 φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἂ
 κατέστραπται καὶ προεἰλήφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνλοῖς ὑμῶν ἅν μοι δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρὴν
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστὰ ὠφληκότες ἂν ἤμεν δημο-
 σία. νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν αἰεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε.
 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μίγ' ἐνθυμείται μίττε ὀργίζε-
 ται, ὀρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου
 γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευ-

τὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει. εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενόμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δέινος ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρεϊ γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευρόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορμούμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνων πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθα οἴκοι, λουιδροῦνμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτωμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναπσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα παρῇ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψῃτε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνασι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναι ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε ὅτι ἂν τύχῃτε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ πρὸςδοκᾶν;

Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξῃτε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγούμενων καὶ δικαστὰς οἰκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνῃς ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδριποδιτῶν καὶ λυποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος. κακούργου μὲν γὰρ ἔστι κρι-

θάντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δεῖ οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μ' ἔλπει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολλὸν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν τίνα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὖρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, κὰν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν τε ἀγγινώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοῦσόν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἡδίων εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὔσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἂν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῆν δ' ὅ τι πάσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

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ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παραινεῖ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεῦν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐ τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον· ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιᾶται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησὶν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἥκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἥκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεύσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἔπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλουμένοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον εὖνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εὖνοι μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφῆνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι διημαρτήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἥλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατήσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελίαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ᾗν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέριαν πεποιηκότας ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην

θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιμόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλαττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσάντων ὀρώντα καὶ τοὺς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' οὕτω προαίρεῖσθαι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μ' ἔλπει ποιεῖν ἐκείνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὖρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν τε ἂν γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοῦσόν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὔσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαντῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἂν πράξετε, ταῦτα πεπεισθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

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ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Παραινεῖ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὖ τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον· ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησὶν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἤκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πῶθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεύσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἔπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλομένοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον εὖνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εἶνοι μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφῆνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι διημαρτήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἠλπίσαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατηῆσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελίαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκίας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην

αἰνίττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὥς φασι, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Όταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνονται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιβουλευόντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρῆ ποιεῖν συμβουλευῆσαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν, ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐχὶ λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέσταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δὲ, ὥς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξέρχομεθα. ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὥς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντός ἄλλου συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκευάσθε, ὥς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶ νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ὑμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἔτι πορρωτέρῳ λήσῃ πάντας ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντάραι δυνησόμεθα, αὐχὸς αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλευέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγον-

σιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώζοντα τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρῆε ὁρῶν ἡλικὸς ἦδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον φέρεω τούτῳ τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω, καὶ δεσθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχείων, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἢ ἂν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ θαρρῶντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθήσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέσθῃ; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἂ Ὀθηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἂ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προεῖλετο. τί δήποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, εἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ὀθηβαίους ἡγείτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἴσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτ' ὑπειληφώς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνῃ τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χέριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναιαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπεῖληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἐτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὀρών, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὐρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνίκ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλησι σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὄρᾳ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὐσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὗρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαια νομίξειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ

μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ἐπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ
 λογοποιοῦσι περιμόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἑλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα
 μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις
 δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ
 μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει
 καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστὶ προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν
 ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναίρει, οὓς δ' ἀπώ-
 λησεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα
 πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ
 τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὔτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε
 Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'
 γὰρ ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κακείνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς ἐστὶ ποιήσας.
 ἐκ πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ
 τῆς πόλεως συντάττων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν'
 αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται,
 τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέιληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολλὴν
 ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ. οἷς γὰρ
 οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται.
 εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προείτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἶκοι μένειν
 βεβαίως ἡγήτο. ἀμφοτέρω οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβου-
 λεύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρώξυνται,
 πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθάσῃ
 ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ
 πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς
 ταῦτά βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα
 ἀγαπήσειν οἶεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ'
 οὐδὲν προύψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῇ
 παραδείγματ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς
 Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν εἰρησθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνιοί, δυσχερῶς

ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἰ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ'
 ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφίει
 ἥς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο,
 Ποτίδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλὼν, καὶ
 τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῆρθε, τὴν χώραν
 δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκεν καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾷ αὐτοὺς τοι-
 αῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεύσαι οἰεσθε;
 ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπῷ
 σάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχροῦς
 ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ'
 ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ
 πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ εἰναι ὁμιλῖαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί;
 ἄρ' οἶεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν
 Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾷ τὴν καθεστῶσαν
 νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν
 ἀποδόντι τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρησέσθαι;
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν
 εἶδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον
 θεωρεῖτε Φιλίππον, ἐξηπατηκῶτα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον
 ἀπευχέσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δὴ, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἔφην
 ἐγὼ, παντοδαπα εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σω-
 τηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τεῖχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα
 τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειροποιήτα, καὶ δαπά-
 νης προσδεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων
 ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτηρίον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ
 σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους.
 τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντεχ-
 εσθε· ἂν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖ;
 ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἰτ' οὐχ ὁράτε Φιλίππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας
 ταύτη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος
 ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως,
 ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῇναι δεσπότην εὐρητε;

Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ ^{αὐθιγὰ}θορυβούντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγε-
ται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν ^{ἀντιβάντων}πρεσβέων καὶ
παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὑστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
^{ἀποσπένοντες}ἀποσχέσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται.
καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ^{ἀποσπένοντες}ἀποσπένοντες, εἰ ^{Μεσσηνίου}Μεσσηνίου καὶ ^{Πελοποννησίων}Πελοποννησίων
τινὲς παρ' ἡμῶν βέλτισθ' ὀρώσι τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ'
εἰ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ ^{συνιέντες}συνιέντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες
ἡμῶν ὡς ^{ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι}ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ὡς ^{περιστοιχίζεσθαι}περιστοιχίζεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν
ἤδη ποιεῖν λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομεινάντες. οὕτως
ἡ ^{παραντίχ' ἡδονή}παραντίχ' ἡδονὴ καὶ ^{ῥαστώνη}ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὑστερον
συνόισεῖν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν ^{πρακτέων}πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑστερον
βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν ^{σωφρονήτε}σωφρονήτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ
δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Α Π Ο Κ Ρ Ι Σ Ι Σ .

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὧ ^{ἀνδρες}ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας
τὰς ^{ὑποσχέσεις}ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ^{ἐπεισθῆτε}ἐπεισθῆτε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα ^{πρεσβεύειν}πρεσβεύειν, οὐτ' ἂν
ὑμεῖς οἴδ' ὅτι ^{ἐπαύσασθε}ἐπαύσασθε ^{πολεμοῦντες}πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξει,
τυχόντ' εἰρήνης Φιλίππον ^{ᾤεσθε}ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ ^{τοῦτων}τοῦτων ἀφ' ὧν
τηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα· καὶ πάλιν γ' ἑτέρους καλεῖν· τίνας;
τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυῖας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ^{ὑστερας}ὑστερας ἡκων
πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, ^{αἰσθόμενος}αἰσθόμενος ^{φενάκιζομένην}φενάκιζομένην τὴν
πόλιν, ^{προὔλεγον}προὔλεγον καὶ ^{διεμάρτυρομένην}διεμάρτυρομένην καὶ οὐκ εἶων ^{προῖσθαι}προῖσθαι
Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως
ὀστροπος καὶ ^{δυσκολός}δυσκολός εἰμι τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ
εὐχαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ^{παρέλθῃ}παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ
Πλαταιᾶς ^{τείχεα}τείχεα, Θηβαίους δὲ ^{παντοῖ}παντοῖ τῆς ὑβρεως, Χερρόνησον
δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ^{τέλεσι}τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄρωπὸν
ἅψ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ
βήματος ἐνταυθὶ ^{μνημονεύει}μνημονεύει· οἴδ' ὅτι ^{ρηθέντα}ρηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ
δακνοὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας ^{μεμνήσθαι}μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων ^{αἰσχιστον}αἰσχιστον,

h. anglic
 χρημ' ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη-
 σεν. ταῦτ' οὖν ^{μεν} ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς εἰρήται, ὡς δ' ^{ἀντιεξετάσθαι}
 ἀντιεξετάσθαι μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὃ πάντες θεοί·
 οὐδένα γὰρ βουλομένην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-
 λέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑπο-
 σχεῖν.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

*Α*πλὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις· Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν
 εἰρήνην ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθη-
 ναίοις ὁ ρήτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου
 μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Πολλῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας
 ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι
 τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκείνος παύσεται
 τῆς ὑβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ
 πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὁρῶ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον
 μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ
 παριόντες καὶ χεῖρον εἶναι ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ
 πράγμαθ' ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν δια-
 θῆναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τοῦ ταύθ' οὕτως ἔχειν,
 καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται, μάλιστα

δ', ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μάλ-
 λον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκимоῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα
 φυλάττοντες εὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν,
 οἴκουν οὐδ' ὑμᾶς οἰοῦνται δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται
 καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράτ-
 τειν ὃ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθειαι μὲν
 εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷται δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.
 ἀξιώ δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας
 λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι.
 σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδέ. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
 οὕτω κοινὴν οἰεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε καὶ
 τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς
 ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ὑμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὃ τι
 βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων,
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. Ὡς οὖν ὑμῖν
 συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ
 κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡδὴ κινδυνεύειν.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δ' ἂ
 συμφέροι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσεται ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν.
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνν φαύλως τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται,
 ὁμῶς ἔστιν, ἔαν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ' ἔτι πάντα
 ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὃ
 μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ. τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι,
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ
 τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούν-
 των ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂ προσ-
 ἦκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι.
 βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥάθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελ-

είας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἥτησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κέκίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ῥῆστα αὐτὸν ἀμννούμεθα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως ἐνιοὶ διακινεῖται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὥς ἡμῶν τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὥς ἀμννούμεθα γράψας τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιθέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, ἐν ᾧ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν· δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεύθεν ἀρξώμαι, φημί ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιώ· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ νομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκείνος πάντα τὰλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσθαι.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποιήκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν

γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπεν
 ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ
 αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν
 αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς
 ἀπολογησομένους· τούτῳ δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους
 ἐπορευέτο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ
 πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤρριζον πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσι-
 τελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον, καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρώην ὡς
 φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβὼν, καὶ
 τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς τालαιπύροις Ὠρείταις τουτοιοῖς ἐπισκεψομέ-
 νους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πυν-
 θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς
 συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καί-
 ροις παρῆναι. εἴτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἷ' ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν
 κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν
 αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προῤ-
 ῥήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταυτ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε ;
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ'
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνός ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι,
 καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο,
 οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ
 τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὧ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν
 ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ
 πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν ; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιπ-
 πος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγωνίας, οὕτω Διοπιθεῖους
 στρατηγούντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησῳ νῦν ἀπέσταλ-
 μένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερ-
 ρεῖου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ
 ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί

ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὤμωμόκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἶπη, τί δὲ ταύτ' ἔστιν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ γὰρ μικρά ταῦτά ἐστιν, ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἶη λόγος οὗτος. τὸ δ' εὖσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παρὰβαίη, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἥνικ' εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτον δέω ταῦτα ποιῶντα ἐκείνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραγνίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιῶντα λύειν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε. ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθεῖην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξένη. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαίτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τὰκείνου φρονῆσαι. εἰτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἀμύνησθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσκειν φημι, εἰ δ' ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων ὥστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρόνησου νῦν σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι, καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται, ἀποστέλλαι, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστῶτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς

ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἢ, ἐὰν μὲν ὀρθῶς λογίζωμαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσῃσθε, ἐὰν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖτις ὥς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ἤρξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἓνα οὕτως περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδικομένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασιν καὶ παρελθούσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃ τι ἡδικοῦμεθ' ὑπ' ἑλλή-

λων, ὅμως ὑπερ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἐωφώμεν, πολεμεῖν φόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ δακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνους ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάχιστά ἐστιν, ἃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βραχέος λόγου ῥᾶδιον δεῖξαι. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἔω, ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ἐκικήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφύτων παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύσω; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει "ἐμοὶ "δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους;" καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἥλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσε πρῶην, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τάνθρωπον. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωυγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δέοντων πράξαι ἀνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορώμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ

περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῇ πάνι πόρῳ δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἄγνοεὶ δῆπου. καὶ μὴν κάκείνῳ γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονὼς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς, μήδ' ὀρθῶς κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὦν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δούλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησίν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι.

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ πόλει ἀνηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγνοοθετήσαντες πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρόδων ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἅπασι μέτεστι; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολεμεῖσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλόντας τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν, τύραννον Φιλοστίδην καταστήσαντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχείρων. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς

⁹ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχα-
τόν ἐστιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευ-
κάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παρα-
δώσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχῦον ἀφήρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ
Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ
τάλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνῃσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρ-
δίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλα-
κίζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες
ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν
ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἑναὶ ἡμῶν
ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσῃν;

Τί οὖν αἷτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας
αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοίμως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἅπαν-
τες οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαῖς, ὃ νῦν
οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἤγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς
μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττατο, νῦν δ' ἂπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύ-
μανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγ-
ματα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ'
ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν αἰεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν
τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ
χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρία
μεγίστη τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ
συγγνώμη. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν
ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ
τοῖς μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει
πραττόντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ
τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους ὁμόνοϊαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιούτων οὐδέν. νῦν δ'

ἀπανθ' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγαθᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται
 δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ἧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς.
 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, ἂν
 ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχόμενοις· μῖσος, ἂν τού-
 τοις τις ἐπιτιμῇ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν
 ἥρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωματίων πλήθος καὶ χρη-
 μάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ
 τὰλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπαντα
 καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 πάντα ἄχρηστα, ἀπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγ-
 νεται.

“Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁράτε δήπου καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνωθεν
 χρόνοις ὅτι τάναντία εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐμὰν-
 τοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων
 δεικνύων, ἃ κείνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκὴν γράψαντες
 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ
 τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς
 ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιοῦ-
 των σπουδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;
 “Ἄρθμιος,” φησὶ, “ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος ἔστω
 “καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων
 “αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν τοῦτ'
 ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον
 ἤγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν
 καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθ' ἡ διάνοια τῶν
 τότε Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκεί-
 νοι Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἄρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζελεΐα
 ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγα-
 γεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέ-
 γραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους.
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἦν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμίαν·

τί γὰρ τῷ Ζαλείτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξων
 ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέ-
 γραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ δίκας. φόνου δικάσα-
 σθαι, ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, "καὶ ἄτιμος," φησὶ,
 "τεθνάτω." τοῦτο δὲ λέγει καθαρόν τὸν τούτων τινὰ
 ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν εἶ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ
 διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ
 ἐτιμωροῦντο οὕς αἰσθοῖντο δωροδοκοῦντας ὥστε καὶ στηλῖτας
 ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρ-
 βάρῳ φοβερά οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν.
 οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς
 τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἴστε αὐτοί. τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων
 ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν
 ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες. διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπου-
 δῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα
 προσδεῖσθαι. τίνος εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεύσα-
 θαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστὶ
 σοιοῦτος οἷοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν
 ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφί-
 στατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνατο κάκείνους ἡ πόλις
 καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπᾶσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολ-
 λὴν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν
 τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
 κεκινήσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. (πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακε-
 δαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας
 ἢ πάντε, τὴν ὥραίαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας
 τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρα-

τεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλέκοντας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὅπλι-
 τῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, ἰπ-
 πέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρητῆσθαι στρατόπεδον.
 ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσ-
 ἔσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχη-
 λισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἥσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρε-
 τοῦντας ἐκείνοις. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ βούλεσθε ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λαιδορίας ἢ φθόγου ἢ σκώμ-

ματος, ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λοιδορήθῳσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τοῦτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν· καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες. πότεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππίας προῦδσαν ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπέειπτο.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ πούτοις μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπεείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἰππάρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὀρεῶ Φιλιστίδης

μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἅλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαιυῶ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἅ πράττουσιν. συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φιλίππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν, ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτῆδειον εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης ἡβούλουτ' ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἰ τις αἰσθοίτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἷα ἔπαθε μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς τοιοῦτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν διασκευσάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδουσιν. τῆς πόλεως δ' οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἐτοιμοὺς ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθειστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας καὶ τοὺς Ὀρείτας ἡδίων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου

λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν. εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τὰλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη χαριζοῦνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλύπτον οὐδὲν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθήσεσθαι, προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προτίεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνομίζον. ὁ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ πάθῃθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῆτε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι γὰρ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς. καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν· καλὴν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἑρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγήσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἧ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν κακείνῳ γε αἰσχρὸν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν συμβάντος τινός "τίς γὰρ ἂν ψῆθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ το ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι." πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότε εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς,

69 πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. | ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον ᾖ, τότε χρή καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ' ἐκὼν μήτ' ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἔσμεν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαί τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστ' ἔαν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δῆπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάζοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῦ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον ἔᾶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν' ἔαν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκείνοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποίησαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνον καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὕρμησαι. οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐήθες τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτοὺς προἰεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς

ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρό-
νήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημί δεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀξι-
οῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, καὶ πρώτους ἃ
χρὴ ποιοῦντας τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας συγκαλεῖν,
συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξίωμα
ἐχούσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν
Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ
πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτοὶ
σώζωνται τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν
οἱ πράγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ
πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζῆτῶν
ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσῃ σκοπῶν,
πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὖρῃ τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα
ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη
γένηται.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶμαι
καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνο-
μένων. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμ-
βουλευέτω. ὁ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὧ πάντες θεοὶ,
συνενέγκοι.

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INTRODUCTION
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TO THE
FIRST PHILIPPIC.

It is impossible to understand the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, unless we have some general idea of the events of Grecian and Macedonian history during the period of which they treat. In order to gain this more easily, a slight glance at the state of affairs in the several Greek states at the accession of Philip will be necessary. And it may be remarked, to commence with, that no single Grecian State was able to cope with Philip at the date of the first Philippic, and a union among them for this purpose was almost impossible. At the accession of Philip, then, Sparta was suffering from her defeats by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The Arcadian confederacy had been established on her northern frontier. Messene on the northwest, and Tegea and Argos were now her implacable enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to vassalage under a hated rival. Thebes had as allies and confederates all the Peloponnesian States opposed to Sparta, and in addition, the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Arcarnanians, and Eubœa, together with Oropus

wrested six years before from Athens. Her ascendancy over the Bœotian towns was complete, and there lay her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While therefore all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for her action towards Plataea, Thespiae, and Orchomenos, remarkable alike for its antiquity and religious observances.

Athens alone had the power at this time to avert from Greece her impending doom. She stood, since the battle of Naxos, B.C. 376, at the head of a vast maritime confederacy; her general Timotheus had acquired for her Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone on the Macedonian coast. She had also colonized the Thracian Chersonese and vindicated her power over Cotys the king of that country. Funds poured into her treasury from the insular allies, and her power was respected through all the Ægean. But she had imbibed, in common with the rest of Greece, the pernicious idea that the defence of the country could be entrusted to mercenaries, and her power was thus every day becoming weaker, her allies more and more estranged, and her citizens, fiery politicians in the general assembly, were quiet enough at their homes, when they reasoned on the money side of the question, and compared domestic comforts with the hardships of war. The Athenian of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious boon of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but

valiant in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single arm depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him by the recollections of his kindred and his gods, (THUC. ii. 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenian now wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought his battles with his money, but lavished it more freely in the worship of his gods. Scrupulous to observe even the smallest duties of religion, he allowed the weightier concerns of the glory of his country to be cared for by strangers who fought for their daily pay. Unlike his ancestor, who might claim with the Spartan, that poverty had been the inmate of Greece and a guarantee of Grecian courage, (HER. VII. 102.), he now rolled in riches, one half of which was spent in pleasure, and the other squandered in the pay of mercenary vagabonds.

Such were the States which were soon to see themselves pitted against a young man trained in the lap of Grecian politics in his youth, and anxious to emulate the glory of his great prototype, Epaminondas. On the one side was plenty, forces trained to war, yet lacking the energy to fight, vast maritime power, and money pouring into their coffers from numberless dependencies. On the other side, poverty and undisciplined hordes, clad in skins of beasts, but inured to fight from infancy, and accustomed to all manner of fatigue. No ports, no sea coast, no allies, no money in the treasury; and yet we shall find in a few years that every one of these were in abundance, wrested from the very hands of those who were too negligent to take even common precautions for their preservation.

Philip ascended the throne of Macedon in the Archonship of Callimedes, B.C. 360-359, and immediately

came in contact with Athens, from her support of Argæus, one of the pretenders to the crown. As he well knew that Athens only wanted Amphipolis, he promised to give it up to them, and this secured their defection from Argæus, who was soon afterwards defeated by Philip whilst making an attack upon Edessa, (DIODOR, XVI. 31.). At the same time he sent letters to Athens asking for an alliance on the same terms as his father had received, (DEM. *contra* ARISTOC. 660). He now had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, and he made good use of the time against the Illyrians, and other neighbours inland. As soon as these had been disposed of he attacked Amphipolis, notwithstanding his promises to Athens; and when remonstrated with assured them that he was only attacking the city to deliver it up to them when captured. The city fell, and he forgot his promises, B.C. 358. It may be wondered why Athens did not seize the city when offered to her a year before; but at that time she was about commencing the Social War, and may not have been able to spare forces sufficient to occupy the place. He knew too well the value of the city as opening up the district east of the Strymon to give it up, and it continued to be his greatest port for the remainder of his reign. Olynthus now became alarmed for the safety of her possessions, and sent an offer of peace to Athens, which was rejected through Philip's representations, and at the same time he hinted that Pydna of right was his. A secret understanding appears to have been come to for an interchange of Pydna for Amphipolis, (DEM. OL. ii. p. 19.), which came to nothing. Philip now made an alliance with

Olynthians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and ceded to them Anthemus, and the Athenian town of Potidæa, (PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna were lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except that it was during the continuance of the Social War, and previous to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 476). All we know is that aid was voted by Athens, but arrived too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50,) and that the siege of Potidæa was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARISTOT.* 656). After thus consolidating his power in the neighborhood of Olynthus, he set out again for the Strymon, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian town Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold mines of Pangæus, which yielded him 1000 talents per year, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attacking Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on the coast of Macedonia, and reducing it under his sway. From its position it was advantageous to Athens as affording a basis for maritime enterprise against Macedonia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would be that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also her aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city was captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege, and some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed from all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic Gulf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and Abdera, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadæ against Lycophron and Onomarchus, on the other. Onomarchus had gone to the aid of Lycophron of Pheræ, and with such assistance that he was enabled to conquer Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to retire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had

interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the fall of Methone, and had aided Eudicus and Simos against Lycophron, (DEM. *de COR.* p. 241,) and now again for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians disgusted with the tyranny of Lycophron joined his standard in large numbers; the armies met near the sea coast on the South of Thessaly, and Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself perishing in the flight. Chares was sailing past in his fleet, and afforded aid to the flying Phocians. In addition to all these wars he had successfully subdued the tribes of inner Macedon, Thrace, Illyria, and Pæonia.

Philip thus became absolute master of Thessaly, and having captured Pagasæ late in 353, he was enabled to establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass the Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute in Greece. He ruled from Thermopylæ to the banks of the Hebrus, and from the Ægean sea to the mountains of Orbelus. He incorporated the Thessalian cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. Determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards Thermopylæ to enter Greece. Here however he was decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of his march. An assembly was called. For once there were no *antidoseis*, and in a very few days a force of 5000 foot and 400 horse under the command of Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) and arriving at the pass effectually prevented Philip from even hazarding an attack. He now retired into Thessaly, was appointed Tagus of that country, got command of all its finances, and subjected the whole country to his control. His cruisers swarmed on the Ægean, attacked

Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Geræstus, invaded the sacred soil of Attica, and carried off the Theoric galley from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels made incursions into Euboea, and effected the partial drawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence. Meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace, he set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extending his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and Cersobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos. The alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An assembly was convoked in November 352, and Charidemus selected as the fittest to command. Immense preparations were voted, and all men from 18 to 45 were to embark, when news came that Philip was sick, and soon after that he was dead. All the preparations vanished at this report, and the Athenian settled down to his worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destructive to the best interests of his country.

Although there is no direct authority for stating it, still the probability is very great, that at Athens many speeches had been made about Philip, and more particularly since his repulse at Thermopylae. Before this time there is no reason to suppose that his designs were to be feared; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De Symmoriis* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made to him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees need to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion and Eubulus did not care to excite the Athenians to personal exertions, in fact saw no reason for so doing;

and all their speeches were directed not against any particular enemy, but in favor of *peace at any price*. But the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please, and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of a war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Aristodemus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

NOTES

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TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

[Page 1.]

Εἰ μὲν λέγειν.] *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon some new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (*σάβης*) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHÖEMANN *de Com. ATH.* p. 59. *Προτιθέναι*—said of the *Proedri* when they proposed a subject for discussion.

Ἐπισχῶν ἔν.] *I should have delayed.* *ἔν* is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. **JELF.** 827, B.

Τῶν εἰσθότων.] Scil. *γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι*, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: *ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰσισμένων ἐν ὁμῶν ἀγορεύειν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκῶς, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον.* By a law of Solon, referred to by Æschines in the exordium of his oration *Contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. *ACHAR.* 43. Still, so much respect was paid to it, that Demosthenes apologises for rising first.

Εἰ δὲ μή.] An adversative force—*if this were not so.* **JELF.** 860, C.

Πρότερον.] Since 356, when Philip captured Potidæa.

Νυνί.] Stronger than *νῦν*, for the latter is joined with the perfect and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog. s. v.

Τυχάνειν] Here and in *PROM. VINCT.* 270, governs the genitive, the more usual construction being with the accusative. **JELF.** 512.

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'Εκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου.] The same expression occurs again a few lines below. REISKE translates it, a *praeterito inde tempore*. Here it is opposed to νῦν, below to τὰ μέλλοντα.

Βουλευεῖν—to give advice. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λούειν—to wash. Λούεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλευέσθαι is to deliberate of more than one person, but when it is used of only one person it means to deliberate with one's self, or in one's own mind. So Λογίζεσθαι is to reason, consider with one's self; Ἐνθυμείσθαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

'Τμᾶς.] 'Ημᾶς is the reading adopted by SCHAEFER, but there is no special reason why the orator should include himself. On the contrary, he is plainly exhorting them to do something, and therefore ought to be excepted.

'Αθυμητέον.] Scil. ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.] Πράγμασιν is governed by ἐπί. We must not despond in our present affairs. SEAGER in the *Classical Journal*, LII., p. 285, quotes BACON's *Nov. Org.* to show the experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

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Τὰ μέλλοντα.] The future. Cf. THUC. I., 138. Τῶν μελλόντων, Μέλλω denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than wholly future.

'Οτι οὐδέν.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer, see CIC. de ORAT. III. 54. SMREAD.

'Επεὶ τοι γενέσθαι.] Since if, when you had done all that was proper, they had been so unsuccessful, there would have been no further hope. Ἄν ἐλπίς.] ἄν is inserted because the opposite is the true state of affairs. νῦν δ' ἐλπίς ἐστίν. ARNOLD. Cf. Phil. iii. p. 111, 112, for similar sentiments expressed regarding their actions past and present.

'Επειτα ἐνθυμητέον.] RÜDIGER wrongly translates this, Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis audistis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriam revocatis. Rather, Then you ought to consider both hearing from others, and you yourselves know it, having recalled it to your memory. The verbal is here joined with a dative of the person, which is the more rare construction; for more frequently verbals require an accusative of the person. Ἀκούουσι agrees with ὑμῖν, and αὐτοῖς is connected with εἰδέναι, and ἡμεῖς with ἀναμνησκέ-

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μένοις. Cf. ISOOC. 8, 12. Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνημονεύουσι, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδενὸς ἀκηκόασιν. ΣΑΥΡΡΗ.

[Ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς.] No long time ago.

[ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων.] Ἑλληνικῶν is wanting in many manuscripts, but we have only to compare other expressions of the same kind to see that it is required here. In the PHIL. II. p. 68, we have τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In his oration περὶ Ῥοδίων, p. 199, he has τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἑλληνικὸς is similarly used. BREML. His advocacy of the common right of the Greeks was the grand feature of his life. His policy was essentially Panhellenic. His views were not Athenian or Theban, like those of Pericles or Epaminondas, but Grecian. Hence his frequent appeals to their national honour, and his proud assertion in the *De Corona*, p. 324, that they were overturning τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην, ἂ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες.

[Τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phoebeidas was sent by the Spartans to carry on the war against Olynthus, and on the march, through the treachery of Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, he seized the Kadmeia, and enrolled Thebes in the Lacedæmonian confederacy. A number of exiles, among whom was Pelopidas, fled to Athens, and induced the Athenians to allow volunteers to aid them in expelling the Spartans. The garrison of Thebes capitulated, and war was declared by Sparta. Chabrias occupied the pass of Eleutheræ, and Sphodrias advanced to the Thriasian plain and devastated the country. Some of the insular allies of Sparta revolt, and join Athens. The Athenians and Thebans thus reinforced, and led by Chabrias, attack the Spartans under Agesilaus at Thespiæ, and defeat them. The war continued for seven years, with various success, but in 376 Athens gained a decided advantage by defeating the Spartan fleet at Naxos. Peace was concluded in 371. GROTE, vol. X. chap. 77. Many of these events happening some twenty-five years before, must have been in the recollection of his hearers.

[Ἴν' εἰδῆτε.] Ἴδεῖν, of perception in general, *videre*. Θεᾶσθαι, of contemplating a single object. Ἴν' εἰδῆτε, *ut cognoscatis*. The

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repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, and generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of the mind. The vocative, too, is nearly always placed as here, between the verbs—compare Olyn. ii. p. 19. νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν εὐρίσκω. PHIL. iii. p. 122. λογίζεσθαι δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε. *Contra* ARISTOT. p. 629. σκέψασθε δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε. SCHLEFFER observes: All these terms are not really synonymous, and he considers their use twofold: one, to add force to the matter; the other, to make the oration more agreeable to the hearer.

Ἄν ὀλιγωρῇτε.] *If you lightly esteem it.* ἄν with the subjunctive signifies that the action under consideration depends upon some condition expressed or implied. JELF. 424 n.

Τῇ τῷτε βῶμῃ.] JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægospotamos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. (The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Onidos humbled them for a while, and lightened the yoke they were attempting to impose on Greece. This arrogance was ended by the defeat at Naxos above mentioned, and Demosthenes might thus fairly remind his countrymen of their share in the glorious conflict, and of their anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation.

Τούτου.] *Istius.* These words are used by a speaker in declaiming against an opponent, to mark his anger and contempt. CIC. *In Cat.* i. 1. *Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν.] *From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.*

Πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως.] *The abundance of power belonging to him.* XEN. *Anab.* i. ch. v. Ἡ βασιλείως ἀρχὴ πλῆθος μὲν χώρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα.] At the battle with Onomarchus in Thessaly the previous year, Philip commanded 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse, besides his fleet.

Τὸ τὰ ἀπολωλέναι.] The allusion is to the country in the neighbourhood of the towns subsequently mentioned, and that around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

Μέντοι.] *Tamen. Still.*

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Πύδνα.] A town of Macedonia in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf, a Greek colony subject to Sparta during the Peloponnesian War; subsequently it fell under the power of the Athenians, and was captured from them in 358. **Æmilius Paulus** defeated **Perseus** at this town in 168, and terminated the Macedonian kingdom. It was afterwards called **Citrum** by the Romans, and now **Kitron**.

Πορθαιαν.] A Corinthian colony on the isthmus of Pallene, about sixty stadia from Olynthus. It was captured by Philip in 356 and destroyed, the territory being given to the Olynthians. **Cassandria** was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a **Colonia Romana**.

Μεθώνην.] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the arrows of **Aster**. **Strabo** subsequently mentions it as a town of Macedonia. There was another town called **Methone**, in Thrace. There was also a **Methone** in Laconia, on the south-western peninsula. **Thuc.** ii. 25.

ἢ πάντα τὸν τόπον. . . . κύκλῳ.] *And all that region round about our own.*

Πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν.] The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on the **Strymon**, near **Amphipolis** and **Krenides**.

Ἀυτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.] *Governed by their own laws, and free.*

*Ὡς κείνῳ.] This reading is given by **BEKKER** and **DINDORF**. **Ἐκεῖνῳ** by **SCHÆFER**. **BEKKER** remarks that the elision or crasis of this word is universal in good manuscripts, and **DINDORF** observes that *ἡμῖν* is invariably written with the *coronis* omitted. **SCHÆFER** makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic *κείνος* is never used by **Demosthenes**.

Τότε.] When Philip ascended the throne, his kingdom was embraced in the territory immediately around **Pella**. Now, in addition to the cities mentioned above, he had subdued the **Pæonians**, and **Illyrians**, some **Thracian** towns near the river **Nestus**, as well as the whole of **Thessaly**.

Τοσαῦτα.] **RÜDIGER** reads *τοιαῦτα*, but the orator does not say what *like* the fortresses were, but *how many*. **SCHÆF.**

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Ἐπιτειχίσματα.] Fortresses, like Decelea in the Peloponnesian War, from which sallies could be made to intercept supplies and ravage the country. ARNOLD. The genitive which follows ought, in the opinion of Hemsterhuis, to be the dative. It is here what is called an objective genitive. But SCHÆFER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DE LIB. RHOD. p. 193. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτειχίσματα. However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρῃ. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *propugnaculis imperti*.

Ἐρημον ὄντα συμμάχων.] Acc. before πολεμεῖν. How difficult it was for him, being destitute of allies, to wage war with the Athenians, having, &c.

Ἐκτῆσατο δύναμιν] is the reading of BEKKER and DINDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHÆFER gives ἐκτῆσατ' ἂν, but remarks: *Nollem Rüdigerus, ex paucis nec optimis codd. revocassit ἐκτῆσατο pro ἐκτῆσατ' ἂν*. For he goes on to state, "It is rare that the particle ἂν is to be understood in the second member when it occurs in the first, but oftentimes it is done; so that nowhere have I erased it unless on the authority of the best manuscripts." However, where a sentence is simply a continuation of another, if ἂν be expressed in the first it may be omitted in the second. JELF. 432, Obs. 2.

Κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ.] The usual expression for such things, and drawn from the Palæstic art, as we see from IL. xxiii, 704 :

ἄνδρ' δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν.

Also in IL. xviii. 507: Ἐν μέσσοισι δὴ χρυσοῖο τέλαντα. See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmium ponere*. ÆN. v. 292, 486. SALL. CAT. *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit*.

Κατέστραπται.] Passive, but used reflexively in a middle sense. He has reduced under his power.

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Φίλα ποιησάμενος.] MOUNTENEY reads φίλια, *neque ego improbem*. But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, and v. 37, we shall find φίλα is more usual than φίλια, although as

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SCHAEFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of them.

Καὶ προσέχειν ἅπαντες.] A hexameter. Another occurs at DE CORONA, p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίποσιν πόλεμον δι' ἐν εἰς Ἑλλάτειαν. In Latin, numerous examples of hexameters in prose occur, as in CIC. *pro ARCH.* 1. *In qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum*; and also in SALL. *ORAT.* xix. *Cneii Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.*

Ὅς ἂν ὁρῶσι ἃ χρῆ.] *Whom they may see prepared and willing to do what is necessary.* The Perf. Pass. of παρασκευάζω means *to be prepared*, simply.

Καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.] VÖGEL wishes us to construe this passage as follows: καὶ (ἂν) ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὗ (i. q. ubi) δεῖ—εἰρω-νεῖαν ὀψάσθαι ἔτοιμος πρᾶττειν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι. And then the apodosis returns at καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ.τ.λ. And WHISTON follows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable order, which is also given by BARKER, will be shown by my translation: *And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be prepared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render yourself useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you would depend upon yourselves alone.* εἰρωνεῖαν—*dissimulatio*—thinking they were not able for their work, but in reality being so. Εἰσφέρειν—a frequent advice of our orator. See OL. ii. 27. The εἰσφορά was a war tax upon the Athenian citizens, according to their property. From THUC. iii. 19, it has been supposed that the year B.C. 428 was the first in which this tax was levied. But this is doubtful as there are references to it earlier than this year. The census of Solon was the original basis for this εἰσφορά; but in the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars see DIOT. ANT. and DEM. *de SYM.* στρατεύεσθαι.—All Athenian citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be enrolled for military service, and after twenty could be called upon

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for foreign service. But in the time of Demosthenes such leaders as Charidemus and Iphicrates were engaged to fight and the Athenian himself remained at home. The armies of the principal Greek States were mercenary, chiefly obtained from Arcadia, the Switzerland of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν.] 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰπεῖν is omitted by BEKKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHÆFER. I have retained both; ἀπλῶς on the authority of the best German commentators, and εἰπεῖν from a comparison with a similar expression in XEN. ANAB. iii. 1; ὥς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν. *That I may state simply and briefly.* 'Ως is omitted in the present passage, as is also the case in HER. vi. 80. Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν (ὥς) δοκέειν ἐμοί; and also, EUR. MED. 230, γιγνώσκειν καλῶς, a reading to be preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: γιγνώσκεις καλῶς.

Ἄν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσῃτε γενέσθαι.] *If you do not wish to depend upon others: i. e. if you wish to be your own masters.* SCHÆFER translates *e vobismet ipsis, non ex aliis, pendere*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐαυτῶν. *Ye are not your own masters;* and also, SOPH. OED. REX. 917. We have adopted the reading ἄν here instead of ἤν, which is given by nearly all editors. DINDORF says in his preface in a note on p. 51, 29, PHIL. i.: "This may be considered as most certain that Demosthenes nowhere uses ἤν," and he corrects this passage as we have given it.

Κομίσθαι.] *Vobis acquirere—you shall acquire for yourselves your own—i. e. Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, and Amphipolis.*

Τὰ κατερραθυμμένα. . . . τιμωρήσεσθε.] *You shall again recover what you have thoughtlessly lost, and inflict punishment upon him.* Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, and cf. XEN., MEM, iii, 5. καταρραθυμησάντες ὑστερίζουσιν.

Πεπηγέναι ἀθάνατα.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Immortalia ne speres monet annus.*

Καὶ μισεῖ. . . . ἔχειν αὐτῷ.] *And there are some who hate and fear and envy him even of those now seemingly most friendly to him.* Ἐχειν used here for εἶναι, as also in HER. iH. 82, Ἐχοντα εἶδ.

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Ἔχειν and its compounds are frequently used in this way, Ἐπέχειν, HER. vi. 102. Προέχειν, iii. 142. Προσέχειν, iii. 48, and so of many other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

Κάν = καὶ ἐν. PORSON'S rule is: In words joined by crasis, as κᾶτι, κᾶν, κᾶν, iota ought nowhere to be added unless καὶ forms a crasis with a diphthong, as κᾶτα for καὶ εἶτα. Præf. ad. HEC. p. xi.

Κατέπτηχε μέντοι νῦν.] But all these now cower down in fear. SCAPULA says, s. v. καταπτῆσσω. Proprie dici volunt de animantibus, quae conspecto hoste præ metu se contrahunt in loco aliquo ad latendum commodo.

Ῥαθυμίαν.] (from ῥᾶον, θυμός.) *Lentitudo*—indifference—arising from an improper estimate of the importance of the difficulties with which they had to contend.

Οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος.] *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs ποῦ, ποί, πῇ, οὐ, οἶ, ἤ, and some others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in SOPH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads ἄνθρωπος, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHÆFER, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places which favour BEKKER (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find any others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion. Ἀσελγείας is derived from ἀ, θέλω = *mulceo*, to lull gently with the further idea of an *evil intention*, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is derived from ἀ Σέλγη, a town of Pisidia, whose inhabitants lived very intemperately. If such be the case it is not a solitary instance, since we have *Sybarite*, an effeminate person; from Sybaris in Lucania, founded by Achæans and Troezenians. B.C. 720, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminacy.

Καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τούτων.] *And he is not the man, while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.* Οἷός ἐστιν, or οἷός τ' ἐστιν followed by the infinitive is properly τοιοῦτος ἐστιν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as, &c. Οἷός εἰμι signifies *I am wont*; οἷός τ' εἰμι *I am able*. MATTH. GK. GR. 479. WHISTON was therefore wrong in translating this passage, “and he is unable to rest satisfied with them.” Μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων is properly, as here, *to remain in this state of things*, without attempting to advance any further; hence to let things remain as they

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are. In DE. COR. 307, it is μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων = *to persevere in—*
 μένειν ἐπὶ τινι = *insistere alicui*."—RÜDIGER.

Ἄλλ' αἰετὶ περιστοιχίζεται.] *But he is always seeking to obtain something new, and while we are dallying and wasting our opportunities in idleness, he hedges us in on every side.* Προσπεριβάλλεσθαι and περιστοιχίζεσθαι are taken from the language of hunters. Κύκλῳ πανταχῇ, *circum undique*. Cf. HOM. OD. viii. 278. κύκλῳ ἀπάντη, and XEN. ANAB. iii. 1, 2: κύκλῳ δ' αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν.

Ποτ' οὖν πότε.] This abrupt method of Demosthenes is much admired for the attention it attracts on the part of the hearers.

Νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι] *What, then, do you consider what is taking place now?* Subaudi, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη. REISKE.

Τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι.] *The disgrace impending over our present circumstances.* Ἦτέρ is here used with Gen. to express the cause of our feeling, the more usual construction being ὑπό, with the same case. JELF. 630, c.

Εἰπέ μοι.] Singular, though addressed to many. Φέρε and ἄγε are used similarly. Cf. PLATO. EUTH. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τε καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and a singular object addressed. SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1102, 1104, where the old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Ismene is also there.

Περιόντες αὐτῶν πυρθάνεσθαι.] We have followed ARNOLD in rejecting κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, which BEKKER and DINDORF enclose in brackets, and WHISTON stigmatises as useless verbiage. SCHÆFER reads αὐτοῦ, *hic loci, hoc ipso in foro*. LONGINUS quotes the passage in DE SUB. c. 18, with ἀλλήλων, which is probably a gloss. See a remarkable statement of ST. PAUL shewing the conservative character of the Greeks, since even in his days "they spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." Acts xvii. 21.

Γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν. τι. διοικῶν.] *For what can be greater news than a Macedonian man warring against Athenians, and regulating the common policy of Greeks?* Observe the force of γὰρ in this sentence. It denotes the surprise of the speaker, that such a state

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of affairs can exist. Of. II. 1, 128. πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δάσονται γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; For how shall high-souled Greeks a prize on thee bestow? *Nam* is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose appended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 378, xii. 687. Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ, *Vir Macedo*, HOR. used contemptuously.

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Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος.....ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ.] Alluding to the reports lately received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some time after the siege of Methone Philip was attacked by a dangerous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so lively an interest in this occurrence are explained in OL. iii. The king was besieging the fortress of Heræum in Thrace, and in all probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This movement caused great excitement in Athens. Exactly at this juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens, and more than once it was confidently asserted he was dead." ARNOLD.

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ.] For even if something should happen him." Lat. "*si quid humani acciderit*," a euphemism for "*should he die*." WHISTON. In καὶ γάρ, καὶ always means *even*, and is connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίῃ. JELF. 786, Obs. 8.

Ταχέως.] Other forms of this adverb meaning *quickly* are: διὰ ταχέων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, σὺν τάχει, τάχῃ, and ὡς τάχιστα.

"Ἐτερον Φίλιππον.] Antonomasia for "*another treacherous enemy*."

Παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βῶμῃ κ.τ.λ.] Has he been aggrandized so much by his own strength as, &c. Βῶμῃ like *robur* means strength to resist an attack. Τοσοῦτον, ὅσον, acc. of quantity. Ἐπηύξεται, *Perf pass.* from ἐπαυξάνω.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἴ τι πάθοι κ.τ.λ.] After τοῦτο, ἂν γένοιτο, is understood, and even if this should be the case, if something should happen him, and fortune, which always takes better care of us than we do of ourselves, should aid us, and perform this. In this very difficult passage, rendered even more so by new readings from nearly every commentator, I have given what seems the best translation, considering the uncertainty of the passage. SCHÆFER here reads for τοῦτο, τούτων, and removes the point. But in his explanations

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he calls the construction an anacoluthon, which with his reading it is not. DINDORF brackets *καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο* unnecessarily, and AUGER reads (*καὶ γὰρ ἐξεργάσαιτο!*) *Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*. Cf. DE CORONA, 123; so, *καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*, FALS. LEG. p. 314, *Contra* DIONYS, 40; *καὶ γὰρ αὐ τοῦτο*, *Contra* MEIN, p. 167. FRANKL. *Τὰ τῆς τύχης*, for *ἡ τύχη*, with this distinction, that the latter means *fortune*, the former a *continuation of fortunate events*. Compare his statement about fortune here with the opening of the OL. ii.

Τεταραγμένοις ἐπστάντες.] *Having a hand in all his affairs when disturbed.*

Ὅπως βούλεσθε.] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see JELF. 818.

Ἀμφίπολιν.] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Ægean. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Ἐννεα ὁδοί* and belonged to the Edoni. But Hagnon in 487 expelled them, and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see THUC. iv. 102. Brasidas in 424 captured it from the Athenians, and in 422 Cleon and he fell in battle before its walls. Brasidas was honored as a god by the Amphipolitans, and was regarded as the real founder. DIOT. ANT. s. v. Brasideia.

Καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας.] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i. e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLF translates *ἀπηρητημένοι*, *hesitating*. But SCHÆFER, *separated, removed*; but used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *τῶν πραγμάτων*. We have followed WYTTEBACH in translating it, *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Γνώμας*, *decrees*. Demosthenes probably alluded in this word, and also in *παρασκευαῖς* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heræum. The people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent him capturing the town. Nine months afterwards ten galleys were sent out, and five talents. In the subsequent part of the oration we shall find him speaking of formidable powers—*on paper*—and here also the allusion may be the same.

Ὡς μὲν ὁδὺν λέγων.] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it, I say*

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no more of that. 'Oς with *Gen. Abs.* indicates that the real existence of the action of the participle is kept out of view, and represented only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the opinion which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

Καὶ τὸ πλῆθος λέγειν.] *And the magnitude of the force, and the supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear to me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to explain.* Καὶ δὴ, *protinus, statim, now.* It is also used very frequently, especially in *HERODOTUS*, to introduce the most important clause of a sentence, which seems to be its force here. See *DONALDSON CRAT.* p. 268.

Καὶνὴν κατασκευὴν.] *A new plan of preparation, i. e. greater than any previous one, and likely to secure success.* *REISKI* improperly explains: *Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos milites atque recentes, novas naves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno usu detrita reprobans.*—*SCHÆFER.*

Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχύ λέγουσι.] *For those who say "quick" and "to-day" are not the people who speak most to your advantage.* *Τήμερον*, Attic and comic for *σήμερον*, and so not a contraction for *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage of the article. *Σήμερον* and *τήμερον* are to *ἡμέρα*, as *σῆτες* and *τῆτες* to *ἔρας*.—*L. & S.*

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐννηθῆμεν.] *For by our present expedition, we cannot render ineffective what has already been done.* Cf. *HOR. OD.* iii. 29.

Non tamen irritum,
Quodcumque retro est, effloiet.

Καὶ πόθεν.] *Understand, τὴν τροφὴν πορθεῖσα, and whence obtained the force must be which shall be able to hold out until we put an end to the war ourselves, or subdue the enemy.* Διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον to end a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πόλεμον by the intervention of a third party.

Τοῦ λοιποῦ.] = *Ever again, hereafter*, denotes future repetition. *HER.* i. 189. ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν εὐπετέως διαβήσεσθαι, whereas τὸ λοιπὸν *henceforth*, denotes future continuance. *SOPH. ANT.* 311.

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Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν.] When the same person or thing is the nominative to a verb *sentiendi et declarandi*, and also the accusative before an infinitive following it, the accusative is omitted, and the nominative stands before the infinitive. This construction is sometimes imitated in Latin. HOR. OD. iii, 27. *Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis.* Ἐχειν = *posse*.

Μὴ καλώων ἐπαγγέλλεται τι.] *Not wishing to prevent any other one from offering another suggestion.* ΒΑΞΜΙ translates "*si quis alius vana et magnifica promittit.*" But I see no necessity for using the verb in a bad sense. It is rather an expression of modesty on the part of the orator. Ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, indeed, means *ultra polliceri*, and not as he explains it, *promittere quod prestare non possis*.

Μὲν οὖν.] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. SORN. PHIL. 350. *Κεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἔκειτο.*

Τριήρεις πεντήκοντα.] The Athenian trireme, called by way of distinction *ναῦς*, was, as its name implies, formed with three banks of oars, and was distinguished still further by the subdivisions of "ships of war" (*ταχέας*) and "ships of burden" or transports, (*στρατιώτιδες*, *ἱκπαγωγοί*). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *θρανῖται*, 54 on the middle, *ζευγῖται*, and 54 on the lower, *θαλαμῖται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (*κῶπαι περιέφ*) to be used by the *ἐπιβάται* or *ὀπλῖται* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *καλευστής*, who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. These made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROTE, CHAP. xlix. Themistocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Ægina, and after his time until the end of the Peloponnesian War, three or four hundred were always ready. This is accounted for by the fact that he caused a law to be carried appropriating annually a sum from the mines of Laurium, sufficient to equip 20 new ones. The building of them, as we learn from DEM. *contra* ANDROT, p. 598, was under the care of the Council of 500.

Δεῖν.] The infinitive is used absolutely to imply that a thing must be done, or as a general expression of necessity, and in these

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meanings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δ' ἰκάνομεν φάσκειν. OD. x. 431. Ἄ δειλοί, πόσ' ἔμεν.

Εἰτ' αὐτοὺς ἐμβάσιν. And then, that you so make up your mind, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away, having embarked upon them. After ἔχειν γνώμην, διακεῖσθαι γνώμην, and such like, the Genitive absolute with ὥς is the usual construction. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἰόντος οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another example." ARNOLD.

Τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἰππέων.] 500, for each tribe furnished 100 ARNOLD. That is if the Athenians kept up the force they had at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 225, WHISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, c. 1, D.

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Ἰππαγωγούς τριήρεις.] Cavalry transports, constructed from the old ταχεῖαι, or war ships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying the additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.

Πλοῖα,] for carrying provisions and other necessities of an army.

Εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθόν.] In §52, Philip being invited by the Thessalians, marched into Thessaly, and was defeated by Onomarchus, the general of the Sacred War, in two battles. He then retired into Macedonia, but returned soon after, largely reinforced, and in turn Onomarchus was defeated at Pagasæ. Soon after Philip was proceeding to the invasion of Phocis, when the Athenians, fully aroused, sent off a land and naval force to guard the pass of Thermopylæ. Philip, prevented from entering into Greece, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for Thrace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down in front of Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn that news came that he was sick; that, having recovered, he raised the siege of Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will thus be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.

Ἄγαν.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.

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Eis Eὐβοίαν.] Understand *ποτὲ ὠρμήσατε*. REISKE. The Eubœan cities joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B. C. But after the battle of Leuctra the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 385-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, (given by DEM. in DE. REB. CHER. p. 108) they manned and equipped an adequate force, and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island. GROTE, CHAP. LXXVI.

Eis Ἀλιάρτον.] In 395 Lysander, who defeated the Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, and thus ended the Peloponnesian war, marched to the attack of Haliartus in Boeotia, in consequence of the disputes between Thebes and Sparta. His army was defeated and he himself slain by Neochorus. Pausanias, the Spartan king, arrived soon after, but Athenian auxiliaries in the meantime had come up under Thrasybulus and Orthobulus, and he was unable to conquer the town. He retired after burying the dead body of Lysander. GROTE ch. LXXXIV.

Πρῶην εἰς Πύλας.] B. C. 353-2, the latter part of the year. On *εἰς Πύλας*, *vide suprà*.

Οὗτοι παντελῶς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς.] *Nor is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i. e. set out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be well prepared, he may keep quiet.* *Οὗτοι παντελῶς = non sane prorsus.* SCHÆFER; who also would read *οὐ τι* because *hujusmodi particulis fortissime negantibus recte additur*.

Εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς.] This does not refer to Æschines since his connection with Philip arose some years later, but more particularly to the actors Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, who had long been in Philip's interests.—GROTE, chap. LXXIX.

Εἰσὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ.] Cf. CIO. in CAT. 1. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quondam virtus*, and VIRG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclementia divum*. DE COR. *Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε*. Also, CIO. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani*.

Ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ.] Active *οὐ φυλαττόμενος*. SCHÆFER—*He may be taken off his guard*. For a similar sentiment see THUC. iii. 30.

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Μηδενδς οντος.] “Μηδέν rather than οὐδέν on account of ἴνα.” FRANKK. Μηδέν is used subjectively, and expresses that one *thinks* a thing is *not*; οὐδέν objectively, that it *really* is *not*. For a beautiful example of *μη* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see ΧΕΝ. ΟΥΒ. iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. *μη*, with his remarks upon it.

*Αν ἐνδῶ καιρόν.] BEK. Rüd. DIN. but Schæfer reads *καιρός*, and remarks on the present reading, “*quod mihi etiam placet, scil. ἐκαίνος.*” If he give an opportunity. Perhaps this was the easiest way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to throw away opportunities. He was awake now.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοισ.] Πρὸ δὲ τούτων = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted by ARNOLD without comment. But *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοισ*—in addition to these, would seem to convey the orator’s meaning better than *πρὸ δὲ τούτων* before these. For he evidently regards the greater plan as involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a privateer force unless its depredations could be followed up by the regular force of 50 triremes which he proposes.

Μή μοι μυρίους δυνάμεις.] After *μή μοι, sc. ἑπης*. Do not tell me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper forces of yours. JACOB interprets the word *ἐπιστολιμαίους* by *τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας*. And SCHÆFER calls this much better than REISKK who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, promising large reinforcements which were never sent. D’OLIVER again refers it to the letters sent to mercenary soldiers containing promises never to be fulfilled. MR. KENNEDY’s note is: “Literally, *written in letters*, that is promised to the generals or allies, but never sent. Comp. Shaks. Henry IV., part ii., act 1:.”

“We fortify in paper, and in figures,
Using the names of men instead of men.”

It may not be out of place to suggest a new interpretation. From a previous note we see that all males from 18 to 60 were enrolled for service. These were all military men *on paper*, but when a levy came for active service, few could be found. I would then suggest that he refers here to these lists of men. Any one who

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has heard of the immense levies during the late American war, will have some idea of a *paper army*.

Ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.] But (a force) which shall belong to the state, a much finer reading than "ἄλλ' ἢ — ἀλλὰ μόνον—*non solummodo*."—REISKE. "The reference is to a force which shall not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian."—ARNOLD.

Ἔσται δ' αὖτε κ.τ.λ.] And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c. Τὴν τροφήν, includes here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in Cæsar is *frumentum militibus mettri*.

Καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν.] And how will it wish to do this? i. e. how shall this force act as "one of the city," and not as mercenary? The common reading is ἐθελήσετε. Ποιεῖν ταῦτα relates to ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται — ἀκολουθήσει.

Ξένους μὲν λέγω.] I say then mercenary soldiers. The orator here puts the most popular branch of the army first, as the Athenian proper was too indolent to fight, if he could hire anybody to do it for him.

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε.] Take care that you do not. Cf. XEN. ANAB. 7, 3. Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες. In each case the verbs depend upon ὁράτε. Also, PHIL. iii. p. 180; ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἡμῶν ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες φαίνεται.] But having done and provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.

Λέγω δὲ.] I say then. Δὲ = igitur. He now resumes his argument, having purposely said as little as he could about mercenaries, but instead speaks of the army as a whole, in which, however, mercenaries were to form three fourths.

Ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας δοκῇ.] Of whatever age may seem good to you. Ἡλικία means *manhood, men of serviceable age*. HER. i. 209, THUC. vii. 60, viii. 75. "On reaching the age of twenty, every Athenian citizen was registered in his proper δῆμοι, and in the temple of Agraulos took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, as a citizen or soldier. The military power was accordingly divided into forty-two enrolments (ἡλικίαι), each of which was named after the Archon under whom it was registered.

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No distinction was made. Rich and poor, noble and ignoble, and even philosophers were compelled to fight. Plato, Socrates, Æschylus and Sophocles, were soldiers. All served without pay, but Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to this ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed."—*Abridged from SMEAD.*

Χρόνον τακτὸν μὴ μακρὸν ἀλλ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ.] Observe how skilfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good.* His object was to get the plan adopted, and leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. Ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, "*by way of relieving each other = vicissim.*" ARNOLD. On the case of ἀλλήλοις see JELF. 593, 1, 2. Cf. THUC. vii. 27. Κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου, which is the more usual construction. For another example of the dative, XEN. CYR. i. 4, VOMEL. See also XEN. ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις.

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Ἰππίας διακοσίους.] *Two hundred cavalry*, or in a proportion of one to ten, which was the usual way. VOMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was about one in fourteen. No difference was made in the length of service among the Greeks, but the Roman cavalry served only ten campaigns, the foot soldiers twenty. DICT. ANT. s. v. ARMY.

Τούλαχιστον.] For the construction of this and similar words see JELF. 579, 6.

Εἰεν.] *Hæc hæcenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. Εἰεν, καὶ δὴ τεθνᾶσι. SORH. ŒD. COL. 1205. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said.

Ταχέας τριήρεις δέκα.] *Ten swift triremes*, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong so as to be able to manœuvre with ease and dispatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while the ἱππογαυροὶ generally carried sails.

Δεῖ γάρ ἡμῖν.] *For since he has a naval force, we, too, must have ships of war.* Philip, by gaining access to the ports of Thessaly, had the means of raising a great naval force, and the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus was applied for some time to building a force sufficient to cope with Athens on her own

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element. 'Ημῶν Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after an impersonal. SOPH. ANT. 782.

'Ασφαλῶς.] *Without danger.* Hence his request for ten ships to accompany them.

Πόθεν δῆ.] Δῆ is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 728, 2.

Τηλικάυτην.] *Accipe sensu diminutivo, tantillam.* SCHAEFER. *So very small.* 'Αποχρῆν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχράω, the Ionic being ἀποχρᾶν. BOKCH. *Corp. Inscrip.*

Πολίτας στρατευομένους.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make τοὺς στρατευομένους subject, and πολίτας predicate. But translate, *And why I order the citizens to undertake military service.* True, all the force was not Athenian, but there were 500 of them, and an orator speaking to please could very well pass over the other 1500.

Τοσαύτην.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, sc. *κελεύω.*

'Ἐνι.] For *ἐνεστί.* The accent is thrown back to distinguish it from ἐν preposition, poetice from ἐν: Also when a preposition stands after the word it governs, the accent is thrown back.

Τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην.] *A force to be drawn up in battle array against him,* to be contrasted with *ληστεῖν* following, which means to *harass an enemy* by piratical excursions. His advice, then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. παραταξομένην with HEC. ix. 31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε.

Τὴν πρώτην.] = *Primum.* Cf. OL. iii. 29. HEC. iii. 134.

Οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον.....δεῖ.] *There is no necessity that this should be enormous, nor ought it be altogether contemptible.*

'Οτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ'.....τὴν πόλιν.] *Because I have heard that the state once kept up a mercenary force at Corinth.* This was during the war of the allies against Sparta in 395 B. C. On the Spartan side Agesilaus led the army, and during the course of the war captured Lechæum and Cenchreæ, the ports of Corinth, together with Crommyon, and Sidus, and finally shut up the allies in Corinth. It was during this war that Iphicrates with his pel-

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tasts defeated a *mora* of Lacedæmonian horse, and for a time renewed the courage of the allies. Iphicrates commanded the mercenary troops until the year 392, when he was succeeded by Chabrias. JACOBS says that Polystratus must have been associated in command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. PLAUT. v. 173. Some read for Πολύστρατος, Polutrophos, from XEN. HIST. while others again propose Callistratus, from DEM. *contra TIM.* p. 1187. The war was ended by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387.

Ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ.....γεγόνασιν.] *But from the time that your mercenaries have warred alone for you, they have conquered both friends and allies, and your enemies have increased to a portentous extent.* Ἐξ οὗ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξ οὗ. *Ex quo tempore.*

Παρακύναντα.] *Having negligently attended to the wars of our commonwealth, have gone away, &c.* The verb παρακύνειν is to perform anything loosely and in a hurry, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISK. Another critic gives it the meaning of θρύπτειν, *delicias facere*, but this is hardly probable. As to the general estimation in which these mercenaries were held, you may learn from Isocrates, who calls them κοινὸς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὺς. WOLF.

Πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον.] The Social War broke out in 357 B. C. by the revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, from the Athenian league. The conduct of the war was given to Chabrias, who sailed away to Chios, but was almost immediately slain (LELAND B. i. sc. iii). After some quarrelling between Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares, the latter at length, in 356, succeeded to the command. He set out with a large fleet to attack the islands, but, having no money, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of his soldiers, and hire them to Artabazus, satrap of Daskylium, then in revolt against the king of Persia. By their aid Artabazus defeated Tithraustes, the general of the Persians, and Chares was so handsomely remunerated that all parties returned to Athens in great glee. But the king of Persia sent envoys to state he would assist the enemies of Athens in the war on account of the aid lent by Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages to the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in 355 B. C. GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

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‘Ο δὲ στρατηγός.] *And the general follows.* “Δὲ connect notions of which the second is distinguished from the first, but not opposed to it.” ARNOLD.

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, And how else?*

Τὰς προφάσεις. . . . παρακαταστήσαντες.] *Take all cause of excuse from both general and soldiers, provide pay, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.* Ἐπόπτας, *Inspectores*, exquisite dictum, nam sic ii, qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur. FRANK. *ÆSCH. PROM.* 298, Καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἦκεις ἐπόπτης; The word was also used proverbially, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOPH. *RAN.* 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες. περικαταστήσαντες. Malim simplicius παραστήσαντες. REISK. Non item ego.” SCHAEFER.

Ἐπεὶ νῦν γε.] *Since now it is laughable how we manage our affairs.* Cf. Ποιεῖν γέλωτα. *To make a joke.*—HERODOTUS.

Ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ.] “These words, ‘we carry on war with Philip,’ must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Eubœa, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (OL. 106, 3), (the proper date is OL. 107, 3) and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s advance to Thermopylæ, (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in Thrace (OL. 106, 1), amounted to an indirect declaration of war.” ARNOLD. But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive to Athens. He had seized the sacred gallery at Marathon and besieged Heræum, besides other overt acts of war against them.

Οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δὲ. . . . δύο;] *Are you not accustomed to elect from among yourselves, ten taxiarchs, and generals, and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and, as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by χειροτονία. This was the usual way of electing men for the public service, but in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of privilegium, it was necessary that the voting should be by ballot, ψήφος. The generals were almost always ten in number, and in the time of the Persian wars exercised command of the army one day each in turn.—HER.

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vi. 110. But in the later years, as in the time we are speaking of two or at most three were sent out. Three generals, Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in 356, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and Chares were sent out. However, the two former were not intended to command, but simply to give advice to Menestheus. Taxiarchs were so called from commanding a *τάξις*, which was the principal division of the Athenian hoplites. The Phylarchs were appointed to superintend the management of the cavalry, and subjected to the control of the Hipparchs in the same way as the Taxiarchs were to the generals. They were originally only four, but when the tribes were increased to ten, a similar number of them was required. Hipparchs were generals of the cavalry and exercised supreme authority over the Phylarchs. They were always two in number.—ARIST. AV. 799. Sometimes in foreign wars, only one was appointed.—HER. vii. 154. For further particulars see DIOT. ANT. s. vv.

Πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

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Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν.] *The rest marshal the processions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἔγειν with the words χορόν, ἐορτήν πομπήν. This latter word applied to all the public processions of the year. Ἱεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed annually, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Panathenæa. There was also a higher rank of them who sacrificed to the Eumenides. These last were chosen by open vote, and did not slay the victims themselves, but only performed at the commencement of the sacrifice.—DIOT. ANT. These last are specially mentioned by DEM. *contra* MID. 552.

Ὡς περ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον.] *For as puppet makers, you appoint your generals for the market not for the war.* These images made of clay and baked much in the same way as *terra cotta* (ΣΑΥΡΡΗ) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called *κοροπλάσται*, and *πηλοπλάθοι*, and doubtless generals and soldiers

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were represented as well as other kinds of images. All were exposed for sale in the market place, which gives more point to the sarcasm of Demosthenes, as these generals of theirs were busied in the market attending to the processions. In confirmation see "LUC. *Lexiphanes*, T. ii. p. 847. 'Ελλήθεις σταντὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικῶς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἐνδοθεν πῆλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ὢν." SCHAEFER.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἡ δύναμις.] *But was it not necessary that your commanders of divisions should be of yourselves, your leaders of cavalry of yourselves, your generals, leaders of your own, that the force might really be one of the commonwealth?* On γὰρ with interrogatives, see JELF. 872, i. 'Εχρῆν εἶναι = *Oportebat esse, at non sunt*; ἐχρῆν ἂν εἶναι = *oporteret esse, at non oportet*.—FRANK. "Ἴνα ἦν—on this participle with the Ind. see JELF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. CEd. REK. 1387. EUR. HIPPOCR. 647. DEM. p. 837. "Ἴν, εἴ τι ἐγίγνετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν, p. 849. "Ἴνα μηδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. Observe that ἂν is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

'Ἄλλ' εἰς Δῆμονον.] From THUC. vii. 57, we learn καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Δῆμνιοι καὶ Ἰουβριοι καὶ Αἰγινῆται. And since such was the case it would be more than likely that an annual deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in processions which we learn were celebrated there with great and magnificent display.—PHILOSTRATUS HEROIC, xix. 14. Lemnos had been taken and colonized a few years before the battle of Marathon.—HER. vi. 140. Grote's explanation of this expression εἰς Δῆμονον πλεῖν is: "It seems, as if it had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way, and avoiding the performance of a duty;" and so he interprets the present passage. But, as WHISTON remarks, he adduces no authority for his statement, and is quite mistaken, as the expression did not mean that. True, absence in the islands of the Ægean was often pleaded for delay, but if we except Σκυρία δίκη we find no use of any such terms as proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a bad case at law,

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and absconded, the euphemism was ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ἢ ἐν Ἰμβρῷ εἶναι. HESTON. In DEM. *contra* OLYMPIOD, p. 1174, we find that Olympiodorus was compelled to go with the army to Acarnania, which makes it appear that generals were sometimes sent away to avoid disagreeable law suits.

Μενέλαον.] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and Cygnæa, and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Aridæus; but "Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι, nisi qui esset Atheniensis; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξεναγός non fuit κεχειροτονημένος.—SCHÆFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorum Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere. "The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army of observation despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylæ, is said to have been the half brother of the Macedonian King, spoken of by JUSTIN and HARPOCRATION, s. v. Μενέλαος. D'OLIVET, on the other hand remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians would scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. It seems, however, certain that this Menelaus was a foreigner."—ARNOLD. "But the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners. An example of this was Ocharidemus of Orea."—SMEAD. This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra* ARISTOO, he is expressly called θετὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.

Περαινω.] This then I shall now proceed to show. Περαινω is the reading of REISKI, in his first edition; in the second, περαινω. And justly, since περαινω like εἰμι = ibo, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

Χρήματα τοῖνον.] For the case of this word see JELF. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that it is subdivided into ἡ τροφή, with σιτηρέσιον in apposition.

Τάλαντα ἐνεθήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς.] A little more than 90 talents. There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Euboic and Æginetan. The talent meant here is the first of these,

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whose value may be stated at £243 15s. sterling. The Attic coins have been fully treated of by Mr. Hussey; and from him we find that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm 9½d. nearly; 100 drachms a mina, £4 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent, £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would therefore be £22,425 = \$109,120. Πρὸς an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 622. Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ ταδὲ λέγω, δράσω δὲ πρὸς. PHOEN. 610. καὶ κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς.

Τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου.] *For each month.* Genitive of time.

Εἰ δὲ τις, κ.τ.λ.] *But if any one thinks that to procure ration money for the soldiers is a small provision for the war, &c.* This passage appears corrupt, and an article is clearly wanted to define which is subject to the verb εἶναι. It may be doubted, as BARKER remarks, whether it is good Greek without the article.

Οὐδὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν.] Demosthenes did well to add this paragraph, as the Athenian armies being so badly paid, would have very little hesitation in plundering their allies in the Aegean Sea. They made war support itself, but generally their friends, not their enemies, suffered the consequences.

Κἀγὼ δὲ συμπλέων.] DINDORF reads ἐγὼ συμπλέων, and encloses all from ἐγὼ to ἐχῆ in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HERMOGENES, which thus establishes their claim and the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHAEFER. In the great variety of readings for the passage I have adopted what seemed the best, and on the common reading will remark that the absence of any conjunctive particle would lead to the supposition that it was wrong. HERMOGENES, p. 847, has, κἀγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐχῆ, for which REISKE has corrected κἀγὼ δὲ as we have given in the text. Ἐτοιμος, see JELF. 376.

Πάρου ἀπόδειξις.] After these words a new oration begins, according to DION. HALICARN (*ad. Ann.* 1, 10) which he states to have been delivered in the Archonship of Themistocles, 347-6 B. C. But the evidence is all the other way, and even an epitome of the arguments would be too large for these notes. The only thing necessary to be said is that of the heading of the oration given by DIONYSIUS: Τὴν ἕκταν τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλε

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Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ πόλεων, it would not be the *sixth*, but the *fifth*, and that not one word is said to justify the title *regarding the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont*. We may conclude, then that the oration which we have is a unit, and that DIONYSIUS either made a gross blunder, or alluded to some oration not now extant having the heading which he has given for 'the remainder of this one. Further particulars will be found in TOURREIL, AUGER, BECKER, BREMI, SCHAEFER, and WINIEWSKI.

Δεδυρῆμεθα εὑρεῖν.] *Have been able to discover*. The information was probably derived from the *πορισταί* who levied the extraordinary contributions on the Athenians, and from their report the *γραμματεὺς* had read the *ἀπόδειξις* immediately given before, which had been prepared by Demosthenes himself from information derived from them. For *δεδυρῆμεθα*, *δυνάμεθα* is given in some editions.

Ἐπειδὴν δ' χειροτονήσατε.] *And when you vote upon the propositions of the speakers, vote whichever one pleases you*. The orator does not wish to force them to adopt his motion in preference to any other, but let them choose for themselves, as in that case they will be the more likely to carry out their decree.

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Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι κ.τ.λ.] *It seems to me that you would deliberate much better regarding the war and the whole preparation for it, &c. Τὸν τόπον, the situation of the country*. TAYLOR in his preface to REISKE, suggests *τρόπον*, but *τρόπος* is never said *de situ regionis*. The word *τόπον* here is said by REISKE to mean the same as a later word, *τοποθεσία*, used by DION. SIC. *περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον χώρας*.

Καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας κ.τ.λ.] *And watching the Etesian winds and the winter, attacks you when, &c. Τοὺς ἐτησίας*. "Every year a regular trade-wind blows from the N.W. eight days before the rising of the Dog Star (July 12). These gales were called *Prodromoi*. About two days after its rising the same winds, under the name of Etesian, blow steadily through the Dog-days, tempering the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a northerly voyage." VAMBL. The Athenians would thus be pre-

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vented from going north at this season, and Philip could the more easily sweep down upon them.

Δεῖ τολύν κ.τ.λ.] *You must not, therefore, knowing these things, wage war by hurried levies, for we shall be behind-hand in every-thing; but, &c.* Βοήθεια, *tumultuary soldiers*, collected suddenly for driving off an enemy. REISKE. *Subitarii milites*, ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant, LIV. 3, 1. Opposed here to “παρὰ-κευῇ συνεχῆς, i. e., ἡ διαμένει ἕως ἂν διαλυσώμεθα — ἡ περιγενώμεθα. P. 44. δύναμις συνεχῆς, i. e., ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἔκεινον ποιήσει. P. 45.” ΣΑΥΡΕΞ. Ὑστεριοῦμεν. The Athenian plan hitherto was to come with assistance when the town was taken, as was the case with Chares and Olynthus.

Ἰπάρχει δ' ὁμῶν κ.τ.λ.] *And you must use for winter quarters for the army, Lemnos, &c.* All these islands were in the northern part of the Ægean, off the coasts of Macedonia and Thessaly. Καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, Scopelus, Halonesus, Peparethus and Scyros, for all these were under the sway of Athens at this time. Χειμαδίῳ, dative, governed by χρῆσθαι, *hiberna—winter quarters*, i. e., τόπῳ, ἐφ' οὗ ἂν τις δύναιτο χειμῶνος ἐγκαταρμίσσασθαι. ETYM. M.

Τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσται.] *But at that season of the year when it is easy to approach the land, and no danger from the winds; the soldiers may approach to the very region, and the entrance of his ports.* SCHÆFER states that commentators here *nodum in scirpo quæsiuisse*, and adopts the translation of WOLF, as given above. Πρὸς τῇ γῇ γένεσθαι—to put in to shore, i. e. for military operations, γένεσθαι with πρὸς and dat. always having this meaning. εἶναι πρὸς with dat. means to be employed on with the notion of activity. BERNHARDY, Gr. p. 263.

Παρὰ τὸν καιρόν.] *In ipso tempore, at the very moment.* Cf. *contra* LEFT. p. 470. Παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους καιροὺς. PIND OLY. ii. 65, κεινὰν παρὰ δίαιταν. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the very moment in which a thing is done.

Ἄ ἐγὼ γέγραφα.] *Which I have proposed*, viz. in the ἀπόδειξις which had just been read. Ἐφ' ὁμῶν—The genitive of cause or agency, denoting the agent by or through whom the thing takes place. Latin *a* or *ad* with the ablative. THUC. iv. 64, ὅφ' ὁμῶν αὐτῶν.

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Παρ' ὧν denotes all that issues from any one, as commands, commissions, gifts, presents. Latin *ex.* with the ablative.

Ἄν ταῦτα πορίσῃτε. . . . ἃ λέγω.] If you will first provide this money which I mention. This is the best order of the words for translation.

Ἐντελῇ.] Complete, full, the whole entire force. Cf. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 1367. Also THUC. vi. 45, ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῇ ἐστιν.

Νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν.] And compel them by law to remain at the war, i. e. to give their whole attention to the war for your sakes, and not to run away pirating on their own account. Νόμῳ κατακλείειν, to compel by law. ANDOC. p. 24, ANTIP. p. 19.

Τῶν μὲν χρημάτων, αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορίσταί.] Yourselves becoming the receivers and treasurers of the money. The arrangement of the finances from this would seem to have been in the hands of the generals. JACOBS. Demosthenes advises the people to assume them, and to allow the general to attend to his own duties. The various impositions upon the general are well given by VÆMEL. Qui non solum exercitui expeditionique præerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendium, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos, et scribas curabat.

Τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες.] DINDORF for ζητοῦντες. Requiring an account from, &c. All persons at Athens who held a public situation were required to give in an account to the λογισταὶ or εὐθύναι, a board of directors, of the manner in which they discharged their duties; and so strict were they in demanding this, that until the account and vouchers were approved, the officer was not allowed to make a will, to dispose of any property, or receive any public honour or reward. If he failed to send in an account in thirty days after the expiration of his term of service, he was liable to impeachment (ἀλογίου δίκη.) When he had given in his accounts and they were audited, he was generally honourably dismissed (ἐπισημαίνεσθαι).—DEM. De CORONA, p. 310. Or an accuser might come forward.—DEM. c. MEID, p. 542. The various terms employed were εὐθύνas ἀπαιτεῖν, εὐθύνas δίδοναι, εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν, εὐθύνas ὀφλεῖν, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversion while in the office.

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Καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ποιοῦντες.] *And doing nothing more.*

Ἐκείνου] *Philip. Ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. He fights with you with resources derived from your allies, &c. Ἄγων καὶ φέρων. Latin, rapere et trahere.—DEMOSTHENES, p. 1282. Πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἄγει καὶ φέρει —ÆN. ii. 874. Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama. This is the Homeric ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι, of which we have another form in IL. v. 484. φέροισεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἄγοισεν. The Latin equivalent of this being *ferre et agere*, LIV. xxii. 3, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit. See also LIV. iii. 37.*

Τοὺς πλέοντας.] *Mercaturam facientes.—SAUPPE. Your merchantmen upon the sea.*

Τοῦ πᾶσχειν ἐξω γενήσεσθαι.] *You will be placed beyond his reach. Cf. the military term ἐξω βελῶν γενέσθαι.—XEN. AN. 2, 6, ARNOLD.*

Τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον.] *In past time. The acc. of time. JELF. 548, g. Eis Δήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν. None of the historical events related here are mentioned by any historian, so that we are left to conjecture. BRUCHNER, in his Life of Philip, states that all these attacks had been made by Pirates in the service of Philip. (SMEAD.) LUCIUSINI supposes that they took place in OL. 105.3, WINIEWSKI in OL. 106.4, quoting the words of ÆSCHINES de Fals. LEG. p. 37. Φίλιππος δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας οὐκέθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ Δήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον καὶ Σκύρου τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων. Those again who contend that this part of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make these events to have taken place in OL. 105.1. The preferable date is OL. 106.2.*

Αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους φχετ' ἔχων.] *And he takes away with him, your citizens as prisoners of war.—THUC. iii. 70. Ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς. Ἐχων, here equivalent to with. In such cases where we use with, the Greeks used ἔχων, ἄγων, φέρων, λάβων; observing this distinction, that ἔχων and λάβων are used of animate or inanimate things.—XEN. CYB. i. 3; of animate alone ἄγων; of inanimate φέρων, Ὁ Κύρος ξίφος φέρων προσήλασε —Ἴππον ἄγων ἦλθεν — ἱππέας λάβων τοὺς πολεμίους κατεδίωζεν. cf. JELF. 698.*

Γεραιστῷ.] *A town and promontory in the southern part of Eubœa, with a celebrated temple of Neptune. It was used as a*

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port of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four promontories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium, Cencœum. τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels*. Ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐξέλεξε. *Collected extravagant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as ARNOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAURBE. Κακὰ καὶ πρῶγματα ἀμύθητά μοι παρέχων διετέλεσεν.—DEM. contra MEID. 520.

Καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τριήρη] *And went away with the sacred galley.* In the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel called the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens to the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two in the age of Demosthenes; several in subsequent times, the number being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate Athenians, who called them *Ammonis*, *Antigonis*, *Demetrias* and *Ptolemais*, to propitiate the favour of Kings whom they feared to offend. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were *Paralus* and *Salaminia*. They were generally used for carrying ambassadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the admiral's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called *Delia* and *Theoris*. ATHENÆUS relates that the *Delia* was the vessel which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete.—ATH. iv. p. 178. The crew received four obols per day, and were paid all the year, although, as BOECKH states in his *POLITICAL ECONOMY of the ATHENIANS*, they remained nearly all their time at home in idleness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's cruisers.

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Ἦτοις δὲ οὐτε βοηθεῖν.] Δύνασθε in preference to ἡδύνασθε, since the orator not only implies that you did not then prevent, and you are not even now able. Translate. *And you are neither able to prevent these things, nor to send succour, at the times you promised.* "Eis—against, by, and hence virtually at; but with reference to a future point of time for which arrangements are now made."—ARNOLD.

Καίτοι τί δήποτε.] *And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem?* On the particle, see HOOG. de PART. GRÆC. p. 288, 7, a. v. καίτοι.

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Παναθηναίων.] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected, the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name of *μεγάλα* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πενταετηρίς*) and the other annually, commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombæon,—11th to 22d of July. The principal displays were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processions, games, &c, including the lampadephoria, and the procession of the Peplus. Golden crowns were also awarded at the Panathenæa. DEM. DE COR. 265. See DIOT. ANT. s.v.

Τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων.] There were four feasts called by this name, I. Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς. II. τὰ Λήναια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει. For particulars see DIOT. ANT. s.v.

Τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου.] When time is expressed by the gen. it is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action. Ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, *on this day*; ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, *during this day*; νυκτός, *at night*; νύκτα, *during the night*. Hence here, *at the proper time*.

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Τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους.....τῶν καιρῶν.] *That all your expeditions are too late for any use as, &c.* Ὑστερίξειν τῶν καιρῶν, *est serius venire, cum classis post tempus exiret*.—DISSEN.

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may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were too tardy in their operations to be of any service."—JACOBS.

Χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίάρχος.] For these words see DICT. ANT. s. vv. Τῆς φυλῆς, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

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"Who often, but without success, have prayed

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Τοιγαροῦν ἕμα . . . τι.] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, i. e. any movement of the enemy.* Observe now how artfully the the orator arranges his words. *We appoint trierarchs.* "They are dissatisfied, we make exchanges; as soon as this last is arranged, we look about for a supply of money, and when the money is provided the strangers and resident foreigners are called upon to embark; then they themselves should embark, and during all this time, the occasion is lost forever. Τριηράρχους. This was one of the extraordinary liturgies (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι) to which the Athenians were subject, and consisted in equipping and manning a trireme for an entire year; sometimes two or more persons were united for the same purpose. It was considered a disgrace for a man to do no more than his duty according to law in the fitting out of a trireme, and many of the wealthy Athenians ruined themselves by voluntary trierarchies, and the expense attending them. After 358 the trierarchy was managed by means of a general property tax, the same as all the other liturgies, by boards called συμμορίαι.

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liturgy; and if he refused, to submit to an entire change of property. The party challenged could of course object, and, in the case of the trierarchy, the trial was held before the strategi on a fixed day. The matter was fully discussed, and if the challenger made good his cause, the interchange must be made in three days, which might be extended at the will of either party. No concealment of assets was allowed, except shares in the mines at Laurium, which were excepted from all liturgies. If the matter could not be arranged before the strategi, a regular trial (*δίκη*) before the dicasts was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that any change took place. Of course if the change were effected, the challenger had then to carry on the liturgy from the proceeds of his new property. Months were often, however, consumed before anything could be done towards preparing the liturgy.—See *Dict. ANT. s. v.*

Μετοίκους.] *Resident foreigners*—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Piræus, and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (*προσδότης*), who not only defended him in law, but was answerable for his conduct to the State. Each family was subject to an annual tax of twelve drachmæ, and aliens were liable to the liturgies, and in other respects were taxed in the same manner as the citizens. They had also to serve in the army, and at times performed certain rites to symbolize their condition, and show their relation to the Athenian citizens. One of these was the Hydriaphoria.

Τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας.] *The freedmen living apart from their old masters.*—WOLF. “Sons living in their own houses, and enjoying a separate possession, while their fathers were still alive.”—REISKE. “Strangers dwelling in the Attic territories.”—AUGER. These three explanations have been given, and I have adopted the first. Photius, quoting this passage, says: οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔκουν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων. Again in DEM. in EUB. p. 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a nurse; ἀφείτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἐλευθέρα, καὶ χωρὶς ἔκει καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχεν. From

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this explanation of Photius and the remarks of DEM. as quoted, the reading of WOLF will be seen to be the most correct.

Εἰτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.] *And whilst these matters are protracted.* "Ὅσῳ in dat. sc. χρόνῳ. Μέλλω denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν εἰρωνείαν.] For εἰρωνείαν many manuscripts give βαθυμίαν. *For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion.* DOBRKE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, and LIVY. xxxi. 48. Non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.

Τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.] *The intervening time, i. e. while you are collecting a larger force.*—ARNOLD. VÆMEL translates the whole passage thus: "But in the intervening time, the forces, which we think we have, are found to be of no avail when the necessity for them arises. 'Ἐκ αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν. *In the very crisis of the emergency.* "By the 'resources' on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting anything on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which were sure to arise."—JACOBS.

Ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἐπιστολὰς.] *And he has arrived at so great a pass of insolence, as to send such letters already to the Eubœans.* From these remarks, we may gather that the letters in question were not very complimentary to Athens. JACOBS regrets that the letters are lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOB'S note in ARNOLD.

Τούτων ὥς οὐκ ἔδει.] *The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true.* Ὡς οὐκ ἔδει are used parenthetically, and have been here translated *unfortunately*.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'.] On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Οὐ μὴν, *yet, nevertheless, verumtamen, ἀλλὰ in sooth, surely, vere.* Οὐ μὴν denies something gone before, ἀλλὰ opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is *yet if not true, still, &c.* Cf. DEM. de FALS. LEG. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφερούσης. Cf. also EPIS. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντα τᾶλλα παραλιπόντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν.

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ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, περβήσεται.] But if any one, by passing over whatever would give offence in his speech, could also do away with the facts, then should he always harangue them for their pleasure.

*Ἄν ᾗ μὴ προσήκουσα.] If it be at an unseasonable time. Ἐργον ζημία γίγνεται. In very truth becomes hurtful.

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Φενακίζειν.] From φέναξ, a cheat, impostor. The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 78, in the same meaning as here, cheating or deceiving, or deluding.

Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων.] And not even able to understand this, that it is the duty of those who rightly manage a war, not to follow the course of events but anticipate them, i. e. not to waste their time in unavailing efforts to gain a petty advantage, but to arrange their affairs in such a manner as to be ready for every contingency. "Cf. LIV. ix. 18, At hercle reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur."—ARNOLD. Ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι = *antecapere*, to anticipate.—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ. ἄν.]—*Perinde ac si, just as if*. For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὅνπερ, which occurs in *De REB. CHERS.* p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐπ' Ὀρεὸν πρῶην. But ὥσπερ occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 18, and in the present oration, p. 46.

Καὶ μὴ τὰ. διώκειν.] And not be compelled to follow whatever happens. Τὰ συμβάντα — *casus eventusque rerum*. CIO. *pro BALB.* 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above, Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων. Cf. HER. vii. 49, Μάθε δτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν. FRANKK. Demosthenes must have had Philip in his mind when he spoke these words, for many years afterwards in his *DE CORONA*, p. 305, he said: Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων.

Πλείστην δύναμιν.] For the number of vessels which Athens could provide, see DKM. *de SYM.* p. 186. In fact a perusal of that whole oration will supply ample proof of the *πλείστην δύναμιν* here spoken of.

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Οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb ἀπολείπω occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied; I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore are inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE states he does not understand this passage; what is understood? WOLF seems to have understood πολεμῶν. *Nullum non hostem assectamini, ubicunque videtis concurrere, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes δ' into οὐκ, *Nullam rem non serius facitis.* SCHÆFER calls this foolish, and says οὐδενὸς is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER's translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil autem non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *And yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere,* and his long note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating it: *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.*

Ὡσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises in the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD.

Τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to*. Cf. THUC. i. 140. Τῆς γνώμης ἔχομαι. Τοῦ νόμου ἔχουσαι. EUR. OR. 504.

Ἐκεῖσε εἰσι αἱ χεῖρες.] *There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is: That the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were,

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and as, one by one, he wrested their possessions from them, they bemoaned their sad lot, but made no attempt to resist him. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον, but to be on his guard or look his opponent in the face. "Προβάλλεσθαι = προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. HARPOCRAT. s. v. To guard or ward off with the hands." SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 879. Ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι οὐτε τι ἔργῳ. XEN. CYB. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἡπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων ὅτι οἰοίμην πληγήσεσθαι.—WHISTON.

Χερρόνησος.] Usually distinguished as *Thracian*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the main land. It was colonised by the Athenians under Miltiades the contemporary of Peisistratus. Some of the principal towns were Elæus, Madytus, Sestus, Crithote, and lastly, Pactya and Cardia. The little stream, Ægos Potamos, was also in this Chersonese.

Συμπαρεῖτε ἄνω κάτω.] *You run up and down along side of him.* His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do was to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe the asyndeton in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. Στρατηγεῖσθε ὑπ' ἐκείνου.] *You are led by him.* "Odioso verbo utitur, quasi Athenienses Philippi mercenarii duces et mancipia essent; quod et turpe est et perniciosum."—WOLF. This was a most bitter sarcasm on the Athenians. Philip, by thus leading them about, became, as it were, their general in a war against themselves.

Πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.] *Nor do you look beforehand in any of your affairs.* Various readings and interpretations have been given for this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designedly so, in πρὸ προορᾶτε. These words may be translated *beforehand*. Περί τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, on which WOLF remarks, "Cum pecuniæ sint nervi belli, non incommoda est hæc lectio."

Πρὶν ἂν ᾗ πύθῃσθε.] *Priusquam . . . audiveritis.* ARNOLD. *Before you have become aware either that some calamity has already befallen you, or is now about to happen.* Absurdum est negligere rem, quæ tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHÆFER.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν ἐγχαρεῖ.] *Now we have come to such a*

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crisis, that this is no longer possible. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔσ' ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται. "Ἡκει is used impersonally like *ventum est*, and πράγματα is not understood as BARKER suggests. "'Ακμή — Critical point; crisis, discrimen." ARNOLD.

φιλοπραγμοσύνην.] This is the first time Demosthenes used this term concerning Philip, which he again repeats in OL. i. p. 13 *busy disposition, restlessness*. Cf. PLATO REP. 549. Cf. the language employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται.] *Holding what he has already subdued and seized.*

Ἀποχρὴν ἐνίοις ὑμῖν δημοσίᾳ.] *I verily believe that some of you would be satisfied with that, from which we, as a State, would have incurred shame, cowardice, and every imputation of folly.* SMEAD remarks that, "these however, were the very terms upon which peace was afterwards concluded in 346, and which the orator himself allowed it prudent to accept." Still this was no fault of his. If his advice had been followed now, perhaps in 346 he might have been able to demand better conditions. Ὀφληκότες. Ὀφλισκάνω is used almost always in a technical sense. Δίκην ὀφλ. *To be cast in a suit, lose one's cause.* But HER. viii. 26. Δειλίην ὀφλει πρὸς βασιλῆος. *He drew upon himself the reproach of cowardice from the King.*

Καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος.] *And ever grasping for more.* There is a fine field here for a philologist to trace this root ὀρ through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, *a mountain*; ὀρός, *serum, whey*; ὄρνυμι: ὄρνυξ, *a quail*; ὀργή, *anger*; ὄργια, *secret rites*; ὄργια, all having the general meaning of *rising or extending*. In Latin, orior, ordior, porrigo, with the same meanings. German, reichen, rechen. English, reach.

Ἵσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαισθ' ὑμᾶς . . . ἀπεγνώκατε.] *And perhaps he may provoke you, unless you have given up altogether.* A bitter sneer at the laziness and inactivity of the Athenians. Cf. ÆSCH. 23. Τὴν μετέραν ὀργὴν ἐγκαλέσασθαι. FRANKE.

Περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον.] *For the purpose of inflicting punishment upon Philip.* This intention would of course be adopted

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and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. *Μὴ παθεῖν κακὸν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.* *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

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Ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν.] Shall we then wait for this, and if we send empty triremes, and hopes from this and that one, do you think that all will be well? *Ἐπεὶ* is used in asking questions to denote the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO. APOL. 28. *Ἐπεὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνηι, ὃ Σώκρατες ;.*

Κενὰς τριήρεις.] I can hardly think that BARKER is right in his explanation of these words. He says that these vessels were sent out empty to get their mercenaries from foreign parts, and the general alone was with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. 30. *Δέκα ναὺς ἀπεστέλλετε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαρίδημον,* as proof of his view, which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all they could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion is *empty, vain, useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the *πέυθεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις* which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. *De SUBL.* sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ ἔξιμεν νῦν.] Shall we not go forth with at least a part of our own soldiers? *Ἡρετό τις.]* *Some one asks.* Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contentione, sive antea in familiari de eadem re sermone. Ποῦ, denotes motion towards a place, and where used with ἄν requires the optative: without it, the subjunctive. Ποῦ τις ἔλθῃ is correct. Ποῦ τις ἄν ἔλθῃ is solœcistic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, Ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἶ; ποῦ here is equivalent to ποῦ. Compare ubi gentium, CIC. in CAT. i.

Εὕρησιν τὰ σαθρά ὁ πόλεμος.] The war itself will find his weak points. Cf. TAG. HIST. ii. 77. *Aperiet et recludet contexta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* *Τὰ σαθρά, ἀσθενή, κεκλασμένα.* HESYCH.

Λοιδωρουμένων ἀκούοντες τῶν λεγόντων.] Hearing our orators upbraiding and finding fault with each other. This seems to have been a favourite amusement of the Attic orators, and for a very good specimen of the Athenian Billingsgate see DEM. *de Cor.* p. 269.

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Οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] *Never at any time shall we get any necessary thing done.* Here we have no less than four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehement assertion. On the construction of οὐ μὴ see JELF. 748. Cf. MARK, xiv. 25. Οἴκετι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ γεννηματος τῆς ἀμπέλου. Also LUKE xxii. 16, ACTS xviii. 14.

Καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές. συναγωνίζεται.] *There the favour of the gods, and Fortune fights with us.* Εὐμενές. Neut. sing. of adjective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 100. Τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς.

Ψήφισμα κενόν—Τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπιδας.] These words refer doubtless to many an armament of the Athenians. They were decidedly a nation of talkers at this time, and endeavoured to frighten the enemy by a mere decree for raising troops, and a magnificent number to be called out. The orators fostered this delusion, and as Demosthenes says the enemy laughed at them, and the allies trembled for fear of both friend and foe.

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους.] Many explanations of this accusative have been given. REISKI supplies διὰ, which of course makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγελῶσι, and changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words would then be strangely out of place. SCHÆFER would make it governed by ὁρῶντες. But all these ways are liable to objection. As to changing readings, that should in no case be done unless upon the best authority, which in this case is altogether in favour of the present reading. A simple verbal notion, as JELF. 360 says, is sometimes expressed by a verb and substantive, and the substantive generally contains the required verbal notion. He alludes to the following passages: CÆD. COL. 221, δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὅς' αὐτῶ. ÆSCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar Latin construction from PLAUT. MENÆCH. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis tactio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366. Τεθνᾶναι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίων καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, and then the general meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut præ metu exanimaris*. The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Our allies die from*

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very dread of such reinforcements, or to give a still stronger but not a very elegant term, are as afraid as death of such reinforcements.

“Ἐνα ἄνδρα.] *The general, for in almost all these expeditions he was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had no very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.*

“Ἵποσχέσθαι μέντοι. . . . ἔστιν.] *But it is possible to promise, and to talk glibly, and to blame such an one and such another. Μέντοι is much stronger than δὲ, being equal to but I am sure. Ἵποσχέσθαι. Generals even in the present time are given to this, and if history be impartial, the events of the late years will find some who deserve to be handed down to posterity as well as Chares. The Αἱ Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις being a proverb as we learn from SAUPPE ad ZENOB. ii. 13.*

“Ἡγῆται. . . . ἀθλίων ἀπομισθῶν ξένων.] *The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay. Ἀπομισθοί is elsewhere used in the sense of emeriti, paid off. DEM. p. 671. Ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπομισθος γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου; and in the present meaning by XEN. HELL. vi. 2. REISKE would read ἡττῆται, on the authority of some half dozen manuscripts, and he gives as explanation: “A general is said ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, who is in the power of the soldiers, who cannot deny anything to them, who can do nothing with them, since he must endure their slights, connive at all their crimes and misdeeds, because he has neither money to pay them, nor hire others.” But SCHÆFER says, “I would approve of Reiske’s interpretation, if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as ἀκολάστων, ὑβρίζοντων. But this inclines me to use ἡγῆται.”*

Οἱ δ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν. . . . ᾧσιν.] *And your orators here will lie to you without any difficulty, about whatever he may do elsewhere. It was the usual custom to have an orator in the pay of a general to praise him and support his actions. Ὅτι ἂν τύχητε. Vote at random on whatever you hear.*

Τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;] *What, then, can you expect? Quid, quaeso, expectandum est? WOLF. I cannot illustrate this passage better than by quoting the following from JELF. 760, 2. Qui, τί χρὴ λέγειν interrogat is, quid dici, non, an aliquid dici debeat*

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quaerit; sed qui τὴν καὶ χρὴ λέγειν, is non solum quid, sed etiam an aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene: quid dicendum est, si omnino aliquid dicendum est?) HERM. ad VIG. 837. In EUR. PHOEN. 1873, PORSON remarks on πῶς καὶ: Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postponi.

Μάρτυρας.] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόπτας. See note. Δικαστάς. As mentioned in a previous note, all public officers had to submit to an examination of their accounts and conduct on retirement from office. Of course all could not be dicasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

Νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' αἰσχύνης.] But now your affairs have become involved in such disgrace. Τῶν στρατηγῶν. They did not punish their enemies in war, but exerted their best energies to condemn their generals in peace, since impeachment and trial for life awaited every unsuccessful general. SAURBE mentions the following generals as having been several times accused: Chares, Autocles, Cephisodotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes. In addition to these see the trials of Iphicrates and Timotheus, in GROTE, ch. lxxvi. and in a subsequent period of Phocion, ch. xcvi.

Ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν προσήκοντος.] Instead of falling fighting bravely at the head of their armies, (τοῦ προσήκοντος) they return home to end their life in ignominy, like kidnappers and culprits, as he himself subsequently explains it. "From XEN. MEM. i. 2, 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was: τοῦτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία."—FRANKE.

Κακούργου.] Gen. after ἔστιν. For the person or thing to which some quality belongs, or is essential to, is put in the genitive after εἶναι. See SOPH. EL. 1054, Πολλῆς ἀγνοίας (ἔστι). HER. i. 107. Τρόπου ἡσυχίου ἔστι. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. xxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Aetolorum nunquam fuerant: Philippi erant.

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Τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.] The Thebans were envied and hated by the Athenians for their aggressions in Eubœa, and by the Lacedæmonians, who could never forget Leuctra and Megalopolis. Any attack upon Thebes then by Philip would not be regarded with

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alarm by the Spartans, who were not violently opposed to him, nor by the Athenians, as it promised them a little delay.

Τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν.] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOLF explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam hæc fuit Græcorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari à singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedæmonis à paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses, à multis, hoc est, à plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod THUC. ait. Τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βούλεσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπιτηδείως σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πολιτένεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι.

Ὡς βασιλέα.] *To the King.* Ὡς for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. POKSON. ad EUR. PHÆN. 1415, lays it down as a rule that ὥς can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον. Some of the German commentators have attempted to disprove this, but without avail.

Ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς.] Illyria was conquered by Philip in B. C. 356 by his defeat of Bardylis near lake Bermius, and soon after, the King tendered submission, which was accepted on condition of giving up all eastward of Lake Lychnitis.

Λόγους πλάττοντες.] *Fabricating stories.* Cf. SOPH. AJAX. 148. λόγους ψιθύρους πλάττων. Ἐκαστος joined with a plural verb. This is called the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. The whole is put in the nominative, and the distributive is put in apposition with its several parts. Cf. OD. i. 424. Δὴ τότε κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἶκονδε ἕκαστος. ACTS ii. 6. Ἦκουον ἕκαστος εἰς, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. ÆN. vi. 748. Quisque suos patimur Manes. TAC. HIST. ii. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes.

Μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει.] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his actions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μεθύειν is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of this we now adduce a few examples. Τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεθύειν. PLAT. REP. 562. D. Ἐρωτὶ μεθύειν. ANACR. 17. Ebrius jam sanguine civium et tanto magis eum sitiens. PLIN. Quidlibet impotens sperare, fortunaque dulci ebria. HOR. xxxvii. Bk. 1.

At which my soul aches to think,
Intoxicated with eternity.—BYRON.

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Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δῖ ἐκεῖνος.] *Nor indeed, in very truth, does he so choose to act, that the silliest among us may know what he is about to do.* The words after these are expunged by the index of Lambinus. ΡΚΙΣΚΕ. The general idea is that Philip would not like to have his subsequent actions thus talked about by these silly babblers. Οὐ μέντοι γε.] These words are used here in an ironical sense to signify that although what has gone before may be true, still, nevertheless, &c., Γέ belongs to the preceding word. *Non tamen certe* (HERM. ad VIGER, 842).

Ἐκείνο εἰδῶμεν.] *We are fully satisfied of this.* Ἐκείνο refers not usually to what follows, as here, whereas ταῦτ' refers to what has gone before.

Ἀποστερεῖ] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also DEM. p. 839, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀπεστέρηκε. The allusion is doubtless to the loss of the Athenian commerce through Philip's war vessels, and the consequent plundering of the allies by him, and the capture of the coast towns of Macedonia. Πολὸν χρόνον. During his whole reign so far.

Καὶ ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ.] *And that all things, which we once thought any one would do for us, have been found against us, and the future is in our own hands, &c.* I see no reason for making this sentence refer to Philip more than anybody else. It seems to be a general expression of dissatisfaction at the continuous ill-success of Athens. Nor do I think that Φίλιππος is nominative to εἴρηται, as AUGER advises, but rather ἅπανθ. "I know not if this refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many things occur in Greek and Latin writers, where it is better to agree with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up useless conjectures." WOLF. It refers to a'l the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ. Let us not trust these fellows again, but act like men, and all will be well. If not, we must fight at home, if we are too negligent to do so abroad.

Τὰ δεῖν' ἀπηλλαγμένοι.] *We shall know what ought to*

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be done, and cease our useless discussions. "Αττα used for ετινα. The form εσόμεθα εγνωκότες is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Εγώ μὲν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÆMEL. Μὲν οὖν. The usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis, and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHOEN. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐρῶ.

Πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν.] Did I choose to speak to win your favour. "Οτι μὴ, nisi si quod. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐδὲν ὑποστειλόμενος.] With no dissimulation. Cf. OL. i. 14.

Ἐβουλόμην δ' εἶν.] And I would wish, that as I know that it is advantageous to you to hear what is best, so I might know that it would profit me speaking for the best.

Νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι γενησομένοις.] But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of ἐπὶ here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, a defining the notion of coincident time, and farther to denote that it is after the events narrated. HER. viii. 65. Ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν. To come after the things were done.

Ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν αἰροῦμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξετε, αἰροῦμαι λέγειν. Being persuaded that these things will benefit you if you do them, I made up my mind to lay them before you. Nunc quanquam incertum est quidnam hinc consecutus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc vobis factu utilia fore, hæc loqui aggressus sum. This is Auger's paraphrase of the last sentence, and brings out the meaning of the orator in a fair manner.

Νικῆν συνοίσειν.] May that proposition which shall confer the most lasting happiness upon you, prevail. "Quæ victoria si omnibus præposita est, facile in concordiam rediretur, et capitales inimicitiae in summam benevolentiam et mutuum amorem converterentur." WOLF. Cf. the conclusion of OL. iii. and Pro MEGAL. p. 210.

INTRODUCTION
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TO THE
SECOND PHILIPPIC.

This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, O.L. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus. DIONYSIUS, p. 737. Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος "Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνονται." The occasion, as we learn from the introduction of Libanius, was one of some difficulty to the Athenians. Embassies had arrived in Athens, but whence they came or for what purpose, does not appear from the oration; still, it can be collected from the history of Philip. About this time, Philip sent ambassadors to the Athenians to complain that they had falsely accused him among the Greeks of having made certain promises, and afterwards having proved false to them, whereas, he says, he never made any promises, and therefore could not have been false; and he asks them for their proofs. Along with these ambassadors, others came from the Argives and Messenians to complain of the Athenians giving their support to the Lacedæmonians, who were attempting to enslave the Peloponnesian cities. The Athenians were at a loss what answer to make to each. They were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and

looked with distrust upon the union of sentiment between the Argives and Messenians, and Philip. They therefore preferred a union with the former to a seeming community of interest with any of the adherents of the king. Then again, Philip was correct in his statement regarding the promises, for neither in any of his letters to the Athenians, nor in the communications through his ambassadors, was any promise given. The promises had been held out by some Athenians, that if peace were attained, he would protect the Phocians, and reduce the insolence of the Thebans. This is the statement of Libanius, and seems sufficiently accurate to meet all the circumstances of the case.

The peace obtained by Philip in 346 was one of the grand turning points in his career. It effectually opened up to him the affairs of the whole Grecian world, and wherever any discontent prevailed his emissaries were sure to foment the disturbance. He appears, as GROTIUS remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a philippizing party, and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Æschines, supported by Phrynon and Philocrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbance likely to advance his ascendancy in Greece. The Athenians saw in less than one week after the signing of the peace, that Philip was no friend of theirs, and the representations which had gained that peace produced dis-

trust and resentment against him who had so deceived them. Instead of gaining security and alliance with their powerful neighbour, they saw themselves completely surrounded by his armies, and their enemies rendered more insolent by their disgrace. For not only were they deprived of their right of presiding at the Pythian games and that honour conferred upon Philip, and, in his absence, upon some of his *slaves*, but the right of *προμαντεία*, or first consulting the oracle at Delphi, was also taken away from them and bestowed upon him—PHIL. iii. p. 119; and a direct thrust was given them, when, in spite of their efforts to save, Philip completely abolished the autonomy of the Phocian cities.

~~In this oration~~, then, one of the objects of Demosthenes is to arouse the anger of the citizens against those men who had so deceived them. And in order the better to induce them to adopt his ideas, he reviews the actions of Philip since he obtained the peace, and then launches out against the perfidious ambassadors, the full torrent of his anger at their duplicity and deception. The answers to the ambassadors are not given, nor can we conjecture what was their nature.

Respecting the embassies which were at Athens when this oration was delivered, a few remarks are necessary. We have already stated the opinion of Libanius, and with this Winiewski agrees. He further states that one of the Macedonian envoys was the orator Python mentioned in DE HALONESO, p. 81; and further refers to this occasion the statement in DE COR. p. 272. "Ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τε

Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ρέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα. From the words employed, the statement may be correct; but we have no means of proving it. The opinion of Dionysius is also given at the commencement of this introduction. The whole tenor of the discourse would hardly seem to warrant the idea of the presence of Macedonian envoys at its delivery. The tone is harsh towards the king, and his aggressions are mentioned in no very complimentary terms. It would hardly be considered in keeping with the character of Demosthenes to suppose that he would hold such language about a king with whom the Athenians were at peace, and in the presence of his envoys, who came, according to the received account, to demand explanations for such language when delivered in Peloponnesus.

The presence of Argive and Messenian embassies is quite evident as the whole of the first part of the oration plainly indicates. Sparta had been endeavouring ever since the founding of Megalopolis to recover for herself the territory at that time wrested from her; and as Thebes was the enemy whom she had most to fear, she made an attack upon Megalopolis at the time when the power of Onomarchus was greatest, B.C. 352. In this attempt she was unsuccessful, but again in 346 she renewed her aggression. This time, however, she attacked Messene. The Arcadians and Argives at once assumed the quarrel, and marched to the assistance of Messene. By this aid, the Spartans were defeated. But Messene was still afraid, and an embassy was sent to Philip asking aid. He readily promised it, and sent them troops and money, and also intimated to the Spartans that they must resign all claims upon Messene.

PHIL. ii. p. 69. Athens, warned by the fate of Phocis, was fully aroused, and Demosthenes and others were sent to counteract the designs of Philip.—DE COR. p. 252. The embassy was not successful, but enough had been said by Demosthenes to induce the Peloponnesians to look with less favour upon Philip. The Argives and Messenians sent a counter embassy to Athens to endeavour to detach her from the alliance with Peloponnesus, and it is in their presence that Demosthenes speaks.

We have already mentioned that one of the objects of Demosthenes in this oration, was to hold up to popular indignation the perfidious ambassadors, by whom so inglorious a peace had been concluded. There is a further train of thought which can be traced through it. Demosthenes, by dwelling upon the aggressions of Philip, is carefully preparing the minds of his hearers to break the peace with him. And yet he does not directly propose it; he tells them, at the very outset, that nothing is done but speech-making, and his insinuations naturally point to something more than words. Still, recollecting the fate of others who had proposed unpopular, yet salutary measures, he will not move to declare war. The whole object of the oration then, is to supply an answer to the Messenians and Argives; to induce the people to declare war against Philip, and to administer to the traitorous ambassadors a well-merited castigation, and insinuate at the same time, that they ought to be brought to trial.

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NOTES

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SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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Περὶ ὧν εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions, and infringements of the peace.* Βιάζεται, sc. πράττειν. Βιάζεσθαι sometimes governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66. Ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε. *Since I am forced to this*, but in the present instance it has not this force. Παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. The peace signed at Pheræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the Athenians and Philip.

Δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους.] *Just and generous.* "The orators in their speeches professed the most unbounded respect for the common rights of Greece, which are thus considered as applying to the whole human race. The distinction between Greek and barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in this philanthropy, and hence it is that the *love of their countrymen* was called by the most extensive term, *love of mankind*." LELAND.

Λέγειν τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας.] *Appear to say what is proper* = Εἰς δέον λέγειν.

Γιγνόμενον δ' ἄξιον.] *But nothing that is requisite, so to speak, is done; nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* The meaning of this whole passage from the beginning is obviously as follows: The Athenians listened with approbation to the speeches made against Philip, and at the same time, being at peace with him, were most desirous of remaining so. But Demosthenes in this oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De REP. CHERS.* seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evidence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

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nothing had been done that is requisite; which from the general tenor of his speech we are inclined to interpret: *No one has formally moved for war.* Ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν = ὥς φαίνεται, ὥς ἐν λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὥς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. *SCUDAS.*

Εἰς τοῦτ' πράγματα.] Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα.

Ἐξελέγχῃ παρβαλόντα.] *May convict Philip of transgressing the peace towards you.* This could easily be done by a consideration of his treatment of the Phocians after the signing of the peace at Pheræ, and his continual interference in the affairs of Thrace. True, these were not included among the allies of Athens, but enough had been done to show that virtually they were so.

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἐπιβουλεύοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active coöperation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. *DE PACE*, p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia, near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. *DEM. FALS. LEG.* p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanians, and Pæonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellespontine affairs. *GROTE*, CHAP. XC.

Πάντας τοὺς οὐχὶ λόγοις.] *All who seek their own aggrandizement ought to be hindered by action and deeds, not by words.* Πάντας is the better reading which is then the accusative before καλύειν. *ARNOLD* reads πάντες which then stands without a verb. Οὐχὶ. A negative proper; the agreement of the subject and predicate being denied. The form is much stronger than the simple οὐ. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτά παρίσταται μοι κ.τ.λ.

Ἡμεῖς οἱ παρόντες.] Sc. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. *WOLF.* Ἀφέσταμεν, by syncope for ἀφεστήκαμεν. Τούτων refers to ἔργῳ καὶ πράξεσιν. Translate: *We the orators refrain from these things, fearing, &c.* The extreme aptitude of the Athenians to impeach any one for

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proposing unpopular measures is quite evident from the general history of the people. And even popular measures could not at all times escape the officious interference of some legal Athenian. Compare the account of the impeachment of Philocrates for moving to allow Philip to send a herald and envoy to treat for peace in the early part of B.C. 346 (*ÆSCHIN. contra CTES.* p. 63), and also the impeachment of Apollodorus for diverting the Theoric fund to war purposes. *DEM. contra NEAR.* p. 1346.

Τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν.] These words have a double signification; subjective, *odium quo aliquem prosequor*; objective, *odium quod est apud me contra aliquem*. *BRAMI*, who further states that the difficulty is in the preposition πρὸς. But *Schæfer* rightly remarks: *Hanc ambiguitatem non pendere à prepositione πρὸς, sed ipsam per se inesse substantivo ἀπέχθεια, quod nunc activam vim, nunc passivam habet.* It occurs in both significations in *De COR.* p. 237. *Of. FALSB. LEG.* p. 368. Ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἐχθρὰν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε. The word *invidia* is similarly used in Latin.

Ὅς δεινὰ καὶ χαιρεπά.] Ὅς = *quum*. However heinous and unbearable they may be. *Οἱ καθήμενοι*, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες. the hearers.

Ὅς μὲν ἂν. συνείητε.] For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them. Ὅς si hoc loco finalis particula esset, conjunctivi sequi debebant. Sed orator hoc dicit eo modo, quasi eo genere apparatus, quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis, i. e. ad orationes habendas parati estis. *FRANK.* *Elmsley* denies ὅς ἂν finalis in Attic writers at *SOPH. AJAX*, 1217.

Ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστὶ νῦν.] Which he now aims at. The force of ἐπὶ here is to denote steady continuance in a thing. *Of. DEM. PHIL.* i. p. 42. Ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνώμης—*firmiter adherere huic rationi.* *De REB. CHERS.* Μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνολίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν. *SOPH. ANT.* 1127. Ὅς βιαίως ἔχεται πανδήμιος πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου, where, however, *Musgrave* reads ὑπὸ on account of the construction.

Συμβαίνει δὴ. εἰκός.] And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows. Δὴ is frequently used to draw a conclu-

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sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. JELF. 721. Ἐν οἷς, an explanatory or determinative proposition, is often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. BRESMI.

Δικαιότερα.] Cf. supra δικαίους λόγους. FRANK explains these words: Eæ orationes dicuntur, quibus jura Atheniensium adversus Philippum defenduntur. The orator therefore tells them, if such orations suffice, there is no further trouble. ῥάδιον. The copula omitted, which is frequently the case with this word, and also φροῦδον, ἔτοιμον, δύνατον.

Καὶ μὴ προελθόντα. ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα.] *And that passing events may no longer escape the notice of us all, and a mighty power may be raised up, which we shall not be able to withstand.* Ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως = *Ne magnitudo copiarum ingruat*, i. e. *Ne tantis copiis et viribus oppugnemur.* Ἀντᾶραι, is sometimes transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. Ὅπλα ἀνταϊρόμενοι. iii. 52. Οὕτε χεῖρας ἀνταϊρομένους; and intransitive in the present instance, and also in OL. ii. p. 25.

Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος.] *The same manner of giving advice.* Non eadem profecto consulendi ratio, quæ prius est adhibenda.—LUCCHESINI. Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος = *eadem ratio*; αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος = *ratio ipsa*. A like usage is observed with πᾶς. HER. ix. 81. Τὰ πάντα δέκα, *ten in all.* Δέκα πάντα, *ten each*; ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, *the city, as a whole*; πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, *all the city*, and still further πᾶσα πόλις, *every city*.

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Τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ. προαιρετέον.] *The best and safest measures are to be preferred to the easiest and most agreeable.* The word σώσσοντα must have been used here to excite the attention of his audience, and suggest to them that with Philip now enveloping them in his snares (PHIL. i. p. 43,) they could not be safe. The orator thus catches their attention.

Ἡλίκος ἤδη. Φίλιππος.] *What like the power of Philip is, and what he has made himself master of.* Ἡλίκος. Philip was at this time an Amphictyon, elected in the room of the deposed Phocians, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected general in an Amphictyonic war against Athens. Ὅσων. He

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was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river Hebrus, and northward nearly to the Ister. Besides he held Thermopylæ with a garrison. PHIL. iii. p. 119. Cf. ISOC. EPIST. ad PHILIPPUM, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens, Argos, and Sparta, uniting their forces for a general war against Persia. *Σοὶ δὲ μόνῃ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχεῖς δεδομένην, πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον, ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*

‘Εφ’ ὑμᾶς.] = καθ’ ὑμᾶς, eis τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι ὑμᾶς. WOLF. The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case, yet was justified in his suspicions.

Δεσθῆναι.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only, as here; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. τῶν ἐδέετο σφῶν. Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it; as THUC. v. 57. Ἐδέοντο Βοιωτοὺς. Cf. De COR. p. 227. Ἀξιῶ καὶ δεόμαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι μοι.

Διὰ βραχείων.] *Paucis (verbis): In few words.* Other forms to express the same idea are, ἐν βραχεῖ, ἐν βραχείσι. SOPH. EL. 675. Κατὰ βραχύ. THUC. iv. 90.

Δι’ οὓς.] “Vulg. καὶ δι’ ὧν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι’ οὓς sc. λογισμοὺς.” REISK. Ἐμοι παρέστηκεν προσδοκᾶν.] Παραστηκέναι = *Stat mihi sententia. It has occurred to me to think, &c.* Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παριστάται μοι γινώσκειν. Δι’ ὧν. The signification of these words is: *the very thing which we use as an instrument*, whereas δι’ οὓς signifies *the remote cause which we look to.* VEMEL.

Βέλτιον.] After this word τῶν ἄλλων is inserted in many editions, on which HERMANN remarks, “Nihil est causæ, cur omittatur.” I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English editions.

Οἱ θαρβύντες. . . . αὐτῷ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust him*, alluding more particularly to Æschines and Philocrates. Οἱ θαρβύντες, securi, imperterriti. WOLF. Posterius præstat. SCHÆFER. Προσθήσθε, sc. ψῆφον. *You may agree with them.* The word ψῆφον is not added at all times, but we have the full construction in DEM. p. 1820, προσθέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον; and in ÆSCH. EUM. 735, ψῆφον δ’ Ὀρέστη τήνδ’ ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, and also in

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THEO. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of *ψῆφον*, means *to agree with, to give one's vote in favour of*.

Λογίζομαι.] *Reason thus.* Πυλῶν. By the seizure of this pass he secured an entrance into Greece, and the power of determining the Phocian war.

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι πραγμάτων.] Τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πυθίων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ὅλης Φωκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quæ in Phocensibus gerebantur.* FRANKK. Soon after his entering Pylæ, he proclaimed himself the ally of Thebes, DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 360, and destroyed the Phocian towns to the number of twenty-two. FALS. LEG. p. 379.

*Α Θηβαίοις. προέλετο.] *He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours.* In the oration *De PACO*, p. 59, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thebans, repeople Thespiæ and Plateæ, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Coronea and Corsia, and transferred to them a portion of Phocis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Theban policy in regard to Phocis, and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

*Ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν. ἐξεδίωκον.] *Making his calculations with a view to his own aggrandizement, and the reduction of everything under himself, &c. Οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν.* Nor anything that is just.

*Ὅτι τῇ μὲν. προεῖσθε] *That to our city, and to principles such as ours, he could neither offer nor perform anything of such a kind, as that, persuaded by it, for your own advantage, you would sacrifice to him any of the other Greeks.* Ἐνδελεῖσθαι. *Se ostentaturum esse.* ARNOLD following FRANKK translates this word *would be able to pretend, se nihil ejusmodi ostentare*, i. e. *polliceri, cum tamen præstare nollent*. But this is scarcely the meaning, and I have preferred the interpretation of VEMEL and SCHÆFER.

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Τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι.] *Justitiae rationem habentes*—Forming a just estimate of what is right. Πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει προσοφόμενοι, *Omnia quae decet providentes*,—Exercising proper forethought.

Ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above.

Οὐχ ὅπως.....ἀλλὰ καί.] *Non solum non....sed etiam.* JULY. 762, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν.....εὖ ποιεῖ.] *And now having formed the same judgment, he is befriending the Messenians and Argives.* The hatred of these people to Sparta made them not only anxious to unite with Philip against her, but even to prefer his authority to any interference from Sparta. Hence below we find that he had sent money to them, and was even expected there himself, p. 69. Farther from *De PACI*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedæmonians.

Καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.] The use of κατὰ here is exceptional. means in the case of, about, in regard to the object of consideration, regarded as lying beneath under consideration. Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. ARISTOT. *de ANIM.* i. 1, Μία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων, and compare the parallel passage in *De COR.* p. 300. "Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν κάλλιστα." SCHÆFER.

Κέρριστε γὰρ.....προέσθαι.] *For you alone of all are adjudged by these very actions of his as not likely to barter the common rights of the Greeks for any advantage to yourselves.* τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. WESTERMANN interprets this to refer to the independence of the Greek states secured by the peace of Antalcidas, which was disturbed by the seizure of the Kadmeia by the Lacedæmonians. But it refers with far more likelihood to the absolute freedom enjoyed by them, which they were now too anxious to give up to the Macedonian. Μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους.....προέσθαι. Cf. *De REB. CHRS.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand ἐνεκα in either case. *Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lucreris.* SCHÆFER. Κέρδους, χάριτος, ὠφελείας. Genitive of price.

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‘Ὡς ἑτέρως.] ‘Ὡς abundat eleganter, et vacat ante ἑτέρως, sicuti quam apud Latinos ante superlativum. WOLF. It is not redundant, but increases the force of the adverb, as if you had said: *how different! ut aliter!*

Τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογισόμενος.] From a consideration of our previous history.

Ἐξὼν αὐτοῖς. . . . βασιλεῖ.] When they could have ruled the rest of the Greeks provided that they acknowledged the king, &c. ISOCRATES in his Panegyric relates the same fact. “HERODOTUS makes no mention of it so far as I know.” WOLF. “Ὡστε. Conjunctionem expectaveris quæ conditionem exprimat, ἐφ’ ᾧ τε, sub ea conditione, ut; “Ὡστε significat consequentiam. BREMI. Cf. THUC. iv. 23. “Ὡστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσας, ut cives suos servaret.

Βασιλεῖ.] Dative after ὑπακούειν, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. ὑπακούοντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ἦνικ’ ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος.] Τούτων, sc. Μακεδόνων. Series generis: Amyntas, Alexander, Amyntas, Philippus, Alexander. The circumstances alluded to here are briefly these: After the battle of Salamis, (Sept. 23rd, 480) Xerxes hastened to the Hellespont, and crossed over into Asia Minor, leaving Mardonius with a force of nearly 300,000 men, made up of Persians, Bactrians and Medians, with contingents from other nations. HER. viii. 113. Mardonius marched into Thessaly and there wintered; and in the meantime certain old oracles were revived “that the Athenians and Persians should conquer Lacedæmon.” HER. viii. 141. The time seemed opportune to send an envoy to Athens with offers of an equal and independent alliance, HER. viii. 140, and also of the restoration of all that Xerxes had destroyed. The envoy was Alexander of Macedon, who, with the Bœotian leaders, still remained faithful to Mardonius. The answer of Athens was to this effect, HER. viii. 143: “Tell us not that the power of the Mede is greater than ours; we know that too: but we regard freedom more, and will defend it as long as we can. And now tell Mardonius, so long as the sun continues in the course she now does, we never can form alliance with Xerxes.” And to Alexander himself they said: “We desire no harm to come to thee, being a guest (πρόξεινον) of the Athenians, but for

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the future, bearing such messages as these, show not thyself to the Athenians." Then turning to the Spartan envoys, who came to induce them to remain firm to the cause of Grecian freedom, they replied, viii. 144: "There is not enough gold anywhere in the earth, nor any territory so abounding in beauty, and fruitfulness, in return for which we could be induced to medize (*μηδίζαντες*) and enslave Greece, for so long as one Athenian survives, in no way can we form alliance with Xerxes." The answer of the Athenians being conveyed by Alexander to Mardonius, he set his army in motion, and, passing through Bœotia, again appeared before Athens, which was a second time abandoned to the Persians, June, 479. *HER.* ix. 2, 3. The inhabitants fled to Salamis, and despatched envoys to Sparta for aid. Mardonius sent a Hellespontine Greek, Murychides, to renew the offers of Alexander, and held out the additional inducement to them that he would not ravage their territory. Again his offers were rejected so unanimously that Lycides, an Athenian senator, having alone proposed their acceptance, was set upon by the rest, and stoned to death, ix. 4, 5. Finding them obstinate, and not being able to remain in Attica, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Plataea. The Persian power on the same day received another reverse from Cimon, in the famous battle of Mycale.

Τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν.] Alluding to the evacuation of the city and the withdrawal to Salamis, both when Xerxes was advancing in 480 and again in 479. *Μετὰ ταῦτα*, must refer to both these desertions of the city.

**Ἄ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν.*] Which all are eager to proclaim. *Πάντες*. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by *PHRYNICUS* in his lost *Phænissa*, *ÆSCH.* *Persæ*, *ISOGRATES*, *Oratio Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly *HERODOTUS*, Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb *γλίσχεται*, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

**Ἄξιός δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.*] Yet none could worthily proclaim them. Mr. Kennedy appositely quotes *Shaks.* *Coriol.* Act ii. sc. 2.:

I shall lack voice; the deeds of Coriolanus
Should not be uttered feebly.

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p. 59. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 346. *Depending upon one hope after another, and upon promises (ὑποσχέσασιν);* p. 391. *Nor that there should be witnesses of the promises (ὑποσχέσεων) upon which he obtained the peace.*

Ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.] *Upon which he obtained the peace.* ARNOLD remarks upon this: "As if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of peace." Not so. For after the peace had been sworn and the ambassadors had returned to Athens, Demosthenes, being senator that year, made a report of the proceedings of the embassy in presence of a large audience, shewing them the whole proceedings from first to last, laying down his suspicions of Æschines, Philocrates, and Philip, and advising them to send away a fleet to seize Thermopylæ (FALS. LEG. p. 346). The ships were ready at a moment's notice, having been voted in case of any emergency, p. 444. Also ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *if the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.*

Ὡς πάντα ταῦτα εἰδώς.] *With a knowledge of these facts; i. e.* Knowing you to be above corruption, and the Thebans and Argives to be venal and possessed of less naval advantages. SCHÆFER connects εἶποι. . . . εἰδώς, and says: *Dicat aliquis quasi totum rerum hodiernarum statum penitus conspectum habens.*

Ἄλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ ἀξιοῦν.] *Quod æquiora postulent.* WOLF. *Because the demands of the Thebans were more just.* The common reading is *δικαιοτέρους, quod justiores judicant Thebanos, quam vos.*

Καὶ μόνον.] When καὶ is thus added to verbs, adjectives, and indefinites, it has an intensive force. Νῦν. After he had ordered the Lacedæmonians to give up Messene. REISKE.

Μεσσήνην.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the city Messene, are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Martinea, she refused to make peace if that were a condition. (XEN. HELLEN. vii. 4; DIOD. xv. 89.) In fact, it was too galling to Sparta to acknowledge a people sprung from her own Helots, and a city founded as a memorial of her defeat. Yet all the allies of Sparta in her wars against Thebes

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would have acknowledged the city, and it was even made a matter of Athenian foreign policy. DEM. *pro MEGAL.* pp. 204, 206. That Philip should now order them to give up all claim against the city, must have been violently opposed by them.

Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν.] These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

Τῷ δίκαια. σκήψατο:] *Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice?* Cf. for a similar meaning of σκήπτεσθαι, HER. vii. 28. Οὐδὲ σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἐμεινωτοῦ οὐσίην. The grammarians explain this verb by προφασίζεσθαι. "The Lacedæmonians might contend that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea." JACOBS.

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχώρησε ταῦτα] *But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will.* Not a supposed objection, as Arnold declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from DE PACE, p. 62. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δῆπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὥς οὐδ' ἐβούλετο. ἄλλ' ἠναγκάσθη. And we may conclude that Æschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip's intentions.

Τῶν Θετταλῶν. ληφθεῖς.] *Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry.* The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onomarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocian War. Ἰππέων. "The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3,000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (HELLEN. vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger." ARNOLD.

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Ἰπόκτας ἔχειν.] *For ὑποκτείνειν, suspectum habere, diffidere.* The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Bœotian city was eagerly received. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54. Πρόπτειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.

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ὅς ἑλάττειαν τειχιεῖ.] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* Τειχιεῖ. Attic future. Elatea, a town of Phocis, and next to Delphi the most important, was situated in a fertile valley near the Cephissus, and formed the key to the pass from Thessaly into Bœotia. It shared the fate of the other Phocian towns destroyed by Philip at the conclusion of the Sacred War. Philip did not desire to garrison the town so long as he could rely upon Thebes, and it would have seemed strange if the new Amphictyon and avenger of Apollo had restored and garrisoned a town so lately destroyed by himself. However, in B.C. 339, he seized the town while marching as the Amphictyonic general to punish the Locrians, and soon after commenced to fortify it. This was even more than Demosthenes at this time (B. C. 344-3) expected. Philip in his march southward in 339 concealed his object until he came into possession of Elatea, and then, being in a position to force the Thebans, he disclosed to them the true object of his march, viz., the attacking of the Athenians. DEM. *De Cor.* pp. 293, 299.

Καὶ μελήσει γε.] *And indeed he will be about to do them.* Καὶ.....γε, *et quidem.* JELF, 735, 10; or γε may mean *moreover*, as in EUR. *Med.* 1392.

Συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει.] On this reading FRANKÉ observes, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to *Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ἀργείοις*, Sunt dative qui dicuntur commodi, "pro Messeniis et Argivis," sc. *in horum commodum, cum Lacedæmonitis confligere.* The reading of SCHÆFER, authorized by many manuscripts, is *συνεισβάλλειν*, but we hear of no invasion, and this reading can therefore hardly be correct. I have retained the reading *συμβάλλειν*, and would translate: *But that he is going to join the Argives and Messenians against the Lacedæmonians: this he is not going to do.* He might send them money and men, and might even be expected himself, but he is not really going.

ἔνους εἰσέμπει.] A rhetorical flourish of Demosthenes to indicate the contempt of Philip for anything like secrecy in the matter. We read nowhere else of such mercenaries having been sent

Τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς.....νῦν σώσει:] *Is he now going to*

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destroy the Lacedæmonians, being enemies of the Thebans, and is he about to protect the Thebans, whom he formerly destroyed? An answer to those who said he was compelled to do in Phocis, what he would not have wished, by the Thebans. He shews the absurdity of that by his present acts. *Ὅττις* Hoc loco magnam vim habet, significat emin *existere*, oppositum οὐς ἀπώλεσεν. BREMI. 'Απώλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. LEG. p. 361, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns: Οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιρηγμένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους σκάρους οὐδ' ἂν εἰς θάνατ' ἐφίκεισθαι τῇ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων.

Καὶ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν.] And who, pray, could believe this? Καὶ is thus elegantly used to introduce some inconsequence in the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC MILO. 33, *Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia?*

'Εγὼ μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐναντιοῦσθαι.] For I, for my part, do not think that Philip would continually oppose the enemies of the Thebans, even if he had acted so at first much against his will, and were now beginning to give them up in despair. The first ἂν belongs to ἐναντιοῦσθαι, JCL. 405, 2, and is then repeated (epanaleptically) as is often done, with one of the *estre's*. ARNOLD. 'Εγὼ μὲν = ego equidem.

'Εκ προαιρέσεως.] Used adverbially *ex instituto*. Cf. p. 1097, 'Αλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλήσεως γίνονται.

'Εκ πάντων ὅ συντάττων.] And upon the whole, if any one take a correct view of the matter, everything he takes in hand, he cunningly moulds in opposition to our city. Συντάττων, *adjungit sibi socios, per quos nos oppugnet*.

Πραγματεύεται.] i. e., δηλός ἐστι πραγματευόμενος, *deprehenditur, si quis recte reputet, eum omnia machinari in fraudem reipublicæ*. REISK. The whole course of Philip's policy from his capture of Amphipolis till the fatal defeat at Ocheronæ, only showed too truly the correctness of this declaration of Demosthenes.

Νῦν γε δῆ.] Now at least, *nunc certe quidem*, whatever it may have been formerly. ARNOLD.

Τούτου ὅ ὅμῳ.] And he has persuaded himself that you

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alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHAEFER reads here *ὑπειληφώς*, *quia sibi persuasit*, and removes the full point at *ὁμᾶς*.

Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ.] And he knows this best in his own mind. On this whole passage cf. the speech of Caius Memmius in SALL. JUG. Chap. xxxi. *Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?*

Οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν, ὁμετέροις τούτοις.] = *τούτοις ἃ ὄντα ὁμέτερα ἔχει*, *οἷς* being attracted into the case of the antecedent. *For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else.* Amphipolis and Potidæa were the *ἐπιτεχίσματα* of Athens against Macedon.

Οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι ἤγειτο.] He could not think that he was firmly seated at home. *Οἴκοι.* In Macedonia. *Ne domi quidem se tute posse manere duceret.* WOLF.

Δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν.] He thinks you must justly hate him. The common reading is *νομίζει*. REISKI gives this reading, and remarks upon it: *Nam ἂν neque ad istud, neque ad hoc refertur, sed ad μισεῖν, existimat vos, se si exosi sitis, meritum odisse. Παρώξυνται.* He is goaded on. *Πείσεσθαι τι.* He will suffer some calamity.

**Ἄν μὴ πρότερος.]* Unless he first prevent you. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43, *μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*. The participle is joined with *φθάσω*, to express the antecedent or coincident notion to which the action of the verb relates. JELF. 693.

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν.] On this account he is awake, he is on the alert. *Ἐγρήγορεν.* 2nd Perf. Ind.—the present not being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects *ἐφέστηκεν* with *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*. But it is better to connect it with *θεραπεύει*, and understand with *ἐφέστηκεν, τοῖς πράγμασιν*, or *τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς*. REISKE. *Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει, Alios ambit, colit, promeretur, quo reipublicæ nostræ noceant—Nourishes them against the city.*

Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτὰ βουλευμένους τούτοις.] And of the

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Peloponnesians, desiring the same things as they, i. e. the Thebans. Some of the tribes of Peloponnesus began to be suspicious of Athens on account of her dealings with Sparta, and in consequence allied themselves to Philip. Demosthenes, by his embassy to the Megalopolitans and others, may have increased this feeling, for they imagined that not to hate Sparta was to be her ally.

Διὰ δὲ σκαϊότητα.....προόψεσθαι.] *And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results.* I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum*, EP. ii. l. 244. It is evident from the context that the words refer not only to the Thebans but also to the partisans of Philip in Peloponnesus.

Καίτοι.....ἰδεῖν.] *And yet those who have any discernment may see tolerably plain examples.* *Α καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, εἰπεῖν συνέβη. Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives. This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; *ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος παρεδύετο*. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus. OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (*πέρυσι*). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

Πῶς γὰρ.....Ὀλυνθίους.] *For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen.* γὰρ refers to *ἔφην*, and *ἀκούειν*, *προσδοκᾶν* are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.

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Εἴ τίς τι λέγοι.] *Si quid quisquam dixisset.* REISKI. *If any one had said anything.* Κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. *During that particular time.* Κατὰ in such cases signifies *at*. THUC. i. 32. Κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον. HER. iii. 131. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.

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Ἀνθεμοῦντα.] Demosthenes here is his own historian. Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therma, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidæa to have been ceded to Olynthus by Philip during the years of the Social War against Athens. This cession of territory by Macedonian kings was not unusual. Perdiccas II. had ceded to these same Olynthians a portion of his territory near Lake Bolbe, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. THUC. i. 58.

Βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο.] Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. Ποτιδαῖαν. Supposed to have been ceded to Olynthus at the time when, having been refused a treaty with Athens, they formed one with Philip. This was during the continuance of the Social War, B.C. 358-355. The precise date is given as OL. 105, 4.

Ἀποίκους.] Emigrants. ἐποίκους. Settlers. ARNOLD, in a note to THUC ii. 27, says, "Men are ἀποικοί with respect to their old home, and ἐποίκοι with respect to their new one. This is the simplest and most probable way of stating the distinction between these words, and I am confirmed in it by the authority of KRÜGER, note on DIONYSIUS, p. 101." The same distinction holds in the words *emigrants* and *immigrants*. These ἀποικοί are often called κληρούχοι, men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by lot. Cf. on this extrusion of the Athenian citizens from Potidæa, De HALON. p. 79.

Ἡμᾶς.] WOLF says, I prefer ἡμᾶς, and REISKE adds: Non enim hic alloquitur Athenienses Demosthenes, sed Messenios. Ad eos itaque de Atheniensibus prædicantem in consentaneum sit vos usurpare, ubi res nos requirit.

Ἡ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε;] Or do you think they would have believed anybody if he told them so? Ἄν is joined with πιστεῦσαι and λέγοντός τινος is the gen. abs. "Nor must we include those instances where the gen. abs. is joined with a verb which requires the dative, but in this construction is used without a case; as DEM. p. 71, where we might also say ἡ λέγοντι ἂν τινι πιστεῦσαι." JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

Μικρὸν χρόνονστέρονται.] For a short time having enjoyed the territory of another, long are they deprived of their own by him,

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ἀ. Πολύν. "The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολύν) servitude." ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

Οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον.....καὶ πρᾶθέντες.] *Not only subdued, but also betrayed and sold by each other.* The reference here is doubtless to Lasthenes and Euthycrates, who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry, and thus led to the fall of the city. FALS. LEG. p. 426. DIODOR. xvi. 53.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς.....δμῳαί.] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF. 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Καὶ ὅλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ τυραννίς.

Ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τυράννους. Peitholaus and Lycophron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Pheræ. Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν. Nicæa was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalæxus. After Philip passed Thermopylæ in 346 he occupied Nicæa with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. Νικαίαν μὲν φρουρὰ κατέχων. The city was near the pass of Thermopylæ, and is mentioned by ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 286, as one of the keys of that pass. At what time it was given back to the Thessalians is not known with certainty.

Magnesia is a long narrow strip of land from the Peneus to the Pagasean Gulf, along the eastern coast of Thessaly. No town of this name is mentioned by Strabo or Scylax, but the Scholiast on APOLLOX. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις χώρα δρᾶνυμος. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it, OL. i. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκαλύκασι τειχίζειν. A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21.

Δεκαπαρχίαν.] This word has introduced a most abundant

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field for criticism among commentators. WOLF accepted it as the true reading, and explains it to mean, *a decemvirate now established among them*. Philippum decuriones singulis civitatibus prae fecisse intelligo, id quod et Lacedæmonii fecerunt. "Thessaly long before Philip's time had been divided into four governments. Philip, therefore, by restoring the old form, made no innovation in the government of the country." REISKE. From this it will be seen that he favours the reading of τετραρχίαν. This is also AUGER's opinion, and it is further strengthened by HARPOCRATION, who denies that Philip established any δεκαδρχίαν. Φίλιππος μέντοι παρὰ Θετταλοῖς δεκαδρχίας οὐ κατέστησεν. It must also be stated that Demosthenes in PHIL. iii. p. 117, expressly says καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν. Taking all this into view, JACOBS says: "I do not think that any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but of such an absolute rule as the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (*Decadarchy, Decemvirate*) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny." WEISKE adopts this view and VÖMEL rejects it. I shall now state his view, which I regard as the more correct one. He accepts as correct both statements of Demosthenes. "He reestablished the four ancient divisions of Thessaly called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestiaeotis, and over each of these he appointed a tetrarch, *praefecturum quartæ partis terræ*, and in addition appointed a general government of *ten*, or a *decemvirate* for the entire country. He thus established both, and Demosthenes in his speech at Messene would of course use the Lacedæmonian term δεκαδρχία, as the more odious, while at Athens speaking of the same event, he uses the milder term τετραρχίαν." JACOBS agrees in the main with this, but differs from it in taking it for granted that an actual decemvirate was established, "*a fact it would be difficult to prove*." But let us see how this stands. In DEM. de COR. p. 241, mention is made of Eudicus and Simus. Now HARPOCRATION (s. v. Σίμος) describes him as one of the great house of the Aleuadæ of Larissa, who invited Philip to aid them against the tyrants of Pheræ. Eudicus may have been of the

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Τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα.....παραρῆσθαι.] *Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues.* Cf. *de Pace* p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοὶ.....τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν, κύριοι γενέσθαι. It is well known that there were two annual meetings of the Amphictyons, one in the autumn at Pylæ, and the other in the spring at Delphi. Now ever since the temple at Delphi had been seized by Philomelus at the outbreak of the Sacred War, the Thessalians and other enemies of Phocis had been interdicted the use of it, and the autumn meeting had been dispensed with. After the peace of 346, Philip restored this meeting, and the Thessalians were at the same time allowed to visit Delphi as formerly. Προσόδους. On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pagasæ.

Θεωρεῖτε] WOLF and SCHÆFER consider this as the Imp mood, but I prefer ARNOLD's interpretation in the Ind. *You behold Philip as a dispenser of gifts and promises.* When he is at a distance he is all promises and suavity, for such is the force of θεωρεῖν, whereas ἰδεῖν implies that they are to guard against knowing him personally, from a closer union with him. For Demosthenes, and, in fact, all Greece knew his promises to each of the embassies from Phocis, Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Athens previous to the year 346, and they knew, too, his performance of them. Cf. *DAM. PHIL.* iii. p. 117. *FALS. LEG.* p. 365.

Ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν.....φυλακτήριον.] *But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the rhetorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard. REISKÆ.

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Τοῖς πλῆθεσι.] *Democracies*, same as πολιτείας supra. Cf. HEN. iii. 81.

Ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε.] *Hold firm by this.* Cf. De CORONA. Ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

Οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθῃτε.] *Verendum non est, ne malum accipiatis. There is no fear that you will receive an injury.* REISKE's reading is οὐδὲν δεινὸν (*nil est verendum*), μὴ τι πάθῃτε. Facile τι concurren cum π potuit excidere, id quod sæpissime factum observavi.

Εἰς οὐχ ὁρᾶτε.....ἔχοντα.] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this.* Εἰς and ἐπειτα, in expression^o implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

Βασιλεὺς.....ἔχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ] A rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of the Kings of Sparta might show. ARNOLD. Yet it might be strictly true of Philip, whom Demosthenes here was aiming at. Νόμοις ἐναντίος. ISOCRATES. Παράστασις: ἰσχυρότατος νόμος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τρόπος. WOLF.

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Θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται] *Declaring with shouts of applause that these things were rightly spoken.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 97. Θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει. Πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους. *Multasque alias orationes. Many other speeches, &c.* Παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων, *a legatis*, nempe, ab iis qui una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legati fuerant, et quos Demosthenes illic reliquit prius discedens ob causam nobis ignotam. AUGER.

Καὶ πάλιν ὅτερον] *After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere.* Ὡς τοῖκεν. VOMEL removes the comma after these words, thus connecting them with what follows, and Mr. Kennedy, in his translation, does the same; on which method of construction SNEAD remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with ὡς refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

Παρ' ἀ.....ὀρῶσι.] *In opposition to what their best reason may approve, i. e. against their convictions.* Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς.....ἡμῶν. *But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.*

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A German critic translates *vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et ex oratoribus auditis*, &c. Observe the contrast between the comparative ignorance of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, who prided themselves on their knowledge, and of consequence despised all others.

Περιστοιχίζεσθε.] Cf. PHIL. I. p. 43. The common reading is *περιτευχίζεσθε*, on which REISKE remarks: *Illa significat: committitis, ut velut indagine claudimini; hæc: patimini vobis arces imponi, quæ vos in officio contineant.*

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν ὑπομείναντες.] *From your doing nothing now, you will unawares be brought to undergo, in my opinion, all these things.* In this passage there are various readings. SCHÆFER and HARRISON have: *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μηδέν*. WOLF regards *ὡς* as having been incautiously added by the transcribers of the manuscripts from the two which precede. He therefore omits it, and is followed by REISKE and DINDORF. ARNOLD here reads *ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι*, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE's edition, who collated from the codex Σ . The weight of authority will favour *ποιῆσαι*, but for *ὥστε* no valid reason is given. ARNOLD's note is: "*ὥστε . . . ποιῆσαι. On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VÆM. reads ποιεῖν.)* BAITER and SAUPPE have adopted this reading from the best manuscript (Σ). There are, however, many various readings: F. and Wst. read *ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι*, *from having done nothing, &c.*" Πάντα is opposed to *μηδέν*.

Ἡ παρὰντίχ' ἡδονή μέλλοντος.] *The present ease and indulgence prevail over future advantage.* Another strong denunciation of the unwillingness of the Athenians to incur personal service.

Καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς.] *By yourselves.* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

Ἄ δὲ νῦν . . . ἤδη λέξω.] *Quæ vero nunc respondeatis necessaria decreveritis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. *I will now state to you the answer which I think it is proper for you to decree.* This answer, however, is not here given, although from the words employed it

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is to be expected. Nor can we form a very accurate idea of its nature. This difficulty is variously explained by commentators, but the more rational conjecture is that the γραμματεὺς was here called upon by Demosthenes, to read a draft of the resolution or answer proposed. In accordance with this view I have retained with DINDORF the word ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

Τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις.] *Those who reported the promises.* The allusion seems to be to Æschines and Philocrates, and perhaps to Ctesiphon and Aristodemus the actor. What these promises were we have already stated.

Οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν.] Demosthenes had served with great reluctance upon the embassy to Philip to obtain the oaths, and he affirms that he should not have gone if he had not promised to ransom some Athenians taken captive at Olynthus; that on this embassy he detected the treason of certain of the envoys above mentioned, and that Æschines was night and day with Philip; that he had written a letter to the Athenian people giving an account of the state of affairs; that he was prevented sending it, and that his colleagues sent a letter containing false information; that he did not desire to stay, and further, having hired a ship to convey him home, he was not allowed to depart. FALS. LEG. pp. 357 and 445.

Ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες.] If they had seized the pass of Thermopylæ they might have compelled him to retreat in 346 as he had previously done in 352.

Ἄλλ' ἦν λεγόμενα.] *But what was then reported was very different from what has resulted.*

Τοὺς δ' ἐγὼ λέγοντας.] *Those who declared, when I, after the peace was made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning, and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pylæ and the Phocians.* Φενακίζομένην. When the form of treaty was drawn up at Athens, the words were: that Athens and her allies made peace and alliance with Philip and his allies. FALS. LEG. p. 391. This would have included the town of Halus and the Phocians; and the Macedonian envoys, Parmenio and Antipater, refused to acknowledge them. Then when Philip took the oaths at

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Phœæ, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylæ and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, *δὲ χρησιμότερους τόπους*," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. Alcibiades and Philocrates are alluded to in *ἐτέροις*.

‘Ὡς ἐγὼ..... ἐνθρωπος.] *That I being a water drinker was naturally a peevish and stubborn fellow.* Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355, where Demosthenes himself tells the story: ‘Επαναστὰς δ’ ὁ Φιλοκράτης μάλα ὀβρισητικῶς, οὐδὲν, ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν μὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε. “The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOR. i. *Epist.* 19, 2, *Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt. Quæ scribuntur aquæ potioribus.*” JACOBS. LIBANIUS in his life of Demosthenes says, ὕδωρ ἐπετῆδενε πινεῖν, ἵνα ἐγγηγοῦναι μᾶλλον παρέχεται τὴν διάνοιαν. Among the Greeks it was a proverb, “Ὑδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις καλόν.

Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιάς.] Before the battle of Leuctra, Epaminondas gave notice to such Bœotians as were unfriendly to Thebes to march out of the country. The Thespians, therefore, proceeded to Athens, and there found shelter. They were thus expelled from Bœotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. Platæa had always been favourable to Athens more than to Thebes. The city was destroyed in 417 by the Thebans, and its territory annexed. But at the peace of Antalcidas they were again acknowledged as autonyms. However, certain intrigues between Athens and Platæa being detected, in 372, the Thebans again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at Athens. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει.] *And will cut through the Chersonese at his own expense.* This project is not mentioned in the *De PACI* among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the *De HALON*. The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from Leuce Acte to Pteleon, and the canal would have completely insulated the Athenian possessions from continental Thrace, and prevented incursions. WOLF quotes an old oracle on this subject: ‘Ἰσθμὸς δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήτ’ ὀρύσσετε· ὁ Ζεὺς γ’ ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ γ’ ἐβούλετο.

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Καίπερ ὄντες.....μεμνήσθαι.] *Although not celebrated for remembering injuries.* Ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι εἰωθότες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see *De Cor.* p. 252.

Καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον.....ἐψηφίσασθε.] *And the most disgraceful of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity.* Πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας. Ironical, *ad bene sperandum*. AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decepti*. Ἐγγονοι — posteri; ἔγγονοι — nepotes. FRANKE. This certainly was short-sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectually cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. *FALS. LEG.* p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. *FALS. LEG.* p. 356.

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Ὅτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε.] *So completely were you deceived.* SCHAEFER hints that πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ought to be inserted after τελέως, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 59, *De PAOR.* Τοιοῦτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες.

Οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λοιδορίαν.....ποιήσω.] *Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination.* On εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπέσω, Cf. *DEM. de Cor.* p. 248. Εἰς λόγους ἐμπέσω. I have followed AUGER, who here translates: *Ce n'est pas pour m'attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires, en les invectivant moi-même.* But that the opinions of others may be seen I append a few translations. *Non ut cum conviciatoribus congressus mihi quidem eundem apud vos audientium faciam.* SCHAEFER. *Not that by breaking out into invectives I may expose myself to like treatment.* LELAND. ARNOLD follows JACOBS, and translates: *Not that, by breaking out into invective, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive.* But the objection to this is, as Mr. Kennedy remarks, that he translates ἐμαντῶ λόγον ποιήσω, to *gain a hearing for myself*, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, λόγον τύχοιμι. WHISTON further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is any logical meaning in it.*

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρέσχω.] *I may anew afford.* Ἐξ ἀρχῆς usually has

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the meaning of ἀρχῆθεν, from the beginning; as Od. i. 188. *Ἡῶοι πατρώοι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς*. XEN. 'Ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχθρα.

['ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ.] *That I may prate to no purpose*. Cf. OL. iii. p. 34. *τὴν ἄλλως λέγειν, frustra dicere*. 'Ὡς ἄλλως is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHAEFER remarks: 'Ὡς ἄλλως satis notabile videtur. 'Ὡς ἄλλως = *temere*.

'Ἄλλ' οἶμαι τὰ νυνί.] *But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now*. *τὰ νυνί* = *præsens rerum conditio*. BREML. *τὰ νυνί* = *At present, now*. ARNOLD. WOLF interprets, *τὰ νυνί πεκαρῆρσιασμένα, quam ea quæ nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νῦν γυγνόμενα*.

Τὸ γὰρ προβαῖνον.] *Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, increbrescere, i. e., the designs of Philip against us*. *Τοῦτο* refers to the same thing.

Μηδ' ἀκούῃθ' μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος.] *And when you may not hear from me, nor any other, that these things are preparing against you*. WOLF translates: *neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis, aut alio quoptiam*.

Φοβοῦμαι δὲ δεδωροδοκηκότες.] *I fear that your ambassadors, having been silent upon the very things for which they are conscious of having been bribed*. The ambassadors more particularly referred to are Philocrates and Æschines; with perhaps Phrynon, Ctesiphon, and Iatrocles. *Διὰ τούτους*. *By their instrumentality*.

τὰ πολλά.] = *Plerumque*. *Often*. 'Επ' αὐτοῖς. Referring to the Athenians themselves. Sometimes, however, justice was meted out; and in this very case some of the principal actors afterwards paid the full penalty. Æschines long after retired to Rhodes on the conclusion of the trial of the Crown, and speedier justice fell to the lot of Philocrates, who was more to blame than even he. Being impeached by Hyperides, FALS. LEG. p. 376, not long after the peace, he did not stand his trial. There is no doubt he was deeply tainted with corruption. Demosthenes charges him with buying corn, building houses, importing timber, and changing gold. And further, he is accused of having an estate on the Olynthian territory, yielding him an income of a talent. FALS. LEG. pp. 376, 386.

τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.] *Iram effundentes*. *Discharge your wrath*.

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Συνίσταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Ἀγνοία συνισταμένου καὶ φεομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων.

Τίς δ' Φωκίας πέλας.] The allusion of course is to Æschines, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

Ἦν καταστάς.....γεγονε.] *By being possessed of which, he has become possessed of the road into Attica and the Peloponnesus.* The possession of this pass was always regarded as the key of central Greece and the Peloponnesus. This and Elateia were now in the power of Philip, and, holding them, he could at any time enter the Grecian states from Thessaly.

Τῶν δικαίων.] WOLF inserts Ἑλληνικῶν, which is received by many commentators, but rejected by others. The allusion here must be to the rights assured by the peace to all the Greeks; whereas if Ἑλληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general hegemony of the Greeks. Τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων. The affairs of the allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.] The day of the peace, June 18th, B.C. 346. Some, from PHIL. iii. p. 115, Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνέειλε Φωκίας κ.τ.λ., would refer the commencement of the war to his seizure of the Phocians, but it is more spirited to refer it to *that day*, which Demosthenes had vainly tried to postpone indefinitely.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ.....πράγμα] *For if you had not then been duped, there would be no difficulty to the city (now).* REISKI has added οὖν in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

Ὅτε γὰρ ναυοὶ.....κρατήσας.] *For certainly he would not have gained a victory by his fleet, &c.* The Athenians were far superior to him in naval affairs and in the equipments for a fleet. Cf. FALA. LEG. p. 389. Ὅτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν ὅτε νηυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἔμελλε.

Ἡ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν.....ἐπεθύμησεν.] *Or he would forthwith have been involved in such a war as that which made him then desire peace.* This of course is mere rhetorical flourish. Philip's idea of peace was to gain quiet possession of Thermopylæ; the war gave him very little anxiety.

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‘Ὡς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι.] JELF. 863. ‘Ὡς δ’ ἂν.....μὴ γένητο.] WOLF translates *absit autem, idque dii omnes prohibeant, ne experiendo certissime comprobentur*. Translate: *May it never be that these things may be fully proven by what may result*. Cf. JELF. 810. Also, “ARIST. AV. 1338, γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτας, ὥς ἂν παταβείην, i.e., *ut, si forte, volem, ut volare possim*.” FRANKE.

Οὐδ’ εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ’ ἀπολωλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui pereat. Not even if he deserved to perish*. Cf. DEM. contra MEID. p. 518. Οὐ δίκαιος ἂν ἀπολωλέναι.

Δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial*. Cf. HER. ii. 118, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν. Also DEM. c. ARISTOC. p. 637. Οὐ δίκην ὑπέχειν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δίκαιός εἰμι.

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INTRODUCTION
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TO THE
THIRD PHILIPPIC.

In the Archonship of Sosigenes, B. C. 342-1, (OL. 109, 3,) Demosthenes delivered two of his most celebrated orations against Philip. The first of these was the oration *On the Affairs of the Chersonese*, delivered, according to DION. HALICARN., in the winter of that year. The second was the one more immediately concerning us, and is known as the THIRD PHILIPPIC. This oration, styled by DION. HALICARN. τὴν μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν, was delivered a few weeks after the *De RES. CHERS.*, and is properly speaking no more than a continuation of the line of argument adopted there. It has come down to us in two different shapes, one much shorter than the other. The shorter form is given in the Codex Parisinus Σ., omitting many passages; and even in it these are written by a different hand in the margin. All other manuscripts have the oration as given in the editions of Demosthenes. Some commentators also would place this oration in the earlier part of the year, before the oration on the Chersonese. On this subject, however, consult DINDORF, *Annot.* vol. v. p. 158. The precise circumstances which led to the delivery of this oration are not known to us, but we can easily form

a conjecture. Philip was engaged in Thrace strengthening and extending his empire at the expense of the princes of that country. He had written a letter requiring the Athenians to recall their general, Diopithes, and notwithstanding all the exertions of the paid orators, the Athenians not only refused to interfere with him, but it appears were likely to send him effectual succour. Philip was not the man to put up with such a state of affairs, and he probably was now attempting to strike a first blow before the expected aid should arrive, and Diopithes thus be further enabled to harass him and maltreat his Thracian allies and possessions. WINIEWSKI hazards a conjecture that an embassy from Chersonese had arrived in consequence of Philip's aggressions, to complain of him, and ask aid and pecuniary assistance, and WHISTON also concurs in this view. But we gain no such information from the oration itself, and although it is probable, still it is not to be received as a fact. All that the oration itself shows, is that the Athenians must now adopt a more vigorous policy, anticipate the king in his forward march against Byzantium, and approve themselves worthy of the high name handed down to them from their ancestors. At the same time we must remember that he was now addressing his countrymen to incite them to attempt an undertaking no less glorious than dangerous. Philip had gone on extending his power ever since the peace of 346, and nearly every one of his conquests had been at the expense of Athens. She was thus reduced in strength, and he in a like ratio increased. Demosthenes urges them to war, cautiously, it is true, yet his words must have stirred the heart of even his dullest hearer, reminding them as he does of what they

once were and what they now are. His invectives against the time-serving policy of the venal statesmen are most withering, and his strong appeals to the Athenians, enforced by the examples of Olynthus, Oreus and Eretria, are calculated even yet to rouse the mind. How much more must it have inflamed those whose interests are thus vividly painted. He introduces his remarks by inveighing against the fatal character of their politics, which was to hear with applause the flatterer and the courtier, but to banish even the semblance of free speech and solid advice. He shows that Philip under the guise of *peace* has ruined Phocis, and the other places above mentioned, and warns them that his policy is the same towards themselves. Not only is this the case, but he will not declare war against them if under the garb of peace he can as well succeed in his designs. Then giving his hearers the full details of the king's actions, he boldly asks :—Is this the act of a man who is keeping the peace towards you ? Nay, rather, is he not even planting his engines against your walls, and has he not been doing so since the day he destroyed the Phocians ? This, then, was not the time for deliberating about the safety of the Chersonese or Byzantium alone, but you must so make up your minds, that if such acts continue, the safety of Greece is at stake, and the period is approaching when the Macedonian must rule over the free constitution of Athens. But the orator does not stop here. He reminds them that for seventy years they had enjoyed absolute sway over the Greeks, that Sparta had governed for twenty-nine years, and that Thebes, too, had lately obtained some considerable power. Yet neither Athenian, Spartan, nor Theban had been allowed

such impunity as was conceded to Philip. Things which formerly would have aroused a Hellenic war are now endured quite passively, and Philip in consequence has done more injury in his thirteen years of control than was ever inflicted upon Greece by any of her own sons. And yet Philip is no Greek, and in no way allied to Greece; he is not even a barbarian of illustrious origin, but a poor, miserable Macedonian, born in a country whence a decent slave could not be procured. What, then, is the cause of all this? For not without cause have such things happened. He reminds them that there was something *then* inherent among them, which was so no longer, something which despised the gold of the Persian, and kept Greece free and untrammelled by land and sea. Nor was this anything which existed once and could not now be obtained. It was nothing but a firm administration of the laws and a determination to punish the guilty; and to show them that venal and traitorous conduct was not *then* applauded as now, he cites for them the decree against Arthmius of Zelea, who was not a Greek, yet was adjudged by them an outlaw for bringing Persian gold into Greece. He then advances upon ground quite different from that taken by him some years before. Hitherto we find no acknowledgment of the superior power of Philip; on the contrary he always spoke of him as an enemy not much to be feared. But now he regards him as far more powerful than ever Lacedæmon was. And this arises not only from his superior force but also from his tactics, which have completely changed since first he contended with them. He now makes no difference between summer and winter, and they must accordingly be prepared to

meet the change in this respect, and oppose him by force wherever he presents himself. But there was something more to be done. Intestine enemies must be made to feel the hand of the law; and to convince them of the danger of fostering traitors, he again enters more fully into the political events of the last few years as exhibited in Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreus. A remarkable contrast is then drawn between the orator who speaks to please and the statesman who counsels for the interests of his country, and the oration concludes by recalling a picture fondly loved by every patriot, the former glory of his country, and the assurance that only from Athens could safety come; and finally that they must not suffer the honourable distinction of "defenders of Greece," handed down to them through many and great dangers, to slip from their fingers.

Such in substance is this celebrated oration, and from the subsequent course of events, we see that it was not spoken in vain. An unusual energy was infused into the Athenians. In Eubœa, Phocion expelled Philistides and his Macedonian garrison. Oreus and Eretria were liberated. But he did not stop here; he extended his conquests further, and attacked some of Philip's stations on the Pagassæan Gulf, and captured some towns in alliance with Macedon. In the subsequent year also, when Philip attacked Byzantium and Perinthus, the exertions of Demosthenes were successful in rescuing them from his power. It is pleasing to see that just before the final setting of the sun of Greece a few bright rays shot forth, soon to be extinguished on the fatal field of Cheronæa.

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NOTES

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TO THE

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

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Πολλῶν λόγων. . . . ἐκκλησίαν.] *Although many speeches have been made at almost every assembly.* Ὀλίγου δεῖν = Σχέδον. *Pæne.* Cf. JELF. 864. Ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησατο. *Ex quo pacem facit.* *Since he made the peace.* This was in *Ol.* 108, 2, B. C. 346. To this period the following orations of Demosthenes are to be referred: *De Pace* 346-5; *Phil.* ii. 344-3; *De Halonneso*, 343-2; *De Falsa Legatione*, 343-2; *De Chersoneso*, 343-2; and *Æschines cont. Timarch.* 346-5; *De Falsa Legatione*, 343-2. We may be sure that many others were made, whose authors or names can never be known.

Καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν.] *Et cum satis sciam, neminem negare posse.* WOLF. *And I know well that all would say, &c.* Γέ = *saltem.* Εὖ is omitted by DINDORF, REISKE, and BEKKER. But REISKE in his note to πολλῶν κ.τ.λ., at the commencement of the oration, has supplied a quotation from Aristides which contains it. SPENGLER has also shown that DION. HAL. quotes the passage with εὖ, and this of itself would seem to be conclusive evidence for its insertion. Εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιῶσι τοῦτο. *Even if they do not do so.* ARNOLD well remarks that ποιεῖν, like our *do*, is used as the representative of the preceding verb.

Καὶ λέγειν δεῖν, καὶ πράττειν.] Nearly all the manuscripts have, after πράττειν, ἅπασι προσήκειν, which BEKKER altered to ἀ πᾶσι προσήκει, the reading of SCHÆFER. But on this SPENGLER remarks, that to retain both δεῖν and προσήκειν is contrary to the custom

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of the orator. The reading of DINDORF is retained here, which is confirmed by codex Σ. *That they ought to speak and act.*

Εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα.....ὁρῶ.] *All our affairs have been so neglected, and confused through inattention, &c.* The verb ὑπάγειν, among its secondary meanings, has that of *leading one on* by deceit and cunning (Lat. *inducere*), as in DEM. DE PACI, p. 59. Ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμοὺς, οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς. Here it refers to the influence of evil counsels in drawing away the minds of the Athenians from the true state of affairs. Προειμένα, *per incuriam prolapsa*. WOLF.

Εἰ καὶ λέγειν.....χειροτονεῖν ὑμᾶς.] *If all the orators wished to advise, and you to resolve, &c.* There is a difference between εἰ καὶ and καὶ εἰ. In εἰ καὶ, although, καὶ belongs to the sentence, and allows something which does or will really exist, or has existed; in καὶ εἰ, even if, καὶ belongs to εἰ, and not to the sentence; allowing a supposed case, which does not exist, and in many cases is impossible. JELF. 861. After χειροτονεῖν, sc. ταῦτα. Ἐξ ὧν ὡς.....ἔξειν. *On account of which our affairs would probably be in the worst possible condition.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι.....διατεθῆναι.] *They could not be in a worse state than they are now.* Αὐτὰ διατεθῆναι is the reading in many manuscripts.

Καὶ οὐ παρ' ἓν, οὐδὲ δύο.] *Et neque per unum neque per duo.* Παρὰ in such expressions signifies coexistence, coincidence, and implies that while one set of causes is progressing another is keeping parallel with them. Cf. DE PACI p. 57. Παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν οἶδ' ἐγώ. DE REB. CHERS. p. 109. Παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα. PHIL. i. p. 43. Παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. SCHEFFER translates *ob unam alteramve causam*.

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Ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὁρθῶς.] *If you properly inquire into the matter:*

Διὰ τοὺς.....προαιρουμένους.] *From those who prefer to speak for your pleasure rather than your advantage.* Χαρίζεσθαι, SMEAD properly remarks, is equivalent to πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν.

Καὶ δύνανται.] Here equivalent to δύναντοί εἰσιν. SCHEFFER. In this sense Demosthenes frequently uses the verb δύνασθαι. Other writers also use it in a similar way; as in EUR. Orest. 879,

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and 887. 'Ος ἂν δύνηται πόλεος. In MED. 128, it is equivalent to *ισχύει, σθένει*.—Τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καιρὸν δύναται θνατοῖς.

Οὐκ οὐν οὐδ' δεῖν ἔχειν.] *And therefore think you ought to have none.* BEKKER and DINDORF here read οὐκοῦν. "But some manuscripts have οὐκ οὐν, and as Rüdiger observes, 'duplex negatio huic loco bene convenit.'" WHISTON. Οὐκ οὐν = *Non ergo*, οὐκοῦν = *Ergo*. A distinction, which ELMSLEY, ad HERACL. v. 256, remarks is most true, if the writings of Plutarch and Lucian be received as the rule of true Greek. But he further remarks that among the old Attic writers each particle preserves its own proper signification, and he writes the latter οὐκ οὐν, adding or omitting the interrogation, as the case requires.

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας.] *Practical statesmen.* KENNEDY. The force of ἐπὶ in such constructions is, *to be placed over* anything, to manage or protect it. DEM. p. 928. Πλευσεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. Cf. DEM. OL. ii. p. 21, "Ὅντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, and DE COR. p. 309. Διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο δίκην λήψεται.] *Id agunt, ut civitas de se pœnasumat.* Do nothing else than make the city inflict punishment upon itself, i. e. upon its own citizens.

Καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται.] *And will busy her in such occupations.* Εἶναι περὶ τι has this meaning in Greek. More rarely ἔχειν περὶ τι, as in HER. viii. 85. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τοῦτους οὕτω εἶχε.

Αἱ δὲ τοιοῦται εἰσιν ὑμῖν.] *Now politics of this sort are usual with you.* BREMI says that the plural here indicates that such a system had been preserved for a long time. RÜDIGER refers it to the different political factions mentioned before. But ARNOLD in my opinion gives the correct force. He says "this is another instance of the plural of an abstract noun, denoting particular instances and manifestations of the abstract notion. Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 107. Καὶ τοιούτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας."

Ὡδὲ.] A strengthened form of ὦδε. It never occurs in tragedy.

Ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.] *In ceteris quidem rebus.* On other subjects. SMERD here quotes BREMI: In democratiis, stultitia est cujusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.

Ὡστε καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε.] *Αὐτῆς = τῆς παρρησίας.*

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WOLF. *So that you have allowed a measure of, it even to strangers and slaves.* The ξένος as such, at Athens, was considered an enemy, CIO. DE OFF. i. 12, and he was not allowed to take part in any public deliberation, nor to acquire any landed property. He was, however, subject to all the regulations of the state, and had to perform liturgies as well as the native born Athenians.

Δούλοις.] The number of these at Athens was very great. In the Archonship of Demetrius Phalereus, B. C. 309, there were 400,000. Even the poorest citizen had one to take care of his household. The father of Demosthenes had more than fifty, *Ἰσ. ΑΡΗΘ.* p. 823, Πλέον ἢ πεντήκοντα ἀνδράποδα κεκτημένον. They were principally employed in manual labour, such as working the mines and agriculture. They were not compelled at Athens, like the Helots of Sparta and the Penestæ of Thessaly, to serve in the army, although at Marathon and Arginusæ they fought under Athenian commanders, PAUSAN. i. 32. Insurrections of slaves at Athens were not usual, and generally took place among the miners at Laurium, on account of the severity with which they were treated.

Οἰκέτας.] Slavery among the Greeks was of two kinds. When a nation was subdued in war, the prisoners were always considered slaves. Such were, among others, the Helots of Sparta, Penestæ of Thessaly, Bithynians at Byzantium, and Aphamiotæ in Crete. This was one kind: the others were slaves proper, purchased by their masters, and called δούλοι. The δημόσιοι οἰκέται were public property at Athens, and were employed for various purposes, chiefly to keep order in the public assemblies, on which account they were sometimes called Speusinians, from the name of the person who first established them, the more usual name being τοξόται. ΠΗΟΤΙΥS s. v. τοξόται. I am inclined to believe that these are the slaves alluded to here, and not, as Smead suggests, the household servants, who were called, he says, οἰκέται. But I find no authority for calling a domestic slave, οἰκέτην. So far is this from the case, that a slave bought at a sale was called οἰκέτης, to distinguish him from one born at home, who was called οἰκοτριψ. SUIDAS s. v. οἰκέτης. FRANKE takes this view of the matter also.

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Ἡ πόλις ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων.] "The Athenians piqued themselves upon being the most independent and most humane of all people." TOURNEBIL.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐξεληλάκετε.] *But from your deliberative assemblies you have altogether banished it.* This passage derives much illustration from the articles (παράνομων γραφή, νομοθέται, and θεσμοθέται, in the DICT. ANT.

Τρυφῶν ἀκούουσιν.] *Hearing yourselves puffed up, and flattered in all things for your pleasure, &c.* Τοῖς πράγμασι = *The affairs of state*; Τοῖς γιγνομένοις = *the events of the time.* SCHÆFER. Περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἥδη κινδυνεύειν = *"res meae in extremum discrimen deductae sunt. Are in the very extremity of peril.* The words, from ἐν μὲν τοῖς to κινδυνεύειν, are repeated without variation from De REP. CHERS. p. 98.

Εἰ μὲν δίδκεισθε.] *Si hæc vobis cordi sunt.* WOLF. *If therefore even now you are so determined.* Ἐτοιμος sc. εἰμι. Οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. *I have nothing to say.* Ἐχω here and in many other places denotes *calleo, scio*, from its original meaning of *habeo, teneo, possideo.* So. PLATO de REP. ii. Οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι λέγω ἐν τῷ παρόντι. The original meaning of ἔχω, however, will apply here and in other places where it seems to mean *calleo.* BRASSE.

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ.] *Etsi enim.* Ὅμως ἔστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι. *Still it is possible, if you wish to do your duty, even yet to rectify all these things.* Some of the manuscripts here read βούλησθ' ἔτι πάντες κ.τ.λ. *Si vos omnes velitis factu necessaria facere.* But ἔτι is then superfluous.

Τὸ χεῖριστον κ.τ.λ.] *Simillima legimus, PHIL. i. p. 40. Quales locos inter se diligenter comparabis, ut discas quomodo orator sua repetat. Multum diversa ratione simiæ oratoris Demosthenica suffurati centones suos consuunt.* SCHÆFER.

Νῦν δὲ.] These words at the beginning of a sentence are equivalent to the Latin *nunc, nunc autem, quæ cum ita sint*, as in EUR. EL. 975. IL. 1, 27.

Τῆς ῥαθυμίας κεκράτηκεν.] *Philip has overcome your slothfulness and carelessness, but he has not subdued the state.*

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οὐδὲ.] This repetition of the negative is intended with ἀλλὰ to give a very strong meaning to the clause. *Nay you have not even yet bestirred yourselves.* Negatives are thus repeated frequently both in the orators and poets. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 98. Οὐδ' ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ' αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν. *PHIL.* iii. p. 119. From the poets the following are given. *SOPH. ANT.* 56. *ÆSCH. AGAM.* 1645. *EUM.* 807. Wolf translates the present passage: *Immo ne loco quidem moti estis.*

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει.....συμβουλεύειν.] *There is nothing for the orator to say and advise.* ἔδει is one of those imperfects to which ἂν need not be added in hypothetical enunciations. The construction is more emphatic without it. *SCHÆFER.*

Πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος.....ἀδικοῦντος.] *While he is capturing cities, and retaining many of your possessions, and assailing all people.* The cities captured were in Thrace; the possessions retained, Amphipolis and the early conquests of the war; and the assaults are to be referred to his intrigues in Greece and among the Thracian people.

Ἀνέχεσθαι τινων.....λεγόντων πολλάκις.] *To lend themselves to certain parties who frequently declare in the assemblies.* Ἀνέχεσθαι is not often construed with the genitive. Examples can be given, but the accusative, as in *XEN. ANAB.* i. 8, 11, Τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, is the more usual construction. *PLAT. APOL.* 31, B. Ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων. *SMEAD* also quotes *XEN. HELLEN.* vi. 5. Τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο. The reference is to partisans of Philip who were continually asserting that any one who moved defensive measures was guilty of declaring war.

Ἀνάγκη.....περὶ τούτου.] *Cautione vehementer est opus, et ut hoc recte constitutatur.* *WOLF.* It is proper you should be on your guard and be set right on this matter. *RÜDIGER* would apply these words to Philip. But I see no reason why it should not rather refer to the correction of the erroneous opinion, that any one was desirous of declaring war. And his subsequent remarks confirm this view.

Μή ποθ' ὥς.....τὸν πόλεμον.] *Lest some one having proposed and advised, that we defend ourselves, may incur the imputation of*

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having been the author of war. Any citizen at Athens was at liberty to make a motion in the popular assembly to pass a new law or to amend an old one. But he was amenable for it for the space of one year, and any citizen could institute a *γραφὴ παρέρμενον* against him if it was found that this law was inconsistent with other laws in force or with the public interest. DEM. c. TIMOC. pp. 710, 711. If he was convicted the law became void, and he was liable to such punishment as the judges might decree. Any one convicted thrice for such an offence lost the power of proposing laws in future. The Thesmothetæ had cognizance of the case. The object of all this was to check hasty legislation, and we thus see that Demosthenes is here right in endeavouring to ward off from himself, or any citizen, the possible penalty of proposing an unconstitutional measure.

Διορίζομαι.] WOLF, on *διορθοῦσθαι* supra, remarks: Quod hic *διορθοῦσθαι*, paulo post. *διορίζεσθαι*, *distinguere*, dicit. 'Εφ' ἡμῶν. *In our power.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 90. 'Εφ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶ ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν. *Contra* LEPT. p. 491. Τὰ μὲν τότε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε ἔθεσι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.

'Εξεστὶ.] From a consideration of outward circumstances—'Εστὶ, from circumstances under our own control. Καὶ τὸν ταῦτα ἀξιῶ, and I call upon him who affirms these things (that we have peace) to move a resolution, and bring forward some measure, and not deceive us. WOLF remarks: Sententia est: proditores quidem dicere et simulare, pacem esse; sed non ea decernere et agere, quæ ad veram pacem pertineant.

Εἰ δὲ ἕτερος.] "Aristides the grammarian refers this word to Philip, and says there is something exquisite and noble, *σεμνότης*, contained in it. But the orator speaks generally. However the grammarians everywhere see things which would escape the eyes of Lynceus." SCHÆFER.

Τόνομα μὲν προβάλλει.] Amuses you with the name of peace. 'Ονομα and ἔργον are frequently contrasted, the former thus signifying a mere pretence, the latter the reality. Cf. PHEN. 512; OREST. 445; HIPPOCR. 502. HARPOCRATION, s. v. *προβάλλειν*, says: *προβάλλειν τι ὄνομα*, signifies to make promises with the intention of deceiving. And to prove this we need only refer to the

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actions of Philip previous to his entry at Thermopylæ in 346. He there wrote two letters, one immediately after the other, inviting the Athenians to come and aid him against the Phocians. **FALG. LEG.** p 357. Now under the then present circumstances he could have had no other idea than that of gaining time, and thus deceiving the Athenians, who might have been induced, if it had not been for these very letters, to send Athenian troops to occupy Thermopylæ as Demosthenes advised. The common reading here is *προβάλλεται*. The distinction is: "*προβάλλει, projicit, protendit, quo vos securos consopiat; προβάλλεται, quo se adversus vos tueatur.*" **FRANKS.**

Φάσκειν δὲ οὐ διαφέρομαι] *But say that you keep the peace, if you wish, as he does, I care not for that, i. e. Go on acquiring towns and possessions for yourselves at his expense, and call that keeping the peace, if you wish. Φάσκειν, dictitare, say as often as you will. Οὐ διαφέρομαι, nil curo, haud intercedo, mea nil refert. REISK.*

Ταύτην εἶρησιν.] The article is omitted to show that the meaning is general. On the omission of the copula *εἶναι* here consult **JELF.** 376.

Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔξει.] *He will come against us.* A constant theme of the warnings of Demosthenes. And it is strange, considering the loss which must have fallen upon them in case of an invasion of Attica, that the Athenians did not bestir themselves more.

Ἐπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν λέγει.] *And then, he speaks of a peace observed by you towards him, not by him towards you.* Some editions have *ἔχειν λέγει* here, which **WOLF** changed to *εἶναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by **AUGER.**

Ὅ τῶν ὠνεῖται. *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends. Τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων. Genitive of price. JELF.* 519. Cf. **HER.** v. 6. *Ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

Ἵφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.] *And still avoid being attacked by you.*

Καὶ μὴν.] *Et vero. JELF.* 728. *Μέχρι τούτου = Until he declare war.*

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Οὐδὲ γὰρ.....τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ.] *For neither will he say this, even if advancing against Attica, and entering the Piræus.* Τὸν Πειραιῶ. One of the ports of Athens, the others being Munychia and Phalerum. These were connected with the city by means of the long walls built under the administration of Pericles. Themistocles had surrounded the ports by a wall. The entire circuit of these walls was one hundred and seventy-four and a-half stadia. The long walls (τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη) were three in number, one on the east to Phalerum, thirty-five stadia long, another on the west to the Piræus, about forty stadia, and the third parallel to the last, leading to the same place. These last were known as the long walls, the one to Phalerum being usually called τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους.] *Towards the others, i. e. those whom he subsequently proceeds to enumerate: the Olynthians and Phocians.*

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Τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια.] "After Philip had captured the thirty-two Chalcidic cities, he marched against Olynthus itself. On arriving within forty furlongs of the city, he sent to the inhabitants a peremptory summons, intimating that either they must evacuate the city, or he must leave Macedonia." GROTE, chap. lxxxviii.

Δυοῖν θάτερον.] BREMI refers to *De COR.* p. 274: Καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ...ἐγκαλεῖν, ἢ...μὴ φέρειν, and states that after θάτερον the verb ποιεῖν is to be supplied. But SCHAEFER does not approve of this, and also dissents from those who would make it the accusative absolute. But he would be content with a nominative absolute, and considers it as one of those formulæ which are inserted in the oration, yet have a loose syntactical connection with it. He therefore supplies no verb. But his illustration in German, *eins von beiden*, does not happen to apply in English, and therefore I am inclined to adopt BREMI's opinion, and supply ποιεῖν.

Πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.] Accusative of time. JULF, 577. The period alluded to is that between midsummer, B.C. 350, and the commencement of the siege of Olynthus, during which time he had conquered and destroyed the whole of the Chalcidic

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towns. And what is here related of Olynthus may have been equally true in the case of Stagira, Torone, Apollonia, and the rest. Capturing them in detail, he kept assuring his next victims that his designs were favourable to them. Αἰτιάσατο governs two accusatives, αὐτὸν and τὶ τοιοῦτον. Cf. DEM. COR. p. 250. Ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

Τοῦτο δέ.] In connection with τοῦτο μέν, supra, is to be translated *and then again*.

Ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους.] At page 54, we have ὡς βασιλέα; and again, in DE REB. CHERS. p. 98, Πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις. Ὡς in both these instances is a preposition. But in the present instance it is not so, but merely expresses a supposition, and is equivalent to *as if*. Cf. THUC. vi. 61. Ἀπέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμίνιας ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. XEN. ANAB. iv. 3, 11. Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ. Cf. JELF. 626.

Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν. . . . πορευομένην.] *And there were envoys of the Phocians who accompanied him on his march, i.e., in B.C. 346, when he was marching southward from Pella to Pheræ, before he had taken the oaths.* I quite agree with GROTE that the reference in this passage, and also what follows as far as παράδον, refers to the same period of time.

Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἦριζον πολλοί.] *And many with us contended.* FRANKS here reads οἱ πολλοί, and is followed by SMEAD, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes FRANKS's remark, *vulgus cui proditorem turba verba dederat*. But here, I contend, they are wrong. Πολλοί does not allude to the populace at Athens in any way, but to the ambassadors who accompanied Philip in this celebrated march, among whom were the ten Athenians, and besides ambassadors from Thessaly, Thebes, Phocis, and Sparta, all contending to gain Philip's favour and alliance. The words παρ' ἡμῖν will then refer to the little court of envoys who attended the great Sphinx, and endeavoured to determine his ultimate policy, or in whose favour he acted. Further than this, the treaty had not been signed; the ambassadors had not returned; the people could know nothing about it, and could hardly determine whether the result would be favourable to Thebes or not.

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Θηβαίους οὐ τὴν ἐκείνου παράδοσιν.] *That his approach would not benefit the Thebans.* Here, again, the allusion is to the sentiments of the ambassadors with Philip. We see a few lines above that he was marching forward avowedly as the ally of Phocis. So firmly convinced were even the Theban envoys of this, that at one time they became alarmed; and well they might, for some of Philip's officers expressly declared that his purpose was to conquer Thebes and restore the Boeotian towns of Thespiæ and Platæa. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 46. What could be more likely than that this language should be interpreted by the ambassadors to mean what it really was not intended to do, since the purpose was all along to pit the one against the other, and gain time to arrive at Thermopylæ?

Πρώην.] This was in the year of the peace. He garrisoned this city because it was the most disaffected to him of all in Thessaly. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 424. From the language there employed we may conjecture that Pheræ was one of those cities whose citadels were occupied by him.

Ἐχει καταλαβών.] *Having seized it, he continues to hold it.* Ἐχει with the participle is thus used to denote the continuance of the action when already commenced. In Latin, a similar power is possessed by *habere*, and a *passive participle in the accusative*. Cf. for example DEM. c. APHOR. p. 818. Τὴν μὲν τοίνυν προῖκα ἔχει λαβών. EUR. MED. 33, 89; HEC. 999; ANT. 1045; and CÆD. REX. 567. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44: Id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios *compertum habere*.

Ὀρεΐταις.] Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasæan gulf. Its position made it an important place to hold, and it had been under the Athenian dominion at various times since the Persian wars. The events here related had taken place the very year in which this oration was delivered. Ἐπισκεψομένους εὖνοίαν. *That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness.* "Since ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is said of those who visit the sick, the ridicule upon the inhabitants of Oreus is here very bitter. But this was Philip's manner, to speak blandly, and cavil in words until he was sure of his prey." BREMER.

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ὧς νοσοῦσι.] Philip had used these words to apply to the diseased Oreitans; and Demosthenes completes the metaphor by using ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, *to visit*, as a physician visits his patients—καὶ στασιάζουσιν is intended as explanatory of νοσοῦσι. FRANK.

Ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς παρῆναι.] *To be at hand to help them in such difficulties.* The events here alluded to are involved in much obscurity. They all took place in 342–1, and are briefly as follows: The party favourable to Philip was led by Philistides the tyrant, who was supported by Philip. He persuaded them to imprison Euphræus of Orens, the leader of the opposing party, as a disturber of the public peace. Philistides then introduced a body of Macedonian troops, and thus became confirmed in his power—the city at the same time, as a matter of course, revolting from the confederacy of Athenian cities in Eubœa, which had been formed subsequently to the battle of Tamynæ. ÆSCH. c. CTES. pp. 67, 68. Euphræus poisoned himself in prison.

Αὐτόν.] Accusative before αἰρεῖσθαι. *That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c. Μὴ παθεῖν . . . ἂν ἴσως. But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury. Προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι. Warn them of his attack.*

Καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως.] *And that, too, whilst, or as long as. Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Sane, non ita est. In very truth, not so.*

Τῶν ἀδικουμένων αὐτῷ.] JELF. 541. When the subject of the participle is not the same as that of the verb, the participle and its subject are usually in the genitive absolute. *De Rm.* CHERS. p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Translate: *Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.*

Ἄλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration *De Rm.* CHERS. was delivered. He was reviled by the partisans of Philip, and accused of breaking the peace of 346, by his actions in Thrace and the Chersonese. Ἐμῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο.] *And should remove those pretexts from his hirelings, &c.* The orators at Athens in the pay of Philip, such as Æschines and Demades. Ἀφαιρεῖν is more

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usually joined with a double accusative, IL. i. 182, or with the Acc. and Dat. OP. i. 9, seldom, as here, with an accusative of the thing and genitive of person. But cf. XEN. HELLEN. iii. 1, 7, Ἀφαιρεσόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν.

Οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς.] *With which they put you off.* Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 102. Καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους οἷς ἀναβάλλουσι ὑμᾶς. WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερίζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. Ἀναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

Ἔστιν ὅστις.] These words are used to denote *any body*, or *some indefinite person*. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. Ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ καταλήθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων.] Prepositions are usually repeated before every noun, and it is rare to find one omitted in disjunctive sentences. JELF. 650, 1, 4. Something similar occurs frequently in tragedy; in compound verbs, the second one usually drops the preposition EUR. HER. 167. Ἀπωλέσας ὠλέσας. OREST. 180. Διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα. ALCEST. 400. Ὑπάκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δὴ πον.] *Nemo scilicet. Nobody I ween.* Ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας. *The peace having now been concluded.* This must refer to the settlement of the preliminaries at Athens by Antipater and Parmenio and the Athenians, which was nearly three months before Philip took the oaths at Pheræ. The peace was voted by the Athenian people, Elaphebolion, 19th March, 346, and ratified on the 28th. Philip, however, did not take the oaths until Scirophorion, June 15th, 346.

Οὐκῶ Διοκίθεος στρατηγούντος.] We cannot determine the exact date of the appointment of Diopithes to the command, but we learn (from *De REB. CHERS.* p. 91) that it was after the conditions of the peace had been agreed upon, when he and a body of settlers had been sent out from Athens unprovided with pay (p. 95), and that, in order to support himself, he made attacks upon Oardia, an ally of Philip. The king sent forces to the aid of the Cardians, and Diopithes defeated them, and carried his

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incursions into maritime Thrace. Philip now sent envoys and a letter to Athens threatening to overrun the Chersonese unless Diopithes were restrained in his warlike efforts; but meantime the king was pushing his conquests against the Thracian princes. *Epist. Phil. Dem.* p. 161. This led to complaints against Diopithes, whom Demosthenes defends in the *De Reb. Chers.*

Οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἀπεσταλμένων.] *Nor were those troops yet in Chersonesus who have lately been sent, i. e. the mercenaries who accompanied Diopithes, about whom much was then said at Athens.*

Σέρρειον.] A promontory of Thrace and a town of the same name near Doriscus. This latter place was situated in a great plain near the river Hebrus. *HER.* vii. 59. Ἰερού ὄρους. A fort near the last two towns. The day after the peace had been ratified at Athens (Elaphebolion 28) a despatch came from Chares informing the Athenians that Philip had captured the Sacred Mount, and other important places in Thrace, and had deprived Cersobleptes of the greater part of his kingdom. *ÆSCH. FALS. LEG.* p. 40.

Οὗς δ ἐγκατέστησαν.] *Whom your own general had stationed there.* This was Chares, who was acting in Thrace in conjunction with Cersobleptes, whom he assisted by means of the fleet under his command.

Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων, τί ἐπολεῖ;] *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi εἰ μὴ ἐπολέμει. *Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat?* *REISK.*

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Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὥμωμόκει.] *For he had sworn to the peace.* This must be taken with some latitude. The facts were these: The peace was on the basis of *uti possidetis*, from the day upon which it was sworn to at Athens. Now as we said above, this was Elaphebolion 28th, at which time a decree also passed that the ambassadors should proceed to Philip and have the oaths taken immediately. But for some reason they did not set out until after Munychion 3rd (April), and then they did not go direct to Philip in Thrace; but, having proceeded to Oreus, they arrived at Pella by slow passages, and awaited there until Philip

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returned from Thrace, fifty days after they left Athens. DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 390. And still he did not take the oaths until nearly twenty days after. I would therefore interpret the present passage to mean, that as Athens had sworn in presence of the Macedonian envoys, the orator may intend that Philip was bound by the action of his envoys.

Τῇ πόλει.] JACOBS well remarks that the loss of such unimportant places was small to Athens, but it was not the political profit or loss that was now to be regarded, but *right*, and political justice, and therefore independent of the magnitude or unimportance of the subjects in dispute. Ἄλλος ἂν . . . οὗτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOL. SOC. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος. DE LEG. i. 7. ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη.

Τὸ δ' εὖσεβὲς δύνανται.] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that ἴσα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. ON ἔπι μικρὸν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

Ἦν βασιλεὺς εἶναι.] This abrupt introduction of the king of Persia seems rather strange, and the appeal to his authority is somewhat remarkable. "But the growing power of Philip and his threatening disposition would naturally induce the Athenians to court the friendship of any state strong enough to protect them." WHISTON. Translate: *Which the king and all the Greeks know to be yours.* Βασιλεὺς, without the article as is usual in speaking of the king of Persia. From HER. vi. 34, we learn that in the time of Peisistratus the Chersonese was inhabited by Dolonians, and that they invited Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, to rule over them. He took out with him a body of Athenians as settlers, who volunteered for the expedition, vi. 36. He also built a wall from Pactya to Cardia, and thus protected the country. Miltiades was succeeded by Stesagoras, and, on his assassination, Hippias sent his brother Miltiades, who ruled for twenty-four years, and then abandoned the country from fear of the Persians, and returned to Athens. After the battle Marathon the country was again secured to Athens, and continued subject to them until the end of the Peloponnesian War. They then lost it,

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and did not finally gain possession of it until its cession to them by Cersobleptes in 358-7.

Καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα.] *And writes us word that such is the case.* Cf. EPIST. PHILIPP. p. 161. Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω.] *So far am I from agreeing, &c.* I have retained τοσούτου instead of τοσούτῳ. The expressions πολλοῦ δέω, ὀλίγου δέω, and τοσούτου δέω, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

Ὡστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον.] A short time before the date of this oration, some Megareans, under the leadership of Pterilaus, laid their plans for the capture of the city, by means of Macedonian troops sent from Phocis to Pegæ, the port of Megara on the Crissæan Gulf. Word came to Athens, and Phocion and a body of Athenian hoplites (B. C. 343) were despatched with all haste. They arrived at Megara, and made the city secure by fortifying Nicæa, and connecting it by long walls with Megara, thus securing the entry of Athenians at any time into the city. Pterilaus was soon after tried at Megara before the *Three Hundred*, and acquitted by means of Pteodorus, a man of great influence in the city, who afterwards despatched him for more Macedonian troops, which, however, did not arrive. FALS. LEG. 436. We can easily see the importance Athens placed upon Megara from the frequent mention made of it by Demosthenes in this and other orations. Cf. PHIL. iv. p. 133. FALS. LEG. pp. 368, 435, 446, 448. In *De Cor.* p. 324, we find Pteodorus given in the list of traitors to Greece and partisans of Philip. The reason of this importance being given to the city is that, having all Bœotia under his sway, if he gained Megara he would have surrounded Athens on all sides. He already governed Eubœa by his bribed adherents.

Ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα.] This is more fully treated of in the present oration, pp. 125-127. REISKI prefers to read τυραννίδας, for Philip had set up several tyrants in Eubœa, but τυραννίς is here used *generally*, to apply to any tyrants. Translate: *Dominationem tyrannorum.*

Νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παρίοντα.] Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 100. Philip was still absent in Thrace at the date of this oration, and had

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been there for more than ten months. The campaign ended by the subjugation of the country and the expulsion of the kings. WINIEWSKI, p. 187.

Τὰ ἐν.....σκευωρούμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Pe'oropnesus.* The verb σκευωρεῖσθαι, like σκευοποιεῖσθαι, is applied to a *cunningly devised trick, to effect by intrigue.* Its derivative, σκευώρημα, has the same force. Cf. DEM. p. 955. 'Αλλ' εἶναι τοῦτο πλᾶσμα καὶ σκευώρημα ὄλον. Also, p. 1035, σκευώρημα συνιδόντες.

Εἰ μὴ καὶ.....προσαγῶσιν.] *Unless indeed ye will say that those who are placing their engines keep the peace, until they lead them against the walls.* Observe that Demosthenes uses the word μηχανήμα here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, 'Αποβάσεις δὲ μάλιστα οὐσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. However, he may not here intend so much engines of war, as deceit of any kind, as in ÆSCH. PROM. 469. In the CHŒPH. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Ὅς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῇην.] *By which I may be overcome.* Κἄν μήπω βάλλῃ μὴδὲ τοξεύῃ. *Even though he hurl no javelin and draw no bow.*

Τίσιν οὖν.....γένοιτο.] *If anything should happen, of what would you be in danger?* Κινδυνεύειν is here construed with a dative, as in HER. ii. 120, vii. 209, viii. 60. The construction with ὑπὲρ and the genitive is the more common, although πρὸς and the accusative is found in HER. iv. 11. In this passage, REISKE reads εἰ γίγνοιτο, and translates: *Quænam igitur illa sunt, quorum eventus nos in discrimen conjiciat.* But εἰ τι γένοιτο, *si quid acciderit*, is more spirited. The infinitives following are to be regarded as substantives in apposition to τίσιν.

Εἶτα] JELF. 874, 6. Τοῦτον εἰρηνῇν.....πρὸς ὑμᾶς; *Can I affirm that he keeps the peace towards you?* Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. *And indeed I am far from doing so.*

'Αφ' ἧς ἡμέρας.....Φωκέας.] *But from the day he destroyed the Phocians.* We cannot determine the exact date of the destruction of these towns, but the most probable date is Scirophorion 23rd,

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the day on which Phalæcus and his mercenaries surrendered to Philip at Thermopylæ. The Phocian towns surrendered at the same time, and their destruction followed immediately. This was hardly a week after the signing of the peace at Phæræ.

“Τμᾶς δὲ φημί.] *And I say you are wise if you send assistance now.* “Ἢδη is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημί, *Nio negatam vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* RUSK. But all the manuscripts give δυνήσεσθε, and I have retained it. Besides, I can hardly see why it should be changed, as there is no anacoluthon in leaving it as it is.

Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῶν ἄλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* “Ὡστε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίον. A town on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megareans, B. C. 658. The other Grecian colonies in this neighbourhood were Lampsacus, Cyzicus, Perinthus, and Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium. (HEEREN'S MANUAL, p. 131.) The founder is said to have been Byzas, the son of Neptune. Its site made it, in a very short period, a most flourishing city and a port of great trade with Athens and the rest of Greece. During the Peloponnesian War it was alternately under the sway of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. It revolted from Athens in 358, and took part with Rhodes and Chios in the Social War. It had continued ill-affected towards Athens during all the remainder of the reign of Philip, and sometimes in alliance with him, (*De Cor.* p. 254,) until the year of this speech, when Demosthenes was sent as envoy to visit it, and induced it to form an alliance with Athens against Philip. In consequence of this, and of the aid lent it against Philip, the people voted a crown to the Athenians. *De Cor.* p. 255.

Καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἀποστεῖλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.* Ἐκεῖ. This word refers only to the Chersonese, not to Byzantium. Phocion and the soldiers under his charge were not received into Byzantium until 341-0, the year after the delivery of this speech. The allusion, then, will be to Diopithes and his soldiers.

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'Εξ ὧν φοβοῦμαι.] *From what cause I thus am in dread for our affairs.* After εἰπεῖν understand περὶ τῶν. Μετέχειν has the meaning of *to partake of anything* with another, hence *to adopt*, as here. Translate: *Ye may adopt my opinions.*

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Καὶ πρόνοιαν τιν' ποιήσῃσθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it were εἰ μὴ ἔρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is *si non etiam reliquorum*; the ἔρα being *ut videtur*. That you may at least take some wise precautions for yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for other states as well." ARNOLD. 'Τμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, the objective genitive.

Τετυφῶσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τῦφος, smoke, mist, it will mean here *to be wrapt in smoke or clouds, to be silly or absurd*. This is the view taken by most modern etymologists, and in my opinion the correct one. HARPOCRATION remarks upon it: τετυφῶμαι· ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι, καὶ τετυφῶμαι, where the first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. Ληρεῖν. *To speak or act like a fool*. Compare the Latin *deliro*, *I rave*, and its English derivative, *delirium*.

Ἀδθῖς.] *Again, hence hereafter*. Translate: *Neither now nor hereafter consider me as one sound in mind*.

Μεγας ὑψῆται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already implied in the verb αὐξάνειν Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. JELF. 654, 2. Cf. De COR. p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ γενέσθαι.] *And it was far more improbable that he should become such as he is, from the man he was*. Προεῖληφε. *Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προεῖληφε, cæteris adjunxit.* WOLF.

Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι.] *He should also reduce what remains under himself*. He uses the aor. Inf. to denote a *finished result*, and not the *gradual reduction* of them, which would require the present. Διεξελεθεῖν. *To go through in words, to relate*. Cf. HER. vii. 18.

'Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ αὐτῷ.] *But I see all men, beginning with you,*

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actions of Philip previous to his entry at Thermopylæ in 346. He there wrote two letters, one immediately after the other, inviting the Athenians to come and aid him against the Phocians. FALS. LEG. p 357. Now under the then present circumstances he could have had no other idea than that of gaining time, and thus deceiving the Athenians, who might have been induced, if it had not been for these very letters, to send Athenian troops to occupy Thermopylæ as Demosthenes advised. The common reading here is *προβάλλεται*. The distinction is: "*προβάλλει, projicit, protendit, quo vos securos consopiat; προβάλλεται, quo se adversus vos tueatur.*" FRANKS.

Φάσκειν δὲ οὐ διαφέρωμαι] *But say that you keep the peace, if you wish, as he does, I care not for that, i. e. Go on acquiring towns and possessions for yourselves at his expense, and call that keeping the peace, if you wish. Φάσκειν, dictitare, say as often as you will. Οὐ διαφέρωμαι, nil curo, haud intercedo, mea nil refert.* REISKER.

Ταύτην εἰρήνην.] The article is omitted to show that the meaning is general. On the omission of the copula *εἶναι* here consult JELF. 376.

Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει.] *He will come against us.* A constant theme of the warnings of Demosthenes. And it is strange, considering the loss which must have fallen upon them in case of an invasion of Attica, that the Athenians did not bestir themselves more.

Ἐπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν λέγει.] *And then, he speaks of a peace observed by you towards him, not by him towards you.* Some editions have *ἄγειν λέγει* here, which WOLF changed to *εἶναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

Ὅ τῶν ὠνεῖται.] *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends.* *Τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων.* Genitive of price. JELF. 519. Cf. HER. V. 6. *Ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

Ἐφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.] *And still avoid being attacked by you.*

Καὶ μὴν.] *Eti vero.* JELF. 728. *Μέχρι τούτου = Until he declare war.*

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Οὐδὲ γὰρ. τοῦτ' ἐπεῖ.] *For neither will he say this, even if advancing against Attica, and entering the Piræus.* Τὸν Πειραιᾶ. One of the ports of Athens, the others being Munychia and Phalerum. These were connected with the city by means of the long walls built under the administration of Pericles. Themistocles had surrounded the ports by a wall. The entire circuit of these walls was one hundred and seventy-four and a-half stadia. The long walls (τὰ μακρὰ τείχη) were three in number, one on the east to Phalerum, thirty-five stadia long, another on the west to the Piræus, about forty stadia, and the third parallel to the last, leading to the same place. These last were known as the long walls, the one to Phalerum being usually called τὸ Φαληρικὸν τείχος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους.] *Towards the others, i. e. those whom he subsequently proceeds to enumerate: the Olynthians and Phocians.*

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Τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια.] "After Philip had captured the thirty-two Chalcidic cities, he marched against Olynthus itself. On arriving within forty furlongs of the city, he sent to the inhabitants a peremptory summons, intimating that either they must evacuate the city, or he must leave Macedonia." GROTE, chap. lxxxviii.

Δυοῖν θάτερον.] BREMI refers to *De COR.* p. 274: Καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ . . . ἐγκαλεῖν, ἢ . . . μὴ φέρειν, and states that after θάτερον the verb ποιεῖν is to be supplied. But SCHAEFER does not approve of this, and also dissents from those who would make it the accusative absolute. But he would be content with a nominative absolute, and considers it as one of those formulæ which are inserted in the oration, yet have a loose syntactical connection with it. He therefore supplies no verb. But his illustration in German, *eins von beiden*, does not happen to apply in English, and therefore I am inclined to adopt BREMI's opinion, and supply ποιεῖν.

Πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.] Accusative of time. JELF, 577. The period alluded to is that between midsummer, B.C. 350, and the commencement of the siege of Olynthus, during which time he had conquered and destroyed the whole of the Chalcidic

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towns. And what is here related of Olynthus may have been equally true in the case of Stagira, Torone, Apollonia, and the rest. Capturing them in detail, he kept assuring his next victims that his designs were favourable to them. *Αἰτιάσασαίτο* governs two accusatives, *αὐτὸν* and *τι τοιοῦτον*. Cf. DEM. COR. p. 250. *Ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.*

Τοῦτο δέ.] In connection with *τοῦτο μὲν*, supra, is to be translated *and then again*.

Ὡς πρὸς συμμαχοῦς.] At page 54, we have *ὡς βασιλέα*; and again, in *De REB. CHERS.* p. 98, *Πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις*. *Ὡς* in both these instances is a preposition. But in the present instance it is not so, but merely expresses a supposition, and is equivalent to *as if*. Cf. THUC. vi. 61. *Ἀπέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας*. XEN. ANAB. iv. 3, 11. *Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ*. Cf. JELF. 626.

Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν πορευομένην.] *And there were envoys of the Phocians who accompanied him on his march*, i.e., in B.C. 346, when he was marching southward from Pella to Pheræ, before he had taken the oaths. I quite agree with GROTE that the reference in this passage, and also what follows as far as *πρόσθεν*, refers to the same period of time.

Καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἦριζον πολλοί.] *And many with us contended*. FRANK here reads *οἱ πολλοί*, and is followed by SMED, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes FRANK's remark, *vulgus cui proditorem turba verba dederat*. But here, I contend, they are wrong. *Πολλοί* does not allude to the populace at Athens in any way, but to the ambassadors who accompanied Philip in this celebrated march, among whom were the ten Athenians, and besides ambassadors from Thessaly, Thebes, Phocis, and Sparta, all contending to gain Philip's favour and alliance. The words *παρ' ἡμῶν* will then refer to the little court of envoys who attended the great Sphinx, and endeavoured to determine his ultimate policy, or in whose favour he acted. Further than this, the treaty had not been signed; the ambassadors had not returned; the people could know nothing about it, and could hardly determine whether the result would be favourable to Thebes or not.

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Θηβαίους οὐ τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον.] *That his approach would not benefit the Thebans.* Here, again, the allusion is to the sentiments of the ambassadors with Philip. We see a few lines above that he was marching forward avowedly as the ally of Phocia. So firmly convinced were even the Theban envoys of this, that at one time they became alarmed; and well they might, for some of Philip's officers expressly declared that his purpose was to conquer Thebes and restore the Boeotian towns of Thespiæ and Plataea. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 46. What could be more likely than that this language should be interpreted by the ambassadors to mean what it really was not intended to do, since the purpose was all along to pit the one against the other, and gain time to arrive at Thermopylæ?

Πρώην.] This was in the year of the peace. He garrisoned this city because it was the most disaffected to him of all in Thessaly. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 424. From the language there employed we may conjecture that Pheræ was one of those cities whose citadels were occupied by him.

ἔχει καταλαβόν.] *Having seized it, he continues to hold it.* ἔχει with the participle is thus used to denote the continuance of the action when already commenced. In Latin, a similar power is possessed by *habere*, and a *passive participle in the accusative*. Cf. for example DEM. c. APHOB. p. 818. τὴν μὲν τοίνυν προῖκα ἔχει λαβόν. EUR. MED. 33, 89; HEC. 999; ANT. 1045; and CÆD. REX. 567. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44: Id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios *comperit habere*.

Ὀρεῖται.] Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasæan gulf. Its position made it an important place to hold, and it had been under the Athenian dominion at various times since the Persian wars. The events here related had taken place the very year in which this oration was delivered. ἐπισκεψομένους εὖνοίαν. *That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness.* "Since ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is said of those who visit the sick, the ridicule upon the inhabitants of Oreus is here very bitter. But this was Philip's manner, to speak blandly, and cavil in words until he was sure of his prey." BREMI.

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ὡς νοσοῦσι.] Philip had used these words to apply to the diseased Oreitans; and Demosthenes completes the metaphor by using ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, *to visit*, as a physician visits his patients—καὶ στασιάζουσιν as explanatory of νοσοῦσι. FRANK.

Ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς παρῆναι.] *To be at hand to help them in such difficulties.* The events here alluded to are involved in much obscurity. They all took place in 342–1, and are briefly as follows: The party favourable to Philip was led by Philistides the tyrant, who was supported by Philip. He persuaded them to imprison Euphræus of Oreus, the leader of the opposing party, as a disturber of the public peace. Philistides then introduced a body of Macedonian troops, and thus became confirmed in his power—the city at the same time, as a matter of course, revolting from the confederacy of Athenian cities in Eubœa, which had been formed subsequently to the battle of Tamynæ. ÆSCH. C. CTES. pp. 67, 68. Euphræus poisoned himself in prison.

Αὐτόν.] Accusative before αἰπεῖσθαι. *That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c. Μὴ παθεῖν . . . ἂν ἴσως. But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury. Προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι. Warn them of his attack.*

Καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως.] *And that, too, whilst, or as long as. Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Sane, non ita est. In very truth, not so.*

Τῶν ἀδικουμένων αὐτῷ.] JELF. 541. When the subject of the participle is not the same as that of the verb, the participle and its subject are usually in the genitive absolute. DE RIB. CHERS. p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφραθῆναι. Translate: *Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.*

Ἄλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration DE RIB. CHERS. was delivered. He was reviled by the partisans of Philip, and accused of breaking the peace of 346, by his actions in Thrace and the Chersonese. Ὑμῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο.] *And should remove those pretexts from his hirelings, &c.* The orators at Athens in the pay of Philip, such as Æschines and Demades. Ἀφαιρεῖν is more

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usually joined with a double accusative, IL. i. 182, or with the Acc. and Dat. OD. i. 9, seldom, as here, with an accusative of the thing and genitive of person. But cf. XEN. HELLEN. iii. 1, 7, Ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν.

Οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς.] *With which they put you off.* Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους οἷς ἀναβάλλουσι ὑμᾶς. WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερίζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. Ἀναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

Ἔστιν. ὅστις.] These words are used to denote *any body*, or *some indefinite person*. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. Ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ καταλήφθῃ ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων.] Prepositions are usually repeated before every noun, and it is rare to find one omitted in disjunctive sentences. JELF. 650, 1, 4. Something similar occurs frequently in tragedy; in compound verbs, the second one usually drops the preposition EUR. HER. 167. Ἀπωλέσας ὥλέσας. OREST. 180. Διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα. ALCEST. 400. Ὑπάκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δὴ πον.] *Nemo scilicet. Nobody I ween.* Ἀρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας. *The peace having now been concluded.* This must refer to the settlement of the preliminaries at Athens by Antipater and Parmenio and the Athenians, which was nearly three months before Philip took the oaths at Pheræ. The peace was voted by the Athenian people, Elaphebolion, 19th March, 346, and ratified on the 28th. Philip, however, did not take the oaths until Scirophorion, June 15th, 346.

Ὅπως Διοπίθους στρατηγοῦντος.] We cannot determine the exact date of the appointment of Diopithes to the command, but we learn (from De REB. CHERS. p. 91) that it was after the conditions of the peace had been agreed upon, when he and a body of settlers had been sent out from Athens unprovided with pay (p. 95), and that, in order to support himself, he made attacks upon Cardia, an ally of Philip. The king sent forces to the aid of the Cardians, and Diopithes defeated them, and carried his

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incursions into maritime Thrace. Philip now sent envoys and a letter to Athens threatening to overrun the Chersonese unless Diopithes were restrained in his warlike efforts; but meantime the king was pushing his conquests against the Thracian princes. *Epist. Phil. Dem.* p. 161. This led to complaints against Diopithes, whom Demosthenes defends in the *De Reb. Chers.*

Οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων. . . . ἀπεσταλμένων.] *Nor were those troops yet in Chersonesus who have lately been sent*, i. e. the mercenaries who accompanied Diopithes, about whom much was then said at Athens.

Ξέρρειον.] A promontory of Thrace and a town of the same name near Doriscus. This latter place was situated in a great plain near the river Hebrus. *HER.* vii. 59. Ἰεροῦ ὄρους. A fort near the last two towns. The day after the peace had been ratified at Athens (Elaphebolion 28) a despatch came from Chares informing the Athenians that Philip had captured the Sacred Mount, and other important places in Thrace, and had deprived Cersobleptes of the greater part of his kingdom. *ÆSCH. FALS. LEG.* p. 40.

Οὓς δ. . . . ἐγκατέστησαν.] *Whom your own general had stationed there.* This was Chares, who was acting in Thrace in conjunction with Cersobleptes, whom he assisted by means of the fleet under his command.

Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων, τί ἐποίει;] *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi εἰ μὴ ἐπολέμει. *Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat?* *REISK.*

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Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὥμωμόκει.] *For he had sworn to the peace.* This must be taken with some latitude. The facts were these: The peace was on the basis of *uti possidetis*, from the day upon which it was sworn to at Athens. Now as we said above, this was Elaphebolion 28th, at which time a decree also passed that the ambassadors should proceed to Philip and have the oaths taken immediately. But for some reason they did not set out until after Munychion 3rd (April), and then they did not go direct to Philip in Thrace; but, having proceeded to Oreus, they arrived at Pella by slow passages, and awaited there until Philip

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returned from Thrace, fifty days after they left Athens. DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 390. And still he did not take the oaths until nearly twenty days after. I would therefore interpret the present passage to mean, that as Athens had sworn in presence of the Macedonian envoys, the orator may intend that Philip was bound by the action of his envoys.

Τῇ πόλει.] JACOBS well remarks that the loss of such unimportant places was small to Athens, but it was not the political profit or loss that was now to be regarded, but *right*, and political justice, and therefore independent of the magnitude or unimportance of the subjects in dispute. Ἄλλος ἂν . . . οὗτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOL. SOC. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος. DE LEG. i. 7. ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς δύναμιν.] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that ἴσα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. ON ἔτι μικρὸν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

Ἦν βασιλεὺς εἶναι.] This abrupt introduction of the king of Persia seems rather strange, and the appeal to his authority is somewhat remarkable. "But the growing power of Philip and his threatening disposition would naturally induce the Athenians to court the friendship of any state strong enough to protect them." WHISTON. Translate: *Which the king and all the Greeks know to be yours.* Βασιλεὺς, without the article as is usual in speaking of the king of Persia. From HER. vi. 34, we learn that in the time of Peisistratus the Chersonese was inhabited by Dolonians, and that they invited Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, to rule over them. He took out with him a body of Athenians as settlers, who volunteered for the expedition, vi. 36. He also built a wall from Pactya to Cardia, and thus protected the country. Miltiades was succeeded by Stesagoras, and, on his assassination, Hippias sent his brother Miltiades, who ruled for twenty-four years, and then abandoned the country from fear of the Persians, and returned to Athens. After the battle Marathon the country was again secured to Athens, and continued subject to them until the end of the Peloponnesian War. They then lost it,

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and did not finally gain possession of it until its cession to them by Cersobleptes in 358-7.

Καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα.] *And writes us word that such is the case.*
Cf. EPIST. PHILIPP. p. 161. Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω.] *So far am I from agreeing, &c.* I have retained τοσούτου instead of τοσούτω. The expressions πολλοῦ δέω, ὀλίγου δέω, and τοσούτου δέω, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

Ὡστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον.] A short time before the date of this oration, some Megareans, under the leadership of Pterilaus, laid their plans for the capture of the city, by means of Macedonian troops sent from Phocis to Pegæ, the port of Megara on the Crissæan Gulf. Word came to Athens, and Phocion and a body of Athenian hoplites (B. C. 343) were despatched with all haste. They arrived at Megara, and made the city secure by fortifying Nicæa, and connecting it by long walls with Megara, thus securing the entry of Athenians at any time into the city. Pterilaus was soon after tried at Megara before the *Three Hundred*, and acquitted by means of Pteodorus, a man of great influence in the city, who afterwards despatched him for more Macedonian troops, which, however, did not arrive. FALS. LEG. 436. We can easily see the importance Athens placed upon Megara from the frequent mention made of it by Demosthenes in this and other orations. Cf. PHIL. iv. p. 133. FALS. LEG. pp. 368, 435, 446, 448. In *De Cor.* p. 324, we find Pteodorus given in the list of traitors to Greece and partisans of Philip. The reason of this importance being given to the city is that, having all Bœotia under his sway, if he gained Megara he would have surrounded Athens on all sides. He already governed Eubœa by his bribed adherents.

Ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευδόντα.] This is more fully treated of in the present oration, pp. 125-127. REISKI prefers to read τυραννίδας, for Philip had set up several tyrants in Eubœa, but τυραννὶς is here used *generally*, to apply to any tyrants. Translate: *Dominationem tyrannorum.*

Νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παρίοντα.] Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 100. Philip was still absent in Thrace at the date of this oration, and had

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been there for more than ten months. The campaign ended by the subjugation of the country and the expulsion of the kings. WINIEWSKI, p. 187.

Τὰ ἐν σκευωρούμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Peiō-ronnesus.* The verb σκευωρεῖσθαι, like σκευοποιεῖσθαι, is applied to a *cunningly devised trick, to effect by intrigue.* Its derivative, σκευώρημα, has the same force. Cf. DEM. p. 955. Ἄλλ' εἶναι τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ σκευώρημα ὄλον. Also, p. 1035, σκευώρημα συνιδόντες.

Εἰ μὴ καὶ προσαγάγωσιν.] *Unless indeed ye will say that those who are placing their engines keep the peace, until they lead them against the walls.* Observe that Demosthenes uses the word μηχανήμα here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσήγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, Ἀποβάσεις δὲ μάλιστα οὖσης ἔλεῖν μηχαναῖς. However, he may not here intend so much *engines of war*, as *deceit of any kind*, as in ÆSCH. PROM. 469. In the CHERPH. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθεῖην.] *By which I may be overcome.* Κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. *Even though he hurl no javelin and draw no bow.*

Τίσιν οὖν γένοιτο.] *If anything should happen, of what would you be in danger?* Κινδυνεύειν is here construed with a dative, as in HER. ii. 120, vii. 209, viii. 60. The construction with ὑπὲρ and the genitive is the more common, although πρὸς and the accusative is found in HER. iv. 11. In this passage, REISKE reads εἰ γίγνονται, and translates: *Quænam igitur illa sunt, quorum eventus nos in discrimen conjiciat.* But εἰ τι γένοιτο, *si quid acciderit*, is more spirited. The infinitives following are to be regarded as substantives in apposition to τίσιν.

Εἴτα] JELF. 874, 6. Τοῦτον εἰρήνην πρὸς ὑμᾶς; *Can I affirm that he keeps the peace towards you?* Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. *And indeed I am far from doing so.*

Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας Φωκέας.] *But from the day he destroyed the Phocians.* We cannot determine the exact date of the destruction of these towns, but the most probable date is Scirophorion 23rd,

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the day on which Phalæcus and his mercenaries surrendered to Philip at Thermopylæ. The Phocian towns surrendered at the same time, and their destruction followed immediately. This was hardly a week after the signing of the peace at Pheræ.

Ἔμᾱς δὲ φημί.] *And I say you are wise if you send assistance now.* Ἦδη is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημί, *Sio negatum vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* REMISE. But all the manuscripts give δυνήσεσθε, and I have retained it. Besides, I can hardly see why it should be changed, as there is no anacoluthon in leaving it as it is.

Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῶν ἑλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* Ὅστε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίον. A town on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megareans, B. C. 658. The other Grecian colonies in this neighbourhood were Lampsacus, Cysicus, Perinthus, and Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium. (HEEREN'S MANUAL, p. 131.) The founder is said to have been Byzas, the son of Neptune. Its site made it, in a very short period, a most flourishing city and a port of great trade with Athens and the rest of Greece. During the Peloponnesian War it was alternately under the sway of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. It revolted from Athens in 358, and took part with Rhodes and Chios in the Social War. It had continued ill-affected towards Athens during all the remainder of the reign of Philip, and sometimes in alliance with him, (*De Cor.* p. 254,) until the year of this speech, when Demosthenes was sent as envoy to visit it, and induced it to form an alliance with Athens against Philip. In consequence of this, and of the aid lent it against Philip, the people voted a crown to the Athenians. *De Cor.* p. 255.

Καὶ τοῖς ὄσιν ἀποστεῖλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.* Ἐκεῖ. This word refers only to the Chersonese, not to Byzantium. Phocion and the soldiers under his charge were not received into Byzantium until 341-0, the year after the delivery of this speech. The allusion, then, will be to Diopithes and his soldiers.

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Ἐξ ὧν φοβοῦμαι.] *From what cause I thus am in dread for our affairs.* After εἰπεῖν understand περὶ τῶν. Μετέχειν has the meaning of *to partake of anything with another, hence to adopt, as here.* Translate: *Ye may adopt my opinions.*

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Καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ποιήσῃθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it were εἰ μὴ ἔρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is si non etiam reliquorum; the ἔρα being ut videtur. That you may at least take some wise precautions for yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for other states as well." ARNOLD. "Ἑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, the objective genitive.

Τετυφώσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τῦφος, smoke, mist, it will mean here *to be wrapt in smoke or clouds, to be silly or absurd.* This is the view taken by most modern etymologists, and in my opinion the correct one. HARPOCRATION remarks upon it: τετυφόμεαι· ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἕξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι, καὶ τετυφόμεαι, where the first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. Ληρεῖν. *To speak or act like a fool.* Compare the Latin *deliro*, *I rave*, and its English derivative, *delirium*.

Ἀδθις.] *Again, hence hereafter.* Translate: *Neither now nor hereafter consider me as one sound in mind.*

Μεγας ἠβύηται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already implied in the verb αὐξάνειν Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. JELF. 654, 2. Cf. De COR. p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ ὅτι πολλῶ γενέσθαι.] *And it was far more improbable that he should become such as he is, from the man he was.* Προσελήψε. Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσεήλθε, cæteris adjunxit. WOLF.

Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι.] *He should also reduce what remains under himself.* He uses the aor. Inf. to denote a *finished result*, and not the *gradual reduction* of them, which would require the present. Διεξελεθεῖν. *To go through in words, to relate.* Cf. HER. vii. 18.

Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ αὐτῶ.] *But I see all men, beginning with you,*

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have granted to him, that, &c. The expression ἀπό τίνος ἀρξάμενος is used adverbially, and has the peculiarity of agreeing with its subject, and defines its limits and sense. Cf PLATO. REP. 600. Οὐκοῦν τίθωμεν ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀρξαμένους πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμητὰς εἰδώλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Τελευτῶν, διαλιπὼν χρόνον, and ἀνύσας, are used in a similar manner. WOLF says: ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξ. *inter quos primi estis*, while SCHÆFER translates: *Initio a vobis facto*.

Οὕτωςί] *In so public a manner*, i. e. in a way plainly intended for all to see, and in which no evasion was intended. Περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν. These words convey in a very forcible manner the scorn of the orator. Περικόπτειν is applied to trees, *to cut them round and thus destroy them*. He uses it in this meaning in *De REB CHERS.* p. 91. Then again, λωποδυτεῖν (from λώπη, a garment, and δύνω) was applied to such as robbed bathers and travelers, and committed other petty thefts. By such means does the orator often mark his scorn for the actions of the Macedonian. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54.

Καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις.] *To enslave the cities*, i. e. commonwealths of Greece. I am inclined to take this view, since to apply it to any separate cities would lessen the force of the argument. In the same way πραγμάτων is used a few lines above, to denote the whole affairs of the commonwealth.

Καίτοι.] *And yet*. Ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία. Our orator has here given a hard task to his commentators, who will not see that he is speaking *generally*. However, in this case, we may presume he gives the exact number, which he intends to be correct, and below, p. 117, when he says "seventy years," he must be understood as speaking in general terms. The seventy-three years will date from the close of the Persian wars, B. C. 477, to the battle of Ægospotamos, which ended the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 405-4 (OL. 93, 4). But Demosthenes mentions in OL. iii. p. 35, that the Athenians "had the hegemony of the Greeks *with their consent* for forty-five years." These years must be computed from B. C. 477 (OL. 75, 4), to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which will be over forty-five years (OL. 87, 2). His statements thus harmonize with the facts of Grecian history; but when we compare his dates with those of other writers, a remark-

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able discrepancy arises. ISOCRATES in one place says their sway lasted sixty-five years. LUCCHESINI adopts this, counting from the close of the Persian war to the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse. BOΣOKH also agrees in the years, but commences to count from OL. 77, 2. B. C. 471. The round number, seventy, is given also by LYSIAS. *Ἐπιδόμιος*, 55. PLATO, EPIST. vii. p. 443, and ISOCRATES, PANEGYR. 122. We have seen that he also gives the date as sixty-five. See CLINTON'S FAST. HELLEN. ii. AP. p. 263.

Τριᾶκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα.] These twenty-nine years are to be reckoned from the battle of *Ægospotamos* (OL. 93, 4) to the defeat of the Lacedæmonians by Chabrias at Naxos, B. C. 376 (OL. 101, 1). For the manner in which Sparta used her power, see GROTE, chap. lxxvii. For the greatness of her power, see XEN. HELLEN. v. 3.

Ἰσχυσαν δέ τι μᾶχην.] And the Thebans have obtained the power these late years, after the battle of *Leuctra*. Fought between Epaminondas and the Thebans, and Oleombrotus and the Spartans, B. C. 371. OL. 102, 2). In consequence of this victory the chief power passed to the Thebans, who were the last of the Greeks who could claim the hegemony, since Philip, the next leader, was no Greek.

Ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε.] To do whatever you wished. He uses the second person because: "Secunda persona quum plura subiecta adsint. recte ponitur, quum is quem alloquimur primus et proximus nobis sit." BREMI. SCHÆFER remarks that *ποιεῖν* should have the article, since as often as *τοῦτο* is explained in the same sentence by an infinitive following it, in prose the article is scarcely ever omitted. He also reads *βούλεσθε*. But the optative is preferable, since the circumstances varied with the wish, and it could refer to no settled plan.

Οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ.] Far from it. Neutiquam. Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 100. *Τοῦτο μὲν*. The corresponding word is *καὶ πάλιν*. WOLF lays it down that when *τοῦτο μὲν* is used, *τοῦτο δὲ* should follow. But this is not followed here, nor indeed does the orator confine himself very strictly to these formulæ; for at page 128 he has

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πρῶτον, followed by δέ, when we should expect ἐπειτα δέ. Again, at p. 126, τότε μὲν—πάλιν δέ.

Μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότε οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις.] Vide quæ artificio Orator capiet aurem popularem. Τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, *Seemed to conduct themselves perhaps harshly towards certain states.* Here again the orator states a disagreeable fact in such a way as to flatter his audience, and at the same time mark his sense of their conduct. WOLF translates: *Quum quosdam non moderate tractare viderentur.* The truth of this remark will be fully confirmed by the action of Athens towards the various members of the confederacy of Delos subsequently to the wars with Persia. Cf. GROTE, chap. xlv. Considering the real facts, Demosthenes would have been right if he had used instead of οὐ μετρίως, μάλ' ὕβριστικῶς, as DISSSEN remarks. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 231. Οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο (Θηβαῖοι).

Πάντες φοντο δεῖν.....πολεμεῖν.] *All the rest, even those having no charge to bring forward, considered it a matter of necessity to urge war in conjunction with the wronged states.*

Ἀρξασί.] *Imperium capessentes.* For ἀρχειν here, as SCHÆFER remarks, is *imperium capessere*, not *imperare*. He compares HER. i. 14. Ἐπεὶ τε ἤρξε, *Postquam regno potitus est.* Translate: *Having obtained the chief power, and succeeding to the same political influence.*

Πλεονάζειν.] *Inolescere, plus sibi, quam oportebat, arrogare.* So ISOOC. *de SOPHISTIS*, Εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσι, *Tametsi nunc insolenter sese jactant.* WOLF. Περὰ τοῦ μετρίου....ἐκίνουν. *And disturb existing institutions beyond what was reasonable.* This alludes to the action of Lysander and the Spartans after the defeat of the Athenians in B. C. 405. The attempt to establish an oligarchy was generally regarded as odious in the extreme. The appointment of decadarchies and a Spartan harmost in each city was looked upon as only another name for tyranny. Besides, these rulers were generally unfit for their station, and caused much ill-feeling. But the crowning act of arrogance was the seizure of the Kadmeia, which ultimately led to a union, ending in the overthrow of the Lacedæmonian influence in Greece.

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Καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν;] *And why need I mention the others?* "These words are used to indicate a change to more serious subjects." FRANKS.

Οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες.] **Αν* here is to be referred to *ἔχοντες*, and the expression is then equivalent to οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχομεν, sc. εἰ καὶ ἡβουλόμεθα. *Having no fault to find at the outset regarding any injury inflicted by the one upon the other.* The allusion here is to the Peloponnesian War, which, as WHISTON remarks, originated not in any direct attack of the Athenians or the Spartans upon each other, but in the struggle between the Epidamnians and Corcyraeans, and the events arising therefrom.

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καίτοι.] Many editions have καίτοι γε, which seems a preferable reading. Ἐξημάρτηται. *Everything which had been inflicted.*

Ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα.] Vide supra Ἐλάττων ἐστίν. *Are of less consequence.* Manuscripts vary here between ἐλάττω, ἐλάττων, and the reading as given above. I have adopted it on the authority of DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

*Ὡν Φίλιππος ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας.] *Than the wrongs which Philip has inflicted upon the Greeks, in scarcely thirteen years, during which he has had the upper hand.* This oration was delivered in 342-1 (OL. 109, 3), and thirteen years before would be 355-4 (OL. 106, 2), and before this year, Philip had captured Pydna and Potidæa, founded the new town of Philippi, and opened for himself the resources of the adjoining auriferous regions; he had established relations with Thessaly, and assisted the Aleuadae against the tyrants of Pheræ, captured Amphipolis, and terrified the Athenians for the safety of the Chersonese. He had also overrun and subdued the Illyrians and Pæonians, and fully consolidated his empire to the north of Mount Œta. GROTE, chap. lxxxvi. Ἐπιπολάζει. *Aliquid esse cæpit.* SCHÆFER. But the meaning of the verb is not fully brought out by such an expression. It means *to swim upon the surface* (ἐπιπολή, ἐπὶ, πέλω). The word is used by medical writers, in the same way as the Latin *innatare stomacho*, of food remaining *crude* on the stomach; and is also used of the effects of liquor on the brain, *to intoxicate*.

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Hence, as editors generally observe, it is applied contemptuously here. Demosthenes means by it, that Philip may go on smoothly for a time, but the end will come soon. Intoxicated by his success, he will make some blunder which will ensure his fall.

Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ . . . ἐκείνα.] *Or rather they are not the smallest part of them.* The reading of VÖMEL and SAUPPE here is πέμπτον μέρος, from Codd. Σ. Ω. All other editions give the reading as I have. RUSKE seems to think the reading, πέμπτον, to have arisen from the frequent use of the formula in Demosthenes: Οὐδὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ψήφων λαβεῖν.

Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν.] These cities were the last which Philip attacked on the Chalcidic peninsula. Methone here is usually distinguished from the Methone on the Thermaic Gulf by the epithet of "Thracian." It is still further characterized by THUCYDIDES as τὴν ὁμορον Μακεδονίᾳ, vi. 7. Many writers contend that it was in the capture of this city, and not of Methone on the Thermaic Gulf, that Philip lost an eye. GEOTE, chap. lxxxvii. Apollonia was "an Ionian colony, in Mygdonia." ARNOLD These cities were now allies of Olynthus, which was the head of the Chalcidic confederacy.

Ἐπὶ Θράκης.] This expression is used to denote the peninsulas lying southward of Macedonia proper, and inhabited chiefly by colonies from various Greek cities. In the earlier years of Demosthenes it was very populous and wealthy, and we see from his language to what a condition it had been reduced by "scarcely thirteen years" of Macedonian rule. "Ἐπὶ Θράκης. Thraceward; or living in the direction of Thrace. A general term applied to the Greek States which lined the Ægean from Thessaly to the Hellespont. The Chalcidic colonies in this quarter, amongst which were Olynthus, Torone, Sermyle, and Arne, were founded from Chalcis in Eubœa." ARNOLD *ad* THUC. i. 57. *See also XEN.*

Ἐπὶ Θράκης.] Sc. τινά. Many editions have before μηδ', μηδένα, but I have omitted it as unnecessary, on the authority of DINDORF. *Any one, having gone there, could not easily say.* AUGER translates: *si accesseris, nec facile dicas.* WOLF says μηδένα προσελθόντα, pro μηδένι προσελθόντι.

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Καὶ τὸ Φωκίων ἔθνος τοσούτων ἀνηρημένον.] Referring to the almost total destruction of the twenty-two Phocian towns, dismantled and broken up into villages, none of which was to contain more than fifty houses, nor be nearer its neighbour than a space of one furlong. The decree is given in LELAND'S *Philip*, vol. ii. book iii. s. iii.

Οὐχὶ τὰς παρήρηται.] By 'πόλεις' I understand *Pagasa* and *Magnesia*, by 'πολιτείας,' *liberty*. WOLF. Yet what this liberty was he nowhere states. The whole country, as has been observed in a previous note, was divided into four divisions, and was very powerful when united under the government of a single ruler called Tagus, a name peculiar to Thessaly (POLLUX. i. 128). Each of these four divisions comprised several cities, the chief magistrates of which were also called Tagi. BÆCKH. *Corp. Inscript.* No. 1770. They were generally at war with each other. Larissa, Phæræ and Pharsalus seem to have had a certain power over the others. The general government had the imposts on the tributaries, and the harbour dues to support it, together with the duties on all markets. These were seized by Philip and applied to his own use. DEM. OL. i. p. 15. We also learn from DEM. p. 15, as above, that Philip seized these revenues of the country and applied them to his own use. The liberty they enjoyed, therefore, seems hard to determine, still it was a rule of Thessalian over Thessalian, and thus to be preferred to that of a foreigner.

Καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν.] *And he has established tetrarchies.* See note, p. 71.

"Ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις δουλεύωσιν;] *That he may not only enslave them by cities, but also by nations.* By making all responsible to him instead of the Tagi of the various cities. Besides, each district was directly accountable to him. Compare WOLF ad loc.: "*Totam Thessaliam in quatuor præfecturas divisit, ut non modo oppidatim sed etiam regionatim (ut ita dicam) serviant.*"

Αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις.] Oreus and Eretria, and perhaps others. Πλησίον is here construed with a genitive, which is the more usual construction. In IL. xxiii. 732, πλησίοι ἀλλήλοισι is found.

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IN SOPH. OED. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιάζειν* is joined with an acc. *Καὶ ταῦτα*, *And that too*. JELF. 880, i.

Καὶ οὐ γράφει οὐ ποιεῖ.] *And he does not write these things and not exhibit them in his actions.* Cf. *De Cor.* 288. *Οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους.* CIO. *pro MILONE.* c. 23. *Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis: neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati cui senatus totam rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to *De Cor.* s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

Ἑλλήσποντον.] This has no reference to the strait, but to the district of that name lying alongside of it. The cities along this coast were also called *αἱ Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις*. XEN. AN. i. 1.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Philip's expedition against Ambracia is mentioned also in *De HALON.* p. 84, and again in *PHIL.* iv. p. 133. From the language employed it seems doubtful whether the city was captured or not.

Ἦλιν ἔχει.] *He holds Elis, i. e. his faction rules supreme in that city.* After the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362, the oligarchical party at Elis succeeded in expelling their opponents. During the reign of Philip the oligarchs identified themselves with Philip, and the opposite party invited to their aid a body of the mercenaries of Phocis who had retired to Crete. These were defeated, and the prisoners afterwards massacred under the decree of the Amphictyons passed against all who had taken part in the plunder of Delphi. DIODOR. xvi 63. Hence arises the expression of Demosthenes in *PHIL.* iv. 133, *τὰς ἐν Ἠλίδι σφαγὰς*, which is repeated *ipissima verba* in *FALS. LEG.* p. 424. But while Philip was thus subserving his interests in Elis to satisfy the governing party, he at the same time was advancing his power at her expense. He conquered from her Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia, colonies belonging to her, in the Cassiopeian district, in the north of Epirus, and gave them to his brother-in-law, Alexander. *De HALON.* p. 84.

Μεγάποις] See n. p. 115. *Οὐδ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς . . . τὰνθρώπου.*] *Neither Greek nor barbarian land limits the ambition of the man.*

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JUVENAL makes much the same remark about Alexander. SAT. x. 168. Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis. The omission of γῆ with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is EGR. PHOEN. 1524, τίς Ἑλλὰς ἢ τις βάρβαρος. But even here, as HERMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with γῆ, all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites ÆSCH. PERS. 184. Ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαίαν, ἡ δὲ βάρβαρον, and adds that the whole form is given in XEN. ANAB. v. 5, 16, εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν.

Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς.....κατὰ πόλεις.] So wretchedly are we disposed to each other, and ruined city by city. Διορύσσειν properly signifies to dig through a wall, and undermine it, hence to ruin. Many editors interpret this word to mean separated from each other by walls and trenches. But the simpler meaning as above is to be preferred. Cf. SCHÆFER, perforati sumus, h. e. corrupti, pressumdati.

Οὐδὲ συστήναι.] Nor support one another. Κοινὴν βοήθειαν καὶ φιλίαν. A common bond of assistance and friendship.

Περιορῶμεν.] We disregard. Non impedimus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον....ἐκαστος ἐγνωκώς.] Each one having resolved to make the best use of the time during which his neighbour is destroyed. Philip's policy for peace was always so arranged that he never encountered too many enemies at once. He amused one party by letters and promises, and meanwhile deprived it of allies and friends. Take for examples Olynthus during the capture of its allies; and Athens, after the signing of the Peace, in regard to Phocis. Napoleon's policy was much the same; but his was a war policy, in which he made his actions to correspond to Virgil's castigat audilque dolos.

"Ὅπως σωθήσεται.....πράττων.] After verbs of caring for, considering, &c., ὅπως with the future indicative is used instead of the the subjunctive. REISKI remarks on the present passage, Immo vero σκοπεῖν et πράττειν, qui infinitivi apti sunt ex ἐγνωκώς, fixo hoc penes unumquemque sedente, ut neque consulat neque agat hoc, ut Græcia salva sit. It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of ἐκαστος.

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Ὡςπερ.] JELF. 868, 3, 4. Ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε.....ὁὐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δὴ
 σου. Since indeed assuredly, none can be ignorant that, like a
 periodic attack or approach of fever, or some other disease, he is
 coming upon even him now appearing to be far removed from him.
 The reference is to a regular return of an intermittent fever.
 WESTERMANN and SMEAD make the reference to be to an epidemic,
 but it would hardly convey the orator's meaning so well to limit
 it to such diseases. He represents the actions of Philip as so
 insidious, that a man may be seemingly quite well to-day, and
 to-morrow be prostrated by an attack. On καταβολή, *accessio*,
 cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, Ἡ καταβολὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀσθενείας. WOLF says :
 Περίοδος ἐστὶ χρόνος ἐπιτάξεως καὶ ἀνέσεως ἐν νοσήματι γιγνόμενος.
 From these definitions it can be fairly concluded that a fever
 returning at certain intervals is meant, rather than an epidemic,
 which is not necessarily periodic. Δὴ σου. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

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Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. Ἄλλ' οὖν...ἡδικοῦντο.]
 Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece.
 Ἕλληνες ἰθαγενεῖς. SCHAEFER.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κ.τ.λ.] And one might look upon this
 in the same manner as if a legitimate son, born to a great possession,
 should manage it discreditably and incorrectly: and for this he
 would be worthy of blame and reproach; but you could not say this
 of him, that he acted thus being an alien and not the heir of the pro-
 perty. Ὡςπερ ἂν εἰ, understand ὑπολάβοι after ἂν. Ἀξίον εἶναι,
 ἐνεῖναι. These infinitives depend upon ὥςπερ ἂν ὑπολάβοι. AUGER
 reads οὐκ ἐνῆν ἂν λέγειν. But REISKE well remarks there is no
 authority for so doing. He has himself, however, altered the
 reading ἄξιος to ἄξιον, no authority in manuscripts being given.
 However, his emendation has the advantage of being universally
 accepted. Προσθήκων. Subandi ὃν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τοιούτως ἡδίκη.
 REISKE. Κληῖρος is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the
 heir.

Ἵποβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used spe-
 cially of children. Cf. HER. i. 137. Τὰ ὑποβολιμαῖα (sc. τέκνα).
 Νόθος, a son of a concubine, or, at Athens, any child born of a
 citizen and a foreign woman.

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Ὀὐχ. Ὀὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELF, 747.

Ὁὐ μόνον. τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.] *Being not only no Greek, nor in any way allied to Greece.* Yet still either the orator was here mistaken, or else how could Philip have competed in the Olympic Games in 356, and be declared victor? PLUT. ALEX. c. 3. The question must have come up then whether he was a Greek or not, for none but pure Greeks could contend in the Olympic Games, and the Hellenodicae were most particular in this respect. HER. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, for the general question, GNOTZ, *Chap. xxv.* and C. O. MÜLLER, *Ueber die Makedoner*; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his *History of the Dorians*. It is certain they were of Pelasgic origin.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ. εἰπεῖν.] *But not even a barbarian from a place whence it is honorable to mention.* Demosthenes speaks very hard of the ancient Macedonians. He calls their kings *barbarians*, and *men destined to serve the Greeks*, in OL. iii. But still he gives no worse description of them than Alexander the Great did. ABRIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γὰρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ βρη πρόβατα κατὰ ὀλίγα χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς τὸ πέδιον. Quintus Cartius also adds other characteristics in his version of the same speech. *Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudes, amicula ex purpura sordent; aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt; lignea enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta et rubiginem gladiatorum.* This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας.] *"A good-for-nothing Macedonian, a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Ἀνδράποδον.* A Macedonian slave is nowhere mentioned, but Demosthenes is the only authority for saying they were *worthless*. It is rather a subject of pride than reproach. The scholiast informs us: *Scythia, Cappadocia, Thrax, Phrygia, Aegyptius servus qui esset, is honeste saltem serviebat. Nam ex his populis man-*

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cipia sua petebant Athenienses. E Macedonia autem nulla exportabantur. Hoc nequius interpretatus Demosthenes colligit, tam improbos esse Macedonas, ut nemo Athenis servum illinc velit, et Macedonici generis servos omnium servorum esse nequissimos et teterrimos." REISKE.

Καίτοι τί.....ἀπολείπει;] *And yet in what does he fall short of the height of insolence? Οὐ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.] By his destruction of the cities, does he not preside at the Pythian games?* This has reference to the destruction of the Phocian towns. Τίθησι τὰ Πύθια, Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis, i.e. Pythiis præsidet.* AUGER The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to OL. 48, B. C. 588. Subsequently they came under the control of the Amphictyons, and in 346 they made over their right to the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Philip. This was regarded by the Athenians with such disgust that in that year they sent no deputies to the Games. "It was in the 3rd year of OL. 108, that these privileges were conferred upon Philip, and was the first step towards his assumption of the rank of captain-general in Greece. DIODOR. 16, 20." JACOBS.

Τοὺς δούλους.] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lasciviens δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους. SCHÆFER. Ἀγωνοθεήσοντας. The ἀγωνοθέται were either the representatives of the different states, as the Amphictyons at the Pythian Games, or were chosen from the people in whose country the games were celebrated. The Amphictyons were the proper ἀγωνοθέται at the Pythian. They were also called αἰσυμνήται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς, and βραβεύται. SCHÆFER remarks that here the proper word is ἀθλοθετήσοντας, according to the grammarians. Cf. DICT. ANT. s. v.

Πυλῶν, παρόδων.] He became master of Thermopylæ in 346, after the surrender of Phalæcus and the Phocians. The *Passes* into Greece are Thermopylæ and Elateia. He did not, however, occupy Elateia until a few weeks before the battle of Cheronæa.

Προμαντεῖαν.] *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis.* WOLF. The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. ÆSCH. EUM. 62. The magistrates of Delphi, however, had the right of admitting any person to præaudience regardless of

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the lots. This favour was conferred upon the Lydians and Croesus, HER. i. 54; upon the Lacedæmonians, PLUT. PER. 21; and upon Philip. It was of great importance to obtain this favour, since oracles were given only at stated times, and the enthusiasm of the priestess did not long continue. Hence if many came to consult, some might have to go away unanswered, which could never be the case with the *προμαντεύς*. "He refers to *προμαντείαν*. To which not even all the Greeks have a claim. This right was never conferred upon the Athenians, and they must thus have been greatly offended at seeing it bestowed upon the Macedonians.

Πορθμόν.] HESYCHIUS: πορθμός, στενὸν θαλάσσης, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς διαπέραμα. This town was the port and citadel of Eretria. The circumstances are more fully detailed below. Cf. *De FALS. LEG.* p. 368. "Τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας. By these he means the popular party, but they would be called by their partisans the people." KENNEDY.

Τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεὺν.] The same events are related in *De COR.* p. 248. "From this passage it might seem that Philip's attempts upon Porthmus, or rather Eretria, were contemporaneous with that on Oreus, the ancient Histiaæa. But from *PHIL.* iv. p. 133, it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short time after (μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον) that on Megara, which, so far as we can make out, was in B. C. 343. The seizure of Oreus was therefore probably effected in B. C. 342. But it appears from p. 125 that Philip made more than one attack upon Eretria, the first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (*PHIL.* iv. p. 133), though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed to have been made in B. C. 344." WHISTON.

'Ἄλλ' ὅμως . . . ἀνέχονται.] And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them. I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHÆFER joins ὁρῶντες ἀνέχονται and translates *sustinent videre*, and is followed by Mr. KENNEDY. But neither the present passage nor yet in p. 212, *De FÆD. cum ALEX. ἡ ἐκόντες ἀδικοῦμενοι ἀνέχθητε*, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Ὅμως is prefixed to the participle, yet more properly belongs to the verb.

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LIV. 21, 55. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis, mansit aliquamdiu immota acies." FRANK. JELF. 697. d.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλὰσαν· ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἐφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ τούτοις δ. The antecedent is omitted, and the preposition governs the attracted case of the relative. Cf. XEN. AN. i. 9, 25. Τοῦτου ἐκπικεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀδικεῖται.] *But not even in what each individual suffers.* KENNEDY translates: *but even the private wrongs of every people.* Very well for a paraphrase, but hardly suitable for a translation. His manner of rendering takes the point out of what follows. Not only do public wrongs go unavenged, but even private injuries are passively endured, *which*, says the orator, *is the very last thing.* Τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦσχα τὸν ἔστω. *For this is the last degree of apathy.* SMEAD. *For nothing can go beyond this at last.* WHISTON.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Cf. n. p. 118. Ambracia (*Arta*) a town on the left bank of the Arachthus, belonging originally to Acarnania, but afterwards to Epirus. It was colonized by the Corinthians in B.C. 660.

Λευκάδα.] An island off the coast of Acarnania now called *Santa Maura*, one of the Ionian Islands. Its length is about twenty miles, and the breadth varies from five to eight. HOMER (Od. xxiv. 377) calls it Ἀκτὴν Ἠπειροῖο. It was originally a part of the main land, and inhabited by Leleges and Teleboans. The Corinthians, under Cypselus, 665 B.C., founded the city of Leucas, and cut through the narrow isthmus, thus making it an island. In the time of the Peloponnesian War, the channel was filled by deposits of sand, and ships were frequently carried across. THUC. iii. 81; iv. 8. The channel was subsequently opened by the Romans. LIVY xxiii. 17, says: *Leucadia nunc insula, et vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat.*

Ναύπακτον.] *Lepanto.* A considerable city of the Locri Ozolæ on the north shore of the Sinus Corinthiacus. It became a pos-

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session of the Achæans about 400 B. C., but was taken from them by the Thebans under Epaminondas. It was afterwards reconquered by the Achæans, as we learn from the present passage, and being now made over to the Ætolians, continued under their power until the conquest of Greece by the Romans, B.C. 146.

Ἐχῖνον.] A city founded by Theban colonists in the south of Thessaly, on the north shore of the Maliac Gulf. WESTERMANN. There was also a city of the same name in Acarnania, mentioned by STEPHANUS BYZAN. HARPOCRATION also mentions the city, but says nothing of its position. ULPIAN, the scholiast, also mentions the Thessalian Echinus, and determines it as the one mentioned here. *Ἐχῖνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἄποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θετταλίας.* The city is still called Echino.

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους.] "The words: *Is he not now proceeding to attack the Byzantines?* must be understood of his intentions, which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried into effect till the following year." JACOBS. His intention in attacking Byzantium was to get command of the channel, and thus prevent the supply of corn at Athens. Cf. on the importance of this city to Athens, *De Cor.* pp. 254, 255. *Συμμάχους ὄντας* sc. αὐτῶ. *De Cor.* p. 254.

Οὐχ ἡμῶν—ἐὼ τᾶλλα.] Demosthenes begins to relate the circumstances in regard to Athens, and suddenly stops, as if aware that all knew them quite well enough. He only mentions one city, but *ab uno disce omnes*. Cf. *contra* TIMOC. p. 733. **Ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐὼ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῷ γήρᾳ βοηθοὺς λυμαίνῃ.* SCHÆFER.

Καρδίαν.] This city was at the extremity of the Chersonese, and in all time seems to have been an enemy to Athens. *Contra* ARIST. In the treaty with Philip, it was included among his allies, and it seems at no time to have been under the dominion of Athens. Diopithes, when Philip was advancing through Thrace, endeavoured to capture it, but failed, since Philip was enabled to relieve the city. From *De Pace* p. 63, *καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐῶμεν ἔξω Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι*, we see that even the Athenians allowed that it did not belong to the Chersonese. It was also reserved by the Cersobleptes in the cession of the Chersonese.

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Μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα.] *We dally and play the woman.* DINDORF and RÜDIGER give *μαλκίομεν*, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says *μαλκί-ομεν* was another reading. SCHÆFER remarks that *μαλκίομεν* in this place is the *genuine reading*, and that this word has been so completely eradicated by interpreters of the orator that no trace of it remains. HARPOCRATION interprets *μαλκίομεν* by τὸν ὄρρον φρίττειν, which DINDORF styles *parum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by *μαλκίῳ* is *numbness*, produced by *cold*, an interpretation by no means suitable to the present passage, and at any rate not to be preferred to the reading as given above.

Ἀδικοῦντι.] REISKI gives *ἀδικοῦντος*. Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone *ἀπιστοῦντες*, deesse *πιστεύοντες*, *diffidentes mutuo alii aliis*, at *Philippo fidentes*, *communi omnium hosti et vexatori*. But to my mind *ἀδικοῦντι* as well as *ἀλλήλοις* is governed by *ἀπιστοῦντες*, and REISKE's refining is thus useless.

Τί ὀλεσθε τί ποιήσῃν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὴν. The order is *ἐπειδὴν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἓνα*. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. *Καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει*.

Ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causâ*. Ἐχειν πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards any person or thing*. SMEAD.

Ἦν τι τότε, ἦν.] *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani*. CIC. *pro LEG. MANIL.* 12. τῶν πολλῶν. *The masses, the people*. Περσῶν. Demosthenes delights to recall these glorious deeds of the ancient Greeks. In this respect he is the *Æschylus* of the orators. Ἐλευθέραν ἦγε. Ἀγεῖν here has the meaning it usually receives with *ἡσυχίαν*, *εἰρήνην*, *faciebat ut Græcia libera maneret*. SCHÆFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom*. Some editions give *ἐλευθέρως* here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὕτε ἦττάτο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÆFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have *ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ*. *Λυμάλνεσθαι* is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Perturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia*. WOLF.

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Οὐδὲν τοικίλον εὐδὲ σοφόν.] *Nothing recondite nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by SKEAD as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. GORG. § 102. Οὐδὲν τοικίλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ πολλοί. Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἀπαρτεῖς ἐμίσουν, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἐξελεγχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen erat si quis accepisse munera convincebatur.* WOLF. *And it was a terrible thing to be convicted of taking bribes.*

Τιμωρὰ μέγιστη.] *With the heaviest punishment.* There were two actions for bribery (δεκασμός) at Athens; one called δέκασμου γραφή laid against the person who gave a bribe; the other δώρων γραφή, against the receiver. The actions lay against all cases of bribery, whether of citizens in the public assembly, of the Heliaea, or βουλή, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmothetæ, the punishment on conviction was death, or payment of ten times the value of the bribe, to which the court might add any additional punishment (προστήμιμα). Thus Demosthenes in the case of Harpalus was fined fifty talents and also in addition imprisoned. These laws were still in force, but were never enforced. Καὶ παρατήσις συγγνώμη, *And there was no begging off, nor pardon.* The law must have been vigorously carried out if such was the case.

Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν πραγμάτων.] *The proper moment, indeed, for every affair.* He means that in every action there is a favourable moment at which success is possible, and if that be omitted it will never come again. Compare SHAKESPEARE, *Jul. Cæsar*, Act iv. sc. iii.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

Ἡ τύχη. Cf. with the remarks on Fortune here, PHIL. i. p. 43, and CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. vi. 35. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna

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IN SOPH. ŒD. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιδζειν* is joined with an acc. *Καὶ ταῦτα*, *And that too*. JELF. 880, i.

Καὶ οὐ γράφει οὐ ποιεῖ.] *And he does not write these things and not exhibit them in his actions.* Cf. *De Cor.* 288. *Οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους.* CIO. *pro MILONE.* c. 23. *Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsiliis et armis: neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati cui senatus totum rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to *De Cor.* s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

Ἑλλησποντον.] This has no reference to the strait, but to the district of that name lying alongside of it. The cities along this coast were also called *αἱ Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις*. XEN. *AN.* i. 1.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Philip's expedition against Ambracia is mentioned also in *De HALON.* p. 84, and again in *PHIL.* iv. p. 133. From the language employed it seems doubtful whether the city was captured or not.

Ἦλιν ἔχει.] *He holds Elis, i. e. his faction rules supreme in that city.* After the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362, the oligarchical party at Elis succeeded in expelling their opponents. During the reign of Philip the oligarchs identified themselves with Philip, and the opposite party invited to their aid a body of the mercenaries of Phocis who had retired to Crete. These were defeated, and the prisoners afterwards massacred under the decree of the Amphictyons passed against all who had taken part in the plunder of Delphi. DIODOR. xvi 63. Hence arises the expression of Demosthenes in *PHIL.* iv. 133, *τὰς ἐν Ἠλιδι σφαγὰς*, which is repeated *ipissima verba* in FALS. *LEG.* p. 424. But while Philip was thus subserving his interests in Elis to satisfy the governing party, he at the same time was advancing his power at her expense. He conquered from her Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia, colonies belonging to her, in the Cassiopeian district, in the north of Epirus, and gave them to his brother-in-law, Alexander. *De HALON.* p. 84.

Μεγάποις] See n. p. 115. *Οὐδ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς . . . τὰνθρώπου.*] *Neither Greek nor barbarian land limits the ambition of the man.*

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JUVENAL makes much the same remark about Alexander. SAT. x. 168. Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis. The omission of γῆ with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is ECR. PHŒN. 1524, τίς Ἑλλάς ἢ τίς βάρβαρος. But even here, as HERMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with γῆ, all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites ÆSCH. PERS. 184. Ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα κλήρη λαχοῦσα γαίαν, ἡ δὲ βάρβαρον, and adds that the whole form is given in XEN. ANAB. v. 5, 16, εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν.

Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς.....κατὰ πόλεις.] So wretchedly are we disposed to each other, and ruined city by city. Διορύσσειν properly signifies to dig through a wall, and undermine it, hence to ruin. Many editors interpret this word to mean separated from each other by walls and trenches. But the simpler meaning as above is to be preferred. Cf. SCHÆFER, perforati sumus, h. e. corrupti, pessumdati.

Οὐδὲ συστήναι.] Nor support one another. Κοινῶν βοηθείαι καὶ φιλίας. A common bond of assistance and friendship.

Περιορῶμεν.] We disregard. Non impedimus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον....ἕκαστος ἐγνωκός.] Each one having resolved to make the best use of the time during which his neighbour is destroyed. Philip's policy for peace was always so arranged that he never encountered too many enemies at once.

He amused one party by letters and promises, and meanwhile deprived it of allies and friends. Take for examples Olynthus during the capture of its allies; and Athens, after the signing of the Peace, in regard to Phocis. Napoleon's policy was much the same; but his was a war policy, in which he made his actions to correspond to Virgil's castigat audilque dolos.

Ὅπως σωθήσεται.....πράττων.] After verbs of caring for, considering, &c., ὅπως with the future indicative is used instead of the subjunctive. REISK remarks on the present passage, Immo vero σκοπεῖν et πράττειν, qui infinitivi apti sunt ex ἐγνωκός, fixo hoc penes unumquemque sedente, ut neque consulat neque agat hoc, ut Græcia salva sit. It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of ἕκαστος.

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Ὡςπερ.] JELF. 868, 3, 4. Ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε.....ὁὐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δὴ πον. Since indeed assuredly, none can be ignorant that, like a periodic attack or approach of fever, or some other disease, he is coming upon even him now appearing to be far removed from him. The reference is to a regular return of an intermittent fever. WESTERMANN and SNEAD make the reference to be to an epidemic, but it would hardly convey the orator's meaning so well to limit it to such diseases. He represents the actions of Philip as so insidious, that a man may be seemingly quite well to-day, and to-morrow be prostrated by an attack. On καταβολή, *accessio*, cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, Ἡ καταβολὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀσθενείας. WOLF says: Περίοδος ἐστὶ χρόνος ἐπίταξεως καὶ ἀνέσεως ἐν νοσήματι γιγνόμενος. From these definitions it can be fairly concluded that a fever returning at certain intervals is meant, rather than an epidemic, which is not necessarily periodic. Δὴ πον. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

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Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. Ἄλλ' οὖν...ἡδικοῦντο.] Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece. Ἕλληνες ἰθαγενεῖς. SCHAEFER.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κ.τ.λ.] And one might look upon this in the same manner as if a legitimate son, born to a great possession, should manage it discredibly and incorrectly: and for this he would be worthy of blame and reproach; but you could not say this of him, that he acted thus being an alien and not the heir of the property. Ὡςπερ ἂν εἰ, understand ὑπολάβοι after ἂν. Ἀξίον εἶναι, ἐνεῖναι. These infinitives depend upon ὥςπερ ἂν ὑπολάβοι. AUGER reads οὐκ ἐνῆν ἂν λέγειν. But REISKE well remarks there is no authority for so doing. He has himself, however, altered the reading ἄξιος τοῦ ἄξιον, no authority in manuscripts being given. However, his emendation has the advantage of being universally accepted. Προσῆκων. Subandi ὃν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τοιοῦτως ἡδίκηι. REISKE. Κληρὸς is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the heir.

Ἵποβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used specially of children. Cf. HER. i. 137. Τὰ ὑποβολιμαῖα (sc. τέκνα). Νόθος, a son of a concubine, or, at Athens, any child born of a citizen and a foreign woman.

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Ὀὐχ. Ὀὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELF, 747.

Ὀὐ μόνον. τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.] *Being not only no Greek, nor in any way allied to Greece.* Yet still either the orator was here mistaken, or else how could Philip have competed in the Olympic Games in 356, and be declared victor? PLUT. ALEX. c. 3. The question must have come up then whether he was a Greek or not, for none but pure Greeks could contend in the Olympic Games, and the Hellenodicae were most particular in this respect. HER. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, for the general question, GROTE, Chap. xiv. and C. O. MÜLLER, Ueber die Makedoner; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his History of the Dorians. It is certain they were of Pelasgic origin.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ. εἰπεῖν.] *But not even a barbarian from a place whence it is honorable to mention.* Demosthenes speaks very hard of the ancient Macedonians. He calls their kings *barbarians*, and *men destined to serve the Greeks*, in OL. iii. But still he gives no worse description of them than Alexander the Great did. ABBIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γὰρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα κατὰ ὀλίγα χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς τὸ πῆδιον. Quintus Cartius also adds other characteristics in his version of the same speech. *Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudes, amicula ex purpura sordent; aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt; lignea enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta et rubiginem gladiatorum.* This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας.] *"A good-for-nothing Macedonian, a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Ἀνδράποδον.* A Macedonian slave is nowhere mentioned, but Demosthenes is the only authority for saying they were *worthless*. It is rather a subject of pride than reproach. The scholiast informs us: Scythia, Cappadocia, Thrace, Phrygia, Aegyptius servus qui esset, is honesto saltem serviebat. Nam ex his populis man-

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cipia sua petebant Athenienses. E Macedonia autem nulla exportabantur. Hoc nequius interpretatus Demosthenes colligit, tam improbos esse Macedonas, ut nemo Athenis servum illinc velit, et Macedonici generis servos omnium servorum esse nequissimos et terribissimos." REISKE.

Καίτοι τί.....ἀπολείπει;] *And yet in what does he fall short of the height of insolence? Οὐ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.] By his destruction of the cities, does he not preside at the Pythian games?* This has reference to the destruction of the Phocian towns. Τίθησι τὰ Πύθια, Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis, i.e. Pythiis præsidet.* AUGER The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to OL. 48, B. C. 588. Subsequently they came under the control of the Amphictyons, and in 346 they made over their right to the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Philip. This was regarded by the Athenians with such disgust that in that year they sent no deputies to the Games. "It was in the 3rd year of OL. 108, that these privileges were conferred upon Philip, and was the first step towards his assumption of the rank of captain-general in Greece. DIODOR. 16, 20." JACOBS.

Τοὺς δούλους.] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lasciviens δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους. SCHÆFER. Ἀγωνοθεήσοντας. The ἀγωνοθέται were either the representatives of the different states, as the Amphictyons at the Pythian Games, or were chosen from the people in whose country the games were celebrated. The Amphictyons were the proper ἀγωνοθέται at the Pythian. They were also called αἰσυμνήται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς, and βραβευταί. SCHÆFER remarks that here the proper word is ἀθλοθετήσοντας, according to the grammarians. Cf. DICT. ANT. s. v.

Πυλῶν, παρόδων.] He became master of Thermopylæ in 346, after the surrender of Phalæcus and the Phocians. The *Passes* into Greece are Thermopylæ and Elateia. He did not, however, occupy Elateia until a few weeks before the battle of Cheronæa.

Προμαντεῖαν.] *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis.* WOLF. The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. ÆSCH. EUM. 62. The magistrates of Delphi, however, had the right of admitting any person to præaudience regardless of

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the lots. This favour was conferred upon the Lydians and Cræsus, HER. i. 54; upon the Lacedæmonians, PLUT. PER. 21; and upon Philip. It was of great importance to obtain this favour, since oracles were given only at stated times, and the enthusiasm of the priestess did not long continue. Hence if many came to consult, some might have to go away unanswered, which could never be the case with the *προμαντεύς*. *Hs refers to *προμαντεῖαν*. To which not even all the Greeks have a claim. This right was never conferred upon the Athenians, and they must thus have been greatly offended at seeing it bestowed upon the Macedonians.

Πορθμόν.] HESYCHIUS: πορθμός, στενὸν θαλάσσης, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς διαπέραμα. This town was the port and citadel of Eretria. The circumstances are more fully detailed below. Cf. *De FALS. LEG.* p. 368. “Τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας. By these he means the popular party, but they would be called by their partisans the people.” KENNEDY.

Τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεόν.] The same events are related in *De COR.* p. 248. “From this passage it might seem that Philip's attempts upon Porthmus, or rather Eretria, were contemporaneous with that on Oreus, the ancient Histiaea. But from PHIL. iv. p. 133, it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short time after (μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον) that on Megara, which, so far as we can make out, was in B. C. 343. The seizure of Oreus was therefore probably effected in B. C. 342. But it appears from p. 125 that Philip made more than one attack upon Eretria, the first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (PHIL. iv. p. 133), though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed to have been made in B. C. 344.” WHISTON.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως.....ἀνέχονται.] *And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them.* I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHÆFER joins ὁρῶντες ἀνέχονται and translates *sustinent videre*, and is followed by Mr. KENNEDY. But neither the present passage nor yet in p. 212, *De FÆD. cum ALEX. ἢ ἐκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχθητε*, does such a construction necessarily follow. “Ὅμως is prefixed to the participle, yet more properly belongs to the verb.

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LIV. 21, 55. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis, mansit atque quamdiu immota acies." FRANKS. JELF. 697. d.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.] CONSTRUCT: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλάζαν· ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἐφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ ταύτοις &c. The antecedent is omitted, and the preposition governs the attracted case of the relative. Cf. XEN. AN. i. 9, 25. Τοῦτου ἐκπλεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀδικεῖται.] But not even in what each individual suffers. KENNEDY translates: but even the private wrongs of every people. Very well for a paraphrase, but hardly suitable for a translation. His manner of rendering takes the point out of what follows. Not only do public wrongs go unavenged, but even private injuries are passively endured, which, says the orator, is the very last thing. Τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦσχα τὸν ἔστιν. For this is the last degree of apathy. SMEAD. For nothing can go beyond this at last. WHISTON.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Cf. n. p. 118. Ambracia (*Arta*) a town on the left bank of the Arachthus, belonging originally to Acarnania, but afterwards to Epirus. It was colonized by the Corinthians in B.C. 660.

Λευκάδα.] An island off the coast of Acarnania now called *Santa Maura*, one of the Ionian Islands. Its length is about twenty miles, and the breadth varies from five to eight. HOMER (Od. xxiv. 377) calls it Ἀκτὴν Ἠπείροιο. It was originally a part of the main land, and inhabited by Leleges and Teleboans. The Corinthians, under Cypselus, 665 B.C., founded the city of Leucas, and cut through the narrow isthmus, thus making it an island. In the time of the Peloponnesian War, the channel was filled by deposits of sand, and ships were frequently carried across. THUC. iii. 81; iv. 8. The channel was subsequently opened by the Romans. LIVY xxiii. 17, says: Leucadia nunc insula, et vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat.

Ναύπακτον.] *Lepanto*. A considerable city of the Locri Ozolæ on the north shore of the Sinus Corinthiacus. It became a pos-

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session of the Achæans about 400 B. C., but was taken from them by the Thebans under Epaminondas. It was afterwards reconquered by the Achæans, as we learn from the present passage, and being now made over to the Ætolians, continued under their power until the conquest of Greece by the Romans, B.C. 146.

Ἐχῖνον.] A city founded by Theban colonists in the south of Thessaly, on the north shore of the Maliac Gulf. WESTERMANN. There was also a city of the same name in Acarnania, mentioned by STEPHANUS BYZAN. HARPOCRATION also mentions the city, but says nothing of its position. ULPIAN, the scholiast, also mentions the Thessalian Echinus, and determines it as the one mentioned here. *Ἐχῖνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἀποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θερραλίας.* The city is still called Echino.

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους.] "The words: *Is he not now proceeding to attack the Byzantines?* must be understood of his intentions, which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried into effect till the following year." JACOBS. His intention in attacking Byzantium was to get command of the channel, and thus prevent the supply of corn at Athens. Cf. on the importance of this city to Athens, *De Cor.* pp. 254, 255. *Συμμάχους ὄντας sc. αὐτῷ. De Cor.* p. 254.

Οὐχ ἡμῶν—ἐὼ τᾶλλα.] Demosthenes begins to relate the circumstances in regard to Athens, and suddenly stops, as if aware that all knew them quite well enough. He only mentions one city, but *ab uno disce omnes.* Cf. *contra* TIMOC. p. 733. **Ὅς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐὼ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῷ γῆρα βοηθοὺς λυμάλιν.* SCHÆFER.

Καρδίαν.] This city was at the extremity of the Chersonese, and in all time seems to have been an enemy to Athens. *Contra* ARIST. In the treaty with Philip, it was included among his allies, and it seems at no time to have been under the dominion of Athens. Diopithes, when Philip was advancing through Thrace, endeavoured to capture it, but failed, since Philip was enabled to relieve the city. From *De Pace* p. 63, *καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐὼμεν ἔξω Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τεράχθαι*, we see that even the Athenians allowed that it did not belong to the Chersonese. It was also reserved by the Cersobleptes in the cession of the Chersonese.

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μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζεσθαι.] *We dally and play the woman.* DINDORF and RÜDIGER give μαλκίμεν, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says μαλκίμεν was another reading. SCHÆFER remarks that μαλκίμεν in this place is the genuine reading, and that this word has been so completely eradicated by interpreters of the orator that no trace of it remains. HARPOCRATION interprets μαλκίμεν by τὸν ὄργον φρίττειν, which DINDORF styles *parum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίζω is *numbness*, produced by cold, an interpretation by no means suitable to the present passage, and at any rate not to be preferred to the reading as given above.

ἁδικοῦντι.] REISKE gives ἀδικοῦντος. Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, *diffidentes mutuo alii aliis, at Philippo fidentes, communi omnium hosti et vexatori*. But to my mind ἀδικοῦντι as well as ἀλλήλοις is governed by ἀπιστοῦντες, and REISKE'S refining is thus useless.

Τί ὀψεσθε. τί ποιήσιν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὴν. The order is ἐπειδὴν γένηται κύριος ἐκδότης ἡμῶν καθ' ἓνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει.

Ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causa.* Ἐχει πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards any person or thing.* SMEAD.

Ἦν τι τότε, ἦν.] *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.* CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12. τῶν πολλῶν. *The masses, the people.* Περσῶν. Demosthenes delights to recall these glorious deeds of the ancient Greeks. In this respect he is the Æschylus of the orators. Ἐλευθέραν ἦγε. Ἄγειν here has the meaning it usually receives with ἡσυχίαν, εἰρήνην, *faciebat ut Græcia libera maneret.* SCHÆFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom.* Some editions give ἐλευθέρως here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὕτε. ἥττατο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÆFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἥττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ. Λυμάλνεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Perturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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Οὐδὲν τοικίλον εὐδὲ σοφόν.] *Nothing recondite nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by Smead as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. GORG. § 102. Οὐδὲν τοικίλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ πολλοί. Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἅπαντες ἐμίσαν, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἐξελεγχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen erat si quis accepisse munera convincebatur.* WOLF. *And it was a terrible thing to be convicted of taking bribes.*

Τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ.] *With the heaviest punishment.* There were two actions for bribery (δεκασμός) at Athens; one called δέκασμου γραφή laid against the person who gave a bribe; the other δόρων γραφή, against the receiver. The actions lay against all cases of bribery, whether of citizens in the public assembly, of the Heliaea, or βουλή, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmothetæ, the punishment on conviction was death, or payment of ten times the value of the bribe, to which the court might add any additional punishment (προστιμῆμα). Thus Demosthenes in the case of Harpalus was fined fifty talents and also in addition imprisoned. These laws were still in force, but were never enforced. Καὶ παρατήσις συγγνώμη, *And there was no begging off, nor pardon.* The law must have been vigorously carried out if such was the case.

Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν πραγμάτων.] *The proper moment, indeed, for every affair.* He means that in every action there is a favourable moment at which success is possible, and if that be omitted it will never come again. Compare SHAKESPEARE, *Jul. Cæsar*, Act iv. sc. iii.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

Ἡ τύχη. Cf. with the remarks on Fortune here, PHIL. i. p. 43, and CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. vi. 35. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna

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possit, et quantos efferat casus, cognosci potuit. For a contrary opinion of Fortune see JUV. x. 365.

Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

Πάντα ἀ προσήκει πραττόντων.] Πάντα is omitted in many editions. *Those wishing to do all that is proper.*

Παρά τῶν λεγόντων.] Alluding to Æschines, Eubulus, and others of the Philippizing orators. Τῶν στρατηγούντων. This may possibly allude to the accusation of Iphicrates and Timotheus by Chares of having taken bribes from the Chians and Rhodians, and thus leading to the ill-success of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont during the Social War. DEMARCO. *cont.* PHILOCL. s. 17. DIODOR. xvi. 21, 22. However, we have already seen in PHIL. i. that such proceedings were common, and that generals were frequently tried, twice or thrice, and condemned like footpads, p. 53.

Νῦν δὲ.....ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα.] From ἐκπείρασκω. *Now all these have been sold, as if from the market.* Ἀντεισῆται, from ἀντεισάγω. Both verbs are employed in transactions in the public market, and thus show how openly these proceedings were carried on. The orator gives a true, yet lamentable picture of Athenian political honesty.

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Ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν.] Gravius antecedit, sed νενόσηκεν sequitur, ut significet et principium mali et exitium a corruptelis profectum. WOLF. Ἀπόλωλε in reference to foreign affairs νενόσηκεν to intestine broils and commotions. COMPARE SHAKS. *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

“O nation miserable,

When shalt thou see thy *wholesome* days again?”—KENNEDY.

Ἄν ὁμολογῇ.] As Philocrates did. ARNOLD. And yet Philocrates was banished for this very confession. Τάλλα πάνθ..... ἡρτῆται. *All other things which are the necessary attendants of bribery.*

Τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία]. *And the abundance of supplies in general.* For κατασκευῆς, many manuscripts give παρασκευῆς.

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The difference is this: κατασκευή, *apparatus*, παρασκευή, *supellex*, *instrumenta*, *vasa*. SCHÆFER. SMAD reads παρασκευής, and interprets *supellex*, the general equipment of an army. A meaning certainly new for *supellex*, and doubtful as regards παρασκευή.

Νῦν.] Refers to the present time, τότε to the time of the Persian wars.

Ἐπὶ τῶν πολούντων.] *By these barterers.* Referring to Demades, Eubulus, Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, and Aristodemus.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει.] The usual formula when proceeding to prove a general statement previously made. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 239. Ἀνωθεν, traced upward from the present. For ὅτι with Ind. cf. JELF. 802, a. b. ARNOLD correctly remarks that τάναντία is here used adverbially, and is equivalent to ἐναντίας.

Γράμματα.] = Γράμματα δημόσια, *Records*. Public documents were not unfrequently engraved on brass, and thus secured from destruction. This was specially the case with names of traitors. The word employed in such cases was γράφειν, *incidere*. The term was even employed in letters. Cf. *supra* p. 118. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφει. *Eis ἀκρόπολιν*. On the omission of the article, consult JELF. 447, 2.

Ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν προσήκει.] *How zealously it is becoming you to look into such things.* Ζελεΐτης. An ancient city of Mysia, near Mount Ida on the river Aisepus, belonging to the territory of Oyzicus. IL. ii. 824, 825.

Ἄτιμος ἔστω.] *Let him be an outlaw. Capite imminutus.* Ἀτιμία was either total or partial. The example of Arthmius was a total deprivation of right. This resulted in case of murder, theft, false witness, partiality as an arbiter, and violence offered to a magistrate. On the penalties attached to such cases of ἀτιμία, consult DIOT. ANT. s. v. The decree here given was proposed by Themistocles, which renders it probable that the event narrated occurred during the Persian War. PLUT. THEMIS. i. 6. For τοῦ Ἀθηναίων the common reading is τῶν Ἀθῆν. Τοῦ is approved by REISKE, DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

Αἴτια.] *Crimen.* The charge is written.

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REISKE, who translates: *Sed ecquod est illud salutare consilium, dicamne? Shall I say what good counsel?*

Ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκει.] The following readings of these words are given. SCHAEFER gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου γίνωσκε, and incorporates it in the text. In other editions the reading above is given, and enclosed in brackets. The Bavarian manuscript gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, and in the next line, γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, while another edition gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκειτε. Amid such variation of manuscripts it would be better with VEMMEL and ARNOLD to expunge it. However, admitting it to be part of the oration, it is evident that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου stood beside the orators, and read such public documents and laws as were required by the orator in support of his argument. This γραμματεὺς was appointed by the public assembly by χειροτονία, and always read from the γραμματεῖον, or record.

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις τὴν πόλιν.] *There is a foolish report circulated by those desirous of consoling the city.* Εὐήθης, here is something like our *good-natured*, but used ironically. Cf. RUMER. ad TIM. 131. "Quicunque Atticorum urbaniores dici haberique volebunt, quem stolidum et fatuum dicere verebantur, leni blandoque nomine ἡδὺν, γλυκύν, εὐήθη, χρηστὸν appellabant." In accordance with this view, cf. OL. iii. 37. Ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν; and De COR. p. 228. Τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐθες φήθης. For γλυκὺς in a similar sense cf. PLATO. HIP. MAG. 228, B.

Ποτ'.] At the close of the Peloponnesian War, when by means of the decadarchies and harmosts they might be said to govern the whole earth. Βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον. After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Persia and Sparta united to crush the power of Athens. ISOC. OR. xii. s. 110. The price of the friendship of Sparta was the delivery of the Asiatic colonies to the power of Persia.

Ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς.] *And nothing opposed them: i. e., Everything lay so absolutely under their power that there was no use in opposing them.* Cf. WOLF's interpretation: *Quibus nihil obsistebat, contra quos nemo arma mouere, nemo se defendere audebat.* Οἱ δύναμιν ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν ἐδόκουν.

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Καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρκάσθη.] *And was not utterly destroyed.* Ἀναρκά-
 ζειν, *Funditus perdere, pessumdare, ut si arborem radicitus humo*
evellat. Cf. *ÆSCH. contra CTES.* 133. Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις
 ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται.
 Εὐληφόντων ἐπίδοσιν. *Cujusmodi incrementa? Non tam virtutis*
et potentiae, quam vitiorum et ignaviae. Ἐπίδοσις is equivalent
 to αὔησις. WOLF.

Τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.] *The art of war.* Ἐπιδεδωκέναι, *increvisse.*
Some manuscripts have ὑποδεδωκέναι, decrevisse. Clearly wrong.

Ἀκούω.] *I have heard.* JELF. 396. Τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε.
This plan of warfare was adopted by the Lacedæmonians during
the Peloponnesian War. They waited until the crops were
nearly ripe, and then invaded and plundered the whole country.
The same method of attack was adopted in all the Roman wars
until the siege of Veii by Camillus, when winter quarters were
first prepared for the soldiers.

Τὴν ὥραιαν αἰτῆν.] *Ipsa belli gerendi opportuno tempore.* WOLF.
 But this hardly seems a correct interpretation. It is better to
 translate it with REISKE: *Tempestas anni quæ profert omnia, ad*
τὴν ὥραν, perfectionem, percocta et maturata. It will thus mean
the season of the year during which fruits and crops arrive at ma-
turity. With these words FRANK compares c. DIONYS. p. 1292.
 Ἐσταῖθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχειμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν
 ὥραιαν. With ἡ ὥραία, ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους is understood.

Ὅπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν.] *With heavy armed*
soldiers and troops of their own nation. The Lacedæmonians
 employed no mercenaries in the earlier times. The army was
 composed of citizens alone, who could not remain long away
 from home. Their armies were nearly all infantry, and thus an
 incursion was less to be feared than if they were provided with
 cavalry. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως κ. τ. λ. *And so old-fashioned were*
they, or rather national in their ways; i. e., So great was their
simplicity, or rather love of country, that is integrity. WOLF.
 Πολιτικῶς used here in the sense of οἰκείως. *Dutifully.* Cf. *De*
COR. p. 308. Ἄ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσσεστιν ἀπάσαις. Also p.
 329. Πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια.

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Χρημάτων.] Gen. of price. ὀνεισθαι... οὐδέν, *As to purchase no advantage.* "Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes. Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique." ENN. Quoted by KENNEDY. Νόμιμόν τινα. *Legitimate.* Προφανή, the correct reading, instead of the old προσφανή, *clear or open.* Cf. THUC. ii. 93. ὅτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

Ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης.] *Ex acie instructa atque prælio.* These words are used to denote the changed manner of their affairs. All is now won by intrigue and ambush, nothing from fair fighting and in open battle.

Φάλαγγα.] This plan of arranging an army was entirely the invention of Philip, and to it may be ascribed his success. For the arrangement consult DICT. ANT. s. v. *Exercitus.* Ἀλλὰ τῷ... ἐξηρτησθαι. *But by having attached to himself.* Non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctam habet, quod pone se trahit. FRANK. This explanation is correct, and yet seems unsuited to the gravity of the subject. REISK. has changed the word to ἐξήρτυσθαι, and SCHÆFER adopts this in his notes, but gives the other in the text. This last verb, meaning *to fit out, to get ready for one's self*, seems better suited to the passage. In ÆSCH. PROM. 711, τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι is the reading of DINDORF, altered from the old lection ἐξηρτημένοι. There is a frequent confusion of these words, on which see MATTHEW ad EUR. HIPPOCR. 1176.

Ξένους.] Philip incorporated in his army the whole available force of Thessaly, horse and foot; and had besides great troops of mercenaries. These immense levies rendered abortive the attempts of other states to oppose him with their own citizen soldiery. On the construction of the acc. see JELF. 584, Obs. 2.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς.] *In addition to these.* The common translation as given by WHISTON, *with these forces*, seems hardly suited to the passage. He is already well prepared with forces, and being so it becomes an easy matter to subdue nations that are weak and almost helpless. *In addition to these* gives this force to the passage. Cf. OD. vii. 120. Μῆλον ἐπὶ μῆλφ. Many editions have κρατῶν after these words, which is clearly a gloss, and may have led to the interpretation, *with these.*

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ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.] *In defence of their country.* Δ' ἐπιστίας, *Ex mutua partium diffidentia, quod una metuat prodicionem alterius, ut sola dominetur.*

Μηχανήματα πολιορκεῖ.] *Of supra. n. p. 115.* The peculiar kind of engines intended was Macedonian gold, and a party of traitors in the city. By means of these he captured nearly all Greece. The statement below that he *made no difference between summer and winter* must have made the Athenians aware that they were contending against an enemy of no common kind. It was certainly something new to find a man who never rested from war, who marched in winter as well as summer, and who endured hardships for the mere sake of becoming a first class potentate. Ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, *sc. αὐτῷ.*

Οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὴν χώραν.] *Must not allow the war to approach your own country.* The Greeks say: οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι or δεῖ μὴ προσέσθαι. *Τὴν εὐήθειαν. The simplicity.* Alluding to the open manner they had of carrying on war.* *Quia sine prodicionibus et statis anni temporibus ea bella gerebantur, hoc nomine utitur.* WOLF.

Ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι.] This verb is used of a rearing horse, *to throw over his head*; hence, in the passive, *to break one's neck*; and here, *to rush headlong to destruction.* WOLF translates *colla frangatis*. Ὡς ἐκ πλείστου. *So long before as possible.* ARNOLD. But it seems to be equally as good to translate, *so far as possible.*

Οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι.] Means the same as if he had said more fully: οὐχὶ δεῖ συμπλακέντας ὑμᾶς Φιλίππῳ διαγωνίζεσθαι αὐτῷ. REISKE. To take very good care to keep him at home, and prevent him from coming abroad; but by no means to engage with him in battle, which might endanger your safety. This was the advice of Pericles in the Peloponnesian War. How different the sentiments here expressed from those in PHIL. i. p. 41. There the orator is all confidence, and speaks of the power of Philip as not to be feared, and regards it as much less than that of the Lacedæmonians after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War. Now all is changed. Ten years have made a mournful alteration in both, and no one confirms it more than the orator

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himself. Then he was all battle and glory, now the same speaker warns them to avoid provoking the Macedonian too much, and advises predatory wars to engage the attention of the king. Truly *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*.

Πολλὰ φύσει. ὑπάρχει.] *Many advantages naturally belong to us.* Φύσει, here is the dative absolute, of which many instances may be given. Cf. LONG. *de SUB.* 3, 15. Φύσει γὰρ πάντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφίεμενοι. 33, 3, ὅτι φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἀπὸ γιγνώσκειται. Ἐθέλωμεν. *We are willing.* Ἐθέλειν. *What is in our power.* Βούλεσθαι. *What we wish but cannot perform.* Cf. EUR. *ALCEST.* 281. Δέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἂ βούλομαι." WHISTON.

*Hs. κακῶς ποιεῖν.] *Much of which it is possible to plunder and lay waste and destroy.* Πολλήν, sc. χώραν. The partitive is put in the gender of the word it governs. Cf. JELF. 442, c. and VIRG. *ÆN.* i. 326. Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum. Cf. WOLF *ad LEP.* p. 459. Μύρια, *An indefinite number; μύρια, Ten thousand.*

Ἀγῶνα.] *Proelium, conflictus; πόλεμος, Bellum, etiam cum non conseruntur manus.* WOLF. Cf. LONG. *De SUB.* 13, 4. Ἀγὼν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα, *But for a battle he is better equipped than we.*

Οὐ μόνον. οὐδέ.] *Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enunciationibus adverbium, μόνον, soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat.* SCHÆFER. Τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, *But in your mind and soul.* Μισῆσαι, *To bring your hatred upon.* FRANKS says: μισῆσαι, *odium concipere, μισεῖν, odisse.* The advice of Demosthenes here is one too true in the history of all nations. If disunion and rebellion come upon a people, let traitors be cut off, and let the war begin at home. A friend of the enemy in the camp may do more injury than all the opposing army. Cf. the similar sentiments expressed in *De RES.* CHERS. p. 104, where almost the same terms are employed to explain the duty of the Athenians.

Ἐκείνοις.] Many editions have ἐκείνῳ. This is defended by explaining that although the orator speaks of many, he is thinking of Philip alone. Perhaps ἐκείνῳ has crept in from *De RES.*

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OTHERS. p. 104. Ἐκείνοις refers to τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν. Εἰς τοῦτο. . . . τί λέγω. Ye have come to such a pitch of folly, or insanity, or I don't know what to call it. See n. p. 111.

Μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλάττη. [Lest some evil genius may drive the republic to destruction. Demosthenes is here a true prophet. He saw that the folly of Greece would be fatal, and that slavery impended over his country, and still he thought he must oppose it so long as any hope of safety remained. Nor is it doubtful that a man, so ardent a lover of his country as he, would experience the greatest grief from such a state of affairs. Others more vacillating were on that very account the more happy,

Ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδιστος βίος,
Τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν γὰρ κάρτ' ἀνώδυνον κακόν.

But in much wisdom there is much affliction, and prudent men seeing farther into the future are more grieved thereby; since from the very nature of men they draw their conclusion thence. Hence Ovid not less truly remarks:—

Augurium ratio est et conjectura futuri,
Hoc divinavi notitiamque tuli.

Isocrates also wrote as follows of Philip: Ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἔν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος εἰ μὴ τις τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ συγκατάρθωσεν. WOLF. Cf. also on the influence of δαιμόνιον τι, SOPH. ANT. 618. The notion that Jupiter perverts the understanding in order to make men do wrong is found in several parts of the Greek writings. EUR. FRAG. Ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνη κακὰ, Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον. For further examples see BRASSE'S ANT. v. 818, and the excellent note in ARNOLD'S edition, p. 148.

Ἵστε. . . . κελεύετε.] Construe: ὥστε κελεύετε ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς λέγειν ἕνεκα λουδορίας—ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας, For any cause whatever.

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Ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι.] AUGER omits the οὐκ as unnecessary after the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, Ἀρνεῖσθαι. . . . ὅτι οὐ παρῆν, we see that the οὐ is required. SCHÆFER remarks: "In direct narration, as here, οὐ is used; in the indirect,

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μή, as XEN. HELLEN. vii. 3, 7. Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι." Ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. See JELF, 589, 3.

Καὶ οὐχί πω.....δὲν δεινόν.] And bad as this is it is not the worst. Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 97. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιοῦτους δεινὸν δὲν, οὐ δεινὸν ἐστίν. Οὐχί πω is much stronger than the usual οὐπω. Ἀλλὰ, sc. τοῦτ ἐστὶ δεινότατον.

Ὅσας.....ἀκροᾶσθαι.] The subject of παρασκευάζει is in the subsequent words. *Quanta ex eo mala existunt, quod tales audire vultis.* WOLF.

Τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Cf. n. p. 111. Also, THUC. iii. 28, Οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν... ὄντες. The scholiast interprets these words to mean: Οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες. THUC. uses a similar form in vi. 39. Οἱ τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες. The reference is to Lasthenes and Euthycrates of Philip's partisans, and the patriot Apollonides. Φιλίππου. The genitive depending upon ἦσαν. Cf. JELF, 518, 2, for further examples of the same class. FRANK cites LIVY, xxiii. 14: Plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis toto esset. Add CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 45: Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. REISKE translates, Ad clavum reipublicæ sedentium.

Τίνας δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.] This also is dependent upon ἦσαν. JELF. 518. BREMI translates *studere optimis rebus*. SMEAD entirely rejects this view of the government of τοῦ βελτίστου, and says: "εἶναι is very commonly used to denote possession, as of property, connected with which idea is the signification of *to be devoted to*, or *to belong to*, as a class. It is very rarely that it is used to denote the *devotion of persons to a thing*, without a preposition, and this requires to be supported by examples." Until such examples are forthcoming he prefers to govern by ὑπὲρ, and cites two passages where τοῦ βελτίστου is governed by ὑπὲρ, but in neither of which is there the slightest resemblance to the present. De REB. CHERS. "Ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐναντιοῦται. IBID. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω. This only proves that ὑπὲρ governs the genitive, a point conceded by all. If any change is to be made, I prefer to supply with REISKE, μέρους κοινωνοί. This will then complete the sense, and supply a governing word to τοῦ βελτίστου, if such be required: *And certain acting for the better.*

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Δουλεύουσιν.] I have adopted this reading in preference to the subjunctive, *δουλεύωσι*. *Ὅπως* is used with the future indicative. Cf. *infra*, p. 126, *Εὐφραίος δέ τις... ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται*. Cf. *JULE* 812. 2. It may also be used with the subjunctive, but less frequently than with the indicative.

Ἐξώλεσαν.] Observe the force of the preposition, *utterly destroyed*. The force of *ἐκ* in composition is to express completion or success. Thus *φεύγω* is, *I try to escape*; *ἐκφεύγω*, *I succeed in escaping*. *BRASSE ad SOPH. ŒD. COL. 21.*

Τοὺς ἱππέας προέδοσαν.] Philip having laid siege to Olynthus, all his attacks were repulsed for some time; until, the people becoming dissatisfied, listened to complaints against Apollonides, the commander of the forces. By intrigue he was deposed, and Lasthenes and Euthycrates appointed to the command. Soon after, a sally was decided upon, and Lasthenes led five hundred horse into an ambuscade, where they were completely surrounded and made prisoners. *FALS. LEG.* pp. 425, 426. The town soon after surrendered, the only terms they could obtain being that their lives should be spared. *JUSTIN.* viii. 3. The inhabitants were put up at auction and sold (*DIODOR.* xvi. 53), their lands being distributed among Philip's officers. Among the captives were some Athenian citizens, sent to aid in the defence. *ÆSCH.* *FALS. LEG.* p. 30. *Ἀπόλετο*. Another reading is *ἐξαπόλετο*.

Ἀπολλωνίδην.] There is an Apollonides, an Olynthian, mentioned in *DEM. contra NÆER* 1376, but he is met with in very suspicious circumstances, along with Peitholaus, despot of Phæræ. It may be doubted if he is the same as the present one.

Ἐπειδὴ... καὶ τῶν ξένων.] *When, after Plutarch and his mercenaries had been expelled.* In 349 B. C. Plutarch made application to Athens for some troops to assist him in Eretria, and Demosthenes, not wishing to grant them, and suspecting Plutarch to be an enemy, endeavoured to persuade the Athenians to deny him the required aid. *De PACI*, p. 58. However, the persuasion of Meidias prevailed, and Phocion was sent into Eubœa with a strong force of hoplites. *DEM. contra MEID.* p. 550. Callias of Chalcis now openly proclaimed himself an ally of Macedon, and having collected troops, and invited aid from the generals of

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Philip at Pegase, boldly marched against the Athenians. Phocion retreated to the town of Tamynæ, and there awaited the attack. The condition of the Athenians was critical in the extreme, *contra* Huid. p. 567. At length Plutarch marched out to give battle, but soon after retreated and fled, drawing some Athenians away with him. Phocion was now in very great danger, and if it had not been for the firmness of his hoplites, would have been entirely cut off. However, in the end, he conquered, and, pursuing his advantage, expelled Plutarch. *Πορθεύων*. See n. p. 119. *Οἱ μὲν ἐφ' . . . τὰ πράγματα*. Some were for bringing the government over to you, *ad vos rempublicam tractabant*.

Τὰ πολλά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα.] *In plerisque vel potius ammino. Τελευτώντες*. At last. Cf. n. p. 116. *Ὡπὲρ αὐτῶν*. For their advantage, or rather for the advantage of Athens, since if the Athenian politics had prevailed, all would have been well.

Καὶ γὰρ τοί.] *Et tunc quidem. And then indeed*. Klotz's translation, *etiam profecto*, would imply that what follows is a reason for what has gone before, but it is a continuation of the narration. *Σύμμαχος*. "This word is added in bitter irony." SMED. Not at all. He was their ally by choice, and hence was not imposed on them. I should prefer to make the remark of φίλος. For his actions showed him to be anything but that.

Ἐξέηλακεν σάξασθαι] *And completely expelled from the country those who twice wished to save it*. After the defeat of Plutarch, the Athenian party in Eubœa established a free constitution, and it was not until dissensions afterwards arose that the Macedonians were invited in, and the events narrated here actually took place. WHISTON conjectures that they happened in 344. The allusion here will then be to the opposition which the popular party made to the establishment of the tyrants, and probably to a subsequent revolution. WOLF's translation I do not understand. He says: "Scilicet τοὺς Ἐπερπεῖς, cum jam tandem sero sapere vellent. I should rather translate: *bis patriam conservare decertantes*, or with WINIEWSKI, *quum jam bis pro libertate contenderent*. The remaining words from τότε to Περικλέους are omitted in Codex Z. Antipater and Parmenio were Philip's ambassadors at Athens to conclude the Peace of 346. Parmenio

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was at that time Philip's deputy in Thessaly. In *FALS. LEG.* p. 362, they are described as the servants of Philip, and acting honourably for his interests. Of Euryleuchus nothing further is known. The date usually assigned for these events is: the tyrants established in O. 109-1, Lysiscus being Archon, B. C. 344-3, and the expeditions of Euryleuchus and Parmenio in the following year.

Καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν;] *And why need I say more?* Cf. *VING. ÆN.* ii. 101; also n. p. 117. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοῖς ἄλλοις λέγειν; "Ἐκρατε Φιλίππῳ. "*Favebat Philippo, in Philippi gratiam ἐκράτεσθαι.* More fully in *FALS. LEG.* p. 365. Θηβαῖοις τὰ πρᾶγματα πρᾶττει. "Ποιεῖσαι Φιλίππῳ," Cf. *PHIL.* iii. p. 127. *SCHÆFER*, where πρὸς χάριν is understood according to *REISK.* On the events here narrated cf. n. p. 113.

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Εὐφραῖες δέ τις.] In addition to what was said of him in n. p. 113, we may here add, on the authority of *HARPOCRATION*, that he was a disciple of Plato, and it was when attending the lectures of the philosopher that he resided in Athens. But we shall also find him elsewhere. We learn from *ATHENÆUS*, xi. p. 506, that he resided in Macedonia during the whole reign of Perdiccas, the brother of Philip, and that it was upon his suggestion that Philip was appointed governor of a portion of Macedonia. It is strange to see the friend of Perdiccas many years afterwards dying of grief on account of the conduct of the partisans of the youth who was first raised to power by the kindness of the Oreitan philosopher.

Οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα προῦπηλακίζετο.] *How he was insulted in other respects, and trampled upon.* The first denotes the genus (*injuria*) the second the species (*contumelia*). *FRANK.* Cf. *contra ANDROT.* p. 611. *BUTTMANN* in his *Lexilogus* s. v. προσελεῖν says the proper meaning of προῦπηλακίζειν is *to trample in the dirt.*

Ἐνέδειξεν.] *He laid an information against them.* This was the proper mode of proceeding against traitors. See *DIOT. ANT.* s. v. Αἰσθόμενος ἂν πρᾶττουσι, *Having understood what they are intending to do, i. e., having by some means gained information*

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of their treason, probably from some of his old Macedonian friends. Συστροφέντες, *Conspirati*. REISKE. Rather *conjurati*.

Χορηγὸν πρυτανεύονοι.] *Having Phlilip for their paymaster, and being guided by him.* These words refer to well-known Athenian customs, and thus would be understood in all their force by his audience. Cf. *De RHOD. LIB.* p. 191, Φαυήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μάβωλος. Πρυτανεύονοι is explained by ΗΑΡΡΟC. as διοικούμενοι καὶ διαστροφόμενοι. This last word offends REISKE, and he has judiciously altered it to διατρεφόμενοι.

Ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν ἀποτυμπανίσαι.] *Instead of assisting him, and beating others to death.* The verb ἀποτυμπάνειν is used of beating to death by frequent blows. Cf. *De REV. CHRIS.* p. 104. The ETYM. MAG. explains the word by: Οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ἢ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου, and goes on to state that anciently the stick was used to put criminals to death, but afterwards the sword. The Latin term was *fustuarium*. Cf. *CIC. PHIL.* iii. 6, *Fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consules reliquerunt.* Something similar still survives in the Russian *Knout*.

Ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι.] Ἀξίον εἶναι. Sic Latine *idoneus pro dignus*. SCHÆFER. *SALL. CAT.* 51. For the syntax of such expressions see JELF. 666, 1. Δίκαιος is used with a similar meaning in *PHIL.* ii. p. 74.

Ἐπέχαιρεν.] *Insultabat Euphræo, delectabatur ejus calamitate.* WOLF. This verb means actually to *rejoice in or over* a person or thing, whether with kindly feelings or spitefully, but more usually the latter. Cf. *DEM. contra MEID.* p. 556, Ἀλλὰ σοὶ ἐπεχαιρον. SCHÆFER interprets it simply as *gaudere ob aliquid*.

Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔπραττον.] *Those in authority acted as they wished.* Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας is almost equivalent to οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, or οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. Ἠβούλοντο. The three verbs, βούλομαι, δύναμαι, and μέλλω, take in the Attic dialect ἦ as the augment instead of ἐ. FRANK translates this passage: *In tanta libertate quanta volebant. In all the freedom they could desire.*

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Καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν.] *And were preparing their plot.*
 "Ὅστε οὐ πρότερον.....οἱ πολέμιοι.] *So that, so terrible a calamity impending over them, nobody dared to utter a word until the enemy, already drawn up in battle array, advanced against their walls.* 'Ρῆξαι φωνήν, cf. VIRG. *Æn.* iii. 846. *Rumpitque hanc pectore vocem.* ΤΑΟ. *ANN.* vi. 20. *Non exilio fratrum rupta voce.* SCHÆFER interprets: *loqui, tanquam ruptis vinculis, quibus timor vocem constrinxerat.* It may be observed that in all the passages both in Greek and Latin, in which the synonymous terms occur, the speaker is labouring under violent mental excitement, and thus in a manner bursts forth into conversation. Διασκευασμένοι. *Succinti, armati, armis instructi,* AUGER. *Acie instructa.* WHISTON interprets: *Having broken up their camp;* but it rather means, *Having everything ready for their purpose.* Cf. THUC iv. 38. Τὰ ἅλλα διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν. On πλὴν with the Ind. cf. JELF. 848, 3.

Οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι.....ἀποκτείναντες.] *They ground down and tyrannized over those who then protected them (the tyrants), and were prepared to do anything to Euphræus; expelling some of these, and putting others to death.* The meaning of all is: that these tyrants expelled and even killed some of those who, on the occasion of the troubles with Euphræus, had aided them, and were prepared to do anything to Euphræus to satisfy the tyrants. On the construction see JELF. 584, 1. This whole passage has been very differently interpreted by the German commentator WOLF, and his Gallic confrère, AUGER. WOLF removes the comma after τυράννουσι, and inserts it after Εὐφραῖον, thus completely altering the sense of the whole passage, and making it refer, not to the tyrants, but to those who defended Euphræus. He then translates: *qui tum et se tuebantur, id est, defendebant patriam, et Euphræum, id est, vinculis liberabant, qui pro defensione patriæ nullum periculum recusabant, partim ejecerunt, partim occiderunt.* But this does not convey the orator's meaning. He wishes to paint the tyrants in their darkest colours, and in consequence he represents them as now expelling and killing those to whom they formerly owed their own safety.

'Οτιοῦν ποιεῖν.] *Omnibus modis vexare.* SCHÆFER.

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Ἐπέσφαζεν αὐτόν.] Cf. XEN. ANA. i. 8, 28, Ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι. Also JELF. 363, 1. Καθαρῶς, *With pure motives*. Cf. De COR. 303, Ἄν καθαρὰ ᾧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, where the notion of *completeness* and *entirety* is fully carried out.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, κ.τ.λ.] Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 103, for an almost equivalent expression. Ἡδίων . . . ἔχειν. *Being so favourably disposed towards those who plead Philip's cause*. Ὅτι τοῖς μὲν . . . οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. *Because it is impossible for those who speak and advise for the best, always to speak for your gratification*. On πρὸς χάριν cf. JELF. 621, obs. 2, and also SOPH. ANT. vv. 30, 908. Τὰ πράγματα, *Respublica*, or as BREMI, *Salus et libertas patriæ*.

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Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . συμπράττουσιν.] *But they play into Philip's hands, by those very means, by which they gratify the most*. Ἐισφέρειν ἐκέλευον. The orator now proceeds to state very succinctly and fully the principal differences between the two classes of men, and it can easily be seen how much an idle, peace-loving people would prefer the counsels of slothfulness to those of strenuous activity. Εἰσφέρειν. See n. p. 42. Ἔως ἐγκατελήφθησαν, *Until they are caught in the snare*. Donec circumventi sunt. Cf. THUC. iii. 33. Ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἐγκαταληφθεῖσα ἠναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιῆσθαι.

Οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς . . . ἀπέχθεται.] *Some spoke for present gratification, and gave no offence; others said what would eventually preserve the state, and animosity resulted to them*. The words καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται are absent from many manuscripts and editions. A few give καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and omit the other, but they must stand or fall together; the one is the antithesis to the other, and if one is gone the other must follow. Seven manuscripts omit προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται, and give the others, while four have these words and also the others, but in the margin. Upon the whole I have followed DINDORF, who presents the latest researches in his last edition, and give the text as above. In this I am also agreeable to the lection of BEKKER and AUGER. Nor indeed do I see any sufficient reason for entirely ignoring them, as ARNOLD does. They add much

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to the thought, and round the sentence, which is always what an orator must have in view. After οἱ δὲ sc. ταῦτ' ἔλεγον.

Πολλὰ δὲ προέτετο.] *And many things lately the people allowed to happen, not so much either for favour or through ignorance.* Οὐχ οὕτως is variously interpreted. ARNOLD: *Not from these causes or motives, not in the manner I have described.* WESTERMANN: Οὐχ οὕτως sc. ὅπως σωθήσεται. And SCHÆFER: Οὐχ οὕτως—ἀλλ' pro ἀλλὰ expectes ὥς. Sed ita sæpius Græci. Non multum differt οὐ μᾶλλον . . . ἀλλὰ. AUGER: *Non temere.* I prefer this last. It seems to agree better with the words which follow. But let us see if something better cannot be obtained. One of the meanings of οὕτως is *so much*, usually followed by ὥς which we see SCHÆFER suggests as the word you might expect. Now the meaning will be: *Not so much either for favour or through ignorance . . . as.* Cf. HER. iii. 12. Κεφαλαὶ εἰσι οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραὶ, μογὶς ἂν λίθῳ παύσας διαβρῆξαι. *Their heads are so hard that you could scarcely break them with a stone.* 'Αλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι. *As bending to the force of circumstances.*

Τοῖς ὅλοις.] *When they thought they were to be deprived of the whole.* Cf. n. p. 120, for the construction of ἡττάσθαι.

Μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.] *There being no need of further action in yourselves.* ARNOLD has here μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν. The ἐν seems to have crept in from the last syllable of the preceding word. I find nothing of the kind elsewhere. Here follows in some editions the following sentence, which is most certainly an execrable attempt of some grammarian to make himself famous. Καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὀβρωδῶ ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ἥ γὰρ ἐξεκίτηδες ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπάγουσι τὴν πόλιν. SCHÆFER says the two words ὀβρωδῶ and δυσωποῦμαι are quite sufficient to condemn it. However, it is given in nearly all the manuscripts, and HARPOCRATION expressly attributes these two words to the Philippics of Demosthenes. As they do not occur anywhere else in his orations, he must have referred to the present passage. Still, they are inserted so awkwardly, and so break up the course of the oration, that they must be set down as a determined attempt at improving Demosthenes.

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Καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο.....Φιλίππῳ.] *And yet may it never come to this, for it is better to die ten thousand deaths than to do anything through obsequiousness for Philip.* Γὰρ here assigns the reason for what has gone before. ARISTIDES, *Technographia*, p. 200, cites this passage and reads δὲ for γὰρ, and ARNOLD has adopted it, and translates, *but if it does; in that case.* FRANKS quotes CIO. de OFF. 1, 31. *At Ajax, quo animo traditur millies oppetere mortem potius, quam illa perpeti maluisset.* Cf. also CIO. RAB. PERD. 5. *Moreretur millies prius quam.* The words καὶ προέσθαι....τινάς, are wanting from many manuscripts, and indeed appear of later origin. This is the first intimation of any such action. We do not hear of the orators of any particular party being demanded for some years later. If true, they seem to contain a mournful foreboding of the fate of the orator and his friends as manifested during the reign of Alexander.

Καλὴν.....χάριν.] *A fine return truly.* Highly ironical. Ἐάθουν. *Pellebant, id est, repudiabant, aversabantur.* WOLF. This meaning of ὠθέω is peculiar, but cf. PLATO REP. 560, D. Ὠθεῖν τινα φυγάδα, *To banish one.* This verb with ἔγνων, ἀλισκομαι, ἀνδάνω, οὐρέω and ὠνέομαι, takes the syllabic argument.

Τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε.] "This incident is not otherwise known, but it is probably connected with the events consequent upon the battle of Tamynæ. From p. 125 of this oration it appears that Plutarch and his mercenaries were then ejected from Eretria, and the people being masters of the situation, some of the Eretrians wished to place themselves under the protection of Philip and others under that of the Athenians. Therefore we may presume that the Athenians despatched the envoys here mentioned, but without effect, for the result was that Philip was enabled to invest Cleitarchus with the sovereignty in which the latter treated the Eretrians as here described."

WHISTON.

Δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.] "They are slaves, lashed and racked." LORD BROUGHAM. He translates this whole passage from καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ το στρεβλούμενοι as follows: "Much indeed did the Oreitæ gain when they yielded to the friends of Philip, and thrust out Euphræus, and much the

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people of Eretria when they drove off your ambassadors, and gave themselves up to Cleitarchus! They are now slaves *lashed and racked*." He then compares this with an extract from BURKE'S Regicide Peace, and shows the difference between extenuating a subject and finishing it at a single stroke. "The King of Prussia has hypothecated in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal and affection to the cause of liberty and equality. He has been robbed with unbounded liberty and with the most leveling equality. The woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confiscated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke in the exactions of a tyrannical government, and in the contributions of a hostile conscription." BROUGHAM'S *Inaugural at Glasgow*, in GOODRICH'S *BRITISH ELOQUENCE*, p. 943. For another example of this cumulative style see CIC. *pro LEG. MANIL.* xi.

Ἐφείσατο.] *Hus he spared.* So utterly was this city destroyed that it was almost impossible to determine its site. Supra p. 117. On Ἀπολλωνίδην, vide supra, n. p. 125.

Μωρία καὶ κακία.] *It is folly and cowardice.* Τῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους. Verbs signifying operations of the senses are usually joined with the genitive of the person, and the accusative of the thing, but sometimes with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. XEN. CYR. i. 3, 10. Οὐκ ἀκρωμένοι δὲ τοῦ ἔδοντος. ARIST. ACH. 306, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.

Τηλικαύτην πείσεσθαι.] *And think that you inhabit a city so great in size as that no calamity whatever can affect it.* "Ὡστε τὴν πόλιν, τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος οἶσαν, δύνασθαι μηδοτιοῦν δεινὸν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω πάντος κινδύνου εἶναι. WOLF. SEAGER, in the *Classical Journal*, vol. lii. p. 239, proposed to change the received reading of this passage ὥστε μηδ' ἂν οἰοῦν κ. τ. λ. to ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν οἰοῦν ᾗ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι, his reason being that δεινὸν cannot explain the meaning without some such word being supplied. In this he is followed by DOBREE; and DINDORF in his last edition adopts the same opinion and the actual reading of SEAGER. SCHAEFER denies that any change is necessary, and even if there were a necessity, δεινόν τι would be preferable. I can hardly think that no change is required. The sense is evidently incom-

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plete, and although SNAGER's suggestion rests on no authority, still it is the best yet proposed, and is accordingly adopted here. Καὶ μὴν. *Et vere. And truly.* Ἐδεῖ γὰρ... μὴ ποιῆσαι. *For you ought to have done such and such a thing, and not this.* Cf. PIND. OL. ii. 53, ὁ μὰν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δὲ δαιδαλμένος φέρεῖ τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρὸν.

Ἄ τούτ' εἰ προείδοντο.] *Which if they had then foreseen.* Προὔσκειψαντο, in which sense the use of the mid. is legitimate. SCHÆFER. Πολλ' ἂν.... Supply the same verbs as before. Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὕφελος αὐτοῖς; *But what advantage is any of these things to them?* Cf. ARIST. PLUT. 1152. Τί δῆτ' ἂν εἴης ὕφελος ἡμῖν. Things were now at the worst, and it was sheer folly to lament what was lost by their own carelessness.

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Ἔως ἂν σώζηται.] On ἔως ἂν with the subjunctive see JELF. 841. Σώζηται is here equivalent to σῶν ᾗ. SCHÆFER. The Attics rarely used the singular of this adjective, but compare infra ἔως ἐσμέν σῶοι. Σκαφός. *Vox propria orationis altius surgentis.* SCHÆFER. Cf. σκάφος πόλεως, *the ship of state*, in ARIST. VESP. 29.

Καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι.] This is the reading of the best manuscripts, and we have consequently retained it. The lection as given by SCHÆFER—ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on very poor authority, and in his notes he approves of the present reading, citing *contra* TIM. p. 722. ἐξῆς πάντα. *Τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. To guard against this.* The middle is used to denote that not only all should be on their guard, but that each for himself should also take care to prevent any disaster. Cf. JELF. 363, 6.

Ἐτέρωχρ, sc. τοῦ σκάφους.] The verb governs the genitive under the general principle of verbs signifying *superiority over*, &c. Μάταιος, the copula, as usual, omitted. JELF. 376. Ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον. *The most untarnished reputation.* The word is used particularly with reference to the position which Athens usually held among the other Grecian states. Cf. the Latin *dignitas* in CIC. FAM. ii. 17. *Lamia petit præturam; omnes intelligunt nec dignitatem nec gratiam ei deesse.* Here I shall quote the very apposite remark of SMEAD: "The orator instead of applying the simile of the ship to the administration of affairs, which he feels

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confident that his quick-minded hearers have already done, suddenly interrupts himself with the question τί ποιῶμεν ;”

Πάσαι τις κᾶθηται.] *Some one of my hearers may perhaps eagerly have desired to ask.* WOLF remarks here that ἂν is sometimes construed with the future Indicative. But that can not apply here, as ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως must be regarded as parenthetical. HERMANN also adopts this view, and says we must supply some such words as ἐρωτῶν or τοῦτο ποιῶν.

Καὶ γράψω χειροτονήσετε.] *And I shall also move a resolution, and do you pass it, if you wish.* Let us here examine the various steps by which the laws were passed by the Athenians. All motions for new laws were first debated upon in the Council of Five Hundred, and, if approved by them, were then referred to the people under the name of προβούλευμα. Sometimes, however, this was not done, as in the case of the proposal of Ctesiphon to crown Demosthenes. After the bill was read in the assembly, (ἐκκλησία), probably by the γραμματεῖς, the proedri put the question to the people, and called upon them to vote upon it. If they were all in favour of it, it was immediately passed; if opposition appeared, the subject was then discussed. The people always gave their decision by χειροτονία, or show of hands. After discussion the matter was again voted upon, and if confirmed became a ψήφισμα, or decree of the people, and was equally binding upon all parties. If, however, the προβούλευμα was rejected by the popular assembly, it became null, and of no effect; if an equal number of votes were given, it was called ἐπέτειον, or in force for a year. But to prevent hasty legislation and avoid the difficulty of proposing laws and passing them, which might have an injurious effect, even a ψήφισμα was only in force for a year, and unless it had been approved by the νομοθέται it then lapsed. These nomothetæ were appointed from the heliastic body to act as a court of revision for all laws, and so soon as a ψήφισμα was passed it was referred to them. If they approved, it became a νόμος; if they rejected it, at the end of a year it became null. But that the ψήφισμα might have fair play before the council for the revision of laws, the people had the power of appointing five advocates (σύνδικοι) to attend before the board, and plead its

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necessity. Hence we can see the various terms at full length. A *προβούλευμα* is a decree of the senate in force for a year. A *ψήφισμα* gave this greater scope, and applied it to all parties, but its duration was only a year still. A *νόμος* was a law binding until repealed. The mover of a law was said *γράφειν νόμον*, the people who passed it *θέσθαι*. The term *χειροτόνειν* was interchangeable with *θέσθαι*. For further information see DIOT. ANT. s. νν., *βουλή* and *νομοθέται*, and consult SCHÖEMANN *De Comit. Att.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀγωνιστέον.] For surely, even if all others consent to enslave themselves, we at least must make a struggle for liberty. *Παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες.* Observe the interchange of the perfect and aorist. Nor is this without due effect. The more important action of *making preparation* is kept before our mind, and then the aorist is employed to denote that its action is finished and complete. And not only is this the case, but still further the action of the perfect is represented as *continuing in its effects*. Cf. HER. viii. 8. 'Αλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρῆσασθαι. Ταῦτα = ὅτι παρεσκευάσαμεθα. ARNOLD. *Tods ταῦτα διδάζοντας* The future participle used to denote intention or purpose. JELF. 705, 6, d. With the sentiments here expressed cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 119.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ καταστρέψασθαι.] For is it not foreign to his interests to prevent him subduing all things? Plutarch seems to say that Demosthenes was suspected of having taken bribes from the King of Persia, who feared the success of Philip, and wished to stir up the Athenians against him. But it might be that Demosthenes thought that the Persian power being added to the Athenian, the King of Macedon would have more to do than he could well attend to. Besides, as such an idea is nowhere else even hinted at, we may set it down as a specimen of the *Malignity of Plutarch*. *Κοινωνοὺς ἔχετε . . . ἂν τι δέη.* Ye may have partners in your dangers and hopes, if need be. *Εἰ δὲ μή.* JELF. 860, 5.

Χρόνους γὰρ ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Ye may cause delay in his operations. *Χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν* is to cause delay, to introduce de-

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lays. "Of. *contra* ARISTOT. p. 651. FALS. LEG. p. 392. Οὐδ' ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα." WHISTON. Also THUC. iii. 38. Καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποισάντων.

Πρὸς ἄνδρα.] "Because a state is a permanent power; a single man is liable to a variety of accidents, and his power terminates with his life." KENNEDY. Demosthenes was justified in using these remarks, since, if he had no other example to refer to, Cyrus the elder would have sufficed, whose powerful empire one might almost say ended with himself. But how many examples could we now adduce? Alexander the Great, Attila, Zenghis Khan, Tamerlane, Napoleon I. With all these the empires they founded died with themselves. Besides, an autocrat has always more power than a constitutional monarchy of any kind. He can direct his armies as he pleases, can withdraw them when he likes, and, untrammelled by his advisers, assume a bold or hesitating front, as the emergency may require. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐχρηστον. *Not even this is valueless*, sc. χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν.

Αἱ πέρυσι βρεσβεῖαι.] In 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Cf. the account given of them in PHIL. ii. pp. 70, 71. Καὶ κατηγορεῖται, *And remonstrances*. This word seems strangely out of place, and yet it is by far superior to any emendation yet proposed. Various ones have been attempted. WINIEWSKI says 'Ακαρνανίαν ought to be read; DROYSEN would read κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν, and SAUPPE κατ' Ἠπειρον. Philip had a little before this time been making attempts against Epirus and Ambracia. JUSTIN. viii. 6. ARNOLD is wrong in quoting DEM. c. OLYMP. p. 1173, to prove that Philip sent troops to Acarnania. This may be seen by the words employed. Καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ καὶ δαίμονα ὑμεῖς ἐπέισθητε ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν. 'As refers to πρεσβεῖαι alone, and not to κατηγορεῖται.

Πολύευκτος.] An Athenian orator of the demus Spettios, a political friend of Demosthenes, with whom he worked in resistance to the Macedonian party. He, along with Lycurgus, was demanded by Alexander in 335 to be delivered up to him. ARRIAN. i. 10, 7. Ἐκενοσί. Δεικτικῶς dictum; sedebat enim homo in coetu audientium Demosthenem. SCHAEFER.

Ἠγήσιππος.] Another political friend of the orator, who, ac-

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ording to LIBANIUS, was the author of the speech *De HALON*. usually attributed to Demosthenes. Cf. LIBAN. *Introduction to De HALON*. Also FALS. LEG. p. 364. *Κλειτόμαχος*. Not otherwise known.

Λυκούργος.] An Attic orator, son of Lycophron, of the noble family of the Eteobutadæ, was born about 396 B. C. He was the pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a warm supporter of the policy of Demosthenes. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to him, only one, *contra LEOCRATEM*, survives.

Περίηλθεμεν.] *We went round upon as canvassers*, Latin *ambire*. WOLF renders by *obivimus*.

Καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' ὀρμησάι.] *And neither then did he attack Ambracia, nor invade the Peloponnesus*. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ. The order is οὐ μέντοι λέγω αὐτοὺς (ὑμᾶς) ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περικαλεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους. *Περικαλεῖν* = *Arcessere*, to summon, or call upon anybody as an ally. Cf. CÆSAR *de BEL. GAL.* 1, 31. *Τὰ οἰκεῖα προίεμένους . . . κήδεσθαι*. *Abandoning your own interests, to say you cared for the interests of others*. *Οἰκεῖος*, *What is one's own as a possession or property, peculiar to one's self*. In THUC. iii 13, it is opposed to *ἄλλοτρίος* as here. *Κήδεσθαι* with gen. *to be anxious about a thing, to care for any person*. L. & S. *Φόσκειν*. See n. p. 112. *Ἵπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν*. *To terrify the others about the future*. *Φοβεῖν* is seldom used with the accusative except of a cognate noun. Examples, however, are given. IL. xvi. 689.

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Τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ.] This refers to the forces then in the Chersonese, under Diopithes, as an army of observation against Philip, who was pursuing his conquests in Thrace. *Φημι δεῖν*. These words are used to express determination, and imply a positive disposition of mind on the part of the orator. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 42.

Συγκαλεῖν.] *"Is to invite generally; if the invitation did not succeed, συνάγειν, which is stronger, as of one urging and forcing them; διδάσκειν, to explain the true condition of affairs, and show what will result therefrom; Nouθερεῖν, to induce them to action, having fully persuaded them both by your language and the*

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critical position of affairs." BREHL. *Of. De RES. GRECÆ*. p. 109.
 Τοὺς ἀδελφεύοντας, πειθευμένους, πράττοντας ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται τῇ πόλει.

Ei αἰεθεῖς Μεγαρέας.] For if you think the people of Chalcis or Megara will save Greece. This does not seem to be spoken with contempt, as ARNOLD suggests, nor disparagingly, as SMITH explains it. Chalcis was a principal city of Eubœa, and had been harassed by the Macedonian party as well as other places; and Megara was a city of the isthmus, where, we have seen, intrigues were commenced, but nipped in the bud by Phocion. The orator refers to these just as he might have said Platæa and Argos, to shew that the small states need not oppose, if the large ones held back. Ὑμεῖς δ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. And that you will avoid the trouble of attending to the affairs of the whole country. On the *Nom.* with the *Inf.* cf. JELF. '762.

Ἀγαπητὸν γάρ.] Well will it be for them. They are so weak that they can scarce defend themselves. If any one hope that all Greece will be preserved by them, he is very far astray. SCHÆFER. Τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. This honorable distinction of being the defenders of Grecian independence, the bulwark against Persian and barbarian. The many and great dangers refer to the events of the Persian wars: the battles of Marathon and Salamis, the burning of the city of Athens, and the battles of Mycale and Platæa.

Ὁ βούλεται.] What he wishes. This seems to have been the great failing in the Athenian character. If everything did not go as each one desired it, he folded his hands, and would then do nothing. This can easily be seen from the frequent complaints of the orator, of each one doing what he wishes, and each one expecting that his neighbour will do everything and he nothing. Καθεδεῖται. Future of καθέξομαι.

Ποιήσει.] Many editions give ποιήσῃ here, but the future is certainly the preferable reading. The meaning in either case is much the same, except that the indicative expresses a definite idea of possible realization. With the future in such constructions, ὅπως is equivalent to ὅτε τρόπος as can be seen from THUC. vi. 11. σκοπεῖν ὅτε τρόπος τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εἰδθήσονται. The future is

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also used in OL. ii. p. 21, where no editions even venture to propose a subjunctive, and again a few lines below in the present oration.

Πρώτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εἶρη.] Here are any number of variations in the readings. One has οὐ μήποθ' εἶρη (SCHAEFER); another, οὐ μή ποθ' εὐρήσει; while the common reading is μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εἶρη. With the future, εὐρήσει, οὐ μή would have the force of an imperative, which manifestly could not apply here. With the subjunctive, these particles give a future meaning, and at the same time an idea of certainty is implied. DAWES lays it down as a rule that οὐ μή can never be used unless with the 2nd aor. subjunctive, but this seems too close; for ELMSLEY, in a note to SOPH. ŒD. COL. 173, distinguishes between οὐ μή with the future indicative and aor. subjunctive. Translate: *In the first place, he certainly will not find people to act for him.* Ποιήσοντας. Here many editions insert εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εἰρηντ' ἂν πάλοι ἕνεκά γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσὶν. But they seem to be merely an explanation of what the orator has been saying, and not part of the original text. They are absent from many of the best manuscripts, and in others are inserted after γένηται. This of itself would show that they are not genuine, as they plainly could not stand there, and make any sense.

Δέδοικα.....γένηται.] *And then I fear lest there be a necessity for us to do at once everything which we do not wish.* Ὅπως μή. This construction is used after verbs of fearing, as here, and also SOPH. ŒD. REX. 1075. Ὅπως μή in such constructions is equivalent to *quomodo non*. CIC. FAM. ii. 5. *Quomodo homines non inepti loquuntur.* Ἡμῖν. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the words ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν in these orations are matter of much dispute. It is seldom that all the manuscripts and editions agree on any one form; and, indeed, it does not matter much. The orator in all cases might either speak of his audience in the second or first person, and the meaning is exactly the same. However, the form ἡμῖν, as the more respectful, is entitled, in any case of doubt, to the preference.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ.] *I now then.* JELF. 720, 721, 1, 730. Ταῦτα γράψω. Referring to the statement supra, Ἐγὼ, νῆ Δ', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

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Ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἔν. After verbs of *thinking* and *declaring*, ἔν with the infinitive gives it the force of the future indicative, and generally implies the result of something which has been previously stated. The sense here is : *I think even yet our state may be restored to a proper condition if these things are done.* On this force of ἔν, cf. DEM. p. 497. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς ἔν ὁ νόμος βλάψει ὑμᾶς φαίνεται.

Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον.] But if any one has a motion more conducive to safety than this. τι is omitted from many manuscripts, and βελτίω is read instead of βέλτιον. But WOLF and seven other manuscript editions give it as above. Δόξει This is ΒΕΚΚΕ's reading, and preferable to the common δόξειε. The indicative gives the expression a more positive turn. Συνετέγκαι. Συνετέγκαι is the reading of some editions, but Atticis συνετέγκαι videtur magis placuisse. SCHAEFER. But whatever shall appear good to you, may that, O all ye Gods! result to your advantage.

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ERRATA.

Page xvii, line 28, for go read goes.

- 3, " 30, " εἰπέ " εἰπέ.
- 4, " 18, " ὦ " ὦ.
- 4, " 23, " ἀλλ' " ἀλλ'.
- 8, " 24, " ὦ " ὦ.
- 9, " 2, " ἄν " ἄν.
- 11, " 4, " ἄν " ἄν.
- 20, " 3, " ἐγὼ " ἐγὼ.
- 24, " 31, " Ζεῤῥέλου read Ζεῤῥέλου.
- 28, " 20, " ἀγωνοθετήσοντες read ἀγωνοθετήσοντας.
- 31, " 3, dele full point after δίκας.
- 50, " 30, for οὐσα read οὐσα.
- 54, " 22, " reading read reading.
- 56, " 20, " εἰπέ read εἰπέ.
- 58, " 9, " ἐπιστάντες read ἐπιστάντες.
- 64, " 23, " γενήσεται " γένηται.
- 86, " 19, " πεύθεις " πεύσεις.
- 89, " 1, " Page 4 read Page 11.
- 95, " 32, " τφ read τφ̄.
- 108, " 8, " εὕρισκε read εὕρισκει.
- 108, " 30-31, read ἀγαπᾶν.
- 113, " 7, for *emin* read *enim*.
- 113, " 12, " ἐκεῖ read ἐκεῖ.
- 117, " 19, " Ὅτ' read Ὅτ'.
- 123, " 18, " Ὑδωρ read Ὑδωρ.
- 153, " 26, " πρὸς read πρὸς.

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