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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.

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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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## P R E F A C E .

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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, SCHÄFER, 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. ~~With lib. 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.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OR EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ANCHOR.	
385-4	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 Pessian and Oleobule daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Evander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdiccas. 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. Polopidas 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.	Agesipolis sent out to succeed Teleutias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380	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	100.1		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 Spheodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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 Phœbidas 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 is established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	101.1	Charissander	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 <i>þ</i> . Chabrias conquers the Lacedaemonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the <i>Ægean</i> , and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Corecyra to renew the treaty with Athens.
376-4	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	Socrates.	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 Corcyra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the

373-2	101.4	Asteias.	Mnissippus the Spartan general lands in Coreyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Coreyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. <i>Thespiae shares the same fate.</i>
372-1	102.1	Alcisthenes.	Shortly after the death of Mnissippus, Iphicrates arrives at Coreyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Arcania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.
371-0	102.2	Phrasicides.	Thespiae 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.
370 {	102-3	Dysnicetus.	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 Pheræ 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.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Pheræ, intending to march into Delphi, and beside 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.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ANCHOR.	LYSISTRATUS.
869-8	102.4		<p>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 Lacedaemonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Alenadas 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 Achaea to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phere, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and here 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 Phere. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army.</p>
368-7	103.1	NAUSIGENES.	<p>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 Aristotle visits Athens. Aphobus having divorced the mother of Demos-</p>
367-6	103.2	POLYZELUS.	

366-5	103.3	Cephisodorus.	Demosthenes, 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 malversation of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaea to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.	Oropus wrested from Athens by Themistocles and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achaeans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.
365-4	103.4	Onion.	Ptolemy is slain by Perdiccas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amyrpholis 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>Onetorum</u> , 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 Phœre, 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 Potidaea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynocephalæ, 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.
364-3	104.1	Timocrates.		Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phœre besieges Pæparæthus,
363-2	104.2	Charicides.		

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
363-2	104.2	Charcidides.	and attacks some of the <i>Egean Islands</i> ; the <i>Athenians</i> oppose him, when he sails for Attica, and plunders the <i>Piræus</i> . Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into <i>Peloponnesus</i> ; attacks <i>Sparta</i> ; is repulsed, and withdraws to <i>Mantinea</i> , where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the <i>Spartans</i> were considerably less. A general peace; but <i>Sparta</i> refuses to acknowledge <i>Messenia</i> .
362-1	104.3	Molon.	Timotheus captures <i>Sestus</i> , <i>Crithote</i> , and <i>Eleus</i> , in the <i>Chersonese</i> ; and afterwards besieges <i>Samos</i> . The <i>Athenians</i> despatch a fleet against Alexander of <i>Phœre</i> , and another to <i>Thrace</i> , to co-operate with <i>Miltocythes</i> , who revolted from <i>Cotys</i> ; <i>Cotys</i> amuses them with promises, and meanwhile defeats <i>Miltocythes</i> .
361-0	104.4	Nicophemus.	<i>Samos</i> capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the <i>Athenian</i> orator, banished. <i>Messene</i> recognized by <i>Sparta</i> .
360	105.1	Gallimedes.	Timotheus and Charidemus attack <i>Amphipolis</i> , and are defeated, owing to the arrival of succor from <i>Macedonia</i> . Cotys captures <i>Seatus</i> . <i>Philip</i> is slain in battle against the <i>Ilyrians</i> , leaving an infant son <i>Amynatas</i> . <i>Philip</i> ascends the throne of <i>Macedon</i> . The <i>Ilyrians</i> are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: <i>Argaeus</i> supported by <i>Athens</i> , and <i>Pausanias</i> by <i>Cotys</i> and the <i>Thracians</i> . <i>Argaeus</i> defeated, and peace with <i>Athens</i> , declares <i>Amphipolis</i> free, and accommodates matters with <i>Pausanias</i> and <i>Cotys</i> .
359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀηδοοθέρην δὲ πήρεπεῖστο</i> . <i>Philip</i> subdues the <i>Paonians</i> , and defeats <i>Bardylis</i> King of <i>Ilyris</i> , and subdues his country as far as <i>Lake Lychnidus</i> . <i>Cotys</i> lays siege to <i>Orithote</i> and <i>Eleus</i> , but is soon after murdered, and <i>Argaeus</i> three sons: <i>Amynatas</i> , <i>Berendas</i> and <i>Cleombrotus</i> . The <i>Athenians</i> defeat the <i>Achaean</i> forces.

358-7	105.3	Cephissodotus. Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolian 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, <del>except</del> <sup>of</sup> Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out <sup>at Rhodes, Chios,</sup> Cos and Byzantium having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubœa to expel the Thebans.	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 Pangens, and establishes Philippi on the the site of Krenides.	ISOCRATES, <i>De Pace</i> . Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.
357-6	105.4	Agathocles.	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 Ægean. 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.
356-5	106.1	Elphines.		

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCEON.	
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 Amphisga, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedaemon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thessalians 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>τερπλώ Συνυποίων</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	Thudemus.	The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by Dindor, and also <i>Pro Megalopolitans</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Perga 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 Phociis by the pass of Thermopylae, but is prevented by the arrival of an Athenian force. Onomarchus takes Thronium, invades

**Boeotia, and is defeated at Olynthus.** 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. Mansoulus dies, and is succeeded by his queen **Artemisia**.

**FIRST PHILIPPI, and oration against Aristocrates.** 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 Thermopylae, retreats towards Thrace; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Herseum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon, and Messene; the Spartans thus pressed, and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Boeotia, and is defeated by the Thebans.

**Demosthenes De Lib. Rhodiorum.** Phayllus overruns the country of the Epinean Locrians; and after another battle with the Boeotians at Aryca dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalaecus. The Rhodians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians remonstrate with Philip for retaining Pagase and Magnesia. Phalaecus invades Boeotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes πρὸς Βοιωτὸν τελ. τοῦ δημοσίου. Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamynae, expels Cleitarchus, and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year.

**Demosthenes ἐπέρθομαίων.** Philip is still in Thrace. Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamynae, expels Cleitarchus, and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year.

**The three Olynthian Orations.** The Olynthians having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Obares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers go to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the Chal-

362-1 107.1 Aristodemus.

361-0 107.2 Thessalus.

350 } 107.3 Apolloidorus.

349 }

349-8 107.4 Callimachus.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	cidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants were sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself. Demosthenes one of the 500 this year.
348-7	108.1	Theophilus.	In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthycretes. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to <i>Dem. de Fals. Leg.</i> , 4,000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 triremes. 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 Dium in Pieria. Philip, invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complies towards the end of the following year.
347-6	108.2	Themistocles.	<i>Eschines</i> , as envoy to Peloponnesus, addresses the <i>Ten Thousand</i> at Megalopolis. Others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedonia, but are all equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace first was entertained probably through some indirect hints of Philip, and the Euboceans still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Nicaea 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 <i>Eschines</i> . 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 Pheræ, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and

346-5	108.3	Archias.	The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Athenians become alarmed, and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.
345-4	108.4	Eubulus.	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.
344-3	109.1	Lyciscus.	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.
343-2	109.2	Pythodotus.	The speech, <i>de Haloneso</i> , 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 successfully. Philip makes attempts upon Eubaea to

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.
<b>343-2</b>	<b>109.2</b>	<b>Pythodotus.</b>
		establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of theodium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses <i>Eschines</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 Halonesus 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 Halonesus as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated several engagements, and finally subdued.
<b>342-1</b>	<b>109.3</b>	<b>Sosigenes.</b>
		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 Cersobletes, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches towards the Propontis, and at the same time his allies become successful in Eubœa, and establish Cleitarchus and Plutarchus as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his <i>Tand Philippic</i> . The Athenian corn-ships intended for the relief of Selymbria are seized by Philip, and delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i> , of the Athenians. The tyrants expelled from Eubœa by Phocion, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures Selymbria, 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 Dionysius.
<b>341-0</b>	<b>109.4</b>	<b>Nicomachus.</b>
<b>340</b>	<b>110.1</b>	<b>Theophrastus.</b>
<b>339</b>		Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches against Byzantium. Demosthenes carries his bill for reforming the trierarchy,

339-8	110.2	Lysimachides	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 Charnes, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lycurges 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.
338-7	110.3	Chærondas.		Otesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Eсхинес. Philip having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra.
337-6	110.4	Phrynicus.		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.
336-5	111.1	Pythodemus.		

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemus.	Alexander at Thermopylae 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 Otesiphon proposed in Oct. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Eschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Eschines 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	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 Aegina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demopœles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.
329	112.3		
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 Himeraeus are seized in the temple of Eaeus in Aegina, and being sent to Antipater at Oeonæ, 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 Pyanepson, 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 τον πόμην γράμην, Δημόσθενες, εῖχε,  
οὗτος δι' Ελλήνων ἡρέως Αρτούρον.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ANCHOR.
336-5	111.1	Pythodemus. Alexander at Thermopylae 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, Hyperides, 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.
334-3	111.3	Otscicles.
330 {	112.3	Aristophon.
329 }		
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.
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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, Hyperides, and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.

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 Oct. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Eschines deliver their speeches *De Corona* in the early part of the year. Eschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes.

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 is 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.

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 Aegina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demoneles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.

822-1 | 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 Himeraeus are seized in the temple of Zeæus 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 :

Εἴτερος ἡρόμην γνώμην, Δημόσθενες, εἰχε,  
οὐποτερ, οὐ Ελλήνων ἡρές, Αρτος Μακεδόνα.

B. C.	Olymp.	ARCHON.	
386-5	111.1	Pythodorus.	<b>Alexander at Thermopylae</b> is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of <b>Athens</b> and <b>Thebes</b> . 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 <b>Dynades</b> , 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 Oly. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and <b>Æschines</b> deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. <b>Æschines</b> is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
334-3	111.3	Ctesicles.	Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander.
330	112.3	Aristophon.	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.
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	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 <b>Ægina</b> , a trireme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demoneles, to bring him back to Athens, when his return is hailed by all parties with joyful acclamations.
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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 Himeraeus are seized in the temple of Zeacus in Aegina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleoneæ, 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 Pyanepson, 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 :

*Eτερον ιστημενον γράμμην, Δημοσθένεος, εἰχε,  
οὔτοις δι Ελλήνων ήρξεν Αρτούρον Μακεδών.*

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## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

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ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Κ**ακῶς ἐγ τῷ τολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνεληλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. δ τοίνυν δῆτωρ τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν πειρᾶται πανειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ διθυμοῦντες κεκράτηνται, καὶ εἰσηγεῖται πῶς ἀν δριστὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει δὲ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μέίζω, πολιτικὴν, ητίς οἴκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καρδὸν χρέας ἔτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὄντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειγμένων δὲ καὶ πολετῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνης μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ίνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτησίας πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας δ Φίλιππος η καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ήντικα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπιχειρῆ τοὺς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῆ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς η πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

ετελείσθησαν τοιούτοις

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Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τίνος πράγματος προύτιθετο, ω ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἀν ἔως οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφίναντο, εἰ μὲν ἡρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἀν ἥγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἀ γιγνώσκω λέγειν ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῦν, ἥγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἀν συγγνώμης ἔνυχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἀν νῦμας νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν ιψῶν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ω ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. δ γάρ ἔστι χείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

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## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

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ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Κ**ακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνελλήνθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. ὁ τοίνυν ἥτις τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν πειρᾶται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰς ῥᾳθυμοῦντες κεκράτηται, καὶ εἰσηγεῖται πῶς ἀν δριστὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει δὲ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, ἥτις οἵκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰς καιρὸν χρέας ἔτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὕντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμειγμένων δὲ καὶ πολιτῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτησίας πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἥ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥνικα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατόν, ἐπιχειρῆ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων κρατῆ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

εὐειδεῖται

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Εἰ μὲν περὶ καίνου τίνος πράγματος προύτιθετο, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἀν ἔως οἱ πλεῦστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἡρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥθεότων, ἥσυχίαν ἀν ἥγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότ' ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἄ γιγνώσκω, λέγειν ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκαστιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νῦν σκοπεῖν, ἥγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἀν συγγνώμης τίνγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθόφος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἀν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν τῶν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὁ γάρ ἐστι τιχείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεούτων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἐποσήκε πραττόντων οὐτῷς εἶχεν, οὐδὲ ἀν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτών γενέσθαι. ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούοντι ~~καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν~~ αὐτοῖς ἀναμμιγῆσ-  
καμένοις, Λίκην ποť ἔχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὐ χρόνος οὐ πόλις, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηγόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξασθε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλη-  
νικῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καί θεάσησθε ὅτι οὐδὲκ οὐτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἔστι φοβερὸν οὐτ', ἀν διλιγωρῆτε,  
τοιοῦτον οἷον ἀν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείχμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τῆς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῦς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὑβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταρα-  
τόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὡν ἔχρην, εἰ δέ τις ίμων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φιλιππὸν εἶναι,  
σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ  
τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπόλωλέναι τῷ πόλει, ὅρθως μὲν οἴεται, λογ-  
σάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἰχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸκ τόπον τοῦ-  
τον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἔθνων αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβού-  
λετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἡ κείνῳ εἰ τούνν ο Φιλιππὸς τότε ταύ-  
την ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἀν ὡν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἐπραξέν, οὐδὲ τοσαύ-  
την ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἰδεν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἔκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἔστιν ἀπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μεσῷ, φύσει δὲ ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλοντι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτη χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ

δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαντεῖς, οὓς ἀνὸρων παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἄ χοή· ἀν τοίνυν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ~~τούτοις~~ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμην ~~τούτοις~~ ἐπειδήτερον ~~οὐ~~ πρότερον, καὶ ἔκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναται ἀν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφεῖς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐτοιμός πράττεικ ὑπάρξει, ὃ μὲν χρήματα ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὃ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντε δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἀν θεὸς θέλη, καὶ τὰ ~~ταῦτα~~ κατέρραβον μῆμέντα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κάκεινον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶν νομίζετε ἐκείνω τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον καὶ δέδιεν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάνυ τούν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κάν τοις μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα τοῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυπῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ἦν ἀποθέσθαι φῆμι δεῖν ἦδη. ὅρατε γὰρ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἷς προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας. ἀνθρωπος, ὃς οὐδὲ αἴρεσιν ὑμίν πιθασι τοῦ πράττειν ἥ ἄγειν ἥσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὡς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἔστιν ἔχων ἄ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀεί τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἥμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότε οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἄ χρη πράξετε; ἐπειδάν τι γένηται; ἐπειδάν τη Δι' ἀνάγκη τις γένηται; τούν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἥγεισθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἷμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπέρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἡ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιούντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον ἡ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἐλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθιηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δῖ, ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ. τί δὲ ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἀν οὗτος τι πάθη, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἔτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἀνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπήξηται ~~οὔτον~~ ~~τιμάτην~~ ~~ὑπετέρων~~ ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἡ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν. αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο ~~ἴσθ'~~ ὅτι πλησίον μὲν οὗτες, ἀπασιν ἀν τοῖς πράγμαδι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες δπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὡς δὲ, οὐν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναυσθ' ἀν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

Ως μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἔθελοντας ὑπάρχειν ἀπαντας ἑτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι ἀν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἴσμαι, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὖστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τὰλλα ὡς ἀν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεὶ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον ~~τι~~ ἐπειδὰν ἀπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μή πρόφερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδὲ ἀν ἔξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ ~~τινι~~ καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω, οὐ γὰρ οἱ ~~τι~~ αὐτοὶ καὶ τίμερον εἰπόντες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀν τὰ γε ἥδη γεγενημένα ~~τι~~ νῦν βοηθείᾳ κωλύθαι δυνηθείημεν· αλλ' ὅς ἀν δείξῃ τὸ πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, ἔως ἀν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἡ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἔχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι ~~τι~~ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἀν κακῶς. οἷμαι ~~τούνν~~ ἐγὼ ~~τι~~ λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἰς τὸν ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται ~~τι~~. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγαλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἥδη τὸν ἐλεγχον δώσει· κριθαίρεται δὲ ὑμεῖς ἔστεσθε.

Πρῶτον μὲν ~~τούνν~~, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τιμήρεις πενθήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαι· φημι δεῖν, εἰκὸν αὐθούς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς, ἐάν τι δέη, πλευσθέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβάσιν.

πρὸς δὲ γῆντος τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἵππων ἵππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις  
 καὶ πλοῖα ἵκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οὖμαι δεῖ  
 ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξασφίνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ  
 στρατείας εἰς Πόλας ~~καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ~~ Ὁλυνθον καὶ ὅπου  
 βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνων βοῦντο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆναι, ὡς  
 ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἀγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοιαν καὶ  
 πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόπτην  
 εἰς Πύλας, ἵστως ἀν δρμήσατε. οὕτοι παντελῶς οὐδὲ εἰ μὴ ποιή-  
 σαιτ' ἀν τοῦτο, ὡς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, οὐ  
 ηδιὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς — εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·  
 εἰσὶ γὰρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἔξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνων παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
 πλείους τοῦ δέοντος — ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, η παριδῶν ταῦτα ἀφύλακ-  
 τος ληφθῆ, μηδενὸς ἀποτελεῖται ἐμποδῶν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν  
 ὑμῖν, ἀν ἐνδῆ καιρόν. Ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἀ πάσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ  
 δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προστήκειν οὖμαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 δύναμιν τίνα, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν  
 ὑμᾶς, η συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνουν ποιήσει. μη  
 μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμάσους  
 ταύτας δυνάμεις ἀλλ' η τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καν ὑμεῖς ἔνα καν  
 πλείους καν τὸν δεῖνα καν δυτικῶν χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγὸν,  
 τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφὴν ταύτη πορίσαι  
 κελεύει. ἔσται δὲ αὐτῇ τίς η δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν  
 τροφὴν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ'  
 ἔκαστον τούτων διεξιῶν χωρίς. ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως  
 μὴ ποιήσετε ὁ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομί-  
 ζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν  
 αἱρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε.. ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἀν ἐλάττω  
 φαίηται. λέγω δὴ τὸν πάντας στρατώτας δισχιλίους, τού-  
 των δὲ Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ης ἀν τίνος  
 ἡμέν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους,  
 μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-

χῆς ἄλλήλοις. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἵππεας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίους τούλαχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἵππαγωγοὺς τούτοις. εἰεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γὰρ, ἔχοντος ἐκένου ναυτικὸν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέγη· πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφὴ γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδὰν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἴμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

23 Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνιν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτὴν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφὴ, οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴ εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῦν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ ἀκούω ἔνεικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Πολύστρατος ἥγειτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἰδας ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παρατατόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοὶ οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ~~ἴεται~~ οὐ δὲ αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾶς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δὲ ἔχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῦ μᾶλλον οἰχεται πλέοντα, δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, ἐκκρήτως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτιας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτο τις ὑμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἀγετε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Δίης οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴποιτο· ἀν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππω πολεμοῦμεν. οὐκ ἔχειροτε δὲ ἔξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἵππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἐνὸς

ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἀν ἐκπέμψητε ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροτόνων· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνως, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτόνεύτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ δχρῆν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι ἵν τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ οὐ μὲν Αῆγον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαιον ἵππαρχεύειν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὅφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἀν ἦ.

Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦγαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω· χρήματα τοίνυ, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφὴ σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἐνεγκάστα, καὶ μικρόν τι τρόσι δέκα μὲν νανοὶ ταχείας τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τίνι κανθί μνᾶς τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαῦθ' ἔτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἵππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἔκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἴδα σαφῶς ὅτις τοῦτ' ἀν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῷτο Ελλήνων ἀδικοῦν, οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. κάγὼ δὲ συμπλέων ἐθελούτης πάσχειν ὄτιον ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων. ἂ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τοῦτ' ἥδη λέξω.

### Π Ο Ρ Ο Υ Α Π Ο Δ Ε Ι Ζ Ι Σ.

Α μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἔστιν. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἀν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσατε; ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πόλεμῆτε Φιλίππω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἀν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δλῆς τῆς παρασκευῆς βούλεύσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πόλεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσασθε διὰ τοὺς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτοιχτὰ πολλὰ προλάμβανων διαπράττεται Φιλιππος καὶ φυλαξάς τοὺς ἐτησίας ἡ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἦνικ' ἀν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι. Δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείας πολεμεῖν, ὑστεροῦμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῆ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δὲ ὑμῶν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμρων καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῆτος καὶ ἀ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει. τὴν δὲ ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ὁρδίουν καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλὲς, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ὁρδίως ἔσται.

Α μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν δι τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βούλεύσεται. ἀ δὲ ὑπάρχει δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἀ ἔγω γέγραφα. ἀν ταῦτα, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἀ λέγω, εἴτα καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἵππεας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόχον ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βούλευμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῶν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσετθε, οὐχ ὡσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Λήμρον καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολέιτας ὑμετέρους ψχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιοστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρῆματ' ἔξελεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν οἱρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ψχετ' ἔχων

τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὐτὲ εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἀν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. Καῖτοι τί δῆποτε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τὸν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἀντεῖτε δεινοὺς λάχωσιν ἀντεῖται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἣ τοσαῦτ’ ἀναλίσκετε χρῆματα ὅσα οὐδὲ εἰς ἔνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν δογῆν οὐκ οὖδὲ εἰ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασᾶς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; δτὶ ἔκεινα μὲν ἀπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόσοιδεν ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἡ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τίνα λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδὲ ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς τούτου παρασκευῆς ἀτακτα ἀδιάφορωτα ἀόριστα ἀπάντα. τοιγαροῦν ἀμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοπούμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τὸν μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τὸν χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτε αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτε ἐν δισφῇ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ’ ὃ ἀν ἔκπλεωμεν. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἀς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ’ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἷα τὸ οὐσαὶ ποιεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἔξελέγχονται. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοῦθεν ὑβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὥστε ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἡδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

## Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ο Λ Α Ι.

Τούτων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ μέν ἔστι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἵστως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὅσα ἀν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημητριοεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἀν ἥ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργως ζημία γίγνεται.

αἰσχρόν ἔστι φενακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀπαντὸν ἀναβαλλομένους ἢ ἀνὴρ δυνασθεὶς πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὄρθως πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἀντοὺς ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑστερεῖν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειε τις ἀνὴρ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεμόνθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵνα ἀνὴρ ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράτηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζωνται διώκειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, δόπλιτας, ἵππεας, χρημάτων πρόσοδον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τίμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν πάποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπολείπεσθε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πρυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππων, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληργεῖς ἀεὶ τῆς πλήγης ἔχεται, κανὸν ἐτέρωστε πατάξῃ τις ἐκεῖστε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες προβάλλεσθαι δὲ ηγέρειν ἐναντίον οὗτον οὗτον οὗτον ηθέλει. καὶ ὡμεῖς ἀνὴρ ἐν Χερρόνησῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, ἐὰν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖστε, ἐὰν ἀλλοθί που, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾶτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἀνὴρ γεγενημένον ηγενόμενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δὲ τοιστοῦ πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆρεν νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἡκει τὴν ἀκμὴν, ὥστε οὐκέτε ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος τὴν φιλοπραγμασύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἀκατέστραπται καὶ προειληφέν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ηθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπραγγεῖται, ἀποχρῆν ἐντοις ὑμῶν ἀνὴρ δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστὰ ὠφληκότες ἀνὴρ μηδομασίᾳ. νῦν δὲ ἐπιχειρῶν δεῖ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος τοιστοῦ ἀνὴρ ἐκκαλέσαιθεν ὑμᾶς, εἰπερ μὴ παντάπαισιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτε ἐνθυμεῖται μήτε ὀργίζεται, δρῶν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευ-

τὴν οὖσαν ἥδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γέ, οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἴτα τοῦτο ἀναμενούμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενάς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἀν ἀποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἰεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινι στρατιώτῳ οἴκεων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔκείνου πλευρόμεθα; ποι οὖν προσόρμιούμεθα; ἥρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἔκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἀν ἐπιχειρώμεν. ἀν μέντοι καθώμεθα οἴκοι, λοιδορούμενάων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γάρ ἀν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναπτοσταλῇ, καν μὴ πᾶσα παρῆ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δὲ ἀν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνάσκοντες δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναι ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πρᾶξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γάρ ἥγηται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν ἔκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἐνθάδε ὡστι, ὑμεις δέ ἐξ ὧν ἀν ἀκούσητε δι τοῦ τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ πρδσδοκᾶν;

Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἴκαδε ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὡστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν δὲ εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης ὡστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔκαστος δις καὶ τρὶς κρίνεται παρὸν ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδριποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδονῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἴρονται τοῦ προσήκοντος. κακούργουν μὲν γάρ ἔστι κρε-

Θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν περιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγοις πλήσσοντες ἐκαποτείνειν περιερχόμεθα. Εγὼ δὲ οἰμαὶ μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τήν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων δρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπιγρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δὲ οὔτω προαρρένθαι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μὲν ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοτοιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἀν ἀφέντες ταῦτα ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, διτὶ ἔχθρὸς ἀνθρώπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτε ἡλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὑρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, κανὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθάδε ἵσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄττα· ποτὲ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' διτὶ φαῦλα, ἐάν μὴ προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προστήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὐ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν ὅ τι ἀν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὡς, νῦν τε ἀγιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρήσιασμα. ἐβούλομην δὲ ἀν, ὥσπερ διτὶ ὑρῶν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἰδα, οὔτως εἰδέναι συνοψον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἀν ἥδιον εἰπον. νῦν δὲ ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γεινησομένοις, δῆμος ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἀν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἴροιμαι. νικών δὲ διτὶ πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

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### ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Π**αρανεὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ ρήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποκτείνειν 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 Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις φησίν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινας πρέσβεις ἥκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἥκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἴστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπεμψεις πρέσβεις δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος δὲ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, φευσάμενον δέ οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπερχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐπεμψάν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσηνιοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον δτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλουμένοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἴνουσι τέ ἔστι καὶ συγκροτεῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, δὲ εἴνοι μὲν εἰσὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποκτείνουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, δὲ διημαρτήκασι μὲν ὡν ἥλπεσαν, οὐ μὴν ὥπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατῆσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγείλιαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἴδιων πρέσβεων ἐποιήσατο τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἥσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σύστει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὅβριν καταλύσει. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ δτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πόλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην

θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν περιόντες μετὰ Δακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπάν, οἱ δὲ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγος πλάτοτες ἐκαστον περιερχόμεθα. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῦνογ μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τίν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὄρωντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέκτοι γε μὰ Διὶ οὐτω προαρέεσθαι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί οὐλεῖ ποιεῖν ἐκεῦνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἀν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῦνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἔχθρὸς ἀνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὑβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἡλπίσαμέν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὑρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, καν μὴ τὸν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθάδ' ἵσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄττα· ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, ἔαν μὴ προσέχῃτε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προστήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὐ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν ὃ τι ἀν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὡς, τὸν τε ἀγιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμα. ἐβουλόμην δὲ ἀν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὗτως εἰδέναι συνοφρον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἀν ἡδιον εἰπον. τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, δμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἀν πράξῃτε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικώτη δὲ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

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ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Π**αρανεῖ διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις δὲ δῆταρ πολέμιον ὑποκτείνειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐ τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πρᾶξεis φησίν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεis δώσειν πρὸς τίνας πρέσβεις ἥκουντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ τοτε ἀποκρύνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἥκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῦν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἔπειμψε πρέσβεις δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος δὲ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τὸν Ἐλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευσάμενον δέ οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησιν οὐδὲ ἔψευσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἔπειμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φίλιππου καὶ Ἀργείοι καὶ Μεσσηνίοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον δτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλουμένοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἴνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἐναντιοῦται, ἀπορούσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, δτι εὖνοι μέν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φίλιππου σύντασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποκτείνουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τὸν Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, δτι διημαρτήκασι μὲν ὁν ἥλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὲκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἔξηπτασθαι οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγείλαν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ιδίων πρέσβεων ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἥσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ δὲ δτι δίκαιον ἦν τὸν τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεκοιηκότας ἔκεινους καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τὸν ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχύλην

αἰνίττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὡς φασι, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπρεσβείας, ἦν διπερού ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

“Οταν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται περὶ ὃν Φιλίππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὅρῳ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἀπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲ ὃν ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἥδη προτυγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἀν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἔξελέγχη Φιλίππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβαυλεύοντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλεύειν ταχεῖται τοιούτων οὐδὲν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέστημεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα. ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἀν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἀλλού συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτε ἀν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὃν ἔστι νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἷμα, καὶ ἵστις εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἔκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ διπονδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἔκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιούτερα ὑμῖν ἔξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δὲ ὅπως τὰ παρόντα ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προεθόντα ἔτι πορρωτέρω λήσσει πάντας ὑμᾶς, μηδὲ ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδὲ ἀντάραι δυνητόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγοντας

σιν ἄπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούοντιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ δρῶν ἡλίκος ἥδη καὶ ὅσων κύριος ἔστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἴεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδὲ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὅμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μον διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τάνατία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκῶν καὶ δ' ὃν ἔχθρὸν ἤγουμαι Φίλιππον, ἢν ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἢν δὲ οἱ θαρροῦντες καὶ πειστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκαῖσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἢ Θηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἢ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί δίποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, φίμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἔξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδὲ ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἰδὲ τοῦτο ὁρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἥθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἀν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιωτὸν οὐδὲ ποιήσειν, ὑφ' οὐ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἴδιας ἐνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἀλλων τινὰς Ἐλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἢ προσήκει προορώμενοι, ὅμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἀν τι τοιωτὸν ἐπιχειρῆ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἤγειτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἔασειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακαλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἀν αὐτοὺς κελεύη. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ταῦτα ὑπειληφώς εὖ ποιεῖ. δ καὶ μέγιστόν ἔστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἀν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἐλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδὲ ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδὲ ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τὰς Ἐλλήνας εἴναιαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπεῖληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἔτέρως, οὐ μόνοι εἰς τὰ παρόντα δρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὑρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἔξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτὸὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνὶκ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν διτοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἂν πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ κάγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μεῖζω τάκείνων ἔργα ἡ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἀν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἵδια τὸ λυστελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοὺς Ἑλλησὶ σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἴρειται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε δρᾶ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἡ ὑμῖν οὕσας οὐδὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὑρηκε, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν οὐδὲ ἀμυημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

Ἄλλὰ νὴ Δί, εἴποι τις ἀν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλεονεξίας ἐνεκεν οὐδὲ ὃν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιούτερα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἡ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. ἀλλὰ τούτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἐνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίεναι κελεύων πῶς ἀν Ὁρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίους παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαιᾳ νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νὴ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἵππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὅπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ

μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ἵπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιμόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτεαν τειχιεῖ. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἔγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ [www.libnol.com.cn](http://www.libnol.com.cn) εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρῆματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν δύτας ἔχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναφεῦ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἀν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἔγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὗτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἐπράξειν οὗτ' ἀν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑάφ' ὃν νῦν ποιεῖ, κάκεῦνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλος ἐστι ποιήσας. ἐκ πάντων δ', ἀν τις ὅρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τινὸν αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπείληφεν νῦμας. ἀδικεῖν πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ· οἵ γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τάλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προείτο, οὐδὲ ἀν οἴκοι μέρειν βεβαίως ἥγειτο. ἀμφότερα οὖν οἴδε, καὶ αὐτὸν νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ νῦμας αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δὲ νῦμας ὑπολαμβάνων, δικαίως ἀν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἀν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἀν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτα βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα διγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' σύνδεν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἵδειν, ἀ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγύ εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δὲ ἵσως καὶ πρὸς νῦμας ἔστιν εἰρῆσθαι.

Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθε, ἔφην, ὁ ἀνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσχερῶς

ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τις τι λέγοις κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἑκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, δότε Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡφίειν, ἡς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτίδαιαν δὲ ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικούς ἐκβαλών, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀγρυπτό, τὴν χώραν δὲ ἑκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἀρα προφθοκάντες αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, οὐ λέγοντος ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι οὐεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγώ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπωτὴν σάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἑκείνουν στέρονται, αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθείτες· οὐ γάρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐτοῖς λιγὸν ὅμιλαι. τί δὲ οἱ Θετταλοί; ἀρά οὐεσθε, ἔφην, δότε αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσθοκάν τὴν καθεστωσαν τοῦ δεκαδαρχίαν ἐσεσθαί ταρταροῦντας; οὐ τὸν τὴν πυλαναντίν αποδοντή τοῦτον τὰς ὕδιας αὐτῶν προσδόους παρακρῆσθατε; οὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδεναι. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἔφην ἐγώ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχυούμενον θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δὲ ἡδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον ἀπευχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δὴ, οὐδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν τὴν Δλ', ἔφην ἐγώ, παντοδαπά εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τάλλον διατοιμάτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἀπαντά χειροπέδητα, καὶ δοπάνητα προσθεῖται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ηφύσις τῶν εὐ φρονούντων ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτηριον, δοπάνητα μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντεχεσθε· ἀν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε.. τί ζητεῖτε; οὐδεῖν. ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἰτ' οὐχ δράτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτη καὶ τὰς προστηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γάρ καὶ τύραννος ἀπας ἔχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθε ὅπως, ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εύρητε;

Ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὅρβως λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρεσβεών καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον <sup>αποβλήσαντες</sup> <sup>τῆς</sup> Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδὲ ὅν ἐπαγγελλεται, καὶ οὐ τοῦτον ἀπότομον <sup>τοντινόν</sup> Μεσοθίκοις καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς παρ' ἐτῷ λογισμῷ Βέλτισθ' ὅρωσί τι πράξοντι, ἀλλ' εἰ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν λεγότων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβολεύεσθαι, ὡς περιστοιχίεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἡδη ποιεῖν λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπόμεινάντες. οὕτως ἡ παραντίχη ἡδονή καὶ ράστωνη μεῖζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθεν ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῶν πράκτεων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον βουλεύεσθε, ἀν τωφρονήτε. ἀ δὲ νῦν ἀποκριώμενοι τὰ δέοντα ἀν εἴητε ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτη ἡδη λέξω.

### Α Π Ο Κ Ρ Ι Σ Ι Σ.

Ἔν μὲν οὖν δίκαιοι, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπειθῆτε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἀν ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ διὰ ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν τυχόντες εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ὕσσοθε· ἀλλ' ἡνὶ πολὺ τούτων ἀφοτηκότα τὰ τότε λεγομένα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἔτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς δέτο γέγονυντας ἡδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὕστέρας ἥκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενάκιζομενήν τὴν πόλιν, προύλεγον καὶ διεμάρτυρομην καὶ οὐκ εἴων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἔγω μὲν ὑδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δροτρόπος καὶ δυσκολος εἴμι τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δέ, ἀπέριδος οὐδαμός διὸ οὐδὲν, έαν παρέλθῃ πράξει, καὶ Θεοπίλος μὲν καὶ Πλαταίνις τείχει, Θηβαίος δὲ πάντει τῆς ὑβρεως, Χερρόνησον δέ τοις αὐτούς τελεῖ διορύξει, Εὐβοιαν δέ καὶ τὸν Όρωπὸν ἀντί Αμφιπόλεως ὑμῶν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ θεμάτου ἐνταῦθι μητημονεύετε' οὐδὲ διὰ διηθέντα, καίπερ οὗτες οὐ δευτεροὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμηῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην <sup>χρηματίσασθε</sup>. οὗτῳ τελέσθε <sup>τοις</sup> ὑπῆρχθε. τέλητα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλέν φῆμι δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τάληθη μετὰ πολιτιστέας, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀπόκρυφοι, οὐχ ἵν' εἰς λοιδορίαν <sup>καταπληκτικόν</sup> ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ <sup>τοις</sup> λογοτελείων παρὸν ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πρόσκρουσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς <sup>τοις</sup> κανήν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδὲ ἵνα τὴν ἀλλωτάρεσχω. <sup>τοις</sup> οἶμαι ποδὸν ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἀντί Φιλίππου πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνὶ τὸ γὰρ πράγμα ὅρῳ προβαίνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλούμην μὲν ἀνεικάζειν ὄρθως, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λιαν ἐγγῆς ἢ τοῦτο ὅδη, δταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἔξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβανόντων, μηδὲ ἀκούηθε ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔστιν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὅράτε καὶ εὐ εἰδῆτε, ὄργιλοις καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἐσεσθαι νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρεσβεων σεσιωπήκοτων, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοῖς ὑντίφασι δεδωροδοκήκοτες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρὸν ὑμῶν ὄργῃ περὶ πεσεῖν συμβῆ. ὅρῳ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἔνιους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς υπὸ χειρὶ μαλιστα τὴν ὄργην ἀφίεντας.

Ἔως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ σφιναταταὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούμεν ἀλλήλων, ἔκαστον ὑμῶν, κατέπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, δημοτες ἐπαναμῆσαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι, ὃν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποιηκες ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἔκαστον, ἐπειδαὶ παρηγέγονε δὲ ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ υμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἀν τὴν τῇ πόλει πράγμα. οὔτε γὰρ κανοὶ δήποτον κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἥλθεν ἀν ποτε ὀφολῷ Φιλίππου, οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπέρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαια ἀν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παρ-

χρῆμα: ἂν ἦν ἐν δυμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. ταῦτη οὖν ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, τὸν ἵκανως εἰρήται, ὡς δὲ τὸν εἰσετασθεῖ μαλιστὸν ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὡς πάντες θεοί οὐδένα γὰρ βουλούμην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδὲ εἰ δίκαιος ἐστὸς ἀπολαλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων καὶ δύο πολεμίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

## ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Απλῆ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν εἰρήνην διγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ῥήτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

Πολλῶν, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῦν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὃν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φῆσάντων γ' ἀν', εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῦν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὑβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμένα ὅρῳ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' οὐ. εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἀπαντεῖς ἐβούλοντο οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὃν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ πράγματ' ἔχειν, οὐκ ἀν ἥγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χειρον ἢ τὸν διατεθῆναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἵσως ἐστὶν αἴτια τοῦ ταῦθ' οὗτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφίκεται, μάλιστα

δ', ἀντερ ἔξετάζητε ὄφθως, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προάρουρμένους, ἀντὶ τίνες μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, οἴκουν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ οἴκουται δεῖν ἔχειν, ἔτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἡ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτο ἔσται, Φιλίππω δὲ ἔξεσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν διὰ τοῦ βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μέν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἴτιαι δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ἀξιῶ δ', ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρήσιας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὄργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γάρ ἀδί. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρήσιαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλλων οὐτω κοινὴν οὔεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὕστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀντὶ τις οἰκέτας ἵδοι παρ' ὑμῶν μετὰ πλείονος ἔχουσίας διὰ τοῦ βούλονται λέγοντας ἡ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίας τῶν ἀλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβούλευειν παντάπασιν ἔξεληλάκατε. Υεῖθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἥδη κινδυνεύειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὐτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δὲ ἡ συμφέρει χωρὶς κολακείας ἐθελήσετε ἀκούειν, ἔτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντι φαύλως τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, δῆμος ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθε ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἵστως ἔστιν διὰ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλληθὲς δέ τὸ χείριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὗτε μικρὸν οὗτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεί τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἡ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὗτα διέκειτο, οὐδὲ ἀν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥάθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελ-

είας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδὲ  
ζητησθεὶς ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπαντεῖς ὀμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει  
πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν  
παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ διπλανούμενον  
ῥῆστα αὐτὸν ἀμυνούμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διά-  
κεινται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου οὐ πολλὰ τῶν  
ὑπετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαι  
τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινές  
εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορ-  
θουσθαι περὶ τούτου· ὅστι γὰρ δέος μῆτοθ' ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα  
γράφας τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ  
πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων  
λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εὐθέφ’ ἡμῖν ὅστι τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ  
πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν  
εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὅστι τοῦτο, ἵν’ ἐντεῦθεν  
ἀρξαμαι, φημὶ ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα  
γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξῶ· εἰ δὲ ἔτερος τὰ  
δόπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ-  
νομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς  
τοῦ πολέμου χρῆγαι, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν  
δὲ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι.  
εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ οὗ ἐκεῖνος πάντα  
τάλλα λαβὼν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἥξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἐπειτα  
ἐκείνῳ παρ’ ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει·  
τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν δὲ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιπ-  
πος ὀνείται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ’ ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολε-  
μεῖσθαι.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἔως ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολο-  
γήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν ἐπὶ  
τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζει καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτον ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ  
οἰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν

γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἰπεν  
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 τοῦτο δεῖ εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους  
ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἡσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ  
πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἥριζον 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 ταλαιπώροις Ὀρείταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψομέ-  
νους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοιαν · πυν-  
θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ-  
ροῦς παρεῖναι. εἰτ' οἰεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἷς ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἢν  
κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἀν ίσως, τούτους μὲν ἔξαπατᾶν  
αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προρ-  
ρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως ἀν ἐκόντες ἔξαπατᾶσθε ;  
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα καὶ γὰρ ἀν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώ-  
πων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἔγκαλουντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ'  
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλή-  
λους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι,  
καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο,  
οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνος γε οὐ πολεμεῖ  
τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὐ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν  
ὄνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ  
πολεμοῦνθ' ἔαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἀν; οὐδεὶς δήπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιπ-  
πος ἔξ ἀρχῆς, ἀρτὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονούνας, οὕπω Διοπείθους  
στρατηγοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλ-  
μένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερ-  
ρέον τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὅρους στρατιώτας ἔξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ  
ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί

ἔποιει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὡμωμόκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτά ἔστιν, ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, δὲλλος δὲν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δὲ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀν τὸ ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἀν τὸ ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβάνη, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν φέρει δὴ νῦν, ἦνικ' εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ὑμετέραν ἔγνωκασιν εἴναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; [ῆφησί] μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκείνον διμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὡστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ ἔν τοις ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λίγειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανῆματα ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἀγειν φήσετε, ἔως δὲν αὐτὰ τοὺς τείχεσιν ἥδη προσαγάγωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε· δὲ γὰρ οἰς δὲν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, καν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξένη. Γίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσατε ἀν, εἰ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους τάκεινου φρονῆσαι. εἴτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἀγειν ἐγὼ φῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἡς ἡμέρας ἀνεύλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔωγε αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὁρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, ἐὰν μὲν ἀμύνησθε ἥδη, σωφρονήσειν φημὶ, ἐὰν δὲ ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἀλλων, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων ὡστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρόνησου νῦν σκοπεῖκ, οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῖναι μὲν τούτους, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι πάθωσι, καὶ τοὺς οὖσιν ἔκει νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἀν δέωνται, ἀποστέλλαι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεοτώτων, βούλομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν πρὸς

ἥμᾶς ἔξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτω φοβοῦμαι, ἀ', ἐὰν μὲν ἀρθῶς λογίζωμαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν των ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἐὰν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφώσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε τὸν μήτ' αὐτὸς ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μαι προσέχητε.

“Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ηὔξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἑλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἡ τὸν, δοῦ οὗτω πολλὰ προείληφε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' άντι ἔχοιμι διεξέλθειν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὅρω συγκεχωρηκότας ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὐ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπάντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἕνα οὐτωσὶ περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπίοντα. καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἰσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τοιτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδή τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ὤντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδικημένων πολεμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀρξασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἡδικούμεθ' ὑπὸ ἀλλή-

λων, δῆμος ὑπέρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικονμένους ἐῳρῶμεν,  
πολεμεῖν φόρμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἔξημάρτηται καὶ  
Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμε-  
τέροις προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐλάγτογά ἔστιν, ἢ  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις  
ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἥδυκηκε τοὺς Ἑλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ  
οὐδέ πολλοστὸν μέρος τούτων ἔκεινα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βρα-  
χέος λόγου ῥάδιον δεῖξαι. "Ολυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην  
καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης  
ἔννοια, ἃς ἀπάσας οὐτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μηδὲ εἰ πώποτε  
φίκηθησαν προσελθόντες εἰναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων  
ἴθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς  
ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται  
καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσι; αἱ δὲ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις  
οὐκ ἥδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν  
καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐδὲ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς γράφει "έμοὶ  
δὲ ἔστιν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους;" καὶ  
οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δὲ ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ  
Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἡλιν  
ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβού-  
λευσε πρότην, οὗθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὗθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεο-  
νεῖαν χωρεῖ τάνθρώπου. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὄρωντες οἱ Ἑλληνες  
ἀπαντεῖς καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων  
πρὸς ἄλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὐτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα  
καὶ διορωρυγμέθα κατὰ πόλεις ὥστε ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέ-  
ρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν σιμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δέοντων πράξαι  
διηνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστῆναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας  
οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
περιορῶμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδάναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται  
ἀκαστος ἐγνωκὼς, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται  
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ

περίοδος ἡ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἡ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάντι πόρρω. δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δῆπον. καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γε ἔστε, δτὶ δσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἡ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὐν ὑπὸ γηγενίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἥδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ νίστι ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῆ γεγονὼς γηγένιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς, μήδε ὄρθως κατ' αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δοῦλος οὐ προσήκουντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις δοῦλος μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὄργης ἄξιον πάντες ἀν ἔφασαν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὐτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἐλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκουντος οὐδὲν τοὺς Ἐλλησίν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν δθεν καλὸν εἴπειν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, δθεν οὐδὲ ἀνδράποδον σπουδῶν οὐδὲν ἡν πρότερον πρίασθαι.

Καίτοι τί, τῆς ἐσχάτης ὑβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνηργηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγῶνοθετήσοντες πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας παρόδων ἔστι, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμάντειαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἃς οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἐλλησιν ἀπασι μέτεστι; γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῦς διν χρὴ τρόπον πολλέτενεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμὸν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τὸν δὲ ἐπ' Ὁρεὸν, τύραννον Φιλιστόρην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὄρωντες οἱ Ἐλληνες ανέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἔαυτοὺς ἔκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐφ' οἷς

ἢ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὃν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡδη τούσχατόν ἔστιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμώμοκεν Αίτωλοῖς παραδόστειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων ~~Εχίνου~~ ἀφόρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βιζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὅντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐῶ ταῦλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἀπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίους βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἀπασιῶσελγῶς οὐτῷ χρώμενον τί οἰεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἔνα: ἡμῶν ἔκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;

Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὔτως ἔχον ἐτοίμως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀπαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, δι νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, δι καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττατο, νῦν δι πολωλὸς ἀπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχειν ἀεὶ βουλομένων ἡ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἀπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἔξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστη τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἔκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, διν ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα δι προσήκει πραττόντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀληγίους ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδὲ ὅλως τοιοῦτων οὐδέν. νῦν δι

ἀπανθ' ὡσπερ ἔξ ἀγαφᾶς ἐκπέραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται  
δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ἀν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς.  
ταῦτα δὲ ἔστι τί; ζῆλος, εἰ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, ἢ  
δμολογγ. συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῆσος, ἀν τού-  
τοις τις ἐπιτιμῶντα πάνθοστον ἐκ τοῦ δωρεδοκεω  
ηρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ χρη-  
μάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ  
τὰλλα οἷς ἀν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πάλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπαντα  
καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἔστι τῶν τότε πολλῷ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα  
πάντα ἄχρηστα, ἀπρακτα, ἀνόητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γέγ-  
νεται.

"Οτι δέ οὐτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὄρατε δήπου καὶ  
οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δέ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθεν  
χρόνοις ὅτι τάνατία εἰχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἔμαυ-  
τον λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων  
δεικνύων, οὐκέτιον κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες  
εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἀνεν  
τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς  
ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιού-  
των σπουδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;  
"Ἄρθμιος," φησὶ, "οὐ πυθώνακτος Ζελείτης ἀτμος ἔστω  
καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων  
"αὐτὸς καὶ γένος." εἴθ' ἡ αὐτία γέγραπται, δι' ἦν τοῦτ'  
ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον  
ῆγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν  
καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθὸς ἢ διάνοια τῶν  
τότε Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιῶντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκεῖ-  
νοι Ζελείτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δούλον βασιλέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζέλειά  
ἔστι τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἔγα-  
γεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἔχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέ-  
γραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτμούς.  
τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν οὐχ ἦν οὐτωσί τις ἀν φήσειν ἀτμόν.

τί γάρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξει  
ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέ-  
γραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ἣν μὴ διδῷ δίκαιος. φόνου δικάσα-  
σθαι, ἀλλ' εὐαγγὲς ἡ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, "καὶ ἀτιμος," φησί,  
"τεθνάτῳ." τοῦτο δὴ λέγει καθαρὸν τὸ τούτων τινὲ  
ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκένοι τῆς πάντων  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γάρ  
διν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὀνεῖται καὶ  
διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δὲ οὗτα καὶ  
ἐπιμαροῦντο οὓς αἰσθούντο δωραδοκοῦντας ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας  
ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρ-  
βάρῳ φοβερὰ οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦ-  
ού γάρ οὗτως ἔχειθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς  
τὰλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ὥστε αὐτοί· τί γάρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων  
ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν  
ἀπαντεῖς οἱ λοιποὶ Ἑλληνες. διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπου-  
δῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα  
προσδεῖσθαι. τίνος εἴπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

"Εστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσι  
θαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕπω Φιλιππός ἐστι  
τοιούτος οἱοί ποτ' ἡσαν-Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν  
ἡρῷον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον είχον, ὑφέ-  
στατο δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμίνατο κάκείνους ἡ πόλις  
καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. ἔγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολ-  
λὴν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅμοιών ὄντων τῶν νῦν  
τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἡ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου  
κεκινῆσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεωκέναι. [πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακε-  
δαιμονίους τότε καὶ τάντας τούς Ἑλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας  
ἢ πάντες, τὴν ὥραίαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβαλόντας ἣν καὶ κακώσαντας  
τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικαῖς στρα-

τεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δὲ ἀρχαῖς εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὀνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον. ~~τοινὶ δὲ ὅρατε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας ἀποκλεότας, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον·~~ ἀκούετε δὲ Φιλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὅπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοὺς, ἵπτέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτήσθαι στρατόπεδον.

ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίη, μηχανῆματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σωπῷ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ἔξαιρετος ὥρα τις ἦν διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχτλισθῆναι, 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, ἀν περ, ὡς ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἔθέλωμεν ἀ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, τῆς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλα μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἀμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἥσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῦς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοὶ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἀν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνοις. ὃ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ βούλεσθε ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἡ παρανοίας ἡ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐτελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι δαμόνιον τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας ἡ φθόνου ἡ σκώμ-

ματος, ηστινος ἀν τύχητε ἔνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπους μισθωτοὺς, ὃν οὐδὲ ἀν δριηθεῖν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελάτε, ἀν τισι λοιδόρηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινὸν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἡ τοις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν· κάίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσα συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τέν τοιούτων ἔθελειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἀπάντες εἴσεσθε.

\* Ήσαν ἐν Ὁλύνθῳ 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' ἔξωλεσαν; ἡ πότεροι τοὺς ἵππεας προδόσσαν ὃν προδοθέντων Ὁλυνθός 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 Ὁλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἀλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἥργον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβάλλειν· καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη περιείλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἰππόρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔξελή λακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δὶς ἥδη βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εύρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.

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

μὲν ἐπραττε Φιλίππω καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπάῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ἔδεσαν ἀπαντεῖ), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἀνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προύπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, πόλλ' ἀν εἴη λέγειν. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἢ πράττοντι. συστραφέντες δὲ ἀνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φιλιππον καὶ πρυτανεύμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὡς συνταράπτοντα τὴν πόλιν, ὅρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δὲ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἔξουσίας δόποστης ἡβούλοιντ' ἐπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοιτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οὐα ἐπαθε μεμνημένοι. οὗτω δὲ ἀθλίως διέκευτο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδὲις τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ρήξαι φωνὴν, πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσγέγεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι. τηνικαῦτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προύδιδοσαν. τῆς πόλεως δὲ οὗτως ἀλούστης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐτὸὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἔτοιμους ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δὲ Εὐφραῖος ἐκεῖνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθειστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἵσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας καὶ τοὺς Ὀρείτας ἡδιον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἡ τοὺς ὑπερ αὐτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου

λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίστε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἶπεν· τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἵς χαρίζονται Φιλίππων συμπράττουσιν. εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευν, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, ~~οὐδὲν~~ <sup>άγειν</sup> εἰρήνην, ~~οὐδὲν~~ <sup>έγκατελήθησαν</sup>. τᾶλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἔκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἵς ἥδη χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλύπον οὐδὲν, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐμελλον σωθήσεσθαι, προσῆσαν δὲ ἀπέχθειαν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προΐεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς δλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνομίζον. δὲ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δέδοικ' ἔγω μὴ πάθηθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῆτε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῶν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματα ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι γὰρ μυριάκις κρείττον ἡ κολακείᾳ τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππων καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήθασιν Ὡρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππον φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δὲ Εὐόφραῖν ἐώθουν· καλήν γ' δὲ δῆμος δὲ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δὲ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύοντι γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς Ὁλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπερ τῶν ἔχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἥγεισθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ώστε μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἀν διιοῦν ἥ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν κάκεῦνό γε αἰσχρὸν, ὑστερόν ποτε εἰπεῖν συμβάντος τινός “τίς γὰρ ἀν ωήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νὴ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ το ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” πόλλ' ἀν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὁλύνθιοι νῦν, ἀ τότε εἰ προεῖδοντο, οὐκ ἀν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἀν Ὡρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς,

πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἔκαστοι. | ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὅφελος αὐτοῖς; ἔως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μεῖζον ἂν τὸ ἔλατον γέ, τότε χρὴ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἔξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήτ' ἔκων μήτ' ἄκων μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δε ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχῃ, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτου, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔως ἐσμὲν σῷοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον,—τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἀν ἵσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νὴ Διὸς ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δὲ, ὅστ' ἐὰν βούλησθε, χειροτονήστε. αὐτοὶ πρώτοι ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἀν ἄπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γέ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ ποιήσαντες τοὺς Ἑλλησι φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ρόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνων συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον ἔᾶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν τι δέῃ, εἴ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοὺς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ἵσχυν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδὲ αἱ πέρυσι πρεσβεῖαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκεῖνον καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὑρμῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐηθεῖς τὰ οὐκεῖα αὐτοὺς προϊεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς

ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημὶ δὲν καὶ τὰλλα δσα ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτὸὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, καὶ πρώτους ἀ χρὴ ποιοῦντας τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλληνας συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νοοθετεῖν, ταῦτ' ἔστι πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἔχονσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δὲ οἰεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἐλλάδα σώσειν ἡ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὅρθως οἰεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἔαν αὐτοὶ σώζωνται τούτων ἔκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πράγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δὲ ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν ἔκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρώτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὑρῇ τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἄμα, δσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γένηται.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶμαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἀν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. ὁ τι δὲ ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὡ πάντες θεοὶ, συνενέγκοι.

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INTRODUCTION  
[www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)  
TO THE  
FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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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 Boeotian 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~~ common 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 Platæa, 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 ARISTOC.* 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 ~~www.libtool.com~~ 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 *Æ*gean 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 *Æ*gean, 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 Eubœa, 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 blind moment~~, 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 O.L. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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## 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 (*σάνις*) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SONCKMANN de COM. ATH. p. 59. Προτιθέναι—said of the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion.

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

*Τῶν εἰσθέντων.]* Scil. γνώμην ἀποφῆγασθαι, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: ἔγώ δέ, εἰ μέν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν δημόσιοις ἀξίωσι τὸν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκάς, ἡσυχίαν δὲ θύγον. By a law of Solon, referred to by Aeschines 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. ACHEAR. 43. Still, so much respect was paid to it, that Demosthenes apologises for rising first.

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

*Πρότερον.]* Since 356, when Philip captured Potidaea.

*Νῦν.]* Stronger than *νῦν*, for the latter is joined with the perfect and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog. 8. v.

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

## [Page 1.]

Ἐκ 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*.

Βουλεύειν—to give advice. Βουλεύεσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λοβεῖν—to wash. Λοβεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλεύεσθαι 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; Ἐνθυμίζεσθαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

Τμᾶς.] Ἡμᾶς is the reading adopted by SCHÄFER, 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.

Ἀθυμητὸν.] Scil. ἀστίν δικίν.] Πράγμασι is governed by ἀστί. 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. Τὰν μελλόνταν, Μέλλω. denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than wholly future.

“Οτι; οὐδέποτε.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer, see CIC. *de ORAT.* III. 54. SMEAD.

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

Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον.] RÜDIGER wrongly translates this, Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis audiistis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriā 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 verbs require an accusative of the person. Ακούοντες agree with δικίν, and αὐτοῖς is connected with εἰδέσθαι, and οὐδὲ with ἀναμνησκό-

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μένοις. Cf. Isoc. 8, 12. Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μηγμονεύονται, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδενὸς ἀπηκόσιων. SAUPPE.

Ἐξ οὐ χρόνος οὐ πολὺ. No long time ago.

Τπέρ 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 RHIL. ii. p. 68, we have τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In his oration περὶ Ποδίων, p. 199, he has τῶν ιδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἑλληνικὸς is similarly used. ΒΕΡΜΙ. 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 δὲ ἀλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην, & τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλησιν δροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ήσαν καὶ κανόνες.

Τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phoebidas 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 Eleutherae, 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 Thespiae, 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.] Ἰδεῖν, of perception in general, *videre*. Θεᾶσθαι, of contemplating a single object. Ἰν 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 εὑρίσκω*. PHIL. iii. p. 122. *λογίζεσθαι δη πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρῆσθαι*. *Contra Aristoc.* p. 629. *σκέψασθε δὲ, ὃ ξύδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσατε*. SCHÄFFER 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 δλεγωρῆτε.]* 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 τὸτε βάσιῃ.]* JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians 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 *Cnidos* 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 δν ἔχρη.]* 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 βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλῆθος μὲν χώρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴσχυρὰ 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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**Βίτρων.**] 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. **Emilius Paulus** defeated Perseus at this town in 168, and ~~terminated the Macedonian~~ kingdom. It was afterwards called Citrum by the Romans, and now Kitron.

**Χορίδεαν.**] 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*.

**Μεθόνη.**] 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 arrow 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.

**καὶ Πέλατα τὸν τόπον . . . . κύκλῳ.**] *And all that region round about our own.*

**Παταλλαὶ τῶν δέντων.**] The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on the *Strymen*, near Amphipolis and Krenides.

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

**\*Η τεκίνη.**] This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDBORF. **\*Εκείνη** by SCHÄFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or crasis of this word is universal in good manuscripts, and DINDBORF observes that *τηνίσιεν* is invariably written with the *coronis* omitted. SCHÄFER makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic *κείνος* is never used by Demosthenes.

**Τόπε.**] 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 Paeonians, and Illyrians, some Thracian towns near the river Nestus, as well as the whole of Thessaly.

**Τεραῖται.**] RÜDIGER reads *τεραῖται*, but the orator does not say what *like* the fortresses were, but *how many*. SCHÄFER.

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*Ἐπιτείχισματα.*] 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 SCHÄFER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DILIB. RHOD. p. 193.  $\tauῆς δὲ αὐτῆς$  ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα. However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading ἐπιτείχισμὸς τῷ χώρᾳ. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *propugnaculis imperii*.

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

*Ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν*] is the reading of BICKER and DINDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHÄFER gives *ἐκτήσατ' ἄν*, but remarks: *Nolle Rüdigerus, ex paucis nec optimis codd. revocassit ἐκτήσατο pro ἐκτήσατ' ἄν*. For he goes on to state, "It is rare that the particle *ἄν* 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 *ἄν* 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 Palæstrian art, as we see from IL. xxiii., 704:

ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναικί ἐστι μέσον θηκεν.

Also in IL. xviii. 507: *Ἐν μέσοισι δέω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα*. See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmium ponere*. AEN. 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.*] MOUNTENAY reads *φίλα, neque ego improbum*. But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, and v. 37, we shall find *φίλα* is more usual than *φίλα, although as*

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

*Καὶ προσέχειν . . . . ἀνατρέσ. ]* A hexameter. Another occurs at *De CORONA*, p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. *τὸν γὰρ* δὲ Ἀριστοῦ πόλεμον δέ τοι εἰς Ἐλάτειαν. In Latin, numerous examples of hexameters in prose occur, as in *Cic. pro ARCH. 1.* *In qua me non infilior mediocriter esse—versatum*; and also in *SALL. CAT. xix.* *Cneii Pompeii veteres fidoque clientes.*

*Οὐς δὲ ἀράσι . . . . & χρή. ]* Whom they may see prepared and willing to do what is necessary. The *Perf. Pass.* of *παρασκευάζω* means to be prepared, simply.

*Καὶ ἔκαστος ὅμῶν κ.τ.λ. ]* VÖMEL wishes us to construe this passage as follows: *καὶ* (Δν) *ἔκαστος ὅμῶν* *οὗ* (i. q. *ubi*) *δεῖ—εἰρω-*  
*ρεῖαν* *ὑπέρηη* *ἔτοιμος πράττειν*, *εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι*. And then the apodosis returns at *καὶ τὰ ὑπέρηη 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. εἰρωρεῖαν—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 *DICT. 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 δὲ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν.]* 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰπεῖν is omitted by BECKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHLEFER. 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; ὡς 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* (ὡς) δοκέειν ἔμοι; and also, EUR. MED. 230, γυγνάσκειν καλῶς, a reading into the text preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: γυγνάσκεις καλῶς.

*Αν δύων αὐτῶν ἐθελήσοτε γενέσθαι.]* *If you do not wish to depend upon others: i. e. if you wish to be your own masters.* SCHLEFER translates *e vobis met ipsis, non ex aliis, pendere*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ ἔστι ἐαυτῶν. *Ye are not your own masters;* and also, SERP. ED. RAX. 917. We have adopted the reading ἔστι here instead of οὐ, 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 οὐ," and he corrects this passage as we have given it.

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

*Τὰ κατερράθυμημένα.....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. *καταρράθυμησάντες θυτερίζουσιν.*

*Πεπηγέναι ἀθάνατα.]* Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Immortalia ne spores 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.* *ἔχειν* used here for *εἶναι*, as also in HER. iii. 82, *Ἐχόρτα εὖ.*

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

*Κὰν* = *καὶ ἐν*. PORSON's rule is: In words joined by *crasis*, as *κάτι*, *κὰν*, *κάν*, iota ought nowhere to be added unless *καὶ* forms a *crasis* with a diphthong, as *κάτα* for *καὶ εἶτα*. *Præf. ad. Hec. p. xi.*

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

*Ψεθυμίαν.]* (from *ψέου*, *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*, *ποι*, *πή*, *οῦ*, *οῖ*, *η*, 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 SCHLEMMER, 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. *Ἀσελγεία* is derived from *ἀ*, *θέλγω* = *mulceo*, *to lull gently* with the further idea of an *evil intention*, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is derived from *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 οἴδε ἐστιν . . . . ἐπὶ τούτων.]* *And he is not the man, while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.* *Οἴδε ἐστιν*, or *οἴδε τ' ἐστιν* followed by the infinitive is properly *τοιοῦτος ἐστιν*, *ῶστε—he is not of such a kind as*, &c. *Οἴδε εἰμι* signifies *I am wont*; *οἴδε 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 τινὶ* = *insistere alicui.*”—RÜDIGER.

‘Αλλ’ ἀεὶ τι.....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 δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντη πολλὰ καὶ θυη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιαι 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 .....τίγεισθαι] *What, then, do you consider what is taking place now?* Subaudi, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκην. REISKE.

Τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι.] *The disgrace impending over our present circumstances.* ‘Τπέρ 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, ὁ Σώκρατές, τε καὶ ὄμοις οἱ ἄλλοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and a singular object addressed. SOPH. OED. COL. 1102, 1104, where the old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Ismene is also there.

Περιεντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι.] *We have followed ARNOLD in rejecting κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, which BEKKER and DINDORF enclose in brackets, and WHISTON stigmatises as useless verbiage.* SCHÄFER 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. Cf. Il. 1, 128. *τῶς γὰρ τοὶ δέσπουσι γέρας μεγάλους Ἀχαιοῖς*; *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. 878, xii. 687. *Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, Vir Macedo, Hor.* used contemptuously.

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*Τέθυνκε Φίλιππος.....ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ.]* Alluding to the reports lately received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some time after the seige 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 ἀν οὐτός τι πάθη.]* *For even if something should happen him.* Lat. "si quid humani acciderit," a euphemism for "should he die." WHISTON. In *καὶ γὰρ*, *καὶ* always means *even*, and is connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. *Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεισόντο συμμαχίη.* JELF. 786, Oba. 8.

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

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

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

*Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἰ τι πάθοι κ.τ.λ.]* After *τοῦτο*, *ἀν 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. SCHÄFER 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 αὖτον, *Contra Meid.* p. 167. FRANKE. 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 ἐποτάρτες.] Having a hand in all his affairs when disturbed.*

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

*Ἀμφίπολιν.]* A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Aegean. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Εύνεα 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. DICT. ANT. s. v. *Brasideia*.

*Καὶ ταῦς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῦς γνώμαις.]* *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 ἀπηργημένοι, *hesitating*. But SCHÄFFER, *separated, removed*; but used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *τῶν πραγμάτων*. We have followed WYTTEBACK in translating it, *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Γνώμαις, 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.

*Ὄς μὲν δέντες . . . 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. 'Os 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.

*Kαὶ 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. *Kαὶ δέ, 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 DOXALDSON CRAT. p. 268.

*Καιρὴν καρασκευήν.]* A new plan of preparation, i. e. greater than any previous one, and likely to secure success. REISKE improperly explains: *Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos milites atque recentes, novas navea, nova arma; vetusta diuturno nau detrita reprobana.*—SCHAEFER.

*Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχέι . . . . λέγοντες.]* For those who say “quick” and “to-day” are not the people who speak most to your advantage. *Τῆμερον,* Attic and comic for *σήμερον*, and so not a contraction for *τῇ ημέρᾳ*, for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage of the article. *Σήμερον* and *τῆμερον* are to *ημέρα*, as *σῆρες* and *τῆρες* to *ἴερες*.—L. & S.

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

Non tamen irritum,  
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet.

*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.* Διαλθεσθαι 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. *ὅπετε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικῶν μεν εἰπερέως διαβήσεσθαι,* whereas *τὸ λοιπόν henceforth, denotes future continuance.* SOPH. ANT. 311.

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Οἷμαι τοῖνυν ἔγώ 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 nescia. ἔχειν — posse.*

Μὴ καλέων . . . . ἐπαγγέλλεται τι.] Not wishing to prevent any other one from offering another suggestion. BAEKI 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. SOPH. 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” (*ταχεῖας*) and “ships of burden” or transports, (*στρατιώτιδες, ιππαγωγοί*). 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 περινέφη*) to be used by the *ἐπιβάται* or *διλῖται* 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. Of δὲ ικάνομεν φάσκειν. OD. x. 481. ΤΑ δειλοί, πόσ' ίμεν.

Ἐτί' αὐτοὺς . . . . ἐμβᾶσιν. And then, that you so make up your mind, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away, having embarked upon them. After έχειν γνώμην, διακείσθαι γνώμην, and such like, the Genitive absolute with ὡς is the usual construction. XEN. ANAB. i. 8, 6. Ως ἐμοῦ ιόντος . . . . οὕτως έχε τὴν γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1811. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the neut. gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another example." ARNOLD.

Τοῖς ήμίσεσι τῶν ιππέων.] 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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Ιππαγωγοὺς 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 Πόλας καὶ Χερβόνησον καὶ Ολυνθόν.] In 352, 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.

Αγαν.] 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 Εὐβοιαν.*] Understand ποτὲ ὀρμήσατε. REISKE. The Euboean 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 Euboeans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, (given by DEM, in DEB. SCHER. 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 Ἀλίαρτον.*] 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.

*Πρόην εἰς Πύλας.*] B. C. 358-2, the latter part of the year. On *εἰς Πύλας*, *vide supra*.

*Οὗτοι παντελῶς . . . . εὐτρεπεῖς υμᾶς.*] *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*. SCHÄFER; 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. CIC. in CAT. 1. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quondam virtus*, and VIRG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclemensia divum*. DE COR. Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, δικαὶος ἡμάρτετε. Also, CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani*.

*Αφύλακτος ληφθῆ.*] Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHÄFER—*He may be taken off his guard.* For a similar sentiment see THUC. iii. 30.

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Μηδενὸς ὅντος.] "Μηδέν rather than οὐδέν on account of *Iva*." FRANKE. 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 *μή* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see XEN. CYR. iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. *μή*, with his remarks upon it.

"Αὐτὸν δὲ κατέφερεν.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but Schaefer reads *καρπός*, and remarks on the present reading, "quod mihi etiam placet, scil. ἔκεινος." *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 τούτοις.] Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted by ARNOLD without comment. But πρὸς δὲ τούτοις—in addition to these, would seem to convey the orator's meaning better than πρὸς 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. ξιπηγ. *Do not tell me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper forces of yours.* JACOBS interprets the word *ἐπιστολιμάλους* by τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας. And SCHAEFER calls this much better than REISKE who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, promising large reinforcements which were never sent. D'OLIVET 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*.

‘Αλλ’ ή τῆς πόλεως ξσται.] *But (a force) which shall belong to the state*, a much finer reading than “ἀλλ’ ή — 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.

‘Εσται δ’ αὕτη 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 ἀλλ’ ή τῆς πόλεως ξσται — 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. “Οπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες.” In each case the verbs depend upon δράτε. Also, PHIL. iii. p. 130; ὅπως μὴ πάνθ ἀμαρτιών ήμιν ἀνάγκη γενησεται.

‘Αλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες.....φαίνηται.] *But having done and provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.*

Λέγω δὴ.] *I say then.* Δὴ = *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.

‘Εξ ἣς ἀν τίνος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας.....δοκῆ.] *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, *Aeschylus* 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 τακτόν . . . . 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. "Εκ 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, VONEL. See also **XEN.** ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἄντοις.

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*Ιττέας διακοσίους.]* Two hundred cavalry, or in a proportion of one to ten, which was the usual way. VONEL. 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.

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

*Elev.]* *Hæc hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. *Elev,* καὶ δὴ τεθνῶτι. **SOPH.** CED. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said.

*Ταχεῖας τριήρεις δέκα.]* Ten swift triremes, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong so as to be able to manoeuvre with ease and dispatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while the *ἱππεῖαι* 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. Ἡμῶν Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after an impersonal. SOPH. ANT. 782.

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

Πόδεν 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.

Τηλικατῆν.] *Accipe sensu diminutivo, tantillam.* SCHÄFER. So very small. Ἀποχρῆν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχρᾶσθαι, the Ionic being ἀποχρᾶν. BOCH. Corp. Inscript.

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.

Τοσατῆν.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, sc. κελεύειν.

Ἐνι.] For ἔνεστι. The accent is thrown back to distinguish it from ἐνι preposition, poeticè 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 HER. ix. 81. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντεράσσωτο ὁδοῦ.

Τὴν πρώτην.] = *Primum.* Cf. OL. iii. 29. HER. 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 Cenchraea, 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. PLAT. 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.

*'Εξ οὗ δέ 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. 'Εξ οὗ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξ οὗ. Ex quo tempore.*

*Παρακίνησατα.] Having negligently attended to the wars of our commonwealth, have gone away, &c. The verb παρακίνειν is to perform anything *loosely* and *in a hurry*, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else.* REISKE. *Another critic gives it the meaning of θράψειν, 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 κοινοὺς ἀκάυτων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρούς. WOLF.*

*Πρὸς Ἀρταβαζὸν.] 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.

Eἰκότως.] *Ut par est, And how else?*

Τὰς προφάσεις ~~www.lib.utexas.edu~~ *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 illi, qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur.* FRANKE. AESCH. PROM. 298, Καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἡκεις ἐπόπτης: The word was also used proverbially, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOPH. RAN. 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες. περικαταστήσαντες. Malim simplicius παραστήσαντες. REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHAFER.

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

Αλλὰ 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 Herœum, besides other overt acts of war against them.

Οὐκ ἔχειροτονεῖτε δὲ.....δέο;] *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 χειροτονίᾳ. 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, ψῆφος. 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 DICT. ANT. S. VV.

Πλὴν ἑνὸς 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 *ἄγειν* with the words *χορόν*, *ἔορτὴν πομπὴν*. This latter word applied to all the public processions of the year. Ιεροποῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed annually, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Panathenaea. 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.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially mentioned by DEM. contra MID, 552.

“Οὐπερ 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* (SAUPPE) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called *κοροπλάσται*, and *πηλωνιάθοι*, 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. 347. Εἰς τοὺς σαντὸν τοῖς ὅπε τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικώς, κεχρωσμένος μὲν τῇ μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δὲ ἔνδοθεν πήλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτός ἔν." SCHÄFER.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔχρην . . . . . 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. Ἐχρῆν εἶναι = *Oportebat esse, at non sunt*; ἔχρην ἀν εἶναι = *oporteret esse, at non oportet*.—FRANKE. "Ια ἦν—on this particle with the Ind. see JELF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. ΟΕΔ. REX. 1887. ΕΥΡ. HIPP. 647. DEM. p. 837. "Ιν, εἴ τι ἐγίγνετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν, p. 849. "Ιν μηδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. Observe that ἀν is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

'Αλλ' εἰς Λῆμνον.] From Thuc. vii. 57, we learn καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Λῆμνοι καὶ Ιαθριοι καὶ Αἰγανῆται. 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 Λῆμνον 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 Λήμνῳ ή ἐν Ἰμβρῷ εἶναι. **ΗΕΣΥΧ.** 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. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

**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 ξενεύς non fuit κεχειροτονημένος.”—**SCHÄFER.** 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’OLIVER, 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 Charidemus of Oreus.”—**SMEAD.** This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra Aristoc.* he is expressly called *εστὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.*

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

**Χρήματα τοίνυν.**] 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 is subdivided into ή τροφή, with στιγμέσιον in apposition.

**Τάλαντα ἐνεργούτα καὶ μικρόν τι πρός.**] *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 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. nearly; 100 drachms a mina, £4 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent, £243 15s. The ~~expense of Demosthenes' ex~~ expedition would therefore be £22,425—\$109,120. Πρός an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 622. Μενέλας, σοὶ δὲ ταῦτα λέγω, δράσω δὲ πρός. PHON. 610. καὶ κατακενῶ γε πρός.

Τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκδοτον.] 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 *εἰναι*. 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.

Κάγῳ δὲ συμπλέων.] DINDORF reads ἐγῷ συμπλέων, and encloses all from ἐγῷ to ἔχῃ 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 SOWERBY. 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. 347, has, κάγῳ συμπλέων ἔθελοντις πάσχειν δτοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχῃ, for which REISKE has corrected κάγῳ δὲ as we have given in the text. "Ergo, see JELF. 376.

Πέρον ἀρδεῖς.] 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 ἔκτην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημητροῦ ἀπήγγειλε

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Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ 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 TOUREIL, AUGER, BECKER, BREMI, SCHAFER, and WINLEWSKI.

Δεδυνήμεθα 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 γραμματεύς had read the ἀπόδεξις immediately given before, which had been prepared by Demosthenes himself from information derived from them. For δεδυνήμεθα, δυνάμεθα is given in some editions.

Ἐπειδὴν δέ.....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 τὸν ἑτησίας κ.τ.λ.] *And watching the Etesian winds and the winter, attacks you when, &c. Τὸν ἑτησίαν.* "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." VONMIL. 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 τοὺν κ. τ. λ.] You must not, therefore, knowing these things, wage war by hurried levies, for we shall be behind-hand in everything; but, &c.* [www.libtoon.com.cn](http://www.libtoon.com.cn) *Boήθεια, tumultuary soldiers, collected suddenly for driving off an enemy.* REISKE. *Subitarii milites, ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant, Liv. 3, 1.* Opposed here to “*παρασκευὴ συνεχῆς*, i. e., *ἡ διαμένει ἡώς ἣν διαλυσώμεθα* — *ἢ περιγενώμεθα.* P. 44. *δύναμις συνεχῆς*, i. e., *ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἔκεινον ποιήσει.* P. 45.” SAUPE. *Τοτεριοῦμεν.* The Athenian plan hitherto was to come with assistance when the town was taken, as was the case with Chares and Olynthus.

*Ταῦρχει δὲ ὑμῖν κ. τ. λ.] And you must use for winter quarters for the army, Lemnus, &c.* All these islands were in the northern part of the Aegean, off the coasts of Macedonia and Thessaly. *Καὶ ταῦς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόκῳ νήσοις, Scopelus, Halonesus, Peparethus and Scyros, for all these were under the sway of Athens at this time.* Χειμαδίφ, dative, governed by *χρῆσθαι, hiberna*—winter quarters, i. e., *τόκῳ, ἐφ' οὐκ ἐν τις δύνατο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι.* ΕΤΥΜ. M.

*Τὴν δὲ 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.* SOHMER states that commentators here nodum in scirpo quæsivisse, and adopts the translation of WOLF, as given above. *Πρὸς τῷ γῇ γένεσθαι*—*to put in to shore*, i.e. for military operations, γένεσθαι with πρὸς and dat. always having this meaning. *Ἐλαύ πρὸς* with dat. means to be employed on with the notion of activity.

BERNHARDY, Gr. p. 263.

*Παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν.] In ipso tempore, at the very moment. Cf. contra LEPT. p. 470. Παρὰ τὸν μεγίστους καιρὸν.* FIND OLY. ii. 65, κειών παρὰ δίαιταν. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the very moment in which a thing is done.

*Αἱ ἔῳδι γέγραφα.] Which I have proposed, viz. in the ἀπόδεξις which had just been read. Τοφ' ὑμῶν—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, *ἰφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.*

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

"Αὐ ταῦτα πορίσητε.....· λέγω.] If you will first provide this money which I mention. This is the best order of the words for translation. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

"Εντελῆ.] Complete, full, the whole entire force. Cf. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 1867. Also THUC. vi. 45, ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῆ ἔστιν.

Νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πονέμῳ 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, αὐτὸν ταμίαν καὶ πορισταί.] 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 VÖGEL. Qui non solum exercitui expeditionique praeerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendum, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos, et sribas curabat.

Τὸν λόγον ἀκατούντες.] 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 λογισταί or εἴθουνοι, 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 εἴθηνας ἀπαιτεῖν, εἴνθηνας διδόναι, εἴθηνας ὑπέχειν, εἴθηνας ὄφειν, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation 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.* Ἀγων καὶ φέρων. *Latin, rapere et trahere.*—**DEMOSTHENES**, p. 1282. Πάντας ἀνθράκους ἔγει 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. φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ή κεν ἄγοιεν. The Latin equivalent of this being *ferre et agere*, *Liv.* xxii. 3, postquam res socio-rum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit. See also *Liv.* iii. 87.

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

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

Τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον.] *In past time.* The acc. of time. **JELF.** 548, g. Εἰς Λήμνους καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλάν. 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. (**SMED.**) **LUCHESINI** 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 δρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας οὐκέτι ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἥγωντις εστο, ἀλλ' ἡδη περὶ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου 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 ὡμετέρους φέρετ' ἔχων.] *And he takes away with him, your citizens as prisoners of war.*—**THUC.** iii. 70. Ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἥλθεν αὐτοῖς. *Ἔχων*, 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.** *CYR.* i. 8; of animate alone ἄγων; of inanimate φέρων, 'Ο Κύρος ξίφος φέρων προσήλασε—. Ἰππον ἄγων ἥλθεν—. ἵππεας λάβων τοὺς πολεμίους κατεδίωξεν. 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, Cenœum. 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 SAUPRE. Κακὰ καὶ πράγματα ἀμύθητα μοι παρέχων διετέλεσεν.—DEM. contra MEID. 520.

*Kαὶ τὴν iερὰν.....τριήρην]* And went away with the sacred galley. In the time of Plato mention is made (ΡΗΣΔ.) 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. ΑΤΗΝΑΖΟΣ relates that the Delia was the vessel which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete.—ATH. iv. p. 173. 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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*Τμεῖς δὲ οὐτε.....βοηθεῖν]* Δίνασθε in preference to ἡδίνασθε, 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 δήκοτε.]* And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem? On the particle, see HOOG. de PAKT. GRÆC. p. 283, 7, a. v. καίτοι

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**Παναθηναῖον.**] This festival was instituted by Erechthonius, 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 DICT. ANT. s.v.

**Τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων.]** There were four feasts called by this name, I. Διονυσία κατ' ἀγρούς. II. τὰ Λήγαια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονυσία ἐν ἄστει. For particulars see DICT. 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. Ταῦτης τῆς ἡμέρας, *on this day*; ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν, *during this day*; νυκτὸς, *at night*; νύκτα, *during the night*. Hence here, *at the proper time*.

**Αὐτοὶ τε δεινοὶ.....ἄν τε ἰδιῶται]** ἀν τε—ἄν τε, *sive—sive*. **Δεινοὶ, periti, ἰδιῶται, imperiti.** Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot.*

**Καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον.....ἔχει.]** The order of the words is *καὶ* & *ἔχει* *τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ.* *And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if any thing can be compared to it.* “Οχλος refers to the crowds attending the festival, παρασκευή to the costly preparations, dresses, ships,” &c.—ARNOLD. Θέροις οὖτε εἰ, *nescio an.* and compare VIRG. EN. ii, 735. *Hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen,* for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAUPPE mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Athlo-thetae drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

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

**Παγασάς.** “*Pagasea, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron, tyrant of Thessaly.—OL. 106, 4.* We

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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 ή γυμνασίαρχος.] For these words see DICT. ANT. a. vv. Τῆς φυλῆς, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

Οὐδὲν . . . . ἡμέληται.] Nothing is negligently left unarranged and indefinite about these. Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi νόμοις.—REISKE. Immo τοῖς est neutrius generis.—SCHÄFER. Observe the alliteration in the words immediately following, ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἀόριστα ἀτακτα. This is common in most languages and was the distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

"Who often, but without success, have prayed  
For apt alliteration's artful aid."—CHURCHILL.

Τογαροῦν ἀμα . . . . 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.

Ἀντιδόσεις.] An exchange of all property by one Athenian citizen with another. This took place when any Athenian who was voted for an extraordinary liturgy, thought that a more wealthy one had been omitted. He then might challenge this one to undertake the

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**Παναθηναίων.**] This festival was instituted by Erechthonius, and was called originally Athenaea; but when the tribes were collected, the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenaea. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name of *μεγάλα* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πεταστηρίς*) 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 DICT. ANT. s.v.

**Τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων.**] There were four feasts called by this name, I. Διονύσια κατ' ἄγρούς. II. τὰ Λήναια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονύσια ἐν Κατει. For particulars see DICT. 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. *Ταῦτης τῆς ἡμέρας*, *on this day*; *ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν*, *during this day*; *νυκτὸς*, *at night*; *νύκτα*, *during the night*. Hence here, *at the proper time*.

**Αν τε δεινοί.....ἄν τε ἴδιῶται]** *ἄν τε*—*ἄν τε*, *sive—sive*. *Δεινοί*, *periti*, *ἴδιῶται*, *imperiti*. Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot*.

**Καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον.....ἔχει.**] The order of the words is *καὶ* & *ἔχει* *τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ.*. *And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if any thing can be compared to it.* “*Οχλος* refers to the crowds attending the festival, *παρασκευὴ* to the costly preparations, dresses, ships,” &c.—ARNOLD. *Obi oī' ei, nescio an.* and compare VIRG. EN. ii, 735. *Hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen*, for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAUPPE mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Athlo-thetas drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

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

**Παγασάς.** “*Pagasaæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron, tyrant of Thessaly.—OL. 106, 4.* We

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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.

*Χορηγοὶ ή γυμνασίαρχοι.*] For these words see DICT. ANT. 4. v.v. *Τῆς φυλῆς*, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

*Οὐδὲν . . . ἡμέληται.*] *Nothing is negligently left unarranged and indefinite about these.* *Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi νόμοις.*—REISKE. *Immo τοῖς est neutrius generis.*—SCHÄFER. Observe the alliteration in the words immediately following, *ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἀδριστα ἀπατατα.* This is common in most languages and was the distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

"Who often, but without success, have prayed  
For apt alliteration's artful aid."—CHURCHILL.

*Tοργαροῦν ἀμα . . . τι.*] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, i. e. any movement of the enemy.* Observe now how artfully 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 858 the trierarchy was managed by means of a general property tax, the same as all the other liturgies, by boards called *συμμορίαι*.

*Ἀντιδόσεις.*] An exchange of all property by one Athenian citizen with another. This took place when any Athenian who was voted for an extraordinary liturgy, thought that a more wealthy one had been omitted. He then might challenge this one to undertake the

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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 *Dicr. Ant.* s. v.

*Μετόκους.] 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 (*προστάτης*), 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 φέουν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων.* Again in *DEM. in EUER.* p. 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a nurse; *ἀφεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἐλευθέρα, καὶ χωρὶς φέκει 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.

Ἐτ' ἐν δσφ ταῦτα μέλλεται.] And whilst these matters are protracted. "Οσφ in dat. sc. χρόνο. Μέλλεται denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν . . . . εἰρωνελαν.] For εἰρωνελαν many manuscripts give δαθυμίαν. For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion. DOBRE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενεροί, 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. VÖMEL 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. Ἐπ' 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.

Ο δ' εἰς τοῦθ . . . . ἐπιστολάς.] 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 . . . . ὡς οὐκ ἔδει.] The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true. 'Ως οὐκ ἔδει are used parenthetically, and have been here translated unfortunately.

Οὐ μήν ἀλλά.] On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Οὐ μήν, yet, nevertheless, verumtamen, ἀλλὰ in sooth, surely, vere. Οὐ μήν denies something gone before, ἀλλά opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is yet if not true, still, &c. Cf. DEM. de FALS. LEG. Οὐ μήν, ἀλλά θτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφερόσης. Cf. also EPIA. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. Οὐ μήν ἀλλά εἰ δεῖ πάντα τάλλα παρατίθεντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν.

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Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, . . . . ὀπερβήσεται] 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 δὲ μὴ προσήκουσα.] If it be at an unseasonable time. \*Ἐργα ζημία γίγνεται. In very truth becomes hurtful.

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Φερακίζειν.] From φέναξ, a cheat, impostor. The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 73, in the same meaning as here, cheating or deceiving, or deluding.

Καὶ μηδὲ 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. “Οφ. LIV. ix. 18, At hercle reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur.”—ARNOLD. \*Ἐμπροσθεῖ εἶναι — antecipare; to anticipate.—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν μὲν ἐμπροσθεῖ ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὄπισθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ . . . . ἄν.]—Perinde ac si, just as if. For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὄντερ, which occurs in *De Reb. Clem.* p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ ἐπ' ὄφεδν πράσην. 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. CIC. pro BALB. 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above, Καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο . . . . πραγμάτων. Cf. HER. vii. 49, Μάθε δὲ αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρχουσι, καὶ οὐκὶ ὄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων. FRANKE. 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 ἔρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔν, ο τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἔστιν ἀπάντων.

Πλείστην δύναμιν.] For the number of vessels which Athens could provide, see DEM. *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 δὲ ἀπολεῖτεσθε.] *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 ~~πολεῖται~~ 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? WOLFF seems to have understood *πολεμίου*. *Nullum non hostem assecutamini, ubiunque videtis concurri, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLFF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUEK has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes δὲ into οὐκ, *Nullam rem non serius facitis.* SCHÄFER 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 assecutamini, sive effectatis.* 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.*

“Οσκεροι βαρβαροι.] 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 ἔχεσθαι. EUR. OR. 504.

Ἐκεῖσέ εἰσιν αἱ χεῖpes.] *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' ή βλέπειν ἐναντίον, but to be on his guard or look his opponent in the face. “Προβάλλεσθαι — προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. ΗΡΟΟΣΒΑΤ. s. v. *To guard or ward off with the hands.*” SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 879. Ταῦτην δ' οὐτ' ἔπει προτιβάλλειν οὔτε τι ἔργον. XEN. CYR. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἡπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων δτι οἰδέμην πληγήσεσθαι.—WHISTON.

Χερρονήσφ.] 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.

Συμπαραθεῖτε 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 ὅντες 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. Περὶ τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, on which WOLF remarks, “Cum pecuniæ sint nervi belli, non incommoda est hæc lectio.”

Πρὶν δὲ ή . . . πάθησθε.] *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, quae tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHÄFFER.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν . . . ἐγχωρεῖ.] 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 ἔθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται. "Hkei is used impersonally like *ventum est*, and *πράγματα* is not understood as BARKER suggests. "Ακμή — *Critical point; crisis, discrimin.*" ARNOLD. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

Φιλοτραγυμοσύνην.] 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 RRP. 549. Cf. the language employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

Ἐχων & κατέτραπται.] Holding what he has already subdued and seized.

Αποχρήν ἐνοισι 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. Ωφληκότες. Οφλισκάνω is used almost always in a technical sense. Δίκην δφλ. To be cast in a suit, lose one's cause. But HER. viii. 26. Δειλίην δφλει 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 ὄρη through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, a mountain; ὄρός, serum, whey; ὄρνυμι: ὄρτυξ, a quail; ὄργη, 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.

Ἴσως δν 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. ΖΕΣΗ. 23. Τὴν ὑμετέραν ὄργην ἐγκαλέσαισθαι. FRANKE.

Περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι 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, 8. Μή παθεῖν κακόν  
ἕως Φιλίππου. *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

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*Εἰτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν.]* Shall we then wait for this, and if ye  
send empty triremes, and hopes from this and that one, do you think  
that all will be well? *Εἰτα* is used in asking questions to denote  
the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO. APOL.  
28. *Εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεται, οὐ Σάκρατες:.*

*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 ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαρίδημον*, as proof of his view,  
which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athe-  
nians 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 in-  
significant for such a war. On the *πενθεῖς 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? *Ηρετό τις.]* Some one asks. Demosthenes  
fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ipsa contentione, sive antea  
in familiari de eadem re sermone. *Ποῖ*, denotes motion towards a  
place, and where used with *ἄν* requires the optative: without it,  
the subjunctive. *Ποῖ τις* *ἔλθη* is correct. *Ποῖ τις* *ἄν* *ἔλθη* is solocis-  
tic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, *Ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἰ;* *ποῦ* here is equivalent  
to *ποῖ*. Compare *ubi gentium*, CIC. in CAT. i.

*Εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρά.....δ πόλεμος.]* The war itself will find his  
weak points. Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. Aperiet et recludet coniecta  
et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum. *Τὰ*  
*σαθρά, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλασμένα.* HESYCH.

*Λοιδωρουμένων ἀκούοντες.....τῶν λεγόντων.]* Hearing our ora-  
tors 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 Billingegate see DEM. *de Cor.*  
p. 269.

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Οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεδυτων.] 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. Οὐκετί οὐ μὴ πώ εκ τοῦ γεννήματος 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 ἀλπίδας.] 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 τοιούτους ἀποστόλους] Many explanations of this accusative have been given. REISKE 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. SCHÄFFER would make it governed by δρῶντες. 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: CED. COL. 221, δέος ἵσχετε μηδὲν ὅς αὐδῶ. AESCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar Latin construction from PLAUT. MENESCH. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis tactio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366. Τεθνᾶσι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους 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.*

*"Ἐνταῦθα.] 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.*

*"Τησσαράσθαι 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. "Τησσαράσθαι. 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 οἱ Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις being a proverb as we learn from SAUPPE ad ZENOB. ii. 13.*

*"Ηγῆται.....ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων.] The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay. 'Απόμισθοι is elsewhere used in the sense of *emeriti*, paid off. DEM. p. 671. 'Εκεῖνος ὡς ἀπόμισθος 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 SCHLEFER says, "I would approve of Reiske's interpretation, if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as ἀκολαστῶν, ὑβριζόντων. But this inclines me to use ἡγῆται."*

*Oi δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν.....ῶσιν.] 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. "Ορι ἀν τύχην. Vote at random on whatever you hear.*

*Tί 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 debat*

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quaerit; sed qui τὶ 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. PHÆN. 1873, PORSON remarks on πῶς καὶ: Copula solet, interrogative, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postpone.

*Máprupas.*] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόντας. See note. Δικαιοτάς. 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 diecasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

*Nῦν δὲ εἰς τοῦθειαν . . . . 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. SAUPPE 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.

*Ἄλλὰ 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 *culpurses*, as he himself subsequently explains it. "From XEN. Mem. i. 2, 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was: *τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ή ζημία.*"—FRANKE.

*Κακούργουν.*] Gen. after ξτιν. For the person or thing to which some quality *belongs*, or is *essential to*, is put in the genitive after ξτιν. See SOPH. El. 1054, Πολλῆς ἀγρούς (ξτιν). Her. i. 107. Τρόπου ήσυχίου ξτιν. In Latin the construction is the same. Liv. xxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes *Aetorum* nunquam fuerant: Philippi erant.

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*Τὴν Θηβαίων καρδανούν.*] 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.

*Tas πολιτειας διασκηνη.*] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOLF explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam haec fuit Graecorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari à singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedæmoni à paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses, à multis, hoc est, à plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod THUO. ait. *Tous Λακεδαιμονιους βούλεσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπιτηδείως σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πολιτένεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, δλιγαρχεῖσθαι.*

*Ως βασιλέα.*] *To the King.* 'Ως for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. PORSON, ad EUR. PHÆN. 1415, lays it down as a rule that ὡς can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν δροῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν δροῖον. 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. "Εκαστος joined with a plural verb. This is called the σχῆμα καθ' ζλον 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 οὐκούδε ἔκαστος. ACTS ii. 6. "Ηκονον ἔκαστος εἰς, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. ÆN. vi. 743. Quisque suos patimur Manes. TAC. HIST. ii. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes.

*Μεθειν τῷ μεγέθει.*] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his actions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μεθειν is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of this we now adduce a few examples. Τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεθειν. PLAT. REP. 562. D. "Ἐρωτι μεθειν. 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 Δѣ.....έκεῖνος.] *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. *RISKE.* 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 VIGEN.* 842).

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

Ἀποστέρει] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also DEM. p. 839, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστέρει με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. 'Επεὶ 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. Πολὺν χρόνον. During his whole reign so far.

Καὶ ἄπανθ'.....ἡμῖν ἔστι.] *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 εὑρῆται, as AUGER advises, but rather ἄπανθ. "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 all the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμῖν ἔστι. 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 δέοντα.....ἀπηλλαγμένοι.] *We shall know what ought to*

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be done, and cease our useless discussions. "Ἄττα used for ἄττα. The form ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Ἐγώ μέν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÖKEL. Μὲν οὖν. The usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis, and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHÆN. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρῶ.

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

Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν.] 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' ἀδήλοις.....γενησομένοις.] But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of ἐπί 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.....αἴροῦμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἀν πράξητε, αἴροῦμαι 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.

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This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, OL. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus. **DIONYSIUS**, p. 737. **Λυκίσκος**, ἐφ' οὐ τὴν ἔβδομην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος “Οταν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται.” 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 Aeschines, 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. “Οτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἐπεμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πύθωνι θραυσυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ρέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἰξα οὐδὲ 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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TO THE

# SECOND PHILIPPIC.

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Περὶ ὧν . . . . εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions, and infringements of the peace.* Βιδέσται, sc. πρόττειν. Βιδέσθαι sometimes governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66. 'Ως βιδέσομαι 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.*

Δικαίος καὶ φιλανθρώπος.] *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 = Eis 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 Reb. 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.* 'Ως ἔπος εἰπεῖν = 'Ως φαίνεται, ὡς ἐν λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. [www.libos.com.cn](http://www.libos.com.cn)

*Eis τοῦτο.....πράγματα.]* Cf. OL iii. p. 28. Τὰ δὲ πράγματα *eis τοῦτο προήκοντα.*

*'Εξελέγχῃ.....πάραβαλνοντα]* *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 Ἑλλησι.....ἐπιβούλευοντα.]* *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 Pœonians, 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 κωλύειν. 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 ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι κ.τ.λ.

*'Ημεῖς οἱ παριόντες.]* Sc. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. WOLF. *'Αφέσταμεν*, 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 Neær.* 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*. BRUMI, 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. Cf. *FALS. LEG.* p. 368. *Ταῦτα μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαῖους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε.* The word *invidia* is similarly used in Latin.

*Ὥς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπά.]* *Ὥς = quam.* *However heinous and unbearable they may be.* *Oι καθημενοι, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες, the hearers.*

*Ὥς μὲν ἀν. .... τυνείητε.]* *For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them.* *Ὥς 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.* FRANKE. Elmsley denies ὃς ἀν finalis in Attic writers at SOPH. *AJAX*, 1217.

*Ἐφ' ἦτορι νῦν.]* *Which he now aims at.* The force of ἦτορ here is to denote *steady continuance in a thing.* Cf. *DEM. PHIL.* i. p. 42. *Ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνάμης—firmiter adhærente huic rationi.* *De RRB. CHERS.* *Μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναλογίας τῆς αὐτῆς διστεροῦ νῦν.* SOPH. *ANT.* 1127. *Ὥς βιαλας ἔχεται πανδήμος πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου,* where, however, Musgrave reads ἵπδον 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. 'Εν οἷς, an explanatory or determinative proposition, is often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. Βασι.

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

Καὶ μὴ προελθόντα.....ἀντάραι 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. Επιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως = Ne magnitudo copiarum ingruat, i. e. Ne tantis copiis et viribus oppugnemur. Ἀντάραι, is sometimes transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. Ὁπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. iii. 52. Οὗτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους: and intransitive in the present instance, and also in OL. ii. p. 25.

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

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Τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ.....προαιρέτεον.] The best and safest measures are to be preferred to the easiest and most agreeable. The word σύσσοντα 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.

Ηλίκος ήδη.....Φίλιππος.] What like the power of Philip is, and what he has made himself master of. Ηλίκος. 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. Οσαν. 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 μόνῳ πολλὴν ἔξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς δεδομένην, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένου, δοην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἐλλήνων.

Ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.] = καθ' ὑμᾶς, εἰς τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι ὑμᾶς. WOLF. The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case, yet was justified in his suspicions.

Δειθῆραι.] 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. Ἐδέεοτο Βοιώτους. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 227. Ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων δμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μοι.

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

Δι' οὐσ.] “Vulg. καὶ δι' ἄν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οὐσ sc. λογισμούς.” REISKE. ‘Εμοι παρέστηκε προσδοκῶν.] Παραστηκέναι = *Stat mihi sententia.* It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρισταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν. Δι' ἄν. The signification of these words is: *the very thing which we use as an instrument*, whereas δι' οὐσ signifies *the remote cause which we look to.* VÖGEL.

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 θαρροῦντες. .... αὐτῷ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust him*, alluding more particularly to *Æschines* and *Philocrates*. Οἱ θαρροῦντες, *securi, imperterriti.* WOLF. *Posterius præstat.* SCHÄFER. Προσθῆσθε, 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' Ὁρέστη τὴνδ' ἔγώ προσθήσομαι, and also in

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THUC. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of  $\psi\hat{\eta}\phi\sigma\nu$ , 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 Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων.]* Τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πυθίων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς δλῆς Φωκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quae in Phocensibus gerebantur.* FRANKE. 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.....προείλερο.]* He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours. In the oration *De Pace*, 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 Thespiae and Platæa, 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.

*“Οτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν.....էξερδίων.]* 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.

*“Οτι 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. *Ἐρδελξαρε.* Se ostentaturum esse. ARNOLD following FRANKE translates this word would be able to pretend, se nihil ejusmodi ostentare, i. e. polliceri, cum tamen præstare nollet. But this is scarcely the meaning, and I have preferred the interpretation of VÖMEL and SCHÄFFER.

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

'Αρτὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γεγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

Οὐχ ἦτας.....ἀλλὰ καὶ.] *Non solum non....sed etiam.* JBLF. 762, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν.....εἰ 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 Pace*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedæmonians.

Καθ' ὑμῶν ἔγκασμιον.] *The use of καθά 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, *Mία μέθοδος καθά πάντων*, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. "Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἑκατηνῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθράκοις ἔδειξαν ἔγκασμα Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν καλλιστα." SCHMID.

Κέπεισθε 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 δικαια 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 ἄν κέρδους.....προέσθαι. Cf. *De Reb. Chers.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand ἔρεκα in either case. Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lucreris. SCHMID. *Κέρδους, χάριτος, ἀφελεῖας.* Genitive of price.

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‘Ος ἐτέρως.] ‘Ος abundat eleganter, et vacat ante ἐτέρως, 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!

Tὰ πρὸ τούτων λογισθέντος.] From a consideration of our previous history.

Ἐξδν 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. Οστε. Conjunctionem expectaveris quae conditionem exprimat, ἐφ· φτε, sub ea conditione, ut; Οστε significat consequentiam. BREMI. Cf. THUC. iv. 23. “Οστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσας, ut cives suos servaret.

Βασιλεῖ.] Dative after ὑπακοεῖν, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. ὑπακοόντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

‘Ηγικ’ ἥλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος δ 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. 28th, 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 Boeotian 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 (*πρόξενον*) 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 ( $\mu \eta \delta i \varsigma \nu \tau e s$ ) 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 Boeotia, 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 Hellenistic 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 Boeotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Platæa. 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.

*\*Αἴστες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν.]* Which all are eager to proclaim. *Πάντες.* These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICHUS in his lost *Phenissæ*, AESCH. *Persæ*, ISOCRATES, *Oratio Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly HERODOTUS, Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb *γλίχεσθαι*, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

*\*Ἄξιας δὲ 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 (ὑποσχέσεσιν);* p. 391. *Nor that there should be witnesses of the promises (ὑποσχεσέων) 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 Aeschines, 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 Aesch. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *if the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.*

Ως 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. SCHÄFER connects εἴποι.....εἰδώς, and says: Dicat aliquis quasi totum rerum hodienarum statum penitus conspectum habens.

Αλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερῷ ἀξιοῦν.] Quod aequiora 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. *Διη. 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.

*[Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνεαν.]* These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

*Τῷ δίκαια.....σκῆψατο;]* Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice? Cf. for a similar meaning of *σκῆψεσθαι*, *ΗΕΒ.* vii. 28. Οὐδὲ σκῆψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωντοῦ οὐσίην. The grammarians explain this verb by *προφασίεσθαι*. “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.

*[Αλλ' ἐβίσθη, 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 PAGE*, p. 62. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δῆπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο.....ἀλλ' ἡναγκάσθη. 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. *Ιππέων.* “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 *Χειμόρην* (*HELLEN.* vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger.” ARNOLD.

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*[Τηλέπτας ἔχειν.]* For ὑποτεθεῖν, *suscipere, suspectum habere, diffidere.* The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Boeotian city was eagerly received. Cf. *PHIL.* i. p. 54. Πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν.

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‘Ος Ἐλάτεια τείχεῖ.] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* Τείχεῖ. Attic future. Elatea, a town of Phocis, and next to Delphi the most important, was situated in a fertile valley near the Cephisus, and formed the key to the pass from Thessaly into Boeotia. 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 μελλήσει γε.] *And indeed he will be about to do them.* Καὶ . . . . γε, *et quidem.* *JELF*, 735, 10; or γε may mean *more-over*, as in *EUR. MED.* 1392.

Συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει.] On this reading FRANKE observes, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Αργείοις, Sunt dative qui dicuntur commodi, “pro Messeniis et Argivis,” sc. *in horum commodum, cum Lacedæmonitis configere.* 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.

Ἐένος εἰσπέμπει.] 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 δύτας ἔχθροὺς . . . . νῦν σώζει;] *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. 'Orasen Hoc loco magnam vim habet, significat emin extere, oppositum ob anælescer. BREVI. 'Απάλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. Leg. p. 361, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns: Οἰκίας κατεσκαμένας, τείχη περιηρημένα, χόραν ἔρημον τῶν ἀ-ηλικιάς, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθράκους οἰκ-τρους οὐδὲ οὐδὲ εἰς δέραις ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔκει κακῶν νῦν δυτεροῦ.

Kal *ris* *av.* . . . . . *πιστεύειν.*] *And who, pray, could believe this?* Kal is thus elegantly used to introduce some inconsequence in the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC MIL. 33, *Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia?*

*Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲ . . . ἀντιτίθομαι.]* 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 *εν* belongs to *ἀντιτίθομαι*, J.L.P. 405, 2, and is then repeated (epanaleptically) as is often done, with one of the *ετέρας*. ARNOLD. *Ἐγὼ μὲν* = *ego equidem.*

*[Ἐκ προαιρέσεως.] Used adverbially *ex instituto*. Cf. p. 1097,  
Ἄλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλήσεως γένονται.*

*[Ex πάντων δέ....συντάττεται.]* 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. *Συντάττεται*, adjungit *sibi socios*, *per quos nos oppugnet*.

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

Nūr ye 84.] Now at least, *nunc certe quidem*, whatever it may have been formerly. ARNOLD.

Tobrov 8°.....opus.] And he has persuaded himself that you

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alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHÜFER reads here ὑπειληφὼς, quia sibi persuasit, and removes the full point at ὑμᾶς.

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

*Οἱς γὰρ οὖσιν, ὑμετέροις . . . . . τούτοις] = τούτοις & ὅντα ὑμέτερα ἔχει, οἱς 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 Potidaea were the ἐπιτεχίσματα of Athens against Macedon.*

*Οὐδὲ ἀν οἴκοι . . . . . ἡγένετο.] He could not think that he was firmly seated at home. Οἴκοι. In Macedonia. Ne domi quidem se tute posse manere duceret. WOLF.*

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

*\*Αν 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 πρόγμασιν, or τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς. REISKE. Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει, Alio ambit, colit, promeretur, quo reipublica nostra noceant—Nourishes them against the city.*

*Πελοποννησῶν τοὺς ταῦτα βουλομένους 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 σκαύρητα.....προβήσθαι.] 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: *Bœotum in crasso jurares aere natum*, Ep. ii. i. 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 πόδες Μεσσηνίους, εἰτέρω 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; δέ τε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος παρεδίνετο. 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.....'Ολυνθίους.] For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen. Γὰρ refers to ξέφην, and ἀκούειν, προσδοκᾶν are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.*

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

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*[Ἀρθεκοῦντα.]* Demosthenes here is his own historian. *Ανθέμου* lay between Olynthus and Therma, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidaea 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 ἀπεκοινωνοῦσι.]* Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. *Ποτίδαιαν.* 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.

*[Ἄποκούσι.]* *Emigrants.* *ἐποίκους.* *Settlers.* ARNOLD, in a note to THUC. ii. 27, says, "Men are ἀποίκοι 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 ἀποίκοι are often called *κληροῦχοι*, *men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by lot.* Cf. on this extrusion of the Athenian citizens from Potidaea, *De HALON.* p. 79.

*[Ημᾶς.]* WOLF says, I prefer ημᾶς, and REISKE adds: Non enim hic alloquitur Athenienses Demosthenes, sed Messenios. Ad eos itaque de Atheniensibus prædicantem inconsentaneum sit *nos usurpare*, ubi res *nos* requirit.

*[Η λέγοντος ἐν τίος πιστεῦσαι οὐτοθε;]* Or do you think they would have believed anybody if he told them so? "Αν is joined with πιστεῦσαι and λέγοντός τιος 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 Η λέγοντι ἐν τιοι πιστεῦσαι." JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

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

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δια Πολέμου. "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 (ταλία) servitude." ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

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

Οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς.....δημίου] *For these too intimate alliance 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. *Kαὶ δῆλος ἀπίστον, οἷμαι, ταῖς κοινωνίαις ἡ τυραννίς.*

Οτι' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* *Tyrannous.* 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 Phæcæus. After Philip passed Thermopylæ in 346 he occupied Nicæa with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. *Νίκαιαν μὲν φρουρῇ κατέχειν.* The city was near the pass of Thermopylæ, and is mentioned by AESCH. 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 APOLLON. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. *Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις χάρη διάστυμος.* The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it, OL. i. p. 15, *καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκαλύκασι τειχίζειν.* A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21.

Δεκαδαρχίαν.] 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 decenvirate now established among them*. Philippum decuriones singulis civitatibus praefecisse 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 δεκαδαρχίαν. Φίλιππος μέντοι παρὰ Θετταλοῖς δεκαδαρχίας 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 VOLMEL 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 re-established the four ancient divisions of Thessaly called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestiotis, and over each of these he appointed a tetrarch, *praefecturum quartæ partis terræ*, and in addition appointed a general government of *ten*, or a *decenvirate* for the entire country. He thus established both, and Demosthenes in his speech at Messene would of course use the Lacedæmonian term δεκαδαρχία, 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 Πυλαὰν ἀποδόντα.....παραμήσεοθαι.] *Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues.* Cf. de PACI p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοί.....τῆς πυλαὰς δὲ ἐκεθύμουν 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. *Прот-δоус.* On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pagasse.

Θεωρεῖτε] WOLF and SCHÄFER 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 θεῖν 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.

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*Toūs πλήθεσι.*] *Democracies*, same as *πολιτεῖαι* supra. Cf. HER. iii. 81.

*Ταῦτης ἀντέχεσθε.*] *Hold firm by this.* Cf. *De CORONA*. 'Αντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθεριας.

Οὐδὲν μή δεινὸν πάθητε.] *Verendum non est, ne malum accipiat.* There is no fear that you will receive an injury. REISKE's reading is οὐδὲν δεινὸν (*nil est verendum*), μή τι πάθητε. *Facile τι* concursu cum & potuit excidere, id quod sæpissime factum obser-vavi.

*Εἰτ' οὐχ δρᾶτε.....ἔχοντα.*] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this.* *Εἰτα* and *ἔκπειτα*, in expression implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

*Βασιλέως.....ἔχθρος 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. *Παρα-νέσσει: ισχυρότατος νόμος δ τοῦ βασιλέως τρόπος.* WOLF.

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*Θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὄρθως λέγεται*] *Declaring with shouts of applause that these things were rightly spoken.* Cf. *DE REP.* CHERK. p. 97. *Θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὄρθως λέγετε.* *Πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λέγοντες.* *Multasque alias orationes.* *Many other speeches, &c.* *Παρὰ τῶν τρέσθεντων, a-legatis, nempe, ab iis qui una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legati fuerant, et quae Demosthenes illic reliquit prius discedens ob causam nobis ignotam.* AUGER.

*Καὶ πάλιν μότερον*] *After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere.* 'Ος *ἴσχυρεν.* VONEL 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 SMEAD remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with *ὡς* refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

*Παρ' α.....δρῶσι.*] *In opposition to what their best reason may approve, i. e. against their convictions.* 'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς.....ἡμῶν. *But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, do.*

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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.

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

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἥδη ποιεῖν . . . . . ὑπομείνατε.] 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. SCHLESINGER and HARRISON have: ἐς ἐκ τοῦ μηδέν. WOLF regards ἐς 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 DINDORE. ARNOLD here reads ἔστε μηδὲν ἥδη ποιῆσαι, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE's edition, who collated from the codex 2. The weight of authority will favour ποιῆσαι, but for ἔστε no valid reason is given. ARNOLD's note is: "ἔστε . . . ποιῆσαι. On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VSM. reads ποιεῖν.) BAITER and SAUPPE have adopted this reading from the best manuscript (2). There are, however, many various readings: F. and Wst. read ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι, from having done nothing, &c." Πάντα is opposed to μηδὲν.

Ἡ παρατίχη ἥδονή . . . . . 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 αὐτούς.] 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.

Α δὲ νῦν . . . . . ἥδη 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 γραμματεῖς 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.

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

*Οὗτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἢν 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 *Æ*chines 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.

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

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

*Toὺς δέτε έγω . . . . 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. Φενακιζομένην. 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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Pharsa, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylae and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, διὰ χρησιμωτέρους τόπους," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. ~~Archines and Philocrates are alluded to in ἐπέρους.~~

'Ος ἄγω.....καθρωπος.] That I being a water drinker was naturally a peevish and stubborn fellow. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355, where Demosthenes himself tells the story: 'Εκαναστὰς δ' ὁ Φαλοκράτης μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, οὐδὲν, ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν μὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὅδωρ, ἄγω δὲ οἰγον πίνειν. καὶ ὑμεῖς θυελάτε. "The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOA. i. Epist. 19, 2, *Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt. Quae scribuntur aquae potoribus.*" JACOBS. LIBANIUS in his life of Demosthenes says, ὅδωρ ἐπετήδενε πινεῖν, Ινα ἔγγρυγορυῖαν μᾶλλον παρέχηται τὴν διάνοιαν. Among the Greeks it was a proverb, "Τόδωρ δὲ πίγων οὐδὲν ἀν τέκοις καλόν.

Θεσπιὰς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιάς.] Before the battle of Leuctra, Epaminnondas gave notice to such Boeotians 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 Boeotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. Plataea 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 Plataea being detected, in 372, the Thebans again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at Athens. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

Χαρρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορίζει.] And will cut through the Chersoness at his own expense. This project is not mentioned in the *De Raco* among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the *De Halon*. The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from Leuce Aete 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: 'Ισθμὸς δὲ μὴ πυργοῦντε, μήτ' ὀρέσσετε· δὲ Ζεὺς γέ θηκε μῆσον, εἰ γέ ἀβούλετο.

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

Καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον.....έψηφισασθε.] And the most disgraceful of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity. Πρὸς τὰς ἀλπίδας. Ironical, *ad bene sperandum*. AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decepti*. Ἔγγονοι — 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 effectively cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 858. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. FALS. LEG. p. 856.

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Οὐτω τελέως ὑπῆχθητε.] So completely were you deceived. SCHÄFER hints that πρὸς τὰς ἀλπίδας ought to be inserted after τελέως, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 59, *De Pace. Τοιούτας ἀλπίδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες.*

Οὐχ ἴν' εἰς λοιδορίαν.....ποιήσω.] Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination. Ον εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπέσων, 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.* SCHÄFER. 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 ἐμαυτῷ λόγον ποιήσω, to gain a hearing for myself, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, λόγου τύχοιμι. WHISTON further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is any logical meaning in it.*

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρδοχῶ.] I may anew afford. Ἐξ ἀρχῆς usually has

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the meaning of ἀρχῆσεν, from the beginning; as Od. i. 188. Εἶνος πατρῶοις εὐχόμενος εἴναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς. XEN. Ἡ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχθρα.

[*Iva τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ.*] That I may prate to no purpose. Cf. OL. iii. p. 34. Τὴν ἄλλως λέγειν, frusta dicere. Οὐς ἄλλως is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHNEIDER remarks: 'Οὐς ἄλλως satis notabile videtur. Οὐς ἄλλως — temere.

[*Ἄλλος οἶμαι.....τὰ νῦν.*] But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now. Τὰ νῦν — *præsens rerum conditio.* BREMI. Τὰ νῦν — *At present, now.* ARNOLD. WOLF interprets, τὰ νῦν τεκαθρόσιασμένα, quam ea quæ nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νῦν γραμμένα.

[*Τὰ γὰρ.....προβάνον.*] Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, increbescere, i. e., the designs of Philip against us. Τοῦτο refers to the same thing.

[*Μηδές ἀκούησθε.....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 quopiam.

[*Φοβοῦμαι δὴ.....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.* Εὐλογous. 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 δργὴν ἀφίεντας.*] *Iram effundentes. Discharge your wrath.*

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**Συντραπαί.**] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. 'Αγνοίᾳ συντραπέντον καὶ φυομένον κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἐλλήνων.

**Τίς δὲ Φωκέας πείσας.**] The allusion of course is to *Æschines*, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

**Ὄν καταστὰς . . . . γέγονε.**] *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 δικαιών.**] WOLF inserts 'Ελληνικῶν, 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 'Ελληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general hegemony of the Greeks. **Τῶν ξέων πραγμάτων.** The affairs of the allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

**Ἐν δεκίνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.**] The day of the peace, June 18th, B.C. 346. Some, from PHIL. iii. p. 115, 'Αφ' ἡς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φωκέας 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 . . . . πρᾶγμα**] *For if you had not then been duped, there would be no difficulty to the city (now).* REISKE has added *σὺν* in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by *τότε* in the previous clause.

**Οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ . . . . 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. **Οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθῶν οὔτε νησὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἵσειν ζμελλε.**

**ἢ Η παραχρῆμ' αὐτὸν . . . . ἐπεθῆμησεν.**] *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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“Ος μὲν ὑπομνήσαι.] JELP. 868. “Ος δὲ ἀν. . . . μὴ γένοτο.] WOLF translates *absit autem, idque dii omnes prohibeant, ne ex-periendo certissime comprobentur.* Translate: *May it never be that these things may be fully proven by what may result.* Cf. JELP. 810. Also, “[www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn) γένοιμαν αἰτεῖς ὑψητέτας, ἀν. παταθεῖν, i.e., ut, si forte, volem, ut volare possim.” FRANKE.

Οὐδὲ εἰ δίκαιος ἐστ’ ἀπολαλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui pereat.* *Not even if he deserved to perish.* Cf. DEM. contra MID. p. 518. Οὐ δίκαιος ἀν. ἀπολαλέναι.

Δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial.* Cf. HER. ii. 118, Καὶ οὐκ ἀν δίκαιος αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν. Also DEM. c. ARISTOC. p. 637. Οὐ δίκην ὑπέχειν ἀλλὰ συγγράμμης τυχεῖν δίκαιος εἰμι.

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INTRODUCTION  
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TO THE

THIRD PHILIPPIC.

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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 δημητροῦ, was delivered a few weeks after the *De Reb. 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 Pagasean 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 Cheronea.

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## NOTES

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TO THE

# THIRD PHILIPPIC.

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Πολλῶν λόγων.....ικκλησίαν.] *Although many speeches have been made at almost every assembly.* Ὁλίγου δεῦ = Ξχέδον. *Pæne.* Cf. JELP. 864. 'Αφ' οὖ τὴν εἰρηνην ἐποιήσατο. *Ex quo pacem fecit.* 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 HALONESO*, 343-2; *De Falsa Legatione*, 343-2; *De CHERSONESO*, 343-2; and *Æchines 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 οὖδε δτι φησάντων γ' ξν.] *Et cum satis sciam, neminem negare posse.* WOLF. *And I know well that all would say, &c.* Γὲ = saltem. Εὖ is omitted by DINDORF, REISKA, and BEKKER. But REISKA in his note to πολλῶν κ.τ.λ., at the commencement of the oration, has supplied a quotation from Aristides which contains it. SPENGEL 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 ποιοῦσι 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 δεῦ, καὶ πράττειν.] Nearly all the manuscripts have, after πράττειν, ἀπασι προσήκειν, which BEKKER altered to ἀ πᾶσι προσήκει, the reading of SCHÄFER. But on this SPENGEL remarks, that to retain both δεῦ 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 τοῦτο ὑπηργένα.....δρῶ]* All our affairs have been so neglected, and confused through inattention, &c. The verb ὑπῆργειν, among its secondary meanings, has that of *leading one on by deceit and cunning* (Lat. *inducere*), as in DEM. *De Pace*, p. 59. *Ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς, οἵς 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 *ei καὶ* and *καὶ ei*. In *ei καὶ*, although, *καὶ* belongs to the sentence, and allows something which does or will really exist, or has existed; in *καὶ ei*, even if, *καὶ* belongs to *ei*, 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 ἀν τὴν ἡγούμανι.....διατεθῆναι.]* They could not be in a worse state than they are now. *Αὐτὰ διατεθῆναι* is the reading in many manuscripts.

*Καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐν, 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 Pace* p. 57. *Παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον δν οὐδὲ ἔγα.* *De Reb. Chers.* p. 109. *Παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα.* PHIL. i. p. 43. *Παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν.* SCHÄFER translates *ob unam alteramve causam.*

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*\*Αὐτερ ἔξετάζητε δρθῶς.]* If you properly inquire into the matter.

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

*Καὶ δύνανται.]* Here equivalent to *δύνατοί εἰσιν.* SCHÄFER. 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 δὲ δύνηται πόλεος. In MED. 128, it is equivalent to λεχύει, σθένει.—Τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καιρὸν δύναται θραῦσι.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδέ.....δεῖν ἔχειν.] And therefore think you ought to have none. BEKKER and DINDORF here read οὐκοῦν. "But some manuscripts have οὐκοῦν, and as RÜDIGER observes, 'duplex negotiatio huic loco bene convenient.'" WHISTON. Οὐκοῦν = *Non ergo*, οὐκοῦν = *Ergo*. A distinction, which ELM斯LEY, 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 δύτας.] Practical statesmen. KENNEDY. The force of *ἐπί* in such constructions is, to be placed over anything, to manage or protect it. DEM. p. 928. Πλευσθεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι. Cf. DEM. OR. ii. p. 21, "Οὐταν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, and De COR. p. 309. Διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο.....δίκην λήψεται.] Id agunt, ut civitas de se pœnas sumat. 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 ἔχει περὶ τι, as in HER. viii. 85. Περὶ μέν τινων τούτους οὐτων εἰχε.

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."

Ωδὲ.] A strengthened form of ὁδε. It never occurs in tragedy.

Ἐπι.....τῶν ἄλλων] In ceteris quidem rebus. On other subjects. SMID here quotes BREMI: In democratis, stultitia est cuiusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.

Ποτε 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, CIC. 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, *In Aphro.* p. 823, Πλέον δὲ 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 Aphaniotæ in Crete. This was one kind: the others were slaves proper, purchased by their masters, and called δοῦλοι. 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. PHOTIUS 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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“Η πολίτας ἐν ἑταῖοις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων.] “The Athenians piqued themselves upon being the most independent and most humane of all people.” TOURREIL.

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

Τρυφᾶν . . . . ἀκονούσιν.] 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. SCHÄFER. 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 . . . . διδκεισθε.] Si hæc vobis cordi sunt. Wolf. If therefore even now you are so determined. “Ετοιμος sc. εἰμι. Οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. I have nothing to say. “ἔχω here and in many other places denotes *calleo, scio*, from its original meaning of *habeo, teneo, possideo*. So. PLATO de REP. ii. Οὐκ ἔχω δτι 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. “Ομως 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 χείριστον κ.τ.λ.] Simillima legimus, PHIL. i. p. 40. Quales locos inter se diligenter comparabis, ut discas quomodo orator sua repetat. Multum diversa ratione simile oratoris Demosthenica suffurati centones suos consuunt. SCHÄFER.

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

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Ωδὲ.] 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. CHERA*. p. 98. Οὐδὲ ἀντίτων τῶν ἄλλων γενηταί κύρος, οὐδὲν ἔστιν αὐτῷ βεβαῖος 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 *ἄν* need not be added in hypothetical enunciations. The construction is more emphatic without it. *SCHÄFER.*

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.

Αὐτέχεσθαι τινῶν.....λεγόντων πολλάκις.] *To lend themselves to certain parties who frequently declare in the assemblies.* Αὐτέχεσθαι 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. Αὐτέχεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων. *SMEAD* also quotes *XEN. HELLEN.* vi. 5. Τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἡνείχοντο. The reference is to partisans of Philip who were continually asserting that any one who moved defensive measures was guilty of declaring war.

Αὐδύκη.....περὶ τούτου.] *Cautione vehementer est opus, et ut hoc recte constituatur.* *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 ποθεὶς.....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 γραφή παρεγόμενος 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 Thesmophetæ 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' ὑμῖν. In our power. Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 90. 'Εφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι τὸν βοηθεῖσθαι κολάσειν. Contra LEPT. p. 491. Τὰ μὲν τότε ήν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε θεστι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.

Ἐξεστι:] From a consideration of outward circumstances. Εστι, 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 ἔτερος.] "Aristides the grammarian refers this word to Philip, and says there is something exquisite and noble, σεμβόητη, contained in it. But the orator speaks generally. However the grammarians everywhere see things which would escape the eyes of Lynceus." SCHAFER.

Τοῦτο 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. Of. PHEN. 512; OREST. 445; HIPP. 502. HARPOCRATION, s. v. προβάλλει, says: προβάλλει τι τὸνομα, 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. **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.*” **FRANKE.**

**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.* **REISKE.**

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

**Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ηξει.]** *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 *ἴγειν λέγει* here, which WOLF changed to *εἰναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

**Ο τῶν . . . . ὠνεῖται.** : *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends.* *Τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων.* Genitive of price. **JELF.** 519. Cf. **HEB.** v. 6. *Ὥνεονται τὰς γυναικας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

**Ἔφ' 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' ἔπει.] *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: *Κατοι: δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ θάτερον, η....έγκαλεῖν, η....μὴ φέρειν*, and states that after *θάτερον* the verb *ποιεῖν* is to be supplied. But SCHÄFER 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 formulae 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.* JMLF, 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. *Αἰτίσταρτο* governs two accusatives, *αὐτὸν* and *τι τοιοῦτον*. Cf. *DEM. COR.* p. 250. 'Ο *Φίλιππος* οὐδὲν *αἰτιᾶται* ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

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

*Ὄς πρὸς συμάχους.]* At page 54, we have *Ὄς βασιλέα* : and again, in *De Reb. Chers.* p. 98, *Πέμπετε ὃς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις*. *Ὄς* 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. 'Απέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμινίας ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὃς ἐσ τὰς Ἀθήνας. *XEN. ANAB.* iv. 3, 11. *Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὃς ἐπὶ πῦρ*. Cf. *JELF.* 626.

*Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν.....πορευομένῳ.]* 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 *νάροδον*, refers to the same period of time.

*Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἥριζον πολλοί.]* And many with us contended. *FRANKE* here reads *οἱ πολλοί*, and is followed by *SMEAD*, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes *FRANKE*'s remark, *vulgaris 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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**Θηβαῖοις 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 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 Thespiae 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?

**Πράην.]** 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. APHOB. p. 818. *Τὴν μὲν τοῖνυν τροῖκα ἔχει λαβάν.* EUR. MED. 33, 89; HEc. 999; ANT. 1045; and CÆD. RMX. 567. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44: *Id se ab ipais per eorum nuntios competitum habere.*

**Ὀρεῖταις.]** Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasean 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 . . . . εἴνοιαν.** *That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness.* “Since ἐπισκέψεσθαι 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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‘Ως 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.

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‘Ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καρποῖς παρεῖναι.] *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.

Αὐτὸν.] *Accusative before αἰρεῖσθαι. That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c.* Μή παθεῖν....ἀν τοις. *But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury.* Προλέγοντα βιδέοσθαι. *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.....ἀτρ.] JELP. 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 Reb. Chers.* p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τιμῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασκασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. *Translate: Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.*

‘Αλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration *De Reb. 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. ‘Τιμῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.....ἀφέλοιστο.] *And should remove those pretexts from his hirelings, &c.* The orators at Athens in the pay of Philip, such as *Æschines* and *Demades*. ‘Αφαιρεῖν 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, 'Αφαιρησόμενος τὸ οὖτον αὐτῶν.

Οἰς ἀναβάλλοντιν ὑμᾶς.] ~~With which they run you off.~~ Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιούτους λόγους οἰς ἀναβάλλοντιν ὑμᾶς. WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδίεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερίζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. 'Αναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

Ἐστιν . . . . δοτις.] These words are used to denote *any* body, or *some* indefinite person. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. 'Εστι: δοτις καὶ καταλήφθη ὁσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον η 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. 'Απωλέσατ' ἀλέσατ'. OREST. 180. Διοιχθμεθ' οἰχθμεθα. ALCEST. 400. 'Τηδκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δή πων.] *Nemo scilicet.* *Nobody I ween.* 'Αρτὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονούσα. *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.

Οὕτω Διοπίθεος 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 δυτῶν . . . . 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. *Ιεροῦ δρους.* 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. AESCH. FALS. LEG. p. 40.

*Οὐδὲ δ . . . . ἀγκατέστησαν.]* *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, τι ἔνολει;]* *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi *εἰ μὴ ἐπολέμει.* *Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat?* REISKE.

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*Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιόκει.*] *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.

Τὴν 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. Ἀλλος ἀν. . . . οὐτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOL. SOC. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ημῖν, ἀλλος λόγος. *De LEG.* i. 7. δ λόγος ἀν ἔτερος εἰη.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς. . . . . δίναμιν. ] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that Ισα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. On ἀν μικρὸν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

“*Ἡν 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 Doloceans, 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.

*Kαὶ 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 *τολλοῦ δέω*, *δλίγου δέω*, and *τοσούτου δέω*, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

*Ὄστε 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 Crisscean 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 Boeotia 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. REISKE 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 παριόντα.]* 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.

Tὰ ἐν.....σκευωρόμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Pe/o-ponnesus.* 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 σκευόρημα δλον. 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 μηχάνημα here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, Ἀποθάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὐσης ἔλειν μηχανᾶς. However, he may not here intend so much engines of war, as deceit of any kind, as in AESCH. PROM. 469. In the ΣΘΟΕΡΗ. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Οἰς ἀν ἔγώ ληφθείην.] *By which I may be overcome. Καν 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 γῆγοντο, and translates: *Quænam igitur illa sunt, quorum even-tus 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 εἰρηνην.....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 ἡσ 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 Phalaecus 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.

“Τράς δὲ.....φημί.] *And I say you are wise if you send assistance now.* “Ηδη is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. *De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημί, sio negatum vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* REISK. 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 τοσοῦτὸν γε.....τῶν ἄλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* “Οὔτε 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 οὖσι.....ἀποστεῖλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.*] 'Εκεῖ. 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 Diopites and his soldiers.

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Ἐξ ὅν.....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'.....ποιήσησθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it were εἰ μὴ ἡρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὅμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἔλλατ is si non etiam reliquorum; the ἡρα 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. 'Τιῶν γ' αὐτῶν, the objective genitive.

Τετυφῶσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τύφος, 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: τετύφομαι: ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἔξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'Αλλ' ἐγώ μανομαι, καὶ τετύφομαι, where the first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. Ληρεῖν. To speak or act like a fool. Compare the Latin *deliro*, *I rare*, and its English derivative, *delirium*.

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

Μεγα.....ηὔξηται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already implied in the verb αὔξανεν. Cf. XEN. ΑΝΑΒ. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = πρὸς ἀλλήλους. JELP. 654, 2. Cf. De COR. p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ οὗτοι πολλῷ.....γενέσθαι.] And it was far more improbable that he should become such as he is, from the man he was. Προελληφε. Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσείληφε, cæteris adiunxit. WOLF.

Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὃν τῷ 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. Διεξελθεῖν. To go through in words, to relate. Cf. HEB. vii. 18.

'Αλλ' ὅρῳ.....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.*” *FRANKE.*

*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.* *REISKE.*

*Ταῦτην ειρήνην.]* The article is omitted to show that the meaning is general. On the omission of the copula *εἰναι* here consult *JELF.* 376.

*Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς οὐχει. ]* *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 *εἰναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

*Ο τῶν . . . . ὀνεῖται. ]* *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends.* *Τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων.* Genitive of price. *JELF.* 519. Cf. *HER.* v. 6. *Ονέονται τὰς γυναικας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

*Ἐφ' 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 Πειραιᾶν. 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 ( $\tauὰ μακρὰ τείχη$ ) 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  $\tauὸν Φαληρικὸν τείχος$ .

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

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Τερραράκουντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στρῖβα.] *“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, ή....έγκαλεῖν, ή....μὴ φέρειν, and states that after θάτερον the verb ποιεῖν is to be supplied. But SCHÄFER 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.* JELP, 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. *Αἰτίαστο* governs two accusatives, *αἰτῶν* and *τι τοιοῦτον*. Cf. DEM. COR. p. 250. 'Ο Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

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

‘Ως πρὸς συμμάχους.] At page 54, we have *ὡς βασιλέα*; and again, in *De Reb. Chers.* p. 98, *Πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις*. ‘Ως 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. 'Απέκλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμινίας ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ΧΕΝ. ΑΝΑΒ. iv. 3, 11. Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ. Cf. JELF. 626.

*Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἤσαν.....πορευομένῳ.]* 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 *πάροδον*, refers to the same period of time.

*Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοί.]* And many with us contended. FRANKE here reads *οἱ πολλοί*, and is followed by SMITH, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes FRANKE's remark, *vulgaris 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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**Θηβαῖοις οὐ . . . . τὴν ἐκέλου τάροδον.]** *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 Thespiae and Platea. *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 Thermopylae ?

**Πράην.]** 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 καταλαβέν. ]** *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 *DEMI. c. ΑΡΗΟΣ. p. 818.* *Τὴν μὲν τοῖνυν προίκα ἔχει λαβάν.* *EUR. MED. 33, 89;* *HEC. 999;* *ANT. 1045;* and *ŒD. REX. 567.* *CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44:* *Id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere.*

**Ὀρεῖταις.]** Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasean 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 . . . . εἴροιαν.** *That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness.* “Since *ἐπισκέψεσθαι* 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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Ως, *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 στασιάζοντις is intended as explanatory of *νοσοῦσι*. FRANK.

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Ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι.] *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.

Ἄντον.] *Accusative before αἰρεῖσθαι. That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c.* Μὴ παθεῖν....ἀντοι. *But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury.* Προλέγοντα βιδέεσθαι. *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.....ἀντφ.] 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 Reb. Chers.* p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγοροῦντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Translate: *Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.*

Ἄλλ' ὅμων ἀντῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration *De Reb. 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. "Τιμῶν ἀντῶν 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, 'Αφαιρησθμενος τὸ δέωρ αὐτῶν.

Οἰς ἀναβάλλοντιν ὑμᾶς.] *With which they put you off.* Cf. De Reb. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιούτους λόγους οἰς ἀναβάλλοντι ὑμᾶς. WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναβίεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερίζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. 'Αναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

Ἐστιν . . . . δοτις.] These words are used to denote *any body*, or *some indefinite person*. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. "Ἐστι δὲ δοτις καὶ καταλήφθη ὁσπερ ἐν ἴπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον ἡ 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. 'Απωλέσατ' ὠλέσατ'. OREST. 180. Διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα. ALCEST. 400. 'Τράκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δὴ πον.] *Nemo scilicet.* *Nobody I ween.* 'Αρτὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονός. *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.

Οὕτως Διοπίθεος 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 δυτῶν . . . . 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.

Σέρπειον.] 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 δρός. 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. AESCH. FALS. LEG. p. 40.

Οὓς δ. . . . ἀγκατέστησαν.] *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 πράττω, τί ἔτοιει;] *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi εἰ μὴ ἔτολέμει. Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat? REISKE.

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Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὀμωμόκει.] *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. [www.libtooi.com.cn](http://www.libtooi.com.cn)

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. Ἀλλος ἀν....οῦτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOL. Soc. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἔγω ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον η μή, ἄλλος λόγος. *De Leg. i. 7.* δ λόγος ἀν ἔτερος εἴη.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς.....δύναμιν.] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that Ισα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. On ἐνι μικρόν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

· Ήν 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.

*Kαὶ 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*, *δλίγου δέω*, and *τοσούτου δέω*, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

*Πατε 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 Boeotia 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. REISKE 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 παριόντα.]* 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.

Tὰ ἐν.....σκευωρόμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Peloponnesus.* 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' εἴναι τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ σκευώρημα δλον. 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 μηχάνημα here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσῆγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, Ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὖσης ἔλειν μηχανᾶς. However, he may not here intend so much *engines of war*, as *deceit of any kind*, as in AESCH. PROM. 469. In the CHORH. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Οἰς δὲ ἐγὼ ληφθείην.] *By which I may be overcome.* Καὶ 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 γίγνοιτο, and translates: *Quænam igitur illa sunt, quorum even-tus 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 εἰρηνην.....πρὸς ὑμᾶς; *Can I affirm that he keeps the peace towards you?* Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέοι. *And indeed I am far from doing so.*

Αφ ἡς ἡμέρας.....Φωκές.] *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 Phalaecus 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.

"Τιμᾶς δὲ..... φημι. *And I say you are* ~~wise~~ *if you send assistance now.* "Ηδη is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. *De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημι, Aio negatum vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* REISKEN. 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.

*Kαὶ τοσοῦτόν γε..... τῶν ἀλλῶν.] And so much do I dissent from.* "Οὐτε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίου. 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.

*Kαὶ τοῖς οὐσιν..... 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' . . . ποιήσοσθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it were εἰ μὴ ἄρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is εἰ non etiam reliquorum; the ἄρα 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.

Τετυφάσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τύφος, 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: τετύφομαι. ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ξέω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'Αλλ' ἔγω μαίνομαι, καὶ τετύφομαι, where the first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. Αηρεῖν. To speak or act like a fool. Compare the Latin *deliro*, *I rare*, and its English derivative, *delirium*.

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

Μέγας . . . ηδεηται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already implied in the verb αὐξάνειν Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτὸνς = πρὸς ἄλλήλους. JELP. 654, 2. Cf. De COR. p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ δὴ τολλῷ . . . γενέσθαι.] And it was far more improbable that he should become such as he is, from the man he was. Προελαηφε. Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσείληφε, 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. Διεξελθεῖν. To go through in words, to relate. Cf. HEB. vii. 18.

'Αλλ' δρῶ . . . αὐτῷ.] But I see all men, beginning with you,

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have granted to him, that, &c. The expression *ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρξανε-*  
*νεν* 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 Ομήρου ἀρξαμένους πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μητ-*  
*ρὰς εἰδώλων ἀρετῆντας.* ~~τελευτῶν, διατίτην~~ χρόνον, and *ἀρύτας*,  
 are used in a similar manner. WOLF says: *ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξ.* *inter*  
*quos primi estis*, while SCHÄFER translates: *Initio a vobis facto.*

*Οδρωσί]* *In so public a manner*, i. e. in a way plainly intended  
 for all to see, and in which no evasion was intended. *Περικόπ-*  
*τειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν.* These words convey in a very forcible man-  
 ner 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 *gar-*  
*ment*, and *δύω*) was applied to such as robbed bathers and travel-  
 lers, 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.

*Καταδυνλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις.*] *To enslave the cities*, i. e. common-  
 wealths 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.

*Κάτοι.*] *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 cor-  
 rect, 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 state-  
 ments 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. LUCCHESENI adopts this, counting from the close of the Persian war to the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse. BOECKH 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. 'Επιτάφιος, 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.

*Τριάκοντα ἔνδε 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.

*Ισχυσαν δέ τι . . . . μάχην.]* And the Thebans have obtained the power these late years, after the battle of Leuctra. Fought between Epaminondas and the Thebans, and Cleombrotus 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." BAEMI. SCHLAFER remarks that *τοιεῖν* 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 ἔπειτα δέ. Again, at p. 126, τοτὲ μεν—πάλιν δέ.

Μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναῖοις.] Vide quo artificio Orator captet aurem popularem. Τίσιν οὐ μετρίως ἔδόκουν 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, μαλ' θριστικῶς, as DISSEN remarks. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 231. Οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο (Θηβαῖοι).

Πάντες φόντο 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.

\* Αρξασι.] Imperium capessentes. For ἀρχεῖν here, as SCHÄFER remarks, is *imperium capessere*, not *imperare*. He compares HER. i. 14. Ἐπει τε ἡρξε, Postquam regno potitus est. Translate: Having obtained the chief power, and succeeding to the same political influence.

\* Πλεονάζειν.] Insolescere, plus sibi, quam oportebat, arrogare. So ISOC. de SOPHISTIS, Εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσι, Tameisi 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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*Kαὶ τι δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν;]* *And why need I mention the others?* “These words are used to indicate a change to more serious subjects.” FRANKE.

*Οὐδὲν τὸν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες.]* *As here is to be referred to ἔχοντες, and the expression is then equivalent to οὐδὲν τὸν εἰχομέν, sc. εἰ καὶ ἡβούλημεθα.* *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 ἐβδομήκοντα]* *Vide supra Ἐλάττοντα ἔστιν.* *Are of less consequence.* Manuscripts vary here between *ἐλάττω, ἐλάττον*, and the reading as given above. I have adopted it on the authority of DINDORF and SCHÄFER.

*Ὥντος Φίλιππος. .... ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἑλληνας.]* *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 Potidaea, 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 Aleuadæ against the tyrants of Pheræ, captured Amphipolis, and terrified the Athenians for the safety of the Chersoneso. He had also overrun and subdued the Illyrians and Pæonians, and fully consolidated his empire to the north of Mount Æta. GROTE, chap. lxxxvi. *Ἐπιπολάζει. Aliquid esse cœpit.* SCHÄFER. But the meaning of the verb is not fully brought out by such an expression. It means *to swim upon the surface* (*ἐπιπολή, ἐπί, 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 οὐδὲν εἴκειν.* [Or rather, *They are not the smallest part of them.*] The reading of *WÖLFFEL* and *SAUPPE* here is *πέμπτον μέρος*, from Codd. Σ. Ω. All other editions give the reading as I have. *RHISKE* 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 δμορον Μακεδονία*, 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. *GROTE*, 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 *Xenophon* *Hell. v. 2.1.1*, as quoted *with v. 1.1.1 x p. 50a*.

*Προσελθόντι.*] Sc. *tivd.* 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: *st accesseris, nec facile dicas.* *WOLF* says *μηδένα προσελθόντι, pro μηδένι προσελθόντι.*

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Καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνηρρημένον.] 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. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn) The decree is given in LELAND's *Philip*, vol. ii. book iii. s. iii.

Οὐχὶ τὰς . . . . παρῆρηται.] By 'πόλεις' I understand *Pagasea* and *Magnesia*, by 'πολιτεῖας,' *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*. ВѢСКИ. *Corp. Inscript.* No. 1770. They were generally at war with each other. Larissa, Pheræ 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.

Ἴνα 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 δὲ 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, πλησίοις ἀλλήλοισι is found.

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In SOPH. CED. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιδέειν* 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 εἰπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δε Θηβαῖον. CIC. 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 totum rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to De COR. s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

*Ἐλλήσποντον.]* 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 Ἐλλησπόντιαι 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. 138. From the language employed it seems doubtful whether the city was captured or not.

*Ἡλιῳ 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 Ἡλιδὶ 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.

*Μεγάροις ]* See n. p. 115. Οὐδὲ ἡ Ἐλλὰς . . . . τὰνθράπον.] *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 Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis.* The omission of  $\gamma\eta$  with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is EGR. PHON. 1524, *τίς Ἐλλὰς η τίς Βάρβαρος.* But even here, as HERMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with  $\gamma\eta$ , all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites AESCH. PERG. 184. *Ἡ μὲν Ἐλλάδα κλήρῳ λαχοῦστα γαῖαν, η δὲ Βάρβαρος,* 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. SCHÄFER, *perforati sumus, h. e. corrupti, pensumdati.*

Οὐδὲ συστῆναι.] *Nor support one another.* Κοινωνίας βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας. *A common bond of assistance and friendship.*

Περιορῶμεν.] *We disregard.* *Non impeditus incrementa potentia Philippi.* WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον . . . . ἔκαστος 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.*

\*Οὐως σωθήσεται . . . . πράττων.] After verbs of *caring for, considering, &c.,* οὐως with the future indicative is used instead of the the subjunctive. REISKE 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 Gracia salva sit.* It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of *ἔκαστος.*

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“Οσπερ.] JELF. 868, 3, 4. Ἐνεὶ δὲ γε.....οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τὴν τοῦ. 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 καταβολὴ, *accessio*, cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, Ή καταβολὴ αὕτη τῆς δοθενελας. WOLF says: Περίοδος ἔστι χρόνος ἐπιτάσσεως 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. Δή τον. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

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Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. Αλλ' οὖν.....ἡδικοῦντο.] Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece. “Ελληνες ιθαγενεῖς. SONAKER.

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 property. “Οσπερ ἀν εἰ, understand ὑπολάθοι after ἀν. “Ἄξιον εἶναι, ἔνειναι. These infinitives depend upon ὁσπερ ἀν ὑπολάθοι. AUGER reads οὖν ἐνήν ἀν 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. Προσήκων. Subandi ὁν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τεισύτως ἡδίκει. REISKE. Κλῆρος is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the heir.

“Τυποβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used specially of children. Cf. HER. i. 187. 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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Οὐχ.....οὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELP, 747.

Οὐ μένον.....τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.] *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 Hellanodicea were most particular in this respect. HER. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, for the general question, GROTI, *Chap. xxv.* and C. O. MÜLLE, *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. ARRIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γὰρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανῆτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ δρη τρόπατα κατὰ δλίγα .....χλαμύδας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν δρέων εἰς τὸ πέδιον. Quintus Curtius 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 gladiorum. This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' δλέθρου Μακεδόνος.] *"A good-for-nothing Macedonian,* a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Αὐδράποδον. 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: Scytha, Cappadoc, Thrax, Phryx, Aegyptius scrvus qui esset, is honeste saltim 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 teterimos." REISKE. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

*Kαίτοι τι . . . . 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 præsident.*  
**AUGER** The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to O.L. 48, B.C. 588. Subsequently they came under the control of the Amphictyons, and in 346 they made over their right to the Thessalians, Boeotians, 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 O.L. 108, that these privileges were conferred upon Philip, and was the first step towards his assumption of the rank of captain-general in Greece. DION. 16, 20." JACOBS.

*Τοὺς δούλους. ] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lascivius δημοκράτικῶς dicit δούλους. SCHÄFER. Ἀγωνοθετήσοντας. 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 αἰσιμυῆται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς, and βραβευταί. SCHÄFER 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. AESCH. 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 *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.] ΗΕΣΥΧΙΟΣ: *πορθμὸς, 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 ἐκβαλεῖντας. 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 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' δυως.....ἀνέχονται.] *And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them.* I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHÄFER joins *δρῶντες* *ἀνέχονται* and translates *sustinent videre*, and is followed by MR. KENNEDY. But neither the present passage nor yet in p. 212, *De FED. cum ALEX.* Η *ἐκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχονται*, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Oμος 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 aciea." FRANKE. JELF. 697. d.

*Kαὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (*τὸν Φλιππον*) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλάζαν· ἔκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μη καθ' ἑαυτούς γενέσθαι. 'Ἐφ' οἰς — ἐπὶ τούτοις δ. The antecedent is omitted, and the preposition governs the attracted case of the relative. Cf. XEN. AN. i. 9, 25. Τούτου ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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*'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ . . . . 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 τοῦτο οὐ δύτιν. *For this is the last degree of apathy.* SMEAD. *For nothing can go beyond this at last.* WHISTON.

*[Αμβρακίαν.]* 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 *Ακτὴν Ἡπείρου*. 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 perfosum 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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cession 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.

**Ἐχῖνος.**] 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 τόλις, Θηβαῖων μὲν ἀποκος, πλησίον δὲ Θεραλίας.* 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 δύτας sc. αὐτῷ.* *De Cor.* p. 254.

**Οὐχ ἡμῶν—έώ τάλλα.**] 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. *Ος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα έώ ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ γῆρᾳ βοηθοῦντος λυμαίνη.* SCHÄFER.

**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 PAGE* p. 63, *καὶ Καρδιανοὺς ἔώμεν οἵτε 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 μαλακίζεθα.] *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 μαλκίομεν was another reading. SCHÄFER 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 ὅρρον φύεττειν, which DINDORF styles *parum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίων 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.

Αδικοῦντι.] REISKE gives ἀδικοῦντος. Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, diffidentes mutuo alii aliis, at Philippo fidenter, 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 οἰσθε.....τί ποιήσειν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Επειδὰν. The order is ἐπειδὰν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἔνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἔνα αὐτῶν ἔκαστον ἐν μέρει.

Ανευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας airtas.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causa.* Έχειν πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards* any person or thing. SMEAD.

Τι τι τότε, ήν.] *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 Aeschylus of the orators. Ελευθέραν ήγε. Αγειν here has the meaning it usually receives with ἡσυχίαν, εἰρήνην, faciebat ut *Gracia libera maneret.* SCHÄFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom.* Some editions give ἐλευθέρως here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὗτε.....ἡττάτο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÄFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἡττηθεῖς τῷ μάχῃ. Λυμαίνεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ανω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Perturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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Οὐδὲ ταχίλον εἰδὲ σοφόν] *Nothing reconcile nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by SHAKESPEARE as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. Gorg. § 102. Οὐδὲ ταχίλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ποτε πολλοί. Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς διατρές ἐμίσουν, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπάτατον . . . . ἐκελευχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen erat si quis accepisse munera convincebutur.* 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 (*δικαισμός*) at Athens; one called δέκασμοῦ 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 Helicea, or Σούλη, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmophoreæ, 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 (*προστίμημα*). 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 παράτησις 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. CED. R. 1134, the derivative πλησιάζειν is joined with an acc. Καὶ ταῦτα, *And that too.* JELF. 880, l.

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 ἔγραψε, οὐδὲ ἔγραψε μὲν, οὐκ ἐπέστησα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπέστησα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δε Θηβαίους. CIC. 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 totum rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to De COR. s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

Ἐλλήσποντος.] 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 *ai* Ἐλλησπόντιαι 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.

Ἡλιν 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 Ἡλιδι σφαγὰς, which is repeated *ipissima verba* in FALS. LEG. p. 424. But while Philip was thus subserviug 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. Οὐδέ ἡ Ἐλλὰς . . . . 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 Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis.* The omission of  $\gamma\eta$  with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is EGR. PHIL. 1524, *τίς Ἐλλὰς ή τίς βάρβαρος.* But even here, as HEMMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with  $\gamma\eta$ , all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites AESCH. PERS. 184. *Ἡ μὲν Ἐλλάδα κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ή δὲ βάρβαρον,* and adds that the whole form is given in XEN. AKAB. v. 5, 16, *εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν.*

Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς. .... κατὰ πόλεις.] So wretchedly are we disposed to each other, and ruined city by city. Διορύστειν 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. SCHÄFER, *perforati sumus*, h. e. *corrupti*, *persumdati*.

Οὐδὲ συστῆναι.] Nor support one another. Κοινωνίας βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας. A common bond of assistance and friendship.

Περιορῶμεν.] We disregard. Non impeditus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον.... ἔκαστος 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.*

Οτιος σωθῆσεται. .... πράττων.] After verbs of *caring for*, *considering*, &c., οτιος with the future indicative is used instead of the the subjunctive. REISKE 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 Graecia salva sit.* It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of *ἔκαστος*.

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“Οσπερ.] JELF. 368, 3, 4. Ἐκεὶ δὲ γε....οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ τὸν πονον. 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. Οὐ καταβολὴ, *accessio*, cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, Ἡ καταβολὴ αὐτῇ τῆς ἀσθενειας. WOLF says: Περίοδός ἐστι χρόνος ἐπιτάσσεως 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. Δή πον. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

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Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. Ἄλλ' οὖν....ἡδικοῦντε.] Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece. “Ελληνες ιθαγενεῖς. SCHAFER.

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 incorrecly: 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. “Οσπερ ἀν εἰ, understand ὑπολάθοι after ἀν. Ἄξιον είναι, ἔτειναι. These infinitives depend upon ὁσπερ ἀν ὑπολάθοι. AUGER reads οὐκ ἔνηγε ἀν 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. Προσήκων. Subandi ἀν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τοιούτως ἡδίκει. REISKE. Κλῆρος is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the heir.

“Ποτοβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used specially of children. Cf. HER. i. 187. 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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Οὐχ.....οὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELP, 747.

Οὐ μένον.....τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.] *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 Hellanodiceæ were most particular in this respect. HER. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, for the general question, GROTI, *Chap. xxv.* and C. O. MÜLLEZ, *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. ARRIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γάρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς ρέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ δρη πρόβατα κατὰ δλίγα .....χλαμύδας μὲν ὑπὸ ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν δρέων εἰς τὸ πέδιον. Quintus Curtius 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 gladiorum. This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' δλέθρου Μακεδόνος.] *"A good-for-nothing Macedonian,* a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Ἀνδράτοδον. 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: Scytha, Cappadoc, Thrax, Phryx, Aegyptius scrvus qui esset, is honeste saltim 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 seruos omnium servorum esse nequissimos et terribilios." REISKE.

*Κατροι τι.....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 Πίθαι, Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis*, i.e. *Pythiis præsident.* 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, Boeotians, 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. DIONOR. 16, 20." JACOBS.

*Τοὺς δούλους.]* Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lascivius δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους. SCHÄFER. *Ἄγωνοθετήσοντας.* 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 *αἰσιμυῆται*, *ἀγωνάρχαι*, *ἀθλοθέται*, *βραβεῖς*, and *βραβευταί*. SCHÄFER 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.

*Προμαντείαν.]* *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis.* WOLF. The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. AESCH. 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 Crœsus, 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.

Πορθμὸν.] HESYCHIUS: πορθμὸς, στενὸν θαλάσσης, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς διατέραμα. This town was the port and citadel of Eretria. The circumstances are more fully detailed below. Cf. DE FALS. LEG. p. 368. "Τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλεῖντας. By these he means the popular party, but they would be called by their partisans the people." KENNEDY.

Τοὺς δὲ 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 Histiae. 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' θμως.....ἀνέχονται.] *And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them.* I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHÄFER joins δρῶντες 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. ή ἔκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχησθε, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Ομως 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." FRANKE. JELF. 697. d.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλάσσαν· ἔκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ ἑαυτούς 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. Τούτου ἔκπιεν σὸν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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Ἄλλος οὐδέ . . . . 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 γάρ τοῦτο τὸν ἔστιν. For this is the last degree of apathy. SMEAD. For nothing can go beyond this at last. WHISTON.

Αμβρακίαν.] 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 Ἡπείρου. 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.

Νάπακτον.] 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.

**Ἐχῖνος.**] 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, Θηβαῖσι μὲν ἄποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θετταλίας.** The city is still called Echino.

**Καὶ γὰρ 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 δύνας sc. αὐτῷ.** *De Cor.* p. 254.

**Οὐχ ἡμῶν—έώ τάλλα.**] 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. **Οὐ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα έώ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῷ γῆρᾳ βοηθοὺς λυμαίνγ.** SCHÄFER.

**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 PAC* p. 63, **καὶ Καρδιανοὺς έώμεν** ξέω Χερβονησιτῶν 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 daily and play the woman.* DINDORF and RÜDIGER give μαλκίομεν, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says μαλκίομεν was another reading. SCHÄFER 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 δρόνον φρίττειν*, which DINDORF styles *parum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίον 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.

Ἄδικοῦντι.] REISKE gives ἀδικοῦντος. *Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, diffidentes mutuo alii aliis, at Philippo fidenter, 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 οἰσθε.....τί ποιήσειν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὰν. The order is ἐπειδὰν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἔνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἔνα αὐτῶν ἐκάστον ἐν μέρει.

Ἄγειν λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causa.* Ἐχειν πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards any person or thing.* SMEAD.

Ὕν τι τότε, ἦν.] *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.* CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12. Τῶν πολλῶν. *The masses, the people.* Perostān. Demosthenes delights to recall these glorious deeds of the ancient Greeks. In this respect he is the Aeschylus of the orators. Ἐλευθέραν ἦγε. Ἄγειν here has the meaning it usually receives with ἡσυχίαν, εἰρήνην, faciebat ut *Gracia libera maneret.* SCHÄFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom.* Some editions give ἐλευθέρως here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὕτε.....ἡττᾶτο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÄFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἡττηθεῖς τῇ μάχῃ. Λυμαίνεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Perturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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Οὐδὲ τοικῶν εἴδε σοφόν] *Nothing reconcile nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by SMED as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. GORG. § 102. ~~Οὐδὲ τοικῶν, ἀλλ' οὐτέρι τολλοί.~~ Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἀπαύτες δημόσου, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπάτατον . . . . 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 (*δικαισμός*) at Athens; one called δέκασμοῦ 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 Heliæa, or Βουλή, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmophoreæ, 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 (*προστίμημα*). 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 παραίτησις 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 SHAKSPEARE, *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.

Ἐπόχη. 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.

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Πάντα δὲ προσήκει πραττόντων.] Πάντα is omitted in many editions. *Those wishing to do all that is proper.*

Παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων.] Alluding to Ἀeschines, 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. *DEIMARCH. 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 . . . . ἐκπέραται τάῦτα.] From ἐκπέρασκω. *Now all those have been sold, as if from the market.* Ἀντεισῆκται, 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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Απόλωλε καὶ γενόσηκεν.] Gravius antecedit, sed γενόσηκεν sequitur, ut significet et principium mali et exitium a corruptelis profectum. WOLF. *Απόλωλε* in reference to foreign affairs *γενόσηκεν* to intestine broils and commotions. Compare SHAKS. *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

“O nation miserable,  
When shalt thou see thy wholesome days again?”—KENNEDY.

\*Αὐτὸν διμολογεῖ.] As Philocrates did. AERNOLD. And yet Philocrates was banished for this very confession. Τάλλα πάνθ’ . . . . ἔργηται. *All other things which are the necessary attendants of bribery.*

Τῆς ἀλλῆς 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.* SCHÄFER. SMEAD reads παρασκευής, and interprets *supellex, the general equipment of an army.* A meaning certainly new for *supellex*, and doubtful as regards παρασκευή.

Nῦνις.] Refers to the present time, *τότε* to the time of the Persian wars.

‘Τπὸ τῶν πολούντων] *By these barterers.* Referring to Demades, Eubulus, Philocrates, Aeschines, Phrynon, and Aristodemus.

‘Οτι δ’ οὗτω ταῦτ’ ἔχει.] The usual formula when proceeding to prove a general statement previously made. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 239. ‘Ανωθεν, traced upward from the present. For *δτι* with Ind. cf. JELF. 802, a. b. ARNOLD correctly remarks that *τάνατία* is here used adverbially, and is equivalent to *ἐναντίως*.

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. ‘Εν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφει. Εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. On the omission of the article, consult JELF. 447, 2.

‘Ως ὑπὲρ τῶν.....προσήκει.] *How zealously it is becoming you to look into such things.* Ζελείτης. An ancient city of Mysia, near Mount Ida on the river Aisepus, belonging to the territory of Cyzicus. IL. ii. 824, 825.

‘Ατιμος ξοτω.] *Let him be an outlaw. Capite immunitus.* ‘Ατιμία 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 DICT. 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 ‘Αθηναίων the common reading is τῶν ‘Αθηνῶν. Τοῦ is approved by REISKE, DINDORF and SCHÄFER.

Airia.] *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 ἀναγγιγνώσκει.] The following readings of these words are given. SCHÄFFER gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου γίγνωσκε, 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 ἀναγγιγνώσκετε. Amid such variation of manuscripts it would be better with VÄMEL 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.

Ἐστι τοίνυν τις . . . . τὴν πόλιν.] There is a foolish report circulated by those desirous of consoling the city. Εἰνήθης, here is something like our *good-natured*, but used ironically. Cf. BÜHLER. ad Tim. 131. “Quicunque Atticorum urbaniores dici haberique volebunt, quem stolidum et fatuum dicere verebantur, leni blandaque nomine ἡδὸν, γλυκὺν, εὐήθη, χρηστὸν appellabant.” In accordance with this view, cf. OL. iii. 37. “Τπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν; and De Cor. p. 228. Τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες φήθης. For γλυκὺς in a similar sense cf. PLATO. HIPP. 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.

Τφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς.] 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 movere, nemo se defendere audebat. Οἱ δύναμιν ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν ἔδοκουν.*

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Καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη.] *And was not utterly destroyed.* Ἀνηρπάσθη, *Funditus perdere, pessundare, ut si arborem radicitus humo evellias.* Cf. AESCH. *contra OTES.* 133. Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγένεια, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται. Εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν. Cujusmodi incrementa? Non tam virtutis et potentiae, quam vitiorum et ignaviae. *Ἐπίδοσις* is equivalent to *ᾶξησις.* WOLF.

Τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.] *The art of war.* Ἐπιδεδωκέναι, increvisse. Some manuscripts have ὑποδεδωκέναι, decrevisse. Clearly wrong.

Ἄκον.] *I have heard.* JELF. 396. Τέτταρας μῆνας ἡ 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 ὥραν αὐτῆν.] *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 maturity.* With these words FRANKE compares c. DIONYS. p. 1292. *Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχρῆμδειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ὥραν.* With *ἡ ὥρα,* *ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους* is understood.

‘Οπλίταις 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' ἀρχαλος 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 *oἰκεῖως.* *Dutifully.* Cf. *De COR.* p. 308. *Α πολιτικὰ ταῦς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπόσταις.* Also p. 829. *Πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια.*

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**Χρημάτων.**] Gen. of price. ‘Ωνεῖσθαι....οὐδέν, *As to purchase no advantage.* “Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes. Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrius.” ENN. Quoted by KENNEDY. Νόμιμόν τινα *Legitimate.* Προφανή, the correct reading, instead of the old *προσφανή*, clear or open. Cf. THUC. ii. 93. Οὗτ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἀν 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.* Αλλὰ τῷ.... ἐξηρτησθαι. *But by having attached to himself.* Non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctam habet, quod pone se trahit. FRANKE. This explanation is correct, and yet seems unsuited to the gravity of the subject. REISKE has changed the word to *ἐξηρτυσθαι*, and SCHÄFER 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 AESCH. PROM. 711, *τέξουσιν ἐξηρτυμένοι* is the reading of DINDORF, altered from the old lection *ἐξηρτημένοι*. There is a frequent confusion of these words, on which see МАТТИК ad EUR. HIPPI. 1176.

**Ἐένοις.**] 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 τοῖσι.**] *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 μῆλῳ. 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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Τηὲ τῆς χώρας.] *In defence of their country.* Διὸ διωτίας, *Ex mutua partium diffidentia*, quod una metuat proditionem alterius, ut sola dominetur.

Μηχανήματα....τολμορκεῖ.] Cf. *supra*, 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. 'Ος 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. *The simplicity.* Alluding to the open manner they had of carrying on war. Quia sine proditionibus 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*. 'Ος 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. RISKE. 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. .... [πάρχει.] 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 ἔπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφίέμενοι. 33, 3, δι: φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθράκεια .... ἀπιγγυνάσκεται. 'Εθέλωμεν. *We are willing.* 'Εθέλειν. *What is in our power.* Βούλεσθαι. *What we wish but cannot perform.* Cf. EUR. ALCEST. 281. Δέξαι θέλω τοι πρὸς θανεῖν & βούλομαι." WHISTON.

\*Ησ. .... κακῶς ποιεῖν.] Much of which it is possible to plunder and lay waste and destroy. Πολλήν, sc. χάραν. The partitive is put in the gender of the word it governs. Cf. JELF. 442, c. and VIRG. AEN. i. 326. Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum. Cf. WOLF ad LAMP. p. 459. Μυρία, *An indefinite number;* μύρια, *Ten thousand.*

'Αγῶνα.] Proelium, conflictus; πόλεμος, Bellum, etiam cum non conseruntur manus. WOLF. Cf. LONG. De SUB. 13, 4. 'Αγῶν ἐν φυλῇ καὶ τῷ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἀδόξον. Eis 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. SCHÄFER. Τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, *But in your mind and soul.* Μισῆσαι, *To bring your hatred upon.* FRANKE 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 RAB. CHERB. p. 104, where almost the same terms are employed to explain the duty of the Athenians.

\*Ἐκείνοις.] Many editions have ἐκείνωφ. This is defended by explaining that although the orator speaks of many, he is thinking of Philip alone. Perhaps ἐκείνωφ has crept in from De RAB.

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CHERS. p. 104. Ἐκεῖνοις refers to τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔχθρῶν. Εἰς τοῦτο....τί λέγει. 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 δαιμόνιος τὸ πρόγυμνα δλαίγων.] 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' ἀνάδυνον 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: Ἕγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἀν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος εἰ μή 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. EUM. FRAG. "Οταν δὲ δαιμονίου ἀνδρὶ πορεύηται κακά, Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρᾶτον. For further examples see BRASSE'S ANT. V. 818, and the excellent note in ARNOLD'S edition, p. 148.

“Δοτε.....κελεύετε.] Construe: δοτε κελεύετε ἀνθράκων μεθωτούς λέγεις ἐνεκα λοιδορίας—ἥστιος δι τύχηςτε ἐμεκ' αἰτίας, For any cause whatever.

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“Οις οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι.] AUGER omits the οὐκ as unnecessary after the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, ἀρνεῖσθαι ....δτι οὐ παρῆν, we see that the οὐ is required. SCHÄFFER remarks: “In direct narration, as here, οὐ is used; in the indirect,

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μὴ, as XEN. HELLEN. vii. 3, 7. Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡροῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι." "Αὐτοὶ λοιδορθῶσιν. See JELF, 589, 3.

Kαὶ οὐχὶ πω.....δν δεινόν.] And bad as this is it is not the worst. Cf. De Reb. CHERS. p. 97. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἰναι τοιούτους δεινὸν δν, οὐ δεινόν ἔστιν. Οὐχὶ πω is much stronger than the usual οὐκω. 'Αλλὰ, sc. τοῦτ ἔστι δεινότατον.

"Οσας.....ἀκροῦσθαι.] 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....δύτες. 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 ήσαν. Cf. JELF, 518, 2, for further examples of the same class. FRANKEN 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.*

Τίνες δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.] This also is dependent upon ήσαν. JELF, 518. BREMI translates *studere optimis rebus.* SMEAD entirely rejects this view of the government of τοῦ βελτίστου, and says: "εἰναι 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. "Οστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐναντιοῦται. IBID. "Τπὲρ 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 κορυφῶν. 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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**Δουλεύομεν.**] I have adopted this reading in preference to the subjunctive, δουλεύσωσι. "Οντος is used with the future indicative. Cf. *infra*, p. 126, Εὐφράτος δέ τις.... οντος ἀλείφερος καὶ μηδερὸς δοῦλοι ἔστοραν. Cf. *Ibid.* 812. 2. It may also be used with the subjunctive, but less frequently than with the indicative.

**Ἐξάλεσαν.**] 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*; ἐξφεύγω, *I succeed in escaping*. BRASSE ad SOPH. *Œd.* COL. 21.

**Τόδις ἵππεας προβοσκαν.**] 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 Euthycretes 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. ΛΕΞΙ. FALS. LEG. p. 30. 'Ακάλετο. Another reading is ἐξακάλετο.

**Ἀπολλανίδην.**] There is an Apollonides, an Olynthian, mentioned in DEM. *contra NEAR* 1876, but he is met with in very suspicious circumstances, along with Peitholaus, despot of Pheræ. 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 MID.* p. 556. 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 Meid.* 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. Περθύμαν. See n. p. 119. *Oι μὲν ἐφ' . . . τὰ τράγματα. Some were for bringing the government over to you, ad vos rempublicam tractabant.*

Τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα.] *In plerisque vel potius amissio. Τελευτῶντες. At last.* Cf. n. p. 116. *Τῷρειν 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 τοι.] *Et tunc quidem. And then indeed.* Klots's translation, *etemis 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." SMEAD. 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 shewed him to be anything but that.

Ἐξελήλακεν . . . σώζεσθαι.] *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: "Seilicet τοὺς Ἐρετρεῖς, cum jam tandem sero sapere vellent. I should rather translate: *bis patriam conservare decertantes*, or with WINIBAWI, *quum jam bis pro libertate contenderent.* The remaining words from τότε to Παρμενίων are omitted in Codex 2. 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 Eurylochus nothing further is known. The date usually assigned for these events is: the tyrants established in Ol. 109-1, Lyceus being Archon, B. C. 344-3, and the expeditions of Eurylochus and Parmenio in the following year.

*Kai τι δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν;]* *And why need I say more?* Cf. *Verg.* *Æn.* ii. 101; also n. p. 117. *Kai τι δεῖ τοῦς ἄλλους λέγειν;* *Ἐπιπατεῖ Φιλίππῳ.* *"Favebat Philippo, in Philippi gratiam προδέ-τabato.* More fully in *Fals. Leg.* p. 365. *Θηβαῖοι τὰ πράγματα πρόττει.* *"Ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ,"* Cf. *PHIL.* iii. p. 127. *SCHÄFER*, where *πρός χόρην* is understood according to *REISKE*. On the events here narrated cf. n. p. 113.

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*Εὐφράνεις δέ τις.]* In addition to what was said of him in n. p. 113, we may here add, on the authority of *HARPOCRATI*, 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 *ΑΤΗΝΙΖΕΙΣ*, 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.....προπηλακίζει.* *How he was insulted in other respects, and trampled upon.* The first denotes the genus (*injuria*) the second the species (*contumelia*). *FRANKE.* Cf. *contra ANDROT.* p. 611. *BUTTMANN* in his *Lexilogus s. v.* *προσελεῖν* says the proper meaning of *προπηλακίζειν* is to trample in the dirt.

*Ἐνέδειξεν.]* *He laid an information against them.* This was the proper mode of proceeding against traitors. See *DICT. ANT.* s. v. *Αἰσθόμενος & πρόττουσι.* *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. Συστραφέντες, *Conspirati*. *Raiske*. Rather *conjurati*.

Χορηγὸν . . . πρυτανεύμενοι.] *Having Philip 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, Φαυτησται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μανσωλος. Πρυτανεύμενοι is explained by HARPOC. as διοικούμενοι καὶ διαστρεφόμενοι. This last word offends *Raiske*, and he has judiciously altered it to διαστρεφόμενοι.

'Αντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοήθειν . . . ἀποτυμπανίσαι.] *Instead of assisting him, and beating others to death.* The verb ἀποτυμπάνειν is used of *beating to death by frequent blows*. Cf. *De Reb. Chers.* p. 104. The *Erym. Mag.* explains the word by: Οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ η 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*.

'Επιτήδειον εἶναι.] *'Αξιον εἶναι. Sic Latine *idoneus pro dignus*.* SCHÄFER. *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.

'Επέχαιρεν.] *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, 'Αλλὰ σοὶ ἐπεχαιρον. SCHÄFER interprets it simply as *gaudere ob aliquid*.

Οι μὲν ἐπ' ἔξουσιας . . . ἐπραττον.] *Those in authority acted as they wished.* Οι μὲν ἐπ' ἔξουσιας is almost equivalent to *οι ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν*, or *οι ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν*. Ήβούλοντο. The three verbs, *βούλομαι*, *δύναμαι*, and *μέλλω*, take in the Attic dialect η as the augment instead of ε. FRANKE translates this passage: *In tanta libertate quanta volebant. In all the freedom they could desire.*

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Καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πράξιν] *And were preparing their plot.*

“Ωστε 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 peccatore vocem.* TAC. *ANN.* vi. 20. *Non exilio fratribus rupta vox.* SCHÄFER interprets: *loqui, tanguam ruptis vinculis, quibus timor vocem constringerat.* 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. Διασκευάσθαι. *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 ἄλλα διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν. On πρὶν with the Ind. cf. JELF. 848, 3.

Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντι.....ἐποκτείναρτες.] *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.* SCHÄFER.

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Ἐπέσφαγεν ἁυτόν.] Cf. XEN. ANA. i. 8, 28, 'Εαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι. Also JELF. 363, 1. Καθαρῶς, *With pure motives*. Cf. DE COR. 303, 'Αὐτοὶ καθαραὶ δύσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, where the notion of completeness and entirety is fully carried out.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, κ. τ. λ.] Cf. DE REP. CHERS. p. 103, for an almost equivalent expression. 'Ηδιον....έχειν. *Being so favourably disposed towards those who plead Philip's cause.* 'Οτι τοῖς μεν....οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. *Because it is impossible for those who speak and advise for the best, always to speak for your gratification.* On πρὸς χρήματα cf. JELF. 621, obs. 2, and also SOPH. ANT. vv. 30, 908. Τὰ πρόγυματα, *Republica*, or as BREMI, *Salus et libertas patriæ*.

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Οι δὲ αὐτοῖς.....συμπράττονταν.] *But they play into Philip's hands, by those very means, by which they gratify the most.* Εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευν. 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. 'Εως ἐγκατελήθησαν, *Until they are caught in the snare.* Donec circumventi sunt. Cf. THUC. iii. 83. 'Οτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσα ἡναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι.

Οι μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς.....ἀπέχθειαν.] *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' ἀπέχθειαν 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' ἀπέχθειαν, 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 ВИКЕН 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.....πρότερο.] *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.* WEST-ERMANN: Οὐχ οὕτως sc. δέκας σωθῆσεθαι. And SCHÄFER: Οὐχ οὕτως—ἀλλ’ *pro ἀλλὰ expectes ἡσ.* Sed ita saepius Graeci. Non multum differt οὐ μᾶλλον....ἀλλά. 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 *as*; which we see SCHÄFER 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 οὕτως δῆ τι ἰσχυραὶ, μογίς δὲ λίθῳ πάσσας διαφρήξεις. *Their heads are so hard that you could scarcely break them with a stone.* 'Αλλ’ ὑποκατακλινόμενοι. *As bending to the force of circumstances.*

Τοῖς δὲοις.] *When they thought they were to be deprived of the whole.* Cf. n. p. 120, for the construction of ἡττᾶσθαι.

Μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἔνδν.] *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 δρῶν οὐκ ὄρρωδῶ ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ή γὰρ ἔξεπίτηδες ή δι’ ἀγνοιαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα· ὑπάγοντι τὴν πόλιν. SCHÄFER says the two words ὄρρωδῶ and δυσωποῦμαι are quite sufficient to condemn it. However, it is given in nearly all the manuscripts, and HARPOCRATIUS 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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**Κατροι μη 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.* Γάρ here assigns the reason for what has gone before. ARISTIDES, *Technographia*, p. 200, cites this passage and reads δε for γάρ, and ARNOLD has adopted it, and translates, *but if it does; in that case.* FRANKE quotes CIC. de OFF. 1, 31. *At Ajax, quo animo traditur millies oppetere mortem potius, quam illa perpeti maluisset.* Cf. also CIC. RAB. PERD. 5. *Moreretur millies prius quam.* The words καὶ πρόσθαι....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.

**Καλήν.....χάριν.]** *A fine return truly.* Highly ironical. **Ἐάθουν.** *Pellebant, id est, repudiabant, aversabantur.* WOLF. This meaning of ὀθέω is peculiar, but cf. PLATO REP. 560, D. **Ὦθεῖν τινα φυγάδα,** *To banish one.* This verb with ἀγγυμι, ἀλισκομαι, ἀνδάνω, οὐρέω and ὀντόμαι, takes the syllabic argument.

**Τοὺς μὲν ὄμητέρους 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.

**Δουλεῖονσι γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.]** “*They are slaves, lashed and racked.*” LORD BROUGHAM. He translates this whole passage from καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ to 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.*] *Has 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 ἀκροσμένους. 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. ΧΕΝ. ΟΥΡ. i. 8, 10. Οὐκ ἀκροσμένοι δὲ τοῦ φοντος. ARIST. ΑΘΗ. 306, τῶν δὲ ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.

*Τηλικαύτην . . . πείσεσθαι.*] *And think that you inhabit a city so great in size as that no calamity whatever can affect it.* "Ωστε τὴν πόλιν, τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος οὖσαν, 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 δώτε μηδὲ ἀν δτιοῦν κ.τ.λ. to δώτε μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἀν δτιοῦν γ, 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. SCHÄFER 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 SMAGER's suggestion rests on no authority, still it is the best yet proposed, and is accordingly adopted here. Καὶ μὴν. *Et vere. And truly.* Ἐδει γαρ....μὴ ποιῆσαι. *For you ought to have done such and such a thing, and not this.* Cf. PIND. OL. ii. 53, διὰ πλούτος ἀρετᾶς δὲ δαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρῶν.

“Α τότε εἰ προείδοντο.] *Which if they had then foreseen.* Προειδόντων, in which sense the use of the mid. is legitimate. SCHÄFER. Πολλά' δν.... Supply the same verbs as before. 'Αλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; *But what advantage is any of these things to them?* Cf. ARIST. PLUT. 1152. Τί δῆτ' δν εἴης ὄφελος 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 δν σώζηται.] On ἔως δν with the subjunctive see JELF. 841. Σώζηται is here equivalent to σῶι γ. SCHÄFER. The Attics rarely used the singular of this adjective, but compare infra ἔως ἐσμὲν σφοι. Σκαφός. Vox propria orationis altius surgentis. SCHÄFER. Cf. σκάφος πόλεως, *the ship of state*, in ARIST. VESP. 29.

Καὶ πάντες ἄνδρα ἔξης προθύμους εἶναι.] This is the reading of the best manuscripts, and we have consequently retained it. The lection as given by SCHÄFER—ἄνδρα ἔφεξης πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on very poor authority, and in his notes he approves of the present reading, citing *contra* TIM. p. 722. ἔξης 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.

“Τπέρσχη, 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. 'Αξιώμα καλλιστον. *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;*"

*Πάλαι τις.....κάθηγαι.]* *Some one of my hearers may perhaps eagerly have desired to ask.* Wolf remarks here that *ἀν* is sometimes construed with the future Indicative. But that can not apply here, as *ἡδέως ἀν ίσως* must be regarded as parenthetical. HERMANN also adopts this view, and says we must supply some such words as *ἐπωτῶν* 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 *γραμματεύς*, 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 nomothetae 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. Α προβούλευμα is a decree of the senate in force for a year. A φήμισμα gave this greater scope, and applied it to all parties, but its duration was only a year still. Α 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 DICT. ANT. s. vv., *θουλή* and *νομοθέται*, and consult SCHÖMANN *De Comit. Ath.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἀν.....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' δὲ τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεγένετο οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι. Ταῦτα = δτι παρεσκευάσμεθα. ARNOLD. Τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας The future participle used to denote intention or purpose. JELP. 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 ἔχητε.....ἀν τι δέη. Ye may have partners in your dangers and hopes, if need be. Εἰ δὲ μή. JELP. 860, 5.

Χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Ye may cause delay in his operations. Χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν is to cause delay, to introduce de-

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λεγ. "Cf. *contra ARISTOR.* p. 651. *FALS. LEG.* p. 392. Οὐδὲ ἔτοίσαν χρόνον οὐδένα." WHISTON. Also THUC. iii. 38. Καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων.

Πρὸς ἄνθρα.] "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 τοῦτον ἀχρηστὸν. *Not even this is valueless*, sc. χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν.

Αἱ πέρσι: βρεσβεῖαι.] In 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Cf. the account given of them in PHIL. ii. pp. 70, 71. Καὶ κατηγορίαι, *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 'Ακαρναίαν ought to be read; DROYSSEN would read κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν, and SAUPPE κατ' Ἡπειρον. 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 ἐπεισθῆτε ὦπλο τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς Ἀκαρναίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν. "As refers to πρεσβεῖαι alone, and not to κατηγορίαι.

Πολένεκτος.] 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. ARIAN. i. 10, 7. Ἐκενοσί. Δεικτικῶς dictum; sedebat enim homo in cœtu audientium Demosthenem. SCHLEFER.

Ηγήσιππος.] Another political friend of the orator, who, ac-

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ording to LIBANUS, 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.

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Λυκούργος.] An Attic orator, son of Lycophron, of the noble family of the Eteobutades, 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.

Περιήλθομεν.] *We went round upon* as canvassers, Latin *ambire*. WOLF renders by *obivimus*.

Καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' . . . . δρῦσαι.] *And neither then did he attack Ambracia, nor invade the Peloponnesus.* Οἱ μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ. The order is οἱ μέντοι λέγω αὐτοῖς (ιμᾶς) ἔθλοντας 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 προῖεμένους . . . κῆδεσθαι. *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 ἀλλοτρίος as here. Κῆδεσθαι with gen. to be *anxious about a thing, to care for any person.* L. & S. Φάσκειν. See n. p. 112. Τινὲς 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 Χερσονήσῳ.] 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. Φημὶ 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; Νοὐθετεῖν, to induce them to action, having fully persuaded them both by your language and the

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critical position of affairs." BREMI. Cf. *De Reb. Graec. p. 109.*  
*Τοῦτο διδάσκεται, ποιηθήσοτας, πρόξενος ἡσαντος διανομας τῆς πόλεως.*

*Εἰ οἰστε.....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 SMEAD explains it. Chalcis was a principal city of Euboea, 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. Τμεῖς δέ....τὰ πρόγραμμα. And that you will avoid the trouble of attending to the affairs of the whole country. On the Nom. with the Inf. of. JELP. 762.*

*Αγαπητοὶ 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. SCHAFER. 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.*

*Ο 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 καθέζομαι.*

*Ποιήσει.] Many editions give τοιήσῃ 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, θέσης is equivalent to διφορά τρόπων as can be seen from Thuc. vi. 11. εποκεῖν διφορά τρόπων τὸ σφέτερον ἀστρεῖς εὖ θήσοται. 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.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὑρη]. Here are any number of variations in the readings. One has οὐ μήποθ' εὑρη (SCHÄFFER); another, οὐ μή ποθ' εύρησει; while the common reading is μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὑρη. With the future, εύρησει, 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. ΟΕD. 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 ήσαν, εὑρηντ' ἀν πάλαι ἔνεκα γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἔθελειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν. 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.* "Οὐώς μή. This construction is used after verbs of fearing, as here, and also SOPH. ΟΕD. REX. 1075. "Οὐώς 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.

'Εγώ μὲν δή.] *I now then.* JELF. 720, 721, 1, 730. Ταῦτα γράψω. Referring to the statement supra, 'Εγώ, νὴ Δέ, ἐρώ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

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\*Ἐπανορθωθῆται δέ. After verbs of *thinking* and *declaring*, δέ 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 δέ, cf. DEM. p. 497. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς δέ τὸν γομός  
βλάψειν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται.

Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτουν βέλτιον.] But if any one has a motion more conducive to safety than this. τι is omitted from many manuscripts, and βέλτιον is read instead of βέλτιον. But WOLF and seven other manuscript editions give it as above. Δέξει This is BEKKER's reading, and preferable to the common δέξεται. The indicative gives the expression a more positive turn. Συνενέγκοι. Συνενέγκαι is the reading of some editions, but Atticis συνενέγκοι videtur magis placuisse. SCHÄFFER. 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.**

8, " 30, " εἰπέ " εἰπέ.  
4, " 18, " δ " δ.  
4, " 23, " αλλ " αλλ.  
8, " 24, " δ " δ.  
9, " 2, " ἀν " ἀν.  
11, " 4, " ἀν " ἀν.  
20, " 3, " ἐγώ " ἐγώ.  
24, " 31, " Σερρέιου read Σερρέον.  
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, " ἐποτάντες read ἐπιστάντες.  
64, " 23, " γενήσεται " γένηται.  
86, " 19, " πενθεις " πεύσεις.  
89, " 1, " Page 4 read Page 11.  
95, " 32, " τῷ read τῷ.  
108, " 8, " εὐρίσκει read εὐρίσκει.  
108, " 30-31, read ἀγανᾶν.  
113, " 7, for εμιν read enim.  
113, " 12, " ἔκει read ἔκει.  
117, " 19, " Ὁτ read Ὁτ'.  
123, " 18, " Τδωρ read Τδωρ.  
153, " 26, " προς read πρὸς.

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