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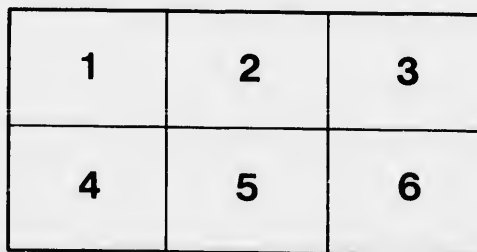
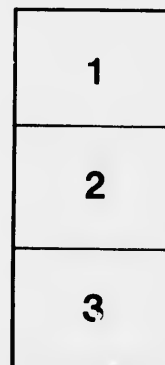
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ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β, Γ.

THE FIRST THREE  
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL.

BY

SAMUEL WOODS, M. A.,

HEAD MASTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, KINGSTON.

TORONTO:

ROLLO & ADAM,

1866.

LOVELL AND GIBSON, PRINTERS, YONGE STREET.

TO THE  
REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.,  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO,

THIS VOLUME

IS INSCRIBED BY ONE WHO  
GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES  
HIS MANY OBLIGATIONS TO HIM  
BOTH AS  
PRESIDENT AND AS PROFESSOR.

STREET.

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## PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

SAMUEL WOODS.

EARL STREET, KINGSTON.

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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
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 Peanian and Cleobule daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Evander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdicas. The Cadmeia seized by Phœbidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phœbidas recalled, and Teletias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Teletias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated.
381-0	99.4	Demophilus.	Agesipolis sent out to succeed Teletias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380 } 379 }	100.1	Demophilus.	The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful he returns, leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Bœotian war breaks out against Sparta.

## 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 Eceotian territory for some time until Chabrias and Gorgidas defeat him at Thespiæ. 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 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	101.1	Charisander	In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Demosthenes is carefully trained in his rudimentary education, and acquires the nickname of <i>Balutis</i> . Demetrius Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter <i>phi</i> . Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Ægean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Corcyra to renew the treaty with Athens.
375-4	101.2	Hippodamas	Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegyra, and routs the Spartans; Cleombrotus again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Corcyra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the islands of the Ægean. Mnasiptus the Spartan general lands in Corcyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corcyra, and Cephalonia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Platrea, and its inhabitants take refuge in the mountains.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
			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 islands of the <i>Ægean</i> . <i>Mnasippus</i> the Spartan general lands in Corcyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corcyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespiæ shares the same fate.
373-2	101.4	Asteius.	Shortly after the death of Mnasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Corcyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Acarnania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.
372-1	102.1	Alcisthenes.	Thebes being enraged with Thebes on account of the treatment of the cities of Thespiæ and Plataea, sends ambassadors to conclude a peace with Sparta. Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.
371-0	102.2	Phrasiclides.	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Boeotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Phere having arrived a few days after the battle advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Pammenes advises the Acadians to build a city, and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in Peloponnesus.
370 369	102-3	Dysnicetus.	Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Phere, intending to march into Delphi, and pre- side at the Pythian games, is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Poly- pluron succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilaus; Poly- the country and then retire. The Thebans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.
368-7	103.1	Nausigenes.
367-6	103.2	Polyzelus.

Arcadians, and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish; the latter retire, and enter Messenia, where the city of Messena is founded, and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there, and returns to Thebes. The Lacedæmonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Alcæadae 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 Perdiceæ, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry, enters Achaia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phœræ, 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 Phœræ. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states.

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 Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Philus make a separate peace with Thebes.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

367-6	103.2	Polyzelus.	Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and returns home. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phereæ. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states.
366-5	103.3	Cephalisodorus.	of oratory. Demosthenes oppines himself to the study of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.
365-4	103.4	Clion.	Oropus wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodorus and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achæans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.
364-3	104.1	Timocrates.	Ptolemy is slain by Perdicas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages; they are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace.
363-2	104.2	Charicliides.	Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech contra One'orem, 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 Phereæ, 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 Potidea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdicas and Athens, ended by the truce of Callisthenes which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.
			Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phereæ besieges Peparethus,



B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
363-2	104	Charicleides.	and attacks some of the Ægean Islands; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica, and plunders the Piræus. Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Peloponnesus; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Messenia.
362-1	104.3	Molon.	Timotheus captures Sestus, Crithote, and Eleus, in the Chersonese; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Phœæ, and another to Thrace, to co-operate with Miltocythes, who revolted from Cotys; Cotys amuses them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Miltocythes.
361-0	104.4	Nicophemus.	Samos capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the Athenian orator, banished. Messene recognized by Sparta.
360 } 359 }	105.1	Callimedes.	Timotheus and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated, owing to the arrival of succor from Macedonia. Cotys captures Sestus. Perdicas is slain in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Argæus supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matters with Pausanias and Cotys.
359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀριστοθένης ὁ πρότερος ἐπιπολιέρο</i> . Philip subdues the Præonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.
348-7	105.3	Cephisodotus.	Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphimolitan embassier

- 359-8 105.2 Eucharistus. Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, *Chron.* p. 345, under this year, *Ἀμφοθένης ὁ Πύρραρ ἐγυπέζετο*. Philip subdues the Peonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.
- 378-7 105.3 Cephalodotus. Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Phœræ assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out; Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubœa to expel the Thebans.
- 357-6 105.4 Agathocles. The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general, Chabrias. The Thebans obtain an Amphictyonic decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Phocians War. Philip takes Potidea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmenio conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the mine district of Pangæus, and establishes Philippi on the site of Krenides. Isocrates, *De Pace*. Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.
- 356-5 106.1 Elphines. Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares with sixty ships are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Chares accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the 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 355.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
356-5	106.1	Elphines.	Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Paonians and Illyrians to unite against him. In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against <i>Androtion</i> , and against <i>Leptines</i> . <small>DION. HAL. p. 724.</small> Philomelus the Phocian general seizes the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedæmon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thessalians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Seyros, and Lemnos. <i>Coryra</i> revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphicrates brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies.
354-3	106.3	Diotimus.	Demosthenes <i>περὶ τῶν Συμμαχιῶν</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. The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by <small>DINDORF</small> , and also <i>Pro Megalopolitans</i> and against <i>Timocritus</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagase and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phere and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his son.
353-2	106.4	Thudemus.	

353-2	106.4	Thudemus.	the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
353-1	107.1	Aristodemus.	The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by <i>Dindorf</i> , and also <i>P70 Megalopolitanis</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagase and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phere and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylae, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his queen Artemisia. First <i>Puzrippic</i> , and oration against <i>Aristocrates</i> . In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Seyros, 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 <i>De Lib. Rhodorum</i> . Phayllus overruns the country of the Epicnemidian Locrians; and after another battle with the Eeolians 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 <i>ἔπερ Φορτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀναίκατος</i> .
351-0	107.2	Thessalus.	Demosthenes <i>ἔπερ Φορτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀναίκατος</i> . 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.
350 } 349 }	107.3	Apollodorus.	The three Olynthian Oritions. The Olynthians having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers go to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the Chal-
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	civic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself.
348-7	108.1	Theophilus.	Demosthenes one of the 500 this year. In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthycrates. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to DEM. <i>de FALS. LEG.</i> , 4,000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 triremes. The Oration against <i>Métilias</i> is stated by some authors to have been delivered this year. Phalæcus is deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually languishes. Philip celebrates his triumph over Olynthus at Diium in Pieria. Philip, invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complies towards the end of the following year.
347-6	108.2	Themistocles.	Æschines, 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 Eubœans still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Nicæa and Alponus under the charge of Athens, if they would assist them in resisting Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians, fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Æschines. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Pherræ, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and <del>captured several of the principal towns. The Athenians become alarmed</del> and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.
346-5	108.3	Archias.	The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States.

346-5	108.3	Archias.	<p>The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his <i>De Pace</i> advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.</p>
345-4	108.4	Eubulius.	<p>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. Halonessus taken possession of by pirates under Sostratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.</p>
344-3	109.1	Lyciscus.	<p>In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the <i>Second Philippic</i>, 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 Halonessus, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.</p>
343-2	109.2	Pythodotus.	<p>The speech, <i>de Halonesso</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 Eubœa to</p>

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
343-2	109.2	Pythodotus.	<p>establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of the odium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses <i>Aschines</i>, in his oration, <i>De Falsa Legatione</i>, of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up <i>Halonesus</i> to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take <i>Halonesus</i> as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued.</p> <p>Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration <i>De Rebus Chers.</i> in the winter of 341, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers Teres the king of the country, and expels <i>Cersobleptes</i>, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches towards the Propontis, and at the same time his allies become successful in Eubœa, and establish <i>Cleitarchus</i> and <i>Plutarclus</i> as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his <i>Third Philippic</i>. The Athenian cornships intended for the relief of <i>Selymbria</i> are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i>, of the Athenians.</p> <p>Tyrants expelled from Eubœa by <i>Phœtoz</i>, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures <i>Selymbria</i>, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i> (not genuine) is placed by <i>Dionysius</i>.</p>
342-1	109.3	Sosigenes.	<p><i>Perinthus</i> attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian <i>Pylagora</i> accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the <i>Crœtion States</i>.</p>
340	110.1	Theophrastus.	<p><i>Perinthus</i> attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches</p>

341-0	109 4	Nicomachus	up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i> , of the Athenians. Tyrants expelled from Euboea 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.
340 } 339 }	110. 1	Theophrastus.	Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians, Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian Pylagore accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.
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.
338-7	110. 3	Cherondas.	Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Pytho to become allies of Athens. The war then commences. Chares defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at Cheronæa, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lysicles to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia.
337-6	110. 4	Phrynichus.	Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Æschines. Philip having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra.
336-5	111. 1	Pythodemus	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.



B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Bœotian 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	Euœnetus.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon. The decree of Ctesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Æschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Æschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes. Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable flies to Megara, and thence to Trezene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
334-3 330 } 329 }	111.3 112.3	Ctesicles. Aristophon.	their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trireme is sent, on motion of Democles, son of Demomeles, to bring him back to Athens,
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of Antipater and Craterus aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon afterwards
323-2	114.2	Cephalisodorus	rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of Antipater and Craterus aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon afterwards

323-2 114.2 Cephisodorus Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a tritreme is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demomeles, to bring him back to Athens,

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

Εἴπερ ἴσθη βόμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, εἶχες,  
ὄπιστ' ἂν Ἑλληῶνων ἤρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδῶν.

**Κ**ακῶς ἐν  
εληλύθασιν  
καίρῳ, καὶ εἰση-  
ῖ δύο δυνά-  
μοι μένουσι  
λάπτω, ξένο  
τῶν, κελεύει  
βοηθείας, ἀλλ  
λείπτω, ἵνα  
τὸν χειμῶνα,  
χειρῇ τοῖς πρ  
των κρατῇ, ἀ

Εἰ μὲν π  
Ἀθηναῖοι, λ  
γνώμην ἀπε  
ῖθέντων, ἦσ  
ἀ γινώσκω  
οὔτοι πρότερ  
τες ἀναστὰς  
παρεληλυθότ  
ἀε ὑμᾶς νῦν  
Πρῶτον μ  
παροῦσι πρᾶ  
ἵστι χεῖριστο

## ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

### ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Κ**ακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συνελθύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. ὁ τοίνυν ῥήτωρ τὴν τε ἀθυμίαν κηρύττει παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες κερκράτηται, καὶ εἰσηγεῖται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει δὲ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, ἥτις οἱ μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρεῖας ἑτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὕψτων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμεμιγμένων δὲ καὶ πολιτῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεισθαι πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτήσιαις πνέοντα ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἠνίκα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπιχειρῆ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τῆν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντησεν κρατῆ, ἀλλ' ἐγγυὲς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχη.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προτίθετο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμῃν ἀπεφάναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἂ γινώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ φαύλως ἔχην δοκεῖ. ὃ γὰρ ἔστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τούτο; ἰδὲ σύμμι  
 οὐδὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς προσέχει  
 τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει πραττόντων οὐ παρέσκε  
 εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἄνδρες  
 καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησθέντες  
 κριμένοι, ἰλίκην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δὲ κ  
 χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάγκησαν ἀ  
 ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἐ  
 νικῶν δικαίον τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἐνεόητι δ' ὀ  
 ταῦτα λέγω; ἴν' εἰδήτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσασθε καὶ τησθε  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγοῦσι Λησίου τ  
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι γίνεσθε, ἂν  
 τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχεσθε, κακ  
 τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὑβρεὶ τούτου, δι' ἣν ταῦτα παρόντ  
 τόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζεν ὧν ἐχρήν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἐκείνων κα  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἰπῶν νῦν ἐ  
 σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ καὶ ἐν ἄλλ  
 τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λαγῆ νομίζ  
 σάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἶχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντ'  
 Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τῆσαν, ἣν ἀπ  
 τον οἰκίον κύκλω, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν, τὸ τ  
 αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβουλόμην αἰρεσι  
 λετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ 'κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταπειλὴ καὶ  
 την ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμῆν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖσιν ἔχων  
 ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὡς ὑπεριβ  
 συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποιήκεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαυθῶν  
 την ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσάυτε ἂ χρί  
 καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἄθλα ἀνάγκη τις  
 πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παρούσιν γὰρ οἰμ  
 τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πράγματων  
 ὀμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησόμενος τῇ γνώμῃ παρῶν πονθ  
 κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ ἄλλοτερον ἢ Μ

ὄν ἐστι τοῦτο; ἴδὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ  
 τοιούτων ὑμῶν κακῶς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦτοις ἐθέλονσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι  
 τῆκε πραττόντων οὐκ ἀρκεσκασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἂ χρῆ. ἂν τοῖνυν,  
 θαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητῶς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσητε  
 τιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησθέντες γνῶμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν,  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,  
 ἠκόκτως οὐδὲν ἀνάγκη πασαν ἀφείας τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἔτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξει, ὁ μὲν  
 νατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνισμάτων ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικία στρατεύεσθαι, — συνε-  
 μον. τίνας οὖν ἐνόησι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ  
 αἰοι, καὶ θεάσησθε καὶ γησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ  
 ρὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῶς ἡλιθίων πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομι-  
 δεύμασι χρώμενοι γασθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλη, καὶ τὰ κατεβράθυμηνά πάλιν ἀναλήψ-  
 εῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχασθε, κάκεινον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ  
 τούτου, δι' ἣν τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέαι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις  
 ἦν. εἰ δέ τις ἰμῶν ἐκείνων καὶ δέδιεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν  
 τὸν Φίλιππον εὐκρίν νῦν δοκούντων οἰκειῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ  
 αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐν, ταῦτα κὰν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου  
 ὁθῶς μὲν οἰεται, λαχρῆ νομίζεῖν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπηχε μένοιτο πάντα ταῦτα νῦν,  
 οἷς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτήτα καὶ βραθυ-  
 πᾶντα τὸν τόπον τῆσαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. ὀράτε γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 εῖνου νῦν ὄντων ἑθναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρωπος, ὅς  
 ἔ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβουδ' αἴρεισιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'  
 ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὡς φασί, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός  
 μείν ἐστιν Ἀθηναῖον ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι  
 ἡ χώρας ἔρημον ὡς, ὡς περιβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῆ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ  
 ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαυθῶν περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ὄδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποτὸτε ἂ χρῆ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δί'  
 α τὰ χωρία ἀθλα ἀνάγκη τις ἦ. νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθον, ἐγὼ  
 χει τοῖς παρούσι μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 αὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιμύστες  
 ενος τῇ γνῶμῃ πάντων πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι και-  
 τις ἔχοι πολέμου πρότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσπρὸς δὲ  
 νεί. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχὺ καὶ πλοῦ  
 ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τὴν παρὰ  
 πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην στρατείας  
 τοσοῦτον ἐπνήξῃται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καὶ βούλεται  
 καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθῃ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἢ πρὸς  
 αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ  
 γάσαιο ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἄπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι Πύλλας  
 τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὕψως βούλεσθε διοικήσασθε, ὡς καὶ ἂν τ  
 νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι ὅτι διὰ τὸν  
 ναισθ' ἂν, ἀπρητημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμασι γὰρ, ε  
 Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν κείνου το  
 ἅπαντας ἐτοιμῶς, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παρὰ  
 μαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἡμῖν, ἂν ἐν  
 τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἴομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄσφρα  
 καὶ πόρους οὐστυνας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτιστον ἀγαμίν τι  
 καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι ἡμᾶς, ἢ συ  
 γειν, δεηθεῖς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὴ μύριον  
 ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μετὰ δὲ  
 ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τι καὶνὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλομαι κείνου κἂν  
 με τὰ πράγματα ἡγεῖσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπὸς τῶν πείσ  
 τες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενῆσθαι. ἔσ  
 μένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθεῖα κωλύσαι δυνηθείημεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δευροφὴν ἔξει  
 τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμείναι δυνήσασθαι τοῦ  
 ται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγεῖν ποιήσετε  
 μεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ὄντες εἶναι  
 κακῶς. οἶμαι τοῖνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἶναι ὑπομένοντες,  
 ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη καὶ ποιήσ  
 τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσοσθε κρινταί. γ  
 Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις πέντε καὶ δὲ Ἀθη  
 κοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γῆρας ἡλικίας  
 μας ἔχειν ὡς, εἴαν τι δέη, πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβάσειν μακρὸν τ

οὐ μὰ Δεῦ, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγὸς τριήρεις  
 οὗτος τι πάθῃ, ταχέως καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω. ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν  
 οὕτω προσέχητε τῆσδε ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ  
 ἀρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμης στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερῖμόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι  
 ἔραν ἀμελείαν. καὶ βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τούτο ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστήναι, ὡς  
 ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμέτεροις ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὡσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ  
 ἕμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξῆς ἰσχυρότερον ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἀλιάρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρώην  
 αἰσιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παντελῶς οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιή-  
 σαι διοικήσασθε, ὡς οὐκ αὐτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὡς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἢ  
 φίπολιν δέξασθαι ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδῶς εὐτρεπέις ὑμᾶς — εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·  
 αὐαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆσδε ἀρχῆς ἐξῆς γὰρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν τοῦ δέοντος — ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παριδῶν ταῦτα ἀφύλακ-  
 τῶν πεπεισμένων, παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινήν, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδῶν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν  
 οὗτος ἢ ἀπαλλάξαι ἡμῶν, ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἂ πᾶσι δεδύχθαι φημι  
 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσων ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτερον ἴσασιν τινὰ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημι προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν  
 αὐτῶν δὴ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ  
 ἴσασιν, τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὴ καὶ μυρῖους μηδὲ δισμυρῖους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολμαίους  
 προλαμβάνετε· μάλιστα δυνάμεις ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, κἂν ὑμεῖς ἕνα κἂν  
 λέγειν, ἀναβάλλετε τοῦ δέοντος κἂν τὸν δεῖνα κἂν ὄντινον χειροτονήσῃτε στρατηγόν,  
 καὶ τῆμερον εἰποῦτόν μοι πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφήν ταύτην πορίσαι  
 ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενησὶν κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἢ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν  
 εἶναι· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δεῖ τροφήν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ'  
 ἔστιν ἕνα διαιμεῖναι δυνήσασθαι τούτων διεξιῶν χωρὶς. ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ πόλεμον ἢ περιγεγενησὶν ποιήσετε ὁ πολλὰκις ὑμᾶς ἐβλάψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομί-  
 μοι τοῦτο εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι  
 εἶναι, μὴ κωλύων εἶναι ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε. ἀλλὰ τὰ  
 ἄλλοις οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ ἄλλοις ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω  
 αὐταῖς δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσσεσθαι ἔμνησθαι. λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τού-  
 τῶν αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων φημι δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος  
 οὗτους οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευσόμενος,  
 ἄλλοις οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβάσειν μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδο-





και κελεύω. και μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς  
 ἑντήκοντα Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποίων· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες  
 τὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους και  
 τί πρὸς τοῦτους ἐπιπέμπετε φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 ἐκείνου ναυτικὸν, Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρχον-  
 δύναμις πλέη. πόσους οἰκείους εἶναι ἢ ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸ φράσω καὶ μὲν Δῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῶν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν;  
 κελεύω, διδάξω. και οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει  
 διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

Ἰσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἠγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν  
 οὐ πολέμου χρημάτων, πόσα και πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸν τοῦτο δὴ και περαίνω. χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή,  
 εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἑννήκοντα, και  
 ὅτι και πρότερόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν νασι ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα,  
 ἴλι, οὐ Πολύστρατον εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ  
 ἄλλοι τινὲς, και αὐτὸν ἀσχιλίους τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης  
 ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίαις σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππέυσι διακοσίους οὔσιν,  
 εἰ ξένοι και ὑμεῖς, ἑν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα  
 καὶ ὑμῖν στρατείας τάλαντα. εἰ δὲ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον  
 δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 τὸν γῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὰ σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ  
 ὅτι οἶσθαι πλεόντων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν  
 ἄρχειν μὴ διδοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελεῖ. καγὼ δὲ συμ-  
 μελέων ἐβελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἔαν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως  
 ἔσῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων. ἂ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω  
 γένεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

### ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

\* Ἀ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν,  
 αὐτὸ ἔστιν. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν  
 ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι κἀν  
 ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμήτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ και τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀποκρίνηται ἡ  
 τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρόνοος,  
 τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθεῖητε, καὶ λογισασθαι ἄνδρες ἄλλοι  
 ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαβόντων καὶ τῶν  
 βάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ προσθαι, ἀπὸ  
 χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι μελοῦν  
 θαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοθηταῖς πολεμῆσαι ἕνα τῶν  
 ὑστεριούμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνατὴν οὐκ  
 με. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Δῆμον ἄντας ὑμῶν  
 καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, καὶ Παγαῶν  
 αἰς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σίτος καὶ ἅ χρῆ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει μὲν τέτι  
 τῆν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον κρηγὸς ἢ  
 τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῶν λαβῶν  
 τῶν ἐμποριῶν στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτου  
 ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλεύσεται. ἅ δ' ὑπερμαροῦν  
 ξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἅ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀντ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἅ λέγω, εἴτα ἄρῳμεν, κα  
 τᾶλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τὰς χωρὶς  
 ἱππέας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπιπέσω ταῦτα  
 πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ ποριστῶν γὰρ τοῖ  
 γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ  
 ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι βραδυτῆτα  
 πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ ἀπὸ μὲθ' ἡμῶ  
 ρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθαι αἰρῶν ἐξελ  
 ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμῆ συμμάχων ἀποπέλλειν  
 ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θύλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς  
 τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ Τούτων,  
 τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Ἀῆμον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τὰ πολ  
 μαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ὄχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν  
 πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα αὐτὸν πράγματ  
 Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχετ' ἔχων τῶν λόγων

τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀπορήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλίειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτε, ὡ  
 εἰρήνη, καὶ λογισαίμεθα ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐργ  
 ἄς τὰ πολλὰ προλαβόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγ  
 νασταίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ'  
 βοηθείαις πολεμῶν ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν  
 ἐκείνη συνεχεῖ καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους  
 ἔχει τῇ δυνάμει Δήμητρας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζει τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν  
 εἰς Παγασὺς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκείνα μὲν ἅπαντα  
 ἐύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχειν τέτακται, καὶ πρόουδεν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς  
 ἢ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον ἢ γυμνασιάρχου τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ  
 τῆ χώρα καὶ πρὸς τῶν λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οἶδ' ἀόρισ  
 τὸν ἐν τούτοις ἡμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ  
 ἡμῖν, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα.  
 ἀδυνατεῖται. ἃ δ' ὑπεκαγαροῦν ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ  
 ἔγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα πῦτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πύρου σκο  
 πῶτον ἂ λέγω, εἴτα ποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαινεῖν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ  
 οὓς, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβιάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν  
 κατακλείσθητε ἐπιπέσω ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν.  
 ταμίαι καὶ ποριστὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσ  
 τρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ὧν βουλευόμενοι βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἄς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις  
 ὁ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν  
 πόρων ἀφαιρήσεως καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἔβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὡστ'  
 ὁ πολεμῆ συμμάχου ἀπέστειλεν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

## Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ο Λ Α Ι.

Τούτων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ μὲν  
 ἔστι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκοίειν.  
 Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅσα ἂν τις ὑπερβῆ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ  
 ἔξω, τὰ τελευταῖα τὰ πράγματα ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ'  
 ἡ χώρα ὄχητ' ἡμῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργω ζημίᾳ γίγνεται,

αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ φενακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὖσαν  
 ἂν ἢ δυσχερῆ πάντων ἰσπερεὶν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῖσιν ὅτι γινώσκουσι  
 δύναισθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους ἀπομαρτυροῦν  
 ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν ἀπομαρτυροῦν  
 πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξέμεν  
 ἀξιώσειε τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἡγεμόνων  
 μᾶλλον τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἢ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῆ, ταῦτα προαυθόμεθα;  
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. ἡμεῖς ἰσχυροὺς πρὸς  
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἁπάντων ἔχοντες, τριπλάσιον  
 ρεις, ὑπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοτον, τοῦτων μὲν μέγιστος τῶν λ  
 τῆς τῆμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πρόποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδέποτε. ὅσοι  
 δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, ὥσπερ οἱ βύρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολέμων μὴ πάντων  
 Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεῖς ἀεί τῆς πληγῆς ἔχει μὴ συναγαγεῖν  
 κὰν ἐτέρῳσε πατάξῃ τις ἐκείσε εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλουσιν τὰς ἀπομαρτυροῦν  
 δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἰσχυροὺς γινώσκοντες  
 Χερσίωνῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βοθηεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύετε  
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, ἐν ἄλλοθί που, συμπαραθείτε ἄνω κάστρον, οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύετε  
 καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν ἀπομαρτυροῦν ὅσα  
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προδοῦναι αἰτίας  
 αἵτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενον τι πύθησθαι ἀπόλοιτο  
 ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐντὶν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦκει ἀπομαρτυροῦν  
 ἀκμῆν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὧ ἀπομαρτυροῦν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος τοῖς ἂν τύχηται  
 φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχωσιν Πῶς οὐκ  
 κατέστραπται καὶ προεἰληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἠθελε καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ  
 ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχωρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυροῦμένων κ  
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχυρὰ ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν ἀπομαρτυροῦν μόν  
 σία. νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεί τινα καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενον δ' εἰς τὸ  
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωσθῶν ἕκαστος  
 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμείται μήτε ὀργιστὸς ἐχθροῦ  
 ται, ὄρων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ  
 γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰρουμένων

ταντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὐσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ  
 ἔργων, καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦ ἴσθαι ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει. εἶτα τοῦτ'  
 ἀλέμφω χρωμένους ἀποπρονοοῦμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνους ἐλπί-  
 ῖ εμπροσθεν εἶναι τὰς ἀν' ἀποστείλιτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα;  
 ἐρ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξίμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τιμι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν προσηρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορ-  
 οῖς δοκῆ, ταῦτα προνοούμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήγει τὰ σαθρὰ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν  
 ται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς καίνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἀν' ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἀν' μέντοι  
 πάντων ἔχοντες, τρωθόμεθα οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτωμένων ἀλλή-  
 δον, τούτων μὲν μέγας τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόν-  
 τι κέχρησθε, οὐδεὶς. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἀν' οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῆ,  
 οἴουσι, οὕτω πολεμῶν μὴ πᾶσα παρῆ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης  
 τῆς πληγῆς χειρῶν συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δ' ἀν' στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν  
 εἶρες' προβύλλεσθε τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τῶν  
 ἔλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνθρώπων γίνονται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελωσῶσι, οἱ δὲ σύμ-  
 μηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, μάχοι τεθνάσι τῷ δέει τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ  
 παραθεῖτε ἄνω κάθισιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποιε ταυτ' ἡμῖν πράξει  
 πλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αἰετὸν ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν  
 ὄν πραγμάτων προδοῖα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τού-  
 γνόμενόν τι πύθησθαι ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων  
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν' ἐκείνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 οἱ θεῶν τις, ὧ αἰετὸν δόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀν' ἀκούσητε ὅ  
 εως αἰσχυρόμενος τι ἀν' τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρῆ προσδοκᾶν;  
 ἴππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχω. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 χεῖν ἤθελε καὶ μὴ τὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατη-  
 δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρομένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἴκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ  
 ἠκότες ἀν' ἡμεν διακούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὄραν.  
 πλείονος ὀρεγόμεν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχυρῆς ὥστε τῶν στρατη-  
 γάσιν ἀπεγνώσθαι ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ἡμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ  
 θυμείται μῆτε ὀργιστὸς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου  
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδριποδιτῶν καὶ λυποδουτῶν θάνατον μᾶλ-  
 λιππον, τὴν δὲ τέλει ἀίρουσιν τοῦ προσήκοιτος. κακούργον μὲν γὰρ ἔστι κρι-

θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιούριον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πρῶτον τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλιν τεχνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλείοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκέεινον μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὄροντα καὶ τὰς πεπραγμένους ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' οὕτω προσβλέψασθαι πρᾶττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέσθαι τί μὲν ἔλαττοι ποιεῖν ἐκέεινον· ἀνοητότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμῶν ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολλὸν ὑβρίζει, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πρότερον ἠελπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εἴρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ἵνα μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθῦδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότερες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πρότερον εἴη δαίμων σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῖλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῖς νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναί.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν πεπεισμένος γινώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρήρησισα μὲν ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέροι τὰ βέλτιστα ἀκούσασθαι οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναί συνοίσειν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι. πρῶτον γὰρ ἂν ἤδουν εἶπον. νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδύλοις οὔσι τοῖς τούτων ἐμαντῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, πράξτε, ταῦτα πεπεισθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῆ δ' οὐδὲν πάντων μέλλει συνοίσειν.

Ἰπταρινεῖ δ  
ποπτεῖν τὸ  
θαι καὶ προ  
λεμον· ἐπι  
λλησι τὸν  
σί. ἐπαγ  
οντας, ἀπο  
οῦτοι καὶ τ  
ν Φιλιππικῶ  
μενε πρέσβε  
λλουσιν αὐτ  
ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγ  
εῖσθαι, καὶ  
καὶ Ἀργεῖ  
τοὶ τὸν δῆμο  
ους τέ ἐστι  
αντιοῦται. δ  
ως καὶ πρὸς  
κεδαιμονίους  
στασιν καὶ μ  
ραία πράττειν  
πήκασιν μὲν  
πατήσθαι· ο  
λιαν οὐδεμίαν  
σιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθ  
πτες ὡς Φίλιπ  
τοῦτο ὁ Δημ  
τὰς δώσειν, φ  
είνους καὶ τὰς  
μον καὶ ἀνοίξε

# Γ. ΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β.

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

**Π**αραίνει διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεύει τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρειν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐ τρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιᾶται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἀποσπαστάς, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. πόθεν οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. κατὰ γὰρ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέμψεν πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαλύουσι αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγελάμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευσάμενον δέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησὶν οὐδὲ εἶσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. ἐπεψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλούμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἔστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολемоῦσιν ἀντιοῦται. ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εἰδοὶ μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου ἵστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφίνασθαι δύνανται ἑαυτὰς· πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι διηγήσασθαι μὲν ὧν ἠλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἀπατήσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελάμενος οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβειν ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. τοῦτο δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν πρὸς τὰς δώσεις, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας ἀπατήσαντας, ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην



αίνιττεται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὡς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν ἅπαντι τῆς παραπροσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλον αὐτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὀρθῶ φαινομένους καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γινόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεῖν ἄλλων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἡμῶν προηγήμενα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει ὥσθ' ὅσοις τίς ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχη Φιλίππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσοῦτ' ὅτι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλεύσαι χαλεπότερον εἶναι. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύει καὶ πράξεις, οὐδὲ δίκαιον λόγους δέον· πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφίκαται τοῖς ἡθεταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθει ποιήσειεν, ὑποκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξέειπον τινὰς χόρμεθα. ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεφείγοντες, κενύσθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίσσεσθε, ἂν τὴν παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον ὄντων τύχῃ οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι δισ-οίβετε καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι σπουδάξετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέρους ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἰ πράξει αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ἡμῶν στρατευστέον ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προεπιβουλεύειν ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντων τῶν ἔργων μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνήσόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητικὸς τῶν ἰσχύων τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγοντες χάριτος μὴ

αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦν ἅπασιν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα  
 τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετόν.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρῆεἰ ὄρων ἡλικος  
 ἡδὴ καὶ ὄσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον  
 φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι,  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναμάζω, καὶ δεθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς  
 λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τὰναντία ἐμοὶ  
 ὄρω φαινόμενον ἀρῆστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν'  
 ἴσθαι τὸν κατὰ τὴν φύσιν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ  
 ἄλλοι ἀρῆθῶντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθῆσθε. ἐγὼ  
 οὐκ εἶπὼν εἰς τοῦτο ἡγοῦμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογιζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος  
 τῇ πόλει ὡσθ' ὅσοις ἄλλοις ἦν ἄλλοις μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσει  
 Φίλιππον καὶ τῶν παραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἂν Ὁθηβαίους συμ-  
 τοῖς Ἑλληνισμῶν ἐπέφερε καὶ οὐχ ἂν τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί δῆποτε;  
 βουλεύσασθαι χαλεπὸν πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι  
 ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν  
 καὶ πράξεις, οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὕρθως, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει  
 τούτων μὲν ἀφέσει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ  
 ὡς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθει ποιήσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν  
 καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξέειπεν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προείσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου  
 ἂν εἶποιτε δικαίον λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι  
 Φιλίππου παρεφείγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂν προσήκει προορῶμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώ-  
 ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπεισθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῆ πράττειν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ πολε-  
 τρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον οὖντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ὁθηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντι-  
 οἰβετε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐναντιῶν γεγονότων τὰ λοιπὰ εἴσωτε ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν  
 ἡμῶν μὲν αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξιν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἂν δικαιοτέρα ἡμῶν στρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ  
 ἂν πράγματι εἰς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτα ὑπειληφὸς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι  
 εἶναι καὶ μὴ προσεῖν ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ-  
 μηδ' ἐπιστήσαντων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδεὶς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ  
 ὄμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτῶν δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγειν χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτως ὑπέιληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων μέλλει  
καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ἰστοροῦν  
καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὐρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μέλλει  
ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἔξδν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς  
ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὡστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἄλλαι, ἀλλὰ  
οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἠνίκ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ δῖον αἶμα  
ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχθρον  
ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸς  
μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἂ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίχονται λέγουσιν αἰεὶ  
ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως πρῶτα β  
(ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς Θηβαίους, τ  
Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας ὧν νῦν π  
τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πάντων δ  
ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελεῖν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τῶν πόλεως  
Ἑλλησι σκεψομένους. ἠγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλον τῷ νῦν γε  
ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθείτο, συνεπέτου δ' ἀντ  
γούς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν χρόνον, κ  
καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὄρα πλείονα τιν ὑμετέρο  
αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὖσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησάτω γὰρ Ἀμφί  
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμποριῶν ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμφοτέρων ἠγεῖ  
μονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ὄντα καὶ  
ἔτυχεν.

Ἄλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλεονεξεσθῆναι τι  
ονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ ἠήσας πρότ  
τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ ἰαθεραπε  
μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς βουλομ  
Μεσσηνίαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφίεναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχησπύσειν οἷε  
μενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοῦς τῷ δίκαια νομῶν ἐν προύφασ  
ζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο ; παραδείγματ' ε

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ ἀργείους ἔμοι  
παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὄπλα, οἷς ἐστὶν εἰρή  
τῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασί. Πῶς γὰρ  
δ

δε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείοισιν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ  
 παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ λογοποιοῦσι περιμύοντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα  
 εἰ γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις  
 αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλειν οὐ  
 βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἀλλεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει  
 ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ δῖναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτὸς ἔστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οἷς δ' ἀπό-  
 ὑπομείναντας, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν πρότερον Φωκέας ἵν' σῶζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα  
 ἐπιγίχονται λέγειν στείπειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἴησθαι Φίλιππον, οἷτ' εἰ  
 παραλείψω δικαίως πρῶτα βιωθῆεις ἄκων ἐπραξεν οἷτ' ἂν εἰ τὴν ἀπεργίνωσκε  
 οὐκ ἂν εἶποι), τοὺς Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 συστρατεύσαντες ὡς ἂν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσας.  
 οὐδὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὁρθῶς θεωρῆ, πάντα πραγματεύεται κατὰ  
 τὴν οἰκίαν κοινῆ τῶν πόλεως συντηρητικῶν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τι-  
 νῶς ἔλοιτο φίλοισιν ἡμῶν γε διὰ συμβαίνει. λογίσεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται,  
 προσθεῖτο, συνεσθῆναι δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέκλιψεν ἡμῶν. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν  
 ἐκείνους ἀντ' ἡμῶν χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σίνουθεν αὐτῶ. οἷς γὰρ  
 εἰς γε ὄρα πλείοντα ἡμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται.  
 τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησῆναι γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ηοτίδαμιν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἶκοι μένειν  
 τηκεν. οὐδ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἡμῶν ἡγήτο. ἀμφοτέρωθεν οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιβου-  
 λῆσιν αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ὄντα καὶ ἡμῶν αἰσθανομένους. εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ἡμῶν ἵπο-  
 κριβάνων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρῶξινται,  
 οἷτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλείοντα σέσθαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθάνη  
 οἷτ' ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέσθηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καλεῖται θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς  
 ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὰ βουλομένους τούτοις, οἷς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα  
 ἡμῶν ἂν ὄρχηται πησῆσιν οἶεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ'  
 οἷτ' ἐπὶ δίκαια νομίζοντες προόψεται. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσιν γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ  
 παραδείγματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς  
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ὄπλα ἔστιν εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς  
 ἡμῶν. οὐκοῦν φασί. Πῶς γὰρ οἶσθ', ἔφην, ὧ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνιοί, δυσχερῶς

ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τις τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἠφίετο, καὶ πᾶσι ἡς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλόν, καὶ προσχρήσαντες τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνήρητο, τὴν χώραν δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐκείνους ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τὰς παρ' ἐμῶν αὐτὰ πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθαι ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλ' ὁμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρποῦσθαι ὡς ἐσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχυρῶς ποιεῖν ἐκτεσσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ παραυτίχῃ ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις ἐπινοήσειν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὀμιλία. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ; Περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν οἴεσθ', ἔφην; ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πᾶσι δουλεύσεσθαι Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἐπινοῦντ' ἂν εἶναι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; Ἦν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔσσης ὑποσχέσθαι εἰδέναι. ἡμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, δίδοντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμεναι μὲν οὐκ ἔθεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρομένον ἡμεῖς οἷδ' ὅτι ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δι, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δε', ἐφ' ἧσιν εἰρήνην ἐγὼ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημέλια ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σπουδὴν τῆς τήριας, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα οὐδ' ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ διαφροσεβίας τῆς νης προσδέεται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὐ φρονούντων, προὔλκει ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδὲ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀστροπος καὶ τί οὖν ἔστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀπὸ βλάψης ἂν ἴεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε λαταῖς τε ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἴτ' οὐχ ὄρατε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτῆρα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος τ' Ἀμφιπόλιος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητούντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὐρηματικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ

κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει  
 μὲν αὐτοῖς ἠφέλιμα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων καὶ  
 σιλεῖς ἀντεποιούντων πρότος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον  
 οἴκους ἐκβαλῶν, καὶ υποσχέονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὦν ἐπαγγέλλεται.  
 ἀγγήρητο, τὴν χώραν οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνῖοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων  
 οὐδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς μέσσοις παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὀρώσῃ τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ'  
 πιστεῦσαι οἷσθε ἡμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες  
 ἄλλοτριαν καρπῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ὡς περιστοιχιζέσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν  
 στέρονται, αἰσχρολογησθε, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομεινάντες. οὕτως  
 καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπὸ παρατυχῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ βραστώνης μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον  
 αἰς ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνοίσειν μέλλοντος.

τί δ' οἱ Θετταλαί. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον  
 ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν βουλεύεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε. ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ  
 ἂν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἔσονται ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.  
 ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν.

### Α Π Ο Κ Ρ Ι Σ Ι Σ .

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας  
 τα καὶ πᾶσιν ἑστέροις υποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 καὶ ὑποσχομένους κελῖν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν  
 αἰ παρακεκρουμένους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν  
 τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἐφ' ἧσιν εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ψέσθε. ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεισ-  
 ὄς φυλακὴν καὶ σκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας;  
 ἴφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσους ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυῖας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστερας ἦκων  
 ροπούητα, καὶ διαπρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν  
 τῶν εὐφρονούντων ἄλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι  
 ἐν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἔσθαι οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἴδωρ πίνων εἰκότως  
 ὡς τοὺς τυράννοισι στροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ  
 ἴτετε, ταύτης ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιῶς μὲν καὶ  
 πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε; λαταῖς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον  
 πον ἄλλοτριωτάτων τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν  
 εὐς γὰρ καὶ τύραννον τ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει. ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως ἡμάτων ἐνταυθὶ μνημονεύει οἶδ' ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ  
 δεσπότην εὐρητήσιν αὐτοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εὐχόμεν ἂν ἡ  
ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ  
λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάλαντα ἐξέτασθαι  
μετὰ τῆ ἱερσίας, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ λένα γὰρ  
ἴν' εἰς λουδοριάν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἕου λόγον παρὰ θεοῦ, μετὰ  
ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἄρχης κινεῖν.  
παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππον. οὐκ  
ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. ἀλλ' οἰμαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσειεν ἡ  
Φίλιππος πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα δὲ  
προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην μὲν ἂν εἰκάξειν ὀρθῶς, φοβερὸν  
μει δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῶν  
ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἕκαστον  
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστίν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς περὶ  
τες ὀράτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι  
νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρέσβειων σεσιωπηκότων, οὐδὲ  
οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πᾶσι  
ρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περὶ τὴν ἔργον  
πεσεῖν συμβῆ. ὀρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ βήτωρ  
αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντα ἄλλοι καὶ αἰ  
ἔως οὖν ἐτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακ  
κούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόμενα, ὅμως  
ἐπανιμνήσαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλαρον ἑκάστην  
προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπίστατο, ο  
ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποιθὲς ἐκεῖ, καὶ πᾶ  
ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἕξω πραγμάτων εἰσέναι, καὶ λ  
τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἕβρεως κ  
Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὅς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὴν παρὰ τὰ πράγματα κα  
γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε ἑαυτοὺς εἰπεῖν, ἀλ  
ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δὴπὲρ κριόντες καὶ  
κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ Φιλίππου ἄγματο' ἐξεί  
οὔτε περὶ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας. πολλο  
δικαί' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ οὐ παρ' ἐν

αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἰσὶν ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη-  
 ητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν ἰκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ'  
 τὸν θεοῦ τάλαντος ἐξετασθεὶ μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ᾧ πάντες θεοί·  
 ἀποκρίψομαι, ἀλλ' ἕνα γὰρ βουλομένην ἂν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-  
 ξῆς ἕξ ἡσίου λόγον παρὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑπο-  
 στήναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εἰν.

παρὰ Φιλίππου.  
 ὁ ἡμᾶς λυπήσει  
 τὸ γὰρ πράγμα  
 ἀξίζει ὀρθῶς, φοβ  
 ταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑ  
 ὄντων, μηδ' ἀκού  
 ἴνους ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πε  
 σαχεῖς ἡμᾶς ἔσεσ  
 ἰν σσειωπηκότων, ε

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἡ ἀπλή τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀργῆς περὶ τὴν ἄνασταν, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικούντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀναστανεὶν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου  
 ἔχειν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένον καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

ἰς ἔπανορθοῦν τι πε  
 τὰρ ἡμῶν ὀργῇ περ  
 ἐνίου οὐκ εἰς τῶ  
 τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντα  
 ῖν πράγματα καὶ κατ  
 ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶτα, ὅμ  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ Πύλλου  
 ἰς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ἔγρονε, καὶ πεποῦ  
 ἡμῶν πραγμάτων εἰ  
 καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν  
 ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴν παρ  
 ταρεκρούσθητε γὰ  
 ἡμῶν γὰρ ναυσὶ δὴ  
 ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡμῶν  
 ἐστὶν ἡμῶν Φιλίππου  
 Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἡμῶ  
 ἡμῶν εἶχεν, ἡ παρ

Πολλῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν  
 ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην  
 κινήσατο, οὐ μόνον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας  
 κεί, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιούσι  
 ἡμῶν, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται  
 ἡμῶν καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγγεμένα πάντα τὰ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ προειμένα ὀρῶ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάβη  
 εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἡμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ  
 ἡμῶν ἐξεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατε-  
 ῖν οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίεται, μάλιστα



δ', ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εἰρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν κεκρά-  
 λον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν ἔτι ἔτι  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῖς. Εἰ μὲν  
 φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, αὐτοὶ  
 οὐκ οἶον οὐδ' ὑμᾶς οἶοντα δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ περιόντα  
 πραγμάτων ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοῖς  
 ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἢ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται ὡς  
 καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἔξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρων ἔ-  
 τειν ὅ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνίθεις ὡν ἐν ταῖς  
 εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷται δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων οἱ πο-  
 ἄξω δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας πε-  
 λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι μάψας τις  
 σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὠδὶ. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖτε  
 οὕτω κοινῇ οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε ἕγω καὶ δι-  
 τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεώκατε, καὶ πολλοῦτερον εἰ-  
 ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἑκῆν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ἀφήτην ἀγε-  
 βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνείας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεω ξωμαί, φη-  
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. εἰθ' ἴσως ἀφῆται καὶ  
 συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν ὡς ἐν ταῖς  
 κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις μὲν τὸ  
 μασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύουσι πολέμου  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω δικάεσθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δὲ εἰρήμην ἄ-  
 συμφέρι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβλήσεται ἀκούειν, ἔτοιμος λέγειν δὲ τις ταῖς  
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνν φαίλωσ τὰ πρῶτα ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προέβλεπτα λαβῆ-  
 ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ' ἔτι πᾶσι κείνῳ παρ'  
 ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἔστιν αὐτοῦ δ' ἔστι  
 μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι ὤνεϊται,  
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν αἰσθῆται.  
 τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖται. Καὶ μὴν ἐ-  
 των ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πρῶτα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂν παρρησίᾳ πολεμῆ-  
 ἦκε πραττόντων οὕτω δικάετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι Ἀττικῆν  
 βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀπείρας πρὸς τοὺς

τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μὴ κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἄλλους, ἔν τινές μὲν ἤτησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κекίνησθε.

τοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῦτα. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει πρῶτον πρόνοιαν ἔχοντα πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόνοια λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὕψος ἀσφαλεστάτα καὶ ἀλλοιότερα οὐδὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἀμννοῦμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔνοι διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς δίκην λήψονται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρῶτον ἔχοντος καὶ πάντως ἀνθρώπους ἀδικούντος ἀνέχεσθαι ἀδικίαι συνήθειαι, ἔτι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινές ἐστιν οἱ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθωθῶν μετὰ παρηγορηθῆσθαι περὶ τοῦτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμννοῦμεθα ἡμῶν ὄργην γενέσθαι· τίς τις καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πόλεμου ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πόλεμου· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκατε, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλοι εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν ἐκείνου ἐξουσίας εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἢ ἐντεῦθεν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεμον εἶναι, φημι ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμῖς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα ἀποκρίνασθαι· ἀποκρίνασθαι· εἴθ' ἂν ἀφείναι καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξίω· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾷ, ἔτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύνανται πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ πόλεμου δύναμιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πόλεμοις μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς πόλεμοις ἤδη κινδυνεύει· τίς τις πόλεμον χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμννεσθαι; φάσκειν ἔγωγε τί λέγω. εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. εἰ πολεμεῖν, ἔτοιμος λέγω, δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκείνος πάντα τὰ πόλεμα καὶ πολλὰ προσέλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμῖς ἤξει, πρῶτον μὲν μαινεται, ἔπειτα βούλησθ' ἔτι πᾶσι κένω παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ἡμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγειν· εἰ μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος τῶν τοῖς παρεληλυθότων ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν ἄρχει. τί οὖν ἀξίωσθαι.

τῶν δεόντων παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον. Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ, εἰ πᾶσι τὸ ἀποκρίνασθαι πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἔσμεν εὐθέςτατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίξῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔρει, εἴπερ ἐπέρας καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν

γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπε· εἶπε; εἶπε  
 ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκείναι· ἔστιν, ἔστιν,  
 αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύῃ, ἢ μή;  
 αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων ταῦτα· ἢ εὐσεβέως  
 ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους παραβ  
 ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκῶν ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ· ἢ ῥόνησον  
 πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελεῖν εἶναι,  
 τελήσειεν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπόδοον. καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶτον ἔλαυνε ταῦτα  
 φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβῶν, οὐτοῦ δέ  
 τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς τάλαιπύροις Ὠρεΐταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψάμενος εἰρήνην  
 νους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὐνοίαν· πεπομφέναι κατ'  
 θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει ἐν Πελο  
 συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δυνα  
 ροῖς παρῆναι. εἶτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν, εἰ  
 κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατῶν φήσετε  
 αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ πρῶτον οὐ φησε  
 ῥήσους πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπαταῖσθε κατασκευ  
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερότατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐτοξένη.  
 πων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' Ἐλλήσπον  
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκείνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλοις βοίας τὸν  
 λους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι οἷός τ' ἐκεί  
 καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλεσθαι πόλιν ἰσ  
 οἰς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκείνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖτε· οὐλοῦ γε κ  
 τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὧ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπινοήσεως ἤδη  
 ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἐπιβουλήσθε  
 πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δὴπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος τῶν ἄλλ  
 ποσ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὐπω Διοσιπέδου οὐδὲ δοκε  
 στρατηγόντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπα  
 μένων, Σέρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρῶν τοῖς θεῶσι  
 ρεῖον τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτους ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ  
 ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ

πόλεως στάδια εἰς τὴν πόλιν; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὤμωμάκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἶπη, τί δὲ  
 Ολύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν κατ' ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ γὰρ μικρὰ ταυτὰ  
 χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔσται, ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος·  
 ῥέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς δ' εὐσεβῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μεί-  
 ῶς πρὸς συμμάχους παραβαίνειν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνικ' εἰς  
 παρῆκοι οὐκ αὐτὸν ἔβουλησάν, ἢν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώ-  
 οὐ Θηβαίους οὐ λυσιτελεῖν εἶναι, ξένους εὐπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπι-  
 καὶ Φεράς πρώην ἀπὸ ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ἔχει καταλαβὼν, καὶ οὗτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκείνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς  
 ταυτοῖσι ἐπισκεψομένους εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ  
 κατ' εὐνοίαν· πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀνιδία κατασκευάζοντα καὶ ἐν Θράκῃ παριόντα καὶ  
 ἀσπάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει  
 ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει, ποιοῦντα λύειν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολε-  
 μίαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάνας εἰρήνην  
 οὗτους μὲν ἐξαπατῶν φήσετε, ὥς ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν,  
 θαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προῦθεν οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ἔβουλην, ταῦτα πράττων  
 κόντες ἐξαπατῶσθαι κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμὸν πολεμεῖν, καὶ μήπω βάλλῃ  
 εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐτόξῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύετε ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ  
 λούντων αὐτῷ, ἢ τῷ Ἕλλησποντον ὑμῶν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῇ  
 ῥάσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλοι βόιας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοπον-  
 προεῖποι τρέπεσθαι οἷος τὰ κείνου φρονήσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ  
 ῥά λόγους ἀφέλοιτο πόλιν ἰστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς·  
 ἴνους γε οὐ πολεμοῦνθαι γὰρ καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φωκίας, ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἐγὼ αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, εἴαν μὲν  
 εἴ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιβουλήσθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσῃ φημι, εἴαν δ' ἄισητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ'  
 ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἐπιβουλήσθε διηγήσῃτε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτον γε ἀφέσ-  
 ου. ὁ τοῖνυν Φίλιππος τῶν ἄλλων, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων  
 οὗτω Διοπέδου, οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρόνησον νῦν σκοπεῖν οἰδὲ Βυζαν-  
 τίνῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπαμύναι μὲν τοῦτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι,  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σπάρτης οὔσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται  
 ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐδὲ ποτεῖλαι, βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστῶτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς



βοῦμαι, ἢ, ἐὰν ἂν ὅμως ὑπερ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἐρωῶμεν,  
 μῶν καὶ πρόνοιαν πολέμειν ψόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ  
 Βούλεσθε, ποιήσασθε, ἀκεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμε-  
 ραῖς προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονά ἐστιν, ὧ  
 τε νῦν μήτ' αὐθις ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὄλοις  
 ἀπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρῆσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 ἰαστικῶς ἔχουσι πλεονέξοτον μέρος τούτων ἐκεῖνα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βρα-  
 χύτερον ἢν τοσοῦτος λόγου ῥάδιον δεῖξαι. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην  
 ἡ πολλὰ προείληψεν ἡ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης  
 ἐπὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἄς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ'  
 ὄρω συγκεχωρηκὸς ἤθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσοις τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς  
 ὄλεμοι γεγονάσιν; καὶ οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται  
 ἐν ὅτι βούλεται, καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις,  
 αὐτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις  
 καίτοι προστάκτ' ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθαι ἡ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει "ἐμοὶ  
 ἀκεδαιμόνιοι· ἵνα ἔστιν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους;" καὶ  
 τελευταίους χρόνους γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ'  
 ἡμῶς οὐθ' ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοισιν οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἡλιαν  
 ὅτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπιτηλικαυτήν πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάρους ἐπεβού-  
 λητων, ποιεῖν ὅσπερ πρῶην, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεο-  
 ο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῶν χωρεῖ τάνθρωπον. καὶ ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 τιν οὐ μετρίως ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων  
 καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐρωτᾶτε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα  
 ἡμῶν πολεμῶν, καὶ διωροαγόμεθα κατὰ πόλεις ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέ-  
 ἄθουσιν εἰς τὴν οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δένοντων πράξαι  
 ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πείνομεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοθηείας καὶ φιλίας  
 γάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀμείβασθαι, ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 αὐτοῖς· καὶ τίς οὐκ ἠροῶμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδάναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται  
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄριστος ἐγνωκῶς, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται  
 ἀδικούμεθ' ὑπ' ἄλλοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ

περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 πάν· πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι, προσέρχεται, οὐδέ ποτε ὦν αἰ  
 ἀγνοεῖ δῆπου. καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἴσθι ἐστίν.  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσθι; οὐκ  
 ὑπὸ γνησίω γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αἰσθῆναι; οὐ  
 τὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἑκατοντίου  
 οὐσία πολλῇ γεγονῶς γνησίος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς, μή τι λα, ἀλλ'  
 ὀρθῶς κατ'αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν; ταῦτα  
 ρίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ἔμεθα κα  
 ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δούλος ἢ ὑποβασίλειος, οὐ  
 μαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπόλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλειος ἄλλως οὐ  
 ὅσοι μᾶλλον δευῶν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν κύριον  
 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκείνος πράττει νῦν, οὐκ ἴσθι; τί οὖν αἰ  
 οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὔτε  
 κοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἐντεῖθεν οἱ Ἕλλη  
 ὄθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας, ὄθεν οὐκ ἄνδρες Ἀ  
 ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι. καὶ ἐστίν, ὅ

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐκ ἴσθι; ἢ ἔτι  
 τῶ πόλεις ἀνηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως οὐδε  
 Ἕλλήνων ἀγῶνα, κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῆ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγνοεῖται καὶ ἀ  
 θετήσοντες πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων. τί οὐ  
 Ἕλληνας παρόδων ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς πόλεις τοὺς πα  
 ρους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τῶν πελοποννησιακῶν  
 ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως  
 γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὅτι χρὴ τὸν τρόπον πολιτεῦσθαι; πέμπει γινώμη. καὶ  
 δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Περθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦν τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
 τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν, τύραννον Φιλιππίων, οὐ μὴδὲν ἐ  
 καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαττόντων π  
 χονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐμῶν λεγόντων  
 δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἕκαστος ὁμόνο  
 γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ἑκατοντίου

τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' προσέρχεται, οὐδέ πο ὡν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῖσχα-  
 ρε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ ἐστίν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Δευ-  
 "Ελληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄχαίων Ναύπακτον ὁμόμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παρα-  
 κούντο, καὶ τὸν ἀπειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφῆρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ  
 περ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἀντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, εἰ  
 μὴ καλῶς, μή τι ἄλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρ-  
 ρεῖς εἶναι καὶ κατηγῶν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλα-  
 ρονόμος τούτων ἀπέμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες  
 ε δούλος ἢ ὑποβασίλειος, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅσασιν  
 ὑμαίνο, Ἡράκλειον ἄλλως οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν  
 ες ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ κύριος γένεσθαι, τί ποιήσεις;  
 ε πράττει νῦν, οὐκ ἔστιν αἰτιον τρυφῆς; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας  
 ὄντος οὐδὲ προσεχῶς οὔτε τότ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοιμίως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἅπαν-  
 βαρβάρων ἐντέλλομαι οἱ "Ελληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν,  
 κεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἴσθες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοαῖς, ὃ νῦν  
 πρίασθαι. ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλοῦτου καὶ ἐλευ-  
 ολείπει; οὐκ ἔστιν ἡγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς  
 θια, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οὐδεμῖας ἠττάτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύ-  
 τοὺς δούλους ἀγῶνται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγ-  
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ'  
 καὶ ξένους τοὺς τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων αἰεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθεῖρειν  
 ἢ προμαντεῖαν τῆς Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ  
 Δωριέας καὶ τῶν ἐπόπατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρία  
 τιν ἅσασιν μέτεσθαι τῆς τούτου ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ  
 αἰτεῦσθαι; πέμψοντες τὴν γνῶμη. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκίστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν  
 ἡμῶν ἐκβαλοῦνται τῆς τῆς καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ  
 ἄλλων Φιλιππίων μὴδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει  
 οἱ "Ελληνες ἀπαιτῶντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ  
 ἢ χάλαζαν ἔμμενον λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἄλ-  
 ἢ εαυτοῖς ἕκαστος ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς  
 ἢ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ἑσθέρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιοῦτων οὐδέν. νῦν δ'



ἄπανθ' ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισηγὰρ τὰ  
 δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νεόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἄλλεν;  
 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, κἀπται ν  
 ὁμολογῆ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἀν ται, ἀλλ  
 τοῖς τις ἐπιτιμῆ· τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκῆθνάτω.  
 ἤρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμαίων πλήθος καὶ κρκεῖναν  
 μάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, ἡ Ἑλλά  
 τᾶλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπα αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ τα φθείρει,  
 πάντα ἄχρηστα, ἄπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων πωροῦντε  
 νεται.

“Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὄρατε δήπου, οὐφ φοβε  
 οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνε γὰρ οὐτ  
 χρόνοις ὅτι τάναντία εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐλα, ἀλλ  
 τοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετῶν κτηγ  
 δεικνύων, ἃ κείνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψα αντες οἱ  
 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ πολλῆς  
 τούτων τῶν γραμμῶν τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑσδεῖσθα  
 ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τα  
 των σπουδάζειν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα [ΕΚ Τ  
 “Ἄρθμιος,” φησὶ, “ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος ἐστὶν. Ἔστι το  
 “καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βουλομ  
 “αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἴθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν τούτος οἷο  
 ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ γ  
 ἦγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίξασθε δὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ δ' οὐδ  
 καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνη  
 τότε Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. εἰν εἰληφός  
 νοι Ζελεΐτην τινὸς Ἄρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζελεῖς πρότερον  
 ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἠνάησθαι κ  
 γεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἐπιμονίους το  
 γραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμηστέντε, τὴν  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἦν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμῶν τῶν ἀντι

ταῦτα, ἀντεισηγὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξαι  
 ἐνεόσηκεν ἢ Ἑλλήνων; ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέ-  
 ληφέ τι· γέλως, ἀπαται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῶ δίκας. φόνου δικάσα-  
 οὐς· μίσος, ἀντι, ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείναι, "καὶ ἄτιμος," φησὶ,  
 ἀ ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκῆθνάτω." τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ  
 τῶν πλήθους καὶ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκείνοι τῆς πάντων  
 ἀσκευῆς ἀφθονία, τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ  
 κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπὸ αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ἀνεῖται καὶ  
 πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀφθίρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ  
 τῶν πωλούντων ἀμαρῶντο οὐς αἰσθοντο δωροδοκούντας ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας  
 εἶναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βερ-  
 νῦν ὄρατε δήπου φοβερὰ οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν·  
 ἀ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνεγὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς  
 σω, οὐ λόγους ἐπὶ λα, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἵστε αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων  
 γόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν  
 ἢν χαλκῆν γράψαι αὐτες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἑλληνες. διόπερ φημί ἔγωγε καὶ σπου-  
 ῆσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλῆς καὶ βουλής ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα  
 ἵκνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐπὶ προσδεῖσθαι. τίνος εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργεῖσθε;

## [ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΗΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

Ἐστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσ-  
 ν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστὶ  
 ἀραπται, δι' ἣν τοῦτος οἰοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν  
 ἐν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφέ-  
 ζεσθε δὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμῦν αὐτὸν κἀκείνους ἢ πόλις  
 ποθ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνηρπᾶσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολ-  
 τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν  
 λέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζελεῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου  
 κοινῶν χρυσίον ἡμῶν ἢ τῶν ἐπιδοσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακε-  
 ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀπομνησθῆναι τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας  
 γένος, καὶ ἀτίμω πέντε, τὴν ὥραϊαν αὐτῆν, ἐμβalόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας  
 φήσειεν ἀτίμω τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρα-

τεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἄρχατος, ἦστ  
εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἄν  
καρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφ... καὶ γε  
τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείεστα τῶν, καί γε  
προδότας ἀπολλοκώτας, οὐδέν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μά... πολ  
γενόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀπ... ουσιν·  
τῶν ἄγειν βραδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, τῶν το  
πέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρηθῆσθαι στρατόπε... εἶσε  
ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπα... Ἡσαν  
καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξέη, μηχανή... ἵππου κ  
ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, τῶν καὶ  
οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλεί... εροὶ δὴ  
ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδόμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος οὐ δεῖ πρ... ἴδοσαν ὅ  
εἶσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν... φρονοῦ  
τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτρα... τας συκο  
λισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείεσθου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμα... Ἀπολλων  
καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦν... σθη.  
οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλε... Οὐ τοίνυν  
πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτῆμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὡς ἂν... εἰργασ  
'Αθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἢ δεῖ, ἢ φύσει τῆς ἐκείνου χώ... δὴ ἀπαλλ  
ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἂν... τὴν πόλ  
μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἦσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐργ... γματα, ο  
ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογι... λά, μᾶλλ  
καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισθ... τριεῖς τελ  
ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθ... ἐκβάλλει  
κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτε ὑπ... φίλος αὐ  
τοῦντας ἐκείνους. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς... ταρχον, Α  
δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ βούλεσθε ἀλλ' εἰς το... εν ἐκ τῆς  
ἀφίχθε μορίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλ... πέμψας  
γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ τι δαιμό... ἢ Παρμενί  
τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας ἢ φθόνου ἢ σκ... Καὶ τί δεῖ

οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως, ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπων μισθωτοῦς, καὶ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖν ἐνιοι ὡς οὐκ ἐνὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελείναι τινὰ καὶ προφασίζεσθαι καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λουδορηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο πῶς, καίπερ ὄν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφα-  
ρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάλα πολιτεῦσθαι δεδώκατε τοῖτοισ ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐπι-  
τῶ φύλαγγα ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιποιοῦσιν· καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσους συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει  
ἀλλὰ τῶ ψιλοῦς, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ  
ἐγὼ τῆσθαι στρατοπέδους εἴσεσθε.

Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν  
ἐν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματα ἵππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελ-  
ταροῦ καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες.  
ἄρα τις ἦν διαλείπειν δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας  
ἀρμόμενους οὐ δεῖ προδοῦσαν ὡν προδοθέντων Ὀλυμθος ἀπόλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίπ-  
ποι εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν φρονούντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέ-  
βλῆοντας ἐκτραπέλας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβύλλοντες οὕτως ὥστε τὸν  
εἶσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυμθίων  
κινήσεται σκοποῦντος ἴσθη.

Ὅς μὲν γὰρ πόλις Οὐ τοῖνυν παρὰ τοῖτοισ μόνοισ τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα  
εἶ, ἂν περ, ὦ ἀνθρώποι, εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ,  
καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας δὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος  
κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ  
ἔργα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ  
ἔργα, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶ λογιζομένων τρεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγον-  
των λέγοντας μισθῶν ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος  
τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τεῖχη  
εἰλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστητε τυράννοισ,  
ὡς ἄλλοισ θεοῖς τάρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελή-  
θε ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, τότε  
τί λέγω (πολλὰ πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς  
καὶ αὐτὸν Παρμενίωνος.

Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἄλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶ Φιλιστιδῆς

μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ  
 καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν  
 ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐν  
 ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκίσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δουλοφύρου  
 ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπληθε μὴ πισ  
 ζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν ἅλα τὸν  
 ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδοτικῶς οἱ  
 τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἂν πρὸς τὸν οὐ  
 τουσιν. συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγοὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἔχοντες Φιλίππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγαντες οὕτε  
 τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον ὡς συνταράττοντα καὶ ὑποκατα  
 πόλιν. ὕρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντίθετον. ὁ νῦν  
 τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀποτυμπαίνουσι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀποτιμπαίνουσι  
 ζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτιθέειν εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέτατο μὴ γίν  
 ρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὀπόσης ἠβούλου τῷ τεθνη  
 ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντες Φιλίππῳ  
 τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοῖτο, ἐσίγαζον τὴν γ' οἱ  
 κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἷα ἔπαθε μεμνημένοι. οὗτος Φιλίππ  
 δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οἱ τὸν οὐκ οὐκ  
 τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνὴν, πρὶν διασκευασθέντος πρ  
 σάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέμοιοι· τῆς πόλεως ἀλευροῦσι γ  
 δ' οἱ μὲν ἠμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον. τῆς πόλεως ἀλευροῦσι γ  
 οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ἄλλων,  
 τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὰ τ  
 ἐτοίμους ὅτιοι ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τῶν δὲ ὄντων πρ  
 δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν λέγον  
 ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρῴων τὸ μέ  
 τῶν ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀρειτῶν ἀμβρόσιος τυ  
 θίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας καὶ τοὺς Ὀρειτάς ἡδίων πρὸς Δία, ἔδει  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. πόλλ'  
 ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίωτος, οὐκ ἀ

αὐτὸν Σωκράτης καὶ ἄλλοι οὐδὲ βουλομένοι ἐνεστὶν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν  
 ἴσθαι πόλιν (καὶ τὰ γὰρ πράγματα ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθῆσεται·  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.  
 καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦναι φέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν  
 ζήτο καὶ προὔπλεον μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν.  
 πολλὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα  
 ἐδείξεν ὡς προδοῦναι· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη χαριεῖται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ  
 αἰσθόμενοι ἂν πρὸς οὐδὲν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθῆσθαι, προσ-  
 πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγοὶ δ' ἀπέχθεται. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ  
 ἀρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγεται οὐτε πρὸς χάριν οὐτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προείποντο,  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ συνταράττονται ὑποκατακλιόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνο-  
 ῦν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντίστοιχόν. ὃ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ  
 εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴν εἰδῆτε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.  
 θεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέταστο μὴ γένοιτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματα ἐν  
 τῇ ὁπόσῃς ἡβούλωσθε· τεθνάναι γὰρ μυριάκις κρείττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆ-  
 καὶ κατεσκευάζετε Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς.  
 αἰσθοῖτο, ἐσίγαρον γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι  
 ἐμνημημένοι. οἱ δὲ Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον  
 ἐτόλμησεν οὐκ ἔπειθον· καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν  
 ἡγήνη, πρὶν διασκεπτεῖν πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν·  
 πολέμοιο· τηλικαύτως αὐτοὺς γὰρ μαστιγοῦμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς  
 ἔγαν. τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειρο-  
 ῖ μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ἡσάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μυρία καὶ  
 καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ  
 ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν δὲ ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν  
 ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν παλαιῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ, δευδὸν  
 ἵστασθαι. καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γε αἰσχρὸν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν  
 τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπόντος τινός "τίς γὰρ ἂν ψῆθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ  
 ῤεῖταις ἡδίων πρὸς Δία, εἶδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ το ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆ-  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν." πολλὸν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύμπιοι νῦν, ἂ τὸτ' εἰ προεί-  
 ῤερ τοῦ βελτίονος, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πολλὸν ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκείας,

πολλά τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος φοβούμενοι  
 αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σώζῃται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἔλαττον χρῆμα  
 τον ἢ, τότε χρῆ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου ποιεῖν  
 ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μίθ' ἑκὼν μίτ' ἄκων μὴ ποιούντων  
 ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπερβαίνει, δὴ  
 σχῆ, μάταιος ἢ σπουδῆ. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ἡμέρας  
 ναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμέν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὴν ἔχοντες ἡμέ-  
 πλείστου, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡρώδης ἔλεγεν, ὅτι  
 ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κίβηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράμματα ἔχοντες το  
 δέ, ὥστ' εἴαν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπρόγονοι  
 νόμοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖσι καὶ  
 στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύοντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς  
 συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῶν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν  
 νιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ πάλαι μὴ πάλαι  
 σαντες τοῖς Ἑλλησι φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεθα. ἔτι  
 καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχόθεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγουσιν, νῦν ἔτι ἐ  
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶδεναι  
 εἶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν' εἴαν μὲν πείσητε, κοινὴν ἐλευτέω.  
 νοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν ἐνέγκοι.  
 δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ  
 γὰρ ἔστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ἰσχυρὸν ἔστι  
 ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρουσι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον  
 βεβαίαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγορίαί, καὶ ἐγὼ  
 ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεῖνοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Ἰφικλῆς  
 καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπέ-  
 περιήλομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνον καὶ μίτ' ἑκὼν  
 Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μίτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμήσαι. ἔτι μὲντοι λέγω  
 μὲντοι λέγω μὴδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντες  
 ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐθες τὰ οἴκων ἡμεῶν  
 αὐτοὺς προΐεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα  
 καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τὰ

ἀ τὶ τούτων ὄφελος φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρό-  
 τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἐλάττω χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημί δεῖν καὶ τῶν ὅσα ἀξι-  
 ῆτην καὶ πάντ' ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, καὶ πρώτους ἂ  
 ἂν μὴτ' ἄκων μὴ ποιούντας τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας συγκαλεῖν,  
 δὲ ἢ θύλαττα ἰπποτάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξίωμα  
 ἴνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀσιατικῆς ἡλικόν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδικίας τὴν  
 ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἵνα λάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ  
 μὲν; πάλαι τις ἠδὲ ἀπράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε. ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτοὶ  
 Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράφω τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν  
 αὐτοὶ πρώτον ἀποφύγετε τὸν πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτίσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ  
 ἡμῶν καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑλάνων καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζῆτῶν  
 ἡμῶν δὴ πονοῦν δουλείας καὶ ἀποστρατοῦ καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μὴδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν,  
 ἡμῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀποφύγετε, ὅσον μὲν οὐ μὴποθ' εὖρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δεδωκα  
 ἡμῶν ἀσάμενοι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη  
 ἡμῶν ἤδη παρακαλῶμεθα.

ἡμῶν πρέσβεις παντοῦ ἔχοντες. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶμαι  
 ὡς βασιλέα λαλοῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνο-  
 ῖται. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμ-  
 μίσηται. ὅ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί,  
 ἀναλωμάτων, ἀνεργῶν ἐνεργῶν.

πράγμασιν. ἐπεὶ  
 τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυ-  
 αὶ πέρυσι πρὸς  
 καὶ κατηγορίας,  
 ἡμῶν καὶ Ἡγήσιπ-  
 ἡμῶν ἄλλοι πρέσβ-  
 εῖνον καὶ μὴτ' ἐ-  
 ἡμῶν ὀρμησῶν.

ἀγακίον ἐθέλον-  
 οἰκιστῶν εὖηθες τὰ οἴκ-  
 ἀσκειν κηδεσθῆ-  
 μελλόντων τα-



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# INTRODUCTION

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 invincible enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to Messalage 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 Olynthus

wrested six years before from Athens. Her ascendancy over the Bœotian towns was complete, and there was her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While therefore all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for her action towards Platæa, Thespiæ, 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 Athenians of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious benefits of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but

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40, 41).  
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aut in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single  
 depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him  
 the recollections of his kindred and his gods, (TRUC.  
 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenian  
 w wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought  
 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  
 rangers 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  
 lishes, 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 them-  
 selves 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 Ar-  
 chonship 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 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, (DION. 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 had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, 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 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 anxiety 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 himself had 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

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 crown. As he  
 Philipolis, he promi  
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 n Edessa, (DIO  
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 nself firmly on  
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nthians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and ceded to  
 n Anthemus, and the Athenian town of Potidæa,  
 PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna  
 e lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except  
 t it was during the continuance of the Social War, and  
 vious to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 476).  
 we know is that aid was voted by Athens, but  
 ved too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50,) and that the siege of  
 idæa was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARIS-*  
 . 656). After thus consolidating his power in the  
 ighborhood of Olynthus, he set out again for the Stry-  
 u, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian  
 n Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold  
 nes of Pangæus, which yielded him 1000 talents per  
 r, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attack-  
 Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on  
 coast of Macedonia, and reducing it under his sway.  
 om its position it was advantageous to Athens as  
 rding a basis for maritime enterprise against Mace-  
 ia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would  
 that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also  
 aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city  
 s captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege,  
 d some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed  
 m all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic  
 lf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and  
 dera, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadaæ against  
 cophron and Onomarehus, on the other. Onomar-  
 s had gone to the aid of Lycophron of Pheræ, and  
 h such assistance that he was enabled to conquer  
 Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to  
 ire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had

interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the Lemnos, of Methone, and had aided Eudicus and Simos against the latter. Lyncæus, (DEM. *de COR.* p. 241,) and now again from the Lyncæi for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians disgusted with the tyranny of Lyncæus, and Lyncæus joined his standard in large numbers; the army of Lyncæus met near the sea coast on the South of Thessaly, and Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself being slain in the flight. Chares was sailing past in a Phocian 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, having captured Pagasæ late in 353, he was enabled to establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute in Greece. He ruled from Thermopylæ to the banks of the Hebrus, and from the Ægean sea to the mountains of Orbelus. He incorporated the Thessalian cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. Determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards Thermopylæ to enter Greece. Here however he was decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of his march. An assembly was called. For once there were no *antidoseis*, and in a very few days a force of 5000 foot and 400 horse under the command of Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) arriving at the pass effectually preventing Philip from even hazarding an attack. He now retreated into Thessaly, and was appointed Tagus of that country, gave up all its finances, and subjected the whole country to his control. His cruisers swarmed on the Ægean, attacking

even before the Ægean, Imbros, Scyros, and Geræstus, invaded the  
 s and Simos again, sacred soil of Attica, and carried off the Theoric galley  
 1.) and now again from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels  
 with a large armada incursions into Eubœa, and effected the partial  
 e tyranny of Lycurgus, sawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence.  
 umbers; the army meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace,  
 th of Thessaly, set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extend-  
 d,—he himself ruling his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and  
 sailing past in Persobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos.  
 Phocians. In a general alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An  
 ssfully subdued assembly was convoked in November 352, and Charis-  
 yria, and Pæonius were selected as the fittest to command. Immense  
 r of Thessaly, preparations were voted, and all men from 18 to 45 were  
 he was enabled to embark, when news came that Philip was sick, and  
 time to harass the nation after that he was dead. All the preparations van-  
 s now almost abandoned at this report, and the Athenian settled down to  
 hermopylæ to his worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and  
 Ægean sea to listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did  
 ated the Thessalians nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destruc-  
 n all that could be done to the best interests of his country.  
 e marched towards Although there is no direct authority for stating it,  
 however he will the probability is very great, that at Athens many  
 were informed speeches had been made about Philip, and more particu-  
 For once the larly since his repulse at Thermopylæ. Before this  
 w days a forecast there is no reason to suppose that his designs were  
 the command to be feared; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De*  
 XVI., 37, 38,) *Symmoris* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made  
 orted Philip from him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the  
 into Thessaly contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees  
 g a command need to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion  
 e country to and Eubulus did not care to excite the Athenians to  
 Ægean, attack 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*. In the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please, and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Aristodemus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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 F. 827, B.  
 τῶν εἰωθότων  
 es Archidan...  
 t of a spee...  
 πρὸς ἀξίως  
 Solon, refer...  
 tra Ctesiph...  
 ak first; bu...  
 in ARISTOPH...  
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 τι δὲ μή.]  
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## NOTES

TO THE

## FIRST PHILIPPIC.

[Page 1.]

ἢ μὲν . . . . λέγειν.] *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon a new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (σάνις) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHÆMANN *de Com. ATH.* p. 59. Προτιθέναι—said the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion. [Ἐπισηχῶν ἔν.] *I should have delayed.* ἔν is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. JELF. 827, B.

τῶν εἰωθότων.] Scil. γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ὑμῖν ἀρεβείν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκῶς, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤργον. By a law of Solon, referred to by Æschines in the exordium of his oration *contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. *ACHAR.* 43. Still, so much respect was paid to Demosthenes that Demosthenes apologises for rising first. [εἰ δὲ μή.] An adversative force—*if this were not so.* JELF. 827, C.

πρότερον.] Since 356, when Philip captured Potidæa.

ἢ μὲν.] Stronger than ἢ νῦν, for the latter is joined with the present and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog.

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

[Page 1.]

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

Βουλεύειν—to give advice. Βουλεύεσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λούειν—to wash. Λούεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλεύεσθαι—to deliberate of more than one person, but when it is used of 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*; Ἐμείθεσθαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

Ἑμᾶς.] Ἑμᾶς is the reading adopted by SCHÆFER, 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.

Ἀθυμητέον.] Scilicet. ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.] Πράγμασιν is governed by ἀθυμητέον. We must not despond in our present affairs. SEAGER in the *Critical Journal*, LII., p. 235, quotes BACON's *Nov. Org.* to show that the experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

[Page 2.]

Τὰ μέλλοντα.] *The future*. Cf. THUC. i., 138. Τῶν μελλόντων Μέλλω denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than what is to be done in the future.

Ὅτι οὐδέν.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer see CIC. *de ORAT.* III. 54. SMEAD.

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

Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον.] RÜDIGER wrongly translates this, *Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis audistis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriam revocatis*. Rather, *Then you ought to consider both heard 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. Ἀκούουσι agrees with αὐτοῖς is connected with εἰδῶσιν, and not with ἀναμνησθήσονται.



[Page 2.]

repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of mind. The vocative, too, is nearly always placed as here between the verbs—compare Olynth. ii. p. 19. *νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ πῶν εὐρίσκω.* PHIL. iii. p. 122. *λογίζεσθαι δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρῶν.* Contra ARISTOT. p. 629. *σκέψασθε δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρῶν.* SCHÆFER 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 ὀλιγορῆτε.*] *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 βόμῃ.*] JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægospotamos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Cnidus 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 declaring against an opponent, to mark his anger and contempt. Cicero. *In Cat. i. 1. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublicæ videmus, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

\**Ἐκ τοῦ μὴδὲν φροντίζεῖν ὧν ἔχρη.*] *From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.*

*Πλήθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως.*] *The abundance of power belonging to him.* XEN. *Anab. i. ch. v. Ἡ βασιλείως ἀρχὴ πλεονέχων μὲν χάρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὐσα.*] At the battle with Onocharchus 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 the country around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

*Μέντοι.*] *Tamen. Still.*

[Page 2.]

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

[Πορτιδαίαν.] 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. A city of Macedonia was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a Colonia Romana.

[Μεθώνην.] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the blow 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.

[Πάντα τὸν τόπον. . . . . κύκλῳ.] *And all that region round about*

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

[ἑαυτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.] *Governed by their own laws, and*

[ἡ κείνη.] *This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDORF.*

[κείνη] by SCHÆFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or crasis of the word is universal in good manuscripts, and DINDORF observes that ἡ κείνη is invariably written with the coronis omitted. SCHÆFER makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic κείνος is never used by Demosthenes.

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

[τοσαῦτα.] RÜDIGER reads τοιαῦτα, but the orator does not say that like the fortresses were, but how many. SCHÆF.

[Page 2.]

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

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

Ἐκτίσατο δύναμιν] is the reading of BEKKER and DINDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHÆFER gives ἐκτίσατ' ἄν, but remarks: *Nollem Rüdigerus, ex paucis nec optimis convocassit ἐκτίσατο pro ἐκτίσατ' 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 I 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 μέσφ.] The usual expression for such things, drawn from the Palæstic art, as we see from IL. xxiii, 704:

ἄνδρι δὲ νικηθέντι γυναικ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν.

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

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

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

SCHÆFER  
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ar v.c. 428  
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[Page 3.]

a in the Peloponnesian war, which intercept supplies and which follows upon the active. It is here where SCHEFFER observes that the force as the date of p. 193. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς 22, we have the real name was *propugnaculum* *erii*. How difficult a large war with the Athenians and DINDORF, while SCHEFFER gives ἐπιπορευαῖς *nec optimis* comes goes on to state, and in the second member it is done; so the authority of the best is simply a contingency it may be omitted for such things, as in IL. xxiii, 704: ἄν ἔθηκεν. ἐπιπορευοῖο τάλαντα. The phrase was *præmia* *Fortuna ea omnia* only in a middle sense, *neque ego impro-* with HER. ii. 152, and φιλία, although

SCHEFFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of *καὶ* [Page 3.] *καὶ προσέχειν*. . . . ἅπαντες.] A hexameter. Another occurs DE CORONA, p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον δι' ὅν εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν. In Latin, numerous examples of hexameters in prose occur, as in Cic. *pro Arch.* 1. *qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum*; and also in ALL. CAT. xix. *Cneii Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.* *οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι*. . . . ἃ χρῆ.] *Whom they may see prepared and willing to do what is necessary.* The *Perf. Pass.* of *παρασκευάζω* means to be prepared, simply. *καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.*] VEMEL wishes us to construe this passage as follows: *καὶ (ἂν) ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὖ (i. q. ubi) δεῖ—εἰρω- ταν ὑπάρξῃ ἔτοιμος πράττειν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι.* And then the apodosis returns at *καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ.τ.λ.* And WHISTON follows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable order, which is also given by BARKER, will be shown by my translation: *And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be prepared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render yourself useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you should depend upon yourselves alone.* *εἰρωτελαν—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 the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars see DIOT. ANT. and DEM. *de SYM.* *Στρατεύεσθαι.*—All Athenian citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be enrolled for military service, and after twenty could be called upon



[Page 3.]

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, Switzerland of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν.] 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰπεῖν is omitted by BEKKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHLEFFER. 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. 30. Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν δοκέειν ἐμοί; and also, EUR. MED. 230, γιγνώσκειν καλῶς, a thing to be preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: γιγνώσκεις καλῶς.

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

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

Τὰ κατερραβημμένα. . . . τιμωρήσεσθε.] You shall again receive what you have thoughtlessly lost, and inflict punishment upon them. Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, cf. XEN., MEM., iii, 5. καταρραβημσάντες ὑστερίζουσιν.

Πεπηγένα ἀθάνατα.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Immortalia ne spernet annus*.

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

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mosthenes such lead *προέχειν* and its compounds are frequently used in this way, Ἐπέχειν, *προέχειν*, vi. 102. *προέχειν*, iii. 142. *προσέχειν*, iii. 48, and so of many other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

κάν = καὶ ἐν. PORSON'S rule is: In words joined by crasis, as *καίτα* for καὶ εἶτα. Præf. ad. HEC. p. xi. *Κατέπηχε μέντοι. . . . νῦν.*] But all these now cower down in SCAPULA says, s. v. *καταπήσσω*. Proprie dici volunt de *animantibus, quæ conspecto hoste prae metu se contrahunt in aliquid ad latendum commodò.*

*Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν* (Ὅτι προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος.) *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs *ποῦ, πόλ, πῆ, οὐ, οἶ, ἦ,* and others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in PH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads *ἀνθρώπος*, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHÆFERE, a very good scholar, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places in 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.

*Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν* (Ὅτι προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος.) *To what a pitch of extravagance the man has come.* The adverbs *ποῦ, πόλ, πῆ, οὐ, οἶ, ἦ,* and others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in PH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads *ἀνθρώπος*, which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHÆFERE, a very good scholar, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places in which favour BEKKER (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find any others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion. *ἀσελγείας* is derived from *ἀ, θέλω = mulceo, to lull gently with the further idea of an evil intention, L. & S.—*SUIDAS says it is derived from *ἀ Σέληνη*, 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 Træzenians, B.C. 700, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminacy.

*καὶ οὐχ οἶός ἐστιν. . . . ἐπὶ τούτων.*] *And he is not the man, while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.* *οἶός ἐστιν*, or *οἶός τ' ἐστιν* followed by the infinitive is properly translated *οὕτος ἐστιν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as, &c. Οἶός εἰμι* signifies *I am wont; οἶός τ' εἰμι I am able.* MATTH. GK. GR. 479.

*οὐχ οἶός ἐστιν*, or *οἶός τ' ἐστιν* followed by the infinitive is properly translated *οὕτος ἐστιν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as, &c. Οἶός εἰμι* signifies *I am wont; οἶός τ' εἰμι I am able.* MATTH. GK. GR. 479. JAMNISTON 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*

[Page 8.]

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

Ἄλλ' αἰετὶ . . . . περιστοιχίζεται.] *But he is always seeking* matters  
*obtain something new, and while we are dallying and wasting* N  
*opportunities in idleness, he hedges us in on every side.* Προσπε  
 βάλλεσθαι and περιστοιχίζεσθαι are taken from the language  
 hunters. Κύκλω πανταχῆ, *circum undique.* Cf. HOM. OD. viii. 2  
 κύκλω ἅπαντη, and XEN. ANAB. iii. 1, 2: κύκλω δ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι  
 πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμῳ ἦσαν.

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

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

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

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

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

Γένοιτο γὰρ ἔν τι . . . . διοικῶν.] *For what can be greater* n  
*than a Macedonian man warring against Athenians, and regulat*  
*the common policy of Greeks?* Observe the force of γὰρ in  
 sentence. It denotes the surprise of the speaker, that such a sta  
 for τοῦτο, τοῦ

[Page 3.]

of affairs can exist. Cf. II. 1, 128. πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δάσσοσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; For how shall high-souled Greeks a prize on thee bestow? Nam is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose appended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIRG. EN. ii. 373, xii. 637. Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, Vir Macedo, HOR. used contemptuously.

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

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

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

Ἄτερον Φίλιππον.] Antonomasia for "another treacherous enemy." Παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βώμη κ.τ.λ.] Has he been aggrandized so much by his own strength as, &c. Βώμη like robur means strength to resist an attack. Τοσοῦτον, ὅσον, acc. of quantity. Ἐπηύξηται, Perf. pass. from ἐπαυξάνω.

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

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he calls the construction an anacoluthon, which with his reading is not. DINDORF brackets *καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιο* unnecessarily and AUGER reads (*καὶ γὰρ ἐξεργάσαιο!*) *Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*. Cf. CORONA, 123; so, *καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*, FALS. LEG. p. 314, *Contra DION* 40; *καὶ γὰρ αὐ τοῦτο*, *Contra MEID*, p. 167. FRANKK. *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 ἐπιστάντες.*] *Having a hand in all his affairs undisturbed.*

*Ὅπως βούλεσθε.*] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see JENKINS 813.

*Ἀμφίπολιν.*] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Ægean. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Ἐγνα* and belonged to the Edoni. But Hagnon in 437 expelled the Edonians and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see THUCYD. 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 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας.*] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i. e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLF translates *ἀπρητημένοι*, *hesitating*. But SCHÆFER, *separated, removed*; he is used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *πραγμάτων*. We have followed WYTTENBACK in translating *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Γνώμας παρασκευαῖς* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heræum. The Athenian people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent his 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.

*Ὅς μὲν οὖν. . . . λέγων.*] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it,* 188.

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more of that. 'Ως with *Gen. Abs.* indicates that the real existence of the action of the participle is kept out of view, and represented only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the opinion which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

Καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. . . . λέγειν.] *And the magnitude of the force, and the supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear to me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to explain.* Καὶ δῆ, *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 *DONNISON CRAT.* p. 268.

Καὴν καρασκευῆν.] *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 naves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno in detrita reproban.*—SCHÆFER.

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

Ὁὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ. . . . δυνήθειμεν.] *For by our present expedition, we cannot render ineffective what has already been done.* Cf. *HOB.* p. 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.* Διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον τοῦ ἐμῆς ἀποφασίζω, *to end a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πόλεμον τοῦ ἐμῆς ἀποφασίζω, to end a war by the intervention of a third party.*

Τοῦ λοιποῦ.] = *Ever again, hereafter*, denotes future repetition.

ἔτι. i. 189. Ἔσπε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικῶς μεν εὐπετέως διαβήσεται, whereas τὸ λοιπὸν henceforth, denotes future continuance. *SOPH.* ANT. 311.

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Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν.] When the same person is the nominative to a verb *sentiendi et declarandi*, and 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, Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis. "Ἐχειν = posse.

Μὴ κωλύων. . . . ἐπαγγέλλεται τι.] *Not wishing to prevent other one from offering another suggestion.* BREMI translates *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 praestare non possis.*

Μὲν οὖν.] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. SOCR. 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 "ships of war" (*ταχείας*) and "ships of burden" or transport (*στρατιώτιδες, ἰππαγωγοί*). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *θρανῖται*, 54 in the middle, *ζευγῖται*, and 54 on the lower, *θαλαμῖται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (*κῶπαι, ῥινέφ*) to be used by the *ἐπιβάται* or *ὀπλίται* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *καλεωστής* who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. They made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROTE, c. v. xlix. Themistocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Ægina, and after the 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 the

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ainings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δ' ἰκάνομεν  
σκεν. OD. x. 431. ἘΑ δειλοί, πόσ' ἔμεν.  
Εἴτ' αὐτοὺς . . . ἐμβᾶσιν. And then, that you so make up your  
and, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away,  
being embarked upon them. After ἔχειν γνώμην, διακεῖσθαι γνώμην,  
and such like, the Genitive absolute with ὡς is the usual construc-  
tion. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἰόντος . . . οὕτως ἔχε τὴν  
γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the  
gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another exam-  
ple." ARNOLD.

Τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἰπέων.] 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,  
ARISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, e. 1, D.

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ἵππων ἀπαγωγὸς τρήρεις.] Cavalry transports, constructed from the  
ἵππων ταχῆαι, or war ships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying  
additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the  
early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.  
ἵππων ἀλοῖα,] for carrying provisions and other necessaries of an army.  
ἵππων Πύλας καὶ Χερβόνησον καὶ Ὀλυμπον.] In 352, Philip being in-  
vited 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 rein-  
forced, 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  
Phocis, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for  
Thrace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down  
before the front of Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn  
from the news came that he was sick; that, having recovered, he raised  
the siege of Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will  
be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of  
events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.  
ἵππων.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with  
which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.



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Εἰς Εὐβοίαν.] Understand ποτὲ ἀρμήσατε. REISKE. The Euboeians joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B. C. After the battle of Leuctra the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 355-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, (given by DEM. in REB. CHER. p. 108) they manned and equipped an adequate force and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island. GROTE, CHAP. lxxvi.

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

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

Οὔτοι παντελῶς . . . . εὐτρεπεῖς υμᾶς.] Nor is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i. e. march out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be unprepared, he may keep quiet. Οὔτοι παντελῶς = non sane pronus SCHLEFER; who also would read οὐ τι because *hujusmodi partibus fortissime negantibus recte additur.*

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

Εἰσι γὰρ εἰσι.] Cf. CIC. in CAT. l. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quoniam virtus*, and VIRG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclementia divum*. COR. Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε. Also, CIC. pro MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.*

Ἀφύλακτος ληθῆ.] Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHLEFER—may be taken off his guard. For a similar sentiment see THUC. iii.

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REISKE. The Eubœan *Μηδέν* *ὄντος*.] "*Μηδέν* rather than *οὐδέν* on account of *ἴνα*." ANKE. *Μηδέν* is used subjectively, and expresses that one *thinks* thing is not; *οὐδέν* objectively, that it *really* is not. For a beautiful example of *μή* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see XEN. *Mem.* iii. 50, quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. *μή*, with his remarks on it.

AN *ἐνδῶ* *καιρόν*.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but Schæfer reads *καιρός*, and makes an adequate remark on the present reading. "*quod mihi etiam placet*, scilicet *καιρός*." If he give an opportunity. Perhaps this was the easiest way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to show away opportunities. He was awake now.

*Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις*.] *Πρὸς δὲ τούτων* = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted by ARNOLD without comment. But *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις*—*in addition to these*, would seem to convey the orator's meaning better than *πρὸς τούτων* before these. For he evidently regards the greater plan involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a prior 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. *ἔιπης*. Do not give me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper forces of yours. JACOBS interprets the word *ἐπιστολιμαίους* by *πᾶς ἐν ἑπιστολαῖς γραφομένης μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένης*. And SCHÆFER 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 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 the 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' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.] *But (a force) which shall belong to the state, a much finer reading than "ἀλλ' ἢ = ἀλλὰ μόνον = solummodo."*—REISKE. "The reference is to a force which does not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian."—ARNOLD.

'Ἔσται δ' αὐτῆ κ.τ.λ.] *And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c.* Τὴν τροφήν, including here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in *Cæsar's 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 a mercenary? The common reading is ἐθελήσετε. Ποιεῖν ταῦτ' relates to ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται — ἀκολουθήσει.*

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

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε.] *Take care that you do not.* Cf. *XEN. ANAB.* 7, 3. "Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες. In each case the verb depends upon ὀρᾶτε. Also, *PUBL.* iii. p. 130; ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἑμὲ ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

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

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

'Ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας . . . . 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 δῆμος 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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The 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, and Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to the ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed."—*Abridged from SMEAD.*

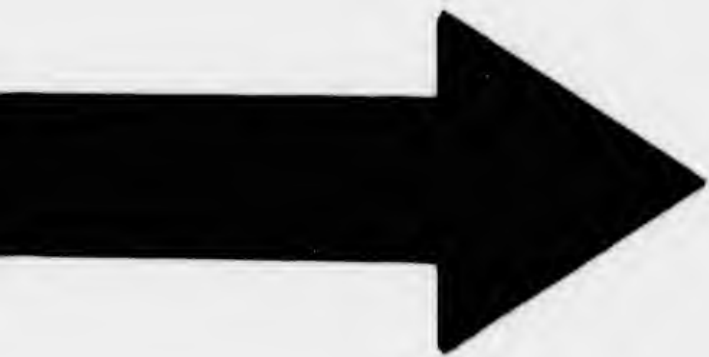
Χρόνον τακτὸν . . . . μὴ μακρὸν . . . . ἀλλ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ.] Observe that he skillfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good.* His object was to get the plan adopted, and leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. *διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις*, "by way of relieving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

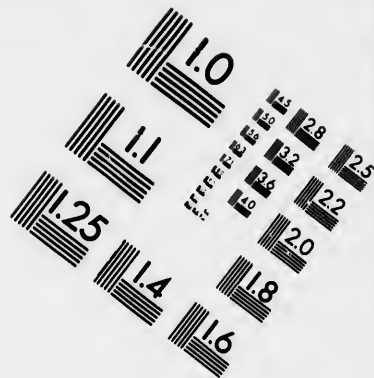
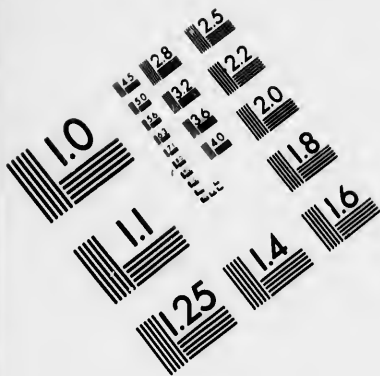
[Page 6.]

πῆκας διακοσίων.] Two hundred cavalry, or in a proportion of ten to ten, which was the usual way. VEMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was but 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.

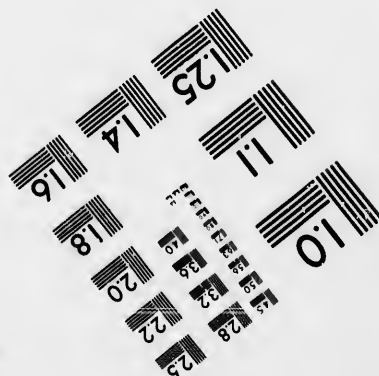
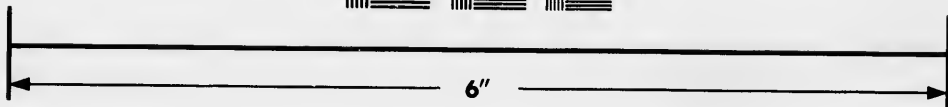
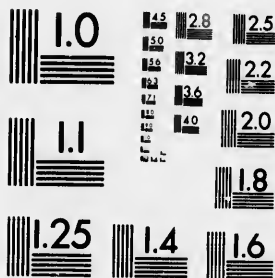
λέν.] *Hæc hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 336. Εἰεν, δὴ τεθῶσι. SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said. ταχέας τριήρεις δέκα.] Ten swift triremes, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong so as to be able to manœuvre with ease and dispatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while *ἵππαγωγοί* generally carried sail. εἰ 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, 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 impersonal. SOPH. ANT. 732.

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

Πόθεν δή.] Δή is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 723, 2.

Τηλικαύτην.] *Accipe sensu diminutivo, tantillam.* SCHÆFER. *very small.* Ἀποχρῆν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχρᾶν, the Ionic βε ἀποχρᾶν. BOECK. *Corp. Inscrip.*

Πολίτας στρατενομένους.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make τοὺς στρατενομένους 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 well pass over the other 1500.

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

Ἐνι.] For ἐνεστι. The accent is thrown back to distinguish from ἐνι preposition, poetical 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 against him,* to be contrasted with ληστεύειν following, which means to *harass an enemy* by piratical excursions. His adversary then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. παραταξομένην with HES. 31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσαντο ὧδε.

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

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

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

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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 the command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. *PALUT.* v. 173. Some read for Πολύστρατος, Polutrophos, *ARIST. XEN. HIST.* while others mainly propose Callistratus, from DEM. *contra TIM.* p. 1187. The war was ended by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387.

[Εξ ὃ δ' ἀτὰρ . . . γέγονασιν.] *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 ὃδ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξ ὃδ. *Ex quo tempore.*

[Παρακίψαντα.] *Having negligently attended to the wars of our Commonwealth, have gone away, &c.* The verb παρακίπτειν is to perform anything loosely and in a hurry, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISK. Another critic gives it the meaning of θύπτειν, *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 κοινούς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρούς. WOLF.

[Πρὸς Ἀρταβασόν.] 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. 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 Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages to the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in 356 B. C. GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

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

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, And how else?*

Τὰς προφάσεις . . . . παρακαταστήσαντες.] *Take all cause of excuse from both general and soldiers, provide pay, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.* Ἐπόπτας, *Inspectores*, exquisite dictum, nam sic ii, qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur. FRANK. ÆSCH. PROM. 29. Καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἤκεις ἐπόπτης; The word was also used verbally, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOT. RAN. 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες. περικαταστήσαντες. Malim simplicius παραστήσαντες. REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHÆFER.

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

Ἄλλὰ 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, and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s Thermopylæ, (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive towards Athens. He had seized the sacred gallery at Marathon and besieged Heræum, besides other overt acts of war against them. Οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δὲ . . . . δύο;] *Are you not accustomed to elect from among yourselves, ten taxiarchs, and generals, and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by the people in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of privilege, 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.—HERODOTUS.

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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, Alci-  
ades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in  
466, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and  
others were sent out. However, the two former were not intended  
for 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 Hippiarchs 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. Hippiarchs 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 ἐνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we  
see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

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Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῶν.] *The rest marshal the pro-  
cessions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἄγειν with the words χορόν,  
πομπήν. This latter word applied to all the public proces-  
sions of the year. Ἱεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed  
generally, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including  
those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Pana-  
θηναῖα. 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 com-  
mencement of the sacrifice.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially  
mentioned by DEM. contra MEID. 552.

Ὡσπερ γὰρ . . . τὸν πόλεμον.] *For as puppet makers, you ap-  
point your generals for the market not for the war.* These images  
made of clay and baked much in the same way as terra cotta  
statues (ΑΥΡΡΕ) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show  
when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called  
προπλάσται, and πηλοπλάδοι, 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 busy in the market attending to the processions. In confirmation see "Luo. *Lexiphanes*, T. ii. p. 847. 'Ελελήθεισιν σπαντὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ζοικῶς, κεχρωσμένοις μὲν μίλτω καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἔνδοθεν πῆλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ἐστὶν." SCHLEFER.

Ὁὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν . . . ἢ δύναιμι.] *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. 'Εχρήν εἶναι = *oportebat esse*, at *sunt*; ἐχρήν ἂν εἶναι = *oporteret esse*, at *non oportet*.—FRANKE. "ἐχρήν" on this participle with the Ind. see JELF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. *ÆD. REX*. 1387. *EUR. HEC.* 647. *DEM.* p. 837. "Ἴν, εἴ τι ἐγγίγντο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν, p. 837. "Ἴνα μὴδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. Observe that ἂν is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

'Ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀθήνων.] From *THUC.* vii. 57, we learn καὶ αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ φωνῇ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰουβριοὶ καὶ Αἰγυπτιῶται. And since such was the case it would be more than likely that the annual deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in the processions which we learn were celebrated there with great magnificence.—*PHILOSTRATUS HEROIC*, xix. 14. Lemnians had been taken and colonized a few years before the battle of Marathon.—*HER.* vi. 140. Grote's explanation of this expression εἰς Ἀθήνων 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. The 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 but proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a bad case at law

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of images. All we can give more point to the generals of theirs we are in possession. In confirmation of this we find that the Athenians sent away to avoid agreeable law suits.

[Page 7.] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Aridaeus; but "Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι, si qui esset Atheniensis; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξενηγός non κεχειροτονημένος.—SCHÆFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorium Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere. "The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army 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 ΗΑΡΟCΡΑΤΙΟΝ, s. v. Μένελαος. D'OLIVET, on the other hand remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians could 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* ΑΡΙΣΤΟC, he is expressly called τὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.

[Page 7.] This then I shall now proceed to show. Περαιῶ is the reading of REISKE, in his first edition; in the second, περαιῶν. And, since περαιῶν like εἶμι = ibo, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

[Page 7.] For the case of this word see JELF. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that it is subdivided into ἡ τροφή, with τηρέσιον in apposition.

[Page 7.] A little more than 90 talents. There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Ægeic 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 learn that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm nearly; 100 drachms a mina, £4 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would therefore be £22,425=§109,120. Πρὸς an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 610. Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ ταδὲ λέγω, δράσω δὲ πρὸς. PHÆN. 610. κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς.

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

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

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

Κἀγὼ δὲ συμπλέων.] DINDORF reads ἐγὼ συμπλέων, and encloses all from ἐγὼ to ἐξῆ in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HERMOGENES, which thus establishes their claim to the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHÆFER. 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, κἀγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελουτῆς πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐξῆ, for which REISKE has corrected κἀγὼ δὲ as we have given in the text. "Εταίμοι" see JELF. 376.

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

[Page 7.]

...οσθένης περί τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ  
 ...εων, 't would not be the sixth, but the fifth, and that not one  
 ...d is said to justify the title regarding the protection of the  
 ...nders and the cities of the Hellespont. We may conclude, then  
 ...t the oration which we have is a unit, and that DIONYSIUS either  
 ...de a gross blunder, or alluded to some oration not now extant  
 ...ing the heading which he has given for the remainder of this  
 ... Further particulars will be found in TOURREIL, AUGER, BEK-  
 ... BREMI, SCHLEFER, and WINIEWSKI.

...εδυνήμεθα εὑρεῖν.] Have been able to discover. The information  
 ... probably derived from the πορισταὶ who levied the extraordi-  
 ...y contributions on the Athenians, and from their report the  
 ...ματεῦς had read the ἀπόδειξις immediately given before, which  
 ... been prepared by Demosthenes himself from information  
 ...ved from them. For δεδυνήμεθα, δυνάμεθα is given in some  
 ...ions.

...επειδὴν δ' . . . . .χειροτονήσατε.] And when you vote upon the  
 ...ositions of the speakers, vote whichever one pleases you. The  
 ...or does not wish to force them to adopt his motion in prefer-  
 ...e to any other, but let them choose for themselves, as in that  
 ... they will be the more likely to carry out their decree.

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

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



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

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

Ἵπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.] *And you must use for winter quarters for the army, Lemnos, &c.* All these islands were in the northern part of the Ægean, off the coasts of Macedonia and Thessaly. Ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, Scopelus, Halonesus, Peparete, and Scyros, for all these were under the sway of Athens at that time. Χειμαδίον, *dwelling*, governed by χρῆσθαι, *hiberna*—winter quarters, i. e., τόπος, ἐφ' οὗ ἂν τις δύναιτο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι. ETYM. M.

Τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους. . . . ἔσται.] *But at that season of the year when it is easy to approach the land, and no danger from the winds, the soldiers may approach to the very region, and the entrance of the ports.* SCHÆFER states that commentators here nodum in scriba quævisse, and adopts the translation of WOLF, as given above. Πρὸς τῇ γῇ γένεσθαι—to put in to shore, i. e. for military operations. 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. comment. LEPT. p. 470. Παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους καιροὺς. PIND OLY. ii. κενῶν παρὰ διαταῶν. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the very moment in which a thing is done.

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



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

'Εκείνου] Philip. Ἀπὸ τῶν. . . . συμμάχων. *He fights with*  
*with resources derived from your allies, &c.* Ἄγων καὶ φέρων. *Late*  
*rapere et trahere.*—DEMOSTHENES, p. 1232. Πάντας ἀνθρώπους  
 καὶ φέρει—ÆN. ii. 374. *Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergamum*  
 This is the Homeric ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι, of which we have another  
 form in IL. v. 484. φέροισιν Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἄγοισιν. The Latin equi-  
 valent of this being *ferre et agere*, LIV. xxii. 3, postquam res soci-  
 rum ante oculos prepe suos ferri agique vidit. See also LIV. iii. 37.

Τοὺς πλέοντας.] *Mercuraturam facientes.*—SAUPPE. *Your merchant*  
*men upon the sea.*

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

Ἴδον παρελθόντα χρόνον.] *In past time.* The acc. of time. JELF.  
 548, g. Εἰς Λήμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλῶν. 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  
 these attacks had been made by Pirates in the service of Philip  
 (SMEAD.) LUCCHESINI supposes that they took place in OL. 105.  
 WINIEWSKI in OL. 106, 4, quoting the words of ÆSCHINES de Falsis  
 LEG. p. 37. Φίλιππος δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας οὐκέθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμφικ-  
 λεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων. Those again who contend that this part  
 of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make these  
 events to have taken place in OL. 105.1. The preferable date is  
 OL. 106. 2.

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

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

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et of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four  
 portories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium,  
 and Særum. Τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels*. Ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐξέλεξε.  
 collected *extravagant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as  
 ARNOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAURBE.  
 καὶ καὶ πράγματα ἀμύθητά μοι παρέχων διετέλεσεν.—DEM. contra  
 ID. 520.

καὶ τὴν ἑρᾶν. . . . . τριήρη] *And went away with the sacred galley.*  
 the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel  
 called the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens  
 to the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two  
 of the age of Demosthenes; several in subsequent times, the num-  
 ber being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate  
 Athenians, who called them *Ammonis, Antigonis, Demetrias* and  
*Bolemais*, to propitiate the favour of Kings whom they feared to  
 offend. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were  
*Arctulus* and *Salaminia*. They were generally used for carrying  
 ambassadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the admi-  
 ral's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called *Delia*  
 and *Theoris*. ATHENÆUS relates that the *Delia* was the vessel  
 which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete.—ATH. iv. p.  
 3. 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 idles-  
 sness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's  
 cruisers.

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

καίτοι τί δή ποτε.] *And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem? On*  
 the particle, see HOOG. de PART. GRÆC. p. 283, 7, s. v. καίτοι.

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Παναθηναίων.] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name Μεγάλα which was celebrated every fifth year (πεταετηρίς) and the other annually, commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombæon,—11th to 22d of July. The principal games were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processionary games, &c. including the lampadephorion, and the procession of 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' ἀγρούς. II. τὰ Λήγαια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει. For particulars see DICT. ANT. s.v.

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

Ἄν τε δεινὸν . . . ἐν τε ἰδιῶται] ἂν τε—ἐν τε, sive—sicut. Δεινὸν, 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. "Ὀχλος refers to the crowds attending the festival, παρασκευὴν the costly preparations, dresses, ships," &c.—ARNOLD. Οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν nescio an. and compare VIRG. ÆN. ii, 735. Hic mihi nescio quid trepido male numen, for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAURUS mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Athletics 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. Ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, est serius venire, cum classis post tempus exiret.—DISSEN.

Παγασάς. "Pagasæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycopliron, tyrant of Thessaly.—OL. 106, 4. When omitted.

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we 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 so tardy in their operations to be of any service."—JACOBS.

[Χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος.] For these words see Dict. Ant. s. v. οὐ φιλῆς, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

[Οὐδὲν . . . ἡμέληται.] *Nothing is negligently left unarranged and definite about these.* Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi νόμοις.—REISKÉ.

οὐμο τοῖς est neutrius generis.—SCHÆFER. Observe the alliteration in the words immediately following, ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἄμοιστα ἅπαντα. This is common in most languages and was a distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

"Who often, but without success, have prayed

For apt alliteration's artful aid."—CHURCHILL.

[Τοιγαροῦν ἅμα . . . τ.] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, or any movement of the enemy.* Observe now how artfully the orator arranges his words. *We appoint trierarchs.* They are

satisfied, *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;* when *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

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 B.C. 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 a trial, 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 dicast was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that a 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 *Dem.* ANT. s. v.

*Μετοίκους.*] Resident foreigners—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Piræus, and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (*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 liturgy, 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 Hydriphoria.

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

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

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

Οἱ δὲ τῶν . . . . εἰρωνείαν.] *For εἰρωνείαν many manuscripts give δουλίαν. For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion. DOBREE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, and LIVY, lxi. 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. VÖGEL 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.*

Ὅδ' εἰς τοῦθ' . . . . ἐπιστολάς.] *And he has arrived at so great a degree 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 were lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOB'S note in ARNOLD.*

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

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'.] *On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Οὐ μὴν, yet, nevertheless, verumtamen, ἀλλὰ in sooth, surely, vere. Οὐ μὴν denies something gone before, ἀλλὰ opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is yet if not true, still, &c. Cf. DEM. de FALS. 18. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφοροῦσης. Cf. also EPIS. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντα τᾶλλα παραλιπόντα ἐπιτόμως εἰπεῖν.*



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

\*Αν ᾗ μὴ προσήκουσα.] *If it be at an unseasonable time.* \*Ἐρσημία γίγνεται. *In very truth becomes hurtful.*

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

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ. . . . . ἄν.] = *Perinde ac si, just as if* For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὑπερ, which occurs in *De REB. CHIL.* p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπερ ἐπ' Ὀρέδον πρώην. But ὥσπερ occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 13, and in the present oration, p. 4, 9.

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

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

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οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb ἀπολείπω occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied; I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore is inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE says he does not understand this passage: what is understood? He seems to have understood πολεμῶν. *Nullum non hostem assecutini, ubicunque videtis concurrere, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes δ' into οὐκ, *illam rem non serius facitis.* SCHÆFER calls this foolish, and says οὐδενὸς is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER'S translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil nem non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *and yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere,* and his marginal note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.* [ὡσεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises in the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD. [τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to.* Cf. THUC. i. 140. *τῆς γνώμης ἔχομαι. τοῦ νόμου σῶμαι.* EUR. OR. 504. [ἐκείσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες.] *There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is that the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were,

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

Χερρόνησος.] Usually distinguished as *Thracian*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the mainland. It was colonised by the Athenians under Miltiades the younger, temporary 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.

Συμπαράθεϊτε ἄνω κάτω.] *You run up and down along sides of him.* His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do nothing to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe the use of ἀσύνδετον in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. Στρατηγὸν ἔπεισεν ἄνω ἵκεν.] *You are led by him.* "Odioso verbo utitur, quod Athenienses Philippi mercenarii duces et mancipia essent; quod turpe est et perniciosum."—WOLF. This was a most bitter reproach 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 in this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designed so, in πρὸ . . . . προορᾶτε. These words may be translated *beforehand*. Περὶ τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, which WOLF remarks, "Cum pecuniæ sint nervi belli, non inmodica est hæc lectio."

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

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and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. *Μη παθεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου.* *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

[Page 11.]

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

28. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὦ Σώκράτες;.

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 that the general alone was with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. Δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαλδῆμον, as proof of his view which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all that could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion *empty, vain, useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the *πεύθεισ τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις* which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. *De SUBL.* sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ ἐξιμεν. . . . νῦν.] *Shall we not go forth with at least a part of our own soldiers?* ἤρετό τις.] *Some one asks.* Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ἵπνα contentione, sive autem 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 ἔλθῃ is correct. Ποῖ τις ἄν ἔλθῃ is solecistic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, Ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἶ; ποῦ here is equivalent to ποῖ. Compare *ubi gentium*, CIC. in CAT. i.

Ἐδρῆσει τὰ σαθρά. . . . ὁ πόλεμος.] *The war itself will find the weak points.* Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. *Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* τὰ σαθρά, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλασμένα. HESYCH.

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

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Οὐδέποτε' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] *Never at any  
ne shall we get any necessary thing done.* Here we have no less  
an four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehem-  
ent assertion. On the construction of οὐ μὴ see JELF. 748 Cf.  
MARK, xiv. 25. Οὐκετι οὐ μὴ πῶ ἐκ 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  
jective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν  
is ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 100. Τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς.

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

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους] Many explanations  
of this accusative have been given. REISKE supplies διὰ, which of  
course makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγελάσει,  
and changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words  
ould then be strangely out of place. SCHÆFER would make it  
governed by δρώντες. 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 substan-  
ive generally contains the required verbal notion. He alludes to  
the following passages: ÆD. COL. 221, δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὄσ' αὐδῶ.  
SCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar  
Latin construction from PLAUT. MENECCH. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis  
atio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366.  
θανάσι τῷ φόβῳ Θεβαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, and then the  
general meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut præ metu exanima-*  
ti. The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in  
θανάσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Cur allies die from*

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

"Ἐνα ἄνδρα.] The general, for in almost all these expeditions was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had a very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.

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

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

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

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

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querit; sed qui τι καὶ χρὴ λέγειν, is non solum quid, sed etiam in aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene: quid dicendum est, si minime aliquid dicendum est?) ΠΕΡΚ. ad VIG. 837. In EUR. ΠΕΡΚ. 1373, ΠΟΡΣΟΝ remarks on πῶς καὶ; Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postpositi.

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

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

Ἄλλα 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 cutpurses, as he himself subsequently explains it. "From XEN. Mem. i. 2. 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was: τοῦτοις θάνατος ἐστὶν ἢ ζημία."—FRANKE.

Κακούργου] Gen. after ἐστίν. For the person or thing to which some quality belongs, or is essential to, is put in the genitive after εἶναι. See SOPH. EL. 1054, Πολλῆς ἀγνοίας (ἐστίν). ΠΕΡ. i. 107. ἄποψου ἡσυχίου ἐστίν. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. lxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Æthiolorum nunquam fuerant; Philippi erant.

[Page 12.]

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





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Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' . . . ἐκείνος.] *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. REISKE. 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* (HEBM. ad VIGER, 842).

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

Ἄποστερεῖ.] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also EX. p. 839, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ ὄν πάντων 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 most towns of Macedonia. Πολὸν χρόνον. During his whole reign far.

Καὶ ἅπανθ' . . . ἡμῖν ἐστί.] *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-successes of Athens. Nor do I think that Φίλιππος is nominative to ὀρηται, as AUGER advises, but rather ἅπανθ. "I know not if this refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many things occur in Greek and Latin writers, where it is better to agree with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up useless conjectures." WOLF. It refers to all the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ ἡμῖν ἐστί. 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 δεόντ' . . . 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.

Εγὼ μὲν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÆMEL. Μὲν is the usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHIL. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρώ.

Πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν.] Did I choose to speak to win your favour. "Ὅτι μὴ, nisi si quod. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐδὲν ὑπερστειλόμενος.] 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' ἀδήλοισι . . . . γενησομένοις.] But now the events of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of ἐπὶ here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, a defining the notion of coincident time, and farther to denote that it is after the events narrated. HÆR. viii. 65. Ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν. To come after the things were done.

Ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν . . . . αἰρούμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξετε, αἰρούμαι 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 consequentus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc vobis factura 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.

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

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## INTRODUCTION

TO THE

# SECOND PHILIPPIC.

This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, O.L. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus DIONYSIUS, p. 737. *Ἀνκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἑβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν ἐβόητο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος "Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνονται."* 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 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 for 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 Grote remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a philippizing party and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Æschines supported by Phrynon and Philocrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbances 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-

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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 ἐπέμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνη ποιήσω τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξω ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἰς οὐδ' ἐπεχώρησα. 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 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 316 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.

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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. 352. 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 glorious 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, 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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Περὶ ὧν . . . . . εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions, and in-  
fringements of the peace.* Βιάζεται, sc. πράττειν. Βιάζεσθαι some-  
times governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66.  
ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε. *Since I am forced to this, but in the present in-  
stance it has not this force.* Παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. The peace signed  
at Phæræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the  
Athenians and Philip.

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

Ἐγγόμενον 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  
his oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De REB.*  
*ARMIS.* seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evi-  
dence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

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

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

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

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι . . . . ἐπιβουλεύοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active coöperation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. De PACE, p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elatida near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. DE PACE, p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanians, and Pæonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellespontine affairs. GROSCHNIGK, p. 100.

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.

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

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

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

[*Ὡς δεῖνὰ καὶ χυλεπὰ.*] *Ὡς = quam.* However heinous and unbearable they may be. *Οἱ καθήμενοι, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες.* the hearers.

[*Ὡς μὲν ἂν. . . . συνείητε.*] For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them. *Ὡς 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 tractendas . . . . parati estis.* FRANK. Elmsley denies *ὡς ἂν* finalis in Attic writers at *SOPH. AJAX,* 1217.

[*Ἐφ' ὧν ἐστι νῦν.*] Which he now aims at. The force of *ἐπι* here is to denote *steady continuance in a thing.* Cf. *DEM. PHIL.* i. p. 42. *Ἐπι τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνώμης—firmiter adherere huic rationi.* *De REB. CHERS.* *Μένειν ἐπι τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν.* *SOPH. ANT.* 1127. *Ὡς βίαια ἔχεται πανδήμιος πόλις ἐπι νόσου,* where, however, Musgrave reads *ὑπὸ* on account of the construction.

[*Συμβαίνει δὲ. . . . εἰκός.*] And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows. *Ἀἴ* is frequently used to draw a conclu-

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sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. JENKINS, p. 721. 'Εν οἷς, an explanatory or determinative proposition, often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very frequent form in PLATO. BREMI.

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

Καὶ μὴ προελθόντα. . . . ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα.] *And that past 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.* 'Επιστάσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως = *Ne magnitudo copiarum ingruat, i. e. tantis copiis et viribus oppugnemur.* 'Αντᾶραι, is sometimes transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. "Ὀπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. iii. 52. Ὀπλίχαιρας ἀνταιρομένους; and intransitive in the present instance, as also in OL. ii. p. 25.

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

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Τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ. . . . προαιρετέον.] *The best and safest measures are to be preferred to the easiest and most agreeable.* The words σῶσοντα must have been used here to excite the attention of the 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 ἤδη. . . . Φίλιππος.] *What like the power of Philip and what he has made himself master of.* 'Ηλίκος. Philip was elected in this time an Amphictyon, elected in the room of the deposed Phocians, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected general in an Amphictyonic war against Athens. "Ὅσων.

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was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river  
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 ad PHILIPPUM, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens,  
 Argos, and Sparta, uniting their forces for a general war against  
 Persia. *Σοὶ δὲ μόνῃ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς δεδομένην, πρὸς  
 τοῖσι καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον, ὅσων οὐδεὶς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων.*

'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.

Δεσθῆναι.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only,  
 as here; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. *τῶν ἐδέετο  
 φῶν.* Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it; as THUC. v. 57.  
*ἐδέοντο Βοιωτῶν.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 227. *Ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων  
 ἡμῶν ἀκούσαι μοι.*

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

Δι' οὗς.] "Vulg. καὶ δι' ὧν. *Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οὗς sc.*  
*λογισμούς."* REISKE. *'Ἐμοι παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν.] Παραστηκέναι*  
*Stat mihi sententia. It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf.*  
*l. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτά παρισταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν. Δι' ὧν.*  
 The signification of these words is: *the very thing which we use*  
*as an instrument, whereas δι' οὗς signifies the remote cause which*  
*we look to.* VEMEL.

Ἐέλτιον.] After this word *τῶν ἄλλων* is inserted in many edi-  
 tions, on which HERMANN remarks, "*Nihil est causæ, cur omitta-*  
*ret."* I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English  
 editions.

Οἱ θαρροῦντες. . . . αὐτῶ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust*  
*in me, alluding more particularly to Æschines and Philocrates.*  
*ὁ θαρροῦντες, securi, imperterriti.* WOLF. *Posteriorus præstat.*  
 CHEFER. *Προσθήσθε, sc. ψῆφον. You may agree with them.* The  
 word *ψῆφον* is not added at all times, but we have the full con-  
 junction in DEM. p. 1820, *προσθέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον;* and in ÆSCH.  
 735, *ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι,* and also in

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

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

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι πραγμάτων.] Τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πυθίων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ὕλης Φωκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quæ 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.

\* Ἀθηναίοις . . . . προείλετο.] He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours. In the oration De PACE, p. 53, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thebans, repeople Thespiæ and Platea, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Coronea and Corsia, and transferred to them a portion of Phocis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Theban policy in regard to Phocis, and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

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

\* Ὅτι τῇ μὲν . . . . προεῖπθε] 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. Ἐνδείξατο. *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 VÖGEL and SCHÆFER.

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τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι.] *Justitie rationem habentes*—Forming a just estimate of what is right. Πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορώμενοι, *Omnia quæ decet providentes*,—Exercising proper forethought.

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

Ὄνχ ὄπως. . . . ἀλλὰ καί.] *Nōn solum non . . . sed etiam.* JELF. 162, 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 ἐγκώμιον.] The use of *κατὰ* here is exceptional. It means *in the case of, about, in regard to* the object of consideration, and is regarded as lying beneath *under consideration*. Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. *ARISTOT. de ANIM.* i. 1, *Μία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων*, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. “Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Ὀθηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν κάλλιστα.” SCHÆFER.

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



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ὄς ἐτέρως.] ὄς abundanter 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!*

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

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

Βασιλεῖ.]<sup>1</sup> Dative after ὑπακούειν, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. ὑπακούοντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

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

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

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

"*Ἄ πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγω.*] Which all are eager to proclaim. *Πάντες*. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICUS in his lost *Phœnissæ*, ÆSCH. *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 *γλίχσθαι*, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

"*Ἄξιός δ' οὐδὲς 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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For οὐδείς, SCHAEFER prefers οὐδ' εἶς, which is certainly stronger. Not one.

'Ἔστι γὰρ μέγ' ἔγωγε . . . ἄν εἴποι.] For their deeds are so great that one cannot speak them. "The word λόγῳ is frequently contrasted with ἔργῳ, the former denoting the name, pretext, or appearance, the latter, the reality." BRASSE ad ŒD. COL. 781. Cf. POBSE Phœnissæ, 512, and the examples there cited.

Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων . . . προγόνους.] Depending upon εὐπλοῦς τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ. The former, fellow-soldiers with the barbarian; the latter, not opposed to them. The Thebans seem to have had an unenviable notoriety among the Greeks on account of their favouring the enemies of their common country. They fought with Mardonius against the Athenians at Plataea. Herodotus ix. 67. And as regards Argos we learn from HÆC. vii. 148, that after much hesitation they consented to join, if the Lacedæmonians would make a truce of thirty years, and allow them to be the leaders of one half of the army, stating at the same time that they were entitled to the whole, but would be contented with the half. This having been refused, they remained neutral, alleging as the reason that they could join no Panhellenic levy, unless as chiefs. It is probable even, as Herodotus hints, that they would have preferred the success of Persia to a further aggrandizement of Sparta. Then again in 479 they sent word to Mardonius of the intended march of Pausanias to the aid of the Athenians, in consequence of which he evacuated Athens. GROTE, chap. xxxix. says that some affirmed that the Argives invited the Persians into Greece as a means of protection and vengeance to themselves against Sparta after their defeat by Cleomenes.

'Ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσονται.] Will study their own private interests. 'Αγάπῃν here has the accusative of equivalent dative. 'Ἰδίᾳ, dativeus commodi. 'Αγάπῃν is also construed with dative of what causes the emotion, as: ἀγαπᾶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, LYSIAS, 192, 26, To be contented with the good things in hand.

'Ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαισι.] Upon just principles. Vos neque minister libidinum, neque adjuutores ad injurias. WOLF.

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Ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν. . . . αἰρεῖται.] *Both then and now he selects them instead of you.* Τότε relates to the period before the peace. The words καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, and others of a like character, are usually joined with a present tense, SOPH. EL. 676, νῦν τε καὶ τότε ἐννέπω. This is even true if the order of the words be reversed, as "καὶ νῦν θ' ὁμοίως καὶ τότε' ἐξαπίσταμαι." SCHAEFER. Sometimes, however, the tenses vary, but when such is the case the latter is added to strengthen the former, as PLATO. GORGIAS, 43. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν λέγω. In *De CORONA*, p. 236, Demosthenes says: "Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι τοῖσις.

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ. . . . ὑμῖν οὖσας.] *For surely he does not find them in possession of more triremes than you.* For ὄρῳ, ὄραν and ὄρω are given as readings by REISKE. Again: for οὖσας the common reading is ἐνούσας. WOLF suggested οὖσας or παρούσας. We have given οὖσας with BEKKER, DINDORF, and the best English editions. Thebes, being an inland city, could scarcely have a navy, and in reality had none.

Οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ. . . . ἀφέστηκεν.] *Nor has he acquired an inland empire, and renounced that of the sea and the maritime cities.* The meaning is: "Although he eagerly desires an empire by land, much more does he wish to acquire one by sea—but although he knows you to be the most suitable to acquire it for him, still he distrusts your integrity" WOLF. τῶν ἐμπορίων is governed by ἀφέστηκεν.

Οὐδ' ἀνημνεῖ.] *And makes no mention of the speeches and promises.* This verb nearly always governs the genitive, but when it means to retain in the memory, to repeat from memory, &c., it governs the accusative. Ἐπισχέσεις. Libanius in the argument of the oration, says Philip denied having ever made any promises which he did not afterwards carry out. If such be the case, Eschines and Philocrates must have invented a strange story for the Athenians, as related by DEM. FALS. Leg. p. 409. He there relates that Philip promised, on condition of obtaining peace, that he would save the Phocians, humble the pride of Thebes, confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, and return Eubœa and Oropus." And this is confirmed by the *De Pace*,

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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 (ὑποσχέσεων) upon which he obtained the peace.*

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

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

Ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ ἀξιοῦν.] *Quod æquiora postulant.* *Would because the demands of the Thebans were more just.* The common reading is δικαιοτέρους, *quod justiores judicant Thebanos, quæ 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.

Μεσσηνίην.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the cities of Messen are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Martinea, she refused to make peace, 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 The-

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

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

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

'Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχάρησε ταῦτα] *But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will.* Not a supposed objection, as Arnold declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from *De Pace*, p. 62. Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δῆπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' ἐβούλετο . . . . ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη. And we may conclude that Æschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip's intentions. τῶν Θετταλῶν . . . . ληφθεῖς.] *Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry.* The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onomarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocian War. Ἰππέων. "The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3,000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (*HELLEN.* vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger." ARNOLD.

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

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Ὀς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ.] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* The 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 Bœotia. It shared the fate of the other Phocian towns destroyed by Philip at the conclusion of the Sacred War. Philip did not desire to garrison the town so long as he could rely upon Thebes, and it would have seemed strange if the new Amphictycon 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.* p. 293, 299.

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

Συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει.] On this reading FRANKE observed, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to Μεσσηνίους ἀπὸ Ἀργείοις, Sunt dativæ qui dicuntur commodi, "pro Messeniis Argivis," sc. *in horum commodum, cum Lacedæmoniis confistitur.* 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 have expected himself, but he is not really going.

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

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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. ὄντας hoc loco magnam vim habet, significat emia existere, oppositum οὐς ἀπώλεσεν. BREMI. Ἀπώλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. LEG. p. 361, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns: Οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιηρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐνηλικίῳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δύναϊτ' ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Τούτου δ' . . . . ὕμᾶς.] *And he has persuaded himself that you*



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

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

Ὅς γὰρ ὄδῳ, ὑμετέροις . . . . τούτοις ] = τούτοις ἅ ὄντα ὑμέτερον ἔχει, ὅς being attracted into the case of the antecedent. *For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else.* Amphipolis and Potidæa were the *ἐπιτεχίσματα* of Athens against Macedon.

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

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

\*Ἄν μὴ . . . . πρότερος.] *Unless he first prevent you.* Cf. PAUL. 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 1<sup>st</sup> Perf. Ind.—the present being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects *ἐφέστηκεν* with *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*. But it is better to connect it with *θεραπεύει*, and understand with *ἐφέστηκεν*, *τοῖς πράγμασιν, τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς*. REISKE. Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει *θεραπεύει Ἄλιος ambit, colit, promeretur, quo reipublicæ nostræ nocentibus.* *Nourishes them against the city.*

Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτ' αὖ βουλομένους τούτοις.] *And of*

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

Διὰ δὲ σκαϊότητα . . . . . προβῆσθαι.] *And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results.* I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum*, EP. ii. 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 πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, εἰπεῖν συνέβη. *Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives.* This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; ὅτε πρῶτον αἰκείνος παρεδύετο. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus, OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (πέρουσι). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

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

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

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

Βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο.] Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. Πोट/δαία. 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.

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

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

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

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

&c. Πολύ upon the independ (πολύ) se The allus tion by P Οὐ κρα but also b doubtless thian cava 426. Dio Οὐ γὰρ δ with tyrant tion of thi not so mu proposd u i. p. 10. Κ 'Οτ' αὐτ tyrants for thers of Th σίαν. Nica by the Pho give them Philip passe rison. DEM The city wa Esch. FALS what time i with certain Magnesia Pagasea G his name is APOLLON. RB μώνυμος. T p. 15, καλ ment is made Δεκαδαρχία

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

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

Ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF. 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. I. p. 10. Καὶ ἔλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς.

Ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τυράννους. Peitholaus and Lycophron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Pheræ. Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν. Nicæa was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalæcus. After Philip passed Thermopylæ in 346 he occupied Nicæa with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. Νικίαν μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχων. The city was near the pass of Thermopylæ, and is mentioned by ESCH. 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 χώρα ἑσθίωνος. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it, OL. I. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τειχίζειν. A different statement is made in OL. II. p. 21. Δεκαδαρχίαν.] This word has introduced a most abundant



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same family, but let us see what HARRINGTON says of him. *One of those appointed by Philip rulers of ALL Thessaly.* Εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁὗτος τῶν κατασταθέντων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κυρίων Θεσσαλίας ἀπάσης. Now if Philip established tetrarchs in Thessaly we cannot prove that Eudicus was not one of them, but in any case a tetrarch could not be called a ruler of *all Thessaly*. I have thus attempted to establish what JACOBS describes as difficult to prove, and I hope this explanation will go some way in further establishing the views of VEMEL.

Τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα . . . . . παραήρσεσθαι.] Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues. Cf. de PACE p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοὶ . . . . . τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμου 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. Προσδοκῶν. On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. i. p. 15. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pylæ.

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

Ἐν δὲ τι κοινόν . . . . . φυλακτήριον.] *But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the oratorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard. REISKE.

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Τοῖς πλήθεσι.] *Democracies, same as πολιτείας supra.* Cf. HER. iii. 81.

Ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε.] *Hold firm by this.* Cf. DE CORONA, 'Ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

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

Εἴτ' οὐχ ὀρᾶτε . . . . ἔχοντα.] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this.* Εἴτα and ἔπειτα, in expressions implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

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

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

Καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον.] *After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere.* Ὡς ἔοικεν. VEMEL 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 SMITH remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with ἕτερον refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

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

A German oratoribus a parative igne prid them all others.

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[Page 19.]

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.

Περὶστοιχίζεσθε.] Cf. PUL. i. p. 43. The common reading is περὶστοιχίζεσθε, on which REISKE remarks: Illa significat: committitis, ut velut indagine clau limini; hæc: patimini vobis arces imponi, quæ vos in officio continent.

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

Ἡ παρατιχὴ ἡδονὴ . . . . 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 αὐτοῦς.] *By yourselves.* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

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



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

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

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

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

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

*Τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ . . . . λέγοντας.*] *Those who declared, when I, after the peace was made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning, and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pylæ and the Phocians.* *Φενακίζομένην.* When the form of treaty was drawn up at Athens, the words were: that Athens and her allies made pence and alliance with Philip and his allies. FALS. LEG. pp. 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

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Pheræ, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the  
Hellepont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip  
gained Thermopylæ and the Chersonese, "two most valuable posi-  
tions, *δὴ χρησιμωτέρους τόπους*," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. *Ἄε-*  
*χίνες* and Phiiocrates are alluded to in *ἑτέροισ*.

'*Ὡς ἐγὼ..... ἄνθρωπος*.] *That I being a water drinker was*  
*naturally a peevish and stubborn fellow*. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355,  
where Demosthenes himself tells the story: 'Ἐπαναστὰς δ' ὁ φιλο-  
*κράτης μάλα ὕβριστικῶς, οὐδὲν, ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν μὴ ταῦτά καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ*  
*Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω. καὶ ὑμεῖς*  
*ἔγελᾶτε*. "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. *Nulla placere diu nec vivere*  
*carmina possunt. Quae scribuntur aquae polioribus*." JACOBS.  
LIBANIUS in his life of Demosthenes says, *ὕδωρ ἐπετήθευε πινεῖν, ἵνα*  
*ἠρηγοροῦσαν μᾶλλον παρέχηται τὴν δianoian*. Among the Greeks  
it was a proverb, "Ἵδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις καλόν.

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

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

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Καίπερ ὄντες . . . . . μεμῆσθαι.] *Although not celebrated for remembering injuries.* Ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι εἰωθότες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see *De Coa.* p. 252. Καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀσχιστον . . . . . ἐψηφίσασθε.] *And the most disgraceful of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity.* Πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας. Ironical, *ad bene sperandum.* AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decepti.* Ἐκγονοὶ = posteri; ἔγγονοι = nepotes. FRANKE. This certainly was short sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectually cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. *FALS. LEG.* p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. *FALS. LEG.* p. 356.

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

Ὄχ' ἵν' εἰς λοιδορίαν . . . . . ποιήσω.] *Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination.* Οἷς εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπέσω, Cf. *DEM. de Coa.* p. 249. 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.* SCHÆFER. *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 παρέσχω.] *I may anew afford.* Ἐξ ἀρχῆς usually has

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

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

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

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

Μηδ' ἀκούθ' . . . . μηδὲ τοῦ δεινός.] *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 . . . . δωροδοκηκότες.] *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, Cleisiphon, and Iatrocles. Διὰ τούτους. *By their instrumentality.*

Τὰ πολλά.] — Plerumque. Often. 'Ενίοις. 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 ὄργην ἀφιέντας.] *Iram effundentes. Discharge your wrath.*

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ἑνίσταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Ἀγνοία συνσταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων.

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

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

Ἐν ἐκέλη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.] The day of the peace, June 13th, B.C. 346. Some, from PHIL. iii. p. 115, Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε 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 . . . πρῶγμα.] *For if you had not then been duped there would be no difficulty to the city (now).* REISKE has added οὖν in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

Ὅτε γὰρ ναυσι . . . 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. FALM. LEG. p. 389. Ὅτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὐκ εὖ νηυσὶ κρατήσας εὐπρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἔμελλε.

Ἡ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν . . . ἐπεθύμησεν.] *Or he would forthwith have been involved in such a war as that which made him the 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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Ὅς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι.] JELF. 863 Ὅς δ' ἂν.....μὴ γένοιτο.]  
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.

JELF. 810. Also, "ARIST. AV. 1338, γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτας, ὡς  
ἢν παταθῆην, i.e., *ut, si forte, volem, ut volare possim.*" FRANKE.  
Οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est qui*  
*pereat. Not even if he deserved to perish.* Cf. DEM. *contra* MEID.  
p. 518. Οὐ δίκαιος ὢν ἀπολωλέναι.

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

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INTRODUCTION  
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 δημηγοριῶν, 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 the dullest hearer, reminding them as he does of what they

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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

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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 Pagasæan Gulf, and captured some towns in alliance with Macedon. In the subsequent year also, when Philip attacked Byzantium and Perinthus, the exertions of Demosthenes were successful in rescuing them from his power. It is pleasing to see that just before the final setting of the sun of Greece a few bright rays shot forth, soon to be extinguished on the fatal field of Cheronæa.

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Πολλῶν λόγων. . . . ἐκκλησίαν.] *Although many speeches have been made at almost every assembly.* Ὀλίγου δεῖν = Σχέδον. Pæne. Cf. JELF. 864. Ἐφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησατο. *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 *Æschines cont.* TIMARCH. 346-5; *De FALSA LEGATIONE*, 343-2. We may be sure that many others were made, whose authors or names can never be known.

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

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

[Page 21.]

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

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

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

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

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

[Page 22]

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

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

Καὶ δύνανται.] Here equivalent to δύνατοί εἰσιν. SCHÆFER. 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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EM. De PACE, p. 59.  
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in EUR. Orest. 873,

[Page 22.]

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

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

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας.] Practical statesmen. KENNEDY.  
The force of ἐπὶ in such constructions is, to be placed over any-  
thing, to manage or protect it. DEM. p. 928. Πλευσιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ  
τοῖς χρήμασι. Cf. DEM. OL. ii. p. 21, ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι,  
and De Cor. p. 309. Διαφθείρει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . . . δίκην λήσεται.] Id agunt, ut civit: de se  
penas sumat. Do nothing else than make the city inflict punish-  
ment upon itself, i. e. upon its own citizens.

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

Αἰ δὲ τοιοῦται . . . . εἰσιν ὑμῶν.] 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 par-  
ticular instances and manifestations of the abstract notion. Cf.  
De REB. CHERS. p. 107. Καὶ τοιοῦτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας."

ᾠδί.] A strengthened form of ᾠδε. It never occurs in tragedy.  
Ἐπὶ . . . . τῶν ἄλλων] In ceteris quidem rebus. On other sub-  
jects. SMEAD here quotes BREMI: In democratiis, stultitia est  
cujusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major  
erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.

ᾠστε καὶ . . . . αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε.] Αὐτῆς = τῆς παρήσσιας.



[Page 22.]

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* ΑΡΗΘ. p. 822, Πλέον ἢ πενήκοντα 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.

Οικέτας.] Slavery among the Greeks was of two kinds. With a nation was subdued in war, the prisoners were always considered slaves. Such were, among others, the Helots of Sparta, Penestæ of Thessaly, Bithynians at Byzantium, and Aphamiotæ in Crete. This was one kind: the others were slaves properly purchased by their masters, and called δούλοι. The δημόσια οικέται 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, οικέται. But I find no authority for calling a domestic slave, οικέτης. So far is this from the case, that a slave bought at a sale was called οικέτης, to distinguish him from one born at home, who was called οἰκοτριψ. SUIDAS s. v. οικέτης. FRANKE takes this view of the matter also.

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 \*Ἡ πολίτας ἐν ἐνιαῖς 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 as-  
 semblies you have altogether banished it. This passage derives  
 much illustration from the articles παρανόμων γραφή, νομοθέται,  
 and θεσμοθέται, in the DICT. ANT.

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

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

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

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

Ἐν . . . .] These words at the beginning of a sentence are equi-  
 valent to the Latin nunc, nunc autem, quæ cum illa sint, as in EUR.  
 IL. 1, 27.

ἡς ῥαθυμίας . . . . κεκράτηκεν.] Philip has overcome your sloth-  
 fulness and carelessness, but he has not subdued the state.

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

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

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

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

Ἀνάγκη . . . . περὶ τούτου.] *Cautione vehementer est opus, et 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 rather refer to the correction of the erroneous opinion, than to one who was desirous of declaring war. And his subsequent remarks confirm this view.

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

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

*Διορίζομαι.*] WOLF, on *διορθοῦσθαι* supra, remarks: Quod hic *διορθοῦσθαι*, paulo post. *διορίζεσθαι*, *distinguere*, dicit. 'Ἐφ' ἡμῖν. In our power. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 90. 'Ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔστι ὕταν βούλησθε κολάζειν. *Contra LEPT.* p. 491. Τὰ μὲν τότε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε θέσει, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.

'Ἐξεστὶ.] From a consideration of outward circumstances. 'Ἐστὶ, from circumstances under our own control. Καὶ τὸν ταῦτα . . . ἀξιώ, 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 pertinent.

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

*τοῦνομα μὲν . . . προβάλλει.*] Amuses you with the name of . . . "Ὄνομα and ἔργον are frequently contrasted, the former thus signifying a mere pretence, the latter the reality. Cf. *PHÆD.* 512; *CREST.* 445; *HIPP.* 502. HARPOCRATION, s. v. *προβάλλειν*, says: *προβάλλειν τι ὄνομα*, signifies to make promises with the intention of deceiving. And to prove this we need only refer to the

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actions of Philip previous to his entry at Thermopylæ in 346. He there wrote two letters, one immediately after the other, inviting the Athenians to come and aid him against the Phocians. FALSB. LIG. 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.*" FRANKK.

*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, dictiture, say as often as you will. Οὐ διαφέρομαι, nil curo, haud intercedo, meum nil refert.* REISKE.

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

*Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦξει.*] *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 *ἀγείν λέγει* here, which WOLF changed to *εἶναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

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

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

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

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[Page 23.] Οὐδὲ γὰρ. . . . τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ.] *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 τεῖχην) were three in number, one on the east to Phalerum, thirty-five stadia long, another on the west to the Piræus, about forty stadia, and the third parallel to the last, leading to the same place. These last were known as the long walls, the one to Phalerum being usually called τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν. . . . πορευομένων.] *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 πᾶροδον, refers to the same period of time.

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

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

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

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

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



[Page 24.]

Ἦς 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. FRANKL

Ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρέιναι.] *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. ÆSCUL. CTERS. pp. 67, 68. Euphræus poisoned himself in prison.

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

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

Τῶν ἀδικουμένων . . . . αὐτῶ.] 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 κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Translate: *Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.*

Ἄλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration De 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. Ἰμῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

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

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 Acc. and Dat. Od. i. 9, seldom, as here, with an accusative of the  
 thing and genitive of person. But cf. XEN. HELLEN. iii 1, 7,  
 'Ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν.

ὄψις ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς.] With which they put you off. Cf. De  
 REB. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους ὄψις ἀναβάλλουσι ὑμᾶς.  
 WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδέεσθαι 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.

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

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

Οὐδέτις δὴ που.] Nemo scilicet. Nobody I ween. 'Ἄρτι τῆς  
 εἰρήνης γεγονυίας. The peace having now been concluded. This  
 must refer to the settlement of the preliminaries at Athens by  
 Antipater and Parmenio and the Athenians, which was nearly  
 three months before Philip took the oaths at Phœæ. 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.

Ὀὕτω Διοπίθους στρατηγούντος.] We cannot determine the  
 exact date of the appointment of Diopithes to the command, but  
 we learn (from De REB. CHERS. p. 91) that it was after the con-  
 ditions 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

[Page 24.]

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

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

Σέρβρειον.] 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. Ἱεροῦ ὕρους. A fort near the last two towns. The day after the peace had been ratified at Athens (Elaphebolion 28) a despatch came from Chares informing the Athenians that Philip had captured the Sacred Mount, and other important places in Thrace, and had deprived Cersobleptes of the greater part of his kingdom. *ÆSCH. FALS. LEG.* p. 40.

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

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

[Page 25.]

Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει.] *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 oath 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.

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

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

Ἦν βασιλεὺς. . . . εἶνα.] 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 Dorianians, and that they invited Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, to rule over them. He took out with him a body of Athenians as settlers, who volunteered for the expedition, vi. 36. He also built a wall from Pactya to Cardia, and thus protected the country. Miltiades was succeeded by Stesagoras, and, on his assassination, Hippias sent his brother Miltiades, who ruled for twenty-four years, and then abandoned the country from fear of the Persians, and returned to Athens. After the battle Marathon the country was again secured to Athens, and continued subject to them until the end of the Peloponnesian War. They then lost it,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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rs. p. 100. Philip oration, and had

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

Τὰ ἐν. . . . .σκευορούμενον ] *Cunningly laying his plots in Peropneus.* The verb σκευορῶσθαι, like σκευοποιεῖσθαι, is applied to a cunningly devised trick, to effect by intrigue. Its derivative, σκευώρημα, has the same force. Cf. DEM. p. 955. Ἄλλ' εἶναι τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ σκευώρημα ἔλον. Also, p. 1025, σκευώρημα συνιδόντες.

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

Ὅς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῆην.] *By which I may be overcome.* Κὰν μήτω βῆλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. *Even though he hurt 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 γίγνοντο, and translates: *Quoniam igitur illa sunt, quorum eventus nos in discrimen conjiciat.* But εἰ τι γένοιτο, si quid acciderit, is more spirited. The infinitives following are to be regarded as substantives in apposition to τίσιν.

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

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

[Page 25.]

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

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

Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε . . . . τῶν ἄλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* Ὅστε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίον. A town on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megareans, B. C. 658. The other Grecian colonies in this neighbourhood were Lampascus, 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 to Athens against Philip, the people voted a crown to the Athenians. *De Cor.* p. 255.

Καὶ τοῖς ὄσιν . . . . ἀποστεῖλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.* Ἐκεῖ. This word refers only to the Chersonese, not to Byzantium. Phocian 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 Diopithea and his soldiers.

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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: *You may adopt my opinions.*

[*Page 26.*]  
Καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' . . . . . ποιήσῃσθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it  
were εἰ μὴ ἔρα, nisi forte: but, as following ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, I think  
εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is si non etiam reliquorum; the ἔρα being ut  
videtur. *That you may at least take some wise precautions for  
yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for other states  
as well.*" ARNOLD. "Τμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, the objective genitive.

Τετυφῶσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from τυφός,  
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 etymolo-  
gists, and in my opinion the correct one. HARPOCRATION remarks  
upon it: τετύφομαι. ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἕξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα. Cf.  
FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'ΑΛΛ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι, 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 rave, and its  
English derivative, delirium.

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

Μέγας. . . . . ἠϋξῆται.] Proleptic use of μέγας. It is already  
implied in the verb ἀξάνειν Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, μετεώρους  
ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = προς ἀλλήλους. JELF. 654,  
2. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ ὅτι πολλῶν. . . . . γενέσθαι.] And it was far more improbable  
that he should become such as he is, from the man he was. Προεί-  
ληφε. Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσείληφε, cæteris adjunctis.  
WOLF.

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

'ΑΛΛ' ὀρῶ. . . . . αὐτῷ.] But I see all men, beginning with you,



[Page 28.]

have granted to him, that, &c. The expression ἀπό τινος ἀρεμέ-  
νος is used adverbially, and has the peculiarity of agreeing with  
its subject, and defines its limits and sense. Cf PLATO. REP. 600.  
Ὀδοῦν τίθωμεν ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀρεμαμένουσ πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμη-  
τάς εἰδῶλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Τελευτῶν, διαλιπῶν χρόνον, and ἀνόσας,  
are used in a similar manner. WOLF says: ἀφ' ὁμῶν ἀρε. *inter-*  
*quos primi estis*, while SCHÆFER translates: *Initio a vobis facto*.

Ὀύτως] *In so public a manner*, i. e. in a way plainly intended  
for all to see, and in which no evasion was intended. Περικόπτειν  
καὶ λωποδυτεῖν. These words convey in a very forcible 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 λῶπη, a *gar-*  
*ment*, and δύνω) 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.

Καταδουλοῦσθαι 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.

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

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

Οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ.] *Far from it. Nentiquam.* (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 123 he has

[Page 26.]

πρώτον, followed by δέ, when we should expect ἔπειτα δέ. Again, at p. 126, τοτὲ μὲν—πάλιν δέ.

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

Πάντες φῶντο 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.*

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

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

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καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν:] And why need I mention the  
others? "These words are used to indicate a change to more  
serious subjects." FRANKE.

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

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καίτοι.] Many editions have καίτοι γε, which seems a prefer-  
able reading. Ἐξημάρτηται. Everything which had been inflicted.  
'Ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα.] Vide supra Ἐλάττωνά ἐστιν. Are of less  
consequence. Manuscripts vary here between ἐλάττω, ἐλάττων',  
and the reading as given above. I have adopted it on the autho-  
rity of DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

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

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

Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ. . . . ἐκείνα.] *Or rather they are not the smallest part of them.* The reading of VÖGEL and SAUPPE here is πέμπτον μέρος, from Codd. Σ. Ω. All other editions give the reading as I have. REISKÉ 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 Thracian Gulf by the epithet of "Thracian." It is still further characterized by THUCYDIDES as τὴν ἕμωρον Μακεδονία, vi. 7. Many writers contend that it was in the capture of this city, and not of Methone on the Thracian 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 peninsula 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, Sernyle, and Arne, were founded from Chalcis in Eubœa." ARNOLD *ad* THUC. i. 57.

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

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

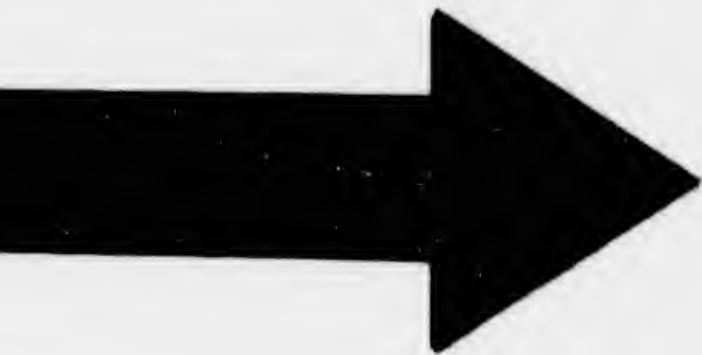
Ὀὐχὶ τὰς. . . παρῆρηται.] By 'πόλεις' I understand *Pagasa* and *Mugnesia*, by 'πολιτείας,' *liberty*. WOLF. Yet what this liberty was he nowhere states. The whole country, as has been observed in a previous note, was divided into four divisions, and was very powerful when united under the government of a single ruler called *Tagus*, a name peculiar to Thessaly (POLLUX. i. 128). Each of these four divisions comprised several cities, the chief magistrates of which were also called *Tagi*. ΒΑΣΚΗ, *Corp. Inscriptionum*. No. 1770. They were generally at war with each other. Larissa, Phœræ 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.

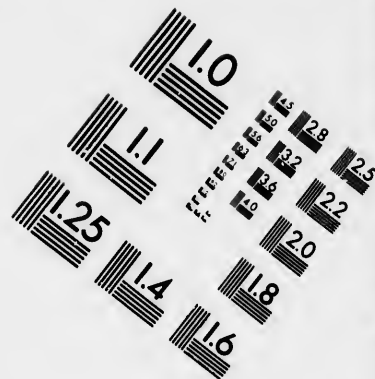
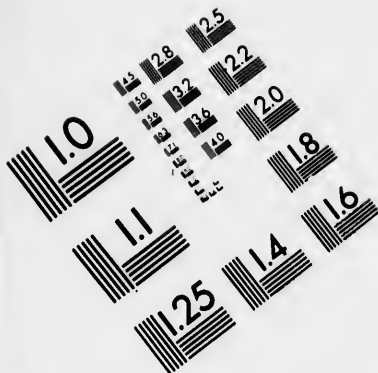
Ἴνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις. . . . δουλεύωσιν;] *That he may not only enslave them by cities, but also by nations.* By making all responsible to him instead of the *Tagi* of the various cities. Besides, each district was directly accountable to him. Compare WOLF ad loc.: "*Totam Thessaliam in quatuor præfecturas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

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

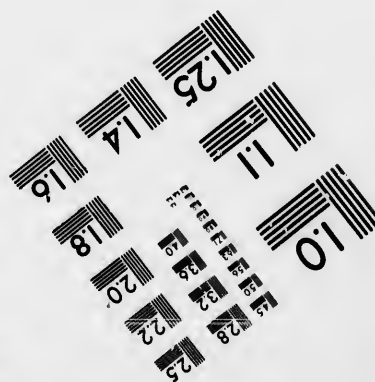
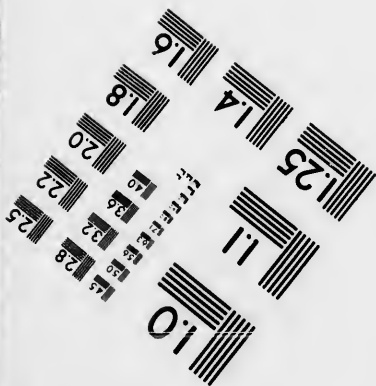
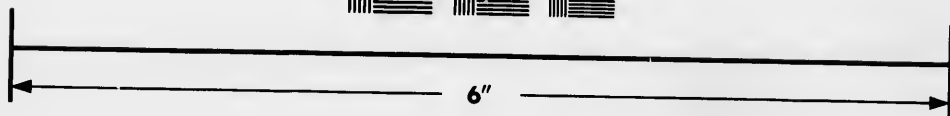
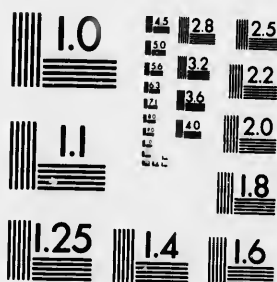








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IN SOPH. ŒD. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιάζειν* is joined with an acc. *Καὶ ταῦτα*, *And that too*. JELF. 880, i.

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

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

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

*Ἡλῶν 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. DIOGOR. xvi. 63. Hence arises the expression of Demosthenes in *PHIL.* iv. 133, *τὰς ἐν Ἡλίδι 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. *οὐδ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς . . . τὰν θρόνον.* Neither Greek nor barbarian land limits the ambition of the man.

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

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

Οὐδὲ συστήται.] Nor support one another. Κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας. A common bond of assistance and friendship. Περιορώμεν.] We disregard. Non impedimus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον. . . ἕκαστος ἐγγωκῶς.] 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 undilque dolos.

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



..... οὐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δὴ ignorant that, like a  
 me other disease, he is  
 ar removed from him.  
 n intermittent fever.  
 n to be to an epidemic,  
 nning so well to limit  
 ions of Philip as so  
 uite well to-day, and  
 n καταβολή, accessiō,  
 θενείας. WOLF says:  
 νοσήματι γιγνόμενος.  
 ncluded that a fever  
 er than an epidemic,  
 Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

λ' οὖν... ἡδικοῦντο.]  
 uine sons of Greece.

might look upon this  
 to a g... session,  
 lly: ἀλλ' ἢ οὗτος ἡ  
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 fter ἂν. Ἄξιον εἶναι,  
 ἂν ὑπολάβοι. AUGER  
 remarks there is no  
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 scriptions being given  
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 nce; κληρονόμος, the

the word is used spe-  
 Βολιμαῖα (sc. τέκνα)  
 any child born of

[Page 28.]

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

Οὐ μόνον..... 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 Olym-  
 pic 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 Hellenodicæ were most particular in this respect.  
 HEA. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult,  
 Ueber die Makedoner; appended to the first volume of the Eng-  
 lish translation of his History of the Dorians. It is certain they  
 were of Pelasgic origin.

'Ἄλλ' οὐδέ..... 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 ὑπολαβῶν ὑμᾶς πικρῆτας καὶ ἀπόρους  
 ἐν διφθέροις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα κατὰ ὀλίγα  
 ..... χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατῆγαγε  
 δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. Quintus Curtius also adds other  
 characteristics in his version of the same speech. Illyriorum  
 paulo ante et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia  
 fastidioso sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudæ, amicula ex purpura  
 sordent; aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt; lignea  
 enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta et rubiginem gladiatorum.  
 This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months  
 before his death.

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

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

Καίτοι τί . . . . ἀπολείπει;] *And yet in what does he fail short of the height of insolence? Οὐ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.]* By his destruction of the cities, does he not preside at the Pythian games? This has reference to the destruction of the Phocian towns. Τίθησι τὰ Πύθια, Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis, i.e. Pythiis præsidet.* AUGER The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to 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, Bœotians, and Philip. This was regarded by the Athenians with such disgust that in that year they sent no deputies to the Games. "It was in the 3rd year of 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. DIONOR. 16, 20." JACOBS.

Τὸς δούλους.] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lasciviens *δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους.* SCHÆFER. 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 *αἰσυμνήται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς, and βραβεύται.* SCHÆFER remarks that here the proper word is ἀθλοθετήσοντας, according to the grammarians. Cf. DICT. ANT. s. v.

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

Προμαντεῖαν.] *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis.* WOLF The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. ÆSCH. EUM. 62. The magistrates of Delphi, however, had the right of admitting any person to præaudience regardless of

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SCHÆFER  
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[Page 28.]

the lots. This favour was conferred upon the Lydians and Cræsus, HER. i. 54; upon the Lacedæmonians, PLUT. PER 21; and upon Philip. It was of great importance to obtain this favour, since oracles were given only at stated times, and the enthusiasm of the priestess did not long continue. Hence if many came to consult, some might have to go away unanswered, which could never be the case with the *προμαντεῖς*. <sup>2</sup>H<sub>2</sub> 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.

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

[Τὸς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν.] 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 Histiea. But from PHIL. iv. p. 133, it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short time after (μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον) that on Megara, which, so far as we can make out, was in B. C. 343. The seizure of Oreus was therefore probably effected in B. C. 342. But it appears from p. 125 that Philip made more than one attack upon Eretria, the first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (PHIL. iv. p. 133), though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed to have been made in B. C. 344." WHISTON.

[Ἄλλ' ὅμως . . . ἀνέχονται.] And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them. I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHÆFER joins *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. ἢ ἐκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχθησθε, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Ὅμως is prefixed to the participle, yet more properly belongs to the verb.



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Liv. 21, 55. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis, mansit aliquamdiu immota acies." FRANKE. JELF. 697. d.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλᾶσαν· ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι. 'Εφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ τούτοις ᾧ. 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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'Αλλ' οὐδ' . . . ἀδικεῖται.] *But not even in what each individual suffers.* KENNEDY translates: *but even the private wrongs of every people.* Very well for a paraphrase, but hardly suitable for a translation. His manner of rendering takes the point out of what follows. Not only do public wrongs go unavenged, but even private injuries are passively endured, *which*, says the orator, *is the very last thing.* Τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦσχα τὸν ἔστω. *For this is the last degree of apathy.* SMEAD. *For nothing can go beyond this at last.* WHISTON.

'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.

Λευκᾶδα.] An island off the coast of Acarnania now called *Santa Mauru*, 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 Ἠπείρου. It was originally a part of the main land, and inhabited by Leleges and Teleboans. The Corinthians, under Cypselus, 665 B.C., founded the city of Leucas, and cut through the narrow isthmus, thus making it an island. In the time of the Peloponnesian War, the channel was filled by deposits of sand, and ships were frequently carried across. THUC. iii. 81; iv. 8. The channel was subsequently opened by the Romans. LIVY xxiii. 17, says: *Leucadia nunc insula, et vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat.*

Ναύπακτον.] *Lepanto.* A considerable city of the Locri Ozolae 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 re-  
conquered 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.

'Εχίνον.] 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. Ἐχίνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἄποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θετταλίας.  
The city is still called Echino.

Kal 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 import-  
ance of this city to Athens, *De Cor.* pp. 254, 255. Συμμάχους  
όντας sc. αὐτῶ. *De Cor.* p. 254.

Ὀὐχ ἡμῶν—ἐὼ πάλλα.] Demosthenes begins to relate the cir-  
cumstances 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 disc omnes*. Cf. *contra TIMOC.* p. 733. Ὅς τὰ  
μὲν ἄλλα ἐὼ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶ γήρα βοηθοὺς λυμάλη. SCHLEFFER.

Καρδίαν.] This city was at the extremity of the Chersonese,  
and in all time seems to have been an enemy to Athens. *Contra*  
AUST. In the treaty with Philip, it was included among his  
allies, and it seems at no time to have been under the dominion  
of Athens. Diopithes, when Philip was advancing through Thrace,  
endeavoured to capture it, but failed, since Philip was enabled to  
relieve the city. From *De Pace* p. 63, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐὼμεν ἔξω  
Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, we see that even the Athenians  
allowed that it did not belong to the Chersonese. It was also  
reserved by the Cersobleptes in the cession of the Chersonese.

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Μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα.] *We dally and play the woman.* DINDORF and RÜDIGER give μαλκίομεν, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says μαλκίομεν was another reading. SCHÆFER remarks that μαλκίομεν in this place is the genuine reading, and that this word has been so completely eradicated by interpreters of the orator that no trace of it remains. HARPOCRATION interprets μαλκίομεν by τὸν ὄρθον φρίττειν, which DINDORF styles *purum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίῳν 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 statuimus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, *diffidentes mutuo alii aliis, at Philippo fidentes, communi omnium hosti et vexatori*. But to my mind ἀδικοῦντι as well as ἀλλήλοις is governed by ἀπιστοῦντες, and REISKE'S refining is thus useless.

Τί οἴεσθε. . . . τί ποιήσῃεν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὴν. The order is ἐπειδὴν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἓνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἓνα αὐτῶν ἐκάστον ἐν μέρει.

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

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

Καὶ οὗτε. . . . ἤττητο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÆFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἤττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ. Λυμναίεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Porturavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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[Page 29.] Οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν.] *Nothing recondite nor subtle.*  
These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some  
manuscripts, and are rejected by SMEAD as not Demosthenic in  
spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf.  
PLATO. GORG. § 102. Οὐδὲν ποικίλον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί. Would  
he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, *All*  
*hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπώτατον. . . . ἐξελεγχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen*  
*erat si quis accepisse munera convincebatur.* WOLF. *And it was a*  
*terrible thing to be convicted of taking bribes.*

Τιμωρὰ μεγίστη.] *With the heaviest punishment.* There were two  
actions for bribery (δεκασμός) at Athens; one called δέκασμου γραφή  
laid against the person who gave a bribe; the other δάρων 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 Thes-  
mothetæ, the punishment on conviction was death, or payment  
of ten times the value of the bribe, to which the court might add  
any additional punishment (προστήμιμα). Thus Demosthenes in  
the case of Harpalus was fined fifty talents and also in addition  
imprisoned. These laws were still in force, but were never en-  
forced. Καὶ παρὰ τῆσι 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 favour-  
able moment at which success is possible, and if that be omitted  
it will never come again. Compare SHAKESPEARE, *Jul. Cæsar*, Act  
v. 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.

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. 366.

Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te,  
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

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

Παρά τῶν λεγόντων] Alluding to Æschines, Eubulus, and others of the Philippizing orators. τῶν στρατηγούντων. This may possibly allude to the accusation of Iphicrates and Timotheus by Chares of having taken bribes from the Chians and Rhodians, and thus leading to the ill-success of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont during the Social War. DEINARCH. cont. PHILOCL. s. 17. DIODOR. xvi. 21, 22. However, we have already seen in PHIL. i. that such proceedings were common, and that generals were frequently tried, twice or thrice, and condemned like footpads, p. 53.

Νῦν δὲ . . . ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα.] From ἐκπιπράσκω. *Now all these 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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Ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν.] Gravius antecedit, sed νενόσηκεν sequitur, ut significet et principium mali et exitium a corruptelis profectum. WOLF. Ἀπόλωλε in reference to foreign affairs νενόσηκεν to intestine broils and commotions. Compare SHAKS. *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

"O nation miserable,

When shalt thou see thy wholesome days again?"—KENNEDY.

Ἄν ὁμολογήῃ] As Philocrates did. ARNOLD. And yet Philocrates was banished for this very confession. Τάλλα πάνθ' . . . ἤρηται. *All other things which are the necessary attendants of bribery.*

Τῆς ἑλλης 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. SCHÆFFER. SMAD reads παρασκευῆς, and interprets supellex, the general equipment of an army. A meaning certainly new for supellex, and doubtful as regards παρασκευή.

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

ὑπὸ τῶν πολούτων.] *By these barterers.* Referring to Demades, Eubulus, Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, and Aristodemus.

Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει.] The usual formula when proceeding to prove a general statement previously made. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 239. Ἄνωθεν, traced upward from the present. For ἔτι with Ind. cf. JELF. 802, a. b. AUNOLD correctly remarks that τὰναντία 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. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς γράφει. *Eis ἀκρόπολιν.* On the omission of the article, consult JELF. 447, 2.

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

Ἄτιμος ἔστω.] *Let him be an outlaw.* Capite imminutus. Ἄτιμία 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 Ἀθηναίων the common reading is τῶν Ἀθη. Τοῦ is approved by REISKE, DINDORF and SCHÆFFER.

Ἄιτία.] *Crimen.* The charge is written.

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Χρυσόν.] Gold uncoined, as opposed to χρυσίον, which signifies the metal coined. The same distinction holds good between ἐργυρος and ἀργύριον.

Λογίσεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε.] On this construction, see n. p. 41.

Τίς ἦν.....ἀξίωμα.] *What was the sentiment, or what the decision of the Athenians who then acted so?* Cf. for this meaning of ἀξίωμα, SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1454. Πάτερ, τί δ' ἐστὶ τὰξίωμ,' ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; *Father, what is your decision or resolve, on whom do you call?* WOLF says of this word: Dignitatem hic appellat magna facta, tanta republica digna. On which SCHÆFER remarks, Mihi videtur ἀξίωμα h. l. esse idem quod φρόνημα.

Καὶ ἀτίμους.] *And dishonored, i.e., the taint extended not only to him but also to his posterity. This only happened in certain extreme cases. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν.....ἀτίμιαν. And this is not what one would usually call outlawry. Ea vero est non simplex ignominia.* WOLF, who also gives the order, thus illustrating the construction: τούτο δὲ (τὸ ἀτίμιον εἶναι) οὐκ ἐστὶν (ἀτίμια) ἢν ἀτίμιαν τις οὕτως ἂν φήσειεν. Οὕτως. *Re non pensitata, e consuetudine vulgi parum curantis vim vocabuli.* WOLF.

[Page 31.]

Τί γὰρ τῷ.....ἐμελλεν;] *For what was it to this Zelitan if he were not to participate in the common rights of the Athenians?* The orator proceeds to explain what was the peculiar case of ἀτίμια and its consequences to Arthmius. He also alludes in terms of commendation to the same subject in FALS. LEG. p. 428. But there is a view of the matter not touched upon by him, which we learn from ÆSCH. ADV. CTES. § 259. Æschines there calls him πρόξενον ἕντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Now the πρόξενος enjoyed certain rights of Athenian citizenship, and of these Arthmius would also be deprived. SMEAD (following TOURREIL) gives this account of the matter: Egypt had shaken off the yoke of Artaxerxes, who immediately marched with a formidable army to chastise the rebels into obedience. This he was unable to do for the reason that Athens had sent troops to their assistance. The anger of Artaxerxes was thereupon turned against the Athenians. He sent agents into Peloponnesus, with large sums of

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money to induce the States to commence war against them. It is probable that Arthmius was one of these emissaries, though his name is not mentioned by Diodorus, and that he was thus stigmatized on account of his previous intimate relations with Athens. 'Ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει. But it does not mean this.

'Υπὲρ ὧν . . . . ἀποκτείναι.] Super iis pro quibus (interfectis) non permiserit capitis causam instituere (in interfectores). FRANKE. Iis de homicidiis quorum causâ aut quorum in gratiam legislator actiones cædis nullas dat. REISKE. For those cases in which the lawgiver does not allow a trial, but to kill is sanction. I prefer to make ὧν neuter, understanding ἐγκλημάτων. SCHÆFER and WOLF also favour this view. For these cases see DIOD. ANT. s. v. φόνος.

Τοῦτο δὴ . . . . εἶναι.] But it means this, that he who killed any one of these was free from pollution. On τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς, Cf. JELF. 613 and 496.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν . . . . μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι.] For it would not have concerned them, unless they regarded it in this light, whether people in Peloponnesus were purchased or corrupted. On this cumulation of words of similar signification see n. p. 41. Μὴ here is equivalent to εἰ μὴ. WOLF translates: Alioquin non curassent, si quis in Peloponneso aliquos emeret et corrumpere, nisi ita sensissent.

'Ἐκόλαζον δ' . . . . ἐτιμωροῦντο.] Hoc, ad poenam, legibus debitam; illud, ad castigationem et emendationem peccantium refertur. HEINDORF.

'Ὡστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν.] So as even to make them pillar-men, i. e. to inscribe their names on pillars.

Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως . . . . πρὸς τᾶλλα.] For you have not the same disposition in regard to such things, nor in regard to others. Understand after ἔχεθ', τὴν διάνοιαν. Περὶ πάντων. De omnibus rebus. Regarding everything.

Παραπ. ἠόως . . . . Ἕλληνας.] Pari pacto sese habent reliqui quoque Græci atque vos habetis. REISKE. For the other Greeks are just the same, and not a whit better than you. Σπουδῆς πολλῆς. Much diligence. JELF. 529, 1.

Τίνας εἶπω;] Scilicet Βουλῆς. WOLF. This is far inferior to



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REISKE, who translates: *Sed equod est illud salutare consilium, dicamne? Shall I say what good counsel?*

Ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκει.] The following readings of these words are given. SCHEFER gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου γιγνώσκει, 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 ἀναγιγνώσκει. Amid such variation of manuscripts it would be better with VÆMMEL and ARNOLD to expunge it. However, admitting it to be part of the oration, it is evident that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου stood beside the orators, and read such public documents and laws as were required by the orator in support of his argument. This γραμματεὺς was appointed by the public assembly by χειροτονία, and always read from the γραμματεῖον, or record.

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις . . . τὴν πόλιν.] *There is a foolish report circulated by those desirous of consoling the city.* Εἰδήθης, here is something like our *good-natured*, but used ironically. Cf. RUHNK. ad TIM. 131. "Quicunque Atticorum urbaniores dici haberique volebunt, quem stolidum et fatuum dicere verebantur, leni blandoque nomine ἡδὸν, γλυκύν, εὐήθη, χρηστὸν appellabant." In accordance with this view, cf. OL. iii. 37. Ἐπὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν; and De Cor. p. 228. Τοῦτο παντελῶς εἶθες φήθης. For γλυκὺς in a similar sense cf. PLATO. HIP. MAG. 228, B.

Ποτ'.] At the close of the Peloponnesian War, when by means of the decadarchies and harmosts they might be said to govern the whole earth. Βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον. After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Persia and Sparta united to crush the power of Athens. Isoc. Or. xii s. 110. The price of the friendship of Sparta was the delivery of the Asiatic colonies to the power of Persia.

Ἐφίστατο 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 ἐδόκουν.

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[Page 31.] Καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπώσθη.] *And was not utterly destroyed.* Ἀναρπά-  
ζειν, *Funditus perdere, pessumdare*, ut si arborem radicitus humo  
evellas. Cf. AESCH. *contra CTES.* 133. Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις  
ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνθρωπώσθη.  
Εὐληφότεων ἐπίδοσιν. *Cujusmodi incrementa? Non tam virtutis*  
*et potentiae, quam vitiorum et ignaviae.* Ἐπίδοσις is equivalent  
to ἀβησις. WOLF.

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

Ἀκούω.] *I have heard.* JELF. 396. Τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε.  
This plan of warfare was adopted by the Lacedæmonians during  
the Peloponnesian War. They waited until the crops were  
nearly ripe, and then invaded and plundered the whole country.  
The same method of attack was adopted in all the Roman wars  
until the siege of Veii by Camillus, when winter quarters were  
first prepared for the soldiers.

Τὴν ὥραϊαν 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 omnino, ad*  
*τὴν ὥραν, perfectionem, percocta et maturata.* It will thus mean  
*the season of the year during which fruits and crops arrive at ma-*  
*turity.* With these words FRANKF compares *e.* DIONYS. p. 1292.  
Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχέιμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν  
ὥραϊαν. With ἡ ὥραϊα, ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους is understood.

Ἄσπλιταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν.] *With heavy armed*  
*soldiers and troops of their own nation.* The Lacedæmonians  
employed no mercenaries in the earlier times. The army was  
composed of citizens alone, who could not remain long away  
from home. Their armies were nearly all infantry, and thus an  
incursion was less to be feared than if they were provided with  
cavalry. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως κ.τ.λ. *And so old-fashioned were*  
*they, or rather national in their ways; i. e., So great was their*  
*simplicity, or rather love of country, that is integrity.* WOLF.  
Πολιτικῶς used here in the sense of οἰκέως. *Dutifully.* Cf. *De*  
*Cor.* p. 308. Ἄ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις. Also p.  
329. Πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια.

[Page 32.]

Χρημάτων.] Gen. of price. Ἠνεῖσθαι. . . οὐδέν, *As to purchase no advantage.* "Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes. Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique." ENN. Quoted by KENNEDY. Νόμιμόν τινα. *Legitimate.* Προφανή, the correct reading, instead of the old προσφανή, *cleur* or *open*. Cf. THUC. ii. 93. Οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

Ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης.] *Ex acie instructa atque praelio.* 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.* Ἄλλα τῶ. . . ἐξηρτήσθαι. *But by having attached to himself.* Non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctam habet, quod pone se trahit. FRANKÉ. This explanation is correct, and yet seems unsuited to the gravity of the subject. REISKE has changed the word to ἐξήρτυσθαι, and SCHLEPER adopts this in his notes, but gives the other in the text. This last verb, meaning *to fit out, to get ready for one's self*, seems better suited to the passage. In ÆSCH. PROM. 711, τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι is the reading of DINDORF, altered from the old lection ἐξηρτημένοι. There is a frequent confusion of these words, on which see MATTHIÆ *ad Eur. Hipp.* 1176.

Ξένους.] Philip incorporated in his army the whole available force of Thessaly, horse and foot; and had besides great troops of mercenaries. These immense levies rendered abortive the attempts of other states to oppose him with their own citizen soldiery. On the construction of the acc. see JELF. 584, Obs. 2.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις.] *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 μῆλω. 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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[Page 32.]  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.] *In defence of their country.* Δ' ἀπιστίαν,  
*Ex mutua partium diffidentia, quod una metuat proditorem al-*  
*terius, ut sola dominetur.*

Μηχανήματα . . . . . πολιορκεῖ.] Cf. supra n. p. 115. The pecu-  
 liar kind of engines intended was Macedonian gold, and a party  
 of traitors in the city. By means of these he captured nearly all  
 Greece. The statement below that he *made no difference between*  
*summer and winter* must have made the Athenians aware that  
 they were contending against an enemy of no common kind. It  
 was certainly something new to find a man who never rested  
 from war, who marched in winter as well as summer, and who  
 endured hardships for the mere sake of becoming a first class  
 potentate. Ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, sc. αὐτῶ.

Ὁὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι . . . . . τὴν χώραν.] *Must not allow the war to*  
*approach your own country.* The Greeks say: οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι or  
 δεῖ μὴ προσέσθαι. τὴν εὐήθειαν. *The simplicity.* Alluding to the  
 open manner they had of carrying on war. Quia sine proditi-  
 onibus 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 fran-*  
*gatis.* Ὡς ἐκ πλείστου. *So long before as possible.* ARNOLD.  
 But it seems to be equally as good to translate, *so far as pos-*  
*sible.*

Ὁὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίσεσθαι.] Means the same as if he  
 had said more fully: οὐχὶ δεῖ συμπλακέντας ὑμᾶς Φιλίππῳ διαγωνί-  
 σεσθαι αὐτῶ. REISKE. To take very good care to keep him at  
 home, and prevent him from coming abroad; but by no means  
 to engage with him in battle, which might endanger your safety.  
 This was the advice of Pericles in the Peloponnesian War. How  
 different the sentiments here expressed from those in PHIL. i. p. 41.  
 There the orator is all confidence, and speaks of the power of  
 Philip as not to be feared, and regards it as much less than that  
 of the Lacedæmonians after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian  
 War. Now all is changed. Ten years have made a mournful  
 alteration in both, and no one confirms it more than the orator

[Page 32.]

himself. Then he was all battle and glory, now the same speaker warns them to avoid provoking the Macedonian too much, and advises predatory wars to engage the attention of the king. Truly *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*.

Πολλὰ φύσει. . . . ὑπάρχει.] *Many advantages naturally belong to us.* Φύσει, here is the dative absolute, of which many instances may be given. Cf. LONG. *de SUB.* 3, 15. φύσει γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιέμενοι. 33, 3, ὅτι φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια . . . ἐπιγιγνώσκεται. Ἐθέλωμεν. *We are willing.* Ἐθέλειν. *What is in our power.* Βούλεσθαι. *What we wish but cannot perform.* Cf. EUR. *ALCEST.* 281. Λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν & βούλομαι." WHISTON.

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

Ἀγῶνα.] *Proelium, conflictus; πόλεμος, Bellum, etiam cum non conseruntur manus.* WOLF. Cf. LONG. *De SUB.* 13, 4. Ἀγῶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἠττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἄδοξον. Εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα. *But for a battle he is better equipped than we.*

Ὁ μόνον. . . . οὐδέ.] *Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enunciationibus adverbium, μόνον, soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat.* SCHLEFER. τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, *But in your mind and soul.* Μισῆσαι, *To bring your hatred upon.* FRANKE says: *μισῆσαι, odium conctpere, misere, 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 REPUBLICIS.* p. 104, where almost the same terms are employed to explain the duty of the Athenians.

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

CHERS. p. 104. [Page 32.]  
 Εἰς τοῦτο...τί λέγω. Ye have come to such a pitch of folly, or  
 insanity, or I don't know what to call it. See n. p. 111.

Μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαίνῃ. Lest some evil genius may  
 drive the republic to destruction. Demosthenes is here a true pro-  
 phet. 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 κάκιστ' ἀνώδυνον κακόν.

But in much wisdom there is much affliction, and prudent men  
 seeing farther into the future are more grieved thereby; since  
 from the very nature of men they draw their conclusion thence.  
 Hence Ovid not less truly remarks:—

Augurium ratio est et conjectura futuri,  
 Hoc divinavi notitiamque tuli.

Isocrates also wrote as follows of Philip: Ἠγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἂν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος  
 εἰ μὴ τις τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ συγκατάρθρωσεν. WOLF. Cf. also on the  
 influence of δαιμόνιον τῆ, SOPH. ANT. 618. The notion that  
 Jupiter perverts the understanding in order to make men do  
 wrong is found in several parts of the Greek writings. EUR.  
 FRAG. "Ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσὺν κακὰ, Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶ-  
 τον. For further examples see BRASSE'S ANT. v. 818, and the  
 excellent note in ARNOLD'S edition, p. 148  
 "Ἰστε...κελεύετε.] Construe: ὥστε κελεύετε ἀνθρώπους μισ-  
 θωτοὺς λέγειν ἕνεκα λοιδορίας—ἥστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας, For  
 any cause whatever.

[Page 33.]

Ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι.] AUGER omits the οὐκ as unnecessary af-  
 ter the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, Ἀρνεῖσθαι  
 ...οὐτι οὐ παρῆν, we see that the οὐ is required. SCHLEFER re-  
 marks: "In direct narration, as here, οὐ is used; in the indirect,

, now the same speaker  
 donian too much, and  
 attention of the king.  
 illis.

antages naturally belong  
 e, of which many in-  
 SUB. 3, 15. φύσει γὰρ  
 σει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια  
 illing. Ἐθέλειν. What  
 ch but cannot perform.  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιθυμητὸν θανεῖν ἔ  
 βούλομαι."

it is possible to plunder  
 ὧραν. The partitive is  
 Cf. JELF. 442, c. and  
 hi neque visa sororum.  
 definite number; μόρια,

s, Bellum, etiam cum  
 De SUB. 13, 4. Ἀγῶν  
 ἄδοξον. Εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα,

im consuetudinem in  
 soli priori membro sic  
 neat. SCHLEFER. τῆ  
 and soul. Μισῆσαι, τὸ  
 ῆσαι, odium concipere.  
 here is one too true in  
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 ore injury than all the  
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 is are employed to ex

This is defended by  
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 cept in from De REP.

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μή, as XEN. HELLEN. vii. 3, 7. Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἠρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι." Ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. See JELF, 589, 3.

Καὶ οὐχί πω. . . . ὄν δεινόν.] *And bad as this is it is not the worst.* Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 97. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιοῦτους δεινὸν ὄν, οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν. Οὐχί πω is much stronger than the usual οὐπω. Ἄλλὰ, sc. τοῦτ' ἔστι δεινότατον.

"Οσας. . . . ἀκροῶσθαι.] The subject of παρασκευάζει is in the subsequent words. *Quanta ex eo mala existunt, quod tales audire vultis.* WOLF.

Τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Cf. n. p. 111. Also, THUC. iii 28, Οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. . . ὄντες. The scholiast interprets these words to mean: Οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες. THUC. uses a similar form in vi. 39. Οἱ τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες. The reference is to Lathenes and Euthycrates of Philip's partisans, and the patriot Apollonides. Φιλίππου. The genitive depending upon ἦσαν. Cf. JELF, 518, 2, for further examples of the same class. FRANK cites LIVY, xxiii. 14: Plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis toto esset. Add CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 45: Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. REISKE translates, *Ad clavum reipublicæ sedentium.*

Τίνες δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.] This also is dependent upon ἦσαν. JELF. 518. BREMI translates *studere optimis rebus.* SMEDD entirely rejects this view of the government of τοῦ βελτίστου, and says: "εἶναι is very commonly used to denote possession, as of property, connected with which idea is the signification of *to be devoted to, or to belong to, as a class.* It is very rarely that it is used to denote the *devotion of persons to a thing, without a preposition, and this requires to be supported by examples.*" Until such examples are forthcoming he prefers to govern by ὑπέρ, and cites two passages where τοῦ βελτίστου is governed by ὑπέρ, but in neither of which is there the slightest resemblance to the present. De REB. CHERS. "Ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐναντιοῦται. IBID. Ἐπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω. This only proves that ὑπέρ governs the genitive, a point conceded by all. If any change is to be made, I prefer to supply with REISKE, μέρους κενονοί. This will then complete the sense, and supply a governing word to τοῦ βελτίστου, if such be required: *And certain acting for the better.*

ἡρῶντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες  
7, 589, 3.

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d supply a governing  
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Δουλεύσουσι.] I have adopted this reading in preference to the subjunctive, δουλεύσωσι. "Ὅπως is used with the future indicative. Cf. *infra*, p. 126, Εὐφραῖος δέ τις... ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δούλοι ἔσονται. Cf. JELF. 812, 2. It may also be used with the subjunctive, but less frequently than with the indicative.

'Εξώλεσαν.] Observe the force of the preposition, *utterly destroyed*. The force of ἐκ in composition is to express completion or success. Thus φεύγω is, *I try to escape*; ἐκφεύγω, *I succeed in escaping*. BRASSE *ad SOPH. CEd. COL.* 21.

Τοὺς ἰππέας προῦδσαν.] 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 Euthyrates appointed to the command. Soon after, a sally was decided upon, and Lasthenes led five hundred horse into an ambuscade, where they were completely surrounded and made prisoners. FALS. LEG. pp. 425, 426. The town soon after surrendered, the only terms they could obtain being that their lives should be spared. JUSTIN. viii 3. The inhabitants were put up at auction and sold (DIODOR. xvi. 53), their lands being distributed among Philip's officers. Among the captives were some Athenian citizens, sent to aid in the defence. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 30. 'Απόλετο. Another reading is ἐξαπώλετο.

'Απολλωνίδην.] There is an Apollonides, an Olynthian, mentioned in DEM. *contra NEER* 1376, but he is met with in very suspicious circumstances, along with Peitholaus, despot of Phæra. It may be doubted if he is the same as the present one.

'Επειδὴ... 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 PACE*, p. 58. However, the persuasion of Meidias prevailed, and Phocion was sent into Eubœa with a strong force of hoplites. DEM. *contra MEID.* p. 550. Callias of Chalcis now openly proclaimed himself an ally of Macedon, and having collected troops, and invited aid from the generals of



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Philip at Pegasæ, 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* MEND. 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. Πορθμόν. See n. p. 119. Οἱ μὲν ἐφ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. Some were for bringing the government over to you, *ad vos republicanam tractabant.*

Τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα ] *In plerisque vel potius omnino Τελευτώντες. At last.* Cf. n. p. 116. Ἐπὲρ 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.] *Ei tunc quidem, And then indeed.* Klotz's translation, *elemia 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 showed him to be anything but that.

Ἐξελέλακεν . . . σῶζεσθαι ] *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 341. The allusion here will then be to the opposition which the popular party made to the establishment of the tyrants, and probably to a subsequent revolution. WOLF's translation I do not understand. He says: "Scilicet τοὺς Ἐρετρεῖς, *cum jam tandem sero sapere vellent.* I should rather translate: *bis putriam conservare decertantes*, or with WINIEWSKI, *quum jam bis pro libertate contenderent.* The remaining words from τῶτε to Παρμενίων are omitted in Codex Σ. 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. 119-1, Lyciscus being Archon, B. C. 344-3, and  
 the expeditions of Eurylochus and Parmenio in the following  
 year.

Καὶ τί δεῖ πολλά λέγειν:] *And why need I say more?* Cf. VIRG.  
 ÆN ii. 101; also n. p. 117. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοῦς ἄλλους λέγειν;  
 "Ἐπράττε Φιλίππῳ." *Eunobat Philippo, in Philippi gratiam ἐπολι-  
 τεύετο.* More fully in FALS. LEG. p. 365. Θηβαίους τὰ πρόγματα  
 πράττει. "Ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ," Cf. PHIL. iii. p. 127. SCHÆFER,  
 where πρὸς χάριν is understood according to REISKE. On the  
 events here narrated cf. n. p. 113.

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 Εὐφραῖος δέ τις.] In addition to what was said of him in n. p.  
 113, we may here add, on the authority of HIEROCLETIUS, that  
 he was a disciple of Plato, and it was when attending the lec-  
 tures of the philosopher that he resided in Athens. But we shall  
 also find him elsewhere. We learn from ATHENÆUS, xi. p. 506,  
 that he resided in Macedonia during the whole reign of Perdiccas,  
 the brother of Philip, and that it was upon his suggestion that  
 Philip was appointed governor of a portion of Macedonia. It is  
 strange to see the friend of Perdiccas many years afterwards  
 dying of grief on account of the conduct of the partisans of the  
 youth who was first raised to power by the kindness of the  
 Orcitan philosopher.

Ὅτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. . . . προὐπηλακίζετο.] *How he was insulted  
 in other respects, and trampled upon.* The first denotes the  
 genus (*injuria*) the second the species (*contumelia*). FRANK.  
 Cf. contra ANDROT. p. 611. BUTTMANN in his Lexilogus s. v.  
 προσελεῖν says the proper meaning of 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 ἃ πράττουσι, *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. REISKE. Rather conjurati.*

*Χορηγόν . . . . πρυτανευόμενοι ] 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, Φαινέσται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μάσῳλος. Πυτανευόμενοι is explained by ΗΛΠΡΟΣ. as διοικούμενοι καὶ διαστρεφόμενοι. This last word offends REISKE, and he has judiciously altered it to διατρεφόμενοι.*

*Ἄντι τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοήθειν . . . . ἀποτυμπάνσαι ] Instead of assisting him, and beating others to death. The verb ἀποτυμπάνειν is used of beating to death by frequent blows. Cf. De REV. CHERS. p. 104. The ETYM. MAG. explains the word by: Οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῃ ἢ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου, and goes on to state that anciently the stick was used to put criminals to death, but afterwards the sword. The Latin term was *fustuarium*. Cf. CIC. PHIL. iii. 6, *Fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consules reliquerunt*. Something similar still survives in the Russian *Knout*.*

*Ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. ] Ἄξιον εἶναι. Sic Latine idoneus pro dignus. SCHLEFER. 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.*

*Ἐπέχαιρον. ] Insultabat Euphraso, 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 MEIN, p. 556, ἄλλὰ σοὶ ἐπέχαιρον. SCHLEFER interprets it simply as *gaudere ob uliquid*.*

*Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας . . . . ἔπραττον ] Those in authority acted as they wished. Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας is almost equivalent to οἱ ἐπιτοῦ ἡγεμονίας, or οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. Ἠβούλοντο. The three verbs, βούλομαι, δύναμαι, and μέλλω, take in the Attic dialect ἔ as the augment instead of ἐ. FRANKE translates this passage *In tanta libertate quantum volebant. In all the freedom they could desire.**

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

Ἵσπε 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.* Ῥῆξαι φωνήν, cf. VIRO. ÆN. iii. 340. *Rumpitque hanc pec-tore vocem.* TAC. ANN. vi. 20. *Non exilio fratrum rupta voce.*

SCHÆFER interprets: *loqui, tanquam ruptis vinculis, quibus timor vocem constrinxerat.* It may be observed that in all the passages both in Greek and Latin, in which the synonymous terms occur, the speaker is labouring under violent mental excitement, and thus in a manner bursts forth into conversation. Διασκευασόμενοι. *Succinti, armati, armis instructi, AUGER. Acte instructa.* WHISTON interprets: *Having broken up their camp; but it rather means, Having everything ready for their purpose.* Cf. THUC iv. 38. Τὰ ἄλλα διασκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν. On πρὶν with the Ind. cf. JELF. 848, 3.

Οἱ μὲν ἔρχουσι. . . . ἀποκτείναντες.] *They ground down and tyrannized over those who then protected them (the tyrants), and were prepared to do anything to Euphræus; expelling some of these, and putting others to death.* The meaning of all is: that these tyrants expelled and even killed some of those who, on the occasion of the troubles with Euphræus, had aided them, and were prepared to do anything to Euphræus to satisfy the tyrants. On the construction see JELF. 581, 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 Εὐφραίων, 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.

Ἵσιον ποιεῖν.] *Omnibus modis vexare.* SCHÆFER.

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Ἐπέσφαζεν' αὐτόν.] Cf. XEN. ANA. i. 8, 28, Ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάζεσθαι. Also JELF. 363, 1. Καθαρῶς, *With pure motives.* Cf. De COB. 303, \*Ἄν καθαρά ᾧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, where the notion of completeness and entirety is fully carried out.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, κ.τ.λ.] Cf. De REB. CHENS. p. 103, for an almost equivalent expression. Ἥδιον...ἔχειν. *Being so favourably disposed towards those who plead Philip's cause.* "Ὅτι τοῖς μὲν...οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. *Because it is impossible for those who speak and advise for the best, always to speak for your gratification.* On πρὸς χάριν cf. JELF. 621, obs. 2, and also SOPH. ANT. v. 30, 908. Τὰ πράγματα, *Respublica*, or as BREMI, *Salus et libertas patriæ.*

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Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς.....σμπράττουσιν.] *But they play into Philip's hands, by those very means, by which they gratify the most.* Ἐισφέρειν ἐκέλευον. The orator now proceeds to state very succinctly and fully the principal differences between the two classes of men, and it can easily be seen how much an idle, peace-loving people would prefer the counsels of slothfulness to those of strenuous activity: Ἐισφέρειν. See n. p. 42. Ἔως ἐγκατελήφθησαν, *Until they are caught in the snare. Donec circumventi sunt.* Cf. THUC. iii. 33. Ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσα ἠναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι.

Οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς.....ἀπέχθεται.] *Some spoke for present gratification, and gave no offence; others said what would eventually preserve the state, and animosity resulted to them.* The words καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται are absent from many manuscripts and editions. A few give καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδὲν and omit the other, but they must stand or fall together; the one is the antithesis to the other, and if one is gone the other must follow. Seven manuscripts omit προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται, and give the others, while four have these words and also the others, but in the margin. Upon the whole I have followed DINDORF, who presents the latest researches in his last edition, and give the text as above. In this I am also agreeable to the lection of BEKKER and AUGER. Nor indeed do I see any sufficient reason for entirely ignoring them, as ARNOLD does. They add much

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ble to the lection of  
any sufficient reason  
es. They add much

[Page 35.]  
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 . . . . προέειπε.] And many things lately the people  
allowed to happen, not so much either for favour or through igno-  
rance. Οὐχ οὕτως is variously interpreted. ARNOLD: Not from  
these causes or motives, not in the manner I have described. WEST-  
ERMANN: Οὐχ οὕτως sc. ὕπως σωθήσονται. And SCHÆFER: Οὐχ  
οὕτως—ἀλλ' pro ἀλλὰ expectes ὡς. Sed ita sæpius Græci. Non  
multum differt οὐ μάλλον . . . ἀλλά. AUGER: Non temere. I pre-  
fer 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 ὡς  
which we see SCHÆFER suggests as the word you might expect.  
Now the meaning will be: Not so much either for favour or through  
ignorance. . . . as. Cf. HER. iii. 12. Κεφαλαί εἰσι οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυ-  
ραί, μογίς ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξεις. Their heads are so hard that  
you could scarcely break them with a stone. 'Ἄλλ' ὑποκατακλιόμενοι.  
As bending to the force of circumstances.

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

Μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.] There being no need of further action in your-  
selves. 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 τοῖς  
εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐκ ὀβρωδῶ ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ἣ γὰρ  
ἐξέπιτηδες ἢ δι' ἀγνοίαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπαγοῦσι τὴν πόλιν.  
SCHÆFER says the two words ὀβρωδῶ and δυσωποῦμαι are quite  
sufficient to condemn it. However, it is given in nearly all the  
manuscripts, and HARPOCRATION expressly attributes these two  
words to the Philippics of Demosthenes. As they do not occur  
anywhere else in his orations, he must have referred to the pre-  
sent 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.

[Page 35.] Καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο. . . . Φιλίππῳ.] *And yet may it never come to this, for it is better to die ten thousand deaths than to do anything through obsequiousness for Philip.* Γὰρ here assigns the reason for what has gone before. ARISTIDES, *Technographia*, p. 200, cites this passage and reads δὲ for γὰρ, and ARNOLD has adopted it, and translates, *but if it does; in that case.* 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 προέσθαι. . . . τινός, are wanting from many manuscripts, and indeed appear of later origin. This is the first intimation of any such action. We do not hear of the orators of any particular party being demanded for some years later. If true, they seem to contain a mournful foreboding of the fate of the orator and his friends as manifested during the reign of Alexander.

Καλὴν. . . . χάρῳ.] *A fine return truly.* Highly ironical. Ἐώθουν. *Pellebant, id est, repudiabant, aversabantur.* WOLF. This meaning of ὠθέω is peculiar, but cf. PLATO *REP.* 560, D. ὠθεῖν τινα φυγάδα, *To banish one.* This verb with ἀγνομι, ἀλισκομαι, ἀνδάνω, οὐρέω and ὠνέομαι, takes the syllabic argument.

Τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέροισι 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 Pinfarch and his mercenaries were then ejected from Eretria, and the people being masters of the situation, some of the Eretrians wished to place themselves under the protection of Philip and others under that of the Athenians. Therefore we may presume that the Athenians despatched the envoys here mentioned, but without effect, for the result was that Philip was enabled to invest Cleitarchus with the sovereignty in which the latter treated the Eretrians as here described."

WHISTON. Δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.] "They are slaves, lashed and racked." LORD BROUGHAM. He translates this whole passage from καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ το στρεβλούμενοι as follows: "Much indeed did the Oreitæ gain when they yielded to the friends of Philip, and thrust out Euphræus, and much the

l yet may it never come  
eaths than to do anything  
ere assigns the reason  
hography, p. 200, cites  
ARNOLD has adopted it,  
E. FRANKE quotes Cic.  
r *millies oppetere mortem*  
also Cic. *RAB. PERD.* 5.  
s *καὶ προέσθαι . . . τινάς*,  
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y such action. We do  
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C. PLATO REP. 560, D.  
verb with *ἀγνυμι*, ἀλο-  
syllabic argument.

"This incident is not  
ected with the events  
From p. 125 of this  
mercenaries were then  
r masters of the situa-  
r themselves under the  
at of the Athenians,  
enians despatched the  
or the result was that  
with the sovereignty  
s as here described."

όμενοι.] "They are  
a. He translates this  
στρεβλούμενοι as fol-  
when they yielded to  
aræus, and much the

[Page 35.]  
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 un-  
bounded liberty and with the most leveling equality. The  
woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confis-  
cated; 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  
ἀκροαμένους. Verbs signifying operations of the senses are  
usually joined with the genitive of the person, and the accusative  
of the thing, but sometimes with the accusative of the person and  
genitive of the thing. XEN. *CYR.* i. 3, 10. Οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ  
τοῦ ἔδοντος. ARIST. *ACH.* 306, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.

Τηλικαύτην . . . πείσσεισθαι.] *And think that you inhabit a city*  
*so great in size as that no calamity whatever can affect it.* "Ὡστε  
τὴν πόλιν, τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ὄσαν, δύνασθαι μηδοσιῶν δεινὸν  
πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἐξω πάντος κινδύου εἶναι. WOLF. SEAGER, in the  
*Classical Journal*, vol. lii. p. 239, proposed to change the received  
reading of this passage ὥστε μηδ' ἂν ὄσιον κ. τ. λ. to ὥστε μηδὲν,  
μηδ' ἂν ὄσιον ᾗ, δεινὸν πείσσεισθαι, his reason being that δεινὸν can-  
not explain the meaning without some such word being supplied.  
In this he is followed by DOBREE; and DINDORF in his last edi-  
tion adopts the same opinion and the actual reading of SEAGER.  
SCHÆFFER 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 SWAGER's suggestion rests on no authority, still it is the best yet proposed, and is accordingly adopted here. Καὶ μὴν. *Et vere. And truly.* Ἔδει γὰρ... μὴ ποιῆσαι. *For you ought to have done such and such a thing, and not this.* Cf. PIND. OL. ii. 53, ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δὲ δαδαιλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρόν.

\*Α τότ' εἰ προείδοντο.] *Which if they had then foreseen.* Προῦσκέψαντο, in which sense the use of the mid. is legitimate. SCHÆFER. Πολλ' ἂν... Supply the same verbs as before. Ἄλλὰ τί τούτων ὕφελος αὐτοῖς; *But what advantage is any of these things to them?* Cf. ARIST. PLUT. 1152. Τί δῆτ' ἂν εἴησ ὕφελος ἡμῖν. Things were now at the worst, and it was sheer folly to lament what was lost by their own carelessness.

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\*Ἔως ἂν σώζηται.] On ἔως ἂν with the subjunctive see JELF. 841. Σώζηται is here equivalent to σῶν ᾗ. SCHÆFER. The Attics rarely used the singular of this adjective, but compare infra ἔως ἔσμεν σφοί. Σκαφός. *Vox propria orationis altius surgentis.* SCHÆFER. Cf. σκάφος πόλεως, *the ship of state*, in ARIST. VESP. 29.

Καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι.] This is the reading of the best manuscripts, and we have consequently retained it. The lection as given by SCHÆFER—ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on very poor authority, and in his notes he approves of the present reading, citing *contra* TIM. p. 722. ἐξῆς πάντα. *Τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. To guard against this.* The middle is used to denote that not only all should be on their guard, but that each for himself should also take care to prevent any disaster. Cf. JELF. 363, 6.

\*Υπέροσχη, sc. τοῦ σκάφους.] The verb governs the genitive under the general principle of verbs signifying *superiority over*, &c. Μάταιος, the copula, as usual, omitted. JELF. 376. Ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον. *The most untarnished reputation.* The word is used particularly with reference to the position which Athens usually held among the other Grecian states. Cf. the Latin *dignitas* in CIC. FAM. ii. 17. *Lamia petit præturam; omnes intelligunt nec dignitatem nec gratiam ei deesse.* Here I shall quote the very apposite remark of SMEAD: "The orator instead of applying the simile of the ship to the administration of affairs, which he feels

rests on no authority,  
ordingly adopted here.  
...μη ποιῆσαι. For  
ng, and not this. Cf.  
αἰδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε

then foreseen. Προῶ-  
is legitimate. SCHÆ-  
bs as before. Ἄλλὰ τί  
is any of these things  
ἂν εἴης ὕφελος ἡμῶν.  
sheer folly to lament

subjunctive see JELF.  
SCHÆFER. The Attics  
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s πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on  
approves of the present  
α. Τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι.  
d to denote that not  
hat each for himself  
. Cf. JELF. 363, 6.

governs the genitive  
ying superiority over,  
JELF. 376. Ἀξίωμα  
a. The word is used  
which Athens usually  
the Latin dignitas in  
omnes intelligunt nec  
shall quote the verb  
stead of applying the  
ffairs, which he feels

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confident that his quick-minded hearers have already done, sud-  
denly interrupts himself with the question τί ποιάμεν;"  
Πάσαι τις. . . . κἀθηται.] Some one of my hearers may perhaps  
eagerly have desired to ask. WOLF remarks here that ἂν is some-  
times construed with the future Indicative. But that can not  
apply here, as ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως must be regarded as parenthetical.  
HERMANN also adopts this view, and says we must supply some  
such words as ἐρωτῶν or τοῦτο ποιών.

Καὶ γράψω. . . . χεῖροτονήσετε.] And I shall also move a resolu-  
tion, and do you pass it, if you wish. Let us here examine the  
various steps by which the laws were passed by the Athenians.  
All motions for new laws were first debated upon in the Council  
of Five Hundred, and, if approved by them, were then referred to  
the people under the name of προβούλευμα. Sometimes, however,  
this was not done, as in the case of the proposal of Ctesiphon to  
crown Demosthenes. After the bill was read in the assembly,  
(ἐκκλησία), probably by the γραμματεῖς, the proedri put the ques-  
tion 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 χεῖροτονία, or show of hands. After discus-  
sion 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 diffi-  
culty 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. A *προβούλευμα* is a decree of the senate in force for a year. A *ψήφισμα* gave this greater scope, and applied it to all parties, but its duration was only a year still. A *νόμος* was a law binding until repealed. The mover of a law was said *γράφειν νόμον*, the people who passed it *θέσθαι*. The term *χειροτόνειν* was interchangeable with *θέσθαι*. For further information see *DICT. ANT. s. vν., βουλή* and *νομοθέται*, and consult *SCHÆMANN De Comit. ATH.*

*Καὶ γὰρ ἂν . . . . ἀγωνιστέον.]* For surely, even if all others consent to enslave themselves, we at least must make a struggle for liberty. *Παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες.* Observe the interchange of the perfect and aorist. Nor is this without due effect. The more important action of making preparation is kept before our mind, and then the aorist is employed to denote that its action is finished and complete. And not only is this the case, but still further the action of the perfect is represented as continuing in its effects. Cf. *HER. viii. 8. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι. Ταῦτα = ὅτι παρεσκευάσμεθα.* *ARNOLD. Τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας* The future participle used to denote intention or purpose. *JELF. 705, 6, d.* With the sentiments here expressed cf. *De REB. CHERS. p. 119.*

*Οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . . καταστρέψασθαι.]* For is it not foreign to his interests to prevent him subduing all things? Plutarch seems to say that Demosthenes was suspected of having taken bribes from the King of Persia, who feared the success of Philip, and wished to stir up the Athenians against him. But it might be that Demosthenes thought that the Persian power being added to the Athenian, the King of Macedon would have more to do than he could well attend to. Besides, as such an idea is nowhere else even hinted at, we may set it down as a specimen of the *Malignity of Plutarch. Κοινωνοὺς ἔχῃτε . . . ἂν τι δέη. Ye may have partners in your dangers and hopes, if need be. Εἰ δὲ μή. JELF. 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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lays. "Cf. *contra* ARISTOT. p. 651. FALS. LEG. p. 392. Οὐδ' ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα." WHISTON. Also THUC. iii. 38. Καὶ χρόνον διατριβὴν ἐμποισάντων.

Πρὸς ἄνδρα.] "Because a state is a permanent power; a single man is liable to a variety of accidents, and his power terminates with his life." KENNEDY. Demosthenes was justified in using these remarks, since, if he had no other example to refer to, Cyrus the elder would have sufficed, whose powerful empire one might almost say ended with himself. But how many examples could we now adduce? Alexander the Great, Attila, Zenghis Khan, Tamerlane, Napoleon I. With all these the empires they founded died with themselves. Besides, an autocrat has always more power than a constitutional monarchy of any kind. He can direct his armies as he pleases, can withdraw them when he likes, and, untrammelled by his advisers, assume a bold or hesitating front, as the emergency may require. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον. *Not even this is valueless*, sc. χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν.

Αἱ πέρσι βρεσβαῖαι.] In 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Cf. the account given of them in PHIL. ii. pp. 70, 71. Καὶ κατηγοροῖαι, *And remonstrances*. This word seems strangely out of place, and yet it is by far superior to any emendation yet proposed. Various ones have been attempted. WINIEWSKI says 'Ακαρνανίαν ought to be read; DROYSEN would read κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν, and SAUPPE κατ' Ἠπειρον. Philip had a little before this time been making attempts against Epirus and Ambracia. JUSTIN. viii. 6. ARNOLD is wrong in quoting DEM. c. OLYMP. p. 1173, to prove that Philip sent troops to Acarnania. This may be seen by the words employed. Καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ καὶ δαίμονα ὑμεῖς ἐπέισθητε ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν. "As refers to πρεσβείαι alone, and not to κατηγοροῖαι.

Πολύευκτος.] An Athenian orator of the demus Spettios, a political friend of Demosthenes, with whom he worked in resistance to the Macedonian party. He, along with Lycurgus, was demanded by Alexander in 335 to be delivered up to him. ARRIAN. i. 10, 7. Ἐκεινοσί. Δεικτικῶς dictum; sedebat enim homo in coetu auditorum Demosthenem. SCHAEFER.

Ἠγήσιππος] Another political friend of the orator, who, ac-

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ording to LIBANIUS, was the author of the speech *De HALON*. usually attributed to Demosthenes. Cf. LIBAN. *Introduction to De HALON*. Also FALS. LEG. p. 364. Κλειτόμαχος. Not otherwise known.

Λυκοῦργος.] An Attic orator, son of Lycophron, of the noble family of the Eteobutadæ, was born about 396 B. C. He was the pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a warm supporter of the policy of Demosthenes. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to him, only one, *contra* LEBOCRATEM, survives.

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

Καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' . . . . ὀρμηῆσαι.] *And neither then did he attack Ambracia, nor invade the Peloponnesus. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ.* The order is οὐ μέντοι λέγω αὐτοὺς (ὕμᾱς) ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περικαλεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους. Περικαλεῖν = *Arcesere*, to summon, or call upon anybody as an ally. Cf. CÆSAR *de BEL. GAL.* 1, 31. Τὰ οἰκεῖα προΐεμένους . . . κήδεσθαι. *Abandoning your own interests, to say you cared for the interests of others.* Οἰκεῖος, *What is one's own* as a possession or property, *peculiar to one's self*. In THUC. iii 13, it is opposed to ἄλλοτριος as here. Κήδεσθαι with gen. *to be anxious about a thing, to care for any person.* I. & S Φάσκειν. See n. p. 112. Ὑπὲρ 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. II. xvi. 689.

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Τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησφ.] This refers to the forces then in the Chersonese, under Diopithes, as an army of observation against Philip, who was pursuing his conquests in Thrace. Φημι δεῖν. These words are used to express determination, and imply a positive disposition of mind on the part of the orator. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 42.

Συγκαλεῖν.] "*Is to invite generally; if the invitation did not succeed, συναγειν, which is stronger, as of one urging and forcing them; διδάσκειν, to explain the true condition of affairs, and show what will result therefrom; Nouθετεῖν, to induce them to action, having fully persuaded them both by your language and the*

the speech *De HALON*.  
 IBAN. *Introduction to*  
*ἰτόμαχος*. Not other-

ophonon, of the noble  
 96 B. C. He was the  
 supporter of the policy  
 ascribed to him, only

canvassers, Latin *an-*

then did he attack  
*μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ.*  
*θέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν*

*Περικαλεῖν = Arces-*  
*ally*. Cf. CÆSAR *de*  
*κῆδεσθαι*. *Abandon-*  
*the interests of others.*

property, peculiar to  
 ἄλλοτριος as here.  
 ing, to care for any

ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων  
 at the future. *Φοβεῖν*  
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the forces then in the  
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 of the orator. Cf.

the invitation did not  
 e urging and forcing  
 of affairs, and show  
 duce them to action,  
 e language and the

critical position of affairs." [Page 37.] BREMI. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 109.  
 Τοὺς διδάξοντας, νουβηθήσοντας, πράζοντας ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται τῇ πόλει.

*Ei olesse. . . . Megarēas.*] *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 Eubœa, and had  
 been harassed by the Macedonian party as well as other places;  
 and Megara was a city of the isthmus, where, we have seen, in-  
 trigues were commenced, but nipped in the bud by Phocion.  
 The orator refers to these just as he might have said Plataea and  
 Argos, to shew that the small states need not oppose, if the large  
 ones held back. ἡμεῖς δ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. *And that you will*  
*avoid the trouble of attending to the affairs of the whole country.*  
 On the *Nom.* with the *Inf.* cf. JELF. 762.

Ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ.] *Well will it be for them.* They are so weak  
 that they can scarce defend themselves. If any one hope that  
 all Greeco will be preserved by them, he is very far astray.  
 SCHLEFFER. Τοῦτο τὸ γέρας. *This honorable distinction of being*  
*the defenders of Grecian independence, the bulwark against Per-*  
*sian 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  
 Plataea.

Ὅ 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 ex-  
 pecting that his neighbour will do everything and he nothing. Καθε-  
 δεῖται. Future of κατέζομαι.

Ποίσει.] Many editions give ποιήσῃ here, but the future is  
 certainly the preferable reading. The meaning in either case is  
 much the same, except that the indicative expresses a definite idea  
 of possible realization. With the future in such constructions,  
 ὅπως is equivalent to ὅτι τρόπως as can be seen from THUC. vi. 11.  
 σκοπεῖν ὅτι τρόπως τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εἶδ θήσονται. The future is

[Page 37.]

also used in OL. ii. p. 21, where no editions even venture to propose a subjunctive, and again a few lines below in the present oration.

Πρώτον μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὔρη.] Here are any number of variations in the readings. One has οὐ μήποθ' εὔρη (SCHLEFER); another, οὐ μή ποθ' εὔρήσει; while the common reading is μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὔρη. With the future, εὔρήσει, 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 ELSLEY, in a note to SOPH. ŒD. COL. 173, distinguishes between οὐ μή with the future indicative and aor. subjunctive. Translate: *In the first place, he certainly will not find people to act for him. Ποιήσοντας.* Here many editions insert εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εὔρηντ' ἂν πάλα ἕνεκά γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμῶς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, 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.

Ἐδοικα. . . . γένηται.] *And then I fear lest there be a necessity for us to do at once everything which we do not wish.* "Ὅπως μή. This construction is used after verbs of fearing, as here, and also SOPH. ŒD. REX. 1075. "Ὅπως μή in such constructions is equivalent to *quomodo non*. CIC. FAM. ii. 5. *Quomodo homines non inepti loquuntur.* Ἡμῖν. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the words ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν in these orations are matter of much dispute. It is seldom that all the manuscripts and editions agree on any one form; and, indeed, it does not matter much. The orator in all cases might either speak of his audience in the second or first person, and the meaning is exactly the same. However, the form ἡμῖν, as the more respectful, is entitled, in any case of doubt, to the preference.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δῆ.] *I now then.* JELF. 720, 721, 1, 730. Ταῦτα γράψω. Referring to the statement supra, Ἐγὼ, νῆ Δ', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

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1, 730. Ταῦτα γράφω.  
ἀφ', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

[Page 27.]  
'Ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν. After verbs of *thinking* and *declaring*, ἂν 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 ἂν, cf. DEM. p. 497. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς ἂν ὁ νομος βλάψειν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται.

[Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον.] *But if any one has a motion more conducive to safety than this.* τι is omitted from many manuscripts, and βελτίω is read instead of βέλτιον. But WOLF and seven other manuscript editions give it as above. Δόξει This is BEKKER's reading, and preferable to the common δόξειε. The indicative gives the expression a more positive turn. Συνενέγκαι is the reading of some editions, but Atticis συνενέγκαι videtur magis placuisse. SCHÆFER. *But whatever shall appear good to you, may that, O all ye Gods! result to your advantage.*



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## TABLE OF PARALLEL PAGES.

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"	112	"	48	"	22.
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"	115	" 160	"	" 150,	" 10.
"	125	" 165	"	" 33,	" 19.
"	118	" 166	"	" 160,	" 16.
"	43	" 169	"	" 4,	" 6.
"	53	" 170	"	" 11,	" 29.
"	118	" 171	"	" 27,	" 17.
"	41	" 172	"	" 50,	" 2.
"	41	" 173	"	" 50,	" 7.
"	115	" 177	"	" 151,	" 13.
"	41	" 177	"	" 2,	" 12.
"	111	" 179	"	" 139,	" 18.
"	111	" 180	"	" 137,	" 13.
"	126	" 181	"	" 183,	" 17.
"	119	" 182	"	" 165,	" 13.
"	116	" 182	"	" 154,	" 6.
"	117	" 183	"	" 157,	" 2.
"	127	" 183	"	" 35,	" 15.
"	113	" 183	"	" 143,	" 33.
"	113	" 183	"	" 146,	" 6.
"	74	" 184	"	" 21,	" 4.
"	42	" 186	"	" 53,	" 24.
"	120	" 187	"	" 165,	" 34.
"	125	" 188	"	" 33,	" 19.
"	117	" 189	"	" 27,	" 10.
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"	12,	"	4.
"	33-4.		
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"	27,	"	4.
"	31,	"	28.
"	33,	"	29.
"	117,	"	38.
"	150,	"	10.
"	33,	"	19.
"	160,	"	16.
"	4,	"	6.
"	11,	"	29.
"	27,	"	17.
"	50,	"	2.
"	50,	"	7.
"	151,	"	13.
"	2,	"	12.
"	139,	"	18.
"	137,	"	13.
"	183,	"	17.
"	165,	"	13.
"	154,	"	6.
"	157,	"	2.
"	35,	"	15.
"	143,	"	33.
"	146,	"	6.
"	21,	"	4.
"	53,	"	24.
"	165,	"	34.
"	33,	"	19.
"	27,	"	10.
"	181,	"	11.
"	18.		
"	142,	"	13.
"	3,	"	20.

## ERRATA.

Page xvii,	line	28,	for	go	read	goes.		
3,	"	30,	"	εἰπέ	"	εἰπέ.		
4,	"	18,	"	ῶ	"	ῶ.		
4,	"	23,	"	ἀλλ'	"	ἀλλ'.		
8,	"	24,	"	ῶ	"	ῶ.		
9,	"	2,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.		
11,	"	4,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.		
20,	"	3,	"	ἐγῶ	"	ἐγῶ.		
24,	"	31,	"	Σερβέλου	read	Σερβέλιου.		
28,	"	20,	"	ἀγωνοθετήσοντες	read	ἀγωνοθετήσοντας.		
31,	"	3,		dele	full	point	after	δίκας.
50,	"	30,		for	οὔσα	read	οὔσα.	
54,	"	22,	"	reading	read	reading.		
56,	"	20,	"	εἰπέ	read	εἰπέ.		
58,	"	9,	"	ἐπιστάντες	read	ἐπιστάντες.		
64,	"	23,	"	γενήσεται	"	γένηται.		
86,	"	19,	"	πέυθεις	"	πέυσεις.		
89,	"	1,	"	Page 4	read	Page 11.		
95,	"	32,	"	τῶ	read	τῶ.		
108,	"	8,	"	εὗρίσκε	read	εὗρίσκει.		
108,	"	30-31,		read	ἀγαπᾶν.			
113,	"	7,		for	emin	read	enim.	
113,	"	12,	"	ἐκεῖ	read	ἐκεῖ.		
117,	"	19,	"	'Οτ'	read	'Οτ'.		
123,	"	18,	"	ἄδωρ	read	ἄδωρ.		
153,	"	26,	"	προς	read	πρὸς.		

