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DEMOSTHENES

VII

FUNERAL SPEECH, EROTIC ESSAY
LX, LXI

EXORDIA AND LETTERS
PREFACE

The Public and Private Orations of Demosthenes have appeared in the preceding six volumes. They represent the deliberative and forensic styles respectively. The third category recognized by the ancients, epideictic oratory, is represented in this volume by the Funeral Speech and the Erotic Essay. Such compositions were not designed to persuade the hearers but to delight them and confirm them in sentiments already endorsed by habit and tradition. The Erotic Essay is usually called a speech, but is supposed to have been read from a written copy to a small select group.

The Prooemia or Exordia are closely related to the Public Orations. They comprise fifty-six paragraphs intended for use as introductions to speeches before the Council or Assembly. Of the six Letters five are addressed to the Council and Assembly and contain matters of public interest; they also belong, therefore, with the Public Orations. It must be added that the authenticity of all items contained in this volume has been suspected.

The late Professor A. T. Murray had made a first draft of his version of the Funeral Speech before relinquishing his work; this has been used with profit. His practice has been followed in adopting the text of Blass with some reservations.

N. W. D.
N. J. D.
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The editions of *Demosthenes* in the Teubner and Oxford series.

C. R. Kennedy, *The Orations of Demosthenes*, translated with notes, etc., five vols. in Bohn’s Classical Library.

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The custom of bestowing in a public sepulchre the remains of those who had died in battle was sanctioned by law in Athens. The concluding part of the ceremonies, described by Thucydides ii. 34, was a funeral oration. For such occasions a lofty platform was erected near the tomb in the Cerameicus, most picturesque of Athenian suburbs. The populace approached in procession, citizen and alien, male and female. The speaker, chosen by the people for his distinction in public life, followed a conventional line of thought, suggested by circumstance and confirmed by custom. Among the topics that seem to have recurred more often were the birth of the Athenian race from the soil of Attica, the legendary and historical exploits of the ancestors, especially the victories of Marathon and Salamis, the superiority of Athenian education and training, and the advantages of the Athenian form of government. Lastly, the State declared its gratitude for the self-sacrifice of the fallen and offered its consolation and protection to the surviving children and parents. The speaker dismissed the assemblage.

In the esteem of modern readers the grandest of extant Athenian funeral speeches is that of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides ii. 35-46. In ancient times, however, the preference seems to have been
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given to the specimen preserved in the Menexenus of Plato, delivered by Socrates though ascribed to Aspasia. From Cicero's Orator 151 we learn that this speech was read in public annually in Athens. It seems to have enjoyed a popularity comparable to that of Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech in the United States.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who lived under Augustus Caesar, treats briefly of funeral speeches in his Art of Rhetoric vi. 1-4. Besides that of Pericles he knew specimens by Lysias, Hypereides, Demosthenes and Naucrates respectively. The last is known only by this reference. Under the name of Lysias there is one still extant. Of the speech by Hypereides a fortunate chance brought to light in an Egyptian papyrus in 1856 sufficient to fill nine pages of a Teubner text. From Stobaeus a substantial paragraph was already known. The last edition of these fragments by Blass appeared in 1891; they were more attractively edited by F. G. Kenyon in 1906.

As for the example ascribed by our manuscripts to Demosthenes, both ancient and modern critics deny its authenticity. Blass quotes Dionysius as judging it "commonplace, thin and amateurish." He cites similarities to the Menexenus, to the Panegyricus of Isocrates and to the speech of Hypereides. Upon close examination, however, these parallels are quite unimpressive, even in the aggregate. All occasional speeches develop numerous commonplaces.

From the oration On the Crown 285 (320) we learn that Demosthenes was chosen to pronounce the eulogy over those who fell at Chaeronea in 338 b.c. The extant speech fits this occasion. It was not an enviable task to be asked to praise the fallen after
THE FUNERAL SPEECH

such a disastrous defeat nor one to inspire a masterpiece. Moreover, the epideictic style, which the ceremony required, was alien to the combative nature of Demosthenes. The modern reader, therefore, will do well to suspend judgement, at least until after a careful and sympathetic reading.

Short shrift is accorded the oration by Blass, iii. pp. 404-406. There is a commentary in Dindorf’s *Demosthenes* vii. pp. 1393-1412. Mention is lacking in Jebb’s *Attic Orators*. 
ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

LX

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ

'Επειδὴ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κειμένους, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονότας, ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει δημοσίᾳ θάπτειν καὶ προσέταξεν ἐμοὶ τὸν νομιζό-
[1389] μενον λόγον εἶπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἑσκόπουν μὲν εὐθὺς ὁπως τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐπαίνου τεῦξονται, ἔξετάξων δὲ καὶ σκοπῶν ἄξιως εἶπεῖν τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐν τι τῶν ἄδυνάτων εὕρισκον οὖν. οὐ γὰρ τῇν ὑπάρχουσαν πάσιν ἔμφυτον τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερείδου ἐπι-
θυμίαν, καὶ τελευτήσαι καλῶς μᾶλλον ἡβουλήθη-
σαν ἡ ζωντες τῇν 'Ελλάδ' ἵδειν ἄτυχοῦσαν, πῶς ὦκ ἀνυπέρβλητον παντὶ λόγῳ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καταλελοίπασιν; ὡμοίως μέντοι διαλεχθήναι τοῖς πρότερόν ποτ' εἰρηκόσιν ἐνθάδ' εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.

2 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις σπουδάζει περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντας ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἔστιν

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*a In this genre ὁ ἀνδρεῖς 'Ἀθηναῖοι is unusable because aliens
DEMOSTHENES

LX

THE FUNERAL SPEECH

After the State decreed that those who repose in this tomb, having acquitted themselves as brave men in the war, should have a public funeral, and appointed me to the duty of delivering over them the customary speech, I began straightway to study how they might receive their due tribute of praise; but as I studied and searched my mind the conclusion forced itself upon me that to speak as these dead deserve was one of those things that cannot be done. For, since they scorned the love of life that is inborn in all men and chose rather to die nobly than to live and look upon Greece in misfortune, how can they have failed to leave behind them a record of valour surpassing all power of words to express? Nevertheless I propose to treat the theme in the same vein as those who have previously spoken in this place from time to time.

That the State seriously concerns itself with those who die in battle it is possible to infer both from these and women were present; there was no salutation for mixed audiences.
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...καὶ μάλιστ' ἐκ τούτῳ τοῦ νόμου καθ' ὅν αἱρεῖται τὸν ἑρωῦτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις ταφαῖς: εἰδούια γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν τὰς μὲν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεις καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῶν βίων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις ὑπερεωραμένας, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐπαινῶν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὖσαν, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα γένοιτο λόγων, τούτους ὑπῆρξαν δεῖν αὐτοὺς τιμᾶν, ἡν ἧν ξύντες ἐκτίσαντ' εὐδοξίαν, αὐτῇ καὶ τετελευτηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθείη. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἄνδρειαν μόνον αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀνηκόντων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐώρων, ταύτην ἂν ἐπαινέσασ ἀπηλλαττόμην τῶν λόγων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ γεγενήσαι καλῶς καὶ πεπαιδεύσαι σωφρόνως καὶ βεβιωκέναι φιλοτίμως συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰ τούτων φανεῖν παραλιπὼν. ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς.

4 Ἡ γὰρ εὐγένεια τῶν διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ πλείστου χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνωμολόγηται. οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰς πατέρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἅνω προγόνων κατ' ἀνδρ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐκάστῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὅλην κοινὴ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πατρίδα, ἡς αὐτόχθονες ὀμολογοῦνται εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰς ἡσπέρ ἐφισεν, ταύτην ὑκησαν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτῶν παρέδωκαν, ὡστε δικαίως ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἐλθόντας εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τούτων πολίτας προσαγορευο-

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\[a\] A commonplace of funeral speeches: Thucyd. ii. 42. 4.

\[b\] Blass censures the author for not following in the sequel a threefold division of his theme, which is here implied and may be found in Plato, Menex. 237 a-b: nobility of birth, upbringing and education, and exploits. These topics are
rites in general and, in particular, from this law in accordance with which it chooses the speaker at our public funerals. For knowing that among good men the acquisition of wealth and the enjoyment of the pleasures that go with living are scorned, and that their whole desire is for virtue and words of praise, the citizens were of the opinion that we ought to honour them with such eulogies as would most certainly secure them in death the glory they had won while living. Now, if it were my view that, of those 3 qualities that constitute virtue, courage alone was their possession, I might praise this and be done with the speaking, but since it fell to their lot also to have been nobly born and strictly brought up and to have lived with lofty ideals, because of all which they had every reason to be good men, I should be ashamed if I were found to have passed over any of these topics. I shall begin from the origin of their race.

The nobility of birth of these men has been acknowledged from time immemorial by all mankind. For it is possible for them and for each one of their remote ancestors man by man to trace back their being, not only to a physical father, but also to this land of theirs as a whole, a common possession, of which they are acknowledged to be the indigenous children. For alone of all mankind they settled the very land from which they were born and handed it down to their descendants, so that justly one may assume that those who came as migrants into their cities and are denominated citizens of the same are comparable treated, but not consecutively. Peculiar to this speech is the passage on the ten tribes, §§ 27-32.

Blass compares Isocrates, Helen 16 τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τοιαύτην τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς.

This topic appears in the Menex. 237 b–c.
μένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰσποιητοῖς τῶν παιδῶν, 
tουτοὺς δὲ γνησίους γόνω τῆς πατρίδος πολίτας 
5 εἶναι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς καρποὺς οίς ξύσων 
ἄνθρωποι παρ’ ἡμῖν πρώτοι φανήναι, χωρὶς τοῦ 
mέγιστον εὐεργέτημι εἰς πάντας γενέσθαι, ὀμολο-
γούμενον σημείων ὑπάρχει τοῦ μητέρα τῆν χώραν 
eῖναι τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων. πάντα γὰρ τὰ 
tίκτονθ’ ἀμα καὶ τροφῆν τοῖς γεγονόμενοι ἀπ’ αὐτῆς 
tῆς φύσεως φέρει· ὅπερ ἦδ’ ἡ χώρα πεποίηκε.
6 Ὑπάρχει τοῖς τῶν ἄνδρῶν προγόνως. τὰ δὲ 
eἰς ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πάντα μὲν κατ-
οκινώ λέγειν, φυλαττόμενοι ἢ μῆκος ἀκαίρον ἐγ-
γένηται τῶν λόγων ὅ δ’ ἤ καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσι χρήσιμ’ 
ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀπείροις κάλλιστ’ ἄκοισαι, 
καὶ ζήλον ἔχει πολὺν καὶ μῆκος λόγων ἀλυπον,
7 ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι. οἱ γὰρ 
τῆς κατὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον γενεᾶς πρόγονοι καὶ 
pατέρες καὶ τουτῶν ἐπάνω τὰς προσηγορίας ἐξον-
tες αἰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν γενεῖ γνωρίζονται, ἡδίκησαν 
μὲν οὐδένα πῶσοτ’ οὖθ’ Ἕλλην’ οὔτε βάρβαρον, 
ἀλλ’ ὑπήρχει αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς 
κἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίωταίς εἶναι, ἀμμυόμενοι δὲ
8 πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ διεπράζαντο. καὶ γὰρ τὸν 
’Αμαζόνων στρατὸν ἐλθόντ’ ἐκράτησαν οὕτως ὅστ’

[1391]

a This topic appears in Hyper. Epitaph. 7.
b According to tradition the olive was created by the
 goddess Athena, while the culture of grain, especially wheat
 and barley, was established by Demeter, whose mysteries
 were celebrated at Eleusis close to Athens.
c Or, “by a law of nature herself.”
to adopted children; but these men are citizens of their native land by right of legitimate birth. In my view also the fact that the fruits of the earth by which men live were first manifest among us, even apart from their being a superlative boon to all men, constitutes an acknowledged proof that this land is the mother of our ancestors. For all things that bring forth young produce at the same time nutriment out of the organism itself for those that are born. This very thing has been done by this land.

Such is the pride of birth that belongs to the ancestors of these men throughout the ages. As for courage and the other elements of virtue, I shrink from rehearsing the whole story, being on my guard for fear an untimely length shall attach to my speech, but such facts as it is worth while even for those who are familiar with them to recall to mind and most profitable for the inexperienced to hear, events of great power to inspire and calling for no tedious length of speech, these I shall endeavour to rehearse in summary fashion. For the ancestors of this present generation, both their fathers and those who bore the names of these men in time past, by which they are recognized by those of our race, never at any time wronged any man, whether Greek or barbarian, but it was their pride, in addition to all their other good qualities, to be true gentlemen and supremely just, and in defending themselves they accomplished a long list of noble deeds. They so prevailed over the invading host of the Amazons as to

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d This topic is treated in more detail in Menex. 237 e—238 b.

* Another commonplace: Hyper. 4 expresses a similar fear.

* Thucyd. ii. 36. 4 may be compared.

* Hyper. 5 επί κεφαλαίον.
εξω Φάσιδος ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸν Εὐμόλπον καὶ
pολλῶν ἄλλων στόλον οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς οἰκειάς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χώρας ἔξηλασαν, οὓς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν οἴκουντες πρὸς ἐσπέραν
πάντες οὐθ’ ὑπέμειναν ούτ’ ἐδυνήθησαν κωλύσαι.
καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων, ὅς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔσωζε, σωτηρεῖς ὀνομάσθησαν, ἥνίκ’ ἤλθον
εἰς τὴν τὴν γῆν ἴκεται, φεύγοντες Εὐρυσθέα.
καὶ πρὸς πάσι τούτοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλους καὶ
καλοῖς ἐργοῖς, τὰ τῶν κατοιχομένων νόμων’ οὐ
περείδον ὑβριζόμενα ὅτε τοὺς ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας
θάπτειν ἐκώλυε Κρέωι.

9 Τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς μύθους ἀνενηγμένων ἐργῶν
πολλὰ παραλιπῶν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὅτι οὕτως
ἐκαστὸν εὐσχήμονας καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχει λόγους, ὡστε
καὶ τοὺς ἐμέτρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄδομεν ποιητὰς
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συγγραφέων ὑποθέσεις τάκεινων
ἐργα τῆς αὐτῶν μουσικῆς πεποιηθαί: ἀ δὲ τῇ μὲν
ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἐργῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τούτων ἐλάττω, τῷ δ’
ὑπογνώστη’ εἶναι τοῖς χρόνοις οὕτω μεμυθολόγη-
tαι οὐδ’ εἰς τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν ἐπανήκται τάξιν, ταὐτ’

10 ἢδη λέξω. ἐκεῖνοι τὸν εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας
στόλον ἐλθόντα μόνοι δις ἡμύναντο καὶ κατὰ γῆν

1 Blass added Ὄρακῶν καὶ from Isocr. iv. 68.

a The female warriors known as Amazons were repelled by Theseus. The Phasis River in Colchis, now the Rion, was the legendary boundary between Europe and Asia.
expel them beyond the Phasis, and the host of Eumolpus and of many another foeman they drove not only out of their own land but also from the lands of all the other Greeks—in invaders whom all those dwelling on our front to the westward neither withstood nor possessed the power to halt. Moreover, they were styled the saviours of the sons of Heracles, who himself was the saviour of the rest of mankind, when they arrived in this land as suppliants, fleeing before Eurystheus. In addition to all these and many other noble deeds they refused to suffer the lawful rites of the departed to be treated with despite when Creon forbade the burial of "the seven against Thebes." 

Now, omitting mention of many exploits that are 9 classed as myths, I have recalled to mind the above-mentioned, each of which affords so many charming themes that our writers of poetry, whether recited or sung; and many historians, have made the deeds of those men the subjects of their respective arts; at the present time I shall mention the following deeds, which, though in point of merit they are no whit inferior to the former, still, through being closer in point of time, have not yet found their way into poetry or even been exalted to epic rank. Those men single-handed twice repulsed by land and sea the Eumolpus invaded Greece from Thrace but was halted by Erechtheus at Eleusis. The route to all parts of the mainland issued from Athens on the west side.

This phrase became proverbial as the title of a drama by Aeschylus. Thesecn, king of Athens, gave aid to the suppliant wives of the Argive heroes when Creon, king of Thebes, refused burial to their slain husbands: Euripides, Supplicants.

The distinction is between epic and dramatic poetry, which was recited, and odes such as those of Pindar, and dithyrambs, which were sung to musical accompaniment.
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἴδιων κινδύνων κοινῆς σωτηρίας πάσι τοῖς "Ελλησιν αἴτιοι κατ᾽ ἑστησαν. καὶ προειρηται μὲν ὁ μέλλω λέγειν ὑπ᾽ ἂν ἄλλων πρότερον, δεὶ δὲ μηδὲ νῦν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἐπαίνου τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκείνους στηριθήναι. τοσοῦτω γὰρ ἀμείνους τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσμένων νομίζουν τὰν ἐκότως, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐκ ἀπάσης τῆς 'Ελλάδος ὄντες ἀριστεῖς δέκ᾽ ἔτη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν χωρίον πολιορκοῦντες μόλις εἴλον, οὔτου δὲ τὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ζητέον στόλον ἐλθόντα μόνοι, τάλλα πάντα κατεστραμμένον, οὐ μόνον ἡμίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἡδίκουν ἐπέθηκαν. ἐτὶ τοῖνυν τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς "Ελλησι πλεονεξίας κωλύοντες, πάντας οὓς συνέβη γενέσθαι κινδύνους ὑπέμειναν, ὅπου τὸ δίκαιον εἴη τεταγμένον, ἐνταῦθα προσνέμοντες ἐαυτοὺς, ἐως εἰς τὴν νῦν ζωσαν ἥλικιαν ὁ χρόνος προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς.

12 Μηδεὶς δὴ ἤγειόθω με ἀποροῦντα, τι χρῆ περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν ἐκάστου, ταῦτα τὰ πρακτέντ' ἀπηριθμηκέναι. εἰ γὰρ ἀπάντων ἄμηχανωτας ἦν ὁ τι χρῆ λέγειν πορίσασθαι, ἡ κείνων ἄρετη δεύκυνων αὐτῆ ἡ καὶ πρόχειρα καὶ ῥάδι' ἐπελθεῖν ἐστὶν. ἀλλὰ προαιροῦμαι τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς προγόνοις μεγίστων μυθηθεῖς, ὥσ τάχιστα συνάψαι τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὰ τούσδε πεπραγμένα, ἵνα ὥσπερ τὰς φύσεις ἴσαν συγγενεῖς, οὕτω τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐπ᾽

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α King Darius of Persia was repulsed at Marathon, 490, and Xerxes at Salamis, 480 B.C. The Persian wars are discussed at length in the Μενεκ. 239 d ff.
expedition assembled out of the whole of Asia,\(^a\) and at their individual risks established themselves as the authors of the joint salvation of all the Greeks. And though what I shall say next has been said before by many another, still even at this date those dead must not be deprived of their just and excellent praise. For I say that with good reason those men might be judged so far superior to those who campaigned against Troy, that the latter, the foremost princes out of the whole of Greece, with difficulty captured a single stronghold of Asia after besieging it for ten years,\(^b\) whereas those men single-handed not only repulsed a host assembled from an entire continent, which had already subdued all other lands, but also inflicted punishment for the wrong done the rest of the Greeks. Furthermore, checking all acts of selfish aggrandisement among the Greeks themselves, assigning themselves to each station where justice was arrayed, they went on bearing the brunt of all dangers that chanced to arise until the lapse of time brings us to the generation now living.

Let no one think I have enumerated this list of achievements because I am at a loss what to say about each of them; for if I were the most helpless of all men in discovering what it becomes me to say, the sheer virtue of those dead reveals what sentiments lie to hand and are easy to rehearse. It is my intention, however, after calling to mind their noble birth and the magnificent things done by their ancestors, with all speed to link my speech with the deeds of these dead, to the end that, just as they were akin in the flesh, so I may make the words of praise spoken

\(^a\) Blass notes this sentiment in Isocr. Panegyr. 83. It is found also in Hyper. 35.
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αὐτῶν κοινὸς ποιήσωμαι, ὑπολαμβάνων ταῦτα ἂν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα κάκεινοις καὶ μάλιστ' ἀμφότεροις, ἐὰν τῆς ἄλληλων ἀρετῆς μὴ μόνον τῇ φύσει μετάσχοιεν, ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις.

13 'Ανάγκη δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διαλαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰ τοῖς πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἁνδράσι δηλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἐξω τοῦ γένους πρὸς τὸν τάφον ἡκολουθήκοτας πρὸς ἐννοιαν παρακαλέσαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰς χρημάτων δαπάνην ἤ τοῖς ἄλλην θεωρίαν ἵππικῶν ἡ γυμνικών ἄθλων ἐτάχθην κοσμήσαι τὸν τάφον, ὁσῶπερ ἀν προθυμότερον καὶ ἀφειδέστερον ταῦτα παρεσκευάσμην, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀν προσήκοντ' ἐδοξα πεποιηκέναι· λόγῳ δ' ἐπαινέσαι τούτοις τοὺς ἄνδρας αἱρεθείς, ἀν μὴ τοὺς ἀκούοντας συμβουλομένους λάβω, φοβοῦμαι μὴ τῇ προθυμίᾳ.

14 τούναντιον οὖν δει ποιήσω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλοῦτος καὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ ἡ ἵσχυς καὶ ὁ σ' ἄλλα τούτων ὁμοια, αὐτάρκεις ἢχει τὰς ὁνήσεις τοῖς κεκτημένοις, καὶ κρατοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἂν παρῇ, κἂν μηδεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπῆρηται· ἢ δὲ τῶν λόγων πειθὼ τῆς τῶν ἀκούοντων εὐνοίας προσδεῖται, καὶ μετὰ ταύτης μὲν, κἂν μετρίως ῥήθη, δόξαν ἤνεγκε καὶ χάριν προσποιεῖ, ἀνέυ δὲ ταύτης, κἂν ὑπερβάλῃ τῷ λέγειν καλῶς, προσέστη τοῖς ἀκούοισιν.

15 Πολλὰ τοῦν ἐχῶν εἰπεῖν ὃν οἴδε πράξαντες δικαίως ἐπαινεθῆσονται, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς εἰμὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς, ἀπορῶ τί πρῶτον εἴπω· προσιστάμενα γὰρ πάντ' εἰς ἔνα καιρόν, δύσκριτον καθίστησι μοι

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a The welcome extended to aliens at the public funerals is mentioned in Thucyd. ii. 34. 4. Pericles recognizes their presence, 36. 4.

b Blass compares XVIII. 277, but the parallel is not precise.
over them to apply to both alike. I assume that this would be gratifying not only to the ancestors but, best of all, to both them and these dead, if they should come to share one another’s merit not only by virtue of birth but also by reason of our words of praise.

In the meantime it is necessary to interrupt my discourse for a moment, before declaring the deeds of these men, to solicit the goodwill of those born outside this race who have accompanied us to the tomb. For if I had been appointed to do honour to this burial through expenditure of money or by providing some different kind of a spectacle consisting of equestrian or gymnastic contests, the greater my zeal and the more lavish my expenditure in preparing such spectacles, the better I should have been thought to have done my duty. Having been chosen, however, to extol these men in a speech, unless I have the sympathy of my hearers, I fear that because of my eagerness I may effect the very opposite of what I ought. For wealth and speed of foot and strength of body and all other such things have their rewards self-assured to their possessors, and in those fields they win who have the luck, even if not one of the others wishes their success. On the other hand, the persuasiveness of words depends upon the goodwill of the hearers, and with the help of this, even if the eloquence be moderate, it reaps glory and gains favour, but lacking this help, even if it be surpassingly good, it is thwarted by those who hear.

Now to resume my theme: though many deeds of these men are at hand because of which they will be justly eulogized, I am at a loss what to mention first when I come face to face with the facts. For thronging into my mind as they do, all at one and
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τὴν αἰρέσιν αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι τὴν αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ λόγου τάξιν ἥπερ ὑπήρξεν τοῦ βίου τούτου. οἴδε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν πάσι τοῖς παιδεύμασιν ἦσαν ἔπιφανεῖς, τὰ πρέποντα καθ' ἥλικίαν ἀσκοῦντες ἐκάστην, καὶ πάσιν ἄρέσκοντες οἰς χρή, γονεῦσι, φίλοις, οἰκείοις. τοιγαροῦν ὠσ- περ ἤχη γνωρίζουσα νῦν ἢ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλῶν μνήμη πάσαι ὥραν ἐπὶ τούτους φέρεται τῷ πόθῳ, πόλλα ὑπομνήματα λαμβάνουσα ἐν οἷς συν- ἤδει τούτους ἀρίστους ὅσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἀφίκοντο, οὕτω μόνον τοῖς πολῖταις γνώριμον τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις κατέστη- σαν. ἐστὶ γὰρ, ἐστὶν ἁπάσης ἁρετῆς ἁρχὴ μὲν σύνεσις, πέρας δ' ἀνδρεία. καὶ τῇ μὲν δοκιμάζεται τί πρακτέον ἐστὶ, τῇ δὲ σύζεται. ἐν τούτως δ' ἀμφιτέρως οἴδε πολὺ διήνεγκαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐφύετο κοινὸς πάσι κίνδυνος τοῖς Ἑλλησίω, οὕτω πρῶτοι προείδοντο, καὶ πολλάκις εἰς σωτηρίαν ἁπαντας παρεκάλεσαν, ὅπερ γνώμης ἀπόδειξις ἐστιν ὡς φρονοῦσις. καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἀγνοίας μεμειγμενῆς κακίας, ὧν ἐνήν ταῦτα κωλύειν ἀσφαλῶς, τὰ μὲν ὅπερ προορώσης, τὰ δ' ἐφρωνευο- μένης, ὄμως, ἴνικ' ὑπήκουσαν καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν

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a Kennedy cites Cicero, Pro Sestio xl. 86 “hoc sentire prudentiae est, facere fortitudinis.”

b By “slackness” is meant the acceptance of Macedonian bribes, mentioned by Hyper. 10; Blass compares XVIII. 20, where “folly” is used as a euphemism for “slackness.”

c The attitude of the Greek states toward the aggressions of Philip of Macedon may be compared to that of the small democratic states of Europe toward Germany before the war of 1939–1945. By his Olynthiacs and Philippics Demosthenes
the same time, it becomes difficult to make a choice among them. I shall endeavour, however, to maintain the same order of topics in my speech as marked the course of the lives of these men. From the beginning these men were outstanding in all the activities that formed their schooling, engaging in the exercises that became each stage of life, causing gratification to all who had claim to it—parents, friends, kinsmen. Therefore, just as if recognizing footprints, the memory of those who were near and dear to them now turns to these men every hour in fond recollection, finding many a reminder of occasions when they knew in their hearts that these were lads of surpassing worth. Arrived at manhood they rendered their innate nobility known, not only to their fellow-citizens, but to all men. For of all virtue, I say, and I repeat it, the beginning is understanding and the fulfilment is courage; by the one it is judged what ought to be done and by the other this is carried to success.a In both these qualities these men were distinctly superior; for if ever a danger affecting all the Greeks was brewing, these were the first to foresee it, and time and again they challenged the rest to save the situation. This action is a demonstration of sound judgement joined with public spirit. Although, again, there was much folly among the Greeks, not unmixed with slackness,b a folly which failed to foresee some dangers and feigned not to see others at a time when it was possible to avert these misfortunes without sacrificing safety, nevertheless, when they did hearken and evinced willingness to do their duty,c tried to arouse and unite them but with little success until the year 338 B.C., when he achieved his great diplomatic triumph in uniting Thebes with Athens, ancient rivals.

19
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'Εσ ἀνάγκης δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν μάχῃ γίγνηται, τοῖς μὲν ἢπτασθαί, τοῖς δὲ νικάν· οὐκ ἂν ὁκνήσαιμι δ’ εἶπεῖν, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τελευτῶντες ἐκατέρων ἐν τάξει τῆς μὲν ἢπτης οὖ μετέχειν, νικάν δ’ ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς ξώσιν ὡς ἄν ὁ δαίμων παραδῷ κρίνεται· ὁ δ’ εἰς τοῦθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐδει παρασχέσθαι, πᾶς ὁ μένων ἐν τάξει πεποίηκεν. εἰ δὲ θυντὸς ἦν τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐςχε, τῇ τύχῃ πέπονθε τὸ συμβαίνον, οὐχὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢπτηται τῶν ἑναντίων. νομίζω τοῖνυν καὶ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν μὴ ἔπιβηναι τοὺς πολεμίους,

[1395] πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἑναντίων ἀγνωμοσύνη τὴν τούτων ἀρετῆν αἰτίαν γεγενήσθαι· κατ’ ἄνδρα γὰρ πειράν εἰληφότες οἱ τότε συμμειξάντες ἐκεῖ οὐκ ἐβούλοντ’ αὕτις εἰς ἀγώνα καθίστασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖνων οἰκείοις, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ταῖς μὲν φύσεσιν ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἀπαντήσεθαι, τύχην δ’ οὐκ εὐπορον εἶναι τὴν ὁμοίαν λαβεῖν.

Δηλοὶ δ’ οὐχ ἦκισθ’ ὅτι ταῦθ’ οὔτως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς γεγονόντος εἰρήνης· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεστ’ εἶπεῖν οὐτ’ ἀληθεστέραν οὔτε καλλίω πρόφασιν, τοῦ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀγασθέντ’ ἀρετῆς τῶν τῶν ἑναν-

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a The particular reference is to the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C., where the Greeks were defeated by Philip of Macedon.

b Blass notes this sentiment in XVIII. 208, and in Isocr.
these men did not bear a grudge but stepping forward and eagerly offering their all, bodies, money, and allies, they entered upon the ordeal of the contest, in which they were not sparing even of their lives.

Of necessity it happens, when a battle takes place,\(^a\) that the one side is beaten and the other victorious; but I should not hesitate to assert that in my judgement the men who die at the post of duty on either side do not share the defeat but are both alike victors. For the mastery among the survivors is decided as the deity disposes, but that which each was in duty bound to contribute to this end, every man who has kept his post in battle has done. But if, as a mortal being, he meets his doom, what he has suffered is an incident caused by chance, but in spirit he remains unconquered by his opponents.\(^b\) It is my judgement, therefore, that we have to thank the valour of these men, along with the folly of our opponents, that our enemies did not set foot upon our land; because, every man of them having had proof of their mettle, those who there engaged them on that occasion had no wish to confront in battle a second time the kinsmen of those men, suspecting that, although they would confront men of the same breed, they were not likely to find the fortune of battle so kind.

Not the least reason for believing that this was their state of mind is afforded by the peace that was made; for it is impossible to cite a more plausible or more creditable reason than that the master of our opponents, astounded at the valour of these who

\(^a\) Panegyr. 92. It is subsidiary to the recognition of the supremacy of the deity, fate or fortune, XVIII. 192, 207, 208. To commemorate the valour of the fallen Thebans a monumental seated lion was erected facing in the direction of the enemy. It is still extant.
τίων κύριων, φίλον γενέσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἦ πάλιν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἀρ- 

21 μισθαί. οἴμαι δὲ ἄν, εἰ τις αὐτοὺς τοὺς παραταξα- 

eύνους ἐρωτήσει, πότερ' ἤγονται ταῖς αὐτῶν 

ἀρεταῖς ἦ τῇ παραδόξῳ καὶ χαλεπή τύχῃ κατωρ- 

θωκέαν καὶ τῇ τοῦ προεστηκότος αὐτῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ 

καὶ τόλμῃ, οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀναίσχυντον οὔτε τολμηρὸν 

οὕτως εἶναι ὑποτ' ἀντιποίησεθαί τῶν πεπραγ- 

μένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὃν ὁ πάντων κύριος δαι- 

μων ὃς ἐβούλετ' ἐνειμεν τὸ τέλος, ἀπαντασ 

ἀφείσθαι κακίας ἀνάγκη τοὺς λοιποὺς, ἀνθρώπους 

γ' ὄντας. περὶ ὧν δ' ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡγεμῶν 

ὑπερῆρε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντας, οὐχὶ τοὺς πολ- 

λοὺς οὔτ' ἐκείνων οὗθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίασατ' ἄν τις 

22 εἰκότως. εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἐστις τοῖς ἀνθρώπων ὅτως περὶ 

tούτων ἐγκαλέσαι προσήκει, τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχ- 

θείσης Θηβαίων, οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὔτ' ἐκείνων οὗθ' 

[1395] ἡμῶν ἐγκαλέσειεν ἄν τις εἰκότως: οἳ δύναμιν λα- 

βόντες ἔχουσιν θυμὸν ἀήττητον καπροφάσοστον καὶ 

23 φιλοτιμίαν ἐφάμιλλον, οὐδενὶ τούτων ὅρθως ἐχρή- 

σαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐστι τούτων ὡς ἐκαστὸς 

ἐχει γνώμης, οὔτως ὑπολαμβάνειν: ὁ δ' ἀπασι 

ὁμοίως τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις γεγένηται φανερῶν, 

ὅτι ἡ πάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἄρ' ἐλευθερία ἐν ταῖς 

tούδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχαῖς διεσώζετο· ἐπειδή γοῦν 

a Philip exacted no vengeance after his victory; Attica 

was not invaded. The Greek states retained the right of self-

government and became allies, not subjects, of the victor. 

b Philip seems to have deceived the Athenians by a feigned 

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died, chose rather to be friendly toward their kinsmen than once more to assume the risk of all his fortunes.\(^a\) I believe also that if someone were to ask those in the opposite ranks whether they thought they had won by their own deeds of valour or by a startling and cruel turn of fortune and by the skill and daring of their own commander, not one of them would be so shameless or audacious as to claim credit for what happened. Furthermore, in contests of which the deity, the master of all, has disposed the outcome as it chose, it is necessary of course to acquit all others, being but human, of the charge of cowardice, but when it comes to the means by which the leader of our opponents prevailed over those appointed to the command of our army, no one could justly locate the cause in the rank and file of either the enemy or ourselves. But if, after all, there is any human being who might rightly lay a charge concerning the issue of that battle, he would with good reason advance it against those of the Thebans who were appointed to this command,\(^b\) nor could anyone rightly lay blame upon the rank and file of either the Thebans or ourselves. Those men, receiving command of a military force that would neither brook defeat nor make excuse and had an emulous zest for glory, made the right use of none of these. As for the other questions touching this campaign, each individual is at liberty to draw conclusions according to his judgement, but what has become manifest to all living men alike is this—that, in effect, the freedom of the whole Greek world was being preserved in the souls of these men. At retreat while throwing his strongest troops against the Thebans. This stratagem broke the line and decided the battle. The Theban general Theagenes and his colleagues seem to have been no more to blame than the rest.
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ἡ πεπρωμένη τούτους ἀνείλεν, οὔτεις ἀντέστη τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ φθόνοις μὲν ἀπείχ τοῦ λόγου, δοκεῖ δὲ μοί τις ἃν εἰπὼν ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ

24 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢν ψυχὴ τάληθες εἰπεῖν: ἀμα γὰρ τὰ τοῦτον πνεύματ' ἀπηλλάγη τῶν οἰκείων σωμάτων, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄξιωμ' ἀνήρρηται. μεγάλην μὲν οὖν ἰσως ὑπερβολὴν δόξημεν λέγειν, ρητέον δ' ὁμώς: ὥσπερ γὰρ, εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ καθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλοι, δυσχερῆς καὶ χαλεπὸς πᾶς ὁ λειπόμενος βίος γένοιτ' ἂν, οὕτω τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναρεθέντων, ἐν σκότει καὶ πολλὴ δυσκλεῖα πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τοῦ ξῆλος τῶν Ἐλλήνων γέγονεν.

25 Διὰ πολλὰ δ' εἰκότως ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν οὖ ἤκιστ' ἤσαν σπουδαίοι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ὅλων δυναστεῖα δέος μὲν ἐνεργάζονται τοῖς πολίταις, αἰσχυνήν δ' οὐ παριστάσων ἡνίκ' ἂν οὖν ὁ ἄγων ἐλθῃ τοῦ πολέμου, πᾶς τις εὐχερῶς ἐκεῖνον σῴζει, συνειδῶς οὕτω, ἃν τοὺς κυρίους ἡ δῶροις ἢ δι' ἄλλης ἠστινοσοῦν ὀμλίας ἐξαρέσηται, κἂν τὰ δεινότατ' ἀσχημονίης, μικρὸν ὀνείδος τὸ

26 λοιπὸν αὐτῷ καταστήσεται: αἱ δ' ἁμορκαρίαι πολλὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ καλὰ καὶ δικαί' ἔχουσιν ὦν τὸν [1897] εὐ φρονοῦτ' ἀντέχεσθαι δεῖ, καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠρτημένην οὐκ ἔστι τάληθες δηλοῦν ἀποτρέψαι. οὔτε γὰρ πάντας ἐξαρέσασθαι

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a Kennedy quotes Cicero, De Amic. xiii. 47 "solem enim e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt." According to Aristotle's Rhetoric i. 7 and iii. 10, Pericles had once said in a funeral speech it was "as if the spring had been taken out of the year."
any rate, since fate removed them, not one of those remaining has made a stand against the foe. While I desire that my words may be free from offence, it seems to me that if one should declare that the valour of these men was the very life of Greece he would speak the truth; for at one and the same time their spirits were separated from their dear bodies and the self-esteem of Greece was taken from her. We shall therefore seem guilty perhaps of a bold exaggeration, but still it must be uttered: for just as, if the light of day were removed out of this universe of ours, all the remnant of life would be harsh and irksome, so, now that these men have been taken from us, all the old-time ambition of the Greeks is sunk in gloom and profound obscurity.

While it stands to reason that many influences helped to make them what they were, not least was their virtue ascribable to our form of government. For though absolute governments dominated by a few create fear in their citizens, they fail to awaken the sense of shame. Consequently, when the test of war comes, everyone lightheartedly proceeds to save himself, knowing full well that if only he succeeds in appeasing his masters by presents or any other civility whatsoever, even though he becomes guilty of the most revolting conduct, only slight reproach will attach to him thereafter. Democracies, however, possess many other just and noble features, to which right-minded men should hold fast, and in particular it is impossible to deter freedom of speech, which depends upon speaking the truth, from exposing the truth. For neither is it possible for

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b This topic is treated in the Menex. 238 b—239 d. Blass compares XX. 108, but the similarity is not impressive.
DEMOSTHENES

τοῖς αἰσχρόν τι ποιήσασιν δυνατόν, ὡσθ' ὁ μόνος τάληθες οἶνιοδος λέγων λυπεῖ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὴ δὲν ἂν εἰπόντες αὐτοὶ βλάφημον, ἄλλοι γε λέγοντος χαίροσιν ἀκούοντες. ἂ φοβοῦμενοι πάντες εἰκό-
τως τῇ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οἰνιδῶν αἰσχύνη τὸν τ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κίνδυνον προσιόντ' εὐρώστως ὑπέμειναν, καὶ θάνατον καλὸν εἰλοῦτο μᾶλλον ἡ βίον αἰσχρόν.

27 "Α μὲν οὖν κοινῇ πάσῳ ὑπηρχε τοῖς τῶν ἀν-
δράσιν εἰς τὸ καλὸς εθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν εὑρηταῖ,
γένος, παιδεία, χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων συνήθεια,
τῆς οἰκής πολιτείας ὑπόθεσι· ἂ δὲ κατὰ φυλᾶς
παρεσκεύασ' ἐκάστους εὐρώστους εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἡδή
λέξω. ἦδεσαν πάντες Ἐρεχθείδαι τὸν ἐπώνυμον
αὐτῶν Ἐρεχθέα, εἶνεκα τοῦ σώσαι τὴν χώραν,
τὰς αὐτοῦ παῖδας, ἃς Ἰακυνθίδας καλοῦσιν, εἰς
προὔπτον θάνατον δοῦν' ἀναλώσαι· αἰσχρόν οὖν
ἡγοῦντο, τον μὲν ἀπ' ἀθάνατων πεφυκότα πάντα
ποιεῖν εἰνεκα τοῦ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐλευθερώσαι, αὐτοὶ
δὲ φανῆναι θυητὸν σῶμα ποιούμενοι περὶ πλείονος ἡ
28 δόξαν ἀθάνατον. οὐκ ἡγνόουν Αἰγείδαι Θησέα τὸν

a Under an oligarchy, the speaker means, it is possible for
the wrongdoer to seal the mouths of the small ruling clique
by means of bribes, but under a democracy it is impossible
to buy the silence of thousands of citizens. The reference is
to oligarchic governments set up by the Spartans in subject
states. Pericles praised the Athenian form of government as
against the Spartan, Thucyd. ii. 37-39.

b The fear of exposure as a factor in democratic govern-
ment is mentioned by Pericles, Thucyd. ii. 37. 3, and by
Hyper. 25. Blass compares XXII. 31.

c The list which here begins is our chief authority for the
names and order of precedence of the ten Athenian tribes as
established by Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. The particular myths
26
those who commit a shameful act to appease all the citizens, so that even the lone individual, uttering the deserved reproach, makes the guilty wince: for even those who would never speak an accusing word themselves are pleased at hearing the same, provided another utters it. Through fear of such condemnation, all these men, as was to be expected, for shame at the thought of subsequent reproaches, manfully faced the threat arising from our foes and chose a noble death in preference to life and disgrace.

The considerations that actuated these men one and all to choose to die nobly have now been enumerated.—birth, education, habituation to high standards of conduct, and the underlying principles of our form of government in general. The incentives that challenged them severally to be valiant men, depending upon the tribes to which they belonged, I shall next relate. All the Erechtheidae were well aware that Erechtheus, from whom they have their name, for the salvation of this land gave his own daughters, whom they call Hyacinthides, to certain death, and so extinguished his race. Therefore they regarded it as shameful, after a being born of immortal gods had sacrificed everything for the liberation of his native land, that they themselves should have been found to have placed a higher value upon a mortal body than upon immortal glory. Neither were the Aegeidae ignorant that Theseus, the son of Aegeus, that suit the context, however, are for the most part obscure and of relatively recent origin. For example, the older legends speak of but one daughter of Erechtheus as being sacrificed. The later version is known to Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 48. 116.

"Hyper. 24 reads in part θητον σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἐκτῆσαι, "gained immortal glory at the price of a mortal body."
According to Plutarch, Theseus xxv., it was equality between newcomers and natives that Theseus established; the word ἴσονομία usually means equality before the law and is almost a synonym for democracy.

Procnē is said to have murdered her own son Itys and to have served his flesh to her husband Tereus in revenge for his treachery to herself and his cruelty to Philomela. It is curious that the speaker seems less shocked by this crime than by the innocent tale of Alope, § 31, below.

Aethra is mentioned in the Iliad iii. 144, but the rest of the story is not Homeric. This Acamas is unknown to 28
for the first time established equality in the State. They thought it, therefore, a dreadful thing to be false to the principles of that ancestor, and they preferred to be dead rather than through love of life to survive among the Greeks with this equality lost. The Pandionidae had inherited the tradition of Procnē and Philomela, the daughters of Pandion, who took vengeance on Tereus for his crime against themselves. Therefore they decided that life was not worth living unless they, akin by race, should have proved themselves to possess equal spirit with those women, when confronted by the outrage they saw being committed against Greece.

The Leontidae had heard the stories related of the 29 daughters of Leò, how they offered themselves to the citizens as a sacrifice for their country's sake. When, therefore, such courage was displayed by those women, they looked upon it as a heinous thing if they, being men, should have proved to possess less of manhood. The Acamantidae did not fail to recall the epics in which Homer says that Acamas sailed for Troy for the sake of his mother Aethra. Now, since he braved every danger for the sake of saving his own mother, how were these men not bound to face every danger for the sake of saving their parents one and all at home? It did not escape the Oeneidae that 30 Semelē was the daughter of Cadmus, and of her was born one whom it would be sacrilegious to name at this tomb, and by him Oeneus was begotten, who was Homer, though he mentions two other individuals of the same name. It was later myths that told of the rescue of Aethra after the fall of Troy by her two grandsons, not sons, Acamas and Demophon.

d Dionysus, or Bacchus, god of wine, who, as an Olympian, could not associate with death.
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Two demes in Attica were named Oenoë, which was sufficient to justify the invention of a hero Oeneus, but he is not to be confused with the Homeric hero of this name who was associated with Calydon in Aetolia and with Argos. The word means "wineman," from οἶνος. At Athens the anniversary of this hero fell in the month Gamelion, like the Lenaea of Dionysus. It was natural, therefore, to call him the son of the god, but the relationship plays no part in recorded myths.

The suggestion is that the Oeneidae would have felt equally bound to fight on behalf of Thebes, of which the founder was Cadmus, and on behalf of Athens, one of whose heroes was Oeneus, great-grandson of Cadmus. This is the weakest link in this series.

30
called the founder of their race.\(a\) Since the danger in question was common to both States, on behalf of both they thought themselves bound to endure any anguish to the end.\(b\) The Cecropidae were well aware that their founder was reputed to have been part dragon, part human, for no other reason than this, that in understanding he was like a man, in strength like a dragon. So they assumed that their duty was to perform feats worthy of both. The Cecropidae were well aware that their founder was reputed to have been part dragon, part human, for no other reason than this, that in understanding he was like a man, in strength like a dragon. So they assumed that their duty was to perform feats worthy of both. The Hippothoöntidae bore in mind the marriage of Alope, from which Hippothoon was born, and they knew also who their founder was; about these matters—to avoid impropriety on an occasion like this\(c\) I forbear to speak plainly—they thought it was their duty to be seen performing deeds worthy of these ancestors. It did not escape the Acantidae that Ajax, robbed of the prize of valour, did not consider his own life worth living.\(d\) When, therefore, the god was giving to another the prize of valour, at once they thought they must die trying to repel their foes so as to suffer no disgrace to themselves. The Antiochidae were not unmindful that Antiochus was the son of

\(a\) Alope's son was said to have been twice exposed, and twice rescued and suckled by a mare. The use of mare's milk as a food prevailed among the Scythians, as the Greeks knew well from their colonists in the region of the Black Sea, if not from Herodotus iv. 2; Gylon, grandfather of Demosthenes, had lived in the Crimea and was said to have married a Thracian wife. The orator was sometimes twitted by his opponents about his Thracian blood. He may have been sensitive. Consequently the attitude here revealed might be construed as evidence for the genuineness of the speech.

\(b\) Ajax, worsted by Odysseus in a contest for possession of the arms of Achilles, was said to have slain himself: Homer, Odyssey xi. 541-567; the story of his madness and of slaughtering flocks and herds as if they were his enemies is not Homeric: Sophocles, Ajax.
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ήγῆσαντ' ἦ δῆν ἄξιως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἦ τεθνάναι καλῶς.

32 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ζῶντες οἰκεῖοι τούτων ἐλευθοί, τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἐστερημένοι καὶ συνηθείας πολλῆς καὶ φιλανθρωποῦ διεξευγμένοι, καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος πράγματ' ἔρημα καὶ δακρύων καὶ πένθους πλήρη· οἱ δ' εὐδαίμονες τῷ δικαίῳ λογίῳ. πρώτων μὲν ἀντὶ μικροῦ χρόνου πολὺ καὶ τὸν ἀπάντ' εὐκλειαν ἀγήρω καταλείπουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ παῖδες οἱ τούτων ὁνομαστοὶ τραφῆσονται, καὶ γονεῖς οἱ τούτων περίβλεπτοι γνησιοφησονται, παραψυχήν τῷ πένθει τῆς τούτων εὐκλειαν ἔχοντες. ἐπείτα νόσων ἀπαθείς τὰ σώματα καὶ λυπῶν ἀπειροῦ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἂς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν οἱ ζώντες ἔχονσιν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ καὶ πολλῷ ζήλῳ τῶν νομίζομένων τυχάνονσιν. οὐς γὰρ ἀπασα μὲν ἡ πατρίς θάπτει δημοσίᾳ, κοινῶν δ' ἐπαίνων μόνου τυχάνουσι, ποθοῦσι δ' οὐ μόνον συγγενεῖς καὶ πολίται, ἀλλὰ πάσαν ὅσην Ἑλλάδα χρή προσεπεῖν, συμπεπένθηκε δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πλείστον μέρος, πῶς οὐ 33 χρή τούτους εὐδαίμονας νομίζεσθαι; οὐς παρέδροις εἰκότως ἂν τις φήσαι τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς εἶναι,

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a The mother of Antiochus was Meda, daughter of Phylas, king of the Dryopes, but the story was unimportant and little known.

b Compare Hyper. 24 “Are we not to think them fortunate because their valour was proven rather than unfortunate because their lives were lost?”

c With εὐκλειαν ἀγήρω compare Thucyd. ii. 43. 2 ἀγήρων ἔπαυνος and Hyper. 42 εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον.

d This topic is touched upon in Hyper. 27.

e Thucyd. ii. 44. 4 “and be comforted by the fair fame of these your sons.”

32
They concluded therefore that they must either live worthily of their heritage or die nobly.

Now, though the living kinsmen of these dead deserve our sympathy, bereaved of such brave men and divorced from close and affectionate association, and though the life of our native land is desolate and filled with tears and mourning, nevertheless these dead by a just calculation are happy. First of all, bartering little for much, a brief time for all eternity, they leave behind them an ageless fame in which the children of these men shall be reared in honour and the parents of these men shall enjoy distinction and tender care in their old age, cherishing the fame of these men as an assuagement of their sorrow. In the second place, immune from disease of body and beyond the reach of anguish of spirit, such as the living must suffer because of the misfortunes which have befallen, they to-day receive high honour and inspire great emulation while they are accorded the customary obsequies. How, then, since the whole country unites in according them a public burial, and they alone receive the words of universal praise, while their kinsmen and fellow-citizens are not alone in mourning them, but every land that has the right to be called Hellas and the greater part of the whole world mourns with them, how can we do otherwise than consider them blessed of fortune? With excellent reason one might declare them to be now seated beside the gods below, possessing the same

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† In Hyper. 43 may be found ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύτης, as Blass observes.

§ Annual sacrifices were performed at the public sepulchre in Athens. They were followed by athletic contests.

† Thucyd. ii. 43. 3 "for the whole world is the sepulchre of famous men."
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τὴν αὐτῇν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. οὐ γὰρ ἰδὼν τις οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνων ταῦτ’ ἀπῆγγελκεν, ἄλλ’ οὐς οἱ ζώντες ἄξιοις ὑπειλήφαμεν τῶν ἄνω τιμῶν, τούτους τῇ δόξῃ καταμαντεύομενοι κακεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τιμῶν ἡγούμεθ’ αὐτούς τυγχάνειν.  

35 Ἡστὶ μὲν οὖν ἴσως χαλεπὸν τὰς παροῦσας συμφορὰς λόγῳ κοινῆσαι, δεῖ δ’ ὅμως πειρᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρηγοροῦντα τρέπειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὥς τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας γεγεννηκότας καὶ πεφυκότας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων ἐτέρων, καλὸν ἠστὶ τὰ δεῖν’ εὐσχημονέστερον τῶν ἄλλων φέροντας ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ  

36 πάση τῇ χρωμένους ὀμοίους εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ταῦτ’ ἂν εἰη μάλιστ’ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τιμῇ, καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ζῶσι ταῦτ’ ἂν ἐνέγκοι πλείστην εὐδοξίαν. χαλεπὸν πατρί καὶ μητρὶ παῖ-  

dων στερηθῆναι καὶ ἑρήμως εἶναι τῶν οἰκειοτάτων γηροτρόφων’ σεμνὸν δὲ γ’ ἀγήρως τιμᾶς καὶ μνή-  

μην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ  

37 θυσίων καὶ ἀγώνων ἡξιωμένους ἀθανάτων. λυπη-  

ρόν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς γεγενήσθαι πατρός· καλὸν δὲ  

γε κληρονομεῖν πατρίφασ εὐδοξίας. καὶ τοῦ μὲν  

λυπηροῦ τούτου τὸν δαίμον’ αὕτιον εὐρησομεν ὄντα,  

ὦ φύντας ἀνθρώπους εἰκεῖν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ δὲ τιμίου  

34
rank as the brave men who have preceded them in the islands of the blest. For though no man has been there to see or brought back this report concerning them, yet those whom the living have assumed to be worthy of honours in the world above, these we believe, basing our surmise on their fame, receive the same honours also in the world beyond.

While it is perhaps difficult to mitigate the present misfortunes by the spoken word, nevertheless it is our duty to endeavour to turn our minds to comforting thoughts, reflecting that it is a beautiful thing for parents who have begotten men like these, and themselves were born of others like unto them, to be seen enduring their affliction more decorously than the rest of mankind, and, no matter what fortune befalls, to be like them; for to the departed such conduct would seem most becoming in you and honourable to them, and to the whole State and to the living it would bring the greatest glory. It is a grievous thing for fathers and mothers to be deprived of their children and in their old age to lack the care of those who are nearest and dearest to them. Yes, but it is a proud privilege to behold them possessors of deathless honours and a memorial of their valour erected by the State, and deemed deserving of sacrifices and games for all future time. It is painful for children to be orphaned of a father. Yes, but it is a beautiful thing to be the heir of a father's fame. And of this pain we shall find the deity to be the cause, to whom mortal creatures must yield, but

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*a* A similar sentiment is found in Hyper. 43.

*b* Blass compares Hyper. 41 χαλεπόν μὲν ἵπως ἐστι.

*c* This topic is treated at greater length in the *Menex.* 247 d—248 c.
καὶ καλοῦ τὴν τῶν ἐθελησάντων καλῶς ἀποθεμένας αἴρεσιν.

'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν οὖχ ὅπως πολλὰ λέξω, τούτ’ ἐσκε-ψάμην, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τάληθη. ὑμεῖς δ’ ἀποδυράμενοι καὶ τὰ προσήκονθ’ ὡς χρῆ καὶ νόμιμα ποιήσαντες ἂπιτε.
of the glory and honour the source is found in the choice of those who willed to die nobly.

As for myself, it has not been my concern how I might make a long speech, but how I might speak the truth. And now do you, having spent your grief and done your part as law and custom require, disperse to your homes.
INTRODUCTION

In the life and literature of Greece during the classical period there was scant toleration for romantic love as understood by modern races of the western world. The emotions and sentiments that are nowadays assigned to the realm of romance were then associated with attachments between people of the same sex, an ugly consequence of the segregation of men and women in social life and education. Sappho addressed love poems to her girl friends and numberless poets in analogous strains told of the love of man for man.

The hazards of these attachments were reluctantly accepted as facts but never entirely condoned by thoughtful and responsible citizens. Hopeful thinkers essayed to plead for love as an instrument of moral and intellectual uplift. The topic was so entrenched in the popular interest that even Plato discussed it, the Lysis being especially illuminating. A series of speeches on the theme is contained in the Symposium. A similar work by Xenophon bears this title. In the Phaedrus of Plato are found three speeches on love, the first of these being represented as the composition of the orator Lysias. Even Plutarch, later by almost five centuries, produced an erotic essay, which seems modern by comparison.

In the same general class with these writings falls the Erotic Essay ascribed to Demosthenes. Blass
THE EROTIC ESSAY

joins with ancient and modern critics in declaring it to be a forgery. He points out that in style it resembles the *Funeral Speech* but is quite unlike any work of the orator that is known to be genuine. He finds that the author gives evidence of being familiar with the *Phaedrus* and he cites numerous resemblances to the writings of Isocrates. As in the case of the *Funeral Speech* these parallels do not prove to be impressive upon close examination. On the other hand, their presence allows the reader to assume that the composition belongs to the time of Demosthenes and even Blass concedes that the idiom of the piece is free from offence. It will be justifiable, therefore, to refrain from hasty condemnation and to leave the verdict open. The history of literature is not without its surprises and paradoxes.

The style, as in the case of the *Funeral Speech*, is epideictic. This means that the writer aims to awaken admiration rather than to produce conviction. He feels at liberty to resort to figurative language such as would be out of place in forensic or deliberative oratory. In order that his sentences may run with smoothness when read aloud he will avoid vowel terminations before initial vowels in following words, though the commoner monosyllables may be exceptions to this rule. Occasionally he may employ rhythmical clausulae and these in turn may balance one another with or without antithesis of meaning. In the footnotes attention will be called to some examples of these features of the style.

There is a brief discussion by Blass, vii. pp. 406-408. A commentary will be found in Dindorf's *Demosthenes* vii. pp. 1413-1425.
'Αλλ’ ἐπειδήπερ ἀκούειν βούλει τοῦ λόγου, δειξὼ σοι καὶ ἀναγνώσομαι. δεῖ δὲ σε τὴν προαιρέσειν αὐτοῦ πρῶτον εἰδέναι. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ ο τὸν λόγον ποιῶν ἐπαινεῖν Ἑπικράτην, ὃν ἦσε τολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καγαθῶν ὀντῶν νέων ἐν τῇ πόλει χαριέστατον εἴναι, καὶ πλέον τῇ συνέσει προέχειν ἢ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἥλικωτῶν. ὄρων δ’ ὃς ἐπος εἰπεῖν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἑρωτικῶν συνταγμάτων αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον ἢ τιμὴν περιάπτοντα τούτοις περὶ ὃν ἐστὶ γεγραμμένα, τοῦθ’ ὅπως μὴ πείσεται πεφύλακται, καὶ ὅπερ καὶ πεπείσθαι φησὶ τῇ γνώμῃ, τοῦτο καὶ γέγραφεν, ὡς δίκαιος ἔραστής οὔτ’ ἄν ποιήσειεν ἡμῶν αἰσχρῶν οὔτ’ ἀξιώσειεν. ὃ μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ εἰ μάλιστ’ ἂν ἑρωτικὸν λάβοις τοῦ λόγου, περὶ τοῦτ’ ἐστιν. ὃ δ’ ἄλλος λόγος τάμην ἀυτῶν ἐπαινεῖ τὸν νεανίσκον, τὰ δ’ αὐτῶ ἑμβουλεύει περὶ παίδειας τε καὶ προαιρέσεως τοῦ βίου. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα γέγραπται τῶν τρόπων ὄν τις ἂν εἰς βιβλίον καταθεῖτο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ λεκτικοῖς τῶν λόγων

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a It was at the house of a certain Epicrates that Lysias was supposed to have delivered his love-speech: Plato, *Phaedrus* 227 b.

b This topic is treated by Cicero, *De Amic. xii.*

c The author plainly hints at a threefold partition of his
LXI

THE EROTIC ESSAY

Well, since you wish to hear the essay, I shall bring it out and read it aloud; but first you must understand its purpose. The writer’s desire is to praise Epicrates, whom he thought to be the most charming young man in the city, although there were many fine gentlemen among those of his own age, and to surpass them even more in understanding than in beauty of person. Observing also that, generally speaking, most erotic compositions attach shame rather than honour to those about whom they are written, he has taken precautions that this should not happen in his case, and has written only what he says he is convinced of by his judgement, believing that an honest lover would neither do anything shameful nor request it. Now, that part of my essay which you may find to be the most erotic, so to speak, is on this topic, but the rest of it in part praises the lad himself and in part counsels him about his education and his design for living. The whole essay is written as one would put it into a book, because discourses intended to be delivered theme: the erotic part, §§ 3-9, eulogy, §§ 10-32, and the protrepticus, §§ 36-55. Blass sees a twofold division only, eulogy and protrepticus. In either case the remaining sections serve as introduction, transition and epilogue. Exhortations to the study of philosophy were called “protreptics.”
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άπλῶς καὶ ὀμοίως οίς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τις εἶποι πρέπει γεγράφθαι, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὸν πλεῖον χρόνον τεθησομένους ποιητικῶς καὶ περιττῶς ἀρμόττει συγκείσθαι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πιθανοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιδεικτικοὺς εἶναι προσήκει. ἵν' οὖν μὴ παρὰ τὸν λόγον σοι λέγω μηδ' ἂ γιγνώσκω περὶ τούτων αὐτὸς διεξίω, πρόσεχ' ὡς αὐτὸν τοῦ λόγου ἡδῆ ἀκουσόμενος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤκει, δὴ ἐβουλήθην ἀκούειν, Ἐπικράτης.

3 Ὁρῶν ἐνίους τῶν ἑρωμένων καὶ κάλλους μετασχηκότων οὐδετέρα τῶν εὐτυχίων τούτων ὅρθως χρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τῆς ὁψεως εὐπρεπεία σεμνυνομένους, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἑραστὰς ὀμιλιαν δυσχεραίνοντας, καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτηκότας τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα κρίνειν, ὥστε διὰ τοὺς λυμανομένους τῶν πράγματι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ σωφροσύνης πλησιάζειν ἄξιοντας δυσκόλως διακειμένους, ἡγησάμην τοὺς μὲν τοιοῦτοις ὁμούν αὐτοῖς ἀλυσιτείως ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μοχθηρὰς συνηθείας ἐνεργάζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καλῶς φρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἐπακολουθητέον εἶναι τῇ τούτων ἀπονοία, μάλιστα μὲν ἑνθυμομένοις, ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὀὔτε καλῶν οὔτ' αἰσχρῶν ἀποτόμως οὖντων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς χρωμένους τὸ πλεῖστον διαλλαττῶντων, ἀλογον μιᾷ γνώμη περὶ ἀμφοτέρων χρῆσθαι, ἐπειθ' "

4 There is a reference to these two styles in Isocr. Panegyr. 11, as Blass notes. The epideictic is akin to poetry in the use of figures of speech (see §11); the reference of "ornately" is chiefly to rhythm. In both the Funeral Speech and the Erotic Essay there is careful avoidance of hiatus; rhythm-
ought to be written simply and just as one might speak offhand, while those of the other kind, which are planned to last longer, are properly composed in the manner of poetry and ornately. For it is the function of the former to win converts and of the latter to display one’s skill. Accordingly, to avoid spoiling the essay for you or rehearsing my own opinions about these questions, I ask you to lend your attention, since you are immediately going to hear the essay itself, because Epicrates is also at hand, whom I wished to hear it.

Observing that certain of those who are loved and possess their share of good looks make the right use of neither one of these blessings, but put on grand airs because of the comeliness of their appearance and exhibit reluctance to associate with their admirers, and so far fail in judging what is best that, because of those who pervert the thing, they assume a surly attitude toward those also who desire to associate with them from pure motives, I concluded that such young men not only defeat their own interests but also engender evil habits in the rest, and that the high-minded should not follow their foolish example, bearing in mind particularly that, since actions are not absolutely either honourable or shameful but for the most part vary according to the persons concerned, it is unreasonable to adopt the same attitude toward both classes of men, and secondly, mical clausulae are not infrequent; Gorgianic parallel clausulae occur (§ 32).

a The Greek word means “lover” or “sweetheart,” applied to men as well as women.

b The same distinction is made in synonymous terms, Isoer. Archid. 60.
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οτι πάντων ἀτοπώτατον ἔστι, ξηλοῦν μὲν τοὺς πλείστους φίλους καὶ βεβαιοτάτους ἕχοντας, ἀπο-
δοκιμάζειν δὲ τοὺς ἐραστὰς, ὃ μόνον ἵδιον ἕθος
οὐχ ἀπασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ σωφροσύν οἰ-
κειοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

5 "Ετι δὲ τοὺς μὲν μηδεμίαν πω τοιαύτην φιλίαν
ἐορακόσι καλῶς ἀποβάσαν, ἣ σφόδρα κατεγνωκόσιν
αὐτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείην σωφρόνωσ τοῖς ἐντυγ-
χάνουσιν ὀμιλεῖν, ἵσως οὐκ ἄλογον ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν
dιάνοιαν· τοῖς δὲ ὁσπερ σὺ διακειμένοις, καὶ μήτε
παντάπασιν ἀνηκόοις οὐσίν ὃσαι ὃ ἤρειαν δι᾽ ἑρω-
[1493] τος χωρίς αἰσχύνης ἡμεθήσαν, καὶ μετὰ τῆς
ἀκριβεστάτης εὐλαβείας τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον βεβιωκό-
σιν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπομίλαν ἔχειν εὐλογον ὃς ἂν τι πράξειαν
6 αἰσχρόν. διὸ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρθην τοῦτον γράψαι
τὸν λόγον, ἡγούμενος δυσὶ τοῖς καλλίστουι οὐ
dιαμαρτήσεσθαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχοντα σοι ἀγαθὰ
dιελθῶν, ᾗμα σὲ τε ἤκηλτον καὶ ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ
ἀνόητον ἐπιδείξειν ἐλπίζω, εἰ σὲ τοιοῦτον ὄντ᾽
ἀγαπῶν συμβουλεύσας δ᾽ ἁ μάλιστα κατεπείγει,
νομίζω ὑπὲρ μὲν εὐνοιάς ὑπὲρ ἡμῆς δείγμα, ὑπὲρ
dὲ κοινῆς φιλίας ἀφορμῆν ἀμφοτέρου εἰσοίσειν.

7 Καίτοι μ᾽ ὁ λέληθεν, ὅτι χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι καὶ
τὴν σὴν φύσιν ἄξιος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διελθεῖν, ἐτὶ
δ᾽ ἐπικυνδυνότερον τὸ συμβουλεύειν μελλὼνβ̃ αὐτὸν
ὑπεύθυνον τῷ πεισθέντι καταστήσαί. ἀλλὰ νομίζω
τοῖς μὲν δικαίως ἐγκινμίων τυγχάνουσι περι-

a He means the prejudice against any compromise with
associations that might lead to homosexuality, variously
known as boy-love, Greek love or Doric love.

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that it is the height of absurdity to envy those who have a host of firm friends but to repulse their admirers, who are a separate group and alone feel drawn by nature, not toward all, but only to the beautiful and modest.

Moreover, although those who have never yet seen such a friendship turn out well or have severely condemned themselves on the ground that they would be incapable of associating innocently with casual acquaintances, it is perhaps not unreasonable to entertain this prejudice; but for those so disposed as yourself, who have not utterly refused to hear how very many benefits accrue through love without shame and have lived the rest of their lives with the utmost circumspection, it is not reasonable to have even a suspicion that they would do anything shameful. Consequently I have felt all the more moved to write this essay, feeling sure I should not fail to secure two most honourable rewards. For when I have described the good qualities you possess, I hope that at one and the same time I shall prove you to be worthy of admiration and myself not senseless if I love you, being what you are; and secondly, in tendering the advice that is most urgently needed I believe I shall present proof of my own goodwill and furnish a basis for our mutual friendship.

And yet it does not escape me that it is difficult to describe your character in keeping with your deserts and that it is more hazardous still to give advice when the adviser is bound to make himself answerable for his advice to the one who accepts it. It is my judgement, however, that, while it becomes the recipients

\[b \text{ The use of the dual savours of poetry.}\]

\[c \text{ Blass notes a parallel in XVIII. 189, but it is remote.}\]
Γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν ἐπαίνοντων δυνάμεως προσήκειν τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερβολῇ, τῇ δὲ συμβουλῇ οὐ διαμαρτήσεσθαι, συνειδῶς ὅτι διὰ μὲν ἀνοήτων καὶ παντελῶς ὑπ’ ἀκρασίας διεφθαρμένων οὐδὲ τῶν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀρθῶς βουλευθέντων οὐδὲν ἂν καλῶς ἐξενεχθείη, διὰ δὲ τῶν σωφρόνως καὶ καθαρῶς ζην αἱρουμένων οὐδὲ τὰ μετρίως ἐσκεμμένα διαμαρτάνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

8 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἔλπίδας ἔχων τοιαύτας ἐγχειρῶ τῷ λόγῳ· ἤγουμαι δὲ πάντας ἀν ὀμολογησάι μοι, τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις μάλιστα κατεπείγειν κάλλος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑψωσι, σωφροσύνην δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνδρείαν δ’ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερων τούτων, χάριν δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων διατελεῖν ἔχουσιν. ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως οὕτω καλῶς ἡ τύχη σοι παραδεδωκεν ὥστε περίβλεπτον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον διατελείν, τὰ δ’ αὐτὸς παρὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τοῦτο προάγων’ ἥκεις ὥστε μηδὲν’

9 ἂν σοι τῶν εὐ φρονοῦντων ἐπιτιμήσαι. καίτοι τι χρῆ τὸν τῶν μεγίστων ἐπαίνων ἄξιουν; οὐχ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεών ἡγαπημένον φαίνεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν δ’ αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τύχην θαυμάζεσθαι; καθ’ ὀλου μὲν τοίνυν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἵσως ὕστερον ἀρμόσει τὰ πλείω διελθείν· ἀ δ’ ἐκάστοτον τούτων ἐγκώμι’ εἰπεῖν ἔχω, ταύτα δηλῶσαι πειράσομαι μετ’ ἀληθείας.

10 Ἀρξόμαι δὲ πρῶτον ἐπαίνειν, ὅπερ πρῶτον ἴδονσιν ἀπασιν ἔστι γνῶναι σοι, τὸ κάλλος, καὶ τοῦτον

1 προαγαγῶν Blass et al.
of merited eulogies to baffle by the excess of their real virtue the ability of those who praise them, yet in my counsel I shall not miss the mark, being well aware that no advice could be innocently carried out if proffered by men who are senseless and quite ruined by incontinence, not even if they advise supremely well, but that not even the advice that is only moderately pondered can altogether miss the mark if tendered by men who choose to live pure and self-disciplined lives.

Cherishing such hopes I enter upon my theme. All men would agree with me, I believe, that it is of the utmost importance for young men of your age to possess beauty in respect of person, self-discipline in respect of soul, and manliness in respect of both, and consistently to possess charm in respect of speech. As for these two kinds of qualities, natural and acquired, Fortune has so generously blessed you with nature's gifts that you consistently enjoy distinction and admiration, and the other kind you are bringing to such perfection through your own diligence that no fair-minded person could have fault to find with you. And yet what ought he to possess who is worthy of the highest eulogies? Must he not manifestly be loved by the gods and among men be admired, for some qualities on his own account, for others because of his good fortune? Now the longer list of your virtuous qualities it will perhaps be fitting to describe summarily later on, but the praise I have to utter for each of the gifts of Fortune I shall now try to declare with truthfulness.

I shall begin by praising that quality of yours which all who see you will recognize first, your beauty, and

\(^{a}\) These identical words are found in Isocr. De Bigis 30.
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tὸ χρῶμα, δι' οὖ καὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται. ὦ τίν' ἀρμόττουσαν εἰκόν' ἐνέγκω σκοπῶν φύσις ὅρῳ, ἀλλὰ παρίσταται μοι δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀναγνώστων τόνδε τὸν λόγον σὲ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν, ἵνα συγγνώμης τύχως μηδὲν ὁμοιον ἔχων εἰπεῖν.

11 τῷ γὰρ ἄν eἰκάσεις τις, ο θυτὴν ᾐν ἀθάνατον τοῖς ἰδούσιν ἐργάζεται πόθον, καὶ ὅρῳ μεν ὁμοῖον ἀπο- πληροὶ, καὶ μεταστὰν μνημονεύεται, καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄξιαν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχει, πρὸς μὲν τὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀνθρώπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἀνυπονόη- τον; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐστιν αἰτιάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὤψιν, ἂν πολλοὶς ἦδη συνεπεσε τῶν κάλλους

12 μετασχόντων. ἦ γὰρ δι' ἀρρυθμίαν τοῦ σχήματος ἀπασαν συνετάραξαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐπρέπειαν, ἦ δι' ἀτύχημα τι καὶ τὰ καλῶς πεφυκότα συνδι- ἐβαλον αὐτῷ. ὅποι οὐδεὶς τὴν σὴν ὤψιν εὕρωμεν ἄν ἐνοχον γεγενημένην. οὕτω γὰρ σφόδρω ἐφυλάξατο πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας κῆρας ὡστὶς ποτ' ἦν θεῶν ὅ τῆς σῆς ὤψεως προνοηθέας, ὥστε μηδὲν μέμψεως ἄξιον, τὰ δὲ πλείστα περίβλεπτα σου καταστήσαι.

[1405] καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐπιφανεστάτου μὲν ὅντος τοῦ προσώπου, τοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ὀμ- μάτων, ἔτι μάλλον ἐν τούτοις ἐπεδείξατο τὴν εὐνοιαν ἥν ἔχειν εἰς σὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὸ τὰ κατεπείγονθ' ὄρμαν αὐτάρκη παρέσχεται, ἀλλ' ἐνίων οὖδ' ἐκ τῶν πραττομένων γιγνωσκο- μένης τῆς ἄρετῆς, σοῦ διὰ τῶν τῆς ὀψεως σημείων τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἒθῶν ἐνεφάνισε, πράον μὲν καὶ φιλανθρωπὸν τοῖς ὀρῶσι, μεγαλοπρεπὴ δὲ καὶ

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the hue of your flesh, by virtue of which your limbs and your whole body are rendered resplendent. Wondering what fitting comparison for this I may offer, I find none, but it is my privilege to request those who read this essay to see you and contemplate you, so that I may be pardoned for declaring that I have no suitable simile. For to what could anyone liken something mortal which arouses immortal longing in the beholder, the sight of which does not satiate, and when removed from sight lingers in the memory, which in human form possesses a natural beauty worthy of the gods, like a flower in its comeliness, beyond suspicion of imperfections? Furthermore, it is impossible to impute to your person even those blemishes which in the past have marred many another who has shared in beauty. For either through ungainliness of mien they have ruined all their natural comeliness or through some unfortunate mannerism have involved their natural attractions in the same disfavour. By none of these could we find your person afflicted, for whichever of the gods it was that took forethought for your person has so diligently guarded you against all such mishaps as to leave nothing calling for criticism and to render your general appearance superb. Moreover, since the face is the most conspicuous of the parts that are seen, and of the face itself the eyes, even more in these did the god reveal the goodwill that he had toward you. For he not only furnished you with eyes adequate to perform the necessary functions but, although the virtue of some men is not recognized even from their actions, of your character he has placed in a clear light the fine qualities through the evidence of your glance, displaying it as gentle and kind toward those who look at
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14 "Ο καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις θαυμάσει εἰς τῶν γὰρ ἀλλων ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πραότητος ταπεινῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σεμνότητος αὐθαδῶν ὑπολαμβανομένων, καὶ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀνδρείαν θραυστέρων, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἠσυχίαν ἀβελτέρων εἰναι δοκοῦντων, τοσαύτας ὑπεναντιῶσεις πρὸς ἀλληλα λαβοῦσ' ἡ τύχη πρὸς τὸ δεόν ἀπανθ' ὀμολογούμεν' ἀπέδωκεν, ὥσπερ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελοῦσα, ἡ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδείξαι βουληθεῖσα, ἀλλ' οὐ θνητήν, ὡς εἴθιστο, φύσιν συνιστάσα.

15 Εἰ μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ἂν εὑρίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ σοῦ, ἡ τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον τῶν σῶν ἀξι- ἐπαινον, οὐδὲν ἂν παραλιπεῖν φόμεθα δεῖν ἐπαινοῦν- τες τῶν προσόντων σοι: νῦν δὲ δέδοικα μὴ πρὸς τε τὰ λοιπ' ἀπειρηκόσι χρησόμεθα τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, καὶ περὶ τούτου μάθην τερθρευώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπερβάλοι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν σὴν ὀψιν, ἢς μηδ' ἀ τέχνην πεποίηται τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ἀρίστοις δημιουργοῖς δύναται ὑπερτεῖναι; καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀκάνθητον ἔχει τὴν θεωρίαν, ὡστ' ἀδηλον εἶναι τὶ ποτ' ἂν ψυχής μετασχόντα φανεῖν, σοῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἡθος ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ποιεῖς μεγάλην εὐπρέπειαν ἐπαυξάνει τῷ σώματι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κάλλους πολλὰ παραλιπὼν, τοσαύτῃ ἐπαινέσαι ἔχω.

16 "Περὶ δὲ τῆς σωφροσύνης κάλλιστον μὲν τοῦτ' ἔχομι' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τῆς ἠλικίας τῆς τοιαύτης εὐδιαβόλως ἔχουσης, σοὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖσθαι συμ-

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you, dignified and serious toward those who converse with you, manly and proper to all men.

And here is a matter that may be particularly surprising. For while other men are assumed to be mean-spirited because they are gentle and to be arrogant because they are dignified, and are thought overbearing because they are manly, and stupid because they keep quiet, Fortune in your case has taken qualities so mutually contradictory and caused them all to be properly harmonized, as if fulfilling a prayer or wishing to set an example for others, but not framing a mere mortal nature, as was her usual way.

Now if it were possible to do justice to such beauty as yours in words, or if this were the only quality of yours worthy of praise, we should think it necessary to omit praise of none of your good points: but as things are, I am afraid that we may find our hearers refusing to hear praise of your other merits and that we may defeat ourselves by harping on this theme. For how could anyone overdo the verbal description of your appearance, since not even works of art executed by the skill of the best masters could do more than justice to it? Nor is this astonishing; for works of art have a motionless aspect, so that it is uncertain what they would look like if they possessed life, but your personality enhances in your every action the superb comeliness of your body. Only this much, therefore, I have to say in praise of your beauty, omitting a great deal.

As for discreetness of conduct, it is my privilege to pass the finest of compliments, namely, that though such youthfulness readily invites scandal, it has been your lot to be praised instead. For so far from over-
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βέβηκεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οὔδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονιμώτερον ἦ διὰ τὴν ὠραν ζῆν προήρησαι. καὶ τούτοι μέγιστον τεκμήριον ἦ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλία: πολλῶν γὰρ ἐντυγχανόντων σοι καὶ παντοδαπᾶς φύσεις ἔχοντων, ἔτι δὲ προσαγο-μένων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν συνηθείας, οὕτως καλῶς προέστησ τῶν τοιούτων ὡστε πάντας τὴν 13 πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν ἠγαπηκότας ἔχειν. ὃ σημείον τῶν ἐνδόξως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ζῆν προαιρομένων ἐστίν. καὶ τοιού τινές ἡδοκίμησαν ἥδη τῶν τε συμ-βουλευσάντων ὡς οὐ χρή τὰς τῶν τυχόντων ὁμιλίας προσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τῶν πεισθέντων τούτων. ἡ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλοῦντα τοῖς φαύλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διαβάλλεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἥ διευλαβού-μενον τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιπλήξεις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν 19 ἐντυγχανόντων δυσχεραίνεσθαι συμπίπτειν. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τούτο καὶ μάλλον οἶμαι σε δεῖν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων οἰομένων εἶναι [1407] τὸ τοῖς ἀπάντων τρόποις ἀρέσκειν, σὺ τοσοῦτο τούτων διήνεγκας ὡςτε τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ δυσκόλων ἀπάντων περιγεγενήσθαι, τοῦ μὲν συνεξαμαρτάνειν τισὶν οὐδ’ ὑποξίαν ἐνδοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις, τῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυσχερείας τῇ τῶν τρόπων εὐαρμοστίᾳ κρατήσας.

20 Πρὸς τούν τοὺς ἔραστὰς, εἰ χρῆ καὶ περὶ τού-των εἰπεῖν, οὕτως καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σωφρόνως ὀμιλεῖν, ὡστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδ’ ὃν ἄν προέλουνται μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν δυναμένων, σοὶ πάσι καθ’ ὑπερ-βολὴν ἀρέσκειν συμβέβηκεν. ὃ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς 54
stepping the mark, you have chosen to live more prudently than is expected of your years. Of this the most convincing evidence is your deportment toward others; for although many make your acquaintance, and reveal characters of every kind and sort, and all seek to entice you into intimacies, you have so managed such people that all are content to feel friendship for you. This is an index of those 18 whose choice it is to live in the esteem and affection of men. And yet some men in the past have been well thought of who have advised against welcoming the company of all comers, as is also true of some who have taken their advice. For they claim that it is necessary either to humour low-minded people and so be maligned among the multitude, or else to be constantly on guard against such reproaches and so incur the dislike of such acquaintances themselves. Personally I think you deserve to be eulogized 19 all the more for this reason, that, while the other lads think it one of the impossible things to please men of every type, you have so surpassed these as to have risen superior to all the difficult and troublesome people, allowing the others no reason even for suspecting immoral relations with any and overcoming your annoyance with them by the adaptability of your manners.

Now touching your admirers, if it is right to speak also of these, you seem to me to deport yourself so admirably and sensibly toward them, that, though most of them cannot be patient even with the object of their preference, you succeed in pleasing them all exceedingly. And this is a most unmistakable proof

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\footnote{Blass calls attention to this same thought in \textit{Epist.} iii. 27, but Theognis 23-26 shows it to be an ancient commonplace.}
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σημεῖον ἐναργεστατῶν ἐστιν. ὃν μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν, οὐδεὶς ἄμοιρος αὐτῶν παρὰ σοι καθεστηκεν· ἄ δ' εἰς αἰσχύνην ἤκει, τούτων οὖδ' εἰς ἐλπίδ' οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται· τοσαύτην τοῖς μὲν τῶν βελτίστων ὁρεγομένοις ἔξουσιαν, τοῖς δ' ἀποθρασύνεσθαι βουλομένους ἀτολμίαν ἡ σῇ σωφροσύνη
21 παρεσκεύακεν. ἔτι τοῖνυν τῶν πλείστων ἐκ τῆς σιωπῆς, ὅταν ὧσι νέοι, τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης δόξαν θηρωμένων, σὺ τοσοῦτον τῇ φύσις διενήχοχας ὡστ' ἐξ οὖν λέγεις καὶ ὁμιλεῖς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι μηδὲν ἐλάττω τὴν περὶ σεαυτὸν εὐδοξίαν ἡ διὰ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ πεποιθῆσαι· τοσαύτη πειθῶ καὶ χάρις καὶ ἐν οἷς σπουδάζεις ἐστὶ σοι καὶ ἐν οἷς παίζεις. καὶ γὰρ εὐθῆς ἀναμαρτήτως, καὶ δεινὸς οὐ κακοθῆς, καὶ φιλὰνθρωπος ἠλευθερώς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοιούτος εἰ, οἷος ἄν εἴη Ἀρετῆς νίος Ἐρωτὶ γένοιτο.

22 Τὴν τοίνυν ἀνδρείαν—οὔδε γὰρ τούτ' ἀξίον ἐστὶ παραλιπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἑξοῦσις ἔτι τῆς σῆς φύσεως, καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου πλείουσ ἀφορμὰς παραδώσωστος λόγων τοῖς ἐπαινεῖν σε

[1408] βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ὡς καλλίστων οὖν τῶν μετὰ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπαίνων, ἐν ἡ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐκτὸν ἐστὶ—σοῦ δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἄν τις καὶ ἐτέρων τὴν ἀνδρείαν διέλθου, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἢς καὶ πλεῖστοι γεγένηται

23 μάρτυρες. ἀνάγκη δ' ἵσως πρῶτον εἴπειν, ταύτην¹ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὡς καλῶς προείλου. τὸ γὰρ ὀρθῶς, ὁ τι πρακτέον ἐστὶ, νέον ὀντα δοκιμᾶσαι, καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ γνώμης φρονίμου κοινὸν ἐστι σημεῖον.

¹ αὐτῆς Blass.

This is the language of poetry as predicted in § 2.
of your goodness; for not one finds himself disappointed of favours from you which it is just and fair to ask, but no one is permitted even to hope for such liberties as lead to shame. So great is the latitude your discreetness permits to those who have the best intentions; so great is the discouragement it presents to those who would fling off restraint. Furthermore, while the majority of men, when young, seek a reputation for prudence by keeping silent, you are so superior to them in natural gifts that you gain men’s good opinion of you not less by your speech and demeanour in casual company than by all your other merits; so great is the grace and charm of your words whether in jest or in earnest. For you are ingenuous without doing wrong, clever without being malicious, kindly without sacrifice of independence, and, taking all in all, like a child of Virtue sired by Love.a

Turning now to courage—for it will not do to omit this either, not because I would intimate that your character does not still admit of great development nor that the future will fail to furnish richer material for eulogy to those who wish to praise you, but rather that words of praise mean most at your age when to do no wrong is the best hope for other lads—your courage a man might extol on many other grounds but especially because of your training for athletic sports, of which you have a multitude of witnesses. And perhaps it is in place first to say that you have done well in choosing this kind of contest. For to judge rightly when one is young what line of action one should pursueb is the token of an honest

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a Blass notes a similarity in the Funeral Speech 17: not impressive.
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δι' ὅν οὐδέτερον παραλπεῖν ἄξιον τὸν τῆς προ-
αιρέσεως ἐπαίνον.

Συνειδώς τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀθλημάτων καὶ
dούλους καὶ ξένους μετέχοντας, τοῦ δ' ἀποβαίνειν
μόνοις μὲν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξουσίαν οὕσαν, ἐφιε-
μένους δὲ τοὺς βελτίστους, οὕτως ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν
24 ἀγών' ὑμημησας. ἔτι δὲ κρίνων τοὺς μὲν τὰ δρομικὰ
gυμναξομένους οὐδὲν ἐπὶ άνδρεῖαν οὐδ' ἐνυψικίαν
ἐπιδιδόναι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν πυγμήν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἄσκη-
σαντας πρὸς τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν γνώμην
dιαφθείρεσθαι, τὸ σεμνότατον καὶ κάλλιστον τῶν
ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν
ἀρμόττοιν ἐξελέξω, τῇ μὲν συνήθεια τῶν ὀπλῶν
καὶ τῇ τῶν δρόμων φιλοπονία τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
συμβαίνουσιν ὠμοιωμένον, τῇ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπεία
καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς πρὸς τὴν τῶν
25 θεῶν δύναμιν εἰκασμένον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡδίστην
μὲν θέαν ἔχον, ἐκ πλείστων δὲ καὶ παντοδαπῶν
συγκείμενον, μεγίστων δ' ἄθλων ἡξιωμένον: πρὸς
γὰρ τοῖς τιθεμένοις τὸ γυμνασθῆναι καὶ μελετήσαι
[1409] τοιαῦτα, οὐ μικρὸν ἄθλου προφανήσεται τοῖς καὶ
μετρίως ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένοις. τεκμηρίων δὲ μέγιστον
ἀν τις ποιήσατο τὴν 'Ομήρου ποίησιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους μετὰ τοιαῦτης
παρασκευῆς πολέμησαντας πεποίηκεν ἄλληλοις: ἔτι

a The contestants were called "apobates," desultores, i.e.
dismounters." The drivers seem to have dismounted at
58
soul and of sound judgement alike, and on neither ground would it be right to omit praise of your choice. You, therefore, being well aware that slaves and aliens share in the other sports but that dismounting is open only to citizens and that the best men aspire to it, have eagerly applied yourself to this sport.\(^a\) Discerning, moreover, that those who train for the 24 foot-races add nothing to their courage nor to their morale either, and that those who practise boxing and the like ruin their minds as well as their bodies, you have singled out the noblest and grandest of competitive exercises and the one most in harmony with your natural gifts, one which approximates to the realities of warfare through the habituation to martial weapons and the laborious effort of running, in the magnificence and majesty of the equipment simulates the might of the gods,\(^b\) presents besides the 25 most delectable spectacle, embraces the largest number and the greatest variety of features and has been deemed worthy of the most valuable prizes. For, apart from those offered, getting the drill and practice in such exercises itself will possess glamour as no paltry prize in the eyes of those who are even moderately ambitious for excellence. The best evidence for this may be found in the poetry of Homer, in which he represents the Greeks and barbarians warring against one another with this equipment.\(^c\)

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\(^a\) Certain gods were represented as using chariots, particularly Ares and Poseidon.

\(^b\) Homerica warriors employed charioteers, dashed recklessly among the foe to spread dismay, and finally dismounted to engage in single combat: *Iliad* xvi., especially 712-867.
δὲ καὶ νῦν τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων οὐ ταῖς ταπεινοτάταις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μεγίσταις εν τοῖς ἀγώσι κρῆσθαι σύνηθες ἐστιν.

26 Ἡ μὲν οὖν προαιρέσεις οὗτω καλῇ καὶ παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἡγαπημένην νομίζων δ' οὐδὲν εἶναι προύργου τῶν σπουδαιοτάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐδὲ καλῶς πρὸς ἄπαντα πεφυκέναι τὸ σῶμα, μὴ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοτίμως παρεσκευασμένης, τῆν μὲν φιλοπονίαν εὐθέως εὐκλεῖς ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἐπιδειξάμενος οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐψεύσω, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς σαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀν-
27 δρείαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι μάλιστ' ἐνεδείξω. περὶ δὲ οὖν ὁκνῶ μὲν ἀρέσθαι λέγειν, μὴ λειφθῶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν τότε γεγενημένων, ὁμως δ' οὐ παραλεῖψω· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, ἃ θεωροῦντας ἡμᾶς εὐφραίνει, ταῦτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι μὴ θέλειν.

"Ἀπάντας μὲν οὖν εἰ διεξιοῦν τοὺς ἀγώνας, ἵσως ἂν ἄκαρον μήκος ἦμιν ἐπιγένειτο τῷ λόγῳ· ἐνός δ', ἐν ό πολὺ διήνεγκας, μιμηθεῖς ταύτα τε δηλῶσω καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀκούοντων δυνάμει συμμετρότερον
28 φανήσομαι χρώμενος. τῶν γὰρ ζευγὼν ἀφεθέντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προορμησάντων, τῶν δ' ύφηνιοχομένων, ἀμφοτέρων περιγενόμενοι, ως ἐκατέρων προσήκε, τὴν νίκην ἐλαβες, τοιούτου στεφάνων τυχών, ἐφ' ό, καὶ πινον καλὸ τοῦ νικήν ὄντως, κάλλιον ἐδοκεί καὶ παραλογώσετον εἶναι τὸ σωθήναι.

[1410] φερομένου γὰρ ἐναντίον μὲν σοι τοῦ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀρματος, ἀπάντων δ' ἀνυπόστατον οἰομένων εἶναι

ᵃ Athens and Thebes.
b Blass notes the expression of a similar fear in the Funeral Speech 6 and in Isocr. Panegyr. 66, but surely it is a commonplace.
I may add that even now it is customary to employ it in contests in Greek cities, and not in the meanest cities but in the greatest.\(^a\)

So admirable is your choice of sport and so approved among all men. Believing also, as you do, that it is futile to desire the things most worth while, or yet to be physically endowed for all sorts of feats, unless the soul has been prepared for an ambitious career, at the very outset you exhibited diligence in the training grounds, nor in the real tests were you disappointing, but you gave extraordinary proof of the distinction of your natural gifts and particularly of the courage of your soul in the games. I hesitate to begin treating this topic for fear words may fail me in the description of what took place on that occasion, but nevertheless I shall not pass it over; for it is a shame to refuse a report of what enthralls us as spectators.

Were I to describe all the contests an unseemly length would perhaps accrue to this essay,\(^b\) but by recalling a single example in which you especially distinguished yourself I shall demonstrate the same truth and be found to make a more reasonable use of the patience of my hearers. When the teams had been started and some had leaped to the fore and some were being reined in, you, prevailing over both, first one and then the other,\(^c\) in proper style, seized the victory, winning that envied crown in such fashion that, glorious as it was to win it, it seemed the more glorious and astounding that you came off safely. For when the chariot of your opponents was bearing down upon you head-on and all thought the

\(^a\) Blass notes the same phrase in Isoer. *Panegyr.* 72; it may have been technical in the language of ancient sport.
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τὴν τῶν ἵππων δύναμιν, ὅρων αὐτῶν ἐνίοις καὶ μηδενὸς δεινοῦ παρόντος ὑπερηγυνακότας, οὐχ ὅπως ἐξεπλάγης ἢ κατεδειλάσας, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ζεύγους ὀρμῆς κρείττων ἐγένοι, τῷ δὲ τάχει καὶ τοὺς διηνυχηκότας τῶν 29 ἀνταγωνιστῶν παρῆλθε. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ τοσοῦτον μετῆλλαξάς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς διανοίας ὡστε, πολλῶν θρυλοῦντων ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἀγώνων ἡδίστην θέαν παρέχεται τὰ ναναγοῦντα, καὶ δο-κοῦντων ἀληθῆ ταύτα λέγειν, ἐπὶ σοῦ τούναντίον τοὺς θεατὰς φοβείσθαι πάντας μή τι συμπέσῃ τοι-οῦτον περὶ σὲ· τοσαύτην εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλονικίαν
ἡ σὴ φύσις αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

30 Εἰκότως· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἐν τι περὶ-βλεπτὸν γενέσθαι, πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον τὸ πάντα περι-λαβὲῖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἄν τις νοῦν ἔχων φιλοτιμηθείη. δὴλον δ’ ἐκεῖθεν· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ Αἰακὸν μὲν καὶ 'Ραδάμανθυν διὰ σωφροσύνην, 'Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην δι’ ἀνδρείαν, Γανυμήδην δὲ καὶ Ἀδωνιν καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτους διὰ κάλλος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀγαπηθέντας. ὡστ’ ἐγὼ γού θαυμάζω τῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντων τῆς σῆς φιλίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὴ τῶν τρόπων τούτων διακειμένων· ὅπου γὰρ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν προειρήμενων μετασχόντες τινὲς τῆς· τῶν θεῶν ὀμολογεῖ ήξιώθησαν, ἢ που τοῦ γ’ ἀπάντων κυρίον καταστάντος εὐκτὸν θητῷ φύντι φίλον

31 γενέσθαι. δίκαιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἴκειοι τοὺς σοὺς ξηλοῦσθαι, τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχοντος σοῦ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἀρετῆς,

[1411]

1 αὐτῶν Post.
2 φιλονικίαν Post; φιλονικίαν codd. opt.; φιλοτιμίαν vulg., Rennie.

62
momentum of your horses beyond checking, you, aware that some drivers, though no danger should threaten, become overanxious for their own safety, not only did not lose your head or your nerve, but by your courage got control of the impetus of your team and by your speed passed even those contenders whose luck had suffered no setback. What is more, you caused such a revolution in men's minds that, though many keep insisting that nothing in equestrian contests affords such delight as a crash, and seem to speak the truth, in your case all the spectators, on the contrary, were afraid that some such accident might befall you. Such goodwill and eagerness for your success did your personality awaken in them.

They had good reason to feel so, for while it is a splendid thing to become distinguished for some one excellence, it is still more splendid to combine all the qualities of which a man of sense might justly feel proud. From the following examples this will be clear: we shall find that Aeacus and Rhadamanthys were beloved by the gods for their discretion, Heracles, Castor and Pollux for their courage, and Ganymedes, Adonis, and others like them for their beauty, so that I at any rate am not astonished at those who covet your friendship but at those who are not so disposed. For when some, through sharing in one or another of the qualities I have mentioned, have been deemed worthy of the company of the gods, surely to a mere mortal it is the height of desire to become the friend of one who has become the proud possessor of all good qualities. Certainly your father and mother and the rest of your kinsmen are rightly envied because you so far surpass those of
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πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οὐς σὺ ὁ τῶν τηλικοῦτων ἀγαθῶν ἡξιωμένοις σαυτοῦ προκρίνας ἄξιος εἶναι φίλους ἐξ ἀπάντων αἴρῃ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τύχη σοι μετόχους κατέστησε, τοὺς δὲ ἡ σφετέρα καλοκἀγαθία προσ-
32 συνέστησεν· οὐς οὐκ οἶδα πότερον ἑραστᾶς ἢ μόνους ὀρθῶς γυγνώσκοντας προσαγορεύσαι χρῆ. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἡ τύχη, τῶν μὲν φαύλων καταφρονοῦσα, τάς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων ἄνδρῶν διανοίας ἐρεθίσαι βουλήθεισα, τήν σὴν φύσιν οὐ πρὸς ἥδονην ἑξαπατηθῆναι καλὴν ποιήσαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς άρετῆν εὐδαίμονῆσαι χρῆσιμον.

33 Πολλὰ δ’ ἔχων ἐτί περὶ σού διελθεῖν, αὐτοῦ καταλύσειν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἐπαινοῦν, δεδιώς μὴ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὑπὲρ σοῦ δια-
λέγεσθαι δόξω· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὡς ἐοικεν ἡ τῶν λόγων δύναμις ἔλαττον ἔχει τῆς ὁμεως ὠςτε, τοῖς μὲν ὀρατοῖς οὐδεὶς ἀπιστεῖν ἄξιοὶ, τοὺς δὲ τούτων ἐπαίνους οὐδ’ ἂν ἐλλείπωσιν ἄληθεῖς εἰναι νομί-
34 ζουσι. παυσάμενος οὖν περὶ τούτων, ἥδη πειρά-
σομαι σοι συμβουλεῦειν ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐντυμότερον ἔτι τὸν σαυτοῦ βίον καταστήσεις. βουλοίμην δ’ ἂν σε μὴ πάρεργον ποιήσασθαι τὸ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς μέλλουσι δηθήσεσθαι, μηδ’ ὑπολαμβάνειν τοῦθ’, ὥς ἄρ’ ἐγὼ τούτως κέχρημαι τοῖς λόγοις οὐ τῆς σῆς ὑφελίας ἐνεκα, ἀλλ’ ἐπίδειξες ἐπιθυμῶν, ἵνα μὴ τε διαμάρτης τῆς ἀληθείας, μὴ γὰρ τῶν βελ-
τίστων τὰ τυχόνθ’ ἐλόμενος χεῖρον περὶ σαυτοῦ

*This sentence exhibits rhythmical clausulae and Gorgianic parallelism of structure along with assonance of the 64*
your own age in excellence, but still more enviable are those whom you, who have been deemed worthy of such blessings, select from the whole number to be your friends, judging them worthy of your companionship. And since Fortune has appointed the former to share your affection, but the latter their own fine qualities have recommended in addition, I do not know whether to call these young men admirers or unique for their sound judgement. For, as I think, Fortune, scorning base men and wishing to arouse the minds of the good, at the very outset made your nature beautiful, not for a life of pleasure, to be beguiled thereto, but serviceable for a virtuous life, to have happiness therein.  

Although I have still much to say in praise of you, I think I shall cease my eulogy at this point, fearing that I may seem to plead your cause in terms exceeding human limitations. For so far, as it seems, does the power of words fall short of that of vision that, while none would think of mistrusting the evidence of his eyes, people think the praise of things men say they have seen, even if it falls short of the truth, to be incredible. Accordingly, I shall leave this topic and now endeavour to counsel you on the means of rendering your life still more worthy of esteem. To the words I am about to utter I would not have you give heed as to a matter of trivial importance, nor to leap to the conclusion that I have, after all, addressed you thus, not for your good, but from a desire to display my skill; otherwise you may miss the truth and, by choosing hapazard counsel in place of the best, fall short of the best in judging your own vowel e. It is suggested that the Greek version be read aloud.
35 ἑλεύσθη, καὶ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἁφανῇ καὶ ταπεινῇ
τῆς φύσιν ἔχουσιν, οὐδ’ ὅταν μὴ καλῶς τι πράξωσιν ἐπιπλήττομεν, τοῖς δ’ ὀσπερ σὺ περιβλέπτοις γεγενημένοις, καὶ τὸ παραμελῆσαι τινὸς τῶν καλλίστων αἰσχύνῃ φέρει. ἔτι δ’ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ψευσθέντες, καθ’ ἐνὸς μονον πράγματος οὐ τὰ κράτιστ’ ἐγνωσαν: οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων συμβουλίας διαμαρτόντες ἢ καταφρονήσαντες, παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀγνωσίας ὑπομνήματ’ ἔχουσιν.

36 Τούτων μὲν οὐν οὐδεν δεῖ σε παθεῖν, σκοπεῖσθαι δὲ τὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχει, καὶ τίνος καλῶς μὲν ἀποβάντος πλεῖστ’ ἂν κατορθοίμεν, διαφθαρέντος δὲ μέγιστ’ ἂν βλαπτοίμεθα παρὰ τὸν βίον; οὐ γὰρ ἀδήλον ὅτι τούτων καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιητέον, το μεγίστην ῥοπῆν ἔφ’ ἐκάτερον ἐργαζέσθαι πέφυκεν. τῶν μὲν τοῖν πνῶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις διάνοιαν ἀπάντων εὐρήσομεν ἡγεμονεύουσαν, ταὐτήν δὲ πολισσούς μόνην παϊδεύσας τ’ ὀρθῶς καὶ γυμνάσας δυναμένην. ἦς οἱμαί σε δείν μετασχεῖν, καὶ μὴ κατοκνήσας μηδὲ φυγεῖν τὰς ένούσας ἐν αὐτή πραγματείας, ἐνθυμούμενον ὅτι διὰ μὲν ἀργίας καὶ ράθυμίας καὶ τὰ παντελῶς ἐπιπολῆς δυσχείρωτ’ ἐστί, διὰ δὲ καρτερίας καὶ φιλοπονίας οὐδὲν τῶν ὕποτων ἀγαθῶν ἀνάλοιπον πέφυκε, καὶ διότι πάντων ἀλογώτατον ἐστί, πρὸς μὲν χρηματισμὸν καὶ ρώμην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φιλοτήμως ἔχειν καὶ πολλὰς ὕπομένειν κακοπαθείας, ἀ πάντα θνητ’ ἐστί καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ δουλεύειν εἰώθε, τῆν δ’ ἐπιστατούσαν μὲν
interests. For we do not reproach men of humble and insignificant natural gifts even when they commit a dishonourable act, but to those who, like yourself, have attained distinction, even a bit of negligence in some matter of high honour brings disgrace. Again, those who go astray in other domains fail merely to make the best decision in some single, isolated matter, but those who miss the right advice on the conduct of life, or scorn it, have reminders of their own folly to live with their whole life long.

Now you must not fall into any of these errors but rather seek to discover what is of supreme consequence in human affairs, and what it is that turning out well would do us the most good, but turning out badly would hurt us most along life's pathway. For it requires no proof that upon this factor we must expend the greatest care, which more than anything else possesses the power to tip the scale to one side or the other. Now of the powers residing in human beings we shall find that intelligence leads all the rest and that philosophy alone is capable of educating this rightly and training it. In this study I think you ought to participate, and not balk at or flee from the labours involved in it, reflecting that through idleness and indolence even quite superficial things become difficult, while through persistence and diligence none of the worth-while things is unattainable, and that of all things the most irrational is to be ambitious for wealth, bodily strength, and such things, and for their sakes to submit to many hardships, all of which prizes are perishable and usually slaves to intelligence, but not to aim at the improvement of the mind, which has supervision over all other

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a See p. 64, note a.
τῶν ἄλλων, συνδιατελοῦσαν δὲ τοὺς ἔχουσιν, ὅλου

[1413] δ’ ἠγεμονεύουσαν τοῦ βίου μὴ ξητείν ὀπως διακεί-39 σεται βέλτιον. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν καὶ παρὰ τύχην
ἐν τοῖς σπουδαιότατοις θαυμάζεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ καλ-
λοιν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς τῶν
ἐνδόξων ἁμοιρὸν γενέσθαι· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἐνίοτε καὶ
tοῖς φαύλους μετασχεῖν συνέβη, τῆς δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν
ἄλλοις μετουσία πλὴν τοῖς ἐν ἀνδραγαθία δια-
φέρονσιν.

40 Ἀλλὰ μὴν περί γε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀκριβῶς μὲν
ἐκαστὰ διελθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἡμῶν
ἐπιτηδειοτέρους καιροὺς παραδώσειν· συντόμως δ’
eἰπεῖν οὐδὲ νῦν οὐδὲν κωλύσει περὶ αὐτῆς. ἐν οὖν
πρῶτον ἐκείνοι σε δεὶ καταμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι πᾶσα
μὲν παιδεία δι’ ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης τινὸς συν-
έστηκεν, ἡ δὲ φιλοσοφία καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων·
ὀσοῦ γὰρ ἀκριβεστέρους1 ἔχει τοὺς ἐφεστώτας, τοσ-

41 οὕτω κάλλιον αὐτὴν συγκείσθαί προσήκει. καῖτοι
τὸ ποτ’ ἂν βουλθεῖμεν, τῆς μὲν διανοίας ἐπὶ τοῦ
λέγειν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι τεταγμενής, τῆς δὲ φιλοσο-
φίας ἐκατέρου τούτων ἐμπειρίαν παραδιδοῦσθαι, μὴ
tαύτην κατασχεῖν τὴν πραγματείαν, δι’ ἣς ἀμφο-
tέρων τούτων ἐγκρατῶς ἐξομεν; τότε γὰρ εἰκὸς
καὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν μεγίστην ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν ὅταν,
tῶν κρατίστων ὀρέγομενοι, τὰ μὲν διδακτὰ τέχνη,
tὰ δὲ λοιπὰ γυμνασία καὶ συνήθεια κατασχέιν δυ-

42 νηθῶμεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴπο τοῦτο γ’ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὡς

1 φρονηματέρους Blass, Rennie.

The oldest of the Greek-letter fraternities in the univer-

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powers, abides continually with those who possess it, and guides the whole life.\(^a\) And yet, although it is a fine thing to be admired among high-minded people even on account of fortuitous success, it is much finer through care bestowed upon one’s self to gain a share in all the accomplishments that are esteemed: for often it has fallen to the lot of vulgar men to share in the former but none have a part in the latter except those who excel in real manliness.

However, touching the subject of philosophy, some future occasion will afford me more suitable opportunities to review carefully the particulars, but the outlines of it nothing will prevent me from running over at once. This one point, therefore, you must grasp clearly at the outset, that all education consists in understanding something and then putting it into practice,\(^b\) and this is even more true of philosophy than of any other studies, for the synthesis of learning and practice is likely to be more perfect in proportion as the instructors are more clear on this point. And yet, since intelligence commands the province of speaking and deliberating, and philosophy confers facility in each of these, what reason can there be why we should refuse to get a firm grasp of this study, through which we shall become masters of both alike? Because life may then too be expected to make a great advance for us when we reach out for the things of supreme importance and find ourselves able to secure by rule and precept such as can be taught and the rest by practice and habituation. It certainly is not permissible to make the assertion that it is not through

\(^a\) This idea recurs in \S\S 41 and 47.

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οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν εὐ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην δια-
φέρομεν ἀλλήλων· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἀπασά φύσις
βελτίων γίγνεται παιδείαν προσλαβόοσα τὴν προσ-
ήκουσαν, πολὺ δὲ μάλισθ' ὁσαι ἐξ ἄρχης εὐφυέστε-
[1414] ρον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειν ὑπήρξε· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν
μόνον βελτίσσι γίγνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
συμβαίνει διενεγκεῖν.
43 Ἐν δ' ἵσθι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἐμπειρίαν
γυγνομένην σφαλερὰν οὐσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν
βίον ἀχρῆστως ἔχουσαν, τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν
παιδείαν πρὸς ἁπαντα ταύτ' εὐκαίρως συγκεκρα-
μένην. καὶ τοῖς τινές ἢδη καὶ δ' ἐυτυχίαν πραγμά-
των γυμνασθέντες ἑθαυμάσθησαν· σοι δὲ προσήκει
τοῦτων μὲν καταφρονεῖν σαντοῦ δ' ἐπιμέλειαν
ἔχειν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοσχεδίαζειν ἄλλ' ἐπιστασθαι σε
δεὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν μελε-
τάν ἄλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι καλῶς ἐπιστασθαι.
44 Νόμιζε δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεγάλα
τοὺς χρωμένους ὠφελεῖν, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα τὴν περὶ
tὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἐπιστήμην.
τῆς γὰρ γεωμετρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς θουαῦτης
παιδείας ἀπείρως μὲν ἔχειν αὐσχρόν, ἀκρον· δ' ἀγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι ταπεινότερον τῆς σῆς ἀξίας·
ἐν ἑκείνη δὲ τὸ μὲν διενεγκεῖν ξηλωτὸν, τὸ δ' ἀμοιρον
gενέσθαι παντελῶς καταγέλαστον. γνοίης
δ' ὅν ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν, καὶ παραθεωρήσας τοὺς

a Blass compares Isoc. Antid. 189-192, with which may
be compared in turn Cicero, Pro Archia vii. 15.

b Blass cites Isoc. Antid. 267, where the statement is
acquired knowledge that we surpass one another in sound judgement; for, speaking generally, all natural ability is improved by the addition of the appropriate education, and this is especially true of talents which at the outset are inherently superior to the rest, because the one kind is capable only of improving upon itself while the other may also surpass the rest.

Be well assured also that the facility acquired solely from practical experience is treacherous and useless for subsequent needs of life, but the education secured through the pursuit of philosophy is happily blended for all these needs. There is no denying, of course, that in the past some men who got practical training just by good luck in action have won admiration, but for you the proper thing is to disregard these men and to take yourself seriously in hand. For in matters of the utmost importance you should not be extemporizing instead of really knowing what to do or in emergencies be studying your arguments instead of really knowing how to debate an issue on its merits.

Be convinced too that all philosophical learning confers precious benefits upon those who take advantage of it, but especially is this true of the knowledge that deals with practical affairs and political discussions. No doubt it is disgraceful to be quite ignorant of geometry and other such subjects of study, but to become a topmost contender in this field is too low an ambition for merit like yours. In that kind of philosophy, however, not only is it a worthy ambition to excel, but to remain ignorant is altogether ridiculous. You may infer this to be true on many other grounds and especially by scanning the careers of those who made that cultural studies do not directly prepare the candidate for public life but do increase his power to learn.
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πρὸ σαυτοῦ γεγενημένους ἐνδόξους ἀνδρὰς. τούτῳ μὲν Περικλέα τὸν συνέσει πλεῖστον τῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν διενεγκεῖν δόξαντα πάντων, ἀκούσει πλησιάσαντ’ Ἀναξαγόρα τῷ Κλαξομενίῳ καὶ μαθητὴν ἐκείνου γενόμενον ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως μετασχόντα. τούτῳ δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδην εὑρήσεις φύσει μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν πολλῷ χεῖρον διακειμένον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπερηφάνως,

[1113] τὰ δὲ ταπεινῶς, τὰ δ’ ὑπερακράτως ζῆν προηρμένου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σωκράτους ὀμιλίας πολλὰ μὲν ἑπανορθώθηντα τοῦ βίου, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῷ μεγέθει 46 τῶν ἀλλών ἐργῶν ἐπικρυφάμενον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ παλαιὰ λέγοντας διατρίβειν, ἔχοντας ὑπογυνοτέροις παραδείγμασι χρήσθαι, τούτῳ μὲν Τιμόθεου οὐκ ἐξ ὧν νεώτερος ὧν ἐπετήδευσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν Ἰσοκράτεις συνδιατρίβας ἐπραξῆ, μεγίστης δόξης καὶ πλείστων τιμῶν εὑρήσεις ἀξιωθέντα. τούτῳ δ’ Ἀρχύταν τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν οὕτω καλῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διουκήσαντα κύριον αὐτῆς καταστάντα ὡς’ εἰς ἀπαντας τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην διενεγκείν: ὃς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταφρονούμενος ἐκ τοῦ Πλάτωνι πλησίάσαι τοσ-47 αὕτην ἔλαβεν ἐπίδοσιν. καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως ἀποβέβηκεν: πολὺ γὰρ ἄν ἦν ἀτοπώτερον εἰ τὰ μὲν μικρά δὲ ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης ἣναγκαζόμεθ’

a Blass notes the same information in Isocr. Antid. 235.

b Isocrates employs the same words of Persian satraps, Panegyr. 152, as Blass notes.

c The phrase “closer to our own times” is defined by the mention of Timotheiês, who died in 355 b.c., just after Demosthenes entered public life. The author, whether the orator or a forger, belongs to the second half of the fourth century.

d Timotheiês, son of Conon, was called by Cornelius Népos the last Athenian general worthy of mention. Demosthenes regularly spoke of him with admiration.

e There is a brief life of Archytas by Diogenes Laertius,
have become eminent before your time. You will hear first that Pericles, who is thought to have far surpassed all men of his age in intellectual grasp, addressed himself to Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and only after being his pupil \(^6\) acquired this power of judgement. You will next discover that Alcibiades, though his natural disposition was far inferior in respect to virtue and it was his pleasure to behave himself now arrogantly, now obsequiously, \(^b\) now licentiously, yet, as a fruit of his association with Socrates, he made correction of many errors of his life and over the rest drew a veil of oblivion by the greatness of his later achievements. But not to 46 spend our time rehearsing ancient examples while others are available closer to our own times, \(^c\) you will discover that Timotheüs was deemed worthy of the highest repute and numerous honours, not because of his activities as a younger man, but because of his performances after he had studied with Isocrates. \(^d\) You will discover also that Archytas of Tarentum became ruler of his city and managed its affairs so admirably and so considerately as to spread the record of that achievement to all mankind; yet at first he was despised and he owed his remarkable progress to studying with Plato. \(^e\) Of these examples 47 not one worked out contrary to reason \(^f\); for it would be much stranger if we were obliged to achieve paltry ends through acquiring knowledge and putting it into

which may be consulted in the Loeb translation. It is not known positively that he was a pupil of Plato, but he was his friend: Plato, *Epist.* vii. 338 c, 350 \(\alpha\); xiii. 360 c. His adherence was to the school of Pythagoras.

\(^f\) With a difference of one word this sentence is found in Isocr. *Panegyr.* 150, as Blass notes. It looks, however, like a commonplace.
ἐπιτελεῖν, τὰ δὲ μέγιστ' ἀνευ ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας ἐδυνάμεθα πράττειν.
Перὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὦ τι δεῖ πλεῖω λέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὡς παντελῶς ἀπείρως ἔχοντός σου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐμνήσθην, ἀλλ' ἡγούμενος τὰς τοιαύτας παρακλήσεις τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας
48 προτρέπειν τοὺς δ' εἰδότας παροξύνειν. μηδὲν δ' ὑπολάβης τοιούτων, ὡς ἀρ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ' εἰρήκα διδάξειν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγελλόμενος σὲ τι τούτων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθεῖν εἰπών, ὅτι πολλὰ μαθεῖν αὐτὸς ἔτι δέομαι, καὶ μάλλον ἀγωνιστὴς προήρημαι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡ διδάσκαλος εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων. οὐχ ὡς ἀνανόμονος δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦμαι τὴν τῶν σοφιστεύειν ἐλομένων δόξαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τάληθες τούτον ἔχον τυγχάνει τὸν τρόπον· ἐπεὶ σύνοιδα γε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀδόξων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐπιφανεῖς διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης γεγενημένους, Σόλωνα δὲ καὶ ξώντα καὶ τελευτήσαντα μεγίστης δόξης ἡξιωμένον· ὅσ οὐκ ἀπεληλαμένος τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας τρόπαιον ὑπόμνημα
49 καταλιπὼν, τῆς δ' εύβουλλας τὴν Σαλαμίνος κομμῆν, τῆς δ' ἄλλης συνεσέως τοὺς νόμους οἷς ἐτί καὶ νῦν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. ὦμως τοσοῦτοι αὐτῶ καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων,

[1416]

50 καταλιπών, τῆς δ' εὐβουλίας τὴν Σαλαμίνος κομμῆν, τῆς δ' ἄλλης συνεσέως τοὺς νόμους οἷς ἐτί καὶ νῦν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. ὦμως τοσοῦτοι αὐτῶ καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων,

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a Writings that urged young men to study philosophy formed a distinct literary genre among the ancients under the name "protreptics." The Epistle to Menoeceus of Epicurus is an extant example.

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practice, but were capable of accomplishing the big things without this effort.

Now I do not know what call there is to say more on these topics, for not even at the outset did I introduce them because I assumed you were absolutely ignorant, but because I thought that such exhortations both arouse those who lack knowledge and spur on those who possess it. And do not make any such assumption as this, that in speaking these words I am presumably offering to teach you any of these branches myself, for I should feel no shame in saying that there is still much I need myself to learn, and that I have chosen rather to be a contender in political life than a teacher of the other arts. Not that in disavowing these subjects of instruction I am impugning the reputation of those who have chosen the profession of sophist, but my reason is that the truth of the matter happens to be as follows: for I am aware, of course, that many men have risen to eminence from humble and obscure estate through the practice of this art, and that Solon, both living and dead, was deemed worthy of the highest renown. He was not disqualified for the other honours but left behind him a memorial of his courage in the trophy of victory over the Megarians, of his astuteness in the recovery of Salamis, and of general sagacity in the laws which the majority of the Greeks continue using to this day. Yet in spite of these great claims to distinction he set his heart upon

b This self-characterization has been thought by some to point to Androtion as the author, but the grounds seem slight to Blass, p. 407 and note 2.

c This statement hints at the long contested question, whether practical statesmanship could be combined with philosophical insight.
This statement is absurd. The legend of the Seven Sages became current only in the fourth century: Plato, Protagoras 343 a. In Isocr. Antid. 235 also Solon is called “one of the seven sophists.” Originally this term suggested no disrespect.
nothing so much as becoming one of the Seven Sages,\(^a\) believing that philosophy was no reproach but that it brought honour to those who pursued it, having been no less wise in this very judgement than in the others in which he showed himself superior.

My own judgement is not different from Solon’s \(^51\) and I recommend to you to study philosophy, bearing in mind the advantages you have possessed from the beginning. Indeed it was with this purpose in view I ran through the list of them myself in the first part of my essay,\(^b\) not expecting to make a conquest of you by praising your natural gifts, but that I may the better urge you to take up philosophy if you shall escape the error of putting a low value on it, or, through pride in your present advantages, of under-valuing the advantages yet to be gained. Again, even \(^52\) if you are better than the common run of men,\(^c\) do not seek to be superior in no respect to the talented remainder, but deem it the highest purpose to be first among all, and that it is more to your advantage to be seen striving for this than merely being foremost among the rank and file. And do not bring shame upon your natural gifts or cause to be cheated of their hopes those who are proud of you, but endeavour by your own ability to surpass the desires of those who have your interests most at heart. And bear in mind that speeches of the other \(^53\) kinds, when they fulfil their purpose, only crown their authors with glory, but that good counsels attach benefit and honour to those who hearken to them; and that the decisions we make about all other

\(^a\) \(\text{Erotic Essay}, 50-53\)

\(^b\) §§ 10-32.

\(^c\) \(\text{Isocr.}, \text{Euripus} 81\) begins with similar words, as Blass notes: “nor must you be content if you are already superior to those who are here present . . .”
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άσθησιν ἂν ἐχομεν δηλοῦν, τάς δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευ-μάτων αἱρέσεις τῇν ὅλην φύσιν ἡμῶν δοκιμάζειν. ἐν οἷς ἁμα κρίνων αὐτὸς κριθήσεθαι προσόκα παρὰ πάσι, κἀμὲ τὸν οὐτως ἐγκωμιάσαντα σ’ ἐτοί-54 μως ἐν ἁγώνι γενήσεσθαι τῆς δοκιμασίας. δι’ ἃ δεῖ σε τῶν ἐπαινῶν ἄξιον εἶναι δόξαντα κἀμὲ τῆς σῆς φιλίας ἀνεπιτίμητον εἶναι.1

Οὐχ οὖτω δ’ ἂν σε προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παρεκάλουν, εἰ μή τῆς μὲν εὐνοίας τῆς ἐμῆς τούτων ἀν σοὶ κάλλιστον ἔρανοι εἰσενεγκεῖν ὧμην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑώρων διὰ μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς τυχοῦσι πολλάκις χρωμενήν, διὰ δὲ τὰς τούτων ἀμαρτίας αὐτῆς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀτυ-55 χίαις περιπέπτουσαν. ἦν οὖν ἡ μὲν τῆς σῆς ἁρετῆς, σοὶ δὲ τῶν παρὰ ταύτης τιμῶν ἀπολαύσης, προθυ-μότερον σοι παρεκελευσάμην. καὶ γὰρ οὖδ’ ἐπὶ σοι νομίζω γενήσεσθαι ζῆν ὡς ἐτυχέν, ἄλλα προσ-τάξειν σοι τὴν πόλιν τῶν αὕτης τι διοικεῖν, καὶ ὅσον τὴν φύσιν ἐπιφανεστέραν ἔχεις, τοσούτῳ μει-ζόνων ἄξιόωσει καὶ θάττον βουλήσεσθαι πειράν σου λαμβάνειν. καλὸν οὖν παρεσκευάσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἵνα μὴ τότε πλημμελῆς.

56 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν τὴν ἑργὸν εἰπεῖν ἂ σοι συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι πεπράχθαι, σοὶ δὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐ-τῶν. προσήκει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ζητοῦντας

1 poiein Blass; ἄφειναι Rennie. Post suggests διὰ σὲ γὰρ δεῖ τῶν κ.τ.λ.

a Blass notes the occurrence of this sentence in Isoer. Archid. 87, with ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον instead of ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν.

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matters make plain the power of perception we possess, but that the choices we make of careers put our whole character to the test. And as you pass judgement in these matters, count upon being judged at the same time yourself by all men, and do not forget that I, who have been so ready to praise you, will also be involved in the hazard of the test. The proofs by which you must be judged worthy of my praises must also acquit me of all censure for the friendship I bear you.

I would not be pressing you so urgently to study philosophy a unless I thought that in this I was making you a most precious contribution as evidence of my goodwill, and unless I observed that our city often makes use of ordinary men for lack of men of the best type, and through their bungling incurs the gravest misfortunes. So, then, in order that our city may enjoy abilities such as yours and you the honours which these abilities deserve, I have urged you with some vehemence. Neither do I think that it will be in your power to live as chance decrees, but that the city will appoint you to be in charge of some department of her business, and in proportion as your natural gifts are the more conspicuous it will judge you worthy of greater responsibilities and will the sooner desire to make trial of you. The wise plan, therefore is to train your mind that you may not fail when that day comes.

Now it has been my part to tell you b what studies I think it is to your advantage to have pursued, but it is yours to decide concerning them. There is an obligation also on the rest, those who seek to be on

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b Blass notes a similarity in Isoc. Ecagoras 80: seemingly a commonplace of the protreptic genre.
[1418] οίκείως πρὸς σὲ διακείσθαι, μὴ τὰς ἐπιπολαίους ἡδονὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἀγαπᾶν, μηδ’ ἐπὶ ταύτας προκαλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ φιλοπονεῖν καὶ σκοπεῖν ὡς τὸν σὸν βίον ὅσ τοις λαμπρότατον καταστήσωσιν· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ οὕτως ἄν μάλιστ’ ἐπαινοῦντο καὶ σοὶ πλεί-57 στων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοὶ γένοιτο. μέμφομαι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ νῦν οὐδένα τῶν σοὶ πλησιαζόντων· καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ἀλλης εὔτυχίας τῆς σῆς καὶ τοῦθ’ ἐν εἶναι, τὸ μηδενὸς φαύλου τυχεῖν ἐραστοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὐς ἃν τις ἔλοιπον βουλόμενος φίλους ἐκ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐκλέγεσθαι· παρανώ μέντοι σοὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι μὲν πρὸς ἀπαντὰς τούτους καὶ ἔχειν ἡδέως, πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις νοῦν ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν, ἢν καὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἔτι σπουδαίοτέρος δοκήσει εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις. εὔτυχε.
intimate terms with you, not to be content with superficial pleasures and pastimes, nor to summon you to these, but to consider diligently how they may render your career most brilliant. By so doing they would bring most credit to themselves and become instruments of the greatest service to you. Neither am I now finding fault with any one of those who keep company with you. For this also seems to me one element of your general good fortune, that you have found no base admirer, but select as friends from the young men of your own age such only as any man would gladly choose. I urge you, however, while being friendly and agreeable to all of these, to heed those of them who have the most sense, so that you may seem even more worthy of respect to this particular group and to the rest of the citizens. Farewell.
INTRODUCTION

The following fifty-six selections, as their collective title, Prooemia or Exordia, indicates, are the opening paragraphs of speeches. Some of them appear elsewhere as the beginnings of extant orations of Demosthenes. These will be noted as they occur in the translation.

Many are so general in character that they might have been used on any occasion to introduce any subject. In this there is nothing surprising. On one occasion Cicero embarrassed himself by attaching the same introduction to two different essays; this happened because he kept a volume of them at hand (Ad Att. xvi. 6. 4). Suidas informs us that the orators Antiphon, Thrasy machus and Cephalus also possessed such collections. The same is related of Critias.

Cicero (De Oratore ii. 80) assigns a threefold function to the exordium: to gain the goodwill of the audience and to render it open-minded and attentive. This description hardly squares with the practice exemplified in this collection. Athenian democracy is sharply criticized: members of the Assembly are unwilling to face the facts; they favour speakers who tell them what they like to hear; they shout down unpopular speakers who might have something worth-while to say; they act impulsively on bad advice and then punish the advisers; they listen to
speakers who advocate oligarchy; they submit to being abused from the bema. The speakers, in turn, are inclined to say what is pleasant rather than what is true, to be actuated by partisan motives, and to seek to add to their own reputations at the expense of the common good.

The general tone, however, reveals a stubborn faith in democratic government. The faults of citizens and legislators are stressed for the sake of emphasizing their responsibilities. No sympathy is revealed with oligarchic sentiments such as are found in the Athenian Constitution of the Pseudo-Xenophon.

The Greek term *prooemium* is associated also with poetry and music; it means "prelude," thus suggesting the key-note of the performance that follows. For this reason Quintilian preferred it to the Latin *exordium*, which signifies merely "beginning." His theory is set forth in his *Institutes* iv. 1. Brief mention is found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* iii. 14. 7-8.

The subject has not interested English-speaking scholars. Brief notes may be found in Dindorf's *Demosthenes* vii. 1426-1442. There is a dissertation by R. Swoboda, *De Demosthenis quae jenuntur proemiius*, Vienna, 1887; the author rejects them. Blass (iii. 322-328) is inclined to accept them; he calls attention to the close relationship of the subject matter to that of the Public Orations preceding 349 B.C. It may be added that Nos. 26-29 are found in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus i. 53 of the first or second century A.D.

Arabic numerals have been used for references to the Exordia, Roman numerals for the Orations.
ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΑ ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΚΑ ¹

Α

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καίνοι τινὸς πράγματος προύτίθετ', ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἔως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰσθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἴ μὲν ἔρεσκέν τί μοι τῶν ῥηθέντων, ἰσχὺαν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότ' ἂν καύτος ἐπειρόμην ἐγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασαν οὔτοι πρότερον, περὶ τούτων νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε, ἠγούμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν μετὰ τούτους δοκεῖν λέγειν.

2 εἰ μὲν οὖν εἴχε καλῶς τὰ πράγματα οὖδ' ἂν ἐδει βουλεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὡς ἅπαντες ὅρατ' ἔχει δυσκολίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοιούτων πειράσσομαι συμβουλεύειν ἀ κράτιστ' εἶναι νομίζω. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὡμᾶς ἐκείνο εἰγνωκέναι δεῖ ὡς οὐδὲν ὡς ἄνοιξαν ἂν ἔποιεῖ. ἐπὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λοιποῦ πρακτέων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τάνατία· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα φαύλα πεποίηκε τὰ πράγματα, τάνατι εἰκὸς βελτίων ποιησάται. ἔπειτα νομιστέοι οὐχ ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν ἢ μηδὲν ἢ μικρὰ προστάτη, τούτον ὅρθως λέγειν· ὅρατε γὰρ ὡς ἂν τῶν τοιούτων ἐλπίδων καὶ λόγων εἰς πᾶν

¹ Title lacking in best ms.: “Oratorical Preludes.”

α The beginning of Phil. i. differs but slightly from this.
EXORDIA

If it had been proposed to discuss some new measure, men of Athens, I should have waited until most of the regular speakers had declared their opinions, and if any of their views had pleased me, I should have held my peace; otherwise, I should then have attempted to say what I myself think. But since you are now considering matters on which these speakers have often spoken before, I feel that, even if the first to rise, I may reasonably appear to be speaking after them. Now, if our interests were prospering, there would be no need to deliberate; but since, as you all observe, they are in straits, I shall try, on that assumption, to advise what I consider best. In the first place, you ought to recognize that none of the policies you pursued while engaged in the war are to be used henceforth, but quite their opposites. For if those policies have brought your fortunes low, it is very likely that their opposites will improve them. Next, you must consider that it is not the speaker who places upon you little or no burden who is in the right, for you see that, as a consequence of such optimistic speeches, our present condition has reached the

b Similar advice is given in VIII. 38. Cf. Olynth. ii. 23.

c This advice is satirically tendered to Dionysus by Eupides in Aristoph. Frogs 1446-1450.
DEMOSTHENES

προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα· ἀλλ᾽ ὅσ ἂν τὸ χαρίζεσθαι παρεῖς, ἃ δεῖ καὶ δι᾽ ὅν παυσαίμεθ᾽ ἂν αἰσχύνῃν ὁφλισκάνοντες καὶ ξημιούμενοι, ταῦτα λέγη. καὶ γὰρ ὤς ἀλήθως, εἰ μὲν ὅσ ἂν τῶν λόγων τις ὑπερβην λυπῆσαι μὴ βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ πράγματ᾽ ὑπερβῆσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ᾽ ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἀν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργον ξημία γίγνεται, αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ φενακίζειν ἐαυτούς, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης πράξαι ταῦθ᾽ ἂν πάλαι θέλοντας προσήκεν ποιεῖν.

B

Οὐχὶ ταῦτά γυγνώσκειν, οὐδὲν τὰ 'Ἀθηναῖοι, παριστάται μοι, ὅταν τε τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ὅνομί ὑμῶν ἀκούσω, καὶ ὅταν τὸν τρόπον ὃν προσφέρονται τινες ὑμῶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ταύτης λέγουσιν ἵδω. τὴν μὲν γὰρ πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν, ὡσπερ ἀπαντεῖς ἵστ᾽, ὄνομάζετε· τῶν δὲ τὰναντία ταύτης λεγόντων ἐνίος ἡ ἡδονὰν ἀκούοντας ὅρω. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω τίς ποθ᾽ ἡ πρόφασις. πότερον προῖκα λέγειν ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἴεσθε; ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τῶν ὀλυγαρχῶν, ὑπὲρ ὃν οὕτω λέγουσι, κύριοι καὶ πλεῖοι σιωπῆν 1 μᾶλλον ἂν δοιεν. ἀλλὰ βελτίων ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι τῶν ἐτέρων ὑπειλήφατε· βελτίων ἂρ᾽ ὑμῖν ὀλυγαρχία δημοκρατίας φαίνεται. ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἶναι βελτίους ἡγεῖσθε; καὶ τίς ἂν

1 σιωπῆς edd.

a The danger of speaking to please only is mentioned in Phil. iii. 63-64 and Olynth. iii. 3.
b Cf. Phil. i. 38.
c The beginning of Olynth. iii. is similar but the occasion different.
limit of wretchedness, but rather the speaker who, putting aside the thought of pleasing you, shall tell you what ought to be done and by what means we may cease bringing disgrace upon ourselves and incurring losses. For, to speak truthfully, if all that a man passes over in his speech through reluctance to pain you is going to be passed over also by the course of events, it is right to harangue you for your pleasure; but if the charm of words, when unbecoming the occasion, becomes a penalty in action, it is shameful to cheat yourselves, and to do only under the utmost necessity what you should have done voluntarily long before.

2 the same thoughts do not present themselves to me, men of Athens, when I hear you refer by name to our form of government and again when I see the manner in which some of you treat those who speak in its defence. As you all know, the name you give to our government is democracy, but I see that some of you listen with more pleasure to those who advocate the opposite to it. I wonder just what their motive may be. Or do you imagine they are making these speeches gratis? Well, the masters of the oligarchies, whose cause these men are pleading, might quietly increase their fees. But honestly, have you assumed that their principles are better than the other kind? So oligarchy, presumably, looks better to you than democracy! Then do you think the men themselves are better? And yet who could

\[d\text{ This is ironical, explaining } \pi\rho\circ\phi\sigma\iota\sigma; \text{ virtual reported speech.}\]
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χρηστός ύφ’ ύμων νομίζειν εἰκότως, ἑναντία τῇ καθεστώσῃ πολιτείᾳ δημηγορῶν; οὐκοῦν λοιπὸν ἀμαρτάνειν ύμᾶς ὅταν οὕτως ἔχητε τῇ γνώμῃν. τούτο τοῖς φυλάττεσθε μὴ πάσχειν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ ποτὲ τοῖς ἐπίβουλεύονσιν λαβῃν δώσετε, εἰτα τότ’ αἰσθῆσεις ἡμαρτηκότες ἴν’

3 οὐδ’ ὅτιοιν ύμῖν πλέον ἐσται.¹ τὸ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ πάνθ’ ὡς ἄν ἡμεῖς βουλοίμεθ’ ἔχειν, μὴτε παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἴμῖν μὴτε παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἵσωσ οὐδέν ἔστι θαυμαστὸν: πολλῶν γὰρ τὸ τῆς τύχης αὐτόματον κρατεῖ, καὶ πολλαὶ προφάσεις τοῦ μὴ πάντα κατὰ γνώμην συμβαίνειν ἀνθρώποις υδοι. τὸ δὲ μηδ’ ὅτιοιν μεταλαμβάνειν τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀντιπράπτοντας περείναι, τούτο καὶ θαυμα- στὸν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φοβηρὸν τοῖς εὗ φρο- νοῦσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ παντός ἐσθ’ αὐτὴ μοι τοῦ λόγου.

Γ

'Ἀντὶ πολλῶν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων τὸ μέλλον συνοίσειν περὶ ὅν νυνὶ τυγχάνετε σκοπούντες ύμαι πάντας ἃν ύμᾶς ἐλέσθαι. ὅτε τοῖς τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκει παρέχειν ἐθέλοντας ἀκούειν ὕμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἦκει τις, τοῦτ’ ἓν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ύμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμ' ¹

¹ Blass prints the rest as a separate exordium, bracketing οὖν.
reasonably be regarded by you as honest when he speaks in public against the interest of the established government? Therefore it remains to conclude that you are mistaken when you hold this opinion. Consequently, be on your guard against falling into this error, men of Athens, so that you shall not some day give those who are plotting against you an opening, and only then learn that you have made a mistake, when it will no longer be of the least advantage to you. Now, the fact that everything is not going as we might wish, men of Athens, either at home or among our allies, is perhaps not astonishing; for in many things the whim of Fortune prevails and there are many plausible reasons why everything does not turn out according to plan, men being but men. Yet for the common people to have no portion at all and their opponents a superabundance is something to astound and alarm intelligent men, as I judge it, men of Athens. This, then, is the starting point of my entire speech.

I believe, men of Athens, that in preference to a large sum of money you would choose the plan that will pay you in the matters you are now considering. This being so, it is then your duty to show yourselves willing hearers of your prospective counsellors; for not only in the event of someone having come here with a useful idea thought out, would you, having listened, have the benefit of it, but I also assume it to be part of your good fortune that many timely suggestions would occur to some men on the

\[a\] The beginning of *Olynth.* i. differs but slightly.
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[1421] ἐνίοις ἐπελθεῖν ἃν εἰπεῖν, ὡστ' ἐς ἀπάντων ραδίαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν αἴρεσιν γίγνεσθαι.

Δ

"Εστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, δίκαιον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἐλέσθαι τῶν ῥηθέντων ὃ τι ἂν βουλήσθη, ἀπάντων ἀκούσαι. καὶ γὰρ πολλάκις συμβαίνει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτο μὲν μὴ λέγειν ὀρθῶς, ἔτερον δὲ τι· ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ θορυβεῖν τάχ' ἂν δυσχεράναντες πολλῶν χρησίμων ἀποστερηθεῖτε, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ κόσμου καὶ συρῆς ἀκούσαι, καὶ τὰ καλῶς ἔχονθ' ἀπαντᾷ ποιήσετε, κἂν δοκῇ τις παραληπεῖν, παραλείψετε. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὖτ' εἴωθα μακρολογεῖν, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ τὸν ἄλλον εἰώθειν χρόνον, νῦν ἔχρησάμην τούτω, ἀλλ' ἂ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν νομίζω, ταῦθ' ὥσ ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων ἐρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Ε

"Ὅρω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, παντάπασι πρόδηλον ὃν, οὗς τ' ἂν ἀκούσατε λόγους ἥδεως, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐκ οἰκείως ἔχετε· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λέγειν ἃ τις οἴεται χαριεῖσθαι, τῶν παρακρούσασθαι τι βουλομένων εἴναι νομίζω, τὸ δ' ὕψαστασθαι, περὶ ὅν πέπεικεν ἐαυτὸν συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει, καὶ θορυβηθῆναι κἂν ἄλλο τι βουληθῃ' ὑμεῖς, εὖνοι καὶ 2 δίκαιον τοῦτο πολίτων κρίνω. βουλομένην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς, εἰ καὶ μὴδὲ δι' ἐν τῶν ἄλλων, δι' ἐκείνο ὑπομείναι τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέρων, ἵν' εὰν μὲν ὀρθότερον φανῇ τις λέγων ὃν ὑμεῖς ὤρμηκατε, 92
spur of the moment, so that from the whole number the choice of the advantageous is made easier for you.

It is your duty, men of Athens, to listen to every proposal made, since it is your prerogative to adopt whichever of them you choose. For it often happens that the same person is wrong on one point and right on another; and so by shouting him down when displeased you may perhaps deprive yourselves of many useful ideas, whereas by attending with decorum and in silence, you will act on every sound proposal, and if you think someone is making a foolish suggestion, you will ignore it. As for me, I am not accustomed to make long speeches, and even if previously I had been in the habit, I should not have taken this occasion to do so; instead, I shall tell you as briefly as I can what I consider to be in your interests.

I observe, men of Athens, that there is no mistaking what kind of speeches you would like to hear and to what kind you are averse. Yet to say what one thinks will find favour I consider to be the badge of those who wish to work some deception, whereas to endure, when one is speaking for measures he is convinced are advantageous to the State, either your heckling or what else you choose to do, I judge to be the part of a loyal and honest citizen. And I should like to have you bear patiently with the speeches of both sides to this end, if for no other, in order that, if someone shall be found to offer a proposal better than those upon which you are intent, you may avail
χρήσησθε τούτω, ἂν δ’ ἀπολείφη καὶ μὴ δύνηται διδάξαι, δι’ αὐτὸν, ἄλλα μὴ δι’ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἔθελοντας ἀκούειν τούτο πεπονθέναι δοκῇ. ἔτι δ’ οὐδὲ πάθοι’ ἂν ἀηδὲς τοσοῦτον εἴ πολλά τινος ληροῦντος ἀκού- [14-22] σαίτε, οὕςον εἴ τῶν δεόντων τι λέγειν ἔχοντός τινος 3 εἴπείν κωλύσαίτε. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δοκιμάζειν ὀρθῶς ἀπαντ’ ἐστὶ μηδὲν οὐεσθαί πρότερον γιγνώσκειν πρὶν μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ συνειδότας πολλάκις ἦδη πολλοὺς μετεγνωκότας. ἂν τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς ταῦθ’ ὑπάρξητε νῦν πεπεισμένοι, οὗμαι μετὰ βραχέων λόγων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγεις εἰκότως δόξειν καὶ ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα φανεῖσθαι λέγων.

5

Πολλών, ὁ άνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, λόγων εἰρημένων παρὰ πάντων τῶν συμβεβουλευκότων, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρῶ νῦν ὄντας ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τί πρακτέον εὐρήσθαι, ἡ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβήναι. αὐτίον δὲ τούτο ταῦθ’ ὅπερ οἴμαι τοῦ κακῶς ἐχεῖν τὰ ὅλα· οὐ γὰρ παρανοοῦσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων οἱ λέγοντες ἀλλ’ ἐαυτῶν καθηγοροῦσι καὶ λοιδοροῦνται, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ κρίνω, συνεθίζοντες ὑμᾶς ἀνευ κρίσεως, ὅσων εἰσὶν αὐτίοι κακῶν, ἀκούειν, ὅ’ ἂν ποτ’ ἄρ’ εἰς ἀγώνα καθιστῶνται, μηδὲν ἤγούμενοι καινὸν ἀκούειν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὅν ὠργισθε πολλάκις, πραότεροι δικασταί καὶ κριταὶ γίγνησθε τῶν πεπραγμένων 2 αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτίαν δι’ ἂν ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, 94
yourselves of it, but, if he falls short and is unable to
make his point, that he may seem to have suffered
this repulse through his own fault and not because of
your refusing to listen. Furthermore, your experi-
ence would not be so disagreeable if you should
listen to some fool making a long speech as it would
if you prevented a man from speaking who had
something timely to propose. In all matters, of course, the first step toward right judgement is never
to imagine you understand before learning, espe-
ially knowing as you do that many men before now
have often changed their minds. If, then, you on
your part are now convinced of these truths, I think
that I on my part shall seem justified in speaking
briefly in opposition and be found to propose the
plans that are best for you.

Although many speeches have been made, men of
Athens, by all your counsellors, I do not see that you
are now any nearer to discovering what ought to be
done than before you came up to the Assembly. The
cause of this, in my opinion, is the same as the cause
of the wretched plight of our affairs in general, that
the speakers do not offer advice about the business
before you, but accuse and revile one another, accus-
toming you, in my judgement, to hearing, without process of law, all the mischief of which they are
the cause, in order that if, after all, they do come to
face the test some day, you, thinking you are hearing
nothing new, but only the charges over which you
have often been angry, may so become more merciful
jurors and judges of their misdeeds. Perhaps it 2

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DEMOSTHENES

'ίσως ἀνόητον ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν εἴη ἃν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὤτι δ’ ὑμῖν οὐχὶ συμφέρει, διὰ τοῦτ’ ἑπιτιμῶ. ἐγὼ δ’ οὔτε κατηγορήσω τῇμερον οὐδενός, οὐθ’ ὑποσχύσομαι τοιούτων οὐδὲν ὁ μὴ παραχρημὸ ἐπίδειξιν, οὐδ’ ὅλως τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων οὐδὲν ποιήσω. αλλ’ ἀ βέλτιστα μὲν τοῖς πράγμασι, συμφέροντα δὲ τοῖς βουλευομένοις ὑμῖν ἤγομαι, ταῦθ’ ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων εἰπὼν καταβήσομαι.

Ζ

[1423] Οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὁ ἀγαθὸς Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν, λόγον εἰπεῖν μοι δοκοῦσιν προαιρεῖσθαι κεχαρισμένοι, οὐ μὴν συμφέροντά γ’ ἐκεῖνοι σὺς ἐγκωμιάζοντι ποιεῖν. περὶ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἐγχειροῦντες λέγειν, ὡς οὔτε ἀν εἰς ἄξιος ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δύνατο, αὐτοὶ μὲν τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν δόξαν ἐκφέρονται, τὴν δ’ ἐκεῖνων ἀρέτὴν ἑλάττω τῆς ὑπειλημμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἀκοῦσαν φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἐπαινοῦν τὸν χρόνον ἢγομαι μέγιστον, οὐ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου, μεῖξι τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων πραχθέντων 2 οὐδὲνες ἄλλοι παραδείξασθαι δεδύνηται, αὐτὸς δὲ πειράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν μοι δοκεῖτε μᾶλλον δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἄπαντες λέγειν δεινοὶ φανεῖμεν, οὐδὲν ἄν τὰ ύμετέρ’ εὐ οἶδ’ ὥσπερ δὲ βέλτιον σχοινή· εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς ὁστισοῦν δύνατο διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ψόψη καὶ πόθεν πορισθείσα χρήσιμος ἦσται τῇ πόλει, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λέλυται

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a The beginning of XIV is identical.

96
would be foolish at the moment to inquire into the exact reason why they do this; but because it harms you, for this reason I censure them. For my own part, I will accuse no one to-day nor will I sponsor any charge that I shall not make good on the spot, nor, in general, will I do any of the things which these men do; but when I have stated as briefly as I can what I think best for your interests and most profitable for you who deliberate, I will step down.

7

Those who praise your forefathers, men of Athens, in my judgement choose a charming theme upon which to speak, and yet I do not think they do a favour to those whom they extol. For instance, when they undertake to tell of the deeds of those men, to which no speaker could do justice, while winning for themselves a reputation for ability to speak, they cause the valour of those men to seem to their hearers less than had been supposed. As for me, I consider the greatest commendation of those heroes to be the test of time, for although a long interval has gone by, no others have been able to exhibit greater deeds than those performed by them, and I shall myself merely try to tell you after what manner I think you will be best able to make your preparations. For this is the situation; though we should all prove ourselves to be clever speakers, I know well that your interests would not be advanced in the slightest, but if just one speaker, no matter who, should come forward and be able to demonstrate convincingly what kind of preparation, and how great, and provided from what funds, would be to the State's advantage, all our...
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φόβος. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτ’, ἂν ἂρ’ οἶσ’ τ’ ὦ, πειράσομαι
ποιήσαι, μικρὰ προειπῶν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔχω γνώμης περὶ
tῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

H

'Αμφότεροι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀμαρτάνειν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς Ἀρκάσιοι καὶ οἱ τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις συνειρηκότες. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ’ ἐκατέρων
ήκοντες, οὐχ ὑμῶν ὄντες, πρὸς οὐς ἀμφότεροι
πρεσβεύονται, κατηγοροῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ἄλλη-
λους. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἔργων, τὸ
δὲ κοινῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγειν καὶ τὰ
βέλτισθ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σκοπεῖν ἀνευ Φιλονικίας, τῶν
ἐνθάδε συμβουλεύειν ἄξιοντων. νῦν δ’, εἰ τις
αὐτῶν ἀφέλοι τὸ γιγνώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῇ φωνῇ
λέγειν ἀπτικιστι, πολλοὺς ἂν οἶόμαι τοὺς μὲν
Ἀρκάδας, τοὺς δὲ Λάκωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαι.

'Εγὼ δ’ οἶδα μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν
ἐστὶν. συνεξηγηταμένων γὰρ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν
ταυτί, τῶν δὲ ταυτὶ βουλομένων, ἐὰν τὰ μεταξὺ τις
ἐγχειρη λέγειν καθ’ ὑμεῖς μὴ περιμενήτη μαθεῖν,
χαριεῖται μὲν ὀνειδέτεροι, διαβλήσεται δὲ πρὸς
ἀμφότεροι: οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ αἰρήσομαι μάλλον αὐτός,
ἐὰν ἀρα τοῦτο πάθω, δοκεῖν φλυαρεῖν, ἦ παρ’ ἀ
βέλτιστα νομίζω προεῖσθαι τισῶν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι.
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ’ ύστερον, ἂν ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ἢ,
present apprehension is as good as dispelled. This I shall try to do, if, after all, I am able, having first told you briefly how my opinion stands with respect to our relations with the King.\textsuperscript{a}

Both parties seem to me to be in the wrong, men of Athens, both those who have supported the Arcadians and those who have supported the Spartans. For, just as if they had come here from one or the other of the two countries and were not of your own citizen body, to which both embassies are appealing, they are denouncing and abusing one another. This, however, was a concern of the visiting envoys, while to discuss the questions in the common interest and to consider your own interest without self-seeking is the duty of those who see fit to offer advice here in Athens. Yet as things now are, if one could cancel the fact of their being known and their using the Attic speech, many people, I believe, would think the one group Arcadians and the other Spartans!

I know myself how difficult it is to propose the best procedure, for when you have been deceived and some of you want this and others that, if someone undertakes to suggest a compromise and then you do not wait to learn the facts, he will please neither party and will be put in the wrong with both sides. Nevertheless, I shall choose to be thought to talk nonsense, if that, after all, is to be my fate, rather than to abandon you to certain people to be deceived in violation of what I consider best for you. And so, with your permission, I shall go into other
λέξω· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀμολογομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀρξομαι, ἀ κράτιστα νομίζω, διδάσκειν.

Θ

Οὐχὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκων ἐνίοις τῶν εἰρηκότων ἀνέστηκ’, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι. οὐ μὴν οὖδε τούτους αἰτιάσομαι κακία τάναντία τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰρηκέναι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὶ πολλοὶ τοῦ τὰ πράγματα κρίνειν ἀμελήσαντες, τοὺς λόγους σκοπεῖν οὐς ἐροῦσιν εἰώθασι, κἂν τούτοις ἀφθόνοις ἐντύχωσιν, ἑτοίμως δημηγορεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνωκότες, οὐδὲ λογιζόμενοι παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς ὑπὶ πολλῶν πράξεων ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πᾶσι πεπραγμένων, καὶ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐνίων ὑπεναντίων αὐταῖς, ἂν τὰς ἐτέρας τις ὑπερβαίνων τὰς ἐτέρας λέγῃ, λήσει τὸ ῥᾴστων τῶν 2 ἔργων ποιῶν, αὐτῶν ἐξαπατῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν οὗτω χρώμενοι τῷ συμβουλεύειν δοκοῦσί μοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ρήθεντων τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν δόξαν γυνομένην αὐτοῖς ἰκανὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἤγείσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω χρῆναι τὸν πόλει περὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιχειροῦντα συμβουλεύειν, μᾶλλον ὅπως τὰ δόξαντα συνοίσει σκοπεῖν, ἡ πῶς ὃ παραχρῆμα λόγοι χάριν ἔξουσί. δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων εὐδοκιμοῦσι συμφέροντος τινος ἔργου πρᾶξιν προσεῖναι, ὥσα μὴ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ’ ἂν τὰ ρήθεντα καλῶς ἔχῃ.
EXORDIA, 8. 3—9. 2

details later, and proceed to explain what I think is best, starting from the premises upon which both sides agree.

9

I have taken the floor, men of Athens, because I do not hold the same views as some of those who have spoken. Still I shall not allege that these men out of villainy have expressed sentiments opposed to your best interests, but I say that many, while neglecting to judge events critically, make a practice of considering the words they will use, and if they chance to find an ample supply of these, of haranguing the people without more ado. In this they are wrong nor do they reflect in their own minds that, since it is the experience of all that over a long period many plans have worked out happily and some of them, because of the times, quite contrary to their promise, if some speaker cites the one kind and passes over the other, he will unconsciously be doing the easiest thing in the world, deceiving himself. Now those who thus use the privilege of advising you seem to me to look upon the reputation for eloquence accruing to them from their speeches as an adequate ambition, but it is my opinion that the man who proposes to advise the State on matters of policy should rather consider how the measures adopted shall prove of benefit, and not how his remarks of the moment may find favour. For those who win esteem by their words ought to add to it the accomplishment of some useful work in order that not only now, but for all time, their utterances may have merit.
DEMOSTHENES

I

Εἰ μὲν ἐγνώκατ', ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί βέλτιστον ὃν τυγχάνει πράξαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ἀμάρτημα τὸ συμβουλεύειν προτιθέναι: ἡ γὰρ αὐτοῖ πρὶν ἀκούσαι δοκιμάζετε συμφέρειν, τί δεῖ ταῦτα ἀκούσας μάτην ἐξοχλεῖσθαι; εἰ δὲ σκοπεῖτε καὶ βουλεύσθη ὡς ἐκ τῶν ῥηθησομένων δοκιμάσας δέον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους λέγειν· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὅλως ἀποστερεῖσθ' ἐκ τοῦ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἐντεύμηνται, τοὺς δ' ἀφέντας ἡ τυγχάνουσιν ἐγνωκότες, ὧν ὑμᾶς ἑπιθυμεῖν οἴονται, ταῦτα ποιεῖτε συμβουλεύειν. ἔστι δ' ἀμαρτάνειν μὲν βουλομένων τὸ συναγαγόντευν τὸν παριόνθ' ἢ βουλεύσθε λέγειν, βουλευομένων δ' ἀκούσαντας ἢ γιγνῶσκει σκοπεῖν, κἂν τι καλῶς ἔχῃ, χρήσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἕναντία τοῖς ὑμῖν ἄρεσκονοι μέλλων παραίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶς, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μὴ θελήσῃ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀκούσαι, ἐξηπατήσθαι φήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, ἢν δ' ἀκούσαντες μὴ πεισθήτε, ἐξεληλεγμένοι παραχρήμ' ἐσονται τὰ χείρω παραμονοῦντες.

II

Ὅλοις πάντας ὑμᾶς, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι οὐ κρινοῦντες ἤκεστε τῆμερον οὐδένα τῶν ἁδικούντων, ἀλλὰ βουλευομένοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων. δεῖ τοῖς μὲν κατηγορίας ὑπερθέσθαι πάσας, καὶ τὸ τ' ἐν ὑμῖν λέγειν καθ' ὅτου πέπεικεν 102
If you have decided, men of Athens, what it is best to do in the circumstances, it is a mistake to propose debate; for why should you be needlessly bored by listening to what you have yourselves judged to be expedient before hearing it discussed? But if, assuming that you must reach a judgement on the basis of what shall be said, you are exploring and deliberating, it is wrong to stop those who wish to speak, since by so doing you are deprived entirely of whatever practical proposal some speakers have thought up, and you cause other speakers to abandon their own conclusions in favour of what they think you desire to hear. While to unite in forcing the speaker to express your wishes shows an intention to do wrong, the willingness to deliberate is proved when you listen to his views, scan them and, if any is good, adopt it. I say this, not as one about to recommend measures opposed to those you are favouring, but as one who knows that, if you refuse to hear the opposition, they will say you have been deceived, while, if you do listen and are not persuaded, they will have been proved on the spot to be offering the worse proposals.

I think you all know, men of Athens, that you have not come here to-day to put any of the wrongdoers on trial but to deliberate about the present state of affairs. So it is our duty to defer all accusations and only when we put someone on trial a should this or

a The Assembly sometimes acted as a court, for example, in cases of treason.
DEMOSTHENES

ἐκαστος ἐαυτόν, ὅταν τινὰ κρίνωμεν· εἰ δὲ τὶς τι
χρῆσιμον ἡ συμφέρον εἰπεῖν ἔχει, τούτο νῦν ἀπο-
φαίνεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατηγορεῖν τοῖς πεπραγ-
μένοις ἐγκαλουντων ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ συμβουλεύειν περὶ
tῶν παρόντων καὶ γενησομένων προτίθεται. οὐκ-
οὖν οὐ λοιδορίας οὐδὲ μέμψεως ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς,
ἀλλὰ συμβουλῆς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. διὸ πειράζομαι
μὲν φυλάξασθαι, ὁ τούτως ἐπιτιμῶ, μὴ παθεῖν αὐ-
tός, συμβουλεύσαι δ’ ἃ κράτιστα νομίζω περὶ τῶν
παρόντων.

II B

Οὐδέν’ ἂν ἀντειπεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, νομίζω,
ὡς οὐ κακοῦ πολίτου καὶ φαύλου τὴν γνώμην
ἀνδρός ἐστιν, οὗτω τινὰ μισεῖν ἡ φιλεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ
κοινὰ προσώντων ὡστε τοῦ τῇ πόλει βελτίστου
μηδέν φροντίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐπήρειαν, τὰ
dὲ πρὸς φιλίαν δημηγορεῖν, ἡ ποιοῦσ’ ἐνοι τῶν
dευρὶ παριόντων. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτως μὲν τοσοῦτον ἂν
εἰπομι, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐδ’ εἰ τὶ πεποιήκασι
τοιοῦτον μέγισθ’ ἡμαρτηκέναι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι δηλοῦσιν
2 οὐδέποτ’ οὐδὲ παύσασθαι παρεσκευασμένοι. ὑμῖν
dὲ παραινῶ μὴ προιεμένους ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἵκανὸν
tοῦτο νομίζειν, δίκην, ὅταν ὑμῖν δόξη, παρὰ τούτων
λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν,
kωλύειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς, ὦπερ ὑπέρ πόλεως προσήκει
βουλευομένους, τὰς ἱδίας ἀνελόντας φιλονικίας τὸ
κοινὴ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖσθαι, ἐνθυμομουμένους ὅτι οὐ-
104
that man speak before you against another who, he has convinced himself, is an offender. But if anyone has something practical or profitable to say, now is the time to declare it. For accusation is for those who have fault to find with past actions, but in deliberative session the discussion is solely about present and future actions. Therefore the present is no occasion for abuse or blame but for taking counsel together, it seems to me. For this reason I shall try to guard against falling myself into the error which I condemn in these men and to offer the advice that I think best in the present state of affairs.

I think that no man will deny, men of Athens, that it is the mark of a disloyal citizen and a low-minded man so to hate or favour anyone who enters into public life that he takes no thought for the State’s best interests, but shapes his public utterances sometimes to vent his malice and sometimes to prove his friendship, as a number of those are doing who come forward here to speak. To these I would say no more than this: that in my opinion, if they have done something of the kind, their greatest offence is not this, but rather that they show themselves unprepared ever to stop doing it!’ As for yourselves, I give you this advice: do not be guilty of self-ruin and think it enough if you punish these men when you see fit; but, while holding them in check so far as lies in your power, you must yourselves, as becomes men deliberating on behalf of the State, put aside your own private feuds and aim at what is most to the common good, reflecting that the punishment of
DEMOSTHENES

[1427] δείς, οὐδ' ἀμα πάντες οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, τῶν νόμων, ἐφ' οἷς ύμεῖς ἐστ', ἀξιόχρεω εἰσὶν διαφθαρέντων δικήν δοῦναι.

ΠΓ

"Ἱσως ἐπίφθονον ἂν τισιν, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, δόξειν εἶναι, εἰ τις ἂν ἰδιώτης καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ὑμῶν εἰς, ἐτέρων συμβεβουλευκότων οἱ καὶ τῷ πάλαι πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν δόξαν ἔχειν προέχουσι, παρελθὼν καὶ ἐποίη, ὅτι ὦν μόνον αὐτῷ δοκουσιν ὑμῖν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγγύς εἶναι τοῦ τὰ δέοντα γιγνώσκειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὕτω σφόδρα οἴμαι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν συμφέροντ' ἐρεῖν τούτων, ὡστε ὑμὶν δικήν πάνθ' ἃ τυγχάνουσιν εἰρηκότες ἄξια μηδένος εἶναι φήσαι. νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν εἰ, μὴ τοῦ λέγοντ', ἀλλὰ τὰ συμβουλευόμενα σκοποῖτε. δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν εὖνοιαν μὴ τισιν, ὡσπερ ἐκ γένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀεὶ λέγονσιν ὑπάρχειν.

ΠΔ

Βουλούμην ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, προσέχοντας ἃ μέλλω λέγειν ἀκούσαί καὶ γάρ ἐστὶν οὐ μικρά. ἐγὼ θαυμάζω τῷ δὴ ποτε, πρὶν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβήναι, ὧν τις ἂν ὑμῶν ἐντύχῃ, οὔτος εὐπόρως εἰπεῖν ἐχεῖ δ' ὃν ἂν ἂν τὰ παρόντα πράγματα βελτίων γένοιτο· καὶ πάλιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλ' εάν ἀπέλθητε, ὀμοίως ἐκαστὸς ἐρεῖ τὰ δε-

1 ἀξιόχρεως ἐστὶν Blass.

a Or, less probably, "the laws of which you are in charge."
EXORDIA. 12. 2—14. 1

no individual, nor even of all the politicians in a body, can square the account if once the laws should be destroyed on which your very life depends.  

Perhaps it might seem offensive to certain persons, men of Athens, if someone, an ordinary citizen and one of the common people like yourselves, should come forward after others who are eminent for both long political experience and reputation among you have already stated their opinions, and say that he thinks the others are not only wrong but not even near to discerning what ought to be done. Nevertheless. I feel so confident that I am going to give more profitable counsel than theirs that I shall not hesitate to declare all they have said to be worthless. I think that you too would be doing well if you kept in view, not the speaker, but the advice being offered. For the right thing, men of Athens, is to extend your goodwill, not to certain persons as though by hereditary privilege, but to those who from time to time offer the best counsel.

I should like you to listen attentively to what I am going to say, men of Athens; it is not unimportant. I wonder just why it is that, before we come up to the Assembly, any one of you whom a person may chance to meet is prepared to say readily by what means the present state of affairs may be improved; and then again, the minute you leave the Assembly, each man will be just as ready to say what we ought to do.
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οιτα: ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τούτων σκοπεῖν ὄντες καὶ συνειλεγμένοι, πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ ταῦτα λεγόντων τινῶν 2 ἀκούετε. ἄρα γ', ὁ ἀνδρεῖς 'Αθηναῖοι, γνῶναι μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκάστω τὰ δέονθ' ύμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν ἔπισταται, ποιῶν δ' αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς οὐ χαίρει, εἰτ' ἵδια μὲν, ὡς ἄρ' αὐτὸς ἐτοίμως τὰ βέλτιστα ἦν [142c] πράττειν δόξων, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑπιτιμᾷ, κονή δ' εὐ- λαβείσθε τὰ τοιαῦτα ψηφίζεσθαι δι' ὑν ἐν τῷ 3 λητουργεῖν τι τῶν καθηκόντων ἀπαντεῖς ἐσεθείς; εἰ μὲν τοῖς μηδένα καιρὸν οἴσου ἥξειν ὅσ εἰσω τῆς εἰρωνείας ἄφιξεται ταύτης, καλῶς ἂν ἔχου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγειν: εἰ δὲ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὅρατ' ἐγνυτέρω προσάγοντα, δεῖ σκοπεῖσθαι ὅπως μὴ πλησίον αὐτοῖς μαχεῖσθαι ἀ πόρρωθεν ἐξεστὶ φυ- λάξασθαι, καὶ τοὺς νῦν περιοφθέντας ἐφηδομένους ύστερον ἐξετ' ὅις ἂν πάσχητε.

ΠΕ

Περὶ μὲν τῶν παρόντων, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς 'Αθηναῖοι, πραγμάτων τῇ πόλει, καὶ περὶ οὐκ ἑχόντων ως ἔδει, οὐ πάνω μοι δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν εἶναι ξητήσαι τί ἂν τις πράξας βελτίω ποιήσειειν. ὅτι να μέντοι χρὴ τρόπον πρὸς ύμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, τοῦτο παμπόλλην δυσκολίαν ἔχειν νομίζω, οὐχ όσ οὐ συνησόντων ὃ τι ἂν τις λέγη, ἀλλ' οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ ψευδή καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ βέλτιστα τοῖς 108
But when we are met together and dealing with these problems, you hear anything rather than this from certain speakers. Then has each one of you, men of Athens, the gift of deciding what ought to be done, and does each know how to state the duties of the rest, while he is reluctant himself to do his own, and then again, does each man as an individual, as if to give the impression of being one who would of course promptly do what is best, find fault with everyone else, but as a body are you committed to fighting shy of voting such measures as will ensure that you will one and all become engaged in performing some duty to the State? Well then, if you really think that no crisis will arrive to make a breach in this fence of evasiveness, it would be grand to carry on after this fashion. But if you see your troubles drawing nearer, you must plan that you shall not have to grapple with them at close range when it is possible to forestall them from a distance, and that you shall not have those whom you now disregard exulting later on at your discomfiture.

As for the problems now confronting the State, men of Athens, even though things are not as they should be, I do not consider it altogether difficult to discover by what action one may effect an improvement. I judge, on the other hand, that the manner in which I must speak to you about them means very grave irritation; not because you will fail to understand what a person will say but because you seem to me to have become so accustomed to hearing many untruths and anything rather than what best meets
DEMOSTHENES

πράγμασιν συνειθίσθαι μοι δοκεῖτ' ἀκούειν, ὡστε
dέδοικα μὴ τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰπόντι, ἣν τοῖς ἔξη-
ηπατηκόσων προσήκεν ἄπεχθειαν ὑπάρχειν παρ' 2
ύμων, ταύτην ἀπενεγκασθαί συμβῆ. ὅρω γὰρ ύμᾶς
πολλάκις οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων μισοῦντας,
ἀλλὰ τους ύστατους περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπόντας τι πρὸς
ύμᾶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίτερ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα
λογιζόμενοι, ὦμως οἶμαι πάντα παρεῖσ τάλλα,
περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν παρόντων ἡ κράτιστα νομίζω δεῖν
λέγειν.

15-

Ἐβουλόμην ἃν ύμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, ἢ πρὸς
tους ἄλλους ἀπαντας εἰώθατε προσφέροντας ἀγαθω-
θρωπία, ταύτῃ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς χρήσασθαι· νυνὶ
d' ἀμείνους ἐστὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δεῖν ἐπανορθοῦν,
[1429] ἢ τῶν ύμῖν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνοντων φροντίζειν. ὦσι
μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τις ἄν φήσει μέγιστον ἐπανο
φέρειν τῇ πόλει, τὸ μηδενὸς εἰνεκα κέρδους ἓδιον
πολλοὺς κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίου προφη-
σθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην τ' ἀληθὴ τῇ δόξῃ εἶναι
νομίζω κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ βουλομαι, κάκειον δὲ
ὑπολαμβάνω σωφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐργον εἶναι,
Ἱσίου πρόνοιαν τῶν αὐτοῖς οἴκειων ὅσην περὶ τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ φιλάνθρωποι μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες φαίνησθε.

17-

'Ἰσως, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, προσήκει τῷ βου-
λομένῳ τι παραμεῖν ύμῖν, οὕτω πειράσθαι λέγειν

α Cf. Olynth. i. 16.
your needs, that I fear it may be the lot of the man who now makes the best proposal to earn for his reward at your hands the hostility which would properly have been the due of those who have deceived you. For I observe that often you hate, not those who are to blame for your troubles, but those who have most recently made mention of them to you. Nevertheless, although I am so precisely measuring this hazard, I still think that I must put all other subjects aside and confine myself to saying what I think is the best advice about the present situation.

I should have wished, men of Athens, that you treat yourselves with that benevolence which you are accustomed to practise toward all other peoples. As it now is, you are better at rectifying the woes of others than you are at taking to heart the troubles which befall yourselves. Someone may perhaps say, of course, that this is exactly what brings the greatest glory to the State—to have deliberately chosen to assume many risks for the sake of sheer justice with no thought of selfish advantage. Now, while I for one believe this reputation which prevails concerning the State to be true and desire it to be, yet I assume it also to be an obligation of prudent men to exercise as much foresight in their domestic affairs as in those of strangers, so that you may show yourselves to be not only men of goodwill but sensible also.

Perhaps it really is the duty, men of Athens, of one who wishes to recommend some measure to you to
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ός καὶ δυνήσεσθ' ὑπομεῖναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτ', ἀφέντα τούς ἄλλους ἀπαντάς λόγους, περὶ αὐτῶν ὄν σκοπεῖτε συμβουλεύειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ὃς διὰ βραχυτάτων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδείξα μοι δοκεῖτε λόγων οὔτε νῦν ὁρᾶν τὰ πράγματα πάντα λελυμασμένα, ἀλλὰ τῶν τούς μὲν ἑαυτῶν εἶνεκα δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μήπω τούτου δεδωκότας πείραν, μᾶλλον ὅπως εὖ δόξουσι λέγειν σπουδαζεῖν, ἠ πώς ἔργον ἔξ ὧν λέγουσι τι συμφέρον πραξθῆσεται. ἐγὼ δ' ἰνα μὴ λάθω τουναντίον οὖ φημὶ δεῖν αὐτὸς ποιῶν, καὶ πλείω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγων ἢ περὶ ὧν ἀνέστην ἑρῶν, ἀφεῖς τάλλα πάντα, ἀ παραὶνῶ καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν.

II

Δοκεῖτε μοι δικαίως ἂν, δ' ἀνδρεῖς Ἄθηναιοί, προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ τις ὑπόσχοιθ' ύμῖν ταύτα δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα δείξειν ὧν' ὕπερ ὧν βου- λεύμεθα. ἐγὼ τοῖνυν οἶμαι τούτο ποιήσειν οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἂν ὑμεῖς βραχὺ μοι πεισθῆτε πάνυ. μὴ πάνθ', ὥσ ἐκαστος ἔχει γνώμης ύμῶν περὶ τῶν παρόντων, ὁρθῶς ἐγνωκέναι πεπεισθω: ἀλλ' ἃν παρὰ ταῦτα τι συμβαίνῃ λέγεσθαι, σκόπείτω πάνθ' ὑπομείνας ἀκούσω, εἰτ' ἃν ὁρθῶς εἰρήσθαι τι δοκῇ χρήσθω. οὐ γὰρ ᾦττον ὑμέτερον τῶν χρησμένων ἔσται τὸ κατορθωθὲν ἡ τοῦ πρὸς ύμᾶς εἰπόντος. ἡ

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attempt to speak in such a way that you will find it possible to hear him to the end; but otherwise his duty is to leave aside all other themes and discuss only those matters you are considering, and these as briefly as possible. For I do not think it due to any lack of speeches that now once more you observe all your affairs to be in a muddle, but the reason is that some are orating and playing politics for their own gain, and others, who have so far not given evidence of this offence, are more concerned to be thought good speakers than that some concrete good may be effected by what they say. As for me, that I may not unwittingly do the opposite of what I myself say is right, and say more about other matters than about those of which I have risen to speak, I shall disregard all other topics and endeavour to tell you forthwith what I recommend.

I think that you would rightly pay attention, men of Athens, if any man should promise to demonstrate that in the matters you are considering justice and expediency coincide. Now I believe that I shall do this without difficulty if you on your part will comply with a very slight request of mine. Let none of you, according as one or another has an opinion about the present situation, be positive that he is right in all his conclusions; but, if it turns out that something be said against these, let him consider it, listening to all the points patiently, and then, if some suggestion seems to have been rightly made, adopt it. For the measure that succeeds will belong no less to you who adopted it than to him who proposed
μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ σκοπεῖν ὅρθως ἐστὶ μὴ βεβουλεύσθαι πρὶν ἐξ ὧν δεὶ βουλεύσασθαι ἀκοῦσαι. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς οὔτε καίρος οὔτε τρόπος τοῦ τ’ ἐπικυρώσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα, καὶ τοῦ σκέψασθαι τί πρῶτον δοκεῖ συμφέρειν.

10

Μεθ’ ὑμῶν, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, παρελήλυθα βουλευσόμενος πότερον χρῆ με λέγειν ἢ μή. διὸ δ’ αὐτὸς τοῦτ’ ἀπορῶ κρίναι φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἄναγκαίοι εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τῷ μὴθ’ οὕτω μήτε τοῖς χαρίσασθαι βουλομένω, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰπεῖν ἃ πέπεικεν ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα συμφέρειν, καὶ συνειπεῖν ἃ καλῶς λέγουσιν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀντειπεῖν ὅσα μὴ δίκαι’ ἀξιόθεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς ὑπομείνατ’ ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτ’ ἀμφότερα διὰ βραχέων, πολλῷ βέλτιον ἄν περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλεύσασθε· εἰ δὲ πρὶν μαθεῖν ἀποσταίητε, γένοιτ’ ἂν ἐμοὶ μηδετέρους ἄδικοντι πρὸς ἀμφότερος διαβεβληθ’ σθαι. τοῦτο δ’ οὐχὶ δίκαιος εἰμὶ παθεῖν. ἂν μὲν οὖν κελεύητε, ἐτοιμός εἰμὶ λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ σιωπᾶν ἔχει μοι καλῶς.

[1431] Καὶ δίκαιον, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ συμφέρον υμῶν ἡγοῦμαι, τὰς μὲν αἰτίας καὶ τὰς κατηγορίας ὅταν βουλεύσθαι δέῃ παραλείπειν, περὶ τῶν παρόντων δέ λέγειν ὅ τι βέλτιστον ἐκαστὸς ἤγείται.

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*a* A measure was often debated several times before being ratified. Debate should be leisurely, ratification prompt and decisive: 21. 3.

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it to you. Surely the first step toward sound deliberation is not to have reached a decision before you have heard the discussions upon which you should base your decision. For the occasion and the method of ratifying your resolutions and of deciding in the first instance what seems expedient are not the same.*

I have come forward, men of Athens, to consult with you whether I should speak or not, and I shall explain to you for what reason I am at a loss how to decide this by myself. It is obligatory, in my opinion, that one who seeks to gratify neither himself nor certain people, but wishes to say on your behalf what he is convinced is most expedient, should both support good measures proposed by either side, and, conversely, oppose all unfair proposals which either side thinks fit to urge. Accordingly, if you should submit to hear both these lines of argument briefly, you would deliberate much better on the remaining questions; but, if you should desert me before learning my views, it would be my lot to be put in the wrong with both sides without being guilty of injustice to either. Now, I do not deserve to be in this plight. Therefore, if you bid me, I am prepared to speak; otherwise it is well for me to keep silence.

I consider it both just and profitable, men of Athens, for you to lay aside charges and accusations when we are to deliberate, and for each one to say what he thinks is best concerning the matters before you.
DEMOSTHENES

οτι μεν γαρ τινων αιτιών οντων κακώς τα πράγματ' ἔχει πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, εξ οτου δὲ τρόπον βελτίων δύνατ' ἄν γενέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ συμβουλεύσαι οντος ἔργον εἶπεῖν. ἔπειτ' ἔγγυε νομίζω καὶ κατηγόρους εἶναι τῶν ἀδικουμένων χαλεπούς, οὐ τοὺς ἐν τοιούτοις καίροῖς ἐξετάζοντας τὰ πεπραγμένα, οτ' ουδεμιᾶν δώσουσι δίκην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιούτοις τι συμβουλεύσαι δυνηθέντας ἀφ' οὗ βελτίων τὰ παρόντα γένοιτ' ἄν· διὰ γὰρ τούτους ἐφ' ἄτυχίας καὶ παρ' ἔκεινων ἐγγένοιτ' ἃν ὑμῶν δίκην λαβεῖν.

3 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἅλλους λόγους πάντας περιέργους ἢγούμαι ἢ δ' ἄν οἴμαι συνενεχεῖν περὶ ἤν νυνι σκοπεῖτε, ταῦτ' εἶπεῖν πειράσομαι, τοσοῦτον ἀξιώσας μόνων ἃν ἄρα τοῦ μεμνοῦμαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, μὴ κατηγορίας μ' ἐνεχ' ἣνεισθε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἣνα δείξας ἢ τόθ' ἡμάρτητε, νῦν ἀποτρέψω ταύτα παθεῖν.

ΚΑ

Εἰ καὶ τὸν ἅλλον χρόνον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδενὶ συμπολιτευόμενοι τοσαύτην ἢγομεν ἡσυχίαν ὀστημερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐτε τὰ νῦν ἂν γεγενημένα συμβῆναι νομίζω, τῶν τ' ἅλλων οἴμαι πολλὰ βέλτιον ἃν ἡμῖν ἔχειν. νῦν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνιῶν ἀσελγείας οὔτε παρελθεῖν οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὐθ' ὀλίγοι λόγου τυχεῖν 2 ἐστιν. ὅθεν συμβαινεῖ πολλὰ καὶ οὖκ ἐπιτήδει

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*a* Or, "when you are at peace."

*b* On subservience to politicians see *Olynth.* iii. 30-32. The reference is to Aeschines; the opening lines seem to refer to the Amphissian War of 339 b.c. and its sequels: XVII. 142-153.

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For while we all understand that through the fault of certain men our affairs are in a bad way, it is the task of your counsellor to suggest by what means they may be improved. Moreover, I for my part regard as stern accusers of the wrongdoers, not those who scrutinize their past actions on such occasions as this, when they will pay no penalty, but those who prove able to offer such advice as may effect some amelioration of our present situation; for with the help of these men it would also be possible at your leisure to bring those guilty men to justice. Accordingly, I consider all other topics to be out of place but shall attempt to tell you what I think would be expedient in the matters you are now considering, making this request only: if after all I do make mention of any of those things done in the past, do not think that I am speaking by way of accusation, but in order that, having shown you wherein you then erred, I may now avert your suffering the same misfortune again.

18 If all along, men of Athens, we had been as peaceful as at this moment, playing into the hands of no politician, I believe that the events which now have happened would never have taken place and that in many other respects we should be in better shape. But of late, because of the high-handedness of some men, it is impossible either to come forward or speak, or in general to get in a word. The consequences of this are numerous and perhaps not to our liking.

For organized interruptions in the Assembly see XIII. 20 and Olynth. ii. 29-30.
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[1432] boûlesethe, ψηφιεῖσθ' ἀπερ ἐκ τῶν παρεληλυθότων χρόνων, καθέλκειν τριήρεις, ἐμβάιεις, εἰσφέρεις, πάντα ταῦτ' ἤδη· ἀ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἢ πέντε, ἂν σιωπηθῇ ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ σχῶσιν ἤσυχίαν ἕκεινοι, πάλιν οὐκέτι καιρὸν εἶναι πράττειν ὑπολήψεθε. ὅπερ ἦνικ' ἐν 'Ελλησπόντῳ Φιλίππων ἥκουσαμεν συνέβη, καὶ πάλιν ἦνικ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα τριήρεις αἱ ληστρίδες προσέσχον.

3 Ὅς γὰρ ἣν χρήσασθος τις, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καλῶς δυνάμει παρεσκευασμένη, οὕτως ὑμεῖς εἰώθατε τῷ βουλεύεσθαι χρῆσθαι, ὀξέως. δεὶ δὲ βουλεύεσθαι μὲν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ποιεῖν δὲ τὰ δόξαντα μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ λογίσασθαι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἰ μὴ καὶ τροφὴν ἱκανὴν πορεύει καὶ στρατηγῶν τυχὼ τοῦ πολέμου νοῦν ἔχοντα προστήσεσθε, καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω δοξάντων ἐθελήσετε, ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμῖν περίεσται, καὶ παραναλώσετε μὲν πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν δαπανήσητε, βελτίω δ' οὖδ' ὅτιον τὰ πράγματ' ἔσται, κρινεῖτε δ' ὅν ἂν βούλησθ' ὄργισθεντες. ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς ἀμυνομένους όφθηναι πρότερον ἡ τοὺς πολίτας κρίνοντας· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ κείνοις ἐσμὲν δίκαιοι.

4 Ἰν' οὖν μή, τὸ ῥᾴστον ἀπάντων, ἐπιτιμήσω μόνον, ὅν τρόπον ἂν μοι δοκεῖτε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι διδάξω, δεηθεῖς ὑμῶν μὴ θορυβῆσαι μηδ' ἀναβάλλειν

1 ταυτά edd.

a 352 B.C.; Olynth. iii. 4-5 and Phil. i. 34.
b Contrast Thucyd. i. 70.
Accordingly, if what you wish is to be all the time getting this kind of news, to be considering what you ought to do, and to be in such a plight as at present, you will vote the same measures as for years past—to launch triremes, to embark, to pay a special war-tax and all that sort of thing, forthwith. Then in three or five days, if rumours of hostile movements cease and our enemies become inactive, you will once more assume that there is no longer need to act. This is just what happened when we heard that Philip was in the Hellespont and again when the pirate triremes put in at Marathon.

For just as a man would properly employ a force in 3 arms, men of Athens, you are accustomed to handle your deliberations, with dispatch. What you ought to do, however, is to deliberate at leisure but put your decisions into effect with speed, and to make up your minds to this, that unless you shall provide an adequate food-supply and place some general of good sense in charge of the war, and be willing to abide by the decisions so taken, you will have to your credit just a lot of decrees, and while you will have squandered all that you have spent, your interests will be not a whit advanced and in angry mood you will put on trial whomever it pleases you. For my part, I wish you to be seen repelling your enemies before sitting in judgement on your fellow-citizens; for it is a crime for us to make war upon one another rather than upon them.

In order, therefore, that I may not censure only— the easiest of all things—I shall explain how I think you may accomplish this, requesting you not to make an uproar or get the idea that I am merely

\[ ^6 \text{Cf. Olynth. i. 16.} \]
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νομίσαι με καὶ χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οἳ ταχὺ
καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες μάλιστ' εἰς τὸ δέον λέγουσιν·
οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὰ γ' ἡδὴ γεγενημένα κωλύσαι δυνηθεῖ-
μεν τῇ νυνί βοθείᾳ· ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν δεῖξῃ τίς πορι-
[1433] σθείσα παρασκευὴ διαμείναι δυνήσεται τέως ἂν ἡ
περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡ πεισθέντες διαλυσώ-
μεθα τὸν πόλεμον· οὔτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ
πάσχομεν ἂν κακῶς.

ΚΒ

Οἶμαι πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ὁμο-
λογήσαι ὥστε δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, ὅταν μὲν περὶ
tῶν ἡδίων τινὸς τῶν αὐτῆς βουλεύνηται, ἵσθιν πρό-
νοιαν ἔχειν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὁσηπτερ τοῦ δικαίου,
ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμαχικῶν ἡ τῶν κοινῶν, οἴον
καὶ τὸ νυνὶ παρόν, μηδενὸς οὔτως ὡς τοῦ δικαίου
φροντίζειν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τὸ λυστελές ἐξ-
αρκεῖ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὸ καλὸν προσέιναι
2 δεὶ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πράξεων, εἰς οὓς ἂν ἡκωσι,
κύριοι καθίστανται· τῆς δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων δόξης
οὐδεὶς τηλικοῦτος ἐσθ' ὅστις ἔσται κύριος, ἀλλ'
ὀποῖαν τιν' ἂν τὰ πραχθέντ' ἔχῃ δόξαν, τοιαύτην οἱ
πολλοὶ περὶ τῶν πραξάντων διήγγειλαν. δι' ὃς ἀπὸ
3 σκοπεῖν καὶ προσέχειν ὅπως δίκαια φανέται. χρῆ
μὲν οὖν οὔτως ἀπαντας ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν περὶ τῶν
ἀδικουμένων ὡσπερ ἂν, εἰ τι γένοιθ', ὤ μὴ συμ-
βαίη, τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ἄξιος εἰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκαστὸς
έχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην

a The preceding six lines are found also in Phil. i. 14-15.
procrastinating and interposing delay. For it is not those who say "At once" and "To-day" who speak most to the point, for we could not prevent by the present reinforcement what has already happened; but it will be the man who shows what armament, once furnished, will be able to hold out until we either get the upper hand of our enemies or by accepting terms bring the war to an end. For in this way we should no longer suffer aggression in time to come."

I believe that all of you, men of Athens, would agree that our city, when deliberating about any of her domestic affairs, should have as much concern for advantage as for justice, but when the question has to do with our allies or the general interests of Greece, as in the present instance, she ought to be mindful of nothing so scrupulously as of justice. Because in the former matters, expediency suffices, but in such as the latter, honour as well ought to play a part. For, of the actions themselves they become arbiters to whom the decisions belong; of the opinion formed of them, however, no man is so powerful as to be the arbiter; but whatever opinion shall attach to the actions, such is that which the multitude spreads abroad concerning the actors. Therefore you must look to it diligently that your actions shall be manifestly just. By rights, of course, all men should feel toward those who are wronged as each would think fit to demand of all others to feel toward himself if something should go amiss, which I pray may not happen. Since, however, certain persons, contrary to their own judgement, take the opposite
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ἐναντιοῦνται τινες, μικρὰ πρὸς τούτους εἶπὼν, ἀ\βέλτισθ' ύμῖν ὑπολαμβάνω, ταῦτ' ἦδη συμβουλεύσω.

ΚΓ

Οὐ μικρὰν ᾧ μοι δοκεῖτ', ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ζημίαν νομίσαι, εἴ τις ἁγδὴς δόξα καὶ μὴ προσήκουσα τῇ πόλει παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιγίγνουτο. τοῦτο τοῖν δὲ βάλω καλῶς ἐγνωκότες, οὐκ ἀκόλουθα ποιεῖτε τὰ λοιπὰ, ἀλλ' ὑπάγεσθ' ἐκάστοτε πράττειν ἔιναι, ᾧ οὐδ' ᾧ αὐτοὶ φήσατε καλῶς ἔχειν. ἔγω δ' οἴδα μὲν τοῦθ', ὅτι τοὺς ἐπιανοῦντας ἡδίον προσδέχονται πάντες τῶν ἐπιτιμώντων ὦν μὴν οἴμαι δεῖν, ταῦτην τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν διώκων, λέγειν παρ' ἀ συμφέρειν ύμῖν ἡγούμαι.\[1431\]

2 Τῇν μὲν οὖν ἄρχῃν εἰ καλῶς ἐγνωσκέτε, οὐδὲν δεῖν κοινῇ ποιεῖν ὑποληπτέον ἢν ὄν ἴδια μέμφεσθε, ὅπερ νυς γίγνεται. περιων μὲν ἐκαστος, "ὡς αἰσχρὰ καὶ δεινὰ" λέγει καὶ "μέχρι τοῦ προβῆσεται τὰ πράγματα;" συγκαθεξόμενος δ' αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐστὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντων. ἔγω μὲν οὖν ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ὡσπερ ὦτὶ ύμῖν συμφέρει τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντος ἀκούειν οἴδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοίςαν καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἐπόντι πολλῷ γὰρ ᾧ ἡδίον εἴχον. νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι μὲν, ὦμως δ' ᾧ γε πιστεύω χρηστὰ φανεῖσθαι, κἂν ὑμεῖς μὴ πεισθῆτε, οὐκ ἀποτρέψομαι λέγειν.

1 Blass prints the rest as a separate exordium, bracketing οὖν.

\[a\] Cf. Olynth. i. 16.
stand, I shall first address a few words to them and thereupon offer what I assume to be the best advice for you.

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No small detriment you would esteem it, as I believe, men of Athens, if some offensive opinion and discreditable to the city should come to prevail abroad. Now then, right as you are in this judgement, your actions in general are not consistent with it: but time and again you are misled into doing things that not even you yourselves would say are honourable. And while I am aware that all men receive with more pleasure those who praise than those who rebuke, yet I do not think it right in quest of this goodwill to say anything but what I judge to be in your interests.\(^a\)

If, then, at the outset your judgement had been sound, there would have been no need to assume that as a body you must do what as individuals you condemn, so that this very thing should not be happening which is now going on. While every man goes about saying “How disgraceful, how shocking!” and “How long will this business go on?”, every man sitting here with you is himself one of those who do such things. As for me, I should certainly have wished that, just as I know it pays you to listen to the speaker who makes the best proposals, so I might be sure it would also pay the one who made them; for so I should be much happier.\(^b\) As it now is, I have fears; nevertheless, I shall not be deterred from saying what I am confident will prove to be best, even if you shall not be convinced.

\(^a\) This clause is found also in \textit{Phil.} i. 51.
Εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τις, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρότερον παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εἰρήκως εἰή, νῦν γε λέγων περὶ ὄν ὀφθώς ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ πρέσβεις τῇ πόλει, παρὰ πάντων ἂν μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως συγγνώμης τυχεῖν.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν τισιν ἢττᾶσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων οὐχ οὕτως ὀνείδος ὡς ἀτύχημι ἂν φανείη. καὶ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐφεστηκόσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἀλλοίς' μέτεστι τοῦ καλῶς ἡ μὴ ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ τὰ δίκαια ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχειν λέγειν ἀξίως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, αὐτῆς τῆς γνώμης τῆς τῶν τοῦτο 2 παθόντων τὸ ὀνείδος εὐρήσομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτεροῖ τινες ἦσαν ἐν οἷς ἐγίγνονθ᾽ οἱ λόγοι περὶ ὑμῶν, οὔτε τούτους ἂν ὀμοίραθας οὕτως ἄνευ-δεσθαί, οὔτε τοὺς ἀκούοντας πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνασχέσθαι. νῦν δὲ τάλλα τ᾽ οἱμαί τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεκτοῦσιν εὐθείας ἀπαντεῖς, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο [143.5] νῦν οὕτω ἀκροαταῖς γὰρ ἐχρήσαντο καθ᾽ ὑμῶν ὑμῶν, οἷοις οὐδέσιν ἂν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀκριβῶς οἶδα τοῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ.

3 Ἀξιον δ᾽ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τούτους μισεῖν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁρᾷν τούτους· τὸν 'Ῥωδίων δῆμον, τὸν πολὺ τούτων ποτ᾽ ἀσελγεστέρους λόγους λέγοντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἱκέτην ὑμετέρον γεγενημένον, εὐτύχημι εἶναι νομίζω τῆς πόλεως· τὸ δὲ τοὺς

1 Lacking in most codd.

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a Chians, Byzantines and Rhodians. See XV. 3 and the Introduction to that oration.

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EXORDIA, 24. 1–3

24

Even if the speaker were one who had never spoken on another subject before you, men of Athens, surely now, discussing the groundless charges which the ambassadors a bring against the State, he might well, I think, meet with indulgence from all.

For in certain other contests to be worsted by one's adversaries may seem to be not so much a reproach as a misfortune, because luck and the officials in charge and many other factors play a part in the winning or the losing of a contest; but in the event of men having no self-justification to offer worthy of the merits of their case we shall find the reproach of those found in this plight to attach to nothing but their intelligence. Surely if it had been some other 2 people before whom these speeches about you were being made, I do not think these men would be finding it so easy to lie nor would the hearers have tolerated many of their assertions. But as things now are, I think that in general all and every take advantage of your simplicity and in particular these men have done so on the present occasion; for they have found in you such an audience for charges against yourselves as they would have found in no other people, as I know for a certainty.

And well may you, in my view, men of Athens, 3 for this turn of events be grateful to the gods and detest these men. b For the fact that they see the democracy of Rhodes, which used to address you much more presumptuously than these, now become your suppliant, I consider a piece of good fortune for the State; but that these stupid men should neither

b Chians and Byzantines.
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ανοήτους τούτους μῆτε τούτο λογίζεσθαι, παρ' ὀν' οὕτως ἐναργεῖς ἰδεῖν, μὴθ' ὅτι πολλάκις καθ' ἐν' αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν ὑμεῖς σεσώκατε, καὶ πλεῖων πράγματ' ἐσχήκατε τὴν τούτων θρασύτητα καὶ κακοδαιμονίαν ἐπανορθοῦντες, ἑπειδὰν δ' ἐαυτοὺς ἀνέλωνται πόλεμον, ἢ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττοντες, τούτῳ παμπόλλην ὑμῖν ὀργήν εἰκότως ἄν παρα-4 στῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἵσως τούτους μὲν εἴμαιται μηδέποτ' εὖ πράττουσιν εὐ φρονήσαν ὑμῖν δὲ προσήκει καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ τὰλλ' ἄ πέπρακται τῇ πόλει, σπουδάσας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καὶ ἄει ἡμεῖς τὰ δίκαια προαιρούμεθα πράττειν, ἔτερον δὲ τινὲς καταδουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενοι τοὺς αὐτῶν πολιτὰς διαβάλλουσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

ΚΕ

Εἰ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἁθηναίοι, τοὺς τε λόγους ἢκουέτε τῶν συμβουλευόντων καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐκρίνετε, πάντων ἀσφαλέστατον ἢν ἂν τὸ συμβουλεύειν. καὶ γὰρ εὐτυχῶς καὶ καλῶς1 πράξασι (λέγειν γὰρ εὐφήμως πάντα δεῖ) κοιν' ἂν ἢν τὰ τῆς αἰτίας ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ πείσαντι. νῦν δ' ἀκούετε μὲν τῶν ἅ βουλεύεα λεγόντων ἠδιστα, αἰτιάσθε δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐὰν 2 μὴ πάνθ' ὅπ ὧν ὑμεῖς τρόπον βουλήσατε γένηται, οὐ [1436] λογιζόμενοι τοῦθ', ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ζητῆσαι καὶ λογίσα-σθαί τὰ βέλτισθ', ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐστὶ κύριος, τοῦ δὲ πραχθῆ-

1 ἀλλως Dobree.
consider this, though it is so plain to see, nor that you have often gone to the rescue of them one after another, and that you have been put to more trouble rectifying the errors of their rashness and infatuation, whenever they have chosen to make war on their own account, than in managing your own affairs, might well have aroused in you the profoundest wrath, it seems to me. Perhaps, however, it is the destiny of these people never to be wise when prosperous. Still it is the fitting thing for you, because you are who you are and because of the past performance of the State, to make a point of demonstrating to all men that, as in former times, so now and always we prefer to practise justice, though certain others, wishing to enslave their own fellow-citizens, accuse them falsely before us.

If you were of the same mind, men of Athens, when listening to the speeches of those who counsel you and when judging the outcome of measures taken, offering advice would be the safest thing in the world. For if you met with good luck and success—because one must always use words of good omen—the credit for these would be common to yourselves and the sponsor. But, as things are, you most enjoy listening to those who say what you wish to hear, yet often you charge them with deceiving you if everything does not turn out the way you would like, not taking this into account, that of the task of studying and calculating the best measures, within human limitations, and of explaining them to you, each man is himself the arbiter, but of their execution and profit-

\* The same charge is made in XV. 16.
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ναὶ ταῦτα καὶ συνενεγκεῖν ἐν τῇ τύχῃ τὸ πλείστον μέρος γίνεται. ἐστί δὲ ἀνθρωπον ὅντ' ἀγαπητὸν τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας λόγον ὑπέχειν: τῆς δὲ τύχης 3 προσπυοσχεῖν ἐν τὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν εὐρημένον ἢν πῶς ἂν τις ἁσφαλῶς ἄνευ κινδύνου δημηγοροῖ, μανία παραλείπειν τοῦτον ἢν τὸν τρόπον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκη τὸν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφασίσαντος κοινώνειν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γενομένοις καὶ μετέχειν τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων αἰτίας, ἀσχορῦν ἡγοῦμαι λέγειν μὲν ὡς εὗνος, μὴ υπομένειν δ', εἰ τις ἐκ τούτου κίνδυνος ἔσται.

Εὐχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἃ καὶ τῇ πόλει κάμοι συμφέρειν μέλλει, ταῦτ' ἐμοὶ τ' εἰπεῖν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ ὑμῖν ἐλέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ πάντα τρόπον ζητεῖν νικήσαι, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἡ μανίας ἡ κέρδους ἕνεκ' ἐσπούδακότος φῆσαιμ' ἂν εἰναι.

Κς

Εὐθεῖα μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρεὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ περὶ ὧν νυνὶ τυγχάνετ' ἐκκλησιάζοντες καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπάντων, ταῦτα καὶ δοκοῦντα βέλτισθ' ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ ὧν' ὡς ἀληθῶς· δεῖ μέντοι περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων βουλευομένους καὶ κοινῶν, ἀπάντων ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ἐνθυμομένους ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὃ ἀνδρεὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, νῦν μὲν βουλομένων τι παραπεῖν εὐών ἀθορυβεῖν, ὑστερον δὲ κατηγοροῦντων τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων

1 τοῦτον ἃν Blass.

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1 Demosthenes defends himself by this argument in XVIII. 192-193: τὸ μὲν γάρ πέρας, ὡς ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τῆς τοῦ συμβουλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ.
ablleness the control, for the most part, lies in the power of Fortune. As a human being it is enough for a man to stand accountable for his own thinking: but to stand accountable also for the play of Fortune is quite impossible. Certainly, if a way had been discovered whereby a man might address the people with safety to the State and without hazard to himself, it would be madness to ignore it: but since it is a certainty that one who declares an opinion on actions about to be taken will share in the benefits accruing and participate in the credit for these benefits, I consider it shameful to speak as a loyal citizen, yet not face the test if some danger shall arise therefrom.

So I pray the gods that such measures as are destined to profit both the State and myself may occur to my mind to suggest and to you to adopt. For to seek by any and every means to be on the winning side is either one of two things. I should say, a sign of mental derangement or of one who is bent on selfish gain.

26

If only it might be, men of Athens, that, when assembling to discuss the present questions or any others, the seemingly best for you and the really best might be one and the same! It is your duty, however, when deliberating on matters of supreme importance and of general concern, to be willing to listen to all your counsellors, as it seems to me, thinking it shameful, men of Athens, to create an uproar now when a number of speakers wish to propose some measure, but later to enjoy hearing these same men denounce—

b He refers to the anger of the Assembly.
2 τῶν πεπραγμένων ἢδέως ἀκούειν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα, [1437] νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀρέσκουσιν μάλισθ' ὑμῖν οἱ ταῦθ' οίς ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε λέγοντες· ἂν δὲ τι συμβῇ παρ' ἄ νῦν οἰεσθ', ὁ μὴ συμβαίη, τούτους μὲν ἔξηππατηκέναι νομεῖθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅν δὲ νῦν οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε τότ' ὀρθῶς δόξουσι λέγειν. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα πεπεικόσιν ὑμᾶς ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὃν νῦν ἔστε, τούτους καὶ μάλιστα συμφέρον τὸ λόγον τυχεῖν 3 τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας. ἂν μὲν γὰρ διδάξαι δυνηθῶς ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀρισθ' ἄ τούτους δοκεῖ, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἡμάρτηταί πω, τοῦτο πράξαντες ἀθώους τοὺς κιν- δύνους ποιήσουσιν αὐτοῖς· εἰάν δὲ μὴ δυνηθῶς, οὐκοιν ὑπερόν γ' ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἀν- θρώπων ἦν ἔργον, ἀκοῦσαι, τούτων τετυχήκοτες, ἀν ἥττωνται, δικαίως στέρξουσι, καὶ μεθ' ἀπάντων τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ὅποι' ἀπ' ἦν ἥ, κοινωνήσουσιν.

ΚΖ

Οἶμαι δείν, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, περὶ τηλικοῦτων βουλευομένους, διδόναι παρρησίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμβουλευόντων. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδεπώποθ' ἠγησάμην χαλεπῶν τὸ διδάξαι τὰ βέλτισθ' ὑμᾶς (ὡς γὰρ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντες ὑπάρχειν ἑγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε), ἀλλὰ τὸ πείσαι πράπτειν ταῦτα· ἐπειδ' ἂν τι δόξῃ καὶ ψηφισθῇ, τότ' ἵσον τοῦ πραχθῆναι

a They will be spared the anger of the Assembly: XIV, conclusion.
EXORDIA, 26. 2—27. 1

ing what has been done. I myself know, and I think you do too, that just now those please you most who express the same views that you yourselves wish to hear; but if something turns out contrary to what you now expect—and may this not be the case!—that you will believe that these men have deceived you, while those whom you cannot now endure you will then think to be right. In reality, it is those who have done most to persuade you of the wisdom of the proposals which you are now considering who have most to gain by the opposition securing an opportunity to speak. For if it shall be able to show that the proposals which seem best to these men are not the best, when as yet no mistake has been made, it will by so doing nullify their risks for them; yet if it fails to persuade, they will later, at any rate, have no occasion to find fault, but, having obtained all that it was the duty of men to give, a hearing, they will rightly be content if defeated, and along with all the rest share in the outcome, whatever that may be.

27

I think it your duty, men of Athens, when deliberating about such important matters to allow freedom of speech to every one of your counsellors. For my own part, I have never at any time considered it difficult to make you understand what proposals are best—for, to put it simply, I think you all have decided that,—but only difficult to persuade you to act on these proposals. For when a measure has been approved and confirmed by a vote, it is then as

b The beginning of XV is identical.
2 ἀπέχει, ὁσονπερ πρὶν δόξαι. ἕστι μὲν οὖν ὃν ἐγὼ νομίζω χάριν ὑμᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλειν τὸ τούς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑβριν ὑμῖν πολεμήσαντας οὐ πάλαι, νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν μόνοις τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἂξιον δ' ἡσθήναι τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· συμβήσεται γάρ, ἂν ἂ χρή βουλεύσησθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὰς παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόντων τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν βλασ- φημίας ἔργῳ μετὰ δόξης καλῆς ἀπολύσασθαι.

ΚΗ

Αἱ μὲν ἐλπίδες, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, μεγάλαι καὶ καλαὶ τῶν προειρημένων, πρὸς ὦς οὖμαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἄνευ λογισμοῦ τι πεπονθέναι. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐγνω εἰνεκα τοῦ παραχρῆμ' ἀρέσαι λέγειν τι πρὸς υμᾶς, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνοίσειν ἤγωμαι. ἕστι μὲν οὖν τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν πλείστων τοὺς μὲν συνεπαινοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς ὃ τί ἂν πράττωσι φιλεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ἀγδῶς ἐχεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα δεῖ τὸν εὗ φρονοῦντα τὸν λογισμὸν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμῶν κρείττω πειράσθαι

2 ποιεῖν. ἐγὼ δ' ἡδέως ἃν ἐώρων ὃ καὶ συνοίσειν ἡμελλε, ταῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ πράττειν ὅνθ' υμῖν, ἢν καὶ χαριζόμενος καὶ χρηστὰ λέγων ἐφαινόμην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάναντι' ὀρῶ τούτων ἐπιχειροῦντας υμᾶς, οὖμαι δεῖν ἀντεπεῖν, εἰ καὶ τοις μέλλω ἀπεχθῆσεσθαι· ἂν μὲν οὖν μηδ' ὑπομείνητ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲ ἐν, οὐ τῷ
EXORDIA. 27. 1—28. 2

far from being put into effect as before it was approved. It certainly is something for which I think you owe gratitude to the gods that those who, through their own arrogance, not long ago made war upon you, now repose the hopes of their own deliverance in you alone, and you have good reason to be delighted at the present opportunity. For the effect will be, if you decide about it as you ought, to rid ourselves, by the language of deeds, of the slanders circulated by the traducers of our city, and also to maintain our good repute.

28

The hopes aroused by what has been previously said, men of Athens, are great and glorious: I fancy that most of you have been somewhat swayed by them without really thinking. As for myself, I have never been minded to tell you for the sake of your momentary gratification anything that I did not think would also subsequently prove to be of advantage. Naturally it is a trait common to most men to like those who join in applauding them, whatever they do, but to dislike those who find fault with them. Nevertheless, the sensible man should always strive to make reason the master of his feelings. I should have been glad, myself, to see you happy at putting into effect the measures that were going to profit you, that I might have been found both meeting your wishes and giving good advice. But since I see you about to try the opposite measures, I think I ought to speak against them, even if I shall be hated for it by certain persons. So, if you will not endure to hear even one word from me, you will be thought to be preferring
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dοκιμάζοντες διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φύσει πονήρ' ἐπιθυμεῖν πράττειν τοιαῦτα προαιρεῖσθαι δόξετε. ἐὰν δ' ἀκούσητε, τυχὸν μὲν ὑςως κἂν μεταπεισθεῖτε, δ' ἦλιστ' ἐγὼ νομίζω συνενεγκεῖν ἂν ὑμῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἱ μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ὁ συμφέρον, οἱ δ', ὁ τι ἄν τις βουληταὶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ.

ΚΘ

Πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ καμὼν, ὥ ἀνδρεὶς 'Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς δόξασι παρ' ὑμῖν εἶναι τινὰς οἰτίνες ἀντεροῦσιν, ἐπειδὰν πράττειν τι δέη. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀποδόντων ὑμῶν λόγων αὐτοῖς ὅτ' ἐβουλεύσητε, τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, τούτων ἄν ἦν ἀξίων κατηγορεῖν, εἰ περὶ ὧν ἦττηντ' ἐβιάζοντο πάλιν λέγειν· νῦν δὲ τούτους μὲν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἄτοπον, εἰπεῖν βουληθήναι 2 ταῦθ' ἀ τὸτ' οὐχ ὑπεμεινατ' ἄκούσαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἄν τις εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειεν, ἀνδρεὶς 'Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὑπόταν περὶ τοῦ βουλεύσητε, οὐκ ἔατε λέγειν ἔκαστον ὁ γιγνώσκει, ἀλλ' ἂν ἔτεροι τῷ λόγῳ προλάβωσιν ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲνος ἄν τῶν ἔτερων ἀκούσατε. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει πράγμ' ἀδήσεις ὑμῖν· ὅσ γὰρ πρὸν ἀμαρτεῖν ὑμῖν ἔξης συμβουλεύονσα πείθεσθαι, 3 τούτως ὑστερον κατηγοροῦντας ἐπανείπετε. τοῦτο δὴ τοῦτο μοι πάλιν δοκεῖτε πείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παρασχόντες ὑσους ἀκροατὰς πάντων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον ὑπομείναντες, ἐλόμενοι τὰ κράτιστα τοὺς ὅτιον τούτως ἐπιτιμῶντας φαιλοὺς νομεῖτε.

a The Assembly could vote at any time to reopen the debate. See 34.

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such a course of action, not through an error of judgement, but through your natural propensity to do wrong. However, if you do listen, you may perhaps be won over to the other view, which I think would be most to your advantage. But if you refuse to listen, some will plead ignorance of what was advantageous, while others—well, what a man likes to say he will say.

29
In the first place, it is nothing strange, men of Athens, that among you are found some who, when action has to be taken, will speak against measures already voted. Now, if they were doing this after you had given them the floor while still deliberating, it would be the right thing to denounce them for insisting upon speaking a second time to questions on which they had been defeated; as it is, there is nothing unreasonable in their desiring to express views which then you did not submit to hear, and it is you who may well be criticized, men of Athens, because, when you deliberate about something, you do not allow each to say what he thinks, but, if the one side captures you first by their plea, you would hear no one from the other side. From this arises a situation embarrassing for you, because the men whose advice, before going wrong, you might have followed, you applaud later for denouncing your mistakes. This very thing is about to happen to you again, it seems to me, unless on the present occasion, giving impartial audience to all, and submitting to this tedious duty, you shall choose the best proposals and judge those who find any fault with them to be no loyal citizens.
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'Εγώ μὲν δὴ δίκαιον ὑπείληφα πρῶτον ἀπάντων αὐτὸς εἶπεῖν τί μοι δοκεῖ περὶ ὃν σκοπεῖσθε, ὅν, ἄν μὲν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διδάσκω, εἰ δὲ μή, μήθ’ ὑμῖν ἐνοχλῶ μήτ’ ἐμαυτοῦ κόπτω.

A

"Εδει μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, πρὸ τοῦ πολέμεων ἐσκέφθαι τὸς ὑπάρξει παρασκευὴ τῷ γενησιμένῳ πολέμῳ· εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ πρόδηλος ἦν, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐβουλεύσθη ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φανερῶ γενιμένον, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς παρασκευής ἐσκέφθαι. εἰ δὲ φήσετε πολλὰς ἐγκεχειρικέναι δυνάμεις ὡς λειμαύσαι τοὺς ἐπιστάντας, οὐκ ἀποδέχεσται τοῦθ’ ὑμῶν οὖν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς Τ’ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολῦσαι καὶ λέγειν ὡς διὰ τούτων κακῶς ταῦτ’ ἔχει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν παρεληλυθότ’ οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως ἔχοι δεῖ δ’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπαρμόναι τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῦ μὲν κατηγορεῖν οὐδένα καὶρὸν ὀρῷ, πειρᾶσομαι δ’ ἂν κράτισσα νομίζω συμβουλεύσαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἔκειν ἐγνωκέναι δεῖ, ὅτι τὴν ἵστην ὑπερβολὴν τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πάντ’ ἄνδρα παρασχέσθαι δεῖ ὀσμηνπερ ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν χρόνων ἀμελείας· μόλις γὰρ οὕτως ἐλπίς ἐκ πολλοῦ διώκοντας τὰ προειμέν’ εἰλεῖν δυνηθήναι. ἐπειτ’ οὐκ ἄθυμητεν τοῖς γεγενημένοις· ό γὰρ ἔστι τῶν παρεληλυθότων χείριστον, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βελτιστον ὑπάρχει.

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a Possibly Chares and Charidemus, who failed to save Olynthus in 348 B.C.
b This commonplace is found also in XVIII. 192; Olynth., iii. 6.

136
Now I have thought it fair to tell you first of all my views about the questions you are considering, in order that, if these meet with your favour, I may also explain the rest of my ideas, but, if you disapprove, that I may neither bore you nor tire myself out.

30

It was your duty, men of Athens, before going to war to have considered what armament would be available for the coming campaign, but if, as a matter of fact, war was not foreseen, it was your duty to have considered also the question of armament on that occasion when you were deliberating for the first time about war after it had become certain. If you shall say that you have commissioned many armies which your commanders have ruined, no one will accept this excuse of you. For the same people cannot both absolve those in charge of their operations and claim that through fault of these men these operations are not succeeding. Since, however, past events cannot be altered and it is necessary to safeguard our interests as present facilities permit, I see no fitting occasion for laying charges but shall try to offer what I think is the best counsel.

Now, first of all, you must admit this principle, that it is the duty of every man to apply to the task the same superabundance of eagerness and emulation that he displayed of indifference in times past; because thus there is a bare hope that we may be able, though far behind in the pursuit, to overtake what we have let slip. In the next place, there must be no discouragement over what has happened, because what is worst in the past is the best hope for the future.
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tί οὖν τούτ έστιν, Ω άνδρες 'Αθηναίοι; Ότι ούδεν ύμων τῶν δεόντων ποιοῦντων κακῶς έχει τά πράγματα: ἐπει e' γε πάνθ' Α προσήκε πραττόντων ου- τως είχεν, ούδ' αν ελπίς ήν αυτά γενέσθαι βελτίω.

ΛΛ

Ουδέν έστιν, Ω άνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, χαλεπώτερον ή τοίς αυτοίς έθεσιν επιτιμάν τε καὶ χρήσθαι τούς δημιουργοῦντας. τό γάρ στασιάζειν πρός αυτούς καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἀλλήλων ἀνευ κρίσεως ούδείς έστιν οὕτως ἀγνώμων οὕτε οὗ φήσειν αὖ βλάβην εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν. έγώ δ' οἴομαι τούτους μὲν ἂν εἶναι βελτίους, εἰ τίνην πρός αυτούς φιλονικίαν ἐπὶ τούς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροὺς τρέψαντες ἐδημηγοῦν· ύμῖν δὲ παραμίθης μὴ συστασιάζειν μηδετέροις τού- των, μηδ' ὅπως άτεροι κρατήσουσι σκοπεῖν, ἄλλ' 2 ὅπως ύμεῖς ἀπαντες τῶν ἐχθρών περιέσεσθε. εὐ- χομαὶ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς ἡ φιλονικίας ἡ ἐπιθείας ἡ τινος ἀλλής ἔνεκ' αἰτίας ἀλλο τι, πλὴν αὖ ποθ' ἠγούνται συμφέρειν, λέγοντας παύσασθαι: τό γάρ καταράσθαι συμβουλεύοντ' ἵσως ἑστ' ἀτοπον. αἰ- τιασάμην μὲν οὖν ἐγωγ' οὐδέν', Ω άνδρες 'Αθη- ναίοι, τοῦ κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχειν, ἄλλ' ἡ πάντας τούτους: οἴομαι δὲ δεῖν παρὰ μὲν τούτων ἐφ' ἠσυ- χίας λόγον ύμᾶς λαβεῖν, νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, ὅπως έσται βελτίω, σκοπεῖν.

[111]

This is called a paradox in Phil. iii. 5; cf. Phil. i. 2.
b See 11 and note.

138
What, then, do I mean by this, men of Athens? That it is because you do nothing that you ought to do that your affairs are in a bad way; since if you were doing everything you should and your affairs were in this state, there would be not even a hope of improvement.\(^a\)

Nothing is more mischievous, men of Athens, than that those who address your Assembly should both censure and employ the same practices. For there is no man so unintelligent as to deny that to behave factiously among themselves and to accuse one another when no one is on trial\(^b\) means damage to your interests. I think myself that these men would be better citizens if, when addressing the Assembly, they should turn the contentiousness they feel toward one another against the enemies of the State; and to you I recommend not to take sides with either of these factions or to consider how either one is to gain the mastery, but how you as a body are to prevail over your enemies. And I pray to the gods that those who out of contentiousness or spite or any other motive express any other sentiments than those they believe to be advantageous may cease to do so; for to invoke a curse when speaking in council is perhaps unseemly. Therefore, while I should myself lay the blame for this bad state of affairs, men of Athens, upon no one except these men as a class, and although I think you ought to exact an accounting of them when you have the leisure, yet for the present I think you should consider only how the existing situation may bebettered.
'Ηβουλόμην ἃν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἱσημαρτύρησιν εἴνοις τῶν λεγόντων ποιεῖσθαι ὅπως τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἐροῦσιν ὅσην περ ὅπως εὐ δόξουσι λέγειν, ἢν οὕτως μὲν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ λέγειν ἐπιεικεῖς ἐνομίζοντ᾽ εἶναι, τὰ δ᾽ ὑμέτερ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ προσήκον, βέλτιον εἶχε. νῦν δ' ἐνιοί μοι δοκοῦσι παντάπασι τὴν ἁπὸ τοῦ λόγου δόξαν ἡγαπηκότες, τῶν μετὰ τὰ ταῦτα συμβησσομένων ὑμῖν μηδὲν φροντίζειν. καὶ δὴτα θαυμάζω πότερον ποθ᾽ οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι τὸν λέγονθ᾽ ὤμοισ πεφύκασιν ἐξαπατὰν ὅσπερ πρὸς οὐς ἃν λέγωνται, ἡ συνείτεσι οὗτοι τᾶναντία τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐαυτοῖς εἶναι βελτίστοις δημιουργοῦσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄγνοιοσ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, οὐκ ἐπί τῶν λόγων θραυσύν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἱσχυρὸν εἶναι δεῖ, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τούς ἐχθροὺς μὴ δυνῆσεσθαι θαρρεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ καὶν δύνωνται κρατῆσειν, τὰ τῶν λόγων ἀστεί᾽ ὡς ἐοικε τοῦ τὰ μέγιστ᾽ αἰσθάνεσθαι κεκώλυκεν αὐτοῦσ. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μηδ᾽ ἂν φήσαιεν ἄγνοιειν, πρόφασις δ᾽ ἄλλη τις ὑπεστὶ δι᾽ ἡν ταῦτα προαιροῦνται, πῶς οὐ χρῆ βαύλην ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἢτις ποτ᾽ ἔστιν;

'Εγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀποτρέφομαι λέγειν ἃ δοκεῖ μοι, καίστερ ὁρῶν ἡγμένους ὑμᾶς· καὶ γὰρ εὐθεῖες, λόγῳ ψυχαγωγηθέντων ὑμῶν οὐκ ὄρθως, λόγον αὐτὸν μέλλοντα βελτίων λέγειν καὶ μᾶλλον συμφέρονθ᾽

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a This meaning of the verb comes from magical practices: see Lexicon under ἀγώγυμον.
EXORDIA. 32. 1-3

32

I should have wished, men of Athens, that some of the speakers had displayed as much eagerness to present the best proposals as they did to be thought good speakers, in order that these men might have been regarded as honest instead of clever at speaking and that your interests, just as is proper, might have been in better shape. As it now is, however, some seem to me to be entirely content with the reputation for speaking, but to be taking no thought for what will subsequently befall you. And certainly I wonder whether speeches of this sort are capable of deceiving the speaker as much as those to whom they are addressed, or whether these men knowingly express before the Assembly opinions directly opposed to what they themselves think best. For if they are unaware that he who is going to do what requires to be done must not have audacity based upon words but power based upon armament, nor yet self-confidence based upon the assumption that our enemies will be weak, but confidence that we shall overmaster them even if they shall be strong, the elegance of their speeches has prevented them, as it seems, from apprehending the most vital facts. Yet if they should not even deny awareness of these facts, and some ulterior motive underlies their predilection for this conduct, how can one help assuming that this motive, whatever it may be, is base?

As for me, I shall not be deterred from saying what I think, although I see that you have been bewitched; for it would be foolish, because you have wrongly yielded to the spell of oratory, for the man who in his turn is going to offer better proposals and much
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ήμων καταδείσαι. ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπομείναι, ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ νῦν δοκοῦντ’ ἐδοξέων ἂν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς λόγους ἦκουσατ’ ἐξ ὅν ἐπείσθητε.

4 ὡσπερ ἄν τοίνυν εἰ νόμισμ’ ἐκρίνεθ’ ὅποιον τί ποτ’ ἔστι, δοκιμάσαι δεῖν ἂν ὕπήθητε, οὔτω καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀξίω τὸν εἰρημένον εξ ὅν ἀντειπεῖν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν σκεφαμένους, ἐὰν μὲν συμφέρονθ’ εὐρητ’, ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ πείθεσθαι, ἂν δ’ ἂρ’ ἐκαστα λογιζομένους ἀλλοιότερος φανή, πρὶν ἄμαρτεῖν μεταβολευσα-μένους, τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσι χρῆσασθαι.

Δ1’

Μάλιστα μὲν, ὥ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμᾶς ὁ μέλλω λέγειν πεισθήναι· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοῦτ’ ἄλλη πῆ συμβαίνοι, ἐμαυτῷ γ’ ἂν εἰρήσθαι πρὸ παντὸς αὐτὰ δεξαίμην.

’Εστι δ’ οὐ μόνον, ὥς δοκεῖ, τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴπεῖν χαλεπὸν τὰ δέοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν σκοπούμενον εὐρείν· γνοίη δ’ ἂν τις εἰ, μὴ τὸν λόγον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ τὰ πράγματ’ ἐφ’ ὅν ἔστε σκέψεσθαι νομίσαι, καὶ πλεῖω σπουδὴν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐπιεικὴς 2 εἶναι ή τοῦ δεινὸς εἴπεῖν φανήναι ποιοῖτο. ἐγὼ γοῦν (οὔτω τί μοι γένοιτ’ ἀγαθόν) ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐπῆει μοι σκοπεῖν, λόγοις μὲν καὶ μᾶλ’ ἀφθόνοις, οὕς οὐκ ἂν ἀχθῶς ἥκουσθ’ ὑμεῖς, ἐνετύγ-χανον. καὶ γὰρ ὡς δικαίωτατοί τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔστε, 142
more to your advantage, to give in to fear. And I ask of you to listen patiently, bearing in mind that you would not have formed your present opinions either unless you had listened to the speeches by which you have been persuaded. Accordingly, just as you would have thought it necessary to test a coin if you were judging what its worth might be, so I ask of you to scrutinize in the light of what we have to say against it the speech that has been made, and if you find it to your advantage, agree with the speaker, and may good fortune attend you; but if, after all, as you examine each detail, it shall seem alien to your interests, to change your plans before falling into error and to adopt the counsels that are right.

33

Most of all I should desire, men of Athens, that you be convinced by the words I am about to utter, but if after all it should turn out otherwise, I should prefer above all else that by me, at least, they had been spoken.

It is a difficult thing, as it seems, not only to explain to you what ought to be done, but even to discover it by solitary reflection. Anyone would observe this if he believed you would consider, not his speech, but the business upon which you are engaged, and set more value upon being thought an honest man than upon showing himself to be a clever speaker. I, at any rate,—so help me Heaven,—after it occurred to me to reflect upon our present problems, began to hit upon themes, and no end of them, to which you would have listened not without pleasure. For instance, on the theme “You are the most just of the Greeks,” I
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πόλλ' εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐώρων καὶ ὀρῶ, καὶ ως ἀρίστων προγόνων, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν τὸν χρόνον ἡσθήναι ποιήσανθ' ὅσον ἂν ῥηθῇ, μετὰ ταῦτ' οἶχεται: δει δὲ πράξεώς τινος τὸν λέγοντα φανῆναι σύμβουλον δι' ἦν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀγαθοῦ τινος ύμῖν ἔστατι παρουσία. τούτῳ δ' ἦδη καὶ σπάνιον καὶ χαλεπὸν πεπειραμένον οἶδα ὅν εὑρεῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτάρκες τὸ ἱδεῖν ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἂν μὴ καὶ πείσαί τις τοὺς συναρμομένους ύμᾶς δυνηθῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμὸν μὲν ἔργον εἰπείν ἵσως ἡ πέπεικ' ἐμαυτὸν συμφέρειν, ύμέτερον δ' ἀκούσαντας κριναί, κἀν ἄρεσκη, χρῆσασθαι.

ΛΔ

Οὐκ ἄδηλον ἦν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρῶην ὅτε τῶν ἀντιλέγειν βουλομένων οἷς ὅ δεῖν' ἔλεγ' οὐκ ὕσσον ἀκούειν χρῆναι, ὅτι συμβήσεται τοῦθ' ὃ νυνὶ γίγνεται, ὅτι οἱ τότε κωλυθέντες ἐροῖεν εἰς ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν. ἂν τοίνυν ταῦθ' ἀπερ πρότερον ποιήσητε, καὶ τῶν τοῖς τότε δόξασι συνειπεῖν βουλομένων μὴ θελήσητ' ἀκούσαι, πάλιν ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν οὕτωι λαβόντες τούτων κατηγο-2 ρήσουσιν. οὖδαμοι, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε τὰ πράγματ' ἂν χείρω γένοιτο οὔθ' ὑμεῖς ἀτοπώτεροι φανεῖτε, εἰ μήτε τῶν δοξάντων ύμῖν πέρας μηδὲν

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a These were stock topics of funeral speeches: see lx. and the Introduction to the same.
b Cf. VIII. 73.
c It has been suggested that ὁ δεῖνα was a blank to be filled in as occasion required, the Exordia being composed in advance of use.

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observed and now observe many changes to ring, and again, "You are born of the noblest ancestors," and many such topics. Yet these themes, though affording pleasure so long as they are being aired, after that vanish away; and it is the duty of the speaker to show himself the adviser of some course of action through which the gain of some real benefit shall also afterwards accrue to you. Such a policy as this I know by now from experience to be rare and hard to discover. Neither is it enough merely to get a vision of such policies unless a man shall also be able to convince you, who jointly are to assume the responsibility. On the contrary, there is an obligation resting upon both alike, upon me to tell you what I have convinced myself is advantageous, upon you to listen, to judge and, if it is your pleasure, to adopt.

It was not hard to see, men of Athens, the other day when you thought there was no need to hear those who desired to speak in opposition to the views of a certain speaker, that what is now coming to pass would occur—that those who were then prevented from speaking would do so before a subsequent meeting of the Assembly. If, therefore, you shall do the same as before, and refuse to listen to those who wish to support the decisions then approved, these men in turn will take the matter to the next meeting and denounce these decisions. In no way, men of Athens, could your situation be made worse nor could you show yourselves more absurd than if none of your decisions should seem to be finally

*d See 29 and note.
ἐχειν δοκοῖς, μὴ ἔφε, ἀφέντες ὁ ἄγαν, τὸν πρὸ ὀδοὺ τι περαίνοιτε, εἰπήτε ὡςπερ τὰ θέατρα τῶν προκαταλαμβανόντων. μηδαμῶς, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ πονήσαντες τὸν πόνον τούτον, καὶ παρασχόντες ἵσος ἀκροατῶν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλεσθ᾽ ὃ τι καὶ ποιήσετε, ἐπειθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετ', ἂν τις ἑναντιῶτα τοῖς ἄπαξ οὗτω 3 δοκιμασθεῖσιν, ποιηρον καὶ κακόνον ήμι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λόγου μη τυχόντα πεπείσθαι βέλτιον τῶν ήμιν δοκούντων αὐτοῦ ἐντευθύμησθαι συγγνώμη· ὅ τι δ᾽ ἀκουσάντων ἰμων καὶ διακρινάντων ἐπ᾽ ἀναισχυν-[144] νεῖν, καὶ μη συγχωρεῖν ἕιδοντα τῇ τῶν πλειόνων γνώμη, ἀλλην τινη ὑποψίαν οὐχί δικαίαν ἂν ἔχειν φανείν. ἔγω μὲν δὴ σωπάν ἂν ὄμην δεῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ μένοντας ὑμᾶς ἑώρων ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐδοξεϊν· εἴμι γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνα πεπεισμένων συμφέρειν ἶμων· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ τούτων λόγων μεταβεβλη-σθαί μοὶ τινες δοκούσοι, ὃς οὔτε ἅληθὶ λέγωσιν οὔθ ἶμων συμφέροντα ἵσος μὲν εἰδότας, οὐ μήν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τυγχάνετ' ἄγνοοντες, διδάξω.

ΔΕ

"Εδει μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δίκαιον ἢν τότε πείθεων ὑμᾶς ὃ τι ἀριστον ἐκαστὸς ἦγεῖτο ὅτ᾽ ἐβουλεύσεθε τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τούτων, ἐνα μὴ συν-ἐβαινεν ἃ δὴ δύο πάντων ἐστὶν ἀλυσιτελέστατα τῇ πόλει, μήτε πέρας μηδὲν εἰχεν τῶν ἰμὼν δοξάντων, 1 μὴ Blass, Rennic.

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1 In both Greek and Latin the word "theatre" often denotes the spectators or audience. Seneca, Epist. 7. 11, wrote: "for we two are audience (theatrum) enough for each other."
settled and, disregarding the policies that pay, you should achieve no forward step, but, like the crowds at shows, side with those who captivate you first. Do not let this happen, men of Athens, but performing this tedious duty and giving impartial audience to both sides, first choose a policy you will also carry out and then assume that whoever opposes measures thus once sanctioned is unprincipled and disloyal to you. For while it is pardonable that a man who has not obtained a hearing should feel convinced that he has himself better plans thought out than those approved by you, yet to go on acting shamelessly after you have given a hearing and decided between alternatives, instead of giving in to the judgement of the majority and retiring, would plainly justify suspicion of some other motive by no means honourable. As for me, although I should have thought it proper to remain silent on this occasion had I observed you abiding by your previous decisions—for I am one of those who are convinced that these are to your advantage—yet, now that certain members seem to have changed their minds because of the speeches made by these men, even though you perhaps know that what they say is neither true nor for your good, I will nevertheless make this clear in case you are unaware of it.

35

It would have been just and proper, men of Athens, for each member then to try to convince you of what he believed to be best when you were considering these matters for the first time, in order that two evils might not be resulting which are above all others damaging to the city—that no decision of yours should
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παράνοιαν ὑμεῖς κατεγιγνώσκεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μεταβουλευόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σιωπήσαντες τότε νῦν ἐπιτιμῶσι τινες, βούλομαι μικρὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν.

2 Ἐγὼ γὰρ θαυμάζω τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας τῆς τούτων, μᾶλλον δ' ἡγοῦμαι φαύλον. εἰ γὰρ ἔξον παραίνειν ὅταν σκοπήτε, βεβουλευμένων κατηγο- ρείν αἱροῦνται, συκοφαντῶν ἔργον, οὐχ, ως φασίν, εὖνων ποιοῦν ἀνθρώπων. ἦδεως δ' ἂν ἐροίμην αὐτούς (καὶ μηδεμίας λοιδορίας ὃ μέλλω λέγειν ἀρχὴ γενέσθω) τί δὴ τάλλ' ἐπαινοῦντες Δακεδα- μονίους, ὃ μάλιστ' ἐξιόν ἐστι τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀγαθαί, τοῦτ' οὐ μιμοῦνται, μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸ τοῦν

3 ναντίον ποιοῦσιν; φασί γάρ, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, παρ' ἐκείνοις μέχρι μὲν τοῦ δόξαι γνώμην ἢν ἂν ἐκαστὸς ἔχῃ λέγειν, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπικυρωθῆ, ταῦθ' ἀπαντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ συμπράττειν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντειπόντας. τοιγάρτῳ πολλῶν μὲν ὄντες οὐ πολλοὶ περιγίγνονται, λαμβάνουσι δ' ὅσ' ἂν μὴ τῶν πολέμων δύνωνται τοῖς καιροῖς, οὐδεὶς δ' αὐτούς ἐκφεύγει χρόνος οὐδὲ τρόπος τοῦ τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἐαυτοῖς περαινεῖν, οὗ μᾶ Δι' οὐχ ὡσπέρ ἡμεῖς καὶ διὰ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτους, ἀλλήλων περι- γιγνόμενοι, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν, πάντ' ἀνηλώκαμεν

4 τοῦ χρόνου, ἂν μὲν εἰρήνην τις ἐκ πολέμου ποιήσῃ, τούτων μισοῦντες, ἂν δ' ἔξει ἐιρήνης πολέμον τις λέγῃ, τούτω μαχόμενοι, ἂν δ' ἔχειν ἕσυχιάν τις παραιῇ καὶ τὰ ήμετέρ' αὐτῶν πράττειν, οὐδὲ τούτων ὑρθώς λέγειν φάσκοντες, ὅλως δ' αἰτοῦν καὶ κενῶν ἐλπι- δῶν ὄντες πλήρεις.

The meaning of "sycophant" is made clear in XVIII. 188-189.
be proving final and that you should be convicting yourselves of madness by changing your minds. Since, however, certain men who then kept silence are now finding fault, I wish to address a few words to them.

For I am amazed at the political procedure of these men, or rather I consider it vile. For if, though free to recommend measures when you are considering questions, they choose instead to denounce decisions once made, they play the part of double-dealers, not as they claim, of men of goodwill. I should like to ask them—and what I am about to say is not to become the signal for any tirade—just why, since they praise the Spartans in all other respects, they do not imitate the most admirable of all their practices, but rather do the very opposite. For they say, men of Athens, that among them each man airs any opinion he may have until the question is put, but when the decision has been ratified, they all approve it and work together, even those who opposed it. Therefore, though few, they prevail over many and by actions well timed they get what they cannot get by war; nor does any occasion or means of effecting what is to their own advantage escape them; not, by Zeus, as we do who, thanks to these men and their like, in trying to get the better of one another instead of the enemy, have wasted all our time, and if anyone is for making peace in time of war, we hate him, and if anyone talks war in time of peace, we fight him, and if anyone advocates keeping quiet and minding our own business, we claim that he is wrong too, and in general we are overfull of recriminations and empty hopes.

\[b\] Cf. Olynth. ii. 25.
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Τι οὖν, ἂν τις εἴποι, σὺ παρανείσ, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμᾶς; ἐγὼ νῦ Νῦ ἔρω.

ΛΔ

Πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν εἰκότως περὶ ὑμῶν δεῖσαι μὴ παρὰ τὸ τῶν συμβουλευόντων οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν χείρον βουλεύσησθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ τύχη, καλῶς ποιοῦσα, πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν αὐτόμαθ', ὡς ἂν εὐξαίσθη, παρίστησιν, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε τῶν προ-
εστηκότων προνοίᾳ βραχέ' αὐτῶν εἰχέν ἂν καλῶς. ἐπειδ' ὑμεῖς οὐ μόνον τοὺς λόγους οὐς ἂν ἔκαστος εἴποι πρὸιστε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅν ἐνεκ' αὐτῶν ἔκαστος δημηγορεί, εἰ δὲ μὴ φιλαπέχθημον ἦν, εἴπον ἂν καὶ 2 πῶσον. τὸν δὴ τοῦ φενακίζεσθαι χρόνον ὡς εἰς 
μικρότατον συνάγοντες σωφρονεῖν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖτε. εἰ μὲν δὴ τι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐμελλον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔρειν, οὐκ ἂν ὃμην δεῖν λέγων ἐνοχλεῖν. νῦν δὲ συμφέ-
ροντα μὲν ὑμῖν ἀκούσαι, παντάπασι δ' ἀφεστηκότα 
τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν προσδοκιμένων οὕτοι λέ-
γειν ἔχειν. βραχὺς δ' ἔσται χρόνος. σκέψασθε δ' ἀκούσαντες, κἂν ὑμῖν ἄρεσκην, χρήσασθε.

ΛΣ

Καὶ βραχεῖαν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δικαίαν 
ποιήσομαι τῇν ἀρχήν τοῦ λόγου· καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ πάντ' 
ἔρω. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ ἐξαπατᾶν μὲν εἶναι βουλομένου 150
EXORDIA, 35. 4—37. 1

"What then, Sir," someone may say, "what do you recommend, since you find fault with this conduct?" By Zeus, I will tell you.

In the first place, men of Athens, I am not altogether sure that a man would reasonably fear on your account lest your deliberations would be the worse for your refusing to listen to your counsellors. For, to begin with, Fortune—to whom be thanks—arranges much of your business to take care of itself, so well that you would pray for nothing better, because little of it would be in good shape through such foresight as is exercised by those in authority. Next, you know in advance, not only what speeches each man will make, but also with what motives each one harangues you, and if it were not spiteful, I should also have said, for what price. I think you are prudent in reducing to a minimum the time for being cheated. If I were intending to speak in the same vein as the rest, I should not have thought it necessary to bore you by speaking. As it is, I think I have something to say that will be worth your while to hear, and utterly different from what is expected by the majority. It will be short. Listen and examine it, and, if it pleases you, adopt it.

I shall make the beginning of my speech both short and reasonable, men of Athens, nor shall I deliver the whole of it. For I believe that, while it is the way of a man who intends deception to cast about for
DEMOSTHENES

σκόπειν ὁντιν’ ὑμᾶς τρόπον τοὺς ἀκούντας τὰ τοῦ πράγματος δυσχερή τῷ λόγῳ συγκρύφεται, ἀπλῶς δὲ πεπεικότος αὐτὸν ὑμῖν προσφέρεσθαι τούτο πρῶτον εἶναι, εἰπεῖν πότερ’ ἐγνωκός παρελήλυθεν, 

ἐν’ ἔαν μὲν ἀκοῦσαντες τοῦτο τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα λόγους βουληθοῦ ἀκούειν, καὶ διδάσκῃ καὶ φράζῃ τὰ βέλτισθ᾿ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα, ἂν δ᾿ ἀποδοκιμάσητ’, ἀπηλλαγμένος ἢ καὶ μὴθ᾿ ὑμῖν ἐνοχλῇ μήθ᾿ αὐτὸν κόπτῃ.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐρῶ. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Μυτιληναίων ὁ δῆμος ηδικήσθαι, καὶ δίκην ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσήκειν λαβεῖν. καὶ ὅπως λήμεσθ᾿ ἔχω λέγειν, ἐπειδάν ὡς ηδικηνται καὶ ὑμῖν προσήκει βοηθεῖν ἐπιδείξω.

ΛΗ

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖ πάνω θαυμαστὸν ἔστιν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τὸ μὴ ῥαδίους τοὺς συμβουλευέιν βουλομένους εἰναι τοὺς λόγους. ὅταν γὰρ τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔχῃ φαύλως περὶ δὲν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, δυσχερεῖς ἀνάγκῃ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰναι καὶ τὰς συμβουλίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ θέλειν ἀκούειν ἐλπὶς ταῦτα γενέσθαι βελτίω, τοῦτο χρὴ πράττειν: εἰ δὲ χεῖρω μὲν ἀπαντᾷ βέλτιον δ᾿ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου γενήσεται, τί δεῖ, πρὸς τὸ φαυλότατον ἐλθεῖν ἐὕσαντας, ἐκ πλείονος ἢ νῦν καὶ χαλεπωτέρως σφόξειν πειρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν

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* The democracy was overthrown in Mytilenē after the Social War in 355 B.C.: XIII. 8 and XV. 19.

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a plan whereby he may conceal from you, his hearers, by means of his words the disagreeable aspects of the situation, on the other hand, the first duty of a man who has resolved to deal candidly with you is to declare which side he has come forward to endorse, in order that, if after hearing this statement you are willing to hear the sequel, he may enlighten you and explain what measures seem best to himself, but if you shall reject his views, that he may have done with the matter and neither annoy you nor tire himself out.

This, then, will be my first statement: It is my opinion that the democratic party in Mytilene has been wronged and that it is your duty to obtain justice for them. For obtaining this justice I have a plan to propose when once I have demonstrated that they have been wronged and that it is your duty to go to their aid.

First of all, men of Athens, it is not altogether surprising that those who wish to tender you advice do not readily find the words, because, when the conditions that require consideration are bad, it is inevitable that the recommendations made concerning them should also be disagreeable. Of course, if by your refusing to listen there is hope of this situation becoming better, that is the thing to do, but if everything is going to get worse and nothing better by so doing, why should you, having allowed things to come to the worst, after a longer interval than has now elapsed, and with greater difficulty, try to save the situation, though, starting from present condi-
[1417] ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἑπὶ τὸ βέλτιον;
2 ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄργιλος ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ ταῦτα πάσχοντας· τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς αἰτίοις ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς ὅργιλεσθαι, τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' εἰκὸς οὐδ' ὀρθῶς ἔχουν ἑστὶν. οἱ γὰρ μηδενὸς μὲν αἰτίοι τῶν παρσεληνθότων, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πῶς ἐσται βελτίω λέγειν ἔχοντες, χάριν, οὐκ ἀπέχθειαν, κομίσαιντ' ἀν δικαίως παρ' ὑμῶν οὐς, ἑάν ἀκαίρως δυσκολαίητε, ὅκνειν ἃνίστασθαι ποιήσετε. καίτοι ἔγωγ' οὐκ ἄγνωσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὐ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμποδῶν οὐσι τοῖς ὅργιλεσμένοις ἀγάδες τι παθεῖν συνέβη. οὕμως δ' ἀνέστην συμβουλεύσων, πιστεύω γὰρ ἔγωγ', ὃ ἀνδρεὶς Ἁθηναῖοι, φλαύρου μὲν μηδενὸς ὅν αἰτίος εὐρεθήσεσθαι, βελτίω δ' ἐτέρων ὑμῶν ἔχειν συμβουλεύσαι.

ΔΘ

Τὰ μὲν γεγενημέν', ὃ ἀνδρεὶς Ἁθηναῖοι, τοιαῦθ' οίᾳ πάντες ἀκηκόατε· δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένως διακείσθαι, λογιζομένους ὅτι πρὸς μὲν τὰ παρόντα ἀθύμως ἔχειν οὐτε τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρον οὐθ' ὑμῶν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπανορθοῦν αὐτοῖς ἥγεισθαι προσήκον καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης ἄξιον ἂν φανείη. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς οὖν, εἰς ὅιοι φήσαιν, ἂν ὑμεῖς εἶναι ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐτέρων διαφέροντας 2 φαίνεσθαι. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδαμῶς μὲν ἂν ἡβουλόμην 154
tions, it is still possible even now to set things to rights and effect a change for the better?

Certainly it is reasonable for you to feel angry after these unhappy experiences; but to vent your anger, not upon the parties responsible, but upon everybody in turn, ceases to be either reasonable or right: because those who are in no way responsible for past events but can tell you how an improvement may be effected for the future would rightly meet with gratitude, not hostility, from you. If you treat these men with untimely irritation, you will make them hesitate to rise and speak. And yet I am myself not unaware that often it is the lot, not of those who are guilty, but of persons who get in the way of those who are angry, to suffer unpleasant consequences. In spite of this I have risen to advise you, for I have confidence myself that I shall not be found to be advocating any inferior measure, men of Athens, but have really better proposals to offer you than other speakers.

The events that have occurred, men of Athens, are such as you have all heard, but you must not allow yourselves to be at all dismayed, reflecting that to be discouraged in the face of the present troubles is neither improving the situation nor worthy of yourselves. On the contrary, to consider it incumbent on yourselves to set these things to rights would manifestly be in keeping also with your reputation. Men such as you would profess to be should prove themselves superior to other breeds in times of stress. As for me, I should by no means have wished these
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tauta sumbhnai t' polei oud' atuchein umas oud'en: e'i d' ar' edei geynesthai kai ti daimonion tout apoekteito, osper pepiraktau ta geynehmena lysiteleiv oioi mai. ta men gar tis tuchis dxeias echei

[1448] tas metabolasa kai kouvas amfoterous tas parousias: d' di an di' androin kakiav praxthi bebaious 3 poiwei tas ipttas. oioi mai men ouv oud' touis kkekratinkotous aneoein, oti boulethentwn umon kai paroxynthentwn t' geynehmenw, ou pani tow dhlon poter eutuchhi 'h kai touvainion autois estin to pepragmenon: e'i d' ar' epirke to pragm' autois thrasusosthai, kan touto pros umon h' gignonito. osw gar aninalon katafronhswsi, tosoiws thatonton amartismontai.

Μ

Ou moi dokeit', ou anndres 'Athenaioi, peri h' oiesthe unvi monon bouleusosthai polewos, alla pasow t'wn summakidwv. opws gar an peri tauntis gnwste, pros taunt' eikos apobteleontas tous allous kai tous t'wn autow teuxesosthai nomizein. avste dei kai touvelistou kai tis ymeteras auton eiueka dodeis spoudasai opws aima kai symbereonta kai dikaia fanhiosthe bouleuomenei.

2 'H men ouv arkh' t'wn toioitwn pragmaton apantiwnei esti t'wn stratetgon: oui oi pleistoi t'wn par'

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EXORDIA. 39. 2—40. 2

calamities to come upon the city nor yet for you to suffer misfortune, but if, after all, this had to happen and was in store as something predestined, I consider it to your profit that these events have occurred just as they have. For the dispensations of Fortune exhibit sharp reversals and impartial visitations to both sides, whereas the events that follow upon the villainy of men make for sure defeat. Now, while I am of the opinion that even those who have gained the upper hand are not unaware that, should you form your resolve and be stung to action by what has happened, it is not yet quite clear whether what has been done is good fortune or the opposite for them, yet if it turns out that the exploit has inspired them to become over-confident, this would already be another point in your favour. For the more they look down upon you, the sooner will they blunder.

40

I do not believe, men of Athens, that you are deliberating upon this occasion concerning only the city you have in mind, but concerning all the allied cities. For however you decide concerning the city in question, the other cities, looking to this decision, will probably expect to receive the same treatment themselves. Consequently you must, for the sake both of doing what is best and of guarding your own reputation, strive earnestly that you may be clearly seen to be devising measures which are alike expedient and just.

Now, the initiative in all such matters is in the hands of the generals. Most of these men, though
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ψμῶν ἐκπλεόντων οὗ τοὺς ύμετέρους φίλους, οὕς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τῶν αὐτῶν κυνόνων μετεσχηκότας παρειλήφασι, θεραπεύειν τούτους οἴονται δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἰδίους φίλους ἔκαστος ἔαντῶ κατασκευάσας, ύμᾶς ἄξιοὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν κόλακας καὶ ύμετέρους ἥγεισθαι φίλους· οὗ πᾶν ἐστὶ τούναι-3 τίοι. οὕτε γὰρ ἐχθροτέρους οὕτ' ἀναγκαίους μᾶλλον ἐχθροὺς ἃν τούτων εὐροίτε. ὀσω γὰρ πλεῖω παρακρούμενοι πλεονεκτούσι, τοσοῦτω πλειόνων ὦφεὶ- [1449] λειν ἤγουνται δίκην δοῦναι. οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν γένοιτ' εὖνοις τούτως υφ' ὃν ἂν τι κακὸν πεῖσεσθαι προσ-δοκᾷ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν κατηγορεῖν ἠσως οὐχ ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς· ἢ δ' ἤγοῦμαι συμφέρειν ύμῖν, ταῦτα συμβουλεύσω.

ΜΑ

Οὐδέν', ὢ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναίοι, τῶν πάντων ύμῶν οὖτως οἴομαι κακόνουν εἶναι τῇ πόλει ὡστε μὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν μηδὲ λυπεῖσθαι τοῖς γεγενημένοις. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἀγανακτοῦντας ἂν ἀπρακτὸν τι πουῆσαι τούτων, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐγώγη παρῆνον ύμῖν ἀπασίν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι δεῖ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοηθῆναι ὅπως μὴ ταῦτα πεῖσεσθε, ὥσπερ, ὢ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναίοι, νῦν γεγενη-μένων ἀγανακτεῖτε, οὖν χρῆ σπουδᾶσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ταῦτα συμβῆναι, καὶ νομίζειν μηδὲν ἔχειν λόγον εἰπεῖν τῶν συμβουλευόντων τοιοῦτον, ὦς δυνῆσεται σῶσαι τὰ παρόντα μηδενὸς ύμῶν 158
they sail out under your orders, do not consider it their duty to cultivate those who are friendly to you, people whom they have taken over from their predecessors as men who have shared the same dangers as you throughout all our history, but each and all, having established their own private friendships, expect you to regard their personal flatterers as your friends also. But the facts are exactly the opposite. You could find no more bitter or inevitable enemies than these flatterers. For the more gains they make by deception, the greater is the number of offences for which they think they are due to be punished. And no one could feel goodwill toward those at whose hands he expects to suffer some harm. However, the present is perhaps not the time to denounce them. Instead, I shall give you the advice that I consider in your interests.

I do not suppose, men of Athens, that there is one of all your number so disloyal to the city as not to feel distressed and pained by these events. If, then, it were possible by nursing indignation to render undone any of the things that have been done, this is what I should be urging upon you all. But since the facts are unalterable and you must take forethought whereby you may escape the same misfortune in the future, the keenness of your indignation, men of Athens, over what has now taken place ought to set the measure for your determination that the same shall not occur again, nor should you think that any of your advisers has such a wonderful plan to propose as will be capable of redressing the present evils without any of you shouldering a share of the burden.
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μηδὲν συναραμένον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγος, ἀλλὰ θεός τις ὁ τοιοῦτος εἶη.

2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὔτως ἔχειν ἐκείθεν ἦρτηται, ἐκ τοῦ τῆς παραχρῆμα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑνεκα χάριτος ἐνίοις τῶν λεγόντων ἐνταυθοὶ δημηγορεῖν, ὡς οὔτ' εἰσφέρειν οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι δει, πάντα δ' αὐτόματ' ἔσται. ἔδει μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἐξελέγχεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἐλέγχου τῇ πόλει: δοκεὶ δὲ μοι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ νῦν ἁμείνων 3 ἡ τύχη περὶ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐφεστηκότων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστ' ἀπόλλυσθαι τῆς τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων κακίας σημείων προσήκει ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ πάλαι πάντ' ἀπολωλέναι τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης εὐεργέτημ' ἔγωγε κρίνω. έν δ' τοῖς οὖν ἡ τύχη διαλείπει καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀνέχει, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιμελήθητε. εἰ [1450] δὲ μή, σκοπεῖθ' ὅπως μὴ ἂμα τοὺς τ' ἐφεστώτας ἐκάστοις ὑμεῖς κρινεῖτε, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ὑμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κλινεῖ. οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὅπως ταῦτ' ἀνέν μεγάλου τινὸς στῆσεται, μηδὲν ἄντιλαμβανομένου.

MB

Οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ὥ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τοῦτ' ἄλογον, τοὺς ἂεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀλιγαρχῶν πολιτευομένως, καὶ νῦν ταῦτα ποιοῦντας ἐξελέγχεσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἂν τις εἰκότως θαυμάσαι τὸ

\[a \text{ Cf. Olynth. iii. 35-36.}\]
For no speech would be wonderful enough for that, only some divine intervention.

Now the origin of this present state of affairs hinges upon this fact, that, for the sake of a momentary popularity with you, some of those who speak in this place declared to the Assembly: "There is no need to pay a special war-tax or to do military service, but everything will take care of itself." To be sure, the absurdity of this ought to have been exposed by some other speaker—the sort of exposure that profits the State: still, even as things now are, it seems to me that Fortune is somehow kinder to you than are those at the head of affairs. For while the occurrence of one loss after another ought to be counted evidence of the villainy of those who are in charge, the fact that all your resources have not been destroyed long ago I, at least, judge to be a benefaction of the Fortune that attends you. In the interval, therefore, while Fortune allows a respite and is holding your foes in check, have a care for what lies in the future. Otherwise take heed lest at one and the same time you shall be bringing to justice those who have been appointed to the several posts, and your power, men of Athens, shall be declining: for it is impossible that this shall continue to stand, barring some miracle, if not one of you puts his hand to the task.a

It is nothing out of the ordinary, men of Athens, that those public men who are always and unceasingly agitating on behalf of the oligarchies should be convicted of doing so upon this occasion also. On the contrary, one might much more reasonably be aston-

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a
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tous eîdôtas umâs taûta pollakís hîdion toutwn âkouen h twn úpêr umâwv legónwv. Ísws mên oûn wôspere ouû' idia rádion estin ãpant' órthos práttein, ôütws ouû' kouhî' all' ou òh tâ mégistâ ge 2 chrh parorâin. tâ mên oûn allâ pânt' estin élâttw' Ôtan d' ûpêr politeias kai sfagôn kai âhmu katalûsëws euçerôs âkouîte, pôs ouk êzw chrh tou froueín umâs autous1 ëgeîsthai; ôi mên gâr allou pântes ânthropoi tôis êtèrôn paradeîgmaîî chrômenvî mâllon euîlabëis autôi gînnontai umëis d' ouû' tâ tôis allou sümboînônt' âkouîntes fôbëthînai dúnasèthe, all' d' tôus idia perimêvontas âbelteîrous nòmizèste, tout' autôi ëdhmosîa muî dôkeî' anamêneîn—páthontes aisësthai.

[1451] ãn eis to kakôs prâttewn àfikwontai, sóûfrovas 2 prôs tâ loîpa kai metrôous parëchei,2 spoudaîwv

1 autous bracketed by Blass.
2 upârchein (sûmbaînei) Rennie.

a There is an ironical touch in politeias as if implying that oligarchy was the ideal form of government to those whose phrases he here quotes.

b Cf. XV, 16.

c Aeschylus, Agamemnon 176-178 “Zeus who sets mortals
ished that you, though aware of the truth, repeatedly prefer to listen to them rather than to those who speak in your own defence. It may very well be that it is difficult to act wisely in all public matters, just as it is in private matters, but certainly it is wrong to take a light view of things of the very greatest importance. Assuredly all other considerations are of less consequence, and when you listen good-naturedly to speeches on behalf of government efficiency and killings and the overthrow of democracy, how can one help but consider that you too are out of your minds? For all other men profit by the example of their fellows and are themselves rendered much more cautious thereby, but you, even when you hear what is happening to the rest of the Greeks are incapable of taking alarm, but the very thing that you consider men to be witless for awaiting as individuals you seem to me to be calmly awaiting yourselves as a community—that is, to learn by bitter experience.

Perhaps none of you has ever inquired, men of Athens, just why men in adversity deliberate more wisely over their affairs than do the prosperous. This comes about for no other reason than this, that it is not natural for the prosperous to feel any alarm or to believe that such dangers as someone may report concern themselves; those, however, who are close in time to the mistakes through which they have come to adversity are rendered discreet with reference to future actions and inclined to moderation. in the path of wisdom and hath enacted a law of learning by suffering.”
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toίνων ἐστίν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν βελτίστῃ τῇ παρουσῃ
tύχῃ χρώνται, τότε πλεῖω τὴν σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸ
σωφρονεῖν ἔχειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτε φυλαττομένοισ
οὔτω δεινῶν ὡστ' ἀφύλακτον εἶναι, οὔτ οἰγνοροῦσιν
ἀπροσδόκητον παθεῖν. λέγω δὲ ταύτ' οὖν ἤν τὴν
ἀλλως ὑμᾶς δεδίττωμαι, ἀλλ' ἤνα μὴ διὰ τὴν παρ-
οῦσαν εὐπραξίαν, ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ προνοήσεσθε
τῶν πραγμάτων, δεῖν' ἀκούντες καταφρονήτε, ἀλλ'
ἀνευ τοῦ παθεῖν, ὡσπέρ ἐστὶ προσήκον φάσκοντάς
γε μηδένων ἀπολείπεσθαι τῷ σωφρονεῖν, φυλά-
ζησθε.

ΜΔ

Οὖχὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καίρων ὑπείληφ', ὥς ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι
βελτίστα παραμεῖν. πολλάκις γὰρ ὅρω τὸ χαρίζε
σθαί τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πλείον' ἀπέχθειαν ἐνεγκὸν
τοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐναντιωθήναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄπαντες
ἐγιγνώσκετε ταύτά, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ μοι τὰ δέοντ' ἐδο-
κείτε προαιρεῖσθαι, παρῆλθον, περίεργον ἤγομενον
τοῖς ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἡ χρὴ ποιοῦσι λέγειν, οὔτ' ἂν εἰ
τούναντίον· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἄν ἡγησάμην ἐν' ὄντ'
ἐμαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ κράτιστ' ἡ πάντας ὑμᾶς.
2 ἐπειδὴ δ' ὅρω τινὰς ὑμῶν ταύτα μὲν γιγνώσκοντας
ἐμοὶ, τάναντία δ' ἄλλοις, πειράσομαι μετὰ τούτων
τους ἐτέρους πεῖσαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὐήσεσθε δεῖν μὴ

1 πλεῖστην Blass.

a Cf. Phil. i. 3.
It therefore becomes serious-minded men at the very time that they enjoy the presence of Fortune at her best to show the greater eagerness to practise discretion. For no danger is so formidable that men who are on their guard cannot guard against it, and there is none that men who belittle it may not expect to suffer. I say this, not to frighten you needlessly, but in order that, when you hear rumours of danger, you may not despise them because of your present prosperity—they may come true unless you take forethought for your interests—but rather in order that, without waiting to learn by experience, you may forestall trouble, just as becomes men who at least claim to be second to none in point of discretion.

44

I assume, men of Athens, that the time for humouring you and the time for recommending the measures I regard as best are not the same; for often, I observe, humouring you contrary to one's own judgement has earned more hatred than opposing at the outset. Now, if you all held the same opinions, I should not have come forward if you seemed to me to prefer the right course, considering it superfluous to speak before people doing the right thing of their own accord, nor again, if the contrary were true, for I should have thought that a lone person like myself was more likely to misapprehend the best measures than all of you. But since I see some of you holding the same views as myself and the opposite to those held by others, I shall try with the support of these to persuade those who differ. Now, if you shall think it right to refuse to listen, you will make a mistake;
Θέλειν ἀκούειν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιήσετε· ἂν δ’ ἀκούστε σιωπη γα καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑπομείνητε, δυνῶν ἀγαθῶν θάτερον ὑμῖν ὑπάρξει· ἡ γὰρ πεισθήσεσθ’, ἂν τι δοκῶμεν λέγειν συμφέρον, ἡ βεβαιότερον περὶ δὲν ἐγνώκατ’ ἐσεθεὶ πεπεισμένοι. ἂν γὰρ, οἷς τι1 διαμαρτάνειν οἴομεθ’ Ἰμείς ὑμᾶς, ταύτα μηδενὸς άξια φανῇ, μετ’ ἐλέγχου τὰ δεδογμένα νῦν ὑμεῖς ἐσεθ’ ἦρημένοι.

ΜΕ

Βουλούμην ἂν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, περὶ δὲν ἡγοκόμηκεν λέγων παρ’ ὑμῖν ο δεῖνα, ἕτη τῶν ἠργών καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἵσον αὐτῷ τὸν ἔπαινον γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτῳ κακόνους εἰμὶ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑμῖν τ’ ἀγαθὸν βουλομαι ἃ γενέσθαι.2 ἀλλ’ ὀρᾶτ’, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, μὴ κεχωρισμένον ἡ λόγον εἴπειν εῦ, καὶ προελέσθαι πράγματα συμφέροντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ῥήτορος ἠργὼν ἢ, τὸ δὲ νῦν ἐχοντος ἀνθρώπου. ὑμεῖς τοῖς οἴ πολλοί, καὶ μάλισθ’ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, λέγειν μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλεθ’ ὁμοίως δύνασθαι τοῖς δεινοτάτοις· τῶν γὰρ εἰθυσμένων τὸ πράγμα τοῦτο· νοῦν δ’ ἔχειν ὀφείλεθ’ ὁμοίως καὶ μάλλον τοῦτων· αἱ γὰρ ἐμπειρείαι καὶ τὸ πόλλα ἐχρακέναι τοῦτ’ ἔμποιοῦσιν. μὴ τοῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, φανῇ ἄγνοοντες ἐν τῷ παρόντι νῦν, ὅτι αἱ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἄνδρείας καὶ θρασύτητες, ἐὰν μὴ μεθ’ ὑπαρχοῦσης ὑσι παρασκευῆς καὶ ρώμης, ἀκούσαί μὲν εἰσιν ἴδειαν, πρᾶττεν δ’ ἐπικινδύνου. αὐτίκα γὰρ τὸ μὴ ’πιτρέπειν

1 τι bracketed by Blass.
2 ἂν τι γενέσθαι βουλούμην, βουλούμην ἂν γενέσθαι codd. alii; Blass brackets ἂν γενέσθαι.

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but if you will listen in silence and bear with me in this, one of two benefits will accrue to you: for either you will be persuaded if we seem to advocate something advantageous, or you will be more firmly convinced of the rightness of your own views; for if the grounds upon which we think you are going somewhat astray shall be proved valueless, with the benefit of argument you will this time have chosen the plans approved before.

I could wish, men of Athens, that a certain person, who has won your approval as a speaker on the measures before you, might have deserved equal praise for the feasibility and workableness of his proposal. For I call the gods to witness that I bear the man no ill will and wish that his plan had been a good one for you. But do not forget, men of Athens, that making a good speech and choosing sound policies are miles apart, and that the one is the part of an orator and the other of a man of sense. Now, you, the multitude, and especially the oldest among you, while not obliged to speak as well as the cleverest, for this art is for the practised speakers, are yet under obligation to have as much sense as they and even more, for it is long experience and "having seen much" that begets this faculty in us. Do not therefore, men of Athens, show yourselves unaware in this crisis that valorous deeds and bold exploits by word of mouth, unless backed by ready armament and physical force, though pleasant to hear, are hazardous in action. For example, "Do not leave

a See p. 144, note c.  

b Homer, *Odyssey* i. 1-5.
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τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν, ὅραθ᾽ ὡς καλὸν τὸ ῥῆμα. ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρῶτον πρὸς τὸ ἔργον αὐτό. δεῖ κρατῆσαι μαχομένους τῶν ἔχθρῶν τοὺς τήν του ῥήματος τούτου σεμνότητ᾽ ἐργῳς ληψομένους. εἴπειν μὲν γάρ, ὃ ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναίοι, πάντα πέφυκε ράδιον, πράξαι δ᾽ οὐχ ἀπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἂσος πόνος καὶ ἱδρώς πρὸ τε τοῦ λέγειν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πρᾶττειν ἐστίν. εἴγο δ᾽ οὐ χεῖρος ὑμᾶς ἢγούμαι φύσει Θηβαίων (καὶ γὰρ ἂν μαυοῖμην), ἀλλ᾽ ἀπαρασκευοτέρους. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι νῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἄρχήν, ἐπείδη τέως ἡμελείτε, οὐ τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ αὐτιλέγω τὸ ὄλον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐναντιοῦμαι.

Μς

"Ὅσην μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρὲς Ἀθηναίοι, πεποίηται σπουδήν οἱ πρόσβεις κατηγορήσαι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν, ἀπαντες ἐωράκατε: πλὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω τίνος εἰπὼν, τὰλλα πάνθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀναθεῖναι πεπείρατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσον ἄυτῶν ἀληθεῖς αἱ κατηγορίαι, χάριν γ᾽ εἰχετ εἰκότως ἄν, εἰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὕτως ὑμῶν κατ᾽ ηγόρον καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαστρέφαντες τάληθ᾽ καὶ τὰ μὲν παραβαινόντες ἀφ᾽ ὃν ἄν μεγάλους ἐπαίνους κομίσαισθε δικαίως, τὰ δ᾽ αὐτισάμενοι πευδὴ καὶ οὐ προσήκονθ᾽ ὑμῖν, κεχρηματία τῷ λόγῳ, πονηροὺς δίκαιον αὐτοὺς, ἐπειδὰν ἐξελεγχθῶσι ταῦτα πεποιηκότες, νομίζειν. εἰ γὰρ ρήτορες δεινὸς μᾶλλον εἶναι δοκεῖν ἦ μετ᾽ ἀληθείας ἐπιεικεῖς ἀνθρωποι νομίζοσθαι προείλοντο, οὐδ᾽

"Hesiod, Works and Days 289-290 “But in front of virtue have the deathless gods set sweat.”
a free hand to aggressors” ; you see what a fine slogan that is! Do not fail first to take a good look at the actual nature of the task. They must master the foe in battle who are really going to capture the majesty of this saying. For all things are easy to say, men of Athens, but not all are easy to do, for “not so much toil and sweat come before speech as before action.” a I do not think you are naturally inferior to the Thebans—I should be mad to say that—only less well prepared. What I do say is that now is the time to begin your preparation, since you have been negligent up to now, not the decisive struggle. For I am not speaking against the plan as a whole but I am opposed to your way of going about it.

46

You have all seen, men of Athens, with what zest the ambassadors b have denounced our city. For, apart from what I cannot imagine, they have attempted to lay all offences at your doors. I admit, if their charges were true, you might reasonably be grateful that they were thus denouncing you to your faces instead of to others; but since they have used the privilege of speaking here to distort the truth, failing to mention some things from which you would justly derive great praise, and making charges that are false and inapplicable to you, it is right that you should consider them unprincipled, when once they have been proved guilty of such conduct as this. For if they prefer to be regarded as accomplished rhetoricians rather than truly fair-minded men,

b Probably the Chians, Byzantines and Rhodians: XV, 3.
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αὐτοὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἂν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀμφισβητοῖεν.

3 ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν χαλεπὸν τὸ παρ’ ὕμιν ὑπὲρ ὕμῶν ἐρωτήτ’ ἀνεστηκέναι, ὡσπερ ῥάδιον τὸ καθ’ ὕμῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ μὰ τὴν ’Αθηνᾶν οὐδένας ἂν τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπων οὔτως οἶμαι τὰ προσόνθ’ αὐτοῖς ἀκούσαι νουθετουμένους ὡς ὑμεῖς τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα κακῶς ἀκούστες. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ τούτους θρασέως ἂν οὔτως ἠγούμαι πρεπεῖν, εἰ μὴ συνήδεσαν ταῦτα καὶ πρόδηλον ἂν ὅτι δεινότατοι πάντων ὑμεῖς ἐστ’ ἀκούσεις ὅ τι ἂν τις καθ’ ὕμων λέγῃ.

4 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταύτης τῆς εὐθυειας δίκην ὕμας δεῖ διδόναι, λόγους οὐ προσήκοντας κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀκούσαν τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη. εἰ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀληθῶν εἰ τί δίκαιον ῥήτεον, ἐπὶ τούτ’ ἐγὼ παρελήλυθα, πιστεύων οὐκ αὐτὸς ἄξιως τῶν ὕμων πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν δυνήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ πράγμαθ’ ὡς ἂν τις εἴπῃ, δίκαια φανεῖσθαι. Βουλοίμην δ’ ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες ’Αθηναίοι, ἵσους ἀκροατὰς ὑπὲρ ὕμων αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῷ προσέχαι τοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖσαι τοὺς τούτων φιλονικεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμετέραν κακίαν οὔδεις ἔτι κρίναι, εἰ λέγοντός τινος εὗ παρεκρούσθητε, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτων σπουδὴν ποιησαμένων, ὡς ὑμᾶς ἔξαπατήσουσιν.

ΜΖ

Οἶμαι πάντας ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὃ ἄνδρες ’Αθηναίοι, φήσαι, ἃ βέλτισθ’ ἐκαστος ἢγείται τῇ πόλει, βούλε-
it is not likely that even they themselves would claim to be gentlemen. It is, of course, difficult to rise up to speak before you in your own defence, just as it is easy to speak against you. For, by Athena, I do not think that there are any other people in the whole world who would listen so complacently when reminded of their real faults as you do when you are reviled for faults that are not yours. What is more, I do not believe that even these men would lie to you with such effrontery if they were not aware of this, and if it were not clear in advance that of all people you are the most addicted to listening to whatever anyone may say against you.

Now, if you must be punished for this fatuousness, to listen to undeserved charges against the State would be that penalty; but if something must, in all fairness, be said on behalf of the truth, it is for this purpose that I have come forward, confident, not that I shall unaided be able to speak with eloquence worthy of your past actions, but that these actions, however one may speak, will be seen to be just. It would be my wish, men of Athens, that you become equally willing listeners when you are being defended, and not, through having been beguiled, become all too eager to praise the speeches of these men. For no one would go on judging it vice on your part if you have been led astray by some clever speaker, but it would be thought vice on the part of those who devoted their energies to deceiving you.

I suppose, men of Athens, you would all say you wish to have put into effect what each one considers best
σθαι ταύτα πραχθήναι. συμβαίνει δὲ γε μὴ κατὰ ταῦτο κεκρίσθαι παρὰ πάσι τὸ βέλτιστον· οὐ γὰρ ἢν ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν λέγειν, οἱ δὲ μὴ λέγειν ἔκελευν. πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τοὺς ὑπειληφότας ταύτα¹ συμφέρειν οὐδενὸς δεὶ λόγου τῷ μέλλοντι λέγειν· πεπεισμένοι γὰρ ὑπάρχουσιν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τάναντία συμφέρειν
2 ἡγούμενοι βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν βουλόμαι. μὴ θέλουσι μὲν οὖν ἀκούειν οὐκ ἔνι δῆσου μαθεῖν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ σιωπώσι μηδενὸς λέγοντος· ἀκούσασιν δὲ δυοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἔνι θατέρου διαμαρτεῖν. ἢ γὰρ πει- σθέντες πάντες καὶ ταύτ' ἐγνωκότες κοινότερον βουλεύσεσθε, οὐ μείζον εἰς τὰ παρόντ' οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν· ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ λέγοντος διδάξαι βεβαιότερον τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις πιστεύσετε.
3 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ καλὴν ὑποψίαν ἔχει ἢκεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑθησομένων τὸ κράτιστον ἐλέσθαι δέον, φανῆναι δὲ, πρὶν ἐκ τῶν λόγων δοκιμάσαι, παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τι πεπεισμένους, καὶ τούθ' οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν ὦστε μηδ' θέλειν παρὰ ταύτ' ἀκούειν.

ΤΗ

"Ισως ὀχληρός, οἳ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τισιν ὑμῶν εἶναι δοκῶ, πολλάκις λέγων περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἂει. ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὀρθῶς σκοπήτε, οὐκ ἐγὼ φανήσομαι τοῦ- τοι δίκαιοι ὡς ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ πειθό-

¹ ταύτα edd.

a This commonplace appears also in 3, 4 and 5.
for the city. Quite so, but it happens that the same plan has not been judged the best by all of you; otherwise some of you would not be bidding the speaker "Go on" and others "Sit down." Now, to those who hold the same measures to be expedient as does the one who is about to speak there is no need of a single word, for they are already convinced; but to those who think that the opposite course is for the best, I wish to speak briefly. Unless you will listen, it is, of course, absolutely impossible to learn anything, a any more than if you keep quiet when no one is speaking. But if you do listen it is impossible to miss one or the other of two benefits: for either, being all persuaded and of the same mind, you will be more unanimous in your decision—and nothing better than this could happen for the present emergency—or else, if the speaker be unable to make his point, you will have more confidence in the decisions already reached. Apart from these two possibilities, there is a suspicion, and by no means to your credit, that, although you have come to the assembly under obligation to choose the best plan on the basis of what shall be said, instead, you will be found, before reaching a judgement on the basis of the speeches, to have been convinced of something in your own minds, and this so strongly that you are not even willing to hear anything to the contrary.

Perhaps some of you, men of Athens, regard me as a nuisance, speaking on the same subjects time after time. But if you sean things rightly, it is not I who shall justly bear the blame for this, but rather those
μενοι τοῖς ύμετέροις ψηφίσμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐποίησαν ἀ ύμείς προστέχατε, οὔδεν ἂν τὸ δεύτερον ἡμᾶς ἔδει λέγειν, οὔδ' εἰ τὸ δεύτερον, αὖθις. νῦν δ' ὀσω πλεονάκις τὰ προσήκονθ' ύμων ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθε, τοσοῦτοι μοι δοκοῦσιν
2 ἢττον ἐκεῖνοι παρεσκευάσθαι ποιεῖν. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἐγνώγε μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἦδεν, πρὸς τ' ἑτ' ἐπιρρέμενον "ἁρχῇ ἄνδρα δείκνυσι". νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλον μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἦ τινες αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ πάντας λέγω, τῶν μὲν ύμετέρων ψηφισμάτων ἀλλ' οὔδε τὸ μικρότατον φροντίζουσιν, ὅπως δὲ λῆψονται. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνήν δοῦναι, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸ τούτο μοι τις ἐπέπληξεν, εἰ διὰ μικρὸν ἀνάλωμ' ἐνοχλεῖν ύμῖν ἠροῦμην νῦν
3 δ' οὐκ ἐνι, καθάπερ οὔδε τούτους λέληθεν. εἰ δ' ὑπέρ ὧν ύμῶν λητουργεῖν δεῖ, προσθήσεων αὕτως οἴονται μὲ, ληροῦσι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἵσως καὶ βούλονται καὶ προσδοκόως: ἐγὼ δ' οὐ ποιήσω ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἕαν μὲν ἐώσι, καθέλξω τὴν ναῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιήσω, εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς αἰτίους ύμῖν ἀποφανῶ.

χ(θ)

Οὐδέν' ἂν εὖ φρονοῦντ' ἀντειπεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, νομίζω, ός οὐχ ἀπάντων ἀριστόν ἐστι τῇ

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a On this topic Demosthenes quotes Sophocles, Antigonē 175-190 in XIX. 247.

b Public services required of wealthy citizens at their own expense were called λητουργίᾳ: these are to be distinguished from services to which salaries were attached, ὑπηρεσίᾳ: see 52 and note.

c Demosthenes, as member of a group (συντελεία) responsible for equipping a trireme under the system of Navy-Boards, protests against being assessed more than his equi-
who do not obey your decrees. For if those men had done at the outset what you enjoined, it would not have been necessary for us to speak a second time or, if they had complied on the second occasion, a third time. As it is, the more often you have voted what your duty demanded, the less those men, it seems to me, have been prepared to act upon it. Previously, I confess by the gods, I did not know what was the point of the saying: "Responsibility reveals the man." But now I think I could even tell another what it means. For the officials, or some of them—to avoid saying all—feel not even the slightest regard for your decrees but consider how they shall make some gain. Certainly, if it had been feasible for me to make a payment, I might have been justly rebuked for this very reason, if I chose to annoy you through balking at a paltry expenditure. But as things are, it is not feasible, as these men themselves have not failed to observe. What is more, if, in the case of a service due to you they think I am going to leave it to themselves to decide, they are fools. And, perhaps, they both wish and expect it; this I will not do, but if they will allow me, I shall launch the ship and do my duty; otherwise, I shall reveal to you the names of those responsible.

In my opinion, men of Athens, no intelligent citizen would deny that it is best of all for the city, preferable share. Apparently, the expenditures were specified in the decrees of the Assembly but the officials were making demands in excess of the specifications. For abuses of the system see XVIII. 104 and XXI. 155. Demosthenes may have been chairman of a Navy-Board at the time: XXI. 157.
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[14.56] πόλει, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδὲν ἀσύμφορον πράττειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, παρεῖναι ευθὺς τοὺς ἐναντιωσόμενους. δεῖ μὲν τούτω προσέχειν θέλοντας ἀκούειν ύμᾶς καὶ διδάσκεσθαι. οὔτεν γὰρ πλέον εἶναι τὸν ἐρωτά τὰ βέλτιστα ἂν μὴ τοὺς ἀκούσο-μένους ἔχῃ. οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐκείνῳ ἀλυσιτελὲς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἂν φανεῖν, ὅσ' ἂν τις ύμᾶς ἦ διὰ καιρὸν ἦ δι' ὁραν ἡμέρας ἦ δι' ἄλλην τιν' αὐτίαν παρακρούσηται, ταῦθ' ὅταν ποτὲ βουληθοῦ ύμῶν αὐτῶν ὧντες ἀκούειν, εἶναι τὸν ἐξετάσοντα πάλιν, ἐν' ἔαν μὲν οἰα φασιν οἱ τότε πείσαντες φανή, προθυμότερον πράττηθ' ὡς ἔλεγχον δεδωκότα, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ τοιαύθ' εὑρεθῆ, πρὶν πορρωτέρω προελθεῖν ἐπίσχητε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν δεινὸν ἐη, εἰ τοῖς τοῦ κρατίστου διαμαρτούσι τὸ χειριστὸν ἀνάγκη πράττειν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξεῖναι 3 μεταβουλεύσασθαι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς ἤγουν' ὅρω τὴν ἀειλογίαν προτεινομένους, ὅταν τι πιστεύσοι δικὰίως αὐτοῖς πεπράχθαι: οὕτοι δ' αὐτ' τοῦνατίων ἐγκαλοῦσιν εἰ περὶ ἣν ἡμάρτετε νῦν ἀναθέσαθαι βούλεσθε, τὴν ἀπάτην κυριωτέραν οἰό-μενοι δειν εἶναι τῆς μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου βασάνου. τὴν μὲν οὖν τούτων σπουδὴν οὖν ἔμων ἰσως ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί: δεῖ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπειδὴ περ

1 αὐτὸ Blass.

Demosthenes in Epistle ii. 14 claimed to have been condemned, καιρῷ τῶν ληφθεῖσι, because his name appeared first on the list of those accused of complicity in the affair of Harpalus.

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ably at the outset not to do anything inexpedient, but otherwise, that those should be on hand who will object at once. To this must be added, however, that you shall be willing to listen and learn; for nothing is gained by having a man who will give the best counsel unless he shall have people who will listen to him. Neither would the following suggestion prove unprofitable as the next step, that whatever deceptions anyone shall practise upon you through some well-timed maneuvre, or the late hour of the day or by any other opening, that there should be someone who will scrutinize the measures a second time, when you, being arbiters of your own conduct, are willing to listen, so that of the measures should prove to be such as those assert who then persuaded you, you may put them into effect more wholeheartedly as having passed the test: but if, after all, they are found to be otherwise, that you may halt before going farther. For it would be a shocking thing that those who had failed to choose the best plan should be forced to put the worst into effect, and not have a chance to reconsider and choose from among other alternatives the plan that had stood second. Now while all other men, I observe, stand ready to submit to an accounting at any time, whenever they are confident that some measure of theirs has been honestly put through, yet these men, on the contrary, resent it if you desire now to reverse your action in matters wherein you have made a mistake, thinking their deception ought to prevail rather than spend time on an inquiry. So, even if the majority of you are perhaps not unaware of pressure on the part of these men, it is still one's duty, once

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*b This principle was invoked against Aeschines: XIX. 2.*
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γέγονεν λόγου τυχεῖν, ἃ τις ἤγεῖται κράτιστα λέγειν.

Ν

"Ο τι μὲν μέλλει συνοίσειν πάση τῇ πόλει, τούτῳ καὶ λέγειν εὖχομαι πάντας, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ ἕμας ἐλέσθαι. ἐγώ δ' οὖν, ἃ πεπεικὼς ἐμαυτὸν [1457] τυγχάνω μάλιστα συμφέρειν ὑμῖν, ταῦτ' ἐρῶ, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν τοσοῦτον, μήτε τοὺς ἐξιέναι κελεύοντας ὑμᾶς διὰ τούτο νομίζειν ἄνδρείους, μήτε τοὺς ἀντι-λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντας διὰ τούτο κακοὺς. οὐ γὰρ ὃ αὐτὸς ἔλεγχος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔστιν, ἀλλ' δεὶ νῦν μὲν εὖ βεβουλευμένους ἡμᾶς φανήναι, τότε δ', ἄν ἁρα 2 ταῦτα δοκῇ, τὰ τῆς ἄνδρείας ἀποδείξασθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρα προθυμία παντὸς ἀξία καὶ τοιαύτη πάρεστιν οίαν ἂν τις εὐξαίτ' εὐνοὺς ὥν τῇ πόλει· νῦν δ' ὅσῳ τυγχάνει σπουδαιότερα, τοσοῦτῳ δεὶ μάλλον προιδεῖν ὅπως εἰς δέον καταχρῆσθο αὐτή. οὐδενὸς γὰρ εὐδοκιμεῖ πράγματος ἡ προαίρεσις ἃν μὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος συμφέρον καὶ καλὸν λάβῃ. ἐγὼ δ' οἴδα ποτ', ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, παρ' ὑμῖν ἀκούσας ἄνδρός οὔτ' ἀνοήτου δοκοῦντος εἶναι οὔτ' ἀπείρον 3 πολέμου, Ἐφικράτους λέγω, ὃς ἔφη δεῖν οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι κυνωνεύειν τὸν στρατηγὸν, ὅπως μὴ τα ἡ τὰ γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ οὕτω γὰρ εἶπε τῷ ρήματι. ἢν δὴ τοῦτο γνώριμον, ὅτι ὅπως καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖται ἐλεγεν. ἐπειδὰν μὲν τοίνυν ἔξελθησε,
EXORDIA, 49. 3—50. 3

he has been given the floor, to declare what action he thinks best under the circumstances.

50

Whatever measure is going to benefit the whole State, men of Athens, I pray that all speakers will propose and you will adopt. I, at any rate, shall say what I have persuaded myself is most to your advantage, asking only this of you—that you neither consider those who urge you to take the field to be for this reason brave, nor those who undertake to oppose them to be for this reason cowards: for the test of speech and the test of action, men of Athens, are not the same; rather we must now show ourselves to have been wise in counsel and later, if in the end this proposal is adopted, display the deeds of courage. Your enthusiasm, I allow, is worthy of all praise and such as a man of goodwill toward the State might pray for; but the more intense your enthusiasm the more foresighted you should now be to employ it as you ought. For you know that no choice of a course of action justifies itself unless the end it achieves be beneficial and honourable. I am sure I once heard here in your presence, men of Athens, a man who was thought to be lacking neither in sense nor in experience of war. I refer to Iphicrates, who said, "A general must so choose to risk a battle, that not this or that may result but just this." for such were his exact words. The meaning of this was obvious, for he meant "that he might come off victorious." So, when you take the field, whoever is thirty years of age. The orator's admiration is revealed in XXI. 62-63 and XXIII. 129-131.
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δι ὁ ἡγήται κύριος ύμῶν ἔστιν νῦν δ' ἐκαστὸς ύμῶν αὐτῶν ἑκατοντετρακατὰ στρατηγεῖ. δεῖ δὴ τοιαύτα φανῆναι βεβουλευμένους δι' ὃν πανταχὼς συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, καὶ μὴ μελλουσῶν ἐνεκ' ἐλπίδων τῆς παροῦσης εὐδαιμονίας χείρον τι ποιήσετε.

ΝΑ

Οὐδὲν ἃν ψόμην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, πιστεύοντα τοὺς πεπραγμένους ἐγκαλέσαι τοὺς καθιστάσαι εἰς λόγον ταῦτα· ὦσι γὰρ ἃν πλεονάκις ἐξετάζῃ τις [1458] αὐτά, ἀνάγκη τοὺς τούτων αἰτίους εὐδοκιμεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτοὶ φανερὸν καθιστάναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων πράξαντες. ὥσ γοῦν ἔξελέγχεσθαι μέλλοντες, ἃν πάλιν εἰς λόγον ἔλθωσι, φεύγουσι καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἣμᾶς φασίν. καίτοι ὅταν τοὺς ἔξελέγχειν βουλομένους δεινὰ ποιεῖν αἰτιάσθε, τί ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐξηπατηκότας τηνικαῦτα λέγωμεν;

ΝΒ

Ἡν μὲν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, τὴν ἵσιν ύπάρχειν παρ' ύμῶν ὀργὴν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ὁσιν-περ τοὺς δυνηθείσιν ἔξαπατησαι. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἢν ἐπὶ τούτως πεποίηται, καὶ προήγαγον ύμᾶς· τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν τέλος ταῦτ' ἔχειν ἡ τύχη, καὶ τὸ βέλτιον νῦν

1 αὐτὸς Blass.
leader is master of you, but now each one of yourselves is a general. Thus it is your duty to show yourselves to have made such decisions as will inevitably be good for the State and that you shall not, for the sake of mere hopes of future goods, bring about something not so good as the prosperity you at present enjoy.

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I should have thought, men of Athens, that no one who has a clean conscience about the measures taken would prefer a complaint against those who move to bring these matters to an accounting; for the more often one examines into them, the more the authors of them are bound to grow in esteem. These men themselves, however, seem to me to render it manifest that they have not acted with the State’s interests in view. At any rate, just as if they were bound to be found guilty if they should come again to an accounting, they assume the defensive and say we are acting outrageously. And yet when you accuse of outrageous conduct those who wish to investigate, what are we citizens to say of those who in that very transaction have perpetrated a fraud against our own selves?

52

It would be the righteous thing, men of Athens, for you to feel the same anger toward those who attempt to deceive you as toward those who have been able to do so. For what it was in the power of these men to do has been done, and they led you along. That these designs have fallen short of success, credit
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υμᾶς φροιεῖν ἢ ὅτ' ἔξηχθητ' ὑπὸ τοῦτων, γέγον' αὕτα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' οὕτω πόρρω νομίζω τὴν πόλιν εἶναι τοῦ δίκην παρὰ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων λαμβάνειν ὡστ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ἂν ὅπως 
μὴ πείσεσθο κακῶς δύνησθε φυλάττεσθαι· τοσαῦτα τέχναι καὶ γοητεύαν καὶ ὅλως ὑπηρεσίαι τινὲς εἰσὶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς κατεσκευασμέναι. τῆς μὲν οὖν τοῦτων 
κακίας οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τις ἐν δεόντι μάλιστα κατηγορήσει: βούλομαι δ' ὑπὲρ ὃν ἀνέστην, ἃ νομίζω συμφέροντ', εἰπεῖν.

ΝΓ

'Ἡ μὲν εἰωθύνα πάντα τὸν χρόνον βλάπτειν, ὁ 
ἂνδρες ὁ Αθηναῖοι, τὴν πόλιν λοιδορία καὶ παραχή, 
καὶ νυνί γέγονεν παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν διπέρ ἄει. ἄξιον 
. δ' οὐχ οὕτω τούτοις ἐπιτιμήσαι (ἳσως γὰρ ὀργῇ καὶ 
φιλονικία ταῦτα πράττοντι καί, τὸ μέγιστον ἀπάν-
των, ὅτι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς) ἀλλ' ὑμῖν,
[1459] εἰ περὶ κοινῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες ὁ Αθηναῖοι, πραγμάτων 
καὶ μεγάλων συνελεγμένοι, τὰς ἰδίας λοιδορίας 
ἀκροώμενοι κάθησθε, καὶ οὐ δύνασθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς 
αὐτῶν λογίσασθαι τοῦθ', ὅτι αἱ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀπάν-
των ἀνευ κρίσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλος λοιδορία, ὅν ἂν 
ἀλλήλους ἐξελέγξωσιν ὑμᾶς τὰς εὐθύνας διδόναι 
2 ποιοῦσι. πλὴν γὰρ ἰσως ὀλίγων, ἴνα μὴ πάντας 
εἶπω, οὔδεις αὐτῶν ἄτερος θατέρω λοιδορεῖται ἴνα

a The word ὑπηρεσίαι denotes services to which pay was attached: in all such the people took an avid interest, leaving unpaid offices to the wealthy; see 55. 3 and the Pseudo-
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is due to Fortune and to the fact that you are now wiser than when you were misled by these men. Yet the State, I believe, is so far from being able to exact justice of the wrongdoers, that it seems to me you must content yourselves if you shall be able to avoid sustaining loss; so formidable are the trickeries and chicaneries and, not to particularize, certain salaried public services that have been organized against you. To denounce the villainy of these men, however, would not at this juncture be most opportune: but I do wish to say what I deem advantageous with reference to the matters I have risen to discuss.

The bickering and disorder, men of Athens, that are accustomed to injure the State all the time, have proceeded on this occasion from the same men as always. But the thing to do is not so much to blame these men—for perhaps they do it out of spite and quarrelsomeness and, what is the chief reason, because it pays them to do so—as to blame yourselves, men of Athens, if, after assembling on matters of common interest and prime importance, you sit and listen to private bickerings and cannot figure out for yourselves that the tirades directed against one another by all the speakers, when no one is on trial, cause you to pay the penalties for the offences of which they convict one another. For outside of a few perhaps, to avoid saying all, not one of them abuses another

Xenophon, Athen. Const. 3. These could readily be made channels of financial corruption.

For λητουργία, services for which the performer himself paid, see 48 and Epistle ii. 12, and notes.
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βέλτιον τι τῶν ὑμετέρων γίγνεται: πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεί. ἄλλ’ ὄν, ἃ τοῦ δείνα φησι ποιοῦντ’ ἂν 
δεινότατ’ ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν, ταῦτ’ αὐτὸς μετὰ 
3 πλείονος ἑσυχίας διαπράττηται. ὅτι δ’ οὔτω ταῦτ’ 
έγει. μὴ ἐμοὶ πιστεῦσητε, ἄλλ’ ἐν βραχεῖ λογίσασθε. 
ἔστιν ὅποι τις ἀναστὰς εἶπε παρ’ ὑμῖν πώποτε 
"βουλόμενος τι λαβεῖν τῶν ὑμετέρων παρελήλυθ’, 
ὦ ἄνδρες ’Ἀθηναίοι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν’; οὐδεὶς 
δήπου, ἄλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ δι’ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα 
τάς προφάσεις λέγουσι.

Φέρε δὴ σκέψασθε, τί δὴ ποτ’, ὦ ἄνδρες ’Ἀθη- 
ναίοι, ὑπέρ ὄν ἀπαντεῖς λέγουσιν, οὐδὲν βέλτιον 
τοῖς ὀλοις νῦν ἡ πρότερον πράττετε, οὔτοι δ’ οἱ 
πάνθ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ’ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν 
pώποτ’ εἰρηκώς, έκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν; 
ὅτι φασί μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες ’Ἀθηναίοι, φιλεῖν ὑμᾶς, 
4 φιλούσι δ’ οὐχ ὑμᾶς, ἄλλ’ αὐτούς. καὶ γελάσαι καὶ 
θορυβῆσαι καὶ ποτ’ ἐλπίσαι μετέδωκαν ὑμῖν, λαβεῖν 
δ’ ἡ κτήσασθαι τῇ πόλει κυρίως ὄγαθον οὐδὲν ἂν 
βούλωντο. ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἡμέρα τῆς λιαν ἀρρωστίας 
ἀπαλλαγῆτε, ταῦτ’ τούτους οὐδ’ ὀρῶντες ἀνέξεσθε. 
νῦν δὲ δραχμῆ καὶ χοῖ καὶ τέτταρσιν ὀβολοῖς ὀσπερ 
[1460] ἀσθενοῦντα τὸν δῆμον διάγονων, ὁμοιότατ’, ὦ ἄν- 
δρες ’Ἀθηναίοι, τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις δι-

1 ἂν δὲν codd.; δὲν del. Post.

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1 On the wealth of politicians see XIII. 20, XXI. 158 and Olynth. iii. 29.
2 The drachma was the fee for attending the Assembly; the four obols is the juror’s fee, which had long been three obols. The χοῦς is the measure for a largess of grain. Its content is more accurately known than formerly from a specimen found on the side of the Acropolis in 1937, which

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that any of your interests may be forwarded; very far from it, but in order that he may himself with the greater immunity succeed in doing what he says, if so-and-so did it, would be the most outrageous conduct imaginable. Do not take my word for it that this is so but consider for a little. Has anyone ever stood up before you and said, "I have come forward, men of Athens, desiring to get my hands on something of yours, not for your sakes"? Certainly not a single one. Instead, they say "for your sakes" and "on your account" and cite these plausible motives.

Come now, men of Athens, consider why in the world you, "for whose sakes" they all speak, are on the whole no better off now than before, while these, who all say "for your sakes," without a single one having ever said "for our own sakes," have turned from beggars into rich men. It is because, though they say they love you, men of Athens, they love not you but themselves. The portion they allow you is to have a laugh and to raise a hubbub and now and then to have a hope, but they would not want you to get or acquire for the State any benefit in the proper sense of the word. Yes, and on the day when you are freed of this lamentable weakness you will be unable to endure even the sight of them. At present with their drachma and gallon measure and four obols they regulate the populace like a sick man, giving you, men of Athens, doles very similar measures 3.2 litres or 2.816 imperial qts. or 3.379 U.S. qts. This find was confirmed by the discovery of a clepsydra in the Agora marked two χοῦς and measuring 6.4 litres. The χοῦς was one-twelfth of a medimnus, the portion doled out to each citizen according to XXXIV. 37. Cf. Hesperia, viii. 1939, 278 ff.
δόντες ύμιν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖν’ οὔτ’ ἱσχύν ἐντίθησιν οὔτε ἀποθυήσκειν ἐὰν καὶ ταῦτ’ οὔτ’ ἀπογνώντας ἄλλο τί μειζὸν πράττειν ἐὰν, οὔτ’ αὐτ’ ἐξαρκεῖν δύναται.

ΝΔ

Καὶ δίκαιοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ καλὸν καὶ σπουδαῖον, ὅπερ ὑμεῖς εἰώθατε, καὶ ἡμᾶς προνοεῖν, ὅπως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς ἔξει. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἡμετέρα γέγον’ ἐπιμέλει’ ύμιν εἰς δέον· καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν τῷ Διᾷ τῷ σωτηρί καὶ τῷ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ τῷ Νίκῃ, καὶ γέγονεν καλὰ καὶ σωτηρία ταῦθ’ ύμιν τὰ ἱερά. ἐθύσαμεν δὲ καὶ τῇ Πειθοί καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐκαλλιερεύομεν καὶ ταῦτα· ἦν δ’ ύμιν καὶ τά τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς τυθένθ’ ἱέρ’ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ βέβαια καὶ καλὰ καὶ σωτηρία. δέχεσθ’ οὖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν διδόντων τάγαθα.

ΝΕ

Ἡν τις, ὥς έοικε, χρόνος παρ’ ύμιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ὅτ’ ἔπηνάγκαζεν ὁ δῆμος ὅν ἄνθρωπον ἴδοι σώφρονα καὶ χρηστὸν πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἄρχειν, οὐ σπάνει τῶν τοῦτο βουλομένων ποιεῖν (πάντα γὰρ τἀλλ’ εὐτυχῆ τὴν πόλιν κρίνων, ἐν οὐδέποτ’ εὐτυχήσαι τοῦτο νομίζω, ἐπιλείπειν αὐτὴν τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ καρποῦσθαι βουλομένους), ἄλλ’ ὀραμα

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a This passage is found with variations in Olynth. iii. 33.
b Demosthenes makes an official report upon the execution of a commission to perform certain sacrifices. Meidias was chosen to perform similar functions: Xxi. 171. Cf. Theophrastus, Char. xxi. (vii. Jebb-Sandys). This is not a true exordium but included by some error.
to the diets of the physicians. For these diets neither put strength into the patient nor allow him to die, and these doles neither allow you to cry quits and engage in some different and better business, nor can they alone suffice.\textsuperscript{a}

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It is just and right and important, men of Athens, that we too should exercise care, as you are accustomed, that our relations with the gods shall be piously maintained.\textsuperscript{b} Therefore our commission has been duly discharged for you, for we have sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and to Athena and to Victory, and these sacrifices have been auspicious and salutary for you. We have also sacrificed to Persuasion and to the Mother of the Gods and to Apollo, and here also we had favourable omens. And the sacrifices made to the other gods portended for you security and stability and prosperity and safety. Do you, therefore, accept the blessings which the gods bestow.

55

There was, as it seems, a time in your history, men of Athens, when the democracy compelled any man whom it observed to be prudent and honest to perform public service and to hold office, not through lack of those who wished to do so—for, while deeming the city to be fortunate in all other respects, in this one particular I consider it has never been fortunate, that the supply of those who wish to reap a harvest from the public business never fails it—but the
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toût' ἐποιεῖθ' ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ, καλὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες
2 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λυσιτελὲς τῇ πόλει. οἱ τε γὰρ
[1461] συνεχεῖς οἵδε παραξενηγμένων1 σφίσιν ἐξ ἴδιων2
σπουδαίων καὶ δικαίων ἄνδρῶν, εὐλαβεστέρους αὐ-
tους παρείχον· οἱ τε χρήστοι μὲν ὑμῶν καὶ δικαίως3
ἀρχοντες, μὴ πάνω δ' οἶοι τ' ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ παραγγέλ-
λέων, οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο τῶν τιμῶν. νῦν δὲ παντά-
pασι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄντερ
τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οὕτως καθίστατε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας.
eἶτα θαυμάζετε, ἐπειδὰν ὁ δεῖν' εὐδαίμων καὶ ὁ
dεῖν' ὑμῖν ἦ συνεχῶς πολλὰ λαμβάνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
3 περίπτετα τὰ τούτων ἀγαθὰ ξηλοῦντες. δεινότατοι
gὰρ ἐστ' ἀφελέσθαι μὲν ὁς' ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει, καὶ
νόμους περὶ τούτων θεῖαν, ἂν τις ἀστυνομήσῃ διὸς
ἡ τὰ τοιαῦτα, στρατηγεῖν δ' ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
ἐὰν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων οἴντας
ὕσως ἔχει πρόφασιν· τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ ποιοῦσι
μὲν οὐδὲν, χώραν δ' ἀτέλεστον ἑχουσιν αὐτοῖς
tετελε-
σμένωι, μωρία. ἄλλα καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, εἰσὶ δ' οὐκ
ὁλίγοι, προσάγειν χρή. ἐὰν γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰ ἰν
1 παραξενηγμένων codd. 2 ἴδιωτῶν Schaefer, edd.
a δικαίως än Dobree.

a While some priesthoods were subject to choice by lot, LIX. 106, the majority of them were perhaps hereditary, ibid. 104, and the reference is to these. For a similar complaint see 13.
b These ἀστυνόμοι were ten in number, five each for Athens and the Peiraeus; they were responsible for the streets but not for the markets. Cf. Aristotle, Athen. Const. 50. 2.

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democracy used to make out of this a fine showing for itself, creditable and profitable to the State, men of Athens. For on the one hand, these men, the kind who hold office year after year, when earnest and upright men from a different class were given them as yokemates, used to show themselves more circumspect; and on the other hand, the kind of men among you who are honest and upright in office, but not at all of the sort to push their way and appeal for support, were not shut out of the posts of trust. But now, men of Athens, you appoint your magistrates in exactly the same manner as you appoint your priests. Then you are amazed when this one is prosperous and that one, to your dismay, is year after year taking a rich spoil, while the rest of you go around envying these men their blessings! For you are the worst people for taking away the offices that fall to your class, and for enacting laws about them if someone serves twice as commissioner of police or something of the sort, but you allow the same men to be generals all the time. There is perhaps some excuse for allowing those engaged in the active services to continue, but to allow the others, who, though doing nothing, have an endless tenure of office and are themselves endlessly benefited is folly. Instead, you ought to bring in some of your own number, and there are not a few of you. For if you set up a standard, as it were, anyone who

\(^c\) The last statement is confirmed by Aristotle, *ibid.* 62. 3.

\(^d\) There is a touch of tragedy and the mysteries in the diction. Perhaps better: “hold an unserviceable post to the service of which they have themselves been consecrated.” For similar irony *cf.* XIII. 19 τελεσθῆναι στρατηγῶς, “to be consecrated general.”
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ιστήτε, πρόσεισ' ὃς ἂν ἄξιος ἦ τοῦ μετὰ ταύτ' αὐτός.

Νέ

Τὸ μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, πεπεικόθ' ἐαυτὸν ἔχειν τι συμφέρον εἰπεῖν ἁνίστασθαι, καὶ καλὸν καὶ προσήκον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, τὸ δὲ μὴ βουλομένους ἁκούειν βιάζεσθαι παντελῶς ἔγωγ' αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι. οἴομαι δ', εὰν ἑθελήσητε μοι πείθεσθαι τήμερον, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα μάλλον ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι δυνήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀναβαινόντων λόγους 2 βραχεῖς ποιήσειν. τί οὖν συμβουλεύω; πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, περὶ αὐτῶν ὃς σκοπεῖτε τὸν παριόντα λέγειν ἄξιον. πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τις ἀν περιέλθοι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πόλλ' ἃν ἀστεῖ' εἰποι, ἀλλως τε καὶ ὅσπερ τούτων ἐνιοὶ δεινῶν ὄντων. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ρημάτων ἥκετ' ἁκούομενοι, ταῦτα λέγειν καὶ ἁκούειν χρή· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων αἱρέσεως βουλευομένοι, αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ παραινῶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὃς μάλιστα κρίνειν, ἀφελόντας ὅσοι 3 λόγοι πεφύκασιν ἐξαπατῶν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτῳ λέγω, δεύτερον δ', ὃ τισιν παράδοξον ὑσως ἐσται πρὸς τὸ τοὺς λόγους ἐλάττους εἶναι, σιωπῶντας ἁκούειν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ταύτ' ἢ κεῖνα συμφέρειν, καὶ πότερ' ἃν δικαιότερον προέλοθ' ἢ πόλις, οὔτ' εἰσὶ λόγοι πολλοὶ μὴ βουλομένους μάτην ἀδολεσχεῖν, οὕτε πάλιν τις ἃν αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι· ὃς δὲ καὶ δίκαιον ἁκούειν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον1 ἀποκρίνα-

1 θορυβοῦντ' Bluss.
is worth anything will thereafter come forward of his own accord.

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It seems to me a fine and seemly thing, men of Athens, for a man who has convinced himself he has something profitable to say to take the floor, but I consider it altogether shameful to force people to listen against their will. And I think, if you will but take my advice to-day, you will be better able both to choose the best measures and to shorten the speeches of those who come to the platform. What, then, do I advise? First of all, men of Athens, to require the man who comes forward to confine himself to the matters you are considering. For otherwise someone may embrace many other topics in his speech and say many witty things, especially those who are smart at it, as some of these are. Well, if you have come here to listen to fine phrases, the thing to do is to make them and listen to them, but if you have come to deliberate about a choice of measures, I urge you to judge the measures strictly by themselves, eliminating all passages of a nature to mislead. This, then, is my first point. My second, which to some of you will perhaps be inconsistent with cutting the speeches shorter, is that you listen in silence. For on the question whether this or that is expedient and which choice the State might more rightly prefer, there are few arguments to be presented, unless by such persons as wish to prattle aimlessly, nor would anyone have occasion to state them a second time. As for the claim that it is only fair to listen to the heckling,¹

¹ This seems to refer to genuine heckling and not to organized interruption as in XIII. 20 and Olynth. ii. 29.
σθαί καὶ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγειν, οὐδεὶς ὡστὶς οὐχὶ
δύναι τ' ἀν. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ θορυβεῖν οὐκ ἀπαλλάττεσθε
λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐδὲν εἰς χρεῖαν ἐπ-
ἀναγκαζεῖσθ' ἀκούειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐμὴ γνώμη περὶ
ἀν βουλεύεσθ' ἣδ' ἐστίν.
and to give an answer and to make speech after speech, there is no one who could not do that. Thus by heckling you do not get rid of speeches; instead you are forced in addition to hear speeches that are totally irrelevant. Accordingly my judgement concerning the matter before you now begins.
INTRODUCTION

Letters of Demosthenes are mentioned by Plutarch, *Vita* xx., by Quintilian x. 1. 107, and by Cicero, *Brutus* 121 and *Orator* 15. When Quintilian states in the passage mentioned above that "naturally there is no comparison," he probably means that Greek letters were rather what we call epistles, messages of public interest even when addressed to individuals. In this class fall the letters of Plato, Isocrates, Epicurus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, to which may be added the epistles of the New Testament and the churchmen. Letters of purely private concern, such as many of those of Cicero, are more rare. Even in Italy it was the Greek, and not the Ciceronian, tradition that was perpetuated by Seneca and Symmachus.

The genuineness of these six letters ascribed to Demosthenes has been emphatically denied. For this scepticism, which applies to most other collections, there is a general and a special reason: letters are more easily forged than speeches or other literary works and it is known that the rhetorical schools busied themselves with this branch of fiction; scholars remember also the humiliation suffered by an English scholar when Richard Bentley in 1697 proved the letters of Phalaris to be forgeries. Blass, however, was not deterred from declaring the second and third
to be authentic; the first he judged to be an unfinished draft, the fifth to be surely false and probably the fourth; about the sixth he was undecided.

Even sceptical critics are unable to point to anachronisms, and their condemnation is based upon such points of style as verbosity and rhythm, which are debatable. The drift of ideas in the first three letters harmonizes admirably with that of the speeches; one sentence in the third letter, section 42, is cited for its excellence eight times in the Rhetores Graeci. Harpocrates cites the second and third letters. These citations will be found in the footnotes. All the letters except the fifth fall in the years 324–322 B.C., the last two of the orator’s life, immediately preceding and following the death of Alexander. The first and last portions of this period were spent in exile; the letters are presumed to have been written during the first exile.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

Παιντός ἀρχομένω σπουδαίον καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου, ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὑπολαμβάνω προσήκειν πρῶτον ἀρχεσθαι ἐνυχομαι δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσι καὶ πάσαις, τι τῶν δήμων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀριστόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς εὐνοοῦσι τῶν δήμων καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐστὶν ἔπειτα χρόνον, τούτ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν γράφαι τοῖς δ' ἐκκλησιάσασιν Ἀθηναίων ἔλεοθαι. εὐξάμενος δὲ ταῦτα, τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐπινοίας ἐλπίδ' ἐχὼν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, τάδ' ἐπιστέλλω.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

2 Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐμῆς οὐκαδ' ἀφίξεως ἀεὶ νομίζω πάσιν ύμίν ἐσέσθαι βουλεύσασθαι, διότι πὸν ὑδεῖν περὶ αὕτης γέγραφα· τὸν δὲ παρόντα καίρον ὅρῶν ἐλομένων μὲν ύμίν τὰ δέοντα ἀμα δόξαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν δυνάμενον κτήσασθαι, οὐ

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*a* Citations from §§ 6 and 12 of this letter are found in Bekker's *Inedota, Antiatticista* pp. 111, 31, and 110. 5, a lexicographical work. This is evidence for authenticity.

*b* Demosthenes is writing from exile on the island of Calauria south of Aegina, 323 B.C.

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LETTERS
I
ON POLITICAL HARMONY

For one who is about to take any serious step, whether in speech or action, I assume that the proper course is to take his beginning from the gods. Accordingly I entreat all the gods and goddesses that what is best for the democracy of the Athenians and for those who bear goodwill toward the democracy, both now and for time to come, I may myself be moved to write and the members of the Assembly to adopt. With this prayer, having hopes of good inspiration from the gods, I address this message.

Demosthenes to the Council and the Assembly sends greeting.

Concerning the question of my return to my native land I always bear in mind that it will be for you as a body to decide; consequently I am writing nothing about it at the present moment. Observing, however, that the present occasion, if you but choose the right course, is capable of securing for you at one stroke glory and safety and freedom,
μόνον ύμίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασίν Ἐλλησιν, ἀγνοησάντων δ' ἢ παρακροσθέντων οὐ βάδιον αὕτης τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν, ψήθην χρῆναι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων εἰς μέσον 3 θείναι. ἔστιν μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ἐμμεῖναι συμβουλή: πολλοῖς γὰρ εἰώθατ' ἀπαντᾶν ὑμεῖς πρὸ τοῦ περιμεῖναι μαθεῖν. λέγοντι μὲν οὖν ἔστιν αἰσθέσθαι τί βούλεσθε καὶ διορθώσασθαι τάγνωσμαρ να βάδιον: τὸ δὲ βιβλίον οὐδεμίαν βοήθειαν ἔχει τοιαύτην πρὸς τοὺς θορυβοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐθελήσῃ αἰκοῦσαι σιγῆ καὶ περιμείνητε πάντα μαθεῖν, οἶμαι, σὺν θεοῖς εἰρήσθαι, καὶ περὶ βραχέων τῶν γεγραμμένων ὄντων, αὐτὸς τε φανήσεσθαι μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ύμῶν πράσσων καὶ 4 τὰ συμφέρονθ' ύμίν ἐμφανῆ δείξεωι. οὐχ οὖσα ἀπορούντων δ' ύμῶν βραχών οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνευ λογισμοῦ βάδιος ὀ τι ἄν τύχωσιν ἐρούντων, ἐδοξέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πέμπειν: ἀλλ' οὕσα τυγχάνω δ' ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τὸ παρηκολουθήκεναι τοῖς πράγμασιν εἰδώς,

[1464] ταῦτ' ἐβουλήθην τοῖς μὲν προαιρομένοις λέγειν ἐμφανῆ ποιήσας, ἀφθόνους ἀφορμᾶς δὲν ὑπολαμβάνω συμφέρειν ύμῖν δοῦναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς βάδίαν τὴν τῶν βελτίστων αὑρεσίν καταστήσαι. ὡν μὲν οὖν εἰνεκ' ἐπηλθέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράφειν, ταῦτ' ἐστί.

5 Δεί δ' ύμᾶς, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, πρῶτον μὲν 200
not for yourselves alone but for all the rest of the Greeks as well, but that, if you act in ignorance or be led astray, it would not be easy to secure the same opportunity again. I thought I ought to place before the public the state of my opinion on these questions. It is a difficult thing, I know, for advice conveyed by letter to hold its ground. Because you Athenians have a way of opposing many suggestions without waiting to understand them. In the case of a speaker, of course, it is possible to perceive what you want and easy to correct your misapprehensions; but the written page possesses no such aid against those who raise a clamour. In spite of this fact, if you will but consent to listen in silence and have the patience to learn all that I have to say, I think that,—to speak in the hope of divine favour—brief though the writing is, I shall myself be found to be doing my duty by you with all goodwill and that I shall demonstrate clearly where your interests lie. Not as supposing you were running short of speakers, or of those, either, who will say glibly and without real thought what happens to occur to them, did I decide to send the letter; but I desired, after putting plainly before those who like to make speeches all that I happen to know through experience and long association with public business, first, to furnish them with ample means of arriving at what I deem to be your interests, and second, to render easy for the people the choice of the best procedures. Such, then, were the considerations that prompted me to write the letter.

First of all, men of Athens, it is necessary that you

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{a} Isocrates enlarges upon this difficulty, Epist. i. 2-3 and Philip 25-26.
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ἀπάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς ὀμόνοιαν εἰς τὸ κοινῷ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει παρασχέσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἐκκλησιῶν ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔσαι, δευτερον δὲ πάντας ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης τοῖς δόξασι προθύμως συναγωνίζεσθαι: ὡς τὸ μήθ' ἐν μήθ' ἀπλῶς πράττειν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγεννέσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους κυδύνους ἔχει. δεὶ δὲ μηδὲ ταῦτα λαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἃ καθ' αὐτὰ μὲν οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτάρκη κατασχεῖν τὰ πράγματα, προστεθέντα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν πολλῷ πάντ᾽ εὐκατεργαστότερον ὑμῖν ποιήσει. τίν' οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; μήτε πόλει μηδεμᾶ μήτε τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων συνηγωνισμένων τοῖς καθεστηκόσι μηδενὶ μήτε πικρᾶσεθαι μήτε μηνησικακεῖν. ὃ γὰρ τοιοῦτος φόβος τοὺς συνειδότας αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἀναγκαῖος τοῖς καθεστηκόσι καὶ κῦν- δυνον ἔχουσι πρόδηλον προθύμως συναγωνιστὰς ποιεῖ· ἀφεθέντες δὲ τοῦ δέους τοῦτον πάντες ἡπιώ- τεροι γενήσονται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μικρὰν ὠφελειαν ἔχει. κατὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεις τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ εὐήθεις προλέγειν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἐν δυνατῷ· ὡς δὲ ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὀφθήτη χρώμενοι, τοιαύτην καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσδοκιαν παραστήσεθ' ἐκάστοις. φημὶ δὴ χρήσαι μήτε στρατηγῷ μήτε ρήτορι μήτ' ἰδιωτῇ μηδενὶ τῶν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ γε δοκοῦντων συνηγωνίσθαι τοῖς

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a Cicero saturated his mind with the writings of Demosthenes. "Political harmony" will be recognized as his political ideal: Ad Atticum i. 14. 4; his friend Demetrios of Magnesia wrote on the subject: ibid. viii. 11. 7. The Romans deified this abstraction under the name Concordia.

b The cities of Greece were forced to set up pro-Macedonian governments after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. A
bring about harmony among yourselves for the common good of the State and drop all the contentions inherited from previous assemblies and, in the second place, that you all with one mind vigorously support your decisions, since the failure to follow either a uniform policy or to act consistently is not only unworthy of you and ignoble but, in addition, involves the greatest risks. Those things must not escape your attention either, which, though by themselves they are not sufficient to effect your purpose, yet when added to your military forces, will render all your aims much easier of accomplishment. To what, then, do I refer? Toward no city and toward none of the citizens in this or that city who have supported the existing order must you harbour any bitterness or bear a grudge. Because the fear of such animosity causes those who are conscious of guilt in their own hearts, because necessary to the existing order and facing a manifest danger, to be zealous supporters of it, but relieved of this fear they will all become more amenable, and this is of no slight usefulness. Now, to proclaim such intentions in the various cities would be foolish, or rather quite impossible, but in whatever spirit you shall be seen treating your own fellow-citizens, such will be the expectation you will create in the minds of each group concerning your feeling toward the rest also. Accordingly I say that in general you must not cast any blame or censure whatsoever upon any general or orator or private individual of the groups that are Macedonian garrison was stationed in Thebes. Athens was less harshly treated but outspoken advocates of freedom were out of favour.

The verb πικραίνεσθαι is cited as used by Demosthenes, Bekker, i. p. 111. 31.
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καθεστηκόσι μήτε μέμφεσθαι μήτ' ἐπιτιμάν μηδένα μηδὲν ὀλως, ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσαι πάσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πεπολυτεύσαι τὰ δέοντα, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θεοί, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, σώσαντες τὴν πόλιν, ἀποδεδώ-κασιν ύμίν ὁ τι ἄν βουλήθητ' ἐξ ἄρχῆς βουλεύσασθαι, καὶ νομίζειν, ὡσπερ ἂν ἐν πλοίῳ τῶν μὲν ἰστίω, τῶν δὲ κώπαις ἀποφαινομένων κομίζεσθαι, λέγε-σθαί μὲν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπαντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, γε-γενήσαθαι δὲ τὴν χρείαν πρὸς τὰ συμβάντ' ἀπὸ τῶν 9 θεῶν. ἔναν τούτον τὸν τρόπον περὶ τῶν παρεληλυ-θότων ἐγνωκότες ἦτε, καὶ πιστοὶ πᾶσι γενῆσθε, καὶ καλῶν κάγαθων ἀνδρῶν ἔργα πράξετε, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ὕφελήσετ' οὐ μικρά, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντιω-θέντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ μεταγγώναι ποιήσετε πάντας, ἡ ὀλίγους κομιδῆς τινας αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτίους καταλειφθῆναι. μεγαλοφύσως τοῖς καὶ πολιτι-κῶς τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντα πράττετε, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων μέμνησθε.

10 Παρακαλῶ δ' εἰς ταῦτ', οὐ τυχῶν αὐτὸς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλανθρωπίας παρ' ἐνίων, ἀλλ' ἀδίκως καὶ στασιαστικῶς εἰς τὴν ἑτέρων χάριν προποθεῖς. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὴν ἱδίαν ὀργὴν ἀναπληρῶν τὸ κοινὴ συμφέρον οἷμαι δείν βλάπτεω, οὔτε μείγνυμι τῆς ἱδίας ἔχθρας εἰς τὰ κοινὴ συμφέροντ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' α τοὺς ἀλλοὺς παρακαλῶ, ταῦτ' αὐτὸς οἴομαι δείν πρῶτος ποιεῖν.

1 καὶ μὴ Schaefer.

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[a] The implication is that the interests of the Athenians coincide with the good of all, but the editors add μὴ: “Do not think of your own interests.”

[b] The odd metaphor derives from the reckless giving of 204.
believed, at least previously, to have supported the existing order, but rather concede to all parties in the city that they have done their duty as public men, inasmuch as the gods, to whom be thanks, by saving the city have bestowed upon you the privilege of deciding afresh whatever you shall choose to do, and you must be of the opinion that, just as on board a ship, when some declare themselves for making good their escape by the sail and others by the oars, just as all proposals of both parties aim at salvation, so it is to meet a crisis created by the gods that the need has arisen. If you shall have made up your minds to regard past events in this way, you will gain the confidence of all and play the part of good and honourable men; you will also further your own interests not a little and will cause your opponents in the various cities either to change their minds, all of them, or will cause only a certain very small number of them, the ringleaders themselves, to be left. Acquit yourselves, therefore, with magnanimity and statesmanship in the general interest of Greece and bear in mind your own interests as Athenians.\(^a\)

I urge you to this line of conduct, though I have not myself met with such generosity from certain persons but have been unjustly and in a spirit of faction tossed off\(^b\) for the gratification of others. I do not think, however, that I have the right while satisfying my private resentment to hurt the public interest, nor do I at all mix my private enmity with the general good. On the contrary, the conduct I urge upon the rest of men I think I ought to be myself the first to practise.

presents in connexion with the drinking of toasts at banquets. Lexicon under \(\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\iota\nu\omega\).
Αἱ μὲν οὖν παρασκευαὶ καὶ ἀ δεὶ φυλάξασθαι, καὶ ἅ πράττων τις ἄν κατ’ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν μάλιστα κατορθοῖ, σχεδὸν ἐφηνταί μοι τοῖς δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπιστατῆσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα συμβαίνουσιν ὀρθῶς χρῆσθαι, καὶ γνώσει τῶν ἐκάστου καιρῶν, καὶ κρίνα πλὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς ὀμιλίας δυνατὸν προσαγαγόμεθα καὶ βίας προσδεῖται, τῶν ἐφεστηκότων στρατηγῶν ἔργον ἐστί. διὸ καὶ χαλεπωτάτην τάξιν ἔχει τὸ συμβουλεύειν· τὰ γὰρ ὀρθῶς βουλευθέντα καὶ δοκιμασθέντα σὺν πολλῃ σπουδῇ καὶ πόνῳ πολλάκις τῷ τοὺς ἐπιστάντας ἀλλως χρῆσασθαι διελμάνθη. νῦν μέντοι πάνθ’ ἔξειν καλῶς ἐλπίζω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τις ὑπείληφε τυχὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ πάντα κατορθοῦν, ἐκεῖνο λογισάσθω, ὅτι πράττων καὶ πονῶν καὶ τολμῶν, οὐχὶ καθήμενος ἤτοίκει. νῦν τοῖνυν τεθνεῶτος ἐκεῖνον ἔτει τινας ἡ τύχη μεθ’ ὅπρ ἐσται, τούτους δ’ ὑμᾶς δεὶ γενέσθαι. τοῦς θ’ ἤγεμόνας, δι’ ὅν ἀνάγκῃ τὰ πράγματα πράττεσθαι, ὡς εὐνουστάτους ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐφιστατέ· καὶ ὁ τι ποιεῖν αὐτός ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν δυνάσθηται καὶ βουλήσθηται, τούτῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπάτῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσθω. καὶ τοῦθ’ ὅπως μὴ ψεύσθηται, μηδὲ ἐξηπατήσθαι μηδὲ πεισθήναι παρακρονθῆσεις φήσας ἀναδύσεται, ὡς τὴν ἐκδειαν ὅπν ἄν ἐλλίπηθ’ ύμεῖς, οὐχ εὑρήσετε τοὺς ἀναπληρώσοντας· οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει κίνδυνον,

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a Under the word ὀμιλία this passage is cited by Bekker, i. p. 110, 4-6.
b Plutarch wrote an essay entitled “Whether the success of Alexander was due to luck or ability.”
Now, the steps to be taken by way of preparation and the mistakes to be guarded against, and the measures by which one might, as human calculations go, most likely succeed, have been, for practical purposes, stated by me; but how to oversee our business from day to day and how to deal rightly with situations that arise unexpectedly, how to know the right moment for each action and to judge which of our objectives it is possible to attain through negotiation and which requires force in addition, these are the responsibility of the generals in charge. Therefore to give advice is to be in a very difficult position, because decisions that have been rightly taken and weighed with great care and pains are often spoiled through faulty execution on the part of those in authority. Yet I hope that all will be well this time; for if any man has assumed that Alexander was fortunate because he always succeeded, let him reflect upon the fact that it was by doing and toiling and daring, not by sitting still, that he continued to be fortunate. Now, therefore, since Alexander is dead, Fortune is seeking some people with whom to co-operate, and you ought to become her choice. As for your leaders, through whom your interests must necessarily be handled, place at the head of your forces men whose loyalty is the greatest available, and as for yourselves, let every man of you repeat to himself a solemn promise to perform whatever he in particular shall be able and shall elect to do. And see to it that he does not break this pledge or shirk his responsibility, saying that he was deceived or misled and overpersuaded, because you will never find others to make good the lack of those qualities in which you yourselves shall fall short; neither does
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peri ὃν ἐφ᾿ ψυχαῖς, τοῦτο χειροτονεῖτε, κἂν ἀπαξ ἤπιος ἢπιος θεοῦ, οὗ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδώναιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς, οἱ πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς κἀγαθὰς καὶ ἀληθεῖς ψυχαῖς, τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ἄνθρωποις, ήγεμόνας ποιησάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, καὶ κατὰ τῶν νικητηρίων ἄπασιν αὐτοῖς εὐξάμενοι, μετὰ τῆς ἄγαθῆς τύχης ἐλευθεροῦτε τοὺς Ἔλληνας. εὐτυχεῖτε.

B

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΔΙΑΣ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΥ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

Ἐνόμιζον μὲν ἂφ᾽ ὅν ἐπολιτευόμηρν, οὐχ ὁπως μηδέν ψυχαῖς ἄθικῶν τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν μέτρι᾽ ἐξαμαρτῶν συγγνώμης τεῦξεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ οὕτω γέγονεν, ἔως μὲν ἑώρων ψυχαῖς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποδείξεως φανερᾶς οὐδ᾽ ἔλεγχον γιγνομένου παρὰ

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a Cf. Plutarch, Marius 26 εὐξαῖτο τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ ἐκατομβῆς, "He prayed to the gods for victory, taking a vow to sacrifice a hecatomb."

b Three citations of this letter may be found in Walz’s Rhetores Graeci, which will be mentioned in the footnotes. Harpocration refers to § 20 under the name Calauria.

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it involve the same danger to change your minds often about matters wherein it will be in your power to do as you please as it does about matters over which war will arise; but in the case of the latter a change of mind means defeat of your purpose. So do nothing of this kind, but whatever you intend to execute honestly and promptly with your whole souls, vote for that, and once you have passed a decree, adopt as your leaders Zeus of Dodona and the rest of the gods, who have uttered in your interest many splendid, encouraging and true oracles, and summon them to your aid and after you have prayed to all of them for success with a vow of the fruits of victory, with good fortune attending you, proceed to liberate the Greeks. Farewell.

II

CONCERNING HIS OWN RESTORATION

Demosthenes to the Council and the Assembly sends greeting

I used to believe, because of my conduct in public life, that, as one who was guilty of no wrong toward you, I should not only never meet with such treatment as this but, even if I should have committed some slight offence, that I might meet with forgiveness. Since, however, it has turned out as it has, so long as I observed you, without any manifest proof or even a scrutiny of evidence on the part of the

\[c\] The opening sentence down to this point is cited by Hermogenes, *Rhetores Graeci* 3, p. 349.
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tῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὰ ταύτης ἀπόρρητα καταψηφίζο-
μένους ἀπάντων, οὐδὲν ἐλαττόνων παραχωρεῖν ὡμᾶς
ἡγούμενοι ἢ ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστερεῖσθαι, στέργειν ἧρού-
μην· τὸ γὰρ οἷς ἢ βουλὴ φήσῃ τοὺς ὁμομοκότας
δικαστὰς προστίθεσθαι μηδεμίας ἀποδείξεως ἢ.

2 θείσης, τῆς πολιτείας παραχωρεῖν ἦν. ἔπειδὴ δὲ
καλῶς ποιοῦντες Ἰσθήσθη τὴν δυναστείαν ἦν τινὲς
τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατεσκεύαζονθ' ἐαυτοῖς καὶ πρὸς
τὰς ἀποδείξεις τοὺς ἀγώνας κρίνετε τὰ δ' ἀπόρ-
ρητα τούτων ἐπιτιμήσεως αξία εὐρήκατε, οἴμαι
dεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ἢ, τῆς ὁμοίας τυχεῖν
σωτηρίας τοῖς τῶν ὁμοίων αἰτίων τετυχηκόσι, καὶ
μὴ μόνος δι' αἰτίαν ἴσως τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν
ὄντων καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων συνθείας ἀπο-
στερθῆναι.

3 Εἰκότως δ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέλοι τῆς
ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ὡμᾶς
ἀδικῶν δεινὰ πέπονθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐνεκ’ εὐδοξίας. μὴ γὰρ, εἰ μηδεῖς
ὡς ἀναμμηνήσκει τοὺς χρόνους μηδὲ τοὺς καίρους
ἐν οἷς τὰ μέγιστ’ ἐγὼ χρήσιμος ἢ τῇ πόλει, τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἀγνοεῖν νομίζετε, μηδ’ ἐπιλελη-
σθαί τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ ἐγὼ
δυνοῦν ἐνεκα νῦν ὁκνῶ γράφειν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν, ἐνὸς
μέν, τῶν φθόνον δεδιώς, πρὸς ὅν οὐδὲν ἔστι προφη-
γου τάληθη λέγειν, ἐτέρου δ’, ὅτι πολλὰ κανάξια
ἐκείνων διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων κακίαν νῦν

a In his Life of Demosthenes 26 Plutarch informs us that
the trial took place before the Areopagus. This was in the
spring of 324 B.C. The exile lasted a year.
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Council,"a condemning all the accused on the strength of the unrevealed information of that body, I chose to make the best of it, thinking that you were surrendering rights no less valuable than those of which I was being deprived. Because, for the jurors under oath to assent to whatever the Council should declare, without any proof having been cited, that was a surrender of a constitutional right. Since, however, you have happily become aware of the undue ascendency which certain members of the Council were contriving for themselves and since you are now deciding the cases in the light of the proofs and have found the secretiveness of these men deserving of censure, I think it is my right, with your consent, to enjoy the same acquittal as those who have incurred the like accusations, and not to be the only one to be deprived on a false charge of his fatherland, his property, and the company of those who are nearest and dearest to him.

And you would have good reason, men of Athens, to be concerned about my deliverance, not only for the reason that I have been outrageously treated. though guilty of doing you no wrong, but also for the sake of your good name abroad. For you must not imagine, just because no one reminds you of those times and occasions upon which I was of the greatest service to the city, that the rest of the Greeks are not aware of them or have forgotten what I have accomplished in your behalf. At the present moment I hesitate to write of these services in detail for two reasons: one reason is that I am afraid of jealousy, in the face of which it is useless to speak the truth; the second is this, that because of the cowardice of the rest of Greece we are now compelled
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5 πράττειν ἀναγκαζόμεθα. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ τοιαύτα ἐστ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐξηταξόμην ύπερ ύμῶν ἐγὼ ὡσθ' ύμᾶς μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πάντων ξηλοῦσθαι, ἐμοὶ δ' ἔλπίδα τῶν μεγίστων διωρεῖν προσδοκᾶσθαι παρ' ύμων. τῆς δ' ἀναγκαίας μὲν, ἀγνώμονος δὲ τύχης οὐχ ὡς δίκαιον ἦν, ἄλλ' ὡς ἐβουλέτο, κρι

6 ἁγώνα, ὃν ύμείς ἡγονύσασθε, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ἀπέστην τῆς εἰς ύμᾶς εὐνοίας, οὐδ' ἀντηλλαξάμην ἀντὶ ταύτης οὐδέν, οὐχ χάριν, οὐκ ἔλπίδας, οὗ πλοῦτον, οὗ δυναστείαν, οὗ ἀσφάλειαν, καίτοι πάντα ταῦτ' ἐώρων ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς καθ' ύμῶν βουλομένοις πολιτεύεσθαι.

7 'Ο δὲ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μεγάλων ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἐπέρχεται μοι παρρησιάζοσθαι, μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι, οὐκ ὁκνήσω γράφαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὃτι ἐν παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι τῶν μημονεμένων ἀνθρώπων δεινοτάτου γεγενημένου Φιλίππου, καὶ δι' ὀμιλίας πείσαι προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν ὡς βουλότο, καὶ διαφθείραι χρήμασι τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν 'Ελληνί-

8 δῶν πόλεως γνωρίσουν, ἐγὼ μόνος οὐδετέρου τούτων ἡττήσθην, δ' κοινὴν ύμῖν φιλοτιμίαν φέρει, πολλὰ μὲν ἐντυχῶν Φιλίππων καὶ διαλεγθεῖς ἐφ' οἷς ύμείς ἐπέμπτε προσβεύοντα με, πολλῶν δ' ἀποσχόμενοι χρημάτων διδόντος ἐκείνου, ἃ τῶν συνειδότων ἑτὶ πολλοὶ ξώσιν. οὐς τίνα γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ ύμῶν εἰκὸς λογίσασθε· τὸ γάρ τῷ τοιούτῳ τούτῳ κεχρη-

[1469] σθαι τον τρόπον, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἂν εὑ οἴδα ὅτι συμφόρα

a The reference is to the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.

b Demosthenes was one of ten envoys who negotiated with Philip the Peace of Philocrates in 316 B.C. and was several times sent on similar missions afterwards.
to do many things that are below the standard of those services of mine. In brief, however, the record upon which I passed scrutiny as your servant was of such a kind as to make you envious by all because of it and myself confident in the greatest rewards from you. And when Fortune, as irresistible as she was unkind, decided as she pleased, and not according to justice, the struggle for the liberty of Greece in which you engaged, not even in the times that followed did I retreat from my loyalty toward you, nor did I bargain for anything in place of it, no man’s favour, no hopes of preferment, nor wealth, nor power, nor personal safety. Yet I observed that all these prizes were accruing to those who chose to play the game of politics to your detriment.

Now one fact which is especially significant—although there are many significant facts which, it occurs to me, would justify me in speaking frankly—I shall not refrain from writing to you: although of men who are mentioned in history in all time, Philip had the most uncanny ability of all, whether through personal contact to persuade men to pay heed to his wishes or to corrupt with bribes the notable men in every one of the Greek cities, I was the only man who did not fall a victim to either of these methods, a fact that brings to you also cause for pride, and although I met Philip often and parleyed with him on those matters on which you sent me as envoy, yet I kept my hands off the substantial sums he offered me, as many men are aware who still live. Just ponder what opinion these men may reasonably entertain of you, for to have dealt this treatment to such a man, while for myself I am sure it would seem a misfortune, though no conviction of vice, yet
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φανείη, κακία δ' ουδεμία, ὑμετέρα δ' ἀγνωμοσύνη· ἦν τῷ μεταγινώναι λύσατε.1

9 Πάντα τοίνυν τὰ προειρημέν' ἐλάττω νομίζω τῆς 
συνεχοὺς καὶ καθ' ἕμέραν πολιτείας, ἐν ἥ παρεῖχον 
ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ πολιτεύομεν, οὐδεμίας ὄργης οὐδὲ 
δυσμενείας οὔδ' ἀδίκου πλεονεξίας οὔτε κοινῆς οὔτ' 
ἰδίας προϊστάμενος, οὔτε συκοφαντήσας οὔδένα πώ- 
ποτ' οὔτε πολίτην οὔτε ξέινον, οὔτε καθ' ύμων ἱδία 
δεινὸς ὄν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ύμῶν, εἰ τι δεήσειν, ἐξετα-
ξομενος δημοσία. εἰδείειν δ' ἄν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, 
καὶ λέγειν τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐστὲ δίκαιοι, τὴν πρὸς 
Πύθωνα τὸν Βυζαντίου ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἀπὸ 
τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡλθε πρέσβεις ἐχων, ὡς ἀδικοῦσαν 
deίξων τὴν πόλιν, ἀπήλθε δὲ τὰναντία τοῦτων 
παθῶν, μόνον τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἐξετάσατο ἐμοῦ 
tὰ ὑπὲρ ύμῶν δίκαια. καὶ ἐδ' πρεσβείας ὅσα 
ὑπὲρ ύμῶν ἐπρέσβευσα, ἐν αἰς οὐδὲν ἡλαττώθητε 
11 πῶποτ' οὔδε καθ' ἐν. ἐπολιτεύομην γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες 
'Αθηναίοι, οὐχ ὀπως ἀλλήλων ύμείς περιγενήσεσθε 
σκοπῶν οὔδ' ἐφ' ἐαυτὴν ἄκοντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' 
ἀφ' ὅν δόξαν καὶ μεγαλουχίαν ύμῶν ὕπαρξειν 
ἐνόμιζον. ἐφ' οίς ἀπασὶ μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς 
νέοις, ἄγασθαι προςήκει, καὶ σκοπεῖν μὴ μόνον τὸν 
διακονήσωντα πρὸς χάριν πάντ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ

1 λύσασθε Ηερμογένες.

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a This sentence is cited by Hermogenes, Rhetores Graeci 3, p. 235 and by Maximus Planudes, ibid. 5, p. 495.
b Python, pupil of Isocrates and a presumptuous orator, headed a deputation of all the allies of Philip when they came 
to Athens in 343 B.C. to accuse the people of unjust conduct. 
See VII. 20-23, XVIII. 136, Plutarch, Life of Dem. 9, and 
Lucian, Encomium 32.

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on your part it would seem defiance of justice.\textsuperscript{a} I beg of you to change your verdict and cancel this imputation.

All the considerations which I have mentioned\textsuperscript{9} above, however, I consider of less importance than my conduct from first to last and every day in public life, in which I showed myself in action to be a statesman, never encouraging any nursing of a grudge or a feud or the grasping for unfair advantage, whether shared or for myself, never preferring false charges against either citizen or alien, never being over-clever to work in secret against your interests but always working for them, if occasion should arise, and above-board, subject to public approval. The older men\textsuperscript{10} would know—and in all fairness you ought to inform the younger ones—of the hearing granted Python\textsuperscript{b} of Byzantium before the Assembly when he arrived with the envoys from the Greeks, expecting to show that the city was acting unjustly, but went away with the tables turned against him after I, alone of those who spoke on that occasion, had brought out the rights of the matter in your defence. I forbear to mention all the embassies upon which I served in support of your interests, in which you were never worsted even in a single instance; for I shaped my\textsuperscript{11} policy, men of Athens, not with an eye to helping you get the better of one another, nor whetting the State against itself, but furthering measures from which I thought a reputation for magnanimity would redound to you. With such aspirations you should all be delighted, and especially the younger men, not looking for someone who will always play the lackey to win your favour in his public conduct—for of this
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(τούτου μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ' ἐστ' ἀπορήσαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ
tὸν ἐπ' εὐνοία περί ὃν ἂν ἀγνοήτ' ἑπιτιμήσοντα.

12 Ἔτι τοίνυν παραλείπων πολλὰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔτερος καὶ
µηδὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμος γεγονὼς δικαίως ἂν ἦξιον
τυγχάνειν σωτηρίας, χορηγίας καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ
χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεις ἐν πάσι τοῖς καιροῖς· ἐν οἷς
ἔγονοι φανήσομαι οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐξητασμένος πρῶ-
tος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακεκληκὼς. ὃν
ἐκαστον, ὥ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, λογίσασθε, ὅς ἀνάξιον
ἐστι τῆς περιεστηκυίας νῦν ἐμοὶ συμφορᾶς.

13 Ἀφθόνων δ' οὖντων, ἀπορῶ τί πρῶτον ὅδυρωμα
tῶν παρόντων κακῶν. πότερον τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν ἡ
φυγής ἐπικυιδύνου πειράζοι παρ' ἔθος καὶ παρὰ
τὴν ἀξίαν ἀναγκάζομαι; ἡ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἐφ' ἡ κατ'
οὐδὲν ἐλεγχον οὐδ' ἀπόδειξιν ἀλοὺς ἀπόλωλα; ἡ
τὰς ἐλπίδας ὃν διαμαρτὼν, ὃν ἔτερος προσήκε
14 κεκληρονόμηκα κακῶν, οὔτ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπολυτεύθη
πρῶτον δίκην ὅφειλών δοῦναι, οὔτε τῶν ἐφ' οἷς
ἐκρινόμην ἐξελεγχθέντων; οὔτε γὰρ ἐγώγε τῶν
'Αρπάλου φίλων φανήσομαι γεγονὼς, τῶν τε γρα-
φέντων περὶ 'Αρπάλου μόνα τάμοι πεπραγμέν
ἀνέγκλητον πεποίηκε τὴν πόλιν. ἔξ ὃν πάντων
dηλόν ἐσθ' ὅτι καιρῷ τινὶ ληφθεὶς καὶ οὐκ ἅδική-

a Prosperous citizens of Athens were required from time to
time to contribute money for the equipment of triremes,
dramatic choruses, and religious deputations to various
shrines. These were the λητουργίαι in contrast to the ὑπηρε-
sίαι mentioned in Exordium 52.

b His age was sixty. Cicero was only a year older when
he wrote his essay On Old Age.

c Harpalus was an absconding treasurer of Alexander who
sought refuge in Attica. Part of his illicit funds disappeared
from the Acropolis, where they had been sequestered by the
Athenians. Demosthenes was accused and convicted of
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type there will never be a dearth—but for one who, actuated by loyalty, will even rebuke you for your errors of judgement.

Now I pass over many other considerations, on the strength of which a different kind of a man and with no other service to his credit would justly demand to obtain acquittal; I mean the equipping of choruses and triremes and the contributing of money on all occasions. In these duties I shall be found, not only to have been the first to do my own part, but also to have urged the rest to do theirs. Reviewing these services one by one, men of Athens, consider how undeserved is the calamity that has now befallen me.

Since my present troubles are so abundant I am at a loss to know what I shall bemoan first. Will it be my advanced age, at which, for the first time and contrary to my deserts, I am compelled to experience the hazards of a perilous exile? Or will it be the disgrace of having been convicted and ruined without any investigation or proof of guilt? Or will it be in disappointment of my hopes in place of which I have fallen heir to evils that rightfully belonged to others, since neither because of my previous political record was I deserving punishment nor had the charges been proved upon which I was being tried. For I shall never be shown to have been one of the friends of Harpalus, and among the decrees that were passed concerning him only those proposed by me have afforded the State a clean record. From all these facts it is clear that I was caught in an unaccepting twenty talents. Few historians believe that he was guilty; some suggest that he may have spent part of the money in the cause of liberty.
ματι, τῇ πρὸς ἄπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄργῃ 15 περιπέτειων' ἀδικώς τῷ πρῶτος εἰσίναι. ἔπει τὸ τῶν δικαίων οὐκ εἶπον ἐγὼ τῶν σεσωκότων τοὺς ὑστερον κρινομένους; ἢ τῶν ἔλεγχων εἶπεν ἢ βουλῇ

[1471] κατ' ἐμοῦ; ἢ τίνα νῦν ἂν εἶπεῖν ἔχοι; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς· τὰ γὰρ μὴ γενόμεν ὀυκ ἔστι ποιῆσαι γεγενηθαι. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοὺτων παύομαι, πολλαὶ γράφειν ἔχων· τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδεῖναι πειράν μοι δεδωκεν, εἰς μὲν ὡφελείαν ἀσθενείς ὁν, εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον λυπεῖσθαι πάντων ὁδυνηρότατον.

16 ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις διῆλλαχθε, κἀμοι διαλλάγητ, ὥς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκηξ ὑμᾶς οὐδέν, ὡς ἤσπεσαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἢρωες· μαρτυρέι δὲ μοι πᾶς ὁ πρόσθεν παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος, ὃς δικαιότερον ἂν πιστεύοιθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ἀνελέγκτου νῦν ἐπενεχθεῖσης αἰτίας· οὔτ' ἐγὼ χείριστος οὐδ' ἀπιστότατος φανήσομαι τῶν διαβληθέντων.

17 Καὶ μὴν τὸ γ' ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὀργήν πρὸς με ποιήσειν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπεγνωκὼς ὑμᾶς οὐδ' ἐτέρωσε βλέπων οὐδαμοὶ μετέστην, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦνείδος τῆς εἰρκτῆς χαλεπῶς τῷ λογισμῷ φέρων, εἶτα διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν οὐκ ἂν οἶδος τ' ὃν τῷ σώματι τὴν κακοπαθίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν. ἔτι δ' οὐδ' 1 πολλ' ἂν Blass.

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1 Demigods or semi-divine ancestors of noble families.
2 The suggestion is that another man might have offered his services to the Macedonians.
fortunate conjuncture, not taken in wrongdoing, and that through coming first on the list into court I unjustly fell foul of the public rage against all those involved in those charges. Because, which of the 15 just pleas that have saved those subsequently tried did not I myself advance? Or what proof did the Council allege against me? Or what proof could it now allege? There is none; for it is impossible to make facts out of what never happened. I refrain, however, from enlarging upon these topics, though there is plenty to write, for the consciousness of innocence has afforded me proof through experience that, while a feeble help in time of trouble, it is the most excruciating of all means of enhancing one's suffering. So, since, quite rightly, you have become reconciled with all others involved in these charges, be reconciled with me also, men of Athens; for I have done no wrong against you, as I call upon the gods and heroes a to bear testimony. My witness is the whole extent of time that has gone by, which has a juster claim upon your credence than the unsupported charge which has now been brought against me; nor shall I be found to be the worst or the least trustworthy of those who have been falsely accused.

And surely my departure from Athens would not afford you just grounds for resentment against me, for it was not because I had renounced allegiance to you nor because I was looking to another quarter for comfort b that I changed my residence to another country, but because, in the first place, I was pained at contemplating the disgrace of imprisonment, and in the second, on account of my age I was in no condition to endure the bodily discomforts. Besides,
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όμως ενόμισεν ἀβουλείν ἑξαὶ με προπηλακισμοῦ γενέσθαι, ὅσ οὐδὲν ὁμως ωφελῶν ἐμ’ ἀπώλλυεν. 18 ἐπει δ’ ήγην προσέχων τὸν νοῦν καὶ οὐδέσω ἄλλοις πολλ’ ἂν ἴδοντε σημεία. εἰς τε γὰρ πόλιν ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐν ἕ μέγιστα πράξεων αὐτὸς ἐμέλλον, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἥν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐλθόντας ἤδειν θ’ ὁ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην κατελάμβανεν αὐτούς κύνδυνος, καὶ παρ’ ἕ πλείστην εὐνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν ἐπι-
στάμην. ἐστὶ δ’ Ἕ Τροζῆνιν αὕτη, ἥ μάλιστα μὲν οὐ θεοὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ὁμος εὐνοίας εἴνεκα καὶ τῆς [1472] εἰς ἕμ’ εὐρηγεσίας εὐνοι πάντες εἶχαν, εἰτα κἂν ἱσθείς υφ’ ὁμῶν δυνηθείην ἀποδοίην χάριτας. ἔν τε ταύτη τινῶν, ὃς ἐμοὶ χαρίζομένων, ἐπιτιμᾶν ὁμοὶ τι πειρωμένων τῇ κατ’ ἐμ’ ἀγνοία, ἐγὼ πᾶσαν εὐφημίαν, ὡσπερ ἐμοὶ προσῆκε, παρειχόμην ἐξ ὅν καὶ μάλιστα νομίζω πάντας ἀγαθέντας μου δημοσίᾳ τιμήσαι.

20 Ὄρων δ’ τὴν μὲν εὐνοιαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν μεγάλην, τῆς δ’ εἰς τὸ παρὸν δύναμιν καταδεικτέαν, μετελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδώνοις ἱερὸν ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ κάθημαι, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνεκα, ἤν διὰ τὸν θεον ἐπτίξω μοι ὑπάρχειν (οὐ γὰρ εὐ οἶδα γε’ ἃ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐτέρους ἐστίν ὃς ἂν βούλωσαν πράξαι λεπτῆν καὶ ἁδηλον ἔχει τῷ κυνδυνεύοντι τῇ ἀσφά-
λειαν), ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τὴν πατρίδ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκάστης

a He hints that he might have gone to some other city friendly to the Macedonians, where a welcome would have awaited him if he had renounced his allegiance to Athens.

b The Athenians abandoned the city before the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.

c Calauria is situated south of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf. Harpocratio cites the letter under the name Calauria, an evidence of its authenticity.
I did not think that you, either, were averse to my getting beyond the reach of revilement which, without benefiting you, was breaking me down. For, as indications that it was on you my thoughts were centred and on no others, you may note many items of evidence; for instance, I did not go to a city in which I was likely to play an outstanding rôle myself, but to one where I knew our ancestors had gone when the Persian danger overtook them, and where I knew too there existed abundant goodwill toward yourselves. I refer to the city of Troezen, to which it is my chief prayer that all the gods may be propitious, both because of its goodwill to you and because of its kindness to me, and my second prayer is that, having been delivered from this exile by you, I may be enabled to make repayment for kindnesses. In this city, when certain persons, thinking to make themselves agreeable to me, ventured to censure you for your arbitrary action in my regard, I preserved all reticence, as was my duty, which I believe was the chief reason for their being moved to admiration of me and honouring me in the name of the city.

Observing, however, that though the goodwill of the men there was strong, yet the power of the city was insufficient for the present need. I changed my residence and now have my quarters in the sanctuary of Poseidon in Calauria, not only for the sake of my personal safety, which through the protection of the god I hope is assured—because I am not quite certain; for the fact that it is in the power of unfriendly people to deal with matters as they choose renders frail and unpredictable the safety of a man in danger—but also because from here I look across
Demosthenes terminated his second exile by taking poison rather than submit to capture by the soldiers of Antipater, 322 B.C. From this passage it seems that he had been prepared to do so the year before in the same Calauria.
the sea every day to my native land, toward which I am conscious in my heart of feeling an attachment as strong as I pray that I may enjoy on your part.

In order, therefore, men of Athens, that I may no longer be held in the grip of these present miseries, enact for me those measures you have already voted for the benefit of certain others, so that neither shall anything unworthy of you become my lot nor I be compelled to become the suppliant of rival powers; for that would not be an honourable thing for you either. Because, if the differences between you and me remain irreconcilable, it were better for me to be dead. With good reason you may have confidence that I entertain this thought and that I am not now indulging in idle bluff. A I placed my fate in your hands, and I faced the trial in order that I might neither be a traitor to the truth nor place myself beyond the reach of any one of you, but that you might deal with me as you pleased; for I thought that those from whom I had received all my blessings ought to possess the privilege even of erring against me if they chose. Since, however, a just Fortune—thanks be to her—prevailing over the unjust, has bestowed upon you the opportunity of deliberating twice on the same questions, no irremediable decree concerning my case having been passed, save me, men of Athens, and vote a verdict worthy both of your own selves and of me. You will not find me to have done wrong on the score of any of my measures, or a fit person to be deprived of my civic rights or destroyed, but a man who is as much devoted to your democracy as the best patriots—not to say anything invidious—

b To claim that he was more loyal would be invidious.
καὶ πλείστα πεπραγματευμένον τῶν νυνὶ ξώντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ μέγισθ' ὑπάρχοντα μοι τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν σύμβολ' εὐνοίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

25 Μηδεῖς δ' ὑμῶν ἡγείσθω μ', ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, μητ' ἀνανδρίᾳ μητ' ἀλλη προφάσει ψαύλη μηδεμιᾶ παρ' ὀλήν τὴν ἑπιστολήν ὥδυρεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκαστὸς ἄφθονως χρῆται, ἔμοι δὲ ταῦτα νῦν πάρεστιν, ὡς μήποτ' ὤφελε, λύπαι καὶ δάκρυα, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑμῶν πότος καὶ ὄν πέπονθα λογισμός, ἀ πάντα ποιεῖ μ' ὥδυρεσθαι· ἀ ἐπισκοποῦντες δικαίως, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν πεπολυτευμένων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὔτε μαλακίαι οὖτ' ἀνανδρίαν προσοῦσαν εὐρήσετε μοι.

26 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ πάντας ὑμᾶς τοσαύτα· ίδια δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὶ προσκρούονσιν ἐναντίον ὑμῶν βούλομαι διαλεχθῆναι. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὕψ' ὑμῶν ἀγνοθείσων υπηρετοῦντες ἔποιον, ἑστώ δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς πεπρά-χθαι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔγκαλω. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγνώκαθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ ταῦτ' ἑστίν, ἐὰν μὲν, ὡσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐῶσι, καὶ ἐμοὶ συγχωρήσωσι, καλῶς ποιήσουσιν· ἐὰν δ' ἐπηρεάξειν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ μοι βοηθεῖν ἄπαντας, καὶ μὴ κυριωτέραν τὴν τοῦτων ἔχθραν τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χάριτὸς μοι γενέσθαι. εὐτυχεῖτε.
who of all men now living has accomplished most in your behalf and of all men of my time has available the most signal tokens of devotion to you.

Let not one of you think, men of Athens, that through lack of manhood or from any other base motive I give way to my grief from the beginning to the end of this letter. Not so, but every man is ungrudgingly indulgent to the feelings of the moment, and those that now beset me—if only this had never come to pass!—are sorrows and tears, longing both for my country and for you, and pondering over the wrongs I have suffered, all of which cause me to grieve. If you but scan this record fairly, in none of the political actions taken by me in your behalf will you find softness or lack of manhood attaching to me.

Now thus far I am appealing to you all, but for those in particular who are attacking me in your presence I wish to say a word: so far as concerns all that they were doing in pursuance of the decrees passed by you in disregard of the truth, let it be allowed that these actions have been taken by them as your agents, and I lodge no complaint. Since, however, you have yourselves come to recognize these decrees for what they are, if they will yield in my case, just as they are allowing the prosecution to be dropped in the case of the other defendants, they shall have my thanks; but if they attempt to continue malicious, I appeal to you all to rally to my aid and not allow the enmity of these men to prevail over the gratitude due to me from you. Farewell.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ

Κείμενο

Περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτόν, ἃ μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐνόμιζον δίκαιον εἶναι γενέσθαι, τὴν προτέραν ἐπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὑπὲρ ὧν ὅταν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, τότε συγχωρήσετε. περὶ δ’ ὧν ὑν ἐπέσταλκα, βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμᾶς μὴ παριδεῖν, μηδὲ πρὸς φιλονικίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀκούσαι. συμβαίνει γὰρ μοι, καὶ περ ἐκποδῶν διατρίβοντι, πολλῶν ἄκοιν ἐπιτιμώντων ὑμῖν τὸς περὶ τοὺς Λυκούργου παῖδας 2 γιγνομένοις.1 ἐπέστειλα μὲν ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων ζωντι πεπραγμένων ἐνεκα, ὡν ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ πάντες ἂν αὐτῶ δικαίως ἔχοιτε χάριν, εἰ τὰ προσήκοντα βουλοῦσθε ποιεῖν. ἐκείνος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν μέρει τάξας τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κατ’ ἀρχάς, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν

1 γεγενημένοις Blass.

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1 Eight citations of this letter by Hermogenes, Aristeides and others may be found in Walz’s Rhetores Graeci. It is cited also by Harpocration and by Antiatticista in Bekker’s Anecdota. It seems to have been known also to Photius and to the author of the Etymologicum Magnum. References to all of these will be found in the footnotes. In spite of these evidences of authenticity the majority of editors reject the letter. By Blass it is defended and of all six letters it certainly has the strongest case.

2 Lycurgus managed the finances of Athens efficiently for...
I sent you the previous letter about matters that concern myself, stating what steps I thought in justice ought to be taken by you; in regard to these you will take favourable action when it seems good to you. The message I now address to you I should not like you to overlook or to hear it in a spirit of contentiousness, but with due regard to the justness of it. For it happens that, although sojourning in an out-of-the-way place, I hear many people censuring you for your treatment of the sons of Lycurgus. Now I should have sent you the letter merely out of regard for those services that Lycurgus performed during his lifetime, for which you would all, like myself, be in justice grateful if you would but do your duty. For Lycurgus, having taken a post in the financial department of the government at the outset of his career and not being at all accustomed to draft documents pertaining to the general affairs of twelve years (338–326), for one legal term of four years as treasurer and for two terms through others. During this period the income of the State was doubled and a large building programme was carried through. In politics Lycurgus was associated with Demosthenes. Though he ranked as one of the ten Attic orators, his style was rather forceful than polished. One speech, Against Leocrates, is extant and his Life in Ps. Plut. Vit. X Orat., whose author seems to have made extensive use of the decree in his honour, I.G. ii². 457. Cf. also I.G. ii². 333, 1493-1496.
καὶ συμμαχικῶν οὖδὲν εἰσῆλθας γράφειν, ὅτε καὶ
tῶν δημοτικῶν εἶναι προσποιουμένων οἱ πολλοὶ
cat
κατέλειπον ύμᾶς, τότε ταῖς τοῦ δῆμου προαιρέσεσιν
3 προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, οὐχ ὅτι δωρεάς καὶ προσόδους
ἐκ τούτων ὑπῆρχε λαμβάνειν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔναν-
tίων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· οὐδ' ὅτι ταύτην
 ἀσφαλεστέραν τὴν προαιρέσειν οὖσαν ἔωρα· πολλοὺς
γὰρ καὶ προδήλους εἶχε κυνύνους, οὓς ἀναγκαίων
ἡν ὑπομείναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δῆμου λέγειν προαιρού-
μενον· ἀλλ' ὅτι δημοτικὸς καὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἄνὴρ
ἡν. καίτοι παρῶν ἔωρα τοὺς μὲν βοηθήσαντας ἃν
τῷ δῆμῳ, ἀσθενεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὄντας,
toûs ἐπὶ τάναντια πράττοντας κατὰ πάντ' ἐρρω-
mένους. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκείνος εἴητο τού-
tων ὁ συμφέρειν ἦγείτο τῷ δῆμῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτ'
ἀόκνως καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ὁ προσήκ' ἥν
φανερός, ἐφ' οἷς εὐθὺς ἐξήπτεθ', ὡς ἀπαντεῖ ἱσαυν.
5 Ἐπέστειλα μὲν οὖν ἄν, ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐν ἄρχῃ, καὶ
dιὰ τὴν ἐκείνου χάριν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ὧμιν νομί-
ζων συμφέρειν τὰς παρὰ τοὺς ἔξω γιγνομένας
ἐπιτιμήσεις εἰδέναι, πολλῷ προθυμότερον πρὸς τὸ
πέμψῃ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔσχον. παραιτοῦμεν δὲ τοὺς
ἴδια πρὸς ἐκείνου ἐχοντας δυσκόλως, ὑπομείναι
tάληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαι' ἄκοψειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ
ἵστ', ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ὅτι νῦν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοὺς
πάιδας αὐτοῦ γεγενημένους φαύλην δόξαν ἡ πόλις

a The Macedonians.
b The surrender of Lycurgus, along with that of Demosthenes and others, was demanded after the fall of Thebes in
228
the Greeks and their relations with their allies, only when the majority of those who pretended to be the friends of democracy were deserting you, began to devote himself to the principles of the popular party, not because from this quarter opportunity was offering to secure gifts and emoluments, since all such prizes were coming from the opposite party, nor yet because he observed this policy to be the safer one, since there were many manifest dangers which a man was bound to incur who chose to speak on behalf of the people, but because he was truly democratic and by nature an honest man. And yet before his very eyes he observed those who might have assisted the cause of the people growing weak with the drift of events and their adversaries gaining strength in every way. None the less for all that, this brave man continued to adhere to such measures as he thought were in the people's interest and subsequently he continued to perform his duty unfalteringly in word and deed, as was clear to see. As a consequence his surrender was straightway demanded, as all men are aware.

Now I would have written this letter, as I said at the outset, for the sake of Lycurgus alone, but over and above that, believing it to be to your interest to know the criticisms being circulated among those who go abroad, I became all the more eager to dispatch the letter. I beg of those who for private reasons were at odds with Lycurgus to endure to hear what in truth and justice may be said in his behalf; for be well assured, men of Athens, that, as things now are, the city is acquiring an evil reputation because of the

335 B.C. Alexander was persuaded by the Athenian orator Demades to relent.
6 λαμβάνει. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν Ἕλληνων ἀγνοεῖ ὅτι ζώντα Λυκούργον ἐτιμᾶθ' ὑμεῖς εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ πολλῶν αἰτιῶν ἐπενεχθεισῶν ὑπὸ τῶν φθονοῦντων αὐτῷ, οὐδεμίαν πώποθ' εὑρέτ' ἀληθῆ, οὕτω δ' ἐπιστεύετ' αὐτῷ καὶ δημοτικὸν παρὰ πάντας ἡγεῖ.

[1476] σθε ὅστε πολλὰ τῶν δικαίων ἐν τῷ φήσαι Λυκούργον ἐκρίνετε καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἔξηρκει· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀν’ τοιούτον μὴ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν. νῦν τοίνυν ἀπαντεῖς ἀκούοντες τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ δεδόθαι, τὸν μὲν τεθνεῶτ’ ἐλεοῦσι, τοῖς παισὶ δ’ ὡς ἁνάξια πάσχουσι συνάχθονται, υμεῖς δ’ ἐπιτιμῶσι πικρῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαμι γράψεων ἐγώ. ἂ γὰρ ἀχθομαι τοῖς λέγοντες καὶ ἀντιλέγω καθ’ ὅσον δύναμαι βοηθῶν ὑμῖν, ταῦτ’ ἄχρι μὲν τοῦ δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσαι ὅτι πολλοὶ μέμβονται, συμφέρειν ὑμῖν νομίζων οἰδέναι, γέγραφα, ἀκριβῶς δὲ διεξεῖναι δυσχέρες κρίνω. Χ ὅσα μέντοι λοιδορίας χωρίς ἐστίν ὅν λέγουσι τινες, καὶ ἀκηκοέναι συμφέρειν ἡγούμαι, ταῦτα δηλώσω. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπείληφεν ὡς ἃρ’ ἠγνοήκατε καὶ διευέσθητε τῆς ἀληθείας περὶ αὐτοῦ Λυκούργου. τὸ τε γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου πλήθος, ὃν ἔξεταζόμενος, οὐδὲν πώποθ' εὑρέθη περὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτε φρονῶν οὕτε ποιῶν ἀδίκον, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς μηδὲν τῶν

1 Dindorf and Blass assumed a lacuna after ἂν; the papyrus does not confirm this.

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*In addition to offices of trust Lycurgus several times received the honour of a crown and of statues at the public expense.

b There was a board of thirty men at Athens who acted as accountants and auditors. Ten of the thirty were called ἐσθῶνοι: any official who handled public money could be charged before them with bribery or misappropriation of 230.*
way his sons have been treated. For none of the 6 Greeks is ignorant that during the lifetime of Lycurgus you honoured him extraordinarily, and, though many charges were brought against him by those who were envious of him, you never found a single charge to be true, and you so trusted him and believed him to be truly democratic beyond all others that you decided many points of justice on the ground that "Lycurgus said so," and that sufficed for you. This would certainly not have happened unless it had seemed to you that he was so honest. To-day, therefore, all men, upon hearing that his sons are in prison, while pitying the dead man, sympathize with the children as innocent sufferers, and reproach you bitterly after a manner that I, for one, should not dare to write down; for, touching the reports which make me vexed at those who utter them, and which I contradict as best I can, trying to come to your defence, I have written these only to the extent of making it clear to you that many people are blaming you, since I believe it to be to your interest to know this, though to quote their words verbatim I judge would be offensive. Apart from mere abuse, however, I shall reveal all that certain people say and which I believe it to your advantage to have heard. For, after all, no one has supposed that you laboured under a misunderstanding and deception concerning the truth so far as Lycurgus himself is concerned, for the length of time during which, where subject to scrutiny, he never was found guilty of any wrong toward you in either thought or deed and the fact that no human being could ever have accused you of funds. All accounts were subject to their inspection. Cf. Aristotle, Athen. Const. 48. 3-4; 53. 2.
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ἀλλων ἀναισθησίαν ἀν ὑμῶν καταγνώναι, εἰκότως ἀναίρει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγνοίας σκῆψιν.

9 Δείπτεται τοίνυν ὁ πάντες ἢν εἶναι φαύλων ἀν-
θρώπων ἔργον φήσαιεν, ὅσον ἢν χρῆσθε χρόνον,
tοσοῦτον ἐκάστοι φροντίζειν δοκεῖν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ μηδέν’ ἐχειν λόγον. εἰς τί γὰρ τῶν ἀλλῶν χρὴ
προσδοκᾶν τῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐσε-
σθαι χάριν, ὅταν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὴν εὐδοξίαν
tάναντι’ ὅρα τις γιγνόμενα, ὃν μόνων καὶ τελευ-

10 τῶσι πᾶσιν ὅπως ἔξει καλῶς μέλει· καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ
χρημάτων ποιεῖν εἶνεκα ταῦτα δοκεῖν τῶν καλῶν
cἀγαθῶν1 ἔστιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῆς μεγαλαφυχίας οὔτε
[1477] τῆς ἀλλῆς προαιρέσεως τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀκόλουθον ἢν
φανείν. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς λύσασθαι παρ’ ἐτέρων ἐδει
dόντας ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα,
pάντας ἢν ἡγούμαι προθύμους εἶναι· τίμημα δ’
ὄρων ὁκνοῦντας ἀφεῖναι, ὃς λόγω καὶ φθόνῳ γέγο-
νεν, οὐκ ἔχω τί καταγνώ, εἰ μὴ ὅλως πικρῶς καὶ
ταραχωδῶς ἐχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ὁρμήκατε.
eἰ δὲ τούτ’ ἔστιν, οὔτ’ ὀρθῶς οὔτε συμφερόντως
βουλεύεσθαι ἐγνώκατε.

11 Θαυμάζω δ’ εἰ μηδεῖς ὑμῶν ἐννοεῖ ὅτι τῶν αἰ-
σχρῶν ἐστὶ τὸν ὁδημον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, συνεῖσι καὶ
παιδείᾳ πάντων προέχειν δοκοῦντα, ὅς καὶ τοῖς
ἀτυχήσασιν ἂεὶ κοινὴν ἐχει καταφυγῆν, ἀγνωμο-
νέστερον φαίνεσθαι Φιλίππου, ὅς ἀνουθέτητος ὃν
12 εἰκότως, τραφεῖς γ’ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, ὁμοιός ζέτο δεῖν,

1 κἀγαθῶν lacking in papyrus.
indifference to any other action of his naturally eliminate the pretext of ignorance.

So the explanation is left—what all would declare 9 the conduct of vile men—that so long as you have use for each official you seem to be concerned for him but after that feel no obligation; for where else is one to expect that the gratitude due from you to the dead will be shown, when he observes the opposite treatment meted out to his children and his good name, which are the sole concerns of all men when facing death, that it may continue to be well with them? And assuredly, to appear to do these 10 things for the sake of money is also unworthy of truly honourable men, for it would be clearly inconsistent either with your magnanimity or with your general principles of conduct. For instance, if it were necessary to ransom the children from foreign captors by giving this sum out of the revenues, I believe you would all be eager to do it; but when I observe you reluctant to remit a fine which was imposed because of mere talk and envy, I do not know what judgement I can pass unless it be that you have launched upon a course of utterly bitter and truculent hostility toward the members of the popular party. If this be the case, you have made up your minds to deliberate neither righteously nor in the public interest.

I am amazed if none of you thinks that it is a 11 disgraceful thing for the people of Athens, who are supposed to be superior to all men in understanding and culture and have also maintained here for the unfortunate a common refuge in all ages, to show themselves less considerate than Philip, who, although naturally subject to no correction, nursed as he was, in licence, still thought that at the moment 12
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ήνικ' ηύτύχησε μάλιστα, τοτ' ἀνθρωπισταὶ πράττων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς παραταξαμένους, πρὸς οὓς περὶ τῶν ὅλων διεκινδύνευσεν, οὐκ ἔτολμησε δῆσαι τὸ τίνων καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν ἐξετάσας· οὐ γὰρ ὃς έοικεν ὀμοίως τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ῥητόρων εὖνεισ', οὕτε δίκαι' ἃν εἶναι πρὸς ἀπαντας ταύτ' οὔτε κἀλ' ἢγεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς ἄξιας προσθήκην συλλογιζό-μενος τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπέκρινεν. ὦμεῖς δ', οὔτε Ἀθη-

ναίοι καὶ παιδείας μετέχοντες ἡ καὶ τοὺς ἀν- 

αισθήτους ἀνεκτοὺς ποιεῖν δοκεῖ δύνασθαι, πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ πάντων ἀγνωμονεστάτον ἐστὶ, περὶ ὧν τὸν πατέρ' αἰτιωνταί τύνες, τούς νεῖες δεδέκατε, εἴτα τὸ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὑσον εἶναι φατε, ὦσπερ ὑπὲρ σταθ- 

μὼν ἡ μέτρων τὸ ὑσον σκοπούμενοι, ἀλλ' οὔχ 

13 ύπὲρ ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσεσι καὶ πολιτείας βουλεύ̄- 

14 μενοι: ἐν οἷς ἐξεταζομένοις εἰ μὲν χρηστὰ καὶ 

δημοτικὰ καὶ ἐπ' εὕνοια τὰ Ἀθηναῖοι πεπραγμένα 

φαίνεται, μὴ μόνον μηδενὸς κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 

πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ δίκαιον 

ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν παρ' ὑμῖν· εἰ δὲ τάναντα τούτων, 

ἐκεῖνου, ὦτ' ἐξη, ἔδει δίκην διδόναι, τούτους δὲ 

μηδ' οὔτως, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκεῖνῳ τις ἐγκαλεῖ, τυγχάνειν 

ὀργῆς· πάσι γὰρ πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὀρός

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1 Reading of papyrus; ἀνθρώπων codd., edd. 
2 ἐν παροβολαῖς ζωτες papyrus. 
3 μὴ μόνον added by Blass; papyrus lacks ἀλλὰ following.

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a The battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.: the Greeks magnified its importance. Their liberty was lost by degrees, not suddenly.
b An Athenian citizen was identified by three items: his own name, his father's name, and his deme.
of his greatest good fortune a he ought to be seen acting with the greatest humanity and did not venture to cast into chains the men who had faced him in the battle-line, against whom he had staked his all, nor demand to know. "Whose sons are they and what are their names?" b For unlike some of your orators, as it appears, he did not consider it would be either just or creditable to take the same action against all, but, taking into his reckoning the additional factor of station in life, c he assorted his verdicts accordingly. You, however, though Athenians 13 and partners in a culture which is thought capable of making even stupid people tolerable, in the first place—and of all your actions this is the most heartless—hold the sons in chains as a penalty for offences which certain parties allege against the father d; in the next place, you claim this action to be equality before the law, just as if you were inspecting equality in the field of weights or measures and not deliberating about men's ethical and political principles. In 14 testing these, if the actions of Lycurgus seem honest and public-spirited and inspired by loyalty, then it is justice that his sons should not only meet with no harm at your hands, but with all the benefits imaginable; yet if his actions seem quite the opposite, he ought to have been punished while he lived, and these children should not thus incur your anger on the ground of charges someone prefers against the father, because for all men death is an end of responsibility

a Antiatticista cites this passage under ἀξία: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄξιωμα. Bekker, i. p. 77. 17-18. Ἀξία equals Latin dignitas, the degree of distinction possessed by virtue of birth or achievement or both.

b The precise accusation is not known: it seems to have been concerned with the administration of the treasury.

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15 ἐστὶ τελευτή. ἐπεὶ εἰ γ' οὗτως ἔξετε ὡσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀχθεσθέντες τι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευμένοις μηδὲ πρὸς τελευτήσαντας διαλαγήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τὴν ἕχθραν διαφυλάξουσιν, ὁ δὲ δήμος, ὃ συναγωνιζέται τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐκαστος, μέχρι τοῦ παρόντι χρῆσθαι μνημονεύσει τὰς χάριτας μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ μηδὲν φροντιεῖ, οὐδὲν ἀθλιώτερον ἔσται τοῦ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τάξιν αἱρεῖσθαι.

16 Εἰ δὲ Μοεροκλῆς ἀποκρίνεται ταῦτα μὲν σοφώτερ' ἢ καθ' ἐαυτὸν εἰναι, ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποδρῶσιν, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς δῆσαι, ἐρωτήσατ' αὐτὸν ἠνίκα Ταυρέας καὶ Πάτακος καὶ Ἀριστογέιτων καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον παραδοθέντες, οὐ μόνον οὖκ ἐδεδεντο, ἀλλὰ κάδημηγόρουν, τὶ δῆποτ' οὖχ ἐώρα τὰ δικαία ταῦτα. εἰ δὲ μὴ φήσει τὸτ' ἄρχειν, οὐδὲ λέγειν ἢ κ' ἕκτων νόμων αὐτῷ προσήκειν. ὡστε πώς ἵσον ἐστὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν οἷς μηδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι, τοὺς δὲ δεδέσθαι ὃν πολλὰ χρῆσιμος ἦν ὑμῖν ὁ πατήρ; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖκ ἔχω συλλογίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο δεῖξαι δημοσίᾳ βούλεσθε, ὅτι βδελυρία

1 Reading of papyrus: παρόντος codd., edd.
2 Reading of papyrus: προσήκει codd., edd.

a Moerocles was archon in 324 B.C. His surrender had been demanded by Alexander in 335 B.C., which indicates his importance.
b Nothing specific is known about these imprisonments, but it need not be assumed that all four men were under sentence at a single time. See next note. Taureas and Pataecus are unknown. For Aristogeiton see the two speeches against him.
c If Moerocles ordered the two sons of Lyceurgus to be
for all their offences. Consequently, if you are going to be so minded that those who have conceived some grudge against those who espouse the cause of the people will not be reconciled even with dead men, but will persist in maintaining their enmity against the children, and if the people, in whose cause every friend of democracy labours, shall remember their gratitude only so long as they can use a man in the flesh and thereafter shall feel no concern, then nothing will be more miserable than to choose the post of champion of the people.

If Moerocles replies that this view is too subtle for his understanding, and that, to prevent them from running away, he put them in chains upon his own responsibility, demand of him why in the world he did not see the justice of this proceeding when Taureas, Pataecus, Aristogeiton and himself, though they had been committed to prison, were not only not in chains but would even address the Assembly. If, on the other hand, he shall say that he was not then archon, he had no right to speak, at any rate according to the laws. Accordingly, how can it be equal justice when some men are in office who have no right even to speak and others are in fetters whose father was useful to you in numerous ways? I certainly cannot figure it out unless you mean to demonstrate this fact officially—that blackguardism, imprisoned but left Taureas, Pataecus and Aristogeiton at liberty, the charge against him is criminal partiality. If he denies that he was archon at the time and so lacked the authority to order these men to be detained in prison, then the minor charge still stands against him of addressing the Assembly while technically a prisoner himself. As a prisoner he would be subject to partial ἀπειρία or diminution of his rights as a citizen.
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καὶ ἀναίδεια καὶ προσάρεσις πονηρίας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰσχύει καὶ διασωθήναι πλεῖον προσδοκίαν ἔχει, κἂν τι συμβῇ χαλεπῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀπόλυσις γίγνεται, ἐν δὲ προσαρέσει χρηστῇ καὶ βίω σώφρονι καὶ δημοτικῷ προελεόθαι ζῆν σφαλερόν, κἂν τι γένηται πταίσω, ἀφυκτὸν ἔσται.

19 Ἡτί τούντω τὸ μὲν μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἔχειν ἢ ἢν περὶ ζῶντος εἰχετ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἢ τῶν παρόντων πλεῖον ποιεῖσθαι λόγον δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἔσω̂̂ν· παρὰ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὀμολογεῖσθαι ταῦθ' ὑπειληφα· ὡσοις μέντοι πατρικὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀπεμνημονεύσατε τῶν ἄλλων ἡδέως ἄν ἵδοιμ' ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθέντας, οἶον τοῖς Ἀριστείδου καὶ Θασυβούλου καὶ τοῖς Ἀρχίνου καὶ πολλῶν ἔτερων ἀπογόνοις. οὐχ ὡς ἐπιτιμῶν δὲ ταύτα παρῆνεγκα.

20 τοσοῦτον γὰρ δέω τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὡςτε συμφέρέων μάλιστα τῇ πόλει τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνω· προκαλείσθε γὰρ πάντας ἐκ τούτων δημοτικὸς εἶναι, ὀρῶντας ὧτι κἂν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἐαυτοῦ βίῳ ταῖς προσηκούσαις αὐτῶν τιμαῖς ὁ φθόνος ἀντιστῇ, τοῖς γε παισίν ὑπάρξει τὰ προσήκοντα παρ' ὑμῶν κομίσασθαι.

21 Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αἰσχρόν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τισ', καὶ παλαιῶν ὄντων τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὕς ἐγένοντο χρῆσιμοι, καὶ δι' ὅλν ἀκούσει τὰς εὐεργεσίας, οὐκ ἔξ ὤν ἑράκαθ'  

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a At times the Athenian Assembly bestowed extravagant gifts upon the children of famous men, as may be learned from Plutarch's *Aristeides* xxvii. At other times it acted heartlessly, if we may believe Demosthenes XIX. 280 ff. 238
shamelessness and deliberate villainy are strong in the State and enjoy a better prospect of coming off safely, and that, if such men happen to get into a tight place, a way out is discovered, but to elect to live in honesty of principle, sobriety of life and devotion to the people will be hazardous and, if some false step is made, the consequences will be inescapable.

Furthermore, the fact that it is unjust to enter-19 tain concerning Lycurgus the opposite opinion to the one you held while he lived, and that justice demands that you should have more regard for the dead than for the living, and all such considerations I shall pass over, for I assume them to be universally agreed upon. Of the children of others, however, whom you recompensed for their fathers' good services I would gladly see you reminded; for instance, the de-scendants of Aristeides, Thrasybulus, Archinus and many others. Not by way of censure have I cited these examples, for so far am I from censuring as to 20 declare it my belief that such repayments are in the highest degree in the interest of the State, because you challenge all men by such conduct to be champions of the people, when they observe that, even if during their own lives envy shall stand in the way of their receiving merited honours, yet their children, at any rate, will be sure to receive their due rewards at your hands.

Is it not absurd, therefore, or rather even disgrace-21 ful, toward certain other men to keep alive the good-will justly due them, in spite of the fact that the times of their usefulness are long past and after this interval you learn of their good deeds by hearsay and have not

Archinus was one of the restorers of democracy in 403 B.C., but the greater share of the credit went to Thrasybulus.
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υπειληφότας, ὃμως τὴν δικαίαν εὐνοιαν διασφάζειν, Λυκουργῷ δ’ οὕτως ὑπογύνου καὶ τῆς πολιτείας
καὶ τῆς τελευτησ ἑγενούσας, μηδ’ εἰς ἄ καὶ τοῖς ἁγιωσίω καὶ ὑφ’ ἄν ἄδικοισ’ ἑτοιμοὶ τῶν ἀλλων
ήτε χρόνον, εἰς ἐλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, μηδ’ εἰς
tαὐθ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίους παρέχειν, καὶ ταὐτ’
eἰς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ γιγανομενῆς τῆς τιμωρίας,
οὐς κἂν ἑχθρός, εἰπερ μέτριος εἰη καὶ λογισμὸν
ἐχων, ἐλεήσαι;

23 Θαυμάζω τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτ’ εἰ τις ὑμῶν ἁγνοεῖ,
ὡς οὔδε τοῦτο συμφέρει τῇ πολιτείᾳ φανερῶν γιγαν-
μενον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀλλην τινά κτησαμένους φιλίαν
καὶ καταρθοῦσιν ἐν πᾶσιν πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπάρχει, κἂν
ἀτυχήσωσιν τι, ῥάδιοις εἰναι τὰς λύσεις, τοῖς δ’ 
εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀναρτήσασιν ἐαυτοὺς, οὐ μόνον κατὰ
τάλλ’ ἐλαττῶν ἔχειν ὑπάρξει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς συμ-
φορὰς βεβαιοὺς τοῦτοι μόνοις τῶν ἀλλων μένειν.
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι τοῦθ’ οὕτως γίγνεται ράδιον δεῖξαι.
24 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδειν ὑμῶν Λάχητι τῷ Μελανώπου,
ἀλώναι μὲν ὁμοίως ἐν δικαστηρίῳ συμβαῖν ὡς καὶ
νῦν τοῖς Λυκουργῷ παισίν, ἀφεθήναι δὲ πάν τὸ
ὁφλημ’ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου; καὶ πάλιν Μη-
σιβούλῳ τῷ Ἀχαρνεῖ, ἀλώναι μὲν ὁμοίως κατα-
γνόντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὄσπερ καὶ τῶν
Λυκουργῷ παιδῶν, ἀφείσθαι δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντι;
25 ἄξιος γὰρ ἄνηρ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τούτωι τοὺς νό-
μους ἐφ’ καταλύσεσθαι τῶν νῦν βοῶτων. εἰκότως.

1 Reading of papyrus: ράδιας codd., edd.

a That is, with the Macedonian court.
b Laches is known from an inscription as a syndic of the
deme Aesoné (I.C. ii. 1197, p. 560, 13 f.).

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assumed them from things of which you have been eye-witnesses, but toward Lycurgus, whose political career and death are so recent, you do not show so ready to display even pity and kindness as you were at all other times toward men whom you never knew and by whom you used to be wronged, and, worse still, your vengeance is visited upon his children, whom even an enemy, if only he were fair-minded and capable of reason, would pity?

Moreover, I am amazed if any one of you is ignorant of this fact also, that it is not to the interest of our political life, either, for this to become public knowledge, that those who have established friendship in a certain other quarter are sure to prosper in all things and fare better and, if some mishap occurs, the ways of escape are easier, but those who have attached themselves to the cause of the people will not only fare worse in other respects but for them alone of all men calamities will remain irremediable. Yet it is easy to demonstrate the truth of this, for who of you does not know the incident of Laches the son of Melanopus, whose lot it was to be convicted in a court of law precisely as the sons of Lycurgus in the present instance, but his entire fine was remitted when Alexander requested it by letter? And again, that it happened to Mnesibulus of Acharnae to be similarly convicted, the court condemning him just as it has the sons of Lycurgus, and to have the fine remitted, and rightly too, for the man was deserving? And none of those who are now making such an outcry declared that by these actions the laws were being nullified.

c Mnesibulus is not otherwise known.
οὐδὲ γὰρ κατελύνοντο, εἶπερ ἀπαντεῖς οἱ νόμοι τῶν
dικαίων εἰνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν χρηστῶν ἀνθρώ-
pων τίθενται, καὶ μήτ᾿ ἀδίοις τοῖς ἀτυχήσασι καθ-
ιστάναι τὰς συμφορὰς συμφέρει, μήτ᾿ ἀχαρίστους

26 ὅντας φαίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ γε ταῦθ’ οὕτως,
ὡσπερ ἂν φήσαιμεν, ἔχειν συμφέρει, οὐ μόνον τοὺς
νόμους οὐ κατελύεθ’ ἣνίκ’ ἐκείνους ἀφίετε, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοὺς βίους ἐσώζετε τῶν τοὺς νόμους θεμέ-


[1451] ἡ τοῖνυν τὸ κτῆσασθαί τιν’ ἔξωθεν φιλίαν λυσι-
tελέστερον δείκνυτε, ἢ τὸ τῶν δήμων παρακαταθέ-
σθαι ἕαυτόν, μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἀγνώτων εἶναι κρείττον,
ἡ τοῖς πολλοῖς υμίν τὰ συμβεβήντα πολυτευχόμενον
γιγνώσκεθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάσιν ἄρεσκεν τὸν
συμβουλεύοντα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντ’ ἀδύνατον·
ἐὰν δ᾿ ἐπ᾿ εὐνοία ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ τις φρονῇ, δίκαιος
ἐστι σώζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ θεραπεῦειν ἑτέρους
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν δήμον ἀπαντας διδάξετε, καὶ φεύγειν
τὸ τῶν υμῖν συμβεβήντων ποιοῦντα τι γνωσθῆναι.

28 ὅλως δὲ κοινόν ἐστίν οὐνείδος ἀπάντων, ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
nαιοι, καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως συμφορά, τὸν φθόνον
dοκεῖν μεῖζον ἱσχύειν παρ’ υμῖν ἢ τὰς τῶν θερα-
πολιτείας, καὶ ταῦτα τού μὲν νοσήματος ὄντος,
tῶν δ᾿ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένων.

a Of the Macedonians.
b A verbal play on χάριτες, “feelings of gratitude” or
“Graces.”

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Quite rightly so, for they were not being nullified, if it be true that all our laws are enacted for the sake of just men and for the preservation of honest men, and that it is expedient neither to render the calamities of the unfortunate perpetual nor for men to show themselves void of gratitude. And furthermore, if it is expedient for these principles to hold true, as we would declare, not only were you not nullifying the laws where you released those men, but you were preserving the lifework of those men who enacted the laws, first, by releasing Laches in compliance with the request of Alexander and, secondly, by restoring Mnesibulus to his rights because of the sobriety of his life.

Beware of demonstrating, therefore, that to acquire some outside friendship is more profitable than to give one's self in trust to the people and that it is better to remain in the ranks of the unknown than to become known as a man who in public life consults the interests of you, the majority. For although it is impossible for one who recommends policies and administers the commonwealth to please everyone, yet if a man, actuated by loyalty, has at heart the same interests as the people, he has a right to security of person. Otherwise you will teach everyone to serve the interests of others rather than those of the people and to shun recognition for doing any of those things that are to your advantage. In short, it is a reproach common to all citizens, men of Athens, and a misfortune of the State as a whole, that envy should be thought to be stronger among you than the grace of gratitude for services performed, and the more so because envy is a disease but the Graces have been assigned a place among the gods.
Καὶ μὴν οὖδὲ τὸν Πυθέαν παραδείγμων τὸν μέχρι τῆς παρόδου δημοτικών, μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἔτοιμον εἰς τὰ καθ’ ὑμῶν πάντα. τὸς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦτον, οὗτε μὲν τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τάξιν ἔχων εἰς τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι παρῆκε, ὡς δοῦλον ἐλαυνόμενον καὶ γραφήν ξενίας φεύγοντα καὶ μικροῦ πραθένθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦτον οἷς νῦν ὑπηρετῶν τοὺς κατ’ ἐμοὶ λόγους ἔγραφεν, ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἂν κατηγόρησε τότε τῶν ἄλλων, νῦν αὐτὸς πράττει, εὐποροῦντα μὲν οὕτως ὡστε δ’ ἔχειν ἔταίρας, αἱ μέχρι φθόνος καλῶς ποιοῦσα προπεπόμφασιν αὐτόν, πέντε τάλαντα δ’ ὀφλόντα ῥᾶν ἐκτείσαι ἢ πέντε δραχμάς ἃν ἀνέδειξεν πρότερον, πρὸς δὲ τούτων παρ’ ὑμῶν, τοῦ δήμου, οὐ μόνον τῆς πολιτείας μετεληφότα, ὁ κοινὸν ὀνειδός ἐστὶν ἀπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θύόνθ’ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰς πατρίους θυσίας εὖ Δελφοῖς;

"Ὅταν οὖν τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα πᾶσιν ἰδεῖν ἢ παραδείγματα, ἀφ’ ὧν ἀλυσιτέλες προελέσθαι τὰ τοῦ δήμου πᾶς τις ἂν κρίναι, φοβοῦμαι μῆποτ’ ἔρημοι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔρούντων γένησθε, ἀλλως τε χῶταν τῶν δημοτικῶν τοὺς μὲν ἡ καθήκουσα μοῖρα καὶ ἡ τύχη χωρόνσε παραρητήσαι, οἶνον Ναυσικλέα καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μενεσθέα

1 Capps: ἔδειξε papyrus, ἀνέξεσθε codd., ἀνέξεσθαι Reiske, Blass.

*Pytheas was a presumptuous politician of no formal education; he accused Demosthenes of receiving twenty talents from Harpalus; after Alexander’s death he joined Antipater during the siege of Lamia, 322 B.C.*

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Furthermore, I am not going to omit the case of Pytheas either, who was a friend of the people down to his entrance into public life but after that was ready to do anything to injure you. For who does not know that this man, when, under the obligation to serve you, he was entering upon public life, was being hounded as a slave and was under indictment as an alien usurping the rights of a citizen and came near being sold by these men whose servant he now is and for whom he used to write the speeches against me, but since he is himself now practising what he then accused others of doing, is in such easy circumstances as to keep two mistresses, who have escorted him—and kind it is of them—on the way to death by consumption, and to be able to discharge a debt of five talents more easily than he could have produced five drachmas previously, and besides all this, with the permission of you, the people, not only participates in the government, which is a common reproach to all, but also performs on your behalf the ancestral sacrifices at Delphi?

So, when it is possible for all to behold object-le- lessons of such a kind and on such a scale, from which everyone would conclude that it does not pay to espouse the cause of the people, I begin to fear that some day you may become destitute of men who will speak on your behalf, especially when of the friends of the people some are being taken away by man’s natural destiny, by accident, and by the lapse of time, such as Nausicles, Chares, Diotimus, Menes-

b The Greek word φθονος was peculiar enough to prick the interest of Harpocration, who cites this passage.

c The point is that Pytheas himself lacked ancestors of note.

d That is, death by disease.
καὶ Εὐδοξοῦ, ἔτι δ' Ἐυθύδικον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ἀυκοδρογοῦ, τοὺς δ' ὑμεῖς προῆσθε, ὥσπερ Χαρί-32 δήμον καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ ἔμε, ὥν ἐτέρους εὐνοο-στέρους οὐδ' αὐτοὶ νομίζετε· εἰ δ' ὁμοίους τινάς, οὐ φθονῶ, βουλομένη δ' ἂν, εἴπερ ὑμεῖς δυκαίως αὐτοῖς προσοίσεσθε καὶ μὴ ταύθ' ἀπερ ὑμεῖς πείσονται, ὡς πλείστους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὅταν γε τοι- αὐθ', οἷα τὰ νῦν, παραδείγματ' ἐκφέρῃτε, τίς ἐστιν ὅστις εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν εαυτὸν γυνησίως ὑμῖν ἐθε-33 λήσει δοῦναι; ἀλλ' μὴν τῶν γε προσποιησομένων οὐκ ἀπορήσετε· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρότερον. μὴ γένοιτο δ' ἵδειν ἐξελεγχθέντας αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἐκείνους, οἱ φανερῶς ἃ τότ' ἠρνοῦντο νῦν πολιτεύμονοι, οὐδέν' ὑμῶν οὔτε δεδοικασιν οὔτε αἰσχύνονται. ἂ χρῆ λογιζομένους, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, μήτε τῶν εἰςν οὐγορείν, μήτε τοῖς προάγουσιν εἰς 34 πικρίαν καὶ ωμότητα τῆς πόλιν πείθεσθαι. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τὰ παρόντα πράγματα δεῖται, ἡ ταραχὴς καὶ δυσμενείας, ὑν ὑπερβολὴ χρώμενοι τινὲς, ἐργολαβοῦσιν καθ' ὑμῶν εἰς ὑποδοχήν πραγμάτων, ὧν διαψεῦσειν αὐτοὺς ἰ

aNausicles and Diotimus are mentioned in the speech XVIII. 114; both are known from inscriptions to have held important commands. The surrender of Diotimus was demanded by Alexander in 335 B.C. Chares held important commands between 367 and 335 B.C. Menestheus was given command of one hundred galleys in 335 B.C., xvii. 20. Eudoxus seems to be otherwise unknown.

b Deinarchus i. 33 names Euthydicus as one whom Demosthenes claimed as a friend. Ephialtes was one of the ten whose surrender was demanded by Alexander in 335 B.C. He died in 334 while fighting on the side of the Persians against the Macedonians. For Lycurgus see p. 226, note b.

c For Charidemus, leader of mercenaries, see the speech
theus, and Eudoxus,\(^a\) and also Euthydiceus, Ephialtes and Lycurgus,\(^b\) and others you citizens have cast forth, such as Charidemus, Philocles\(^c\) and myself, men 32 to whom not even you yourselves believe others to be superior in loyalty, though if you think certain others are equally loyal I feel no jealousy.\(^d\) and it would be my desire, provided only that you will deal fairly with them and that they shall not meet with the treatment accorded us, that their number may be legion. When however, you give the public such object-lessons as the present, who is there who will be willing to give himself to this line of duty with sincere intentions toward you? Yet surely you will find no dearth of 33 those who will at least pretend to do so, for in the past there has been none. Heaven forbid that I should live to see them unmasked like those men, who, though now openly pursuing policies they then repudiated, feel before none of you either fear or shame! You should ponder these facts, men of Athens, and not treat loyal men with disdain nor be persuaded by those who are leading the country on the way to bitter hatreds and cruelty. For our 34 present difficulties require goodwill and humanity far more than dissension and malice, an excess of which certain persons turn to their advantage, pursuing their business\(^e\) to your detriment with the expectation of returns, of which I pray that their

\(^a\) This is one of several similar colloquialisms signifying "I don't mind."

\(^b\) Antiatticista cites this passage under ἐργολάβος, Bekker's Anecdota i. p. 94. 3-4.
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λογισμός. εἰ δὲ τις ύμων διασύρει θείτα, πολλὴς ἐστὶν εὐηθείας μεστὸς. εἰ γὰρ ἀ μηδεὶς ἄν ἥλπις

[1483] ὀρῶν γεγενήμενα ἀ καὶ πρότερον γέγονεν τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας ὑπ’ ἀνθρώ-

πων ἐγκαθέτων διαβληθέντος, νῦν μὴ ἂν ὅισται γενέσθαι, πῶς οὐ τετύφωται;

35 Ταύτα δ’, εἰ μὲν παρῆν, λέγων ἂν ύμᾶς ἐδίδασκον· ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐν τοιούτοις εἴμι, ἐν οἷς εἰ τις ἐμοὶ κατ-

ἔφευσται ἐφ’ οἷς ἀπόλωλα, γένοιτο, γράφας ἐπέ-

σταλκά, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ πλείστον λόγον ποιοὺμενος τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ύμῖν, δεύτερον δ’ ὅτι τὴν ἀυτὴν εὐνοιαν, ἂν πρὸς ζῶντα Λυκοῦργον εἶχον, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παίδας

36 αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι ἔχων. εἰ δὲ τῷ παρέστηκεν ὃς πολὺ μοι περίεστι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, οὐκ

ἄν ὁκνήσωμι πρὸς τούτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τῶν συμ-

φερόντων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν φιλῶν ἐγκατα-

λείπειν, ὀμοίως ὠσπερ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας

φροντίζω. οὔκουν ἐκ τοῦ περίοντος ταύτα ποιῶ, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀυτῆς σπουδῆς καὶ προαιρέσεως καὶ

ταύτα κάκεινα μιᾷ γνώμῃ πραγματεύομαι. περίεστι

δὲ μοι τοιαῦτα, οἷα τοῖς κακῶν τι νοούσιν ύμῖν περι-

γένοιτο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἰκανά.

37 Ἡδέως δ’ ἂν ύμῖν τὴν ἐπ’ εὐνοία καὶ φιλία

μέμψιν ποιησάμην νῦν μὲν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, μικρὸν

δ’ ὑστερον δ’ ἐπιστολῆς μακρᾶς, ἂν εἶνπερ ἐγὼ

*In this passage there is a running play of words based upon the common expression ἐκ τῆς περιουσίας, “out of one’s abundance.” Note περίεστι . . . ἐκ τοῦ περίοντος . . . περι-

εστὶ . . . περιγένοιτο.

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calculations may cheat them. If any one of you ridicules these warnings he must be filled with a profound simplicity. For if, observing that things have happened which no one could have expected, he imagines things could not happen now which have happened already before now, when the people were set at variance with those who spoke in their behalf by men suborned for the purpose, has he not taken leave of his senses?

If I were present in person I should be trying to explain these matters to you by word of mouth, but since I am in such a plight as I pray may be the lot of anyone who has uttered falsehoods against me to my ruin, I have sent my message in the form of a letter, in the first place, having supreme regard for your honour and your advantage and, in the second, because the same goodwill that I felt toward Lycurgus during his lifetime I believe it right to show that I feel also toward his sons. If it has occurred to anyone that I have a great abundance of troubles of my own, I should not hesitate to say to him that I am as much concerned to defend your interests and to forsake none of my friends as I am about my own deliverance. Therefore, it is not out of the abundance of my troubles that I do this, but, actuated by one and the same earnestness and conviction, I devote my efforts to furthering both these interests of mine and those of yours with a single purpose, and the abundance I possess is of such a kind as I pray may abound for those who plot any evil against you. And on these topics I have said enough.

This complaint, inspired by goodwill and affection, though now in outline only, I would gladly enlarge upon a little later in a long letter, which, if only
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ζώ προσδοκάτε, ἃν μὴ τὰ δίκαια γένηται¹ μοι παρ’ ὑμῶν πρότερον οὐτίνες, ὦ (τί ἂν εἰπὼν μὴθ’ ἀμαρτεῖν δοκοῖν μήτε ψευσαίμην;) λίαν ὀδύνωροι, οὐτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔθ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰσχύνεσθε, ἐφ’ οἷς Ἀριστογέιτον ἀφείκατε, ἐπὶ τούτοις Δῆμο-

38 σθένην ἐκβεβληκότες, καὶ ἀ τοῖς τολμῶσι μηδέν [1484] ὑμῶν φροντίζειν μὴ λαβοῦσι παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐξεστιν ἔχειν, ταῦτ’ οὐ διδόντες ἐμοί, ἦν, ἂν οἶδος τ’ ὦ, τά τ’ ὀφειλόμεν’ εἰσπράξας καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐρανίσας τά πρός ὑμᾶς διοικήσω, καὶ μὴ γήρας καὶ φυγὴν ἐπίχειρα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπονημένων ἔχων, κοινὸν ὀνείδος τῶν ἀδικησάντων, ἐπὶ ξένης περιών ὀρῶ-

μαί.

39 Βουλομένου δέ μου ἐν μὲν ὑμετέρας χάριτος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας τάξει τήν οὐκαδέ μοι ἄφιξι γενέσθαι, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ λύσιν τῆς γεγονότιας οὐ δικαίως βλασφη-

μίας πορίσασθαι, καὶ μόνον αὐτοῦπος ἀδειαν ὀσον-

περ χρόνον τήν ἐκτεινω δεδώκατε, ταῦτα μὲν οὐ συγχωρεῖτε, ἐρωτᾶτε δ’, ὥς ἀπαγγέλλεται πρὸς ἐμὲ, τίς οὖν αὐτὸν κωλύει παρεῖναι καὶ ταῦτα 40 πράττειν; τὸ ἐπίστασθαι αἰσχύνεσθαι, ὦ ἀνδρεῖ,

Ἀθηναίου, καὶ τὸ ἄναξίως τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπο-

λυμένων πράττειν, καὶ τὸ τά ὄντ’ ἀπολωλεκέναι δι’ οὖς, ὦν μὴ διπλὰ καταθῶνται ἃ οὐκ ἡδύνανθ’ ἀπλὰ, ἐπείσθην ὑπογράψασθαι τήν ἀρχήν τὰς κατα-

¹ Reading of papyrus: γένηται codd.

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² Harpocration cites this passage under the verb ἐρανίσκω. Photius and the Etymologicum Magnum cite the verb only.

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I am alive, you may expect, unless justice shall be done me by you before that time, you who, O—what shall I say so as to seem neither to offend nor to fall short of the truth?—you all too unfeeling men, who neither before the rest of the world nor before yourselves feel shame, who upon the same charges upon which you acquitted Aristogeiton have banished Demosthenes, and the privileges which those who dare to set your authority at naught are permitted to have without your leave you do not grant to me, to enable me, if I can, by calling in the sums owing me and levying contributions upon my friends, to adjust my obligations to you and not, with old age and exile as the guerdon of my past toils in your behalf, be seen wandering from place to place on alien soil, a common reproach to all who have wronged me.

Although it was my wish that my return home might come about by way of an ordinance of gratitude and magnanimity on your part and that for myself I might secure a dismissal of the false charges unjustly lodged against me, asking only for immunity from imprisonment for such time as you have granted for the payment of the fine, yet these requests you do not grant and you demand, as it is reported to me, "Well, who is preventing him from being here and transacting this business?" It is knowing how to feel shame, men of Athens, it is faring in a way unworthy of my public services in your behalf, and it is the loss of my property through those men on whose account I was persuaded in the first place to become surety for their payments in order that they might not have to pay double the sum of which

\[ ^{b} \text{ Cf. XVIII. 13 \epsilon\nu \epsilon\pi\nu\rho\varepsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma \tau\acute{a}xei \kappa\alpha\i\phi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron, "by way of spite and jealousy." For the meaning cf. § 41 of this letter.} \]
It was the law at Athens that the amount of a debt owed to the State should be doubled if not paid when due. Demosthenes had made a bad loan, which rendered it impossible to pay his fine of fifty talents.

See § 39 “by way of an ordinance of gratitude and magnanimity on your part.”

Demosthenes was condemned to be held in prison until his fine should be paid; he insists that he must enjoy liberty if he is to collect the funds necessary for payment.
they were unable to pay the original amount. From these men, could I but return with your goodwill, I might possibly recover part, even if not all, so as not to live sordidly the rest of my life, but if I come on such terms as those who talk in this way demand of me, I shall be the victim at one and the same time of ignominy, destitution and fear.

None of these considerations do you take into account but, grudging me the paltry words of a decree and an act of kindness, you will allow me to perish, if it so happen, through your inaction, for I could appeal to no others but you. In that day you will say that I have been shamefully mistreated, I know for a certainty, when it will do neither you nor myself any good, for assuredly you do not expect that I have funds apart from my real and personal property, from which I am separated; the rest of my assets I wish to assemble if in a spirit of humanity instead of spitefulness you will but give me leave to attend to this business unmolested. Neither will you ever show that I received money from Harpalus, for neither was I tried and proved guilty nor did I take money, and if you are looking for excuse to the notorious decision of the Council or to the Areopagus, recall to mind the trial of Aristogeiton and hide your heads in shame; because I have no milder injunction for those who have committed this offence against

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a According to Plutarch, *Demosthenes* xxvi., the orator himself moved that the charges should be referred to the Areopagus, which promptly condemned him.

e Aristogeiton was acquitted, according to Demosthenes, upon the same evidence. See § 37.

f Eight references to this passage may be found in Walz’s *Rhetores Graeci*, which has an index.
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γάρ δήποι τοίς αυτοῖς γε λόγοις, ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς 
βουλῆς ἀποφανθέντα, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀφείσθαι δίκαιον 
eἶναι φήσετε, ἐμὲ δ᾽ ἀπολωλέναι· ὦχ ὦτως ὑμεῖς 
ἀλογιστῶς ἔχετε. οὔτε γὰρ ἄξιος οὔτε ἐπιτήδειος 
οὔτε χεῖρων, ἀτυχής μέντοι δι᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὁμολογῶ· πῶς 
γὰρ ὦχ ἀτυχής, ὦ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ 
πρὸς Ἀριστογείτον ἐμαυτὸν ἐξετάζεων συμβαίνει, 
καὶ ταύτ᾽ ἀπολωλότι πρὸς σωτηρίας τετυχήκοτα; 

44 Καὶ μὴ μ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετ ὀργίζοντας τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν πάθοιμυ τούτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ· 
ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει τινὰ τοῖς ἄδικουμένοις ραστῶν τὸ λέγει 
ἀπὸ τὰς ἄποθεσιν, ὡσπερ τοῖς ἀλγοῦσι τὸ στένειν, 
ἐπεὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ γ᾽ ὦτως ἔχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ὑμᾶς 
ἄν εὐξαίμην πρὸς ἐμέ· καὶ ταύτ᾽ ἐν πᾶσι πεποίηκα 

45 καὶ ποιήσω φανερόν. ἔγνωκα γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς παντὶ 
πολιτευομένως προσήκειν, ἀνπερ ἦ δίκαιος πολίτης, 

[1486] ὡσπερ οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τοὺς γονέας, ὦτως πρὸς 
ἀπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἔχειν, εὐχεσθαι μὲν ὡς 
ἐγνωμονεστάτων τυγχάνειν, φέρειν δὲ τοὺς ὄντας 
εὐμενῶς· ἢ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἥττα καλὴ καὶ 
προσήκουσα νῖκη παρὰ τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι κρίνεται. 
eὐτυχεῖτε.

a This advice for children was possibly a commonplace. 
It is voiced by Epicurus, Vatican Collection 62.
me. For surely you will not claim it was just, after 43
information was laid in the very same words by
the same Council, for that man to be exonerated
and me to be ruined; you are not so void of reason.
For I do not deserve it; I am not that kind of a person
nor worse than he, though I am unfortunate, thanks
to you, I admit, for why not unfortunate when on top
of my other calamities I must compare myself with
Aristogeiton, and to make matters worse, a ruined
man with one who has secured acquittal?
And do not assume from these words that it is 44
anger that moves me, because I could not feel that
way toward you. To those who are wronged, how-
ever, it brings a certain relief to tell their sorrows,
just as it relieves those in pain to moan, because
toward you I feel as much goodwill as I would pray
you might have toward me. I have made this plain
in everything and shall continue to do so, for I have 45
been resolved from the beginning that it is the duty
of every man in public life, if only he be a fair-minded
citizen, so to feel toward all his fellow-citizens as
children ought to feel toward their parents, and,
while praying that he may find them perfectly reason-
able, yet to bear with them in a spirit of kindliness as
they are; because defeat under such circumstances is
judged among right-minded men to be an honourable
and befitting victory. Farewell.
ΔΕΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΘΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΙΑΣ

\[\text{ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ}\]

'Ακούω περὶ ἐμοῦ Θηραμένου ἄλλοις τε λόγους βλασφήμους εἰρηκέναι καὶ δυστυχίαν προφέρειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τούτον ἁγνοεῖν ὡς λοιδορίας, ἡ μηδεμίαν κακίαν καθ' ὅτου λέγεται δεῖκνυσιν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὁφελος παρ' εὗρονόυσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐχὶ θαυμάζω. τὸν γὰρ θρασύν μὲν τῷ βίῳ, μὴ πολίτην δὲ τὴν φύσιν, ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ δὲ τεθραμμένον ἐκ παιδὸς, αἰσθάνεσθαι τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀλογώτερον ἢν ἡ μὴ 2 συνιέναι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν, εάν ἀφίκωμαι ποτε καὶ σωθῶ, πειράσομαι διαλεχθήναι περὶ ὃν εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ ὃν εἰς ὑμᾶς παροινεῖ, καὶ νομίζω, καίπερ οὐδὲν μετέχοντα τοῦ αἰσχύνεσθαι, μετριώτερον αὐτὸν ποιήσειν· ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος εἴνεκα βούλομαι δι' ἐπιστολῆς οὕς περὶ τούτων ἐχω λόγους δηλώσαι. οἷς πάντων τοὺς προσεχόντες ἀκούσατε· οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀκοῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνήμης ἄξιος εἶναι.

3 Ἡγὼ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐτυχεστάτην [1487] πασῶν πόλεων ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ θεοφιλεστάτην, καὶ

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\] This letter is not cited in ancient authorities and there is less likelihood of its being genuine.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] There is no known connexion between this obscure man and the Theramenes who played a conspicuous rôle during the later years of the Peloponnesian War.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] The implication is that Demosthenes was an unlucky person who brought bad luck to the State. Deinarchus in his speech \textit{Against Demosthenes} 31-33 asserts that he also in-
I hear that Theramenes has uttered various slanderous statements concerning me and in particular that he taunts me with being ill-fated. Now I am not astonished that this man should be ignorant that abusive language, which demonstrates no vice on the part of the one against whom it is spoken, carries no weight with fair-minded people. For if one who in his way of life is insolent, by birth is not a citizen, and was reared from childhood in a brothel, had even a faint perception in such matters, it would be more unintelligible than complete ignorance. As for this man, if some day I return and am restored to my rights, I shall plan to have a talk with him about the drunken abuse he directs at me and at you, and I believe that, even if he is devoid of shame, I shall render him more self-restrained. To you, however, in the interest of the common good, I wish to make known by letter what statements I have to make about these matters. Listen to my words with all attention, for I think they are not only worth hearing but also worth remembering.

As for me, I assume that your city is the most fortunate in the world and the dearest to the gods, volved his collaborators in his own ill luck. It may be noted that Cicero, *For the Manilian Law* x. 28, places *felicitas* on a par with *scientia rei militaris, virtus* and *auctoritas*.
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ταῦτ' οἶδα καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδώναίον καὶ τὴν Διώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλων τὸν Πύθιον ἀεὶ λέγοντας ἐν ταῖς μαντείαις, καὶ προσεπισφραγιζόμενος τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι παρ᾽ ύμῖν. Ὅσα μὲν τοίνυν περὶ τῶν ἐπιόντων δηλοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ, δῆλον ὡς προλέγουσιν τὰς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν παρελθόντων προσηγορίαις ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγονούσι πράξεσιν τίθενται.

4 ἀ τοίνυν ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι παρ᾽ ύμῖν, τῶν ἡδή γεγενημένων ἐστὶν, ἀφ' ὑμῖν ἐντυχεῖς υμᾶς προσηγορεύκασιν οἱ θεοὶ. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τοὺς μὲν πεισθέντας εντυχεῖς οὐνομάζομεθα τὸν δὲ πείσαντα τῆς ἐναντίας προσηγορίας τυγχάνειν; πλὴν εἰ τούτῳ τις εἴποι τὴν μὲν κοινὴν εντυχίαν, ἢς ἐγὼ σύμβουλος, θεοὺς τοὺς λέγοντας εἶναι, οἷς οὐ θέμις ψεύδεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἴδιαν βλασφημίαν, ἢ κατ' ἐμοῦ κέχρηται Θηραμένης, θρασύν καὶ ἀναιδῆ καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἔχοντ' ἀνθρωπον εἰρηκέναι.

5 Ὅν τοίνυν μόνον ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μαντείαις ἀγαθὴν οὕσαν εὐρήσεθ' ἢ κέχρησθε τύχη, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων θεωροῦντες, ἂν ἐξετάζῃ ὀρθῶς. ὑμεῖς γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀνθρωποί τὰ πράγματα βούλεσθε θεωρεῖν, εντυχεστάτην εὐρήσετ' ἂφ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ συνεβούλευσα τὴν πόλιν γεγονοῦσαν· εἰ δ' ἀ τοῖς θεοῖς εξαίρεθ' ὑπάρχει μόνοις, τούτον ἀξιόστετε

6 τυγχάνειν, ἀδυνάτων ἐφίεσθε. τὶ οὖν ἐστὶ θεοῖς εξαίρετον ἀνθρώποις δ' οὐ δυνατὸν; ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὡντας κυρίου εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς ἄλλοις, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν μηδέποτ' ἐν παντὶ τῷ αἰώνι μήτε παθεῖν μήτε

[1488]

a At the shrine of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus it was Dioné, and not Hera, who was regarded as his consort. Elsewhere Dioné was identified with Aphrodite or Venus.

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and I know that Zeus of Dodona and Dionè " and the
Pythian Apollo are always saying this in their oracles
and confirming with the seal of their approval the
opinion that good fortune has her abode in the city
among you. Moreover, all that the gods reveal about
coming events it is obvious that they prophesy; but
the epithets based upon past events they apply to ex-
periences of the past. Now, what I have done as a 4
public man among you belongs in the class of events
already past, on the ground of which the gods have
bestowed upon you the epithet fortunate. How,
then, is it fair for those who followed advice to be
denominated fortunate but the adviser to receive the
opposite epithet? Unless someone should give this
explanation, that for the common good fortune, of
which I was the counsellor, it is the gods who vouch,
and to think they lie would be sacrilege, but that
the personal slander, which Theramenes has directed
against me, it is an insolent, shameless and not even
intelligent person who has uttered.

Now, it is not only by the words of the oracles 5
coming from the gods that you will find the fortune
you have enjoyed to be good but also by viewing it
in the light of the facts themselves, if you will scan
them rightly. For if as human beings you are willing
to regard our affairs, you will find that our city, as a
result of the policy I advised, has been very fortunate,
but if you shall demand to receive those blessings
which are reserved for the gods alone, you aim at the
impossible. What, then, is reserved for gods but for 6
men is impossible? To be in absolute control of all
the blessings there are, both to possess them them-
selves and to bestow them upon others, and never in
all eternity either to suffer anything bad or to look
μελλήσαι. καὶ μὴν ὑποκειμένων τούτων, ὡσπερ προσήκει, σκοπεῖτε τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἑλλῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀγνώμων ὅστις ἂν ἦ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων συμβεβηκότα, οἰς εὐκ ἐγὼ συνεβουλευον, ἦ τὰ Πέρσαις, πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲ ἀφικόμην πώποτε, αἴρετωτερα φήσειν εἶναι τῶν ὑμῶν παρόντων. καὶ ἐὼ Καππαδόκας καὶ Σύρους καὶ τοὺς τὴν 'Ινδικὴν χώραν κατοικοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ἐσχατα γῆς, οἰς ἀπασὶ συμβεβηκέ 8 πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποιθέναι καὶ χαλεπά. ἀλλὰ νὴ Διὰ τούτων μὲν ἄμεινον ὑμᾶς πράττειν ἀπαντεὶς ὀμολογήσουσι, Ὠπταλῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων χείρον, ἃ τινων ἑλλῶν, οἰς ἐν συμμαχίᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι Φιλίππω. ἀλλὰ τούτων καὶ πολὺ βέλτιον ἀπηλλάχατε, οὐ μόνον τῷ μὴ δεδουλευκέναι (καὶ τοῦ τὸ τηλικοῦθ' ἐτερον;), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς μὲν πάντας αἴτιος εἶναι δοκεῖν τῶν τοῖς Ἐλλήσι κακῶν συμβεβηκότων διὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῆς δουλείας, ἐξ 9 ὅν εἰκότως μισοῦνται, ὑμᾶς δ' ὀράσθαι ύπὲρ τῶν Ἐλλῆσι καὶ σῶμασι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πόλει καὶ χώρα καὶ πᾶσιν ἡγωνισμένους, ἄνθ' ὑπὲρ εὐκλειαν εἰκός ὑπάρχειν καὶ χάριν ἄθανατον παρὰ τῶν τὰ δίκαια βουλομένων ποιεῖν. οὐκοῦν ἀφ' ὑπὲρ ὑπερ εὐημερεία, τῶν μὲν ἀντιστάντων ἀριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει συμβεβηκέ, τῶν δὲ συνηγωνισμένων ἐνδοξοτέραν εἶναι περίεστι. 10 Τοιχαροῦν ἐπί τούτοις οἱ θεοὶ τὰς μὲν μαντεῖας τὰς ἀγαθὰς υμῖν διδόσας, τὴν δ' ἀδικον βλασφημίαν εἰς κεφαλὴν τῷ λέγουτi τρέπουσι. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις,
forward to suffering it. Next, these propositions having been laid down, as is proper, scan your blessings in comparison with those of the rest of mankind. No one, for instance, is so foolish as to assert that what has befallen either the Spartans, whom I never advised, or the Persians, whom I never even visited, is preferable to your present lot. I pass over the Cappadocians, the Syrians, and the beings who inhabit the land of India toward the ends of the earth, all of whom have had the misfortune to suffer many terrible and grievous afflictions. O yes, by Zeus, all will agree that you are faring better than these, but worse, they declare, than the Thessalians, Argives and Arcadians, or certain others, who had the luck to be in alliance with Philip. But you have come off far better than these, not only because you have not been reduced to slavery—and yet what blessing equals that?—but also because, while all those are thought to be responsible for the evils that have befallen the Greeks through Philip and their enslavement, in consequence of which they are hated with good reason, you are seen to have struggled in defence of the Greeks at the expense of your lives, your property, your city, your territory and all you possess, in return for which you are entitled to glory and undying gratitude from all lovers of justice. Therefore, as a result of the counsels I gave, it has been the city's good fortune to fare best of all the states that resisted Philip and there is the added gain of standing in higher repute than those who co-operated with him.

On these grounds, therefore, the gods, while giving favourable oracles to you, are turning back the unjust slander upon the head of him who utters it, and any
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[14-9] εἰ προέλοιτ' ἐξετάσαι τάπιτηδεύματ' ἐν οἷς ζη. ἃ γὰρ ἂν καταράσαιτο τις αὐτῷ, ταῦτ᾽ ἐκ προαιρέ-
11 σεως ποιεῖ. ἔχθρος μὲν ἔστι τοῖς γονεῦσι, φίλος δὲ Παυσανία τῷ πόρνῳ καὶ θρασύνεται μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ, πάσχει δ᾽ ὡς γυνή· καὶ τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἐστὶν κρεῖττων, τῶν δὲ αἰσχρῶν ἡττών. οἷς δ᾽ ὕπο πάν-
tων δυσχεραίνεται, τούτως τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγάλλεται, αἰσχρορρήμοσύνη καὶ τῷ διηγεισθαί ταῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀλγοῦσ᾽ οἷς ἀκούοντες· ὅ δ᾽, ὡς ἀφελῆς καὶ παρρη-
12 σίας μεστός, οὐ πανέται. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἔγγραψα εἰ μὴ κινήσαι τὴν ἐν ὑμῖν μνήμην τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ κακῶν ἐξουσίαν. ἀ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἄν τις ὀκνή-
sαι καὶ γράψαι φυλάξαι᾽ ἀν, οἴμαι δὲ κἂν ἀκού-
sαντα δυσχερὰναι, ταῦτ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων μνησθεὶς οἴδειν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ τούτω προσόντα, ὡστ' ἐμοὶ τε μηδὲν ἀναίδες εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τούτων ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐαυτοῦ κακῶν ὀφθέντα πᾶσιν εἶναι. εὐτυχεῖτε.

Ε

ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΔΩΡΟΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

Οὐθ᾽ ὅπως χρῆ πιστεῦειν οἷς ἀπήγγελλέ μοι Μενεκράτης, οὐθ᾽ ὅπως ἀπιστεύειν ἔχω. ἐφὶ γὰρ

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a Blass, who is inclined to reject this letter, calls attention to the Gorgianic antitheses in the preceding passage.

b Schaefer judges the evidence against the genuineness of these last two letters to be decisive. If this one be genuine, it must be assumed that Heracleodorus is a citizen of some 262
man would recognize the facts if he chose to examine the practices in which he spends his life. For instance, he does by preference the very things that one might invoke upon him as a curse. He is an enemy to his own parents but a friend to Pausanias the whore-monger, and though he swaggers like a man he allows himself to be used like a woman. He lords it over his own father but submits to degenerates. He regales his fancy with things by which all are disgusted, with foul language and with stories by which his hearers are pained; yet he never ceases to talk, as if he were a simple fellow and the soul of frankness.\(^a\) I would not have written this had I not wished to stir in you the recollection of the vices that attach to him. For many terrible and shameful things, which a man would shrink from telling and would guard against mentioning in writing and, as I think, would be disgusted to hear of, each one of you, reminded by these words, knows to attach to this man, so that nothing indecent has been uttered by me and this man upon sight is a reminder to all of his own vices. Farewell.

V

TO HERACLEODORUS\(^b\)

Demosthenes sends his good wishes to Heracleodorus.

I am at a loss to know whether I ought to believe or disbelieve the news that Menecrates brings me. For neighbouring city, such as Corinth, because Demosthenes would have no need to write to a fellow-citizen of Athens.
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'Επίτιμου ευδεδείχθαι μὲν καὶ ἀπήχθαι ὑπ’ 'Αράτου, σὲ δ’ ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπάντων αὐτῶν χαλεπώτατον εἶναι. δέομαι δὴ σου πρὸς Διός ξενίου καὶ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, μή με καταστήσῃς ἁγδεί καὶ δεινῶ μηδενὶ περιπετῆ. εὖ γὰρ ἦσθι, χωρὶς τοῦ μέλειν μου τῆς 'Επίτιμου σωτηρίας, καὶ νομίζαι μεγάλην ἃν συμφορὰν εἰ τι πάθοι καὶ τούτον σὺ συναίτος εἶτς, αἰσχύνομαι τοὺς συνειδότας μοι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ πρὸς ἁπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐλέγχων, πεπεικῶς ἐμαυτόν ἀληθή λέγειν, οὔκ 3 ἐκ τοῦ πεπλησιακέναι σοι πείραν ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ὅρων ὃτι δόξης ἐπιτυγχάνων καὶ παιδείαν ἀπεδέχον, καὶ ταύτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἦπερ ἐστὶν ὃς ἀληθῶς τῶν μὲν πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ τῶν περὶ ταύτα σοφισμάτων ἔξω, τοῦ βελτίστου δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου πάνθ’ ἐνεκ’ ἐξητασμένη. ἃς μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ μετασχόντι μὴ οὐχὶ ἀσενδεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἁπαντ’ ἀγαθῶ εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγοῦμαι. 4 γένοιτο δ’ ἂν μοι κὰκεῖνο τῶν χαλεπωτάτων εἰ, παρωρμηκὼς ἐμαυτὸν εὐνοίκως ἔχειν σοι, τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην μεταλαβεῖν ἀναγκασθείν, ἀν δ’ ὑπολαμβάνω παρεωρᾶσθαι καὶ πεφενακίσθαι, κἂν μὴ 5 φῶ, νόμιζ’ οὕτως ἔξειν. εἰ δ’ ἡμῶν καταπεφρόνησας, ὅτι τῶν πρῶτων οὐκ ἐσμέν πω, λόγισαι ὃτι καὶ σύ ποτ’ ἡσθα νέος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἶχες ἥν

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a The persons here named are citizens of some neighbouring city and otherwise unknown.

b The reference is to the sophists, professional teachers who undertook to prepare their pupils for worldly success.

c If the letter is genuine, this evidence of date would point approximately to 335 B.C. The First Philippic was delivered in 351.

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he said that information had been laid against Epitimus, that Aratus had taken him to prison and that you were supporting the prosecution and were the most uncompromising of all toward him. I do beseech you in the name of Zeus the god of friendship and by all the gods not to get me involved in any disagreeable and embarrassing predicament. For be well assured that, apart from my concern for the safety of Epitimus and my belief that it will be a great misfortune if anything should happen to him and you should be partly responsible for it, I am ashamed to face people who are familiar with the reports I have been making to everybody concerning yourself. I was convinced that I spoke the truth, not because I possessed confirmation from having associated with you, but because I observed that, while gaining some renown, you were also glad to have an education, and that too in the school of Plato, the one that really has nothing to do with getting the better of people and the quackeries that concern themselves with this, but has been demonstrated to aim at the highest excellence and perfect justice in all things. By the gods I swear that it is impious for a man who has shared in this instruction not to be free from all deception and honest in all dealings. It would also be to me one of the most grievous disappointments if, after having started out to feel friendly toward you, I should be compelled to take the opposite decision instead, and if I assume that I have been slighted and deceived, even if I shall deny it, believe me, it will be so. If you have looked down upon us because we are not yet among the foremost men, reflect that you too were once a young man of the same age as we are now, and that you have
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ημείς νῦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν καὶ πράττειν
gεγένησαι τηλικῶτος. κἂν ἦμιν τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ.
tὸ μὲν γὰρ εὗ βουλεύεσθαι πάρεστι τῆς δὲ τύχης
συλλαμβανούσης καὶ τοῦργον γένοιτ' ἂν.

Καλὸς οὖν ἔρανος χάρις δικαία: ἦν καὶ σὺ ποίησαι
πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μηδ' ύφ' ἐνὸς τῶν σοῦ φρονούντων
χείρον ἁγου μηδ' ἡττῶ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἂγ' ἐπὶ τὰ
σοὶ δοκοῦντα: καὶ πράττε ὀὔτως ὅπως μηδενὸς
tῶν ὀμολογηθέντων στερηθῶμεν, ἀλλ' 'Επιτίμω
γένηται σωτηρία τις καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν κινδύνων.
παρέσομαι δ' εἰς τὸν χρόνον κἀγ' καθ' ὅν ἂν σὺ
φῆς καὶ ῥον ἑιναι. γράψας δὲ μοι πέμψον ἡ καὶ ὡς
φίλω ἐπίστελλε. εὐτυχεί.

5

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

"Ἡλθεν ἐπιστολῆ παρ' Ἀντιφίλον πρὸς τοὺς τῶν
συμμάχων συνέδρους, τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις ἀγαθὰ

1 Lacking in the best ms.

a Deinarchus in his speech Against Demosthenes 35 may
be making a taunting reference to this boast.

b This looks like a proverbial expression. The reference
is either to a favour conferred by Demosthenes and not
mentioned here or to the good opinion he claims to have
expressed.

c Schaefer thinks this letter to be the work of a scribe in
the council of the Greek allies.

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reached your present position through speech and action in public life. Such success may attend me also. For deliberative oratory I have mastered already and, with Fortune lending a hand, the practical experience also may follow.

Now a fine tribute, a just return. Please make me this recompense. Neither allow yourself to be led by one of those whose judgement is inferior to your own nor submit to them, but try to bring those men around to your way of thinking, and so conduct yourself that we may not have to give up any of our judgements of you that were assumed to be true, but that for Epitimus some deliverance may be found and release from his perils. I too shall be on hand at whatever time you shall say is the fitting moment. Send me a written message or rather command me as a friend. Farewell.

VI

TO THE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY
OF THE ATHENIANS

Demosthenes to the Council and the Assembly sends greeting.

A letter has come from Antiphilus to the councillors of the allies, which, while satisfactorily phrased for

"From Plutarch's Phocion 24 we learn that Antiphilus was commanding the army of the allies besieging Antipater in Lamia, winter of 323–322 B.C.

"The council of the allies is thought to have been meeting at Phyle in northern Attica."
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προσδοκάν ἰκανῶς γεγραμμένη, τοῖς δ' ὑπηρετοῦσιν Ἀντιπάτρῳ πολλοῖς καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀπολείπουσα λόγους, οἱ παραλαβόντες τὰ παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου γράμματα πρὸς Δείναρχον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐλθόντα, ἀπάσας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις τοιοῦτων λόγων ἔπλησαν οὖν εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν τρέψειαν 2 οἱ θεοί. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἡκοντος μετὰ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοὶ φέροντος γράμματα παρὰ Πολεμαίστου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἐπίνυκον, ἄνδρ' ύμιν εὐνουν καὶ ἐμοὶ φίλον, κάκεινον πρὸς 'EntityManager', ἀγαγόντος, ἀκούσαντί μοι ἐλεγεν ἐδόκει πρὸς ύμᾶς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλαι, ὅπως πάντα σαφῶς ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γεγονότα τοῦ περὶ τὴν μάχην παραγεγενημένου, τὸ τ' εἰς τὸ παρὸν θαρρῆτε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν θεῶν θελόντων ὡς βούλεσθ' ἐξειν ὑπολαμβάνητε. εὐτυχεῖτε.

1 Πολεμαρέτου var. lect.

a Deinarchus, youngest of the ten Attic orators, was opposed to Demosthenes and favoured Macedon. His speech accusing Demosthenes of receiving twenty talents from Har-
those who wish to have good news in prospect, leaves many items unacceptable to those who toady to Antipater. These men, taking along with them the dispatch from Antipater that came to Corinth addressed to Deinarchus, have filled all the cities in the Peloponnesus with such reports as I pray that the gods may turn back upon their own heads. The man who now presents himself to you along with the bearer of this letter from me, having come from Polemaestus to the latter’s brother Epinicus, a man well disposed toward you and a friend of mine, was by him in turn brought to me. After I heard his story it seemed to me best to send him to you in order that, having heard a clear account of all that had happened in the camp from one who was present in the battle, you may be of good cheer for the present and assume that, the gods being willing, the final outcome will be as you wish. Farewell.

calus is extant. At the date of this letter he was in exile at Corinth, his birthplace.

b It may be assumed that Polemaestus was in the camp of the allies before Lamia and that his brother was attending the council of the allies in Phylê.
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