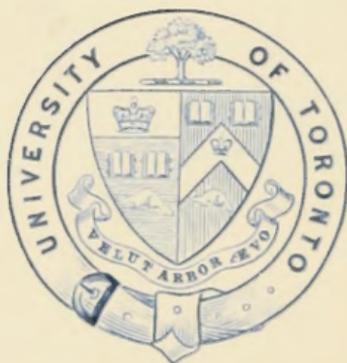


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SELECTIONS

FROM

THE ATTIC ORATORS.



SELECTIONS

FROM

THE ATTIC ORATORS

ANTIPHON ANDOCIDES LYSIAS

ISOCRATES ISAEUS

BEING A COMPANION VOLUME TO

'THE ATTIC ORATORS FROM ANTIPHON TO ISAEUS'

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

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TO THE
MEMBERS PAST AND PRESENT
OF
THE GREEK CLASS
IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

PREFACE.

IN the *Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus* I endeavoured to trace historically the development of Attic prose, and also to assist a special study of the orators before Demosthenes¹. The favourable reception of that attempt encouraged the design of a companion volume, which should give in a compact form a series of the most characteristic and interesting passages from these orators, with a commentary adapted to the requirements of students at the Universities or in the higher forms of Public Schools. It was the opinion of competent judges that such an anthology of Attic prose from Thucydides to Demosthenes might prove not unwelcome to readers who desired to enlarge their survey of the great classical literature, and to teachers who wished to vary the routine of authors commonly read in the school-course. Few Greek

¹ I desire to offer my thanks to the critics in this and other countries to whom my book has been indebted for cordial welcome or for candid criticism; among others, to my German reviewer in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, Professor F. Blass (1877, Vol. ix., pp. 249 f.: Calvary, Berlin).

authors of the best age are more helpful than the orators if we desire to see the old Greeks as they lived and moved, to enter into the spirit of their daily actions and thoughts: few, again, present more vivid or instructive pictures of Greek society in its larger political aspects.

The principles which have guided the selection have been chiefly two:—1. to choose passages from each author which, taken together, should interpret as completely as possible his part in the general evolution of Attic prose style: 2. to take care that these passages should also possess intrinsic interest as illustrations of Greek thought, politics, or manners.

For the first of these two objects it was essential that each author should be represented by several extracts rather than by a single whole work, in cases where the latter must have excluded too much of the former. Thus, if the speech of Lysias *Against Erasthenes* had been given entire, it would have been necessary to omit many specimens of his work in a different kind, without which his compass of power and his place in the development would have been imperfectly understood. For my purpose, the unity of the piece necessarily yielded to the unity of the series. At the same time, wherever it was practicable, I have given a composition as a whole. Thus, among the works of Lysias, the speeches *For Mantiachus* and *Against Panchon* stand entire: the *Olympiacus* and the *Plea for the Constitution* appear in such integrity as they now possess. So, again, does the essay of Isocrates *Against the Sophists*. With the exception of a few lines,—devoid of interest save

for those who resent expurgation,—the best oration of Isæus, the eighth, is given in full. The present work is intended to be strictly what it is called, a companion volume to the *Attic Orators*, in which all the writings of each orator have been analysed and discussed. Care has been taken to indicate, in an introductory note, the scope of each speech as a whole, as well as the bearing of the selected passage: and, on reference to the *Attic Orators*, an analysis of the whole will be found. The selection has cost some time and labour. The volume contains thirty-seven extracts, representing thirty-three works. Hardly one of these was admitted until it had been carefully compared with other passages of which the claims seemed nearly equal, or in some particular respect, perhaps, superior. Only those who have essayed a similar task can easily understand the number and variety of considerations which had to be balanced before a final list could be arranged. It would perhaps be too much to expect that the choice thus made should in every case obtain approval; I can only plead that, in deciding these often nice points, I have acted as the Athenian juror's oath bound him to act,—*γνώμη τῆ ἀρίστη*: that is, not necessarily with good judgment, but with the best which I was able to form.

It must suffice merely to touch here on a subject which I have elsewhere sought to illustrate more fully¹—the reason why Attic oratory has a claim on students of Greek literature different in degree from that which English oratory (for example) has upon

¹ *Attic Orators*, Vol. I. p. 79.

students of English literature. The distinguishing characteristic of the best Greek literature is its constant and intimate relation with living speech. In following the course of Attic oratory we are at the same time tracing the main current of influence which moulded Greek literary prose. And Greek prose, whether spoken or written, has one kind of significance for the student of all literature which does not belong in the same measure to Greek poetry. This has been well expressed by Professor Nettleship. 'The influence of Greek poetry is perhaps, in its larger effects, more traceable in the spirit than in the form of the most important modern works of the same order, for the delicate musical effects of metre pass away with the life of the language in which they are born. But the broader and simpler harmonies of prose-rhythm are not so easily lost, and these, as first appreciated and elaborated by the Greeks, must live in the ears of men so long as they continue to speak or write prose with any sense of beauty. There is a more obvious affinity between Demosthenes and Burke than between Aeschylus and Goethe¹.'

Turning from the form of Greek oratory to the subject-matter, we find Greek politics made more real and Greek society more animated. Politics become practical and personal; social life is seen in aspects which are no longer merely domestic. It would be a pity to regard these glimpses merely as peeps into a mine of possible examination-questions. Those who know this province of Greek literature only through the medium of references in such valuable works as

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine*, November, 1876.

Becker's *Charicles* might be pardoned for supposing that the world of the Attic orators was peopled by beings who existed solely in the interest of unborn archaeologists. Dinners, kottabos, marriages, funerals, and striking emergencies of the wardrobe succeed each other with a disregard of the probable as placid and as complete as if the instructive lives of the personages had been prearranged by a Board of Studies. But when we read the orators themselves we see that there is another and a very different sense in which they illuminate the life of ancient Greece. In one of the forensic orations of Isaeus the speaker observes, with much warmth, that his adversary has never possessed a horse worth more than twelve pounds. This certainly discloses the fact that a horse of such price was not in the Athens of that day considered a valuable horse. But that is scarcely the point. It leads one to ask how a speaker in a law-court could have expected this to be a telling reproach. How must the relation of the private citizen to the city have been conceived, if abstinence from the private display of wealth could be regarded as implying a want of public spirit? The facts of ancient life are dead unless the imagination is exercised in seizing the social tone which is suggested by their relation to each other.

The credibility of the Attic orators as sources for history has sometimes been treated as if it were a question concerning the solvency of a corporation. It would else have been unnecessary to observe that each orator must be considered separately. The history which Antiphon and Isaeus illustrate is rather

social than political. Antiphon was chiefly concerned with the court of the Areiopagus, or with courts which reflected something of its spirit; and the Areiopagus, as Aristotle tells us, was exceptional among Greek tribunals in prohibiting the introduction of topics not strictly relevant. Thus historical digressions were precluded. Isaeus, again, was engrossed in argument on the details of private relationships. But Andocides, Lysias, and Isocrates are all, directly or indirectly, political historians. Andocides sheds much vivid light on Athenian affairs in the panic of 415 B.C.,—in the revolutionary crisis of 411,—and in that crisis of the Corinthian War which belongs to 390 B.C. His references to earlier history are usually inexact; a circumstance which need not surprise us, when we remember the pains which Thucydides takes to correct the erroneous beliefs, popularly current at Athens in his own day, regarding one of the most famous and most impressive events in Athenian history,—an event which was then hardly three generations old—the assassination of Hipparchus. Lysias stands beside Xenophon as our chief contemporary authority for the period which immediately followed the close of the Peloponnesian War,—the reign of the Thirty Tyrants, the restoration of the Athenian Democracy, and its life during the earlier years of the Spartan domination. Isocrates gives us striking pictures of Greece at three successive moments;—in 380 B.C., when the Spartan supremacy had now produced its worst effects; in 355, towards the end of the Social War, when the Athenian visions of empire had now for the second time been shattered;

and in 346, when Philip of Macedon had just won his way within the circle of the Greek States, and when the cause of Greek independence was entering on the last stage of decline. If Isocrates is not always accurate in reference to events of the preceding century, his illustrations of contemporary history, both political and social, are of the highest value and the most varied interest.

A prefatory note on the style of each orator will be found in the commentary. This note aims at marking the place of each in the series of writers by whom Attic prose was developed. The thread which runs through the series has been traced elsewhere. A few words may be repeated here:—‘Two principal tendencies appear in the beginning of Attic oratory. One of them sets out from the forensic rhetoric of Sicily, in combination with the popular dialectic of the sophists, and is but slightly affected by Gorgias. It is represented by the writers of the “austere” style, of whom Antiphon and Thucydides are the chief. From Thucydides to Demosthenes this manner is in abeyance, partly because it is itself unsuited to forensic purposes, partly because its grave emphasis has come to seem archaic. The second tendency is purely Gorgian, and, after having had several obscure representatives, is taken up by Isocrates, who gives to it a corrected, a complete, and a permanent form. From a compromise between this second tendency and the idiom of daily life arises the “plain” style of Lysias. The transition from Lysias to a strenuous political oratory is marked by Isaeus. Then comes the matured political oratory, giving new combina-

tions to types already developed, and, in its greatest representative, uniting them all¹.'

In reading these selections that thread should be firmly held. The student should remember that he is not merely reading samples from a number of writers who were all in some sense 'orators.' He is also following successive steps in the process by which a language of most elastic resource was gradually adapted to a certain set of purposes. Though Demosthenes is said to have been a devoted student of Thucydides, everyone can feel that the prose of Thucydides is something very unlike the prose of Demosthenes. If the intervening representatives of normal style are not read, a gap remains. Xenophon is too little of a conscious artist to help us much; the literary genius of Plato is too individual. The works of the orators from Antiphon to Isaeus form the bridge by which the gulf is spanned.

Each of the five has his distinctive interest. That of Antiphon depends less on the intrinsic quality of his work than on its character as the monument of an early and singular stage in the prose literature. The able historian and critic who discussed my book in the *Edinburgh Review*—and to whom my acknowledgments are due for his invariable fairness and courtesy—was disposed to think that the oratorical influence of Antiphon has been overrated². It is possible; we can seldom gauge with precision the effect which a Greek orator produced on his average Greek hearer; though Thucydides, at least, certainly

¹ *Attic Orators*, Vol. II. p. 419.

² *Edinburgh Review*, No. 298, April, 1877.

regarded Antiphon as a very powerful speaker; and modern writers, including Grote and Curtius, have inferred that eloquence was, as Thucydides implies, the main source of Antiphon's ascendancy. We can at any rate see that Antiphon represents a well-marked phase of language and style. In another place I have endeavoured to show how far Antiphon and Thucydides may be compared or contrasted as disciples of a common school¹.

Andocides, who may be considered, relatively to the artists of oratory, as a brilliant amateur, is for that very reason a valuable element. We, with our prejudice against the confession that oratory has a technical side—a prejudice, which is probably less strong in America and France than it is in England—are too apt to think of Greek Rhetoric as a machine which affected to produce uniform results independently of natural aptitudes. Now this is just what the best Greek Rhetoric strenuously repudiated². Again and again Isocrates repeats that natural faculty is the first condition of success, and that, without it, training and practice can do comparatively little. Undoubtedly a Greek audience not only recognized but usually expected careful premeditation by the speaker on every important occasion. Several years ago an eminent person, being President of the British Association, was called upon to deliver the opening address; he rose,

¹ *Hellenica*, edited by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D., pp. 307 f.

² This point was well brought out by my reviewer in the *New York Nation*.

and offered a series of observations on the weather, the crops, the embarrassment of public speaking, and the diffusion of knowledge among the masses. The feelings of the British Association at that moment probably resembled those with which an Athenian audience would have received utterances which, however pleasing in themselves, indicated that art had not brought the requisite assistance to nature. Andocides is peculiarly interesting as reminding us, on the other hand, that, even with an Athenian audience, a natural gift could succeed, though aided only by slender art.

Lysias, the canon of Attic grace, brings before us,—more clearly, perhaps, than any of the rest,—one essential difference between ancient and modern oratory in regard to their available instruments. The Greek orator produces his effect mainly by the collocation and rhythm of words used in their proper sense. When, however, he desires to employ metaphor or other verbal ornament, the freshness of the language makes it easy to do so. Nothing is stale as yet. But our language is so full of worn-out metaphors that it is difficult to find imagery which shall be neither trite nor extravagant. It is no longer striking to speak of a ‘concourse,’ or to say that a nation ‘cries out’; yet these metaphors, and many others like them, will be found in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* among examples of impressive ornament. It is to be regretted, I think, that Lysias has lost his old place in our schools; and I should rejoice if the specimens given here should in any degree contribute to his restoration.

Isocrates may with peculiar advantage be read in selections. His frequent prolixity arises chiefly from two causes—much preamble and much repetition. In most of his longer works—the *Panegyricus*, with its artistic unity, is an exception—there is what may be called a nucleus, consisting sometimes of one passage, sometimes of several, generally in the central or the latter part of the work. The account of his ‘philosophy,’ which I have extracted from the *Antidosis*, is a case in point. Isocrates has a direct interest for modern literature as the founder of that style which, especially through the prose of Cicero, has exercised so large an influence on Europe. He has also a peculiar interest in relation to the history of Greece. Belonging, as he does, to the latter days of the old Hellas, and in feeling a genuine Hellene, he can yet conceive of Hellenic culture as shared by men not of Hellenic blood; and he is thus, as Professor Ernst Curtius has so well brought out¹, a literary forerunner of Hellenism.

Sir Henry Maine has taught so many readers to feel some interest in the early history of testamentary law that Isaeus will not be thought unworthy of study merely because he is concerned with cases of inheritance. The Attic law, which Isaeus illustrates, marks the transition from the purely religious phase of adoption to a phase in which it is still, indeed, connected with religion, but also appears as the germ of a true testamentary power. And there is scarcely

¹ Curtius, *History of Greece*, v. 116, 204. See the striking passages of Isocrates, *Panegyrr.* § 50: *Attic Orators*, Vol. II. p. 16.

any Greek writer who so much helps us to understand the meaning which the old Greeks attached to the family. The light which he gives is not merely on scenic detail, but also on those relations of the actors which touch the springs of social life. These attributes might well entitle Isaeus to attention, even if his place in the series of Attic prose-writers was not rendered peculiarly interesting by his immediate connection with Demosthenes.

The *Annals* prefixed to the first volume of the *Attic Orators* will, I trust, be found useful by those who may wish to see the political and literary chronology of the whole period in a comprehensive form. A list of editions, commentaries, and *subsidiæ* will be found in the same place.

The indexes, which I have prepared myself, are on a scale which will make it easy to find any noticeable word or matter which the volume contains. On points of syntax the references are to Professor Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*.

In revising the work for the present edition, I have profited by several valuable criticisms which the first edition received. The commentary stands, as before, at the end of the book, while the critical notes, which formerly preceded the Greek text, are now printed below it.

THE COLLEGE, GLASGOW,
October, 1888.

CONTENTS.

ANTIPHON.

	PAGE.
I. SECOND TETRALOGY, FIRST SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE.	
A youth, practising with the javelin at a gymnasium, has accidentally killed a boy. The youth's father defends him against the charge of homicide	1
II. THIRD TETRALOGY, FIRST SPEECH FOR THE PROSECUTION, §§ 1—7.	
The religious view of homicide as a public pollution	6
III. ON THE MURDER OF HERODES (417 B.C.).	
1. §§ 1—30. Narrative of the disappearance of Herodes	8
2. §§ 81—96. Peroration: the silent testimony of the God: dangers of a hasty verdict	18
IV. ON THE CHOREUTES, §§ 11—15 (About 412 B.C.).	
The duties of an Athenian choregus	25

ANDOCIDES.

	PAGE
I. ON HIS RETURN, §§ 10—16 (410 B.C.).	
His services to the army at Samos in 411 B.C. A scene at Athens during the Revolution of the Four Hundred	28
II. ON THE MYSTERIES (399 B.C.).	
1. §§ 34—45. Nocturnal mutilation of the Hermae at Athens by unknown conspirators (415 B.C.). Story of Diocleides. The panic	31
2. §§ 48—69. A scene in prison. Andocides resolves to give evidence. His story	36
III. ON THE PEACE WITH LACEDAEMON, §§ 28—41 (390 B.C.).	
The alliance of Sparta preferable to that of Argos. Instances in which Athens has suffered by choosing the wrong side. Character of the Athenian Dêmos. The Athenian Empire—lessons of its rise and fall	43

LYSIAS.

I. OLYMPIACUS (388 B.C.).	
The spirit of the festival at Olympia; it is a pledge of Hellenic unity. Greeks must put aside their jealousies, and unite against the two foes of Greece—the King of Persia and the despot of Sicily	49
II. A PLEA FOR THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION (403 B.C.).	
On a proposal to limit the franchise to land-owners. The hopes of Athens—now stripped of empire—depend on maintaining the Democracy against oligarchic dictation from Sparta	52

III. FOR MANTITHEUS (About 392 B.C.).

A young Athenian—defending himself against the charge of having served as a knight under the Thirty Tyrants—gives some details of his private life, and of his recent campaigns 56

IV. FOR THE INVALID, §§ 10—14 (After 403 B.C.).

A cripple is defending his own claim to receive alms from the State; here he answers the objection that he is able to ride 62

V. AGAINST ERATOSTHENES (403 B.C.).

1. §§ 1—36. Narrative. The Thirty Tyrants resolve to plunder the resident aliens. Narrow escape of Lysias. His brother Polemarchus receives the order to drink the hemlock. Eratosthenes cross-examined: comments 65

2. §§ 92—100. Peroration: twofold appeal to the adherents and to the opponents of the Thirty Tyrants. The character of that Tyranny. 71

VI. AGAINST AGORATUS, §§ 5—48 (About 399 B.C.).

Narrative. Affairs at Athens just after the great defeat at Aegospotami (405 B.C.). Theramenes sent to arrange a peace with Sparta. The terms. The oligarchs plot to remove their opponents. Agoratus, their instrument, denounces certain persons, who are executed. A scene in prison. The reign of terror 78

VII. ON THE SACRED OLIVE, §§ 17—25 (Not before 395 B.C.).

The speaker defends himself against the charge of having uprooted a sacred olive (*moria*) on a farm which he rented 90

	PAGE
VIII. AGAINST THEOMNESTUS, §§ 6—20 (384 or 3 B.C.). Theomnēstus, accused of libel, pleaded that he had not used the phrase forbidden by the law: the speaker, replying, gives examples of old Attic words or phrases, found in laws, but no longer current in the same sense	92
IX. AGAINST PANCLEON (Prob. about 380 B.C.). Plataeans at Athens had the legal status of citizens. Pancleon, a fuller at Athens, had claimed to be a Plataean: the speech is to show that he is not such, but an alien	97

ISOCRATES.

I. NICOCLES, OR THE CYPRIANS, §§ 14—22 (Prob. between 372 and 365 B.C.). Nicocles, the Greek King of Salamis in Cyprus, is addressing his subjects. In this passage he argues for Monarchy as preferable to Oligarchy or Democracy	102
II. ENCOMIUM ON HELEN, §§ 54—58 (About 370 B.C.). The praise of beauty	107
III. EVAGORAS, §§ 47—50 (About 365 B.C.). The contrast between Phoenician and Hellenic rule in Cyprus, after Evagoras, father of Nicocles, became King of Salamis	108
IV. AGAINST THE SOPHISTS (391 or 390 B.C.). Isocrates, early in his career, criticizes three classes of teachers from whose methods and aims he desires that his own may be distinguished	110
V. ON THE ANTIDOSIS, §§ 270—302 (353 B.C.). His account of his own 'philosophy,' or theory of culture, and the grounds upon which he rests its claims	117

	PAGE
VI. PANEGYRICUS, §§ 160—186 (380 B.C.).	
Reasons which make the moment favourable for an invasion of Asia by united Greece. Condition of Persia and of Greece. The Peace of Antalcidas criticized. Summary	127
VII. PHILIPPUS, §§ 81—104 (346 B.C.).	
Philip of Macedon is urged to lead a Greek expedition against Persia. Policy of Agesilaus. Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand. Ease of raising a Greek army. Artaxerxes Ochus—his embarrassments. The word 'Liberty' is the true spell for Asia	136
VIII. PLATAICUS, §§ 56—63 (373 B.C.).	
A Plataean, pleading before the Athenian Ecclesia for help against Thebes, thus perorates	143
IX. ON THE PEACE, §§ 121—131 (355 B.C.).	
The party of war and 'empire'—results to Athens of their policy. Pericles contrasted with subsequent leaders of the people	146
X. ARCHIDAMUS, §§ 52—57 (366 B.C.).	
Archidamus III., son of Agesilaus, speaks at Sparta against a proposal to recognize the independence of Messene, lately restored by Epameinondas	149
XI. AREOPAGITICUS, §§ 36—55 (355 B.C.).	
A plea for restoring general functions of moral censorship to the Council of the Areiopagus. The contrast between the Old Democracy and the New	151
XII. AEGINETICUS, §§ 18—27 (394 or 393 B.C.).	
A forensic speech, for a case tried in Aegina. The narrative—a story of life in the islands of the Aegean	158

XIII. TO ALEXANDER (342 B.C.).

A letter from Isocrates to Alexander the Great—
then a boy of fourteen, just beginning his studies
with Aristotle 161

XIV. TO PHILIP (338 B.C.).

A letter from Isocrates to Philip of Macedon—
written probably after the conclusion of that peace
between Philip and Athens which ensued on the
battle of Chaeroneia 163

ISAEUS.

I. ON THE ESTATE OF DICAEOGENES (390 B.C.).

1. §§ 7—24. Conduct of Dicaeogenes to his
relatives. Action for perjury. Mortgage. Purchase
with a bad title. Action for ejection 166

2. §§ 39—47. Conclusion. The tests of 'public
spirit.' Dicaeogenes contrasted with his ancestors.
His descent from Harmodius and Aristogeiton must
not avail him 174

II. ON THE ESTATE OF HAGNIAS, §§ 1—19 (359 B.C.).

Attic law of succession. A thrice-contested in-
heritance 177

III. ON THE ESTATE OF CIROX, §§ 1—42 (About
375 B.C.).

Attic usages regarding betrothal, marriage, and
dowry. Torture as a test of truth. A family festival
in the country. Worship of household gods. A
bride introduced to her husband's clan: a compli-
ment paid to her by the women of her deme. Law
dealing with breaches of natural piety. Funeral
customs 185

NOTES 201

INDEX I., GREEK 407

INDEX II., MATTERS 425

ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝ.

I. ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Β. Β.

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΦΟΝΟΥ ΑΚΟΥΣΙΟΥ.

Νῦν δὴ φανερόν μοι ὅτι αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραὶ καὶ
χρεῖαι τοὺς τε ἀπράγμονας εἰς ἀγῶνας <καταστῆ-
ναι> τοὺς τε ἡσυχίους τολμᾶν τά τε ἄλλα <καὶ>
παρὰ φύσιν λέγειν καὶ δρᾶν βιάζονται. ἐγὼ γὰρ

ΑΝΤΙΡΗΘΝ.

A = the codex Crippsianus, or Burneianus 95, now in the British Museum, said to be of the 13th century: *N* = Oxoniensis, saec. 13 or 14. These, the two best, are closely connected. Sauppe, who with Spengel and others gives the palm to *A*, thinks that *N* was copied from *A* before the latter had been corrected, and that the points in which *N* is superior are due to the conjectures of its learned scribe. The Teubner editor argues against this view, and sums up the relative merits of the two mss. by saying that, if we had *N* and the others except *A*, we should lack the true reading in some twelve places; if *A* and the others except *N*, in some ninety. But neither *A* nor *N* wholly supersedes other mss. *B* = Laurentianus, saec. 15: *L* = Marcianus, saec. 14: *Z* = Vratislaviensis, saec. 14: *M* = Burneianus, saec. 15.

Turr. (Turicensis) = Baiter and Sauppe's edition: Bl. = the Teubner text edited by F. Blass: Bk. = Immanuel Bekker's Berlin edition.

I. § 1. <καταστῆναι>] supplied by Reiske, and printed in brackets by Turr. Bl. The mss. have *τολμᾶν τά τε ἄλλα παρὰ φύσιν λέγειν καὶ δρᾶν*: and so Bk. Bl. With this reading,

- ἡκιστα τοιοῦτος ὢν καὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι, εἰ μὴ πολὺ γε ἔψευσμαι, ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς συμφορᾶς ἠναγκάσθην παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον τρόπον ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ὢν ἐγὼ χαλεπῶς μὲν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἔγνων, ἔτι δὲ ἀπορωτέρως διάκειμαι ὅπως χρῆ ὑμῖν ἐρμηνεύσαι ταῦτα. ὑπὸ δὲ σκληρᾶς ἀνάγκης βιαζόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον ἔλεον, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καταπεφευγῶς δέομαι ὑμῶν, ἐὰν ἀκριβέστερον ἢ ὡς σύνηθες ὑμῖν δόξω εἰπεῖν, μὴ διὰ τὰς προειρημένας τύχας <ἦττόν τι> ἀποδεξαμένους μου τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν δόξῃ καὶ μὴ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ δόξα τῶν πραχθέντων πρὸς τῶν λέγειν δυναμένων ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ ἀλήθεια πρὸς τῶν δίκαια καὶ ὅσια πραττόντων.
- 3 Ἐδόκου μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ταῦτα παιδεύων τὸν υἱὸν ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελεῖται ἀμφοῖν τι ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβήσεσθαι· συμβέβηκε δέ μοι πολὺ παρὰ γνώμην τούτων. τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον οὐχ ὕβρει οὐδὲ ἀκολασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν

we have our choice between two versions: (1) 'force peaceable men to be audacious (τολμᾶν), and (τε) in other respects to speak and act,' etc. Here the absolute use of τολμᾶν is objectionable, and the τε is most awkward, τε having occurred twice before in the sentence. (2) 'make peaceable men dare both (τε) in other matters to speak, etc., and (καὶ) to act,' — λέγειν and δρᾶν both depending on τολμᾶν. This is intolerable. I feel sure, then, that Tur. are right in supplying, with Sauppe, καὶ before παραφύσιν: 'force peaceable men both (τε) to venture on other steps, and (καὶ) to speak and act,' etc. For τολμᾶν τὰ τε ἄλλα instead of τὰ τε ἄλλα τολμᾶν, see comment. [ὅπως χρῆ] ὅπως Bl., on his own conjecture: vulg. ὡς χρῆ. § 2. διὰ τὰς προειρημένας τύχας] Bl. reads, on his own conject., ἴσα ταῖς προειρημέναις τύχαις. It is more probable that ἦττόν τι (or an equivalent) should be supplied before ἀποδεξαμένους: unless, indeed, the latter has supplanted a word of opposite meaning,

ἡλίκων ἀκοντίζειν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἔβαλε μέν, οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε δὲ οὐδένα κατὰ γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἄλλου δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτόντος εἰς ἀκουσίους αἰτίας ἦλθεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀκόντιον ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς αὐτοῦ πορείας ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐξενεχθὲν ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς <ἂν> ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φονεῦσιν εἶναι· τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ 4 ἀκοντίου φορὰν ὑποδραμόντος καὶ τὸ σῶμα προστήσαντος, <ὁ μὲν ἐκωλύθη> τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ ἀκόντιον ὑπελθὼν ἐβλήθη, καὶ τὴν αἴτλαν οὐχ ἡμετέραν οὔσαν προσέβαλεν ἡμῖν. διὰ 5 δὲ τὴν ὑποδρομὴν βληθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸ μὲν μειράκιον οὐδ' ἀδικαίως ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδένα γὰρ ἔβαλε τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀφεστώτων· ὁ δὲ παῖς εἴπερ ἐστὼς φανερὸς ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μὴ βληθείς, ἐκουσίως ὑπὸ τὴν φορὰν τοῦ ἀκοντίου ὑπελθὼν ἔτι σαφεστέρως δηλοῦται διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτίαν ἀποθανῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐβλήθη ἀτρεμίζων καὶ μὴ διατρέχων.

Ἄκουσίῳ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὑμῖν ὁμο- 6 λογουμένου γενέσθαι, ἐκ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἔτι γε σαφέστερον ἂν ὁ φονεὺς ἐλεγχθείη. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀμαρτάνοντες ὧν ἂν ἐπι-

such as ἀποδοκιμάσαντας. See comment. § 3. [eis akousious aitias] eis anosious aitias, Bl. on his own conject. | εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀκόντιον... μὴ φονεῦσιν εἶναι. Bl. shifts this whole passage, placing it after προσέβαλεν ἡμῖν at the end of § 4, and altering τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς into τοῦ γὰρ παιδὸς. To me no change seems required. || οὐδεὶς <ἂν> ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο] ἂν is conjecturally added by Bl., rightly, I think; but remark that the impf. without ἂν could be defended as = 'was (by a logical inference) left,' in the supposed case (εἰ ἔτρωσεν). See on ἐγίγνετο in Isaeos or. v. § 13. § 4. <ὁ μὲν ἐκωλύθη>] supplied by Reiske, and printed

νοήσωσί τι δράσαι, οὗτοι πράκτορες τῶν ἀκου-
 σίων εἰσίν· οἳ τε ἐκούσιόν τι δρῶντες ἢ πάσχοντες,
 7 οὗτοι τῶν παθημάτων αἴτιοι γίνονται. τὸ μὲν
 τοίνυν μεираκίον περὶ οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἤμαρτεν. οὔτε
 γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἀλλὰ προστεταγμένον ἐξεμελέτα,
 οὔτε ἐν γυμναζομένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀκοντιζόν-
 των τάξει ἠκόντιζεν, οὔτε τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀμαρτῶν,
 εἰς τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας ἀκοντίσας, τοῦ παιδὸς ἔτυχεν,
 ἀλλὰ πάντα ὀρθῶς ὡς ἐπενόει δρῶν ἔδρασε μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἀκούσιον, ἔπαθε δὲ διακωλυθεὶς τοῦ σκοποῦ
 8 τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ παῖς βουλόμενος προδραμεῖν, τοῦ
 καιροῦ διαμαρτῶν ἐν ᾧ διατρέχων οὐκ ἂν ἐπλήγη,
 περιέπεσεν οἷς οὐκ ἠθελει, ἀκουσίως δὲ ἀμαρτῶν
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς κέχρηται, τῆς δ'
 ἀμαρτίας τετιμωρημένος ἑαυτὸν ἔχει τὴν δίκην, οὐ
 συνηδομένων μὲν οὐδὲ συνεθελόντων ἡμῶν. συναλ-
 γούτων δὲ καὶ συλλυπούμενων. τῆς δὲ ἀμαρτίας
 εἰς τοῦτου ἠκούσης τό <τε> ἔργον οὐχ ἡμέτερον
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἔξαμαρτόντος ἐστί, τό τε πάθος εἰς τὸν
 δράσαντα ἔλθὸν ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπολύει τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν
 δὲ δράσαντα δικαίως ἅμα τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ τετιμώ-
 ρηται.

9 Ἀπολύει δὲ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἡμᾶς, ᾧ πιστεύων.
 εἴργοντι μήτε ἀδίκως μήτε δικαίως ἀποκτείνειν,
 ὡς φονέα με διώκει. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 τεθνεώτος ἀμαρτίας ὅδε ἀπολύεται μηδὲ ἀκουσίως
 ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ διώκοντος οὐδ' ἐπι-

in brackets by Turr. and Bl. § 6. οἳ τε ἐκούσιον] τε Spengel, Bl.: οἳ δὲ ἐκούσιον vulg. § 7. οὐδὲν ἤμαρτεν] Bl., with N: ἤμαρτεν οὐδὲν vulg. § 8. τοῦ καιροῦ] Spengel, Bl.—τοῦ χρόνου mss. and Bk.—τοῦ χρόνου Reiske and Turr. ¶ τό <τε> ἔργον]

καλούμενος ὡς ἐκὼν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀμφοῖν ἀπολύεται
 τοῖν ἐγκλημάτοιν, μήτ' ἄκων μήτε ἐκὼν ἀποκτεῖναι.
 ἀπολυόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν πραχ- 10
 θέντων ὑπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου καθ' ὃν διώκεται, οὐδὲ
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἴνεκα δίκαιοι τοιούτων κακῶν
 ἀξιοῦσθαί ἐσμεν. οὗτός τε γὰρ ἀνόσια πείσεται
 τὰς οὐ πρόσηκούσας φέρων ἀμαρτίας, ἐγὼ τε
 μᾶλλον μὲν οὐδέν, ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ ἀναμάρτητος
 ὢν εἰς πολλαπλασίους τούτου συμφορὰς ἤξω· ἐπί
 τε γὰρ τῇ τούτου διαφθορᾷ ἀβίωτον τὸ λειπόμενον
 τοῦ βίου διάξω, ἐπὶ τε τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπαιδία ζῶν
 ἔτι κατορυχθήσομαι.

Ἐλεοῦντες οὖν τοῦδε μὲν τοῦ νηπίου τὴν 11
 ἀναμάρτητον συμφορὰν, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦ γηραιοῦ καὶ
 ἀθλίου τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον κακοπάθειαν, μὴ κατα-
 ψηφισάμενοι δυσμόρους ἡμῖς καταστήσητε, ἀλλ'
 ἀπολύοντες εὐσεβεῖτε. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀποθανῶν συμ-
 φοραῖς περιπεσῶν οὐκ ἀτιμώρητός ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς τε
 οὐ δίκαιοι τὰς τούτων ἀμαρτίας συμφέρειν ἐσμέν.
 τὴν τε οὖν εὐσέβειαν τούτων τῶν πραχθέντων καὶ 12
 τὸ δίκαιον αἰδούμενοι ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἀπολύετε
 ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ ἀθλιωτάτῳ δύο πατέρα καὶ παῖδα
 ἀώροις συμφοραῖς περιβάλητε.

Bl., Spengel having conjectured τὸ τ' ἔργον: vulg. τὸ ἔργον.
 § 9. μήτε ἐκὼν] Bl. with N.—μήθ' ἐκὼν vulg.

II. ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Γ. Δ.

ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΦΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΜΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ.

Νενόμισται μὲν ὀρθῶς τὰς φονικὰς δίκας περὶ πλείστου τοὺς κρίνοντας ποιεῖσθαι διώκειν τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖν κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, μήτε τοὺς ἐνόχους ἀφιέντας μήτε τοὺς καθαροὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα καθι-
 2 στάντας. ὅ τε γὰρ θεὸς βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον φῦλον τοὺς πρώτους γειομένους ἔφυσεν ἡμῶν, τροφέας τε παρέδωκε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἵνα μὴ σπᾶνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων προ-
 αποθνήσκειμεν τῆς γηραιοῦ τελευτῆς. ὅστις οὖν τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ * ἀξιοθέντος τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν ἀνόμως τινὰ ἀποκτείνει, ἀσεβεῖ μὲν περὶ τοὺς
 3 θεοὺς, συγχεῖ δὲ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀποθανῶν, στερόμενος ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, εἰκότως θεοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπει τὴν τῶν ἀλιτη-
 ρίων δυσμέρειαν, ἣν οἱ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κρίνοντας ἢ

II. § 2. πρώτους] Bl. with N.—πρωτον vulg. Bk. and Turr., with most mss., give—ὅστις οὖν τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιοθεῖς τοῦ βίου ἀνόμως τινὰ ἀποκτείνει (Reiske conject. ἀποστερεῖ). Bl., adopting Sauppe's ἀξιοθέντων, gives—ὅστις οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιοθέντων τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν ἀνόμως τινὰ ἀποκτείνει ('whoever, then, unlawfully slays any one of us who have been deemed worthy of life by the god'). I had conjectured another remedy—which, indeed, was not far to seek—without knowing that it is actually found in N.—namely, for ἀξιοθεῖς to read ἀξιοθέντος. 'Whoever, then,—our life having been deemed worthy of these things by the god, unlawfully slays another.' Even without the testimony of N this reading would have very strong probability: with that testimony added, it seems reasonably certain.

μαρτυροῦντες, συνασεβοῦντες τῷ ταῦτα δρῶντι, οὐ
 προσήκον μίσημα εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους εἰσάγονται·
 ἡμεῖς τε οἱ τιμωροὶ τῶν διεφθαρμένων, εἰ δι' ἄλλην 4
 τινὰ ἔχθραν τοὺς ἀναιτίους διώκοιμεν, τῷ μὲν
 ἀποθανόντι οὐ τιμωροῦντες δεινούς ἀλιτηρίους
 ἔξομεν τοὺς τῶν ἀποθανόντων προστροπαίους,
 τοὺς δὲ καθαρὸς ἀδίκως ἀποκτείνοντες ἔνοχοι τοῦ
 φόνου τοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις ἐσμέν, ὑμᾶς τε ἄνομα δρᾶν
 πείθοντες καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἁμαρτήματος ὑπαίτιοι
 γιγνόμεθα.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν δεδιὼς ταῦτα εἰς ὑμᾶς παρά- 5
 γων τὸν ἀσεβήσαντα καθαρὸς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
 εἰμί· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀξίως τῶν προειρημένων τῇ
 κρίσει προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀξίαν δίκην τοῦ
 πάθους τῷ εἰργασμένῳ ἐπιθέντες, ἅπασαν τὴν
 πόλιν καθαρὰν τοῦ μίσηματος καταστήσετε. εἰ 6
 μὲν γὰρ ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀξίος ἂν ἦν
 συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τινός· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἀκολασία
 παροινῶν εἰς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, τύπτων τε καὶ
 πνίγων ἕως τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεστέρησεν αὐτόν, ὡς μὲν
 ἀποκτείνας τοῦ φόνου τοῖς ἐπιτιμίαις ἔνοχός ἐστιν,
 ὡς δὲ συγγέων ἅπαντα τῶν γεραιότερων τὰ νόμιμα
 οὐδενὸς ἁμαρτεῖν οἷς οἱ τοιοῦτοι κολάζονται δίκαιός
 ἐστιν. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νόμος ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν τιμωρεῖσθαι 7
 παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν· τῶν δὲ μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε,
 οἳ παρήσαν παροινοῦντι αὐτῷ. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ τῇ
 τε ἀνομίᾳ τοῦ παθήματος ἀμύνοντας, τὴν τε ὕβριν
 κολάζοντας ἀξίως τοῦ πάθους, τὴν βουλεύσασαν
 ψυχὴν ἀνταφελέσθαι αὐτόν.

§ 6. τῶν γεραιότερων] τὸν γεραιότερον N. See comment.

III. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΦΟΝΟΥ.

[Or. v.—Date, about 417 B.C.]

1. §§ 1—30.

Ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἴσου μοι καθεστάναι τῇ τε συμφορᾷ καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς γεγενημένοις· νῦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεπείραμαι πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς εἰμι μᾶλλον 2 τοῦ συμφέροντος. οὐ μὲν γάρ με ἔδει κακοπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι μετὰ τῆς αἰτίας τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης, ἐνταυθοῖ οὐδέν με ὠφέλησεν ἢ ἐμπειρία· οὐ δέ με δεῖ σωθῆναι μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰπόντα τὰ γεγόμενα, ἐν τούτῳ με βλάπτει ἢ τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυναμία. 3 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τῶν οὐ δυναμένων λέγειν ἄπιστοι γεγόμενοι τοῖς ἀληθέσιν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἀπώλοντο, οὐ δυνάμενοι δηλώσαι αὐτά· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν λέγειν δυναμένων, πιστοὶ γεγόμενοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι, τούτῳ ἐσώθησαν, διότι ἐψεύσαντο. ἀνάγκη οὖν, ὅταν τις ἄπειρος ἢ τοῦ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγοις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων.

4 Ἐγὼ οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, αἰτήσομαι ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἅπερ οἱ

III. § 3. διότι ἐψεύσαντο: condemned by Dobree, and now bracketed by Bl. Dobree further proposed to read αὐτῷ τούτῳ instead of αὐτοῖς τούτοις, and also suspected the words οὐ δυνάμενοι δηλώσαι αὐτά, without good reason. Indeed I incline to believe that διότι ἐψεύσαντο too is genuine. It should be remembered that an immature rhetorical prose is sometimes forced to employ these awkward explanatory clauses. That is the price which it pays for using ornament over which it has not complete mastery. A phrase may be sound in Antiphon which could safely be pronounced a gloss in Demosthenes.

πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀκροᾶσθαι σφῶν αὐτῶν αἰτοῦνται, σφίσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπιστοῦντες, ὑμῶν δὲ προκατεγνωκότες ἄδικόν τι· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐν ἀνδράσι γε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οὔπερ καὶ οἱ διώκοντες ἔτυχον ἄνευ αἰτήσεως· τάδε δὲ δέομαι ὑμῶν, τοῦτο ἢ μὲν ἕάν τι τῇ γλώσση ἀμάρτω, συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι, καὶ ἠγεῖσθαι ἀπειρία αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδικία ἡμαρτηῆσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ ἕάν τι ὀρθῶς εἶπω, ἀληθεία μᾶλλον ἢ δεινότητι εἰρηῆσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἔργῳ ἀμαρτόντα διὰ ῥήματα σωθῆναι, οὔτ' ἔργῳ ὀρθῶς πράξαντα διὰ ῥήματα ἀπολέσθαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥῆμα τῆς γλώσσης ἀμάρτημά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῆς γνώμης. ἀνάγκη δὲ κινδυνεύοντα περὶ ὧ ἀυτοῦ καὶ πού τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν λεγομένων ἀνάγκη ἐνθυμείσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἔτ' ὄντα ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἀνάκειται ἢ τῇ προνοίᾳ. ταῦτ' οὖν ἔκπληξιν πολλὴν παρέχειν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τῷ κινδυνεύοντι. ὀρῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἢ ἐμπεύρους τοῦ ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλῶ χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν λέγοντας, ὅταν ἐν τινι κινδύνῳ ᾧσιν· ὅταν δ' ἄνευ κινδύνων τι διαπράσσωνται, μᾶλλον ὀρθομένους. ἢ μὲν οὖν αἴτησις, ᾧ ἄνδρες, καὶ νομίμως καὶ ὁσίως ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ δικαίῳ οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ· περὶ δὲ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογήσομαι καθ' ἕκαστον.

§ 5. τοῦτο μὲν ἕάν τι τῇ γλώσση ἀμάρτω, συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι] The mss. and Bk., συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι, τοῦτο μὲν ἕάν τι τῇ γλώσση ἀμάρτω. Baiter made the transposition, which is adopted by Turr. and Bl. || εἰρηῆσθαι] Bl., with G. A. Hirschig, <εῦ>

- 8 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς παρανομώτατα καὶ βιαιότατα εἰς τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα καθέστηκα, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς διδάξω, οὐ τῷ φεύγειν ἂν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐπεὶ καὶν ἀνωμότοις ὑμῖν καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμον μηδένα ἐπιτρέψαιμι περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ διαψηφίσασθαι, ἔνεκά γε τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐμοί τε μηδὲν ἐξημαρτῆσθαι εἰς τόδε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὑμᾶς γνώσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἧ τεκμήρια ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ ἢ τούτων
- 9 βιαιότης καὶ παρανομία. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κακοῦργος ἐνδεδειγμένος φόβου δίκην φεύγω, ὃ οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἔπαθε τῶν ἐν τῇ γῆ ταύτῃ. καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐ κακοῦργός εἰμι οὐδ' ἔνοχος τῷ τῶν κακοῦργων νόμῳ, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι τούτου γε μάρτυρες γεγένηνται. περὶ γὰρ τῶν κλεπτῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν ὁ νόμος κεῖται, ὧν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ προσὸν ἀπέδειξαν. οὔτως εἰς γε ταύτην τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν νομιμωτάτην καὶ δικαιοσύνην πεποιήκασιν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀποψήφισίν
- 10 μου. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τε ἀποκτείνειν μέγα κακοῦργημα εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὁμολογῶ μέγιστόν γε, καὶ τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν καὶ τὸ προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ χωρὶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου οἱ νόμοι κεῖνται. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶργεσθαι προ-

αἰρῆσθαι. § 8. πραγμάτων τῶν εἰς ἐμὴ] πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς ἐμὴ mss. and Bk. — Turr. and Bl., with Sauppe, omit καὶ. § 10. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τε ἀποκτείνειν μέγα κακοῦργημα εἶναι...καὶ τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν] mss. Bk. Turr. For τὸ τε Sauppe conj. τὸ γε. The Aldine has φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸ τε τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, κ.τ.λ., and so (with γε for τε) Bl. reads, inserting (ὡς περὶ) before καὶ τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν. ἀνταποθεῖν τοῦ νόμου κειμένου τὸν ἀποκτείναντα] A (1st hand), N, Bl.— τοῦ νόμου κειμένου τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἀνταποθανεῖν vulg. Bk. Turr., and so the corrector of A, only with ἀνταποθ. before τὸν ἀποκτ.

αγορεύουσι τοῖς τοῦ φόνου φεύγουσι τὰς δίκας, ἐνταυθοῖ πεποιήκασι τὴν κρίσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· ἔπειτα τίμησίν μοι ἐποίησαν, ἀνταποθανεῖν τοῦ νόμου κειμένου τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, οὐ τοῦ ἐμοὶ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λυσιτελοῦντος, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔλασσον ἔνειμαν τῷ τεθνηκότι τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κειμένων· οὐ δ' ἕνεκα, γνώσεσθε προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου.

Ἐπειτα δέ, ὃ πάντα οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασ- 11
 θαι, ἅπαντα τὰ δικαστήρια ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ δικάζει τὰς δίκας τοῦ φόνου, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἕνεκα ἢ ἵνα τοῦτο μὲν οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ ἴωσιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς μὴ καθαροῖς τὰς χεῖρας, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ διώκων τὴν δίκην τοῦ φόνου ἵνα μὴ ὄμωρόφιος γίγνηται τῷ αὐθέντῃ. σὺ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρελθὼν τοῦτου τὸν νόμον τοῦναντίον τοῖς ἄλλοις πεποιήκας· τοῦτο δὲ δέον σε διομόσασθαι ὄρκον τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, ἐξώλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει καὶ οἰκία τῇ σῆ ἑπαρώμενον, ἢ μὴν μὴ ἄλλα κατηγορήσειν ἐμοῦ ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν φόνον, ὡς ἔκτεινα, ἐν ᾧ οὐτ' ἂν κακὰ πολλὰ εἰργασμένος ἠλίσκόμην ἄλλῳ ἢ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι, οὐτ' αὖ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένος τούτοις ἂν ἐσωζόμην τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἢ σὺ παρελθὼν, αὐτὸς σεαυτῷ 12 νόμους ἐξευρών, ἀνώμοτος μὲν αὐτὸς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀνώμοτοι δὲ οἱ μάρτυρες καταμαρτυροῦσι, δέον αὐτοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον σοὶ διομοσαμένους καὶ ἀπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων καταμαρτυρεῖν ἐμοῦ.

ἔπειτα κελεύεις τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀνωμότοις πιστεύσαντας τοῖς μαρτυροῦσι φόνου δίκην καταγνῶναι, οὓς σὺ αὐτὸς ἀπίστους κατέστησας παρελθὼν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους, καὶ *ἡγεῖ χρῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν σὴν παρανομίαν κρείσσω γενέσθαι αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων.

- 13 Λέγεις δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἂν παρέμεινα εἰ ἐλελύμην, ἀλλ' ὠχόμην ἂν ἀπιῶν, ὡσπερὶ ἄκουτά με ἀναγκάσας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην. καίτοι ἐμοὶ εἰ μηδὲν διέφερε στέρεσθαι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, <τοῦτο μὲν> ἴσον ἦν μοι καὶ προσκληθέντι μὴ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐρήμην ὀφλεῖν τὴν δίκην, τοῦτο δ' ἀπολογησαμένῳ τὴν προτέραν *ἐξῆν ἐξελθεῖν· ἅπασι γὰρ τοῦτο κοινόν ἐστι. σὺ δέ, ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ἕλλησι κοινόν ἐστίν, ἰδίᾳ ζητεῖς ἐμὲ μόνον ἀποστερεῖν, αὐτὸς σαυτῷ νόμον θέμενος.
- 14 καίτοι τοὺς γε νόμους οἳ κεῖνται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντας ἂν οἶμαι ὁμολογήσαι κάλλιστα νόμων ἀπάντων κείσθαι καὶ ὀσιώτατα. ὑπάρχει μὲν γε αὐτοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις εἶναι ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἔπειτα τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὕπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι σημεῖον νόμων καλῶς κειμένων· ὁ γὰρ χρόνος καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα ἐκδιδάσκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ὥστε οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ

§ 12. *ἡγεῖ χρῆναι] Bl., ascribing ἡγεῖ to Dryander and P. R. Müller. — εἰ γε mss. Bk. Turr.—Sauppe conj. οἷε γε. § 13. ὀφλεῖν τὴν δίκην] Bl. reads, from A, ὀφλεῖν εἶναι τὴν δίκην: but see comment. *ἐξῆν] ἐξεῖναι mss. Dobree thought that ἐξεῖναι had arisen from ἐξεῖναι, a gloss on ἐξελεῖν. Omitting it, he proposed to read (instead of τοῦτο δ' ἀπολογησαμένῳ) καὶ ἐλθόντι οὕτω δ' ἀπολογησαμένῳ. But I believe that the true remedy is simpler: ἐξεῖναι should be ἐξῆν. I also think that τοῦτο μὲν, the correlative of τοῦτο δέ, has dropped out before ἴσον ἦν.

κατηγορου λόγων τοὺς νόμους καταμανθάνειν, εἰ
καλῶς ὑμῖν κεῖνται ἢ μή, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοὺς
τοῦ κατηγορου λόγους, εἰ ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως ὑμᾶς
διδάσκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ οὐ. οὕτως οἷ γε νόμοι 15
κάλλιστα κεῖνται οἱ περὶ φόνου, οὓς οὐδεὶς πώποτε
ἐτόλμησε κινήσαι· σὺ δὲ μόνος δὴ τετόλμηκας
γενέσθαι νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότατα, καὶ ταῦτα
παρελθὼν ζητεῖς με ἀδίκως ἀπολέσαι. ἂ δὲ σὺ
παρανομεῖς, αὐτὰ ταῦτά μοι μέγιστα μαρτύριά
ἐστίν· εὖ γὰρ ἤδεις ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦν σοι ὃς ἐκείνον
τὸν ὄρκον διομοσάμενος ἐμοῦ κατεμαρτύρησεν.
ἔπειτα δὲ οὐχ ὡς πιστεύων τῷ πράγματι ἀναμ- 16
φισβητήτως ἔνα τὸν ἀγῶνα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
ἐποιήσω, ἀλλὰ ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ λόγου ὑπελίπου
ὡς καὶ τοῖς τότε δικασταῖς ἀπιστήσων. ὥστε
μηδέν μοι ἐνθάδε μηδὲ πλέον εἶναι μηδ' ἀποφυ-
γόντι, ἀλλ' ἐξείναι σοι λέγειν ὅτι κακοῦργος
ἀπέφυγον, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ φόνου τὴν δίκην· ἐλὼν δ'
αὖ ἀξιώσεις με ἀποκτείνειν ὡς τοῦ φόνου τὴν δίκην
ὠφληκότα. καίτοι πῶς ἂν εἴη τούτων δεινότερα
μηχανήματα, εἰ ὑμῖν μὲν ἅπαξ τουτουσὶ πείσασι
κατείργασται ἂ βούλεσθε, ἐμοὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἀποφυ-
γόντι ὁ αὐτὸς κίνδυνος ὑπολείπεται; ἔτι δὲ μάλ' 17
ἐδέθην, ὦ ἄνδρες, παρανομώτατα ἀπάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων. ἐθέλοντος γὰρ μου ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς καθισ-
τάται κατὰ τὸν νόμον οὕτως οὗτοι διεπράξαντο
ὥστε τοῦτο μὴ ἐγγενέσθαι μοι ποιῆσαι. τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων ξένων ὅστις πώποτε ἠθέλησε καταστήσασθαι
ἐγγυητὰς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐδέθη. καίτοι οἱ ἐπι-
μεληταὶ τῶν κακοῦργων τῷ αὐτῷ χρῶνται νόμῳ

τούτῳ. ὥστε καὶ οὗτος κοινὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν
ὄν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἐπέλιπε μὴ ὠφελείσθαι τοῦδε τοῦ
18 νόμου. τούτοις γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο συμφέρον, πρῶτον μὲν
<ὡς> ἀπαρασκευότατον γενέσθαι με, μὴ δυνάμενον,
διαπρίσσεσθαι αὐτὸν τὰμαντοῦ πράγματα· ἔπειτα
κακοπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι, τοὺς τε φίλους προθυ-
μοτέρους ἔχειν τοὺς ἔμαντοῦ τούτοις τὰ ψευδῆ
μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐμοὶ τᾶληθῆ λέγειν διὰ τὴν τοῦ
σώματος κακοπάθειαν. ὄνειδός τε αὐτῷ τε ἐμοὶ
περιέθεσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς προσήκουσιν εἰς τὸν
βίον ἅπαντα.

19 Οὕτωςι μὲν δὴ πολλοῖς ἐλασσωθεὶς τῶν νόμων
τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τοῦ δικαίου καθέστηκα εἰς τὸν
ἀγῶνα· ὅμως μέντοι γε καὶ ἐκ τούτων πειράσομαι
ἔμαντὸν ἀναίτιον ἐπιδειῖξαι. καίτοι χαλεπὸν γε
τὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ κατεψευσμένα καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένα,
ταῦτα παραχρῆμα ἀπελέγχειν· ἃ γὰρ τις μὴ
προσεδόκησεν, οὐδὲ φυλάξασθαι ἐγχωρεῖ.

20 Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν μὲν πλοῦν ἐποιησάμην ἐκ τῆς
Μιτυλήνης. ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πλέων ᾧ
Ἑρώδης οὗτος, ὅν φασιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποθανεῖν·
ἐπλέομεν δὲ εἰς τὴν Αἴνον, ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς τὸν πατέρα
(ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὢν τότε), ὁ δ' Ἑρώδης ἀνδρά-
ποδα Θραξίν ἀνθρώποις ἀπολύσων. συνέπλει δὲ
τά τε ἀνδράποδα ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν ἀπολύσαι, καὶ οἱ
Θραῖκες οἱ λυσόμενοι. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρ-
τυρας παρέξομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

§ 17. ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ἐπέλιπε] Bl., on Reiske's conj., adds (ἐπ') before ἐμοὶ. For ἐπέλιπε Baiter proposes ἐνέλιπε. He would also omit τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου after ὠφελείσθαι. § 18. <ὡς>· ἀπαρασκευότατον Bl., with Hirschig; rightly. § 19. ἐλασσωθεῖς] Dobree's conjecture,

Ἡ μὲν πρόφασις ἑκατέρω τοῦ πλοῦ αὕτη· 21
 ἐτύχομεν δὲ χειμῶνί τιμι χρησάμενοι, ὕφ' οὗ
 ἠναγκάσθημεν κατασχεῖν εἰς τῆς Μηθυμναίας τι
 χωρίον, οὗ τὸ πλοῖον ὥρμει τοῦτο εἰς ὃ μετεκβάντα
 φασὶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν [τὸν Ἡρώδη]. καὶ πρῶτον
 μὲν αὐτὰ ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε, ὅτι *οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ προνοίᾳ
 μᾶλλον ἐγίγνετο ἢ τύχη. οὔτε γὰρ πείσας τὸν
 ἄνδρα οὐδαμοῦ ἀπελέγχομαι σύμπλουν μοι γενέσ-
 θαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτόν τὸν πλοῦν πεποιημένος
 ἔνεκα πραγμάτων ἰδίων· οὔτ' αὖ ἐγὼ ἄνευ προφά- 22
 σεως ἰκανῆς φαίνομαι τὸν πλοῦν ποιησάμενος εἰς
 τὴν Λίον, οὔτε κατασχόντες εἰς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο
 ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς οὐδεμιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη χρησά-
 μενοι· οὔτ' αὖ ἐπειδὴ ὥρμισάμεθα, ἢ μετέκβασις
 ἐγένετο εἰς τὸ ἕτερον πλοῖον οὐδενὶ μηχανήματι
 οὐδ' ἀπάτῃ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο. ἐν
 ᾧ μὲν γὰρ ἐπλέομεν, ἀστέγαστον ἦν τὸ πλοῖον,
 εἰς ὃ δὲ μετέβημεν, ἐστεγασμένον· τοῦ δὲ ἕτεροῦ
 ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἦν. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν *μάρτυρας παρέ-
 ξομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

now confirmed by N and perhaps by the 1st hand of A: Turr. Bl. The other mss., ἂν σωθεῖς, and so Bk.: see comment. § 21. [τὸν Ἡρώδη]. A gloss on αὐτόν, as Dobree saw, with whom Maetzner and Blass agree. Reiske, keeping τὸν Ἡρώδη, wished to change αὐτόν into οὔτοι. || ὅτι *οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ προνοίᾳ] ὅτι μὴ προνοία mss., Bk. Turr. Bl. This is an impossible solecism. Maetzner proposed to substitute οὐ. We must certainly do so. But we can also suggest the source of the error. ὅτι μὴ προνοία arose, surely, from ὅτι (οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ προνοίᾳ. § 22. μετέκβασις. A (corrector), N, Turr. Bl.—μεταξασις vulg. and Bk. || *μάρτυρας is Reiske's conject., supported by the constant usage of Antiphon, and now adopted by Bl. There is, however, one drawback to it—the iambic metre, which at the end of a sentence is too striking. I should prefer ὑμῖν παρέξομαι μάρτυρας.—μαρτυρίας, vulg. Bk. Turr.

23 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετεξέβημεν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον πλοῖον, ἐπίνομεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ φανερός ἐκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου καὶ οὐκ εἰσβὰς πάλιν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία, ἐπειδὴ ἀφανὴς ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐζητεῖτο οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ εἴ τῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδόκει δεινὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ εἰς τε τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἐγὼ αἴτιος ἦν πεμφθῆναι ἄγγελον, καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέμπετο·

24 καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐθέλοντος βαδίζειν, οὔτε τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου οὔτε τῶν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ συμπλεόντων, ἐγὼ τὸν ἀκόλουθον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ πέμπειν ἕτοιμος ἦν· καίτοι οὐ δήπου γε κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ μηνυτὴν ἐπεμποι εἰδώς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὔτε ἐν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ ἐφαίνετο ζητούμενος οὔτ' ἄλλοθι οὐδαμοῦ, πλοῦς τε ἡμῖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀνήγετο πλοῖα ἅπαντα, ὠχόμην καὶ γὰρ πλέων. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρασχέσομαι.

[ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

25 Τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἤδη σκοπεῖτε τὰ εἰκότα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι με εἰς τὴν Λίβιον, ὅτε ἦν ἀφανὴς ὁ ἀνὴρ, οὐδεὶς ἠτιάσατό με ἀνθρώπων, ἤδη πεπυσμένων τούτων τὴν ἀγγελίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὠχόμην πλέων. ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὸ παραχρῆμα κρεῖσσον ἦν τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ γεγενημένον τῆς τούτων αἰτιώσεως, καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ ἔτι ἐπεδήμουν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ τε ὠχόμην πλέων καὶ οὔτοι ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς συνέθεσαν ταῦτα καὶ ἐμηχανήσαντο κατ' ἐμοῦ, τότε

26 ἠτιάσαντο. λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐν μὲν τῇ γῆ ἀπέθαιεν

ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ γὰρ λίθον αὐτῷ ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν,
ὃς οὐκ ἐξέβην τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου. καὶ
τοῦτο μὲν ἀκριβῶς οὗτοι ἴσασι· ὅπως δ' ἠφανίσθη
ὁ ἀνὴρ, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ εἰκότι δύνανται ἀποφαίνειν.
δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐγγύς που τοῦ λιμένος εἰκὸς ἦν
τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν μεθύοντος τοῦ ἀνδρός,
τοῦτο δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκβάντος ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου· οὔτε
γὰρ αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἴσως ἂν ἐδύνατο, οὔτε τῷ ἀπά-
γοντι νύκτωρ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἢ πρόφασις ἂν εἰκότως
ἐγίγνετο· ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρός δύο ἡμέρας 27
καὶ ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ ἄποθεν τοῦ λιμένος, οὔτε
ὀπτῆρ οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη οὔτε αἷμα οὔτε ἄλλο σημεῖον
οὐδέεν. καί τ' ἐγὼ συγχωρῶ τῷ τούτων λόγῳ, παρε-
χόμενος μὲν τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς οὐκ ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ
πλοίου· εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς μάλιστα ἐξέβην ἐκ τοῦ
πλοίου, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ εἰκὸς ἦν ἀφανισθέντα λαθεῖν
τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἶπερ γε μὴ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπῆλθεν
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἄλλ' ὡς κατεποντώθη λέγου- 28
σιν. ἐν τίνι πλοίῳ; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
λιμένος ἦν τὸ πλοῖον. πῶς ἂν οὖν οὐκ ἐξευρέθη;
καὶ μὴν εἰκὸς γε ἦν καὶ σημεῖόν τι γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ
πλοίῳ ἀνδρὸς τεθνεώτος καὶ ἐκβαλλομένου νύκτωρ.
νῦν δὲ ἐν μὲν ᾧ ἔπινε πλοίῳ καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐξέβαινεν,
ἐν τούτῳ φασὶν εὑρεῖν σημεῖα, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοὶ μὴ
ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα· ἐν ᾧ δὲ κατε-
ποντώθη, οὐχ εὔρον οὔτ' αὐτὸ τὸ πλοῖον οὔτε

§ 26. αὐτῷ ἐνέβαλον] Bl.: ἐνέβαλον αὐτῷ A, B, Bk. Turr.

§ 28. ἀνδρὸς τεθνεώτος καὶ ἐκβαλλομένου] ἀνδρὸς τεθνεώτος
<ἐντιθεμένου> καὶ ἐκβαλλομένου Bl. on his own conj. He also
suggests that, instead of adding ἐντιθεμένου, we might omit
καὶ. But the text is surely sound as it stands: 'when a man

σημείον οὐδέν. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας
* παρασχίσομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

- 29 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν φρούδος ἦν πλέων εἰς τὴν
Αἴνον, τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Μιτυλήνην ἐν ᾧ
ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐπλέομεν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰσβάντες
εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἠρεύνων, καὶ ἐπειδὴ * τι αἷμα εὔρον,
ἐνταῦθα ἔφασαν τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
αὐτοῖς τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνεχώρει, ἀλλ' ἐφαίνετο τῶν
προβιάτων ὄν αἷμα, ὑποτραπόμενοι τούτου τοῦ
λόγου συλλαβόντες ἐβασάνισον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
- 30 καὶ ὄν μὲν τότε παραχρήμα ἐβασάνισαν, οὗτος
μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε περὶ ἐμοῦ φλαῦρον· ὄν δ' ἡμέραις
ὑστερον πολλαῖς ἐβασάνισαν, ἔχοντες παρὰ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον, οὗτος ἦν ὁ πεισθεὶς
ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ καταψευσάμενος ἐμοῦ. παρέξομαι
δὲ τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

2. §§ 81—96.

- 81 Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τεκμηρίων
καὶ μαρτυριῶν οἷά τε ἦν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἀκηκόατε·
χρῆ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημείοις γενομένοις
εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἥκιστα τεκμηραμένους ψηφί-
ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς πόλεως κοινὰ τούτοις
μάλιστα πιστεύοντες ἀσφαλῶς διαπράσσεσθε,
τούτο μὲν τὰ εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους ἦκοντα, τοῦτο

had been killed, and was being thrown overboard.' ἢ * παρα-
σχίσομαι] restored here by Bekker (whom Bl. follows) from
§ 21.—παραστέλλομαι vulg. Turr. § 29. * τι αἷμα] Bk. Turr.:
τὸ αἷμα mss. Bl.

δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔξω τῶν κινδύνων. χρὴ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ 82
 ἴδια ταῦτα μέγιστα καὶ πιστότατα ἠγεῖσθαι.
 οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι πολλοὶ ἤδη ἄνθρω-
 ποι μὴ καθαρὸν χεῖρας ἢ ἄλλο τι μίασμα ἔχοντες
 συνεισβάντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον συναπώλεσαν μετὰ
 τῆς αὐτῶν ψυχῆς τοὺς ὁσίως διακειμένους τὰ πρὸς
 τοὺς θεοὺς· τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ἐτέρους ἀπολομένους μὲν
 οὐ, κινδυνεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους διὰ
 τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους· τοῦτο δὲ ἱεροῖς παρα-
 στάντες πολλοὶ δὴ καταφανεῖς ἐγένοντο οὐχ ὅσοι
 ὄντες καὶ διακωλύοντες τὰ ἱερά μὴ γίνεσθαι τὰ
 νομιζόμενα. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὰ ἐναν- 83
 τία ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις συνέπλευσα,
 καλλίστοις ἐχρήσαντο πλοῖς· τοῦτο δὲ ὅπου ἱεροῖς
 παρέστην, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου οὐχὶ κάλλιστα τὰ ἱερά
 ἐγένετο. ἂ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ μεγάλα μοι τεκμήρια εἶναι
 τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ μου οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσι.
 <καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε> τούτων μάρτυρες. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, 84
 ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐμοῦ κατεμαρτύρουν οἱ μάρτυρες ὡς τι
 ἀνόσιον γεγένηται ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐν πλοίῳ ἢ ἐν
 ἱεροῖς, αὐτοῖς γε τούτοις ἰσχυροτάτοις ἂν ἐχρῶντο,
 καὶ πίστιν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτην σαφειστάτην ἀπέ-
 φαινον, τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· νῦν δὲ
 τῶν τε σημείων ἐναντίων τοῖς τούτων λόγοις
 γεγενημένων, τῶν τε μαρτύρων ἂ μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω
 μαρτυρούντων ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἂ δ' οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσι

2. § 81. εἰς τὰ ἔξω] εἰς is bracketed by Maetzner, Bk. Bl.
 § 83. <καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε>] These words are supplied by
 Stephanus. § 84. γεγενημένων] Weidner, Bl.—γιγνομένων

ψευδῆ, τοῖς μὲν μαρτυροῦσιν ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς κελεύουσι, τοῖς δὲ λόγοις οὓς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς χρῆναί φασι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς λόγους ἐλέγχουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα ζητοῦσιν ἀπίστα καθιστάναι.

- 85 "Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων μέμνημαι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ <πρὸς> ὑμῶν <εἶναι> ἀποψηφίσασθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐμέ τε σφύζει, καὶ ὑμῖν νόμιμα καὶ εὖορκα γίγνεται. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους ὠμόσατε δικάσειν· ἐγὼ δὲ καθ' οὓς μὲν ἀπήχθην, οὐκ ἔνοχός εἰμι τοῖς νόμοις, ὧν δ' ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀγών μοι νόμιμος ὑπολείπεται. εἰ δὲ δύο ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγῶνος γεγένησθον, οὐκ ἐγὼ αἴτιος, ἀλλ' οἱ κατήγοροι. καίτοι οὐ δὴ πού οἱ μὲν ἔχθιστοι οἱ ἐμοὶ δύο ἀγῶνας περὶ ἐμοῦ πεποιήκασιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν δικαίων ἴσοι κριταὶ προκαταγνώσεσθέ μου ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι τὸν φόνον.
- 86 μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὧ ἄνδρες· ἀλλὰ δότε τι καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, μεθ' οὗ ὀρθότατα εὐρίσκουσιν οἱ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ζητοῦντες τῶν πραγμάτων. ἡξίου μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὧ ἄνδρες, εἶναι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, κατὰ μέντοι τὸ δίκαιον ὡς πλειστάκις ἐλέγχεσθαι. τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ ἄμεινον ἂν ἐγιγνώσκετο· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀγῶνες τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ
- 87 σύμμαχοί εἰσι, τῇ δὲ διαβολῇ πολεμιώτατοι. φόνου γὰρ δίκη καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς γνωσθεῖσα ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐστίν· ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἂν ὑμεῖς μου καταψηφίσησθε, καὶ μὴ ὄντα φονέα

vulg. § 85. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ <πρὸς> ὑμῶν <εἶναι>] Kayser, whom Bl. follows, thus inserts πρὸς and εἶναι.—Dobree for οἶμαι con-

μηδ' ἔνοχον τῷ ἔργῳ χρῆσθαι τῇ δίκῃ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν τολμήσειεν οὔτε τὴν δίκην τὴν δεδικασμένην παραβαίνειν πιστεύσας αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐκ ἔνοχός ἐστιν, οὔτε ξυνειδῶς αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἔργον εἰργασμένῳ μὴ οὐ χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ· ἀνάγκη δὲ τῆς <τε> δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἦ ὁ τιμωρήσων. αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων εἵνεκα οἷ τε νόμοι καὶ 88 αἱ διωμοσῖαι καὶ τὰ τόμια καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅποσα γίγνεται τῶν δικῶν ἔνεκα τοῦ φόνου, πολὺ διαφέροντά ἐστιν ἢ [καὶ] ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, περὶ ὧν οἱ κίνδυνοι, περὶ πλείστου ἐστὶν ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκεσθαι· ὀρθῶς μὲν γὰρ γνωσθέντα τιμωρία ἐστὶ τῷ ἀδικηθέντι, φονέα δὲ τὸν μὴ αἴτιον ψηφισθῆναι ἁμαρτία καὶ ἀσέβειά ἐστιν εἰς τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους. καὶ 89 οὐκ ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς αἰτίασασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαστὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γινῶναι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τούτων αἰτίσεις οὐκ ἔχει τέλος, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ δίκῃ· ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ μὴ ὀρθῶς γινῶτε, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἂν τις ἀνευεγκῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπολύσαιτο.

jectured δέομαι. § 87. τῆς <τε> δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν] In Antiphon or. vi. § 5, where this whole passage recurs, we have τῆς τε δίκης νικᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἀληθές, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, κἂν, etc. Guided by this, Bl. inserts τε after τῆς here. He also follows Spengel in bracketing ἄλλως τε: which words, however, seem necessary to the sense, and ought rather to be restored in or. vi. § 5. After ἀληθοῦς, ἄλλως could easily drop out. See comment. § 88. ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] καὶ is omitted by Maetzner and Turr., comparing or. vi. § 6, where in the repetition of this passage we find ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις: Bl. brackets it: rightly, I

- 90 Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὀρθῶς δικάσαιτε περὶ αὐτῶν; εἰ
τούτους τε εἰσέτετε τὸν νομιζόμενον ὄρκον διομοσα-
μένους κατηγορήσαι, καὶ μὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγμα-
τος ἀπολογήσασθαι. πῶς δὲ εἰσέτετε; ἐὰν νυνὶ
ἀποψηφίσησθέ μου. διαφεύγω γὰρ οὐδ' οὔτω τὰς
ὑμετέρας γνώμας, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε οἱ κακῆ περὶ
ἐμοῦ διαψηφίζόμενοι. καὶ ἀποψηφισαμένοις μὲν
ὑμῖν ἐμοῦ νῦν ἔξεστι τότε χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἂν δὴ βού-
λησθε, *ἀπολέσασι δὲ οὐδὲ βουλευέσασθαι ἔτι περὶ
91 ἐμοῦ ἐγχωρεῖ. καὶ μὴν εἰ δέοι ἁμαρτεῖν *τι, τὸ
ἀδίκως ἀπολῦσαι ὀσιώτερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ μὴ δικαίως
ἀπολέσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἁμάρτημα μόνον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ
ἕτερον καὶ ἀσέβημα. ἐν ᾧ χρῆ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν
ἔχει, μέλλοντας ἀνήκεστον ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι. ἐν
μὲν γὰρ ἀκεστῷ πράγματι καὶ ὀργῇ χρησαμένους
καὶ διαβολῇ πειθόμενους ἔλασσον ἔστιν ἐξαμαρτεῖν·
μεταγνοὺς γὰρ ἔτι ἂν ὀρθῶς βουλευέσαιτο· ἐν δὲ
τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις πλέον βλάβος τὸ μετανοεῖν καὶ
γνώναι ἐξημαρτηκότητας. ἤδη δὲ τισιν ὑμῶν καὶ
μετεμέλησεν ἀπολωλεκόσι. καίτοι οὐπω <ἀπολε-
λυκόσιν> ὑμῖν οὐδ' ἐξαπατηθεῖσι μετεμέλησεν, εἰ
καὶ πάνυ τοι χρῆ τοὺς γε ἐξαπατῶντας ἀπολωλέναι.
92 Ἐπειτα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων
ἔχει συγγνώμην, τὰ δὲ ἐκούσια οὐκ ἔχει. τὸ μὲν

think. See comment. § 90. ἀπολέσασι] Dobree's conjecture, adopted by Turr. Bl.—ἀπολογήσασθαι vulg. Bk. § 91. ἁμαρτεῖν *τι, τὸ ἀδίκως] So Maetzner and Bl.: Stobaeus has, τι ἁμαρτεῖν τὸ ἀδίκως. The mss. have ἁμαρτεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ or ἐπὶ τῷ (the latter, N, Bk. Turr.). ¶ <ἀπολελυκόσιν> ὑμῖν οὐδ' ἐξαπατηθεῖσι] The insertion of ἀπολελυκόσιν is due to Weidner, whom Bl. follows, writing ὑμῖν οὐδ' for ὑμῖν τοῖς.—Vulg. ὑμῖν

γὰρ ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα, ὧ ἄνδρες, τῆς τύχης ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἐκούσιον τῆς γνώμης. ἐκούσιον δὲ πῶς ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις, ὧν βουλήν ποιοῖτο, ταῦτα παραχρῆμα ἐξεργάζοιτο; καὶ μὴν τὴν ἴσιν γε δύναμιν ἔχει, ὅστις τε ἂν τῇ χειρὶ ἀποκτείνῃ ἀδίκως καὶ ὅστις τῇ ψήφῳ. εὐ δ' ἴστε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτ' ἦλθον 93 εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἴ τι ξυνήδειν ἑμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον· νῦν δὲ πιστεύων τῷ δικαίῳ, οὗ πλέονος οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄξιον ἀνδρὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ συνειδῶτι ἀνόσιον εἰργασμένῳ μηδ' εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἠσεβηκότι· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἤδη καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀπειρηκὸς ἢ ψυχὴ συνεξέσωσεν, ἐθέλουσα ταλαιπωρεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ξυνειδέναι ἑαυτῇ· τῷ δὲ ξυνειδῶτι τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρῶτον πολέμιόν ἐστιν· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύοντος ἢ ψυχὴ προαπολείπει, ἠγουμενὴ τὴν τιμωρίαν οἱ ἤκειν ταύτην τῶν ἀσεβημάτων· ἐγὼ δ' ἑμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ξυνειδῶς ἤκω εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Τὸ δὲ τοὺς κατηγοροὺς διαβάλλειν οὐδέν ἐστι 94 θαυμαστόν. τούτων γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτο, ὑμῶν δὲ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τὰ μὴ δίκαια. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πειθομένοις ὑμῖν μεταμελήσαι ἔστιν, καὶ τούτου φάρμακον τὸ αὐθις κολάσαι, τοῦ δὲ τούτοις πειθομένους ἐξεργάσασθαι ἂ οὗτοι βούλονται οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασις. οὐδὲ χρόνος πολὺς ὁ διαφέρων, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα νομίμως πράξῃσθ' ἂ νῦν ὑμᾶς παρανόμως πείθουσιν οἱ κατήγοροι ψηφίσασθαι. οὗτοι τῶν ἐπειγομένων

τοῖς ἑξαπατηθείσι. § 93. τὴν τιμωρίαν...ταύτην] τὴν is bracketed by Bl. (though not by Turr.), as Sauppe and Kayser suggested: Maetzner would either omit it, or else, keeping it, change ταύτην to τὴν. But see comment.

ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ τῶν εὖ βουλευομένων.
 νῦν μὲν οὖν γνωρισταὶ γίγνεσθε τῆς δίκης, τότε δὲ
 δικασταὶ τῶν μαρτύρων· νῦν μὲν δοξασταί, τότε
 95 δὲ κριταὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν. ῥᾶστον δέ τοι ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς
 περὶ θανάτου φεύγοντος τὰ ψευδῆ καταμαρτυρῆσαι.
 εἰάν γὰρ τὸ παραχρῆμα μόνον πείσωσιν ὥστε ἀπο-
 κτεῖναι, ἅμα τῷ σώματι καὶ ἡ τιμωρία ἀπόλωλεν.
 οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ἔτι θελήσουσιν ὑπὲρ ἀπολωλότος
 τιμωρεῖν· εἰάν δὲ καὶ βουληθῶσιν, τί ἔσται πλέον
 96 τῷ γε ἀποθανόντι; νῦν μὲν οὖν ἀποψηφίσασθέ
 μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ φόνου δίκῃ οὗτοί τε τὸν νομι-
 ζόμενον ὄρκον διομοσάμενοι ἐμοῦ κατηγορήσουσι,
 καὶ ὑμεῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους
 διαγνώσεσθε, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδεὶς λόγος ἔσται ἔτι, εἰάν
 *τι πάσχω, ὡς *παρανόμως ἀπωλόμην. ταῦτά τοι
 δέομαι ὑμῶν, οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον εὐσεβὲς παρὲς οὔτε
 ἐμαυτὸν ἀποστερῶν τὸ δίκαιον· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ
 ὄρκῳ καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ σωτηρία ἔνεστι. πειθόμενοι δὲ
 τούτων ὅτῳ βούλεσθε, ἀποψηφίσασθέ μου.

§ 95. ῥᾶστον δέ τοι] Dobree's conject., Maetzner, Turr. Bl.
 The mss. have ἀραις τῶν δέ τοι, which Bk. prints. Other emen-
 dations are ἀπαισίῳν δέ (Scaliger), ἀρα ἔστ' ὧ ἀνδρες οἷόν ἐστι
 (Reiske), ἀρίσιμον (Stephanus), χρηστῶν (Valeknaer). It is
 remarkable that N omits the words altogether, so that τῶν
 ἀληθῶν. is immediately followed by ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς, κ.τ.λ. Perhaps
 the scribe of N may have taken ἐστὶν as — 'it is possible': this
 would give at least a complete sense, and may have prevented
 his noticing that he had left out any words. § 96. εἰάν *τι
 πάσχω] τι Bk.: mss. τε, vulg. before Bk. γε. . . *παρανόμως]
 Reiske's correction. The παράνομος of the mss. still appears
 in Bk.'s Berlin text of 1823.

IV. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΟΡΕΥΤΟΥ.

[Or. VI.—About 412 B.C.]

§§ 11—15.

Ἐπειδὴ χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ 11
 ἔλαχον Παντακλέα διδάσκαλον καὶ Κεκροπίδα
 φυλὴν πρὸς τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ, [τουτέστι τῇ Ἐρεχθίδι,]
 ἐχορήγουν ὡς ἄριστα ἐδυνάμην καὶ δικαιοτάτα.
 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διδασκαλεῖον ἢ ἦν ἐπιτηδειότατον
 τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασα, ἐν ᾧ περ καὶ Διονυ-
 σίοις ὅτε ἐχορήγουν ἐδίδασκον· ἔπειτα τὸν χορὸν
 συνέλεξα ὡς ἐδυνάμην ἄριστα, οὔτε ζημιώσας
 οὐδένα οὔτε ἐνέχυρα βία φέρων οὔτ' ἀπεχθανόμενος
 οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἂν ἥδιστα καὶ ἐπιτηδειότατα
 ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίνετο, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκέλευον καὶ *ἡτού-
 μην, οἱ δ' ἐκόντες καὶ βουλόμενοι ἔπεμπον. ἐπεὶ δὲ 12
 ἤκουσιν οἱ παῖδες, πρῶτον μὲν μοι ἀσχολία ἦν παρεῖ-
 ναι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἐτύγχανε γάρ μοι πράγματα
 ὄντα πρὸς Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Φιλῖνον, ἃ ἐγὼ περὶ
 πολλοῦ ἐποιούμην, ἐπειδὴ περ εἰσήγγειλα, ὀρθῶς
 καὶ δικαίως ἀποδείξαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 Ἀθηναίοις.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τούτοις προσεῖχον τὸν νοῦν,
 κατέστησα δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἴ τι δέοι τῷ χορῷ,
 Φανόστρατον, δημότην μὲν τουτωνὶ τῶν διωκόν-
 των, κηδεστὴν δ' ἑμαυτοῦ, ᾧ ἐγὼ δέδωκα τὴν
 θυγατέρα, καὶ ἡξίουσιν αὐτὸν <ὡς> ἄριστα ἐπι-

IV. § 11. [τουτέστι τῇ Ἐρεχθίδι,] Bl. follows Reiske in bracketing this as a scholium which has come in from § 13.
 || * ἡτούμην Bekker's conject. : ἡγούμην mss. || <ὡς> supplied

13 μελεῖσθαι· ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ δύο ἄνδρας, τὸν μὲν Ἐρεχθίδος Ἀμυνίαν, ὃν αὐτοὶ οἱ φυλέται ἐψηφίσαντο συλλέγειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστοτε, δοκοῦντα χρηστὸν εἶναι, τὸν δ' ἕτερον τῆς Κεκροπίδος, ὅσπερ ἐκάστοτε εἶθε ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν συλλέγειν· ἔτι δὲ τέταρτον Φίλιππον, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλίσκειν εἴ τι φράζοι ὁ διδάσκαλος ἢ ἄλλος τις τούτων, ὅπως <ὡς> ἄριστα χορηγοῖντο οἱ παῖδες καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς εἶεν διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσχολίαν.

14 Καθειστήκει μὲν ἡ χορηγία οὕτω. καὶ τούτων εἴ τι ψεύδομαι προφάσεως ἕνεκα, ἕξεστι τῷ κατηγορῶ *ἐξελέγξαντι ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω λόγῳ ὅ τι ἂν βούληται εἰπεῖν· ἐπεὶ τοι οὕτως ἔχει, ᾧ ἄνδρες· πολλοὶ τῶν περιεστώτων τούτων τὰ μὲν πράγματα ταῦτα πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστανται, καὶ τοῦ ὀρκωτοῦ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἐμοὶ προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν ἅττα ἐγὼ ἀποκρίνομαι, οἷς ἐγὼ *βουλοίμην ἂν δοκεῖν αὐτὸς τε εὐορκος εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς τάληθῆ λέγων πείσαι

15 ἀποψηφίσασθαί μου. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὔτε ἐκέλευσα πιεῖν τὸν παῖδα τὸ φάρμακον οὔτ' ἠνάγκασα οὔτ' ἔδωκα καὶ οὐδὲ παρῆν

by Bl.: cp. *De Caud. Herod.* § 18 (above, p. 14). § 13. τὸν δ' ἕτερον] Sauppe thinks that a proper name has either dropped out after τῆς Κεκροπίδος or is concealed in ἕτερον. <ὡς> supplied by Bl. § 14. Καθειστήκει μὲν] After μέν Reiske would add οὖν,—needlessly. ¶ ἕξεστι τῷ κατηγορῶ *ἐξελέγξαντι ... ὅ τι ἂν βούληται εἰπεῖν] The mss. give ἐξελέγξαι (Bk. Turr.). But, if we do not omit εἰπεῖν, as Dobree proposed, then it is a dilemma. Keeping ἐξελέγξαι we must read εἰπέων, as Sauppe suggests; or, keeping εἰπεῖν, we must read ἐξελέγξαντι, as Bl. does. I prefer the latter. ¶ *βουλοίμην ἂν] so Bl., with Dobree. The objection to ἐβουλόμην (mss.) here is that it implies a belief on the speaker's part that he was not thought

ὅτ' ἔπιεν. καὶ οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα ταῦτα σφόδρα λέγω, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ἔξω αἰτίας καταστήσω, ἕτερον δέ τινα εἰς αἰτίαν ἀγάγω· οὐ δῆτα ἔγωγε, πλήν γε τῆς τύχης, ἥπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων αἰτία ἐστὶν ἀποθανεῖν· ἦν οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς οἴος τ' ἂν εἶη *ἀποτρέψαι μὴ οὐ γενέσθαι ἦντινα δεῖ ἐκάστω.

εὔορκος. § 15. σφόδρα] Bl., on Reiske's conj., gives <οὔτω> σφόδρα. || *ἀποτρέψαι] Dobree's conject., adopted by Bl.—ἀποστρέψαι mss., Bk. Turr.

ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ.

I. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΥ.

[Or. II.—410 B.C.]

§§ 10—16.

- 10 Καίτοι ἐγὼ τότε αὐτὸς γρούς τὰς ἔμαντοῦ συμφοράς, ᾧ τινι κακῶν τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι ἀπεγένετο, τὰ μὲν παρανοία τῇ ἔμαντοῦ, τὰ δ' ἀνάγκη τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἔργων ἡδιστον εἶναι πράττειν τε τοιαῦτα καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐκεῖ, ὅπου ἡκιστα μέλλοιμι ὀφθήσεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον εἰσῆλθέ μοι, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐπιθυμία τῆς τε μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτείας ἐκείνης καὶ διαίτης, ἐξ ἧς δευρὶ μετέστην, ἔργων λυσιτελεῖν μοι ἢ τοῦ βίου ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἢ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην

ANDOCIDES.

The sources for the text of Andocides are chiefly the same as for that of Antiphon. Here, however, the codex Crippsianus *A* has no longer any rival in its claim to be the most faithful representative of the common archetype, since the Oxoniensis *N* does not contain Andocides. *A* was collated by I. Bekker, and by Dobson, who also collated afresh in Andocides the whole Burnesianus *M*, used by Bekker only in a few passages. Not much, however, has been gained from *M*, or from the codex Ambrosianus *P*, which Bekker consulted in some places; still less from Marcianus *L* or Vratislaviensis *Z*. The mss. and editions are indicated by the same letters as in the case of Antiphon.

ἀγαθόν τι τοσοῦτον ἐργάσασθαι, ὥστε ὑμῶν ἐκόντων εἶναί ποτέ μοι πολιτεύσασθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἐκ 11
 δὲ τούτου οὐ πώποτε οὔτε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τῶν ὄντων ἐμοὶ ἐφεισάμην, ὅπου ἔδει παρακινδυνεύειν· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μὲν τότε εἰσήγαγον εἰς στρατιὰν ὑμῶν οὔσαν ἐν Σάμῳ κωπέας, τῶν τετρακοσίων ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ἐνθάδε κατειληφόντων, ὄντος μοι Ἀρχελάου ξένου πατρικοῦ καὶ διδόντος *τέμνεσθαί τε καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι ὁπόσους ἐβουλόμην. τούτους τε εἰσήγαγον τοὺς κωπέας, καὶ παρόν μοι πέντε δραχμῶν τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν δέξασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησα πράξασθαι πλέον ἢ ὅσου ἐμοὶ κατέστησαν, εἰσήγαγον δὲ σίτον τε καὶ χαλκόν· καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες 12
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τούτων παρεσκευασμένοι ἐνίκησαν μετὰ ταῦτα Πελοποννησίους ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην μόνοι ἀνθρώπων ἔσωσαν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἄξια ὑμῶς εἰργάσαντο ἐκεῖνοι, μέρος ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ἐλάχιστον δικαίως ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας ἔχοιμι. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις τότε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μὴ εἰσῆχθη, οὐ περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι.

Τούτων τοίνυν οὕτως ἐχόντων οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μοι 13
 παρὰ γνώμην ἠύρεθη τὰ ἐνταῦθα πράγματα ἔχοντα. κατέπλευσα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπαινεθησόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνθάδε προθυμίας τε εἵνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας τῶν

I. § 11. *τέμνεσθαι] Dobree's conject., Turr. Bl.—γενέσθαι mss. Bk. § 12. μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἄξια] So the mss. For ἄξια Bl. conjectures αἰτία: but the subsequent phrase ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας is rather against the change than in its favour.

ὑμετέρων πραγμάτων· πυθόμενοι δὲ τινὲς με
 ἤκουτα τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐζήτουν τε παραχρήμα,
 14 καὶ λαβόντες ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν. εὐθύς δὲ
 παραστάς μοι Πείσανδρος, “ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “βου-
 λευταί, ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐνδεικνύω ὑμῖν
 σῆτόν τε εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσαγαγόντα καὶ κω-
 πείας.” καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη πᾶν διηγείτο ὡς
 ἐπέπρακτο. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε τὰ ἐναντία φρονοῦντες
 15 δῆλοι ἦσαν ἤδη οἱ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὄντες τοῖς τε-
 τρακοσίοις. καὶ γὰρ, θόρυβος γὰρ δὴ τοιοῦτος
 ἐγίγνετο τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίγνωσκον ἀπο-
 λούμενος, εὐθύς προσπηδῶ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ
 λαμβάνομαι τῶν ἱερῶν. ὅπερ μοι καὶ πλείστου
 ἄξιον ἐγίγνετο ἐν τῷ τότε· εἰς γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς
 *ἔχοντα ὀνειδίη οὗτοί με μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 εἰκόασι κατελεῆσαι, βουλευθέντων τε αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 κτεῖναί με οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διασώσαντες. δεσμά τε
 ὕστερον καὶ κακὰ ὅσα τε καὶ οἶα τῷ σώματι ἠνε-
 σχόμην, μακρὸν ἂν εἶη μοι λέγειν. οὗ δὲ καὶ
 16 μάλιστα ἑμαυτὸν ἀπωλοφυράμην· ὅστις τοῦτο μὲν
 ἐν ᾧ ἐδόκει ὁ δῆμος κακοῦσθαι, ἐγὼ ἀντὶ τούτου
 κακὰ εἶχον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐφαίμετο εὖ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ
 πεπονθώς, πάλιν αὖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ *ἀπωλλύ-
 μην· ὥστε ὁδόν τε καὶ πόρον μηδαμῆ ἔτι εἶναι μοι

§ 14. στρατιᾶς] A, Turr. Bl.—στρατείας vulg. Bk. § 15. ἐπειδὴ]
 so Reiske, Turr. Bl. —καὶ ἐπειδὴ mss. Bk. *ἔχοντα ὀνειδίη
 οὗτοί με] Sauppe's conject., Turr. Bl.—εἶχον τὰ ὀνειδίη οὗτοι,
 οἱ με mss. Bk. § 16. πάλιν αὖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ *ἀπωλλύμην]
 ἀπωλλύμην is a conjecture of Bekker, who, however, prints the
 vulg. ἀπολοίμην: and so Turr. Bl. As ὅστις is causal, the
 optat. is possible, though harsh in combination with εἶχον.
 The insertion of εἰ before πάλιν αὖ, which Bl. suggests, would

εὐθαρσεῖν· ὅποι γὰρ τραποίμην, πάντοθεν κακόν τί μοι ἐφαίνετο ἐτοιμαζόμενον. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἀπαλλαγεῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἕτερον ἔργον περὶ πλείονος ἐποιούμην ἢ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἀγαθόν τι ἐργάσασθαι.

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ.

[Or. I.—399 B.C.]

§§ 34—45.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς περικοπῆς καὶ 34 τῆς μηνύσεως, ὡσπερ καὶ ὑπεσχόμην ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ποιήσω· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμᾶς διδάξω ἅπαντα τὰ γεγενημένα. ἐπειδὴ Τεῦκρος ἦλθε Μεγαρόθεν ἄδειαν εὐρόμενος, μηνύει περὶ τε τῶν μυστηρίων ἃ ἤδει καὶ τῶν περικοψάντων τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ἀπογράφει δυοῖν δέοντας εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι ἀπεγράφησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν φεύγοντες ὄχοντο, οἱ δὲ συλληφθέντες ἀπέθανον κατὰ τὴν Τεῦκρου μῆνυσιν. καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα.

ONOMATA. Τεῦκρος ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἐμήνυσεν Εὐκτῆ- 35
 μονα, Γλαύκιππον, Εὐρύμαχοι, Πολύευκτοι, Πλάτωνα,
 Ἀντίδωρον, Χάριππον, Θεόδωρον, Ἀλκισθένη, Μειέ-
 στρατον, Ἐρυξίμαχον, Εὐφίλητον, Εὐρυδάμαντα,
 Φερεκλέα, Μέλητον, Τιμάνθη, Ἀρχίδαμον, Τελένικον.

only remove one difficulty by introducing another. And if for *δοσις* we read *εἰ*, *εἶχον* followed by *ἀπολοίμην* would still be awkward. I have little doubt that *ἀπολοίμην* was a mere error, occasioned by the neighbouring optat. *τραποίμην*. || οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἕτερον ἔργον] B, Z (in A ἕτερον is written over ἔργον), Bk. Turr.: Bl. brackets ἔργον: vulg. οὐκέτι ἕτερον.

II. § 35. Ἀλκισθένη... Τιμάνθη] so, with C. Schiller, Bl.—

Τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἤκουσι καὶ εἰσιν ἐνθάδε, τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων εἰσὶ πολλοὶ προσήκοντες· ὧν ὅστις βούλεται, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ ἀναβάς με ἐλεγξάτω ἢ ὡς ἔφυγέ τις δι' ἐμὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ ὡς ἀπέθανεν.

- 36 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, Πείσαιδρος καὶ Χαρικλῆς, ὄντες μὲν τῶν ζητητῶν, δοκοῦντες δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ εὐνούστατοι εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη τὰ ἔργα τὰ γεγενημένα οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, καὶ χρῆναι ἔτι ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ παύσασθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις οὕτως διέκειτο, ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν βουλήν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁ κῆρυξ * ἀνείποι ἰέναι καὶ τὸ σημεῖον καθέλοι, τῷ αὐτῷ σημείῳ ἢ μὲν βουλή εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦει, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς * ἔφευγον, δεδιότες εἰς ἕκασ-
- 37 τος μὴ συλληφθεῖν. ἐπαρθεῖς οὖν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κακοῖς εἰσαγγέλλει Διοκλείδης εἰς τὴν βουλήν, φάσκων εἰδέναι τοὺς περικόψαντας τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς εἰς τριακοσίους· ὡς δ' ἴδοι καὶ περιτύχοι τῷ πράγματι, ἔλεγε. καὶ τούτοις, ὧ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν ἀναμνησθεσθαι, ἐὰν ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀλλήλους· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ μοι ὑμεῖς τούτων μάρτυρές ἐστε.

- 38 Ἐφη γὰρ εἶναι μὲν ἀνδράποδόν οἱ ἐπὶ Λαυρίῳ, δεῖν δὲ κομίσασθαι ἀποφοράν. ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶ

Ἄλκισθένην... Τιμάνθην Bk. Turr. § 36. οὕτως διέκειτο] οὕτως A, Turr. Bl.—οὕτω Bk. vulg. | * ἀνείποι... καθέλοι] ἀνείπη... καθέλη mss. (except that A, B have καθέλοι). Corrected by Dobree, and by Schömann *De Comitibus* p. 151. | * ἔφευγον] Baiter's conjecture, adopted by Bl.—ἔφυγον mss. Bk. Turr.

ψευθεὶς τῆς ἄρας βαδίζειν· εἶναι δὲ πανσέληνον.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τοῦ Διονύσου ἦν,
 ὄρῶν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾠδείου καταβαί-
 νοντας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν· δείσας δὲ αὐτούς, εἰσελ-
 θὼν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν καθέζεσθαι μεταξὺ τοῦ κίονος
 καὶ τῆς στήλης ἐφ' ἣ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐστίν ὁ χαλκοῦς.
 ὄρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπους τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν μάλιστα τρια-
 κοσίους, ἐστάναι δὲ κύκλῳ ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ δέκα
 ἀνδρας, τοὺς δὲ ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν· ὄρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς
 τὴν σελήνην τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν πλείστων γιγνώσκ-
 κειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες, τοῦθ' ὑπέθετο 39
 δεινότατον πρᾶγμα, οἶμαι, ὅπως ἐν ἐκείνῳ εἴη
 ὄντινα βούλοιο Ἀθηναίων φάναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τοῦτων εἶναι, ὄντινα δὲ μὴ βούλοιο, λέγειν ὅτι
 οὐκ ἦν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτ' ἔφη ἐπὶ Λαύριον ἰέναι, καὶ
 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀκούειν ὅτι οἱ Ἑρμαῖ εἶεν περικεκομ-
 μένοι· γινῶναι οὖν εὐθύς ὅτι τούτων εἴη τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν τὸ ἔργον. ἤκων δὲ εἰς ἄστνυ ζητητὰς τε 40
 ἤδη ἠρημένους καταλαμβάνειν καὶ μῆνυτρα κεκη-
 ρυγμένα ἑκατὸν μνᾶς. ἰδὼν δὲ Εὐφήμον τὸν
 Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλεκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ
 καθήμενον, ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἰφαιστεῖον
 λέγειν ἄπερ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ εἶρηκα, ὡς ἴδοι ἡμᾶς ἐν
 ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί· οὐκ οὐκ δέοιτο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως
 χρήματα λαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅσθ' ἡμᾶς
 ἔχειν φίλους. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Εὐφήμον ὅτι καλῶς
 ποιήσειεν εἰπῶν, καὶ νῦν ἤκειν κελευσαί οἱ εἰς τὴν
 Λεωγόρου οἰκίαν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ συγγένη μετ' ἐμοῦ

§ 38. τοῦ Διονύσου] Turr. Bl.—τὸ Διονύσου Z, M, Bk. § 40.
 ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ] ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ Valckenaer conj., and so Bl.

- 41 Ἐνδοκίῳ καὶ ἑτέροις οἷς δεῖ. ἤκειν ἔφη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, καὶ δὴ κόπτειν τὴν θύραν, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν τυχεῖν ἐξιόντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· “ἀρά γε σὲ οἶδε περιμένουσι; χρὴ μέντοι μὴ ἀπωθεῖσθαι τοιούτους φίλους.” εἰπόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα οἴχεσθαι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν πατέρα μου ἀπόλλυε, συνειδὸτα ἀποφαίνων. εἰπεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς ὅτι δεδογμένον ἡμῖν εἶη δύο μὲν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου διδόναι οἱ αἰτὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν μνῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, εἰ δὲ κατὰσχωμεν ἡμεῖς ἃ βουλόμεθα, ἓνα * αὐτὸν ἡμῶν εἶναι, πίστιν δὲ τούτων
- 42 δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι. ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ αὐτὸς πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι βουλεύσοιτο· ἡμᾶς δὲ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἔκειν εἰς Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλεκλέους, ἵνα κακεῖνος παρείη. τὸν δ’ αὖ κηδεστήν μου οὕτως ἀπόλλυεν. ἤκειν ἔφη εἰς Καλλίου, καὶ καθομολογήσας ἡμῖν πίστιν δοῦναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, καὶ ἡμᾶς συνθεμένους οἱ τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς τὸν * ἐπιόντα μῆνα δώσειν διαψεύδεσθαι καὶ οὐ διδόναι· ἤκειν οὖν μηνύσων τὰ γενόμενα.
- 43 Ἡ μὲν εἰσαγγελία * αὐτῷ. ὦ ἄνδρες, τοιαύτη ἀπογράφει δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὧν ἔφη γινῶναι, δύο καὶ τετταράκοντα, πρῶτους μὲν Μαντίθεον καὶ Ἀψεφίωνα, βουλευτὰς ὄντας καὶ καθημένους ἔνδον, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ἀναστὰς

§ 41. ἓνα * αὐτὸν ἡμῶν] Reiske's conject. (Bk. Turr. Bl.) for vulg. ἓνα αὐτῶν ἡμῶν. § 42. καθομολογήσας] A, B, Bk. Turr. Bl.: vulg. καθοδηγήσας. * ἐπιόντα] Emperius's conject., and so Turr. Bl. εἰσιόντα mss. Bk. § 43. * αὐτῷ] Reiske, Turr. Bl.—αὐτῶν vulg. Bk. | Ἀψεφίωνα] so Turr. (comparing Boeckh Corp. Inser. II. 340) Bl., and so below, § 44, Ἀψεφίων.—Bk.

δὲ Πείσανδρος ἔφη χρῆναι λύειν τὸ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίου ψήφισμα καὶ ἀναβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τὸν τροχὸν τοὺς ἀπογραφέντας, ὅπως μὴ πρότερον νύξ ἔσται πρὶν πυθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἅπαντας. ἀνέκραγεν ἢ βουλή ὡς εἶ λέγει. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα 44 Μαντίθεος καὶ Ἀψεφίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο, ἰκετεύοντες μὴ στρεβλωθῆναι ἀλλ' ἐξεγγυηθέντες κριθῆναι. μόλις δὲ τούτων τυχόντες ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς κατέστησαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβάντες ὄχουτο εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτομολήσαντες, καταλιπόντες τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς, οὓς ἔδει τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν οἷσπερ οὓς ἠγγυήσαντο. ἢ δὲ βουλή ἐξελθοῦσα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ συνέλαβεν 45 ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔδησεν ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις. ἀνακαλέσαντες δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσαν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἄστει οἰκοῦντας ἰέναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντας, τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχει εἰς *τὸ Θησεῖον, τοὺς δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ εἰς τὴν Ἴπποδαμείαν ἀγορὰν, τοὺς δὲ *ἱππέας ἔτι νυκτὸς σημῆναι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἠκειν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον, τὴν δὲ βουλήν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἰέναι κἀκεῖ καθέδειν, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ἐν τῇ θόλῳ. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πεπυσμένοι τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἦσαν ἐξεστρατευμένοι. τὸν δὲ τῶν κακῶν τούτων αἴτιον Διο-

Ἰψεψίωνα, Reiske Ἀψεψίωνα. § 44. καταλιπόντες] Sauppe conjectures ἐγκαταλιπόντες. § 45. εἰς *τὸ Θησεῖον] So Reiske Bk. Turr. Bl. The mss. have εἰς τε οἷς γε. || Ἴπποδαμείαν] Turr. (referring to Lobeck on Soph. Ajax 108) Bl.— Ἴπποδαμείαν mss. Bk. || *ἱππέας] ἱππεῖς mss. and edd. But this form of acc. pl. is not found in Attic inscriptions before circ. 318 B.C. (Meisterhans, p. 57). || νυκτὸς] (πρὸ) νυκτὸς Bl., on his own conjecture.

κλείδην ὡς σωτήρα ὄντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἦγον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον στεφανώσαντες, καὶ ἐδείπνει ἐκεῖ.

§§ 48—69.

48 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδέμεθα πάντες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ νύξτε ἦν καὶ τὸ δεσμοτήριον συνεκέκλειστο, ἦκον δὲ τῷ μὲν μήτηρ τῷ δὲ ἀδελφὴ τῷ δὲ γυνὴ καὶ παῖδες. ἦν δὲ βοή καὶ οἶκτος κλαιόντων καὶ ὀδιρομένων τὰ παρόντα κακά, λέγει πρὸς με Χαρμίδης, ὃν μὲν ἀνεψιός, ἡλικιώτης δὲ καὶ συνεκτραφεὶς ἐν τῇ
 49 οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ παιδός, ὅτι, Ἄνδοκίδη, τῶν μὲν παρόντων κακῶν ὄρῃς τὸ μέγεθος, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐδεόμην λέγειν οὐδέ σε λυπεῖν, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκάζομαι διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν συμφορὰν. οἷς γὰρ ἐχρῶ καὶ οἷς συνῆσθα, ἄνευ ἡμῶν τῶν συγγενῶν, οὗτοι ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰτίαις δι' ἃς ἡμεῖς ἀπολλόμεθα οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τεθνήσκειν. οἱ δὲ οἴχονται φεύγοντες, σφῶν αὐτῶν
 50 καταγρόντες ἀδικεῖν.....εἰ ἤκουσάς τι τούτου τοῦ πράγματος τοῦ γενομένου, εἰπέ. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν σεαυτὸν σῶσον, εἶτα δὲ τὸν πατέρα, ὃν εἰκός ἐστὶ σε μάλιστα φιλεῖν, εἶτα δὲ τὸν κηδεστήν, ὃς ἔχει σου τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἥπερ σοι μόνη ἐστίν, ἔπειτα δὲ

§ 49. ἀδικεῖν...εἰ ἤκουσας] A, B, I. have a lacuna between ἀδικεῖν and εἰ. In A this lacuna (acc. to Sauppe) represents 12 lost letters, which he proposes to supply by inserting τούτων τοίνυν (where τούτων would be masc., 'from them'). Another suggestion is φέρε δὴ τοίνυν (Linder and Kayser).

τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀναγκαίους τοσοῦτους
 ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ ἐμέ, ὃς ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ ἠνίασα μὲν
 σε οὐδὲν πώποτε, προθυμότατος δὲ εἰς σὲ καὶ τὰ
 σὰ πράγματά εἰμι, ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ ποιεῖν." λέγοντος 51
 δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες, Χαρμίδου ταῦτα, ἀντιβολουμένων δὲ
 τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἰκετεύοντος ἐνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐνεθυ-
 μήθην πρὸς ἑμαυτόν· "ὦ πάντων ἐγὼ δεινοτάτη
 συμφορᾷ περιπεσών, πότερα περιίδω τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ
 συγγενεῖς ἀπολλυμένους ἀδίκως, καὶ αὐτοὺς τε
 ἀποθανόντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν δημευθέντα,
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναγραφέντας ἐν στήλαις ὡς ὄντας
 ἀλιτηρίους τῶν θεῶν τοὺς οὐδενὸς αἰτίους τῶν
 γεγενημένων, ἔτι δὲ τριακοσίους Ἀθηναίων μέλ-
 λοντας ἀδίκως * ἀπολεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐν κακοῖς
 οὔσαν τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ὑποψίαν εἰς ἀλλήλους
 ἔχοντας, ἢ εἶπω Ἀθηναίους ἅ περ ἤκουσα Εὐφι-
 λήτου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος;" ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις 52
 καὶ τόδε ἐνεθυμήθην, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς
 ἑμαυτόν τοὺς ἐξημαρτηκότας καὶ τὸ ἔργον εἰργασ-
 μένους, ὅτι οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἤδη ἐτεθνήκεσαν ὑπὸ
 Τεύκρου μνηυθέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὄχοντο καὶ
 αὐτῶν θάνατος κατέγνωστο, τέτταρες δὲ ἦσαν
 ὑπόλοιποι οἱ οὐκ ἐμηνύθησαν ὑπὸ Τεύκρου τῶν
 πεπονηκότων, Παναίτιος Χαιρέδημος Διάκριτος
 Λυσίστρατος· οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπάντων μάλιστα 53
 δοκεῖν εἶναι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐμήνυσε
 Διοκλείδης, φίλους ὄντας τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἤδη.
 καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδέπω βέβαιος ἦν ἡ σωτηρία, τοῖς

§ 51. *ἀπολεῖσθαι] The conject. of Stephanus and Reiske,
 approved by Baiter, and adopted by Bl.—ἀπολέσθαι mss. Bk.

δὲ ἐμοῖς οἰκείους φανερός <ὁ> ὄλεθρος, εἰ μὴ τις
 ἐρεῖ Ἀθηναίους τὰ γενόμενα. ἐδόκει οὖν μοι κρεῖτ-
 του εἶναι τέτταρας ἄνδρας ἀποστερηῆσαι τῆς πατρί-
 δος δικαίως, οἳ νυν ζῶσι καὶ κατεληλύθασιν καὶ
 ἔχουσι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐκείνους ἀποθανόντας
 54 ἀδίκως περιδεῖν. εἰ οὖν τινὲς ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες, <ἦ>
 τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γνώμη τοιαύτη παρειστῆκει
 πρότερον περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ ἐμήνυσα κατὰ
 τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, ὅπως ἐκείνοι μὲν ἀπό-
 λουντο, ἐγὼ δὲ σωθείην—ἂ ἐλογοποιῶν οἱ ἐχθροὶ
 περὶ ἐμοῦ, βουλόμενοι διαβάλλειν με—σκοπέισθε
 55 ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γεγενημένων. νῦν γὰρ ἐμὲ μὲν
 λόγον <δεῖ> δίδόναι τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων μετὰ
 τῆς ἀληθείας, αὐτῶν παρόντων οἵπερ ἡμάρτον καὶ
 ἔφυγον ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, ἴσασι δὲ ἄριστα εἶτε
 ψεύδομαι εἶτε ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς
 ἐλέγχειν με ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ λόγῳ· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐφήμι·
 56 ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ μαθεῖν τὰ γενόμενα. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὧ
 ἄνδρες, τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦτ' ἔστι μέγιστον,
 σωθέντι μὴ δοκεῖν κακῶ εἶναι, εἶτα <δὲ> καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἅπαντας μαθεῖν ὅτι οὔτε μετὰ κακίας οὔτε
 μετ' ἀνανδρίας οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν γεγενημένων πέπρακ-
 ται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ διὰ συμφορὰν γεγενημένην

Turr. § 53. <ὁ> ὄλεθρος] ὁ, wanting in the mss., is added, with Reiske, by Bk. Turr. Bl. § 54. <ἦ> τῶν ἄλλων] τῶν ἄλλων mss.: ἦ is added, with Sluiter, by Bk. Turr. Bl. § 55. λόγον <δεῖ> δίδόναι] δεῖ is added, with Reiske, by Turr. Bl.—λόγον δίδόναι vulg. Bk. § 56. μὴ δοκεῖν κακῶ εἶναι] After these words, <ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὑμᾶς> is inserted, on his own conject., by Bl.: see commentary. Reiske, with the same object, would insert *ἑμῶν* after *μὴ δοκεῖν*: Scheibe would insert *ἑμῶν* after *κακῶ*. εἶτα <δὲ> καὶ] A, as reported by Dobson, has a small lacuna between *εἶτα* and *καὶ*, which Sluiter fills up by

μάλιστα μὲν τῇ πόλει, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἶπον δὲ ἂ ἤκουσα Εὐφιλήτου προνοία μὲν τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων, προνοία δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης, μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ κακίας, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω. εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα, σῶζεσθαί τε ἀξιῶ καὶ δοκεῖν ὑμῖν εἶναι μὴ κακός.

Ἐφέρε δὴ—*χρὴ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀνθρωπίνως περὶ 57*
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν αὐτὸν ὄντα
ἐν τῇ συμφορᾷ—τί ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐποίησεν; εἰ
μὲν γὰρ ἦν δυοῖν τὸ ἕτερον ἐλέσθαι, ἢ καλῶς
ἀπολέσθαι ἢ αἰσχρῶς σωθῆναι, ἔχοι ἂν τις εἰπεῖν
*κακίαν εἶναι τὰ *γενόμενα· καίτοι πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ*
τοῦτο εἴλοντο, τὸ ζῆν περὶ πλείονος ποιησάμενοι
τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν· ὅπου δὲ τούτων τὸ ἐναντιῶ- 58
τατον ἦν, σιωπήσαντι μὲν αὐτῷ τε αἰσχιστα
ἀπολέσθαι μηδὲν ἀσεβήσαντι, ἔτι δὲ τὸν πατέρα
περιδεῖν ἀπολόμενον καὶ τὸν κηδεστήν καὶ τοὺς
συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀνεψιοὺς τοσοῦτους, οὓς οὐδεὶς
ἀπώλλυεν ἢ ἐγὼ μὴ εἰπὼν ὡς ἕτεροι ἡμαρτον·
(Διοκλείδης μὲν γὰρ ψευδάμενος ἔδησεν αὐτούς,
σωτηρία δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλη οὐδεμία ἦν ἢ πυθέσθαι
Ἀθηναίους πάντα τὰ πραχθέντα· φονεὺς οὖν
αὐτῶν ἐγγινόμεν ἐγὼ μὴ εἰπὼν ὑμῖν ἂ ἤκουσα·
ἔτι δὲ τριακοσίους Ἀθηναίων ἀπώλλυον, καὶ ἡ
πόλις ἐν κακοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐγίγνετο·/ταῦτα 59
μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐμοῦ μὴ εἰπόντος· εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ ὄντα
αὐτός τε ἐσφζόμεν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔσφζον καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ φόβου

adding δὲ, and so Bl.—*εἶτα καὶ* Bk. Turr. § 57. τὰ *γενόμενα] Reiske's conject., approved by Baiter and adopted by Bl.—τὰ

- καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἀπήλλαττον· φυγάδες δὲ δι' ἐμὲ τέτταρες ἄνδρες ἐγίνοντο, οἵπερ καὶ ἡμαρτον· τῶν δ' ἄλλων, *οἱ πρότερον ὑπὸ Τεύκρου ἐμηνύθησαν, οὔτε δήπου οἱ τεθνεῶτες δι' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἐτέθνασαν οὔτε οἱ φεύγοντες μᾶλλον ἔφευγον.)
- 60 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα σκοπῶν εὔρισκον, ὧ ἄνδρες, τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ταῦτα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι, εἰπεῖν τὰ γενόμενα ὡς τάχιστα καὶ ἐλέγξαι Διοκλείδην ψευδάμενον, καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπόλλυεν ἀδίκως, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξηπάτα, ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν μέγιστος εὐεργέτης ἐδόκει εἶναι
- 61 καὶ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. διὰ ταῦτα εἶπον τῇ βουλῇ ὅτι εἰδείην τοὺς ποιήσαντας, καὶ ἐξήλεγξα τὰ γενόμενα, ὅτι εἰσηγήσατο μὲν πιόντων ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν βουλήν Εὐφίλητος, ἀντεῖπον δὲ ἐγὼ, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐ γένοιτο δι' ἐμέ, ὕστερον δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἐπὶ πωλίον ὃ μοι ἦν ἀναβάς ἔπεσον καὶ τὴν κλεῖν συνετρίβην καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγην φερόμενός τε ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀπεκομίσθην οἴκαδε.
- 62 αἰσθόμενος δ' Εὐφίλητος ὡς ἔχοιμι, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι πέπεισμαι ταῦτα συμποιεῖν καὶ ὁμολόγηκα αὐτῷ μεθέξειν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ περικόψειν τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν παρὰ τὸ Φορβαντεῖον. ταῦτα

λεγόμενα mss. Turr. Bk. § 59. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, *οἱ πρότερον ὑπὸ Τεύκρου ἐμηνύθησαν, οὔτε δήπου] τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ λοιποὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ Τεύκρου ἐμηνύθησαν. οὔτε δήπου vulg. and Bk.—Dobree conjectured that οἱ λοιποὶ should be εἰ (or οἵπερ, or ὅσοιπερ), and that the full stop after ἐμηνύθησαν should be changed to a comma. So Turr. Bl.—Dobree would have preferred to omit the whole clause, οἱ λοιποὶ...ἐμηνύθησαν: but (when corrected) it has its significance, as defining the otherwise vague τῶν ἄλλων. § 61. ταύτην τὴν βουλήν] After βουλήν the mss. have γενέσθαι, which Bk. brackets, and which

δ' ἔλεγεν ἑξαπατῶν ἐκείνους· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ
 Ἑρμῆς ὄν ὁράτε πάντες, ὁ παρὰ τὴν πατρώαν
 οἰκίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὃν ἡ Λίγηϊς ἀνέθηκεν, οὐ
 περιεκόπη μόνος τῶν Ἑρμῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν,
 ὡς ἐμοῦ τοῦτο *ποιήσοντος, ὡς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 Εὐφίλητος. οἱ δ' αἰσθόμενοι δεινὰ ἐποιοῦν ὅτι 63
 εἰδείην μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα, πεποιηκῶς δὲ οὐκ εἶην.
 προσελθόντες δέ μοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Μέλητος καὶ
 Εὐφίλητος ἔλεγον ὅτι “γεγένηται, ὦ Ἄνδοκίδη,
 καὶ πέπρακται ἡμῖν ταῦτα. σὺ μέντοι εἰ μὲν
 ἀξιοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ σιωπᾶν, ἔξεις ἡμᾶς
 ἐπιτηδεῖους ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον· εἰ δὲ μή, χαλε-
 πώτεροί σοι ἡμεῖς ἐχθροὶ ἐσόμεθα ἢ ἄλλοι τινὲς
 δι' ἡμᾶς φίλοι.” εἶπον αὐτοῖς ὅτι νομίζοιμι μὲν 64
 διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα Εὐφίλητον πονηρὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνοισ
 δὲ οὐκ ἐμὲ δεινὸν εἶναι, ὅτι οἶδα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον πολλῶ, ὅτι πεποιήται. ὡς οὖν ἦν
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, τὸν τε παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν παρέδωκα
 βασανίσαι, ὅτι ἔκαμνον καὶ οἶδ' ἀνιστάμην ἐκ τῆς
 κλίνης, καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἔλαβον οἱ πρυτάνεις,
 ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐκείνοι. ἐξελέγ- 65
 χοντες δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ τε βουλή καὶ οἱ ζητηταί,
 ἐπειδὴ ἦν ἡ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον καὶ ὠμολογεῖτο παντα-
 χόθεν, τότε δὴ καλοῦσι τὸν Διοκλείδην· καὶ οὐ
 πολλῶν λόγων ἐδέησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὠμολόγει ψεύ-
 δεσθαι, καὶ ἐδεῖτο σφῆζεσθαι φράσας τοὺς πείσαντας
 αὐτὸν λέγειν ταῦτα· εἶναι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν
 Φηγούσιον καὶ Ἀμίαντον τὸν ἐξ Αἰγίνης. καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν δείσαντες ὄχοντο φεύγοντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ 66

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Διοκλείδην μὲν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
 παραδόντες ἀπεκτείνετε, τοὺς δὲ δεδεμένους καὶ
 μέλλοντας ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐλύσατε, τοὺς ἐμοὺς συγ-
 γενεῖς, δι' ἐμέ, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατεδέξασθε,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ὕπλα ἀπῆτε, πολλῶν κακῶν
 67 καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγέντες. ἐν οἷς ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες,
 τῆς μὲν τύχης ἧ ἐχρησάμην δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων
 ἐλεηθείην, τῶν δὲ *γενομένων ἔνεκεν εἰκότως <ἂν>
 ἀνὴρ ἄριστος δοκοῖν εἶναι, ὅστις εἰσηγησαμένῳ
 μὲν Εὐφιλήτῳ πίστιν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστο-
 τάτην ἠναντιώθη καὶ ἀντείπον καὶ ἐλοιδόρησα
 ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἦν ἄξιος, ἀμαρτόντων δ' ἐκείνων τὴν
 ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῖς συνέκρυψα, καὶ μηνύσαντος κατ'
 αὐτῶν Τεύκρου οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οἱ δ'
 ἔφυγον, πρὶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ Διοκλείδου δεθῆναι καὶ
 μέλλειν ἀπολεῖσθαι. τότε δὲ ἀπέγραψα τέτταρας
 ἀνδρας, Παναίτιον Διάκριτον Λυσίστρατον Χαι-
 68 ρέδημον· οὗτοι μὲν ἔφυγον δι' ἐμέ, ὁμολογῶ· ἐσώθη
 δέ γε ὁ πατήρ, ὁ κηδεστής, ἀνεψιοὶ τρεῖς, τῶν
 ἄλλων συγγενῶν ἑπτὰ, μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι
 ἀδίκως· οἱ νῦν ὀρώσι τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς δι' ἐμέ, καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην συντα-
 ράξας καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους καταστήσας
 ἐξηλέγχθη, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀπηλλάγητε μεγάλων φόβων
 69 καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ὑποψιῶν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ ἀληθῆ
 λέγω, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε, καὶ οἱ *εἰδότες

Bl.—ποιήσαντος vulg. Bk. § 66. ἀπῆτε] Weidner, Bl.—ἀπήετε
 vulg. Bk. Turr. § 67. *γενομένων] Baiter's conject., Turr.
 Bl.—γιγνομένων vulg. Bk. <ν> ἀνῆρ] ἂν is added, with
 Reiske, by Bl. § 69. οἱ *εἰδότες] Reiske's conject., Turr. Bl.—
 οἱ ἰδόντες vulg. Bk.

διδάσκετε τοὺς ἄλλους. σὺ δέ μοι αὐτοὺς κάλει τοὺς λυθέντας δι' ἐμέ· ἄριστα γὰρ ἂν εἰδότες τὰ γενόμενα λέγοιεν εἰς τούτους. οὕτως δὲ ἔχει, ὦ ἄνδρες· μέχρι τούτου ἀναβήσονται καὶ λέξουσιν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἂν ἀκροᾶσθαι βούλησθε, ἔπειτα δ' ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολογήσομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

III.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

[Or. III.—390 B.C.]

§§ 28—41.

Τοιούτων δ' ἐλπίδων μετασχόντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ 28
 δυοῖν θάτερον ἐλέσθαι, ἢ πολεμεῖν μετὰ Ἀργείων
 Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἢ μετὰ Βοιωτῶν κοινῇ τὴν εἰρήνην
 ποιεῖσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνο δέδοικα μάλιστα,
 ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ εἰθισμένον κακόν, ὅτι τοὺς κρείτ-
 τους φίλους ἀφιέντες αἰὲν τοὺς ἥττους αἰρούμεθα,
 καὶ πόλεμον ποιούμεθα δι' ἑτέρους, ἐξὸν δι' ἡμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην ἄγειν· οὔτινες πρῶτον μὲν βασιλεῖ 29
 τῷ μεγάλῳ—χρὴ γὰρ ἀναμνησθέντας τὰ γεγενη-
 μένα καλῶς βουλευσασθαι—σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι
 καὶ συνθέμενοι φιλίαν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἃ
 ἡμῖν ἐπρέσβευσεν Ἐπίλυκος Τισάνδρου, τῆς μη-
 τρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδελφός, ταῦτα Ἀμόργῃ πει-
 θόμενοι τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φυγάδι τὴν
 μὲν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀπεβαλόμεθα ὡς *οὐδενὸς

οὔσαν ἀξίαν, τὴν δὲ Ἀμόργου φιλιαν εἰλόμεθα, κρείττω νομίσαντες εἶναι· ἀνθ' ὧν βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἡμῖν, σύμμαχος γενόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις, παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα, ἕως κατέλυσεν ἡμῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ἐν μὲν Βούλευμα τοιοῦτον ἐβουλευσάμεθα·

30 Συρακοῖσιοι δ' ὅτε ἤλθον ἡμῶν δεόμενοι, φιλότητα μὲν ἀντὶ διαφορᾶς ἐθέλοντες εἰρήνην δ' ἀντὶ πολέμου ποιεῖσθαι, τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀποδεικνύντες ὅσω κρείττων ἢ σφετέρᾳ εἴη τῶν Ἐγεσταίων καὶ τῶν Καταναίων, εἰ βουλοίμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, ἡμεῖς τοίνυν εἰλόμεθα καὶ τότε πόλεμον μὲν ἀντὶ εἰρήνης, Ἐγεσταίους δὲ ἀντὶ Συρακουσίων, στρατεῦσθαι δ' εἰς Σικελίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ *μέροντες οἴκοι συμμαχούς ἔχειν Συρακουσίους, ἐξ ὧν πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολέσαντες ἀριστίην καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ δύναμιν ἀποβαλόντες, αἰσχροῶς διεκο-

31 μίσθησαν οἱ σωθέντες αὐτῶν. ἕστερον δ' ὑπὲρ Ἀργείων ἐπείσθημεν, οἵπερ νῦν ἤκουσι πείθοντες πολεμεῖν, πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν εἰρήνης ἡμῖν οὔσης πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους *ἐκκαλεῖν αὐτῶν τὸν θυμόν, ἀρχὴν πολλῶν κακῶν· ἐξ οὗ πολεμήσαντες ἠναγκάσθημεν τὰ τεῖχη κατασκάπτειν καὶ

Reiske's conject.; Bk. Turr. Bl. § 30. *μέροντες] Bl.—μέροντας vulg. Bk. Turr. See comment. § 31. *ἐκκαλεῖν αὐτῶν τὸν θυμόν] So Bl.; the mss. have ἐκτείνειν τὸν θυμόν, which can only mean to stretch forth our anger, an impossible phrase for classical Greek prose. Reiske proposed ἐκτείναν κινεῖν τὸν θυμόν; Sluiter, κινεῖν αὐτῶν τὸν θυμόν. Dobree's comment on ἐκτείνειν τὸν θυμόν is 'Latet, nisi fallor, nomen proprium.' Did he take ἐκτείνειν to be a corruption of (ἀπο)κτείνειν?

τας ναῦς παραδίδόναι καὶ τοὺς δειγχοίτας καταδέχεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ πασχούτων ἡμῶν οἱ πεισαντες ἡμῶς πολεμεῖν Ἀργεῖοι τιμὴν ἀέλιαν παρέσχον ἡμῖν· τὰ δὲ κινδύνοι ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαντο· οὖν οὖν τοῦτο ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, πόλεμον μὲν ἐλίσθαι καὶ οὖν αὐτ' εἰρήνης, τὴν δὲ Ἀργείων συμμαχίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Βοιωτῶν Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς οὖν ἔχοιτας τὸν πόλιον ἀντὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. μὴ δῆτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδὲς ἡμῶς ταῦτα πείσῃ· τὸ γὰρ παραδείγματα τὰ γεγενημένα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἰκανὰ τοῖς σώφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥστε μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνειν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ τινες ὑμῶν οἱ τοσαύτην ὑπερβυλίην τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσιν εἰρήνην ὡς τάχιστα γενέσθαι· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴς τετταράκονθ' ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς ἡμῖν ἔξεστι βουλευέσθαι περίεργον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν ἡμῶς. αὐτοκρίτορας γὰρ πεμφθῆναι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα διὰ ταῦθ', ἵνα μὴ πόλιον ἐπαναφέρωμεν, τὴν τε ἰσφικλίαν ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπαιυφύρας δέος ὀνομιάζουσι, λέγοντες ὡς οὐδεὶς πάποτε τῶν ὄημων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τοῦ φαιεροῦ πείσας ἔσωσεν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ λαθόντας ἢ ἔξαπατήσαντας αἰτὴν εὖ ποιῆσαι. τὸν λόγον οὖν τοῦτον οἷον ἐπαινοῖ, φημὶ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πόλεμον μὲν οὕτως ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῶν τῇ πόλει τε εἶναι εἰδῶτα τε ἢ τε πρῆττοι λαθάνοντι δεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔξαπατῶντα ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς

§ 32. Ἀργεῖοι συμμαχίαν παρέσχον Ἀργεῖοι mss. The translation is in the margin. The alternative is ἐν αἷς ἡμῖν ἔξεστι βουλευέσθαι Ἀργείων. § 33. ἐν αἷς ἡμῖν ἔξεστι ἡμῶν mss. Bl.—ὄηον Bk. Tait. γὰρ ταῦθ' ἐπίσταν's conjec. Tait. Bl.—ἐκ τῶν mss.

- κινδύνους, εἰρήνης δὲ πέρι πρεσβεύοντας κοινῆς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐφ' οἷς ὄρκοι τε ὁμοσθήσονται στήλαι τε σταθήσονται γεγραμμένοι, ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε λαθεῖν οὔτε ἐξαπατήσαι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν, εἰ πεμφθέντες αὐτοκράτορες *ἔτι *ἀπεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν σκέψασθαι· βουλευσασθαι μὲν οὖν ἀσφαλῶς χρὴ κατὰ δύναμιν, οἷς δ' ἂν ὁμόσωμεν καὶ συνθώμεθα,
- 35 τούτοις ἐμμένειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνοι, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς γράμματα τὰ γεγραμμένα δεῖ βλέποντας πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. ὑμεῖς γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐτοίμων ὑμῖν ἵποιοεῖν εἰώθατε καὶ δυσχεραίνειν, τὰ δ' οὐκ ὄντα λογοποιεῖν ὡς ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτοιμα· κἂν μὲν πολεμεῖν δέη, τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖτε, εἰ δέ τις ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην πράττη, λογίζεσθε τὸν πόλεμον
- 36 ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ὑμῖν κατειργάσατο· ὅπου καὶ νῦν ἤδη τινὲς λέγουσιν οὐ γιννώσκειν τὰς διαλλαγὰς αἰτινὲς εἶσι, τείχη καὶ νῆες εἰ γεινήσονται τῇ πόλει· τὰ γὰρ ἴδια τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν οὐκ εἶναι σφίσι τροφήν. ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἔχει καὶ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντειπεῖν.
- 37 Ἦν γὰρ ποτε χρόνος, ᾧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτε τείχη καὶ ναῦς οὐκ ἐκτήμεθα· γενομένων δὲ τούτων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιησάμεθα τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ὣν εἰ καὶ νῦν ἐπιθυμεῖτε, ταῦτα κατειργάσασθε. ταύτην δὲ λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν κατειργάσαντο

Bk. § 34. αὐτοκράτορες *ἔτι *ἀπεδώκαμεν] αὐτοκράτορές τι ἀποδώσωμεν mss. Bk. Turr.: ἔτι is due to Reiske, ἀπεδώκαμεν to Bl.

τῇ πόλει δύναμιν τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐπω τις ἄλλη πόλις ἐκτήσατο, τὰ μὲν πείσαντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας, τὰ δὲ λαθόντες, τὰ δὲ πριάμενοι, τὰ δὲ βιασάμενοι· πείσαντες μὲν οὖν Ἀθήνησι ποιήσασθαι τῶν 38 κοινῶν χρημάτων Ἑλληνοταμίας, καὶ τὸν σύλλογον τῶν νεῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ὅσαι δὲ τῶν πόλεων τριῆρεις μὴ κέκτηνται, ταύταις ἡμᾶς παρέχειν· λαθόντες δὲ Πελοποννησίους *τειχισάμενοι τὰ τεῖχη· πριάμενοι δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ δοῦναι τούτων δίκην· βιασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατειργασάμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο. κρατηθέντες δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ τε 39 ἄλλα ἀπωλέσαμεν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔλαβον ἡμῶν ἐνέχυρα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, *τὰς μὲν παραλαβόντες, τὰ δὲ κάθελόντες, ὅπως μὴ πάλιν ταῦτ' ἔχοντες ἀφορμὴν δύναμιν τῇ πόλει κατασκευάσαιμεν. πεισθέντες τοίνυν ὑφ' ἡμῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάρεισι νυνὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες, τὰ τε ἐνέχυρα ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ναῦς ἐῶντες κεκτῆσθαι, τὰς τε νήσους ἡμετέρας εἶναι.

Τὴν αὐτὴν τοίνυν ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν λαμβάνον- 40 τας ἢνπερ ἡμῶν ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρόγονοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἀκτέον φασὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τινὲς εἶναι. παριόντες οὖν αὐτοὶ διδασκόντων *ὑμᾶς—ἐξουσίαν δ' αὐτοῖς ἡμεῖς ἐποιήσαμεν, προσθέντες τετταράκοντα

§ 38. *τειχισάμενοι] A conjecture of Emperius, received by Bl.—ἐτειχίσαιμεν vulg. Bk. Turr. § 39. *τὰς μὲν παραλαβόντες] τὰς Reiske, Bk. Turr. Bl.—τὰ mss. || τὰς τε νήσους] τὰς τε Z, M, Bl.—τὰς δὲ vulg. Bk. Turr. § 40. διδασκόντων *ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς Sluiter (approved by Baiter), Bl.—ἡμᾶς vulg. Bk. Turr. ||

ἡμέρας βουλευσασθαι—τούτο μὲν τῶν γεγραμμέ-
 νων εἶ τι τυγχάνει μὴ καλῶς ἔχον· ἔξεστι γὰρ
 ἀφελεῖν· τούτο δ' εἴ τις <τι> προσθεῖναι βούλεται,
 πείσας ὑμᾶς προσγραψάτω. πᾶσί τε τοῖς γε-
 γραμμένοις χρωμένοις ἔστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν. εἰ δὲ
 41 μηδὲν ἀρέσκει τούτων, πολεμεῖν ἔτοιμον. καὶ
 ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν πάντ' ἐστίν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτων ὅ
 τι ἂν βούλησθε ἐλέσθαι. πάρεισι μὲν γὰρ Ἀρ-
 γεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι διδάξοντες ὡς ἄμεινόν ἐστι
 πολεμεῖν, ἤκουσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πείσοιτες ὑμᾶς
 εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. τούτων δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος
 παρ' ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις, δι' ἡμᾶς.
 πρεσβευτὰς οἶν πάντας ὑμᾶς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις
 ποιούμεν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα μέλλων ὑμῶν αἶρειν.
 οἷτος ὁ πρεσβεύων ἐστίν, ὅπότερ' ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ,
 καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν. μέμνησθε
 μὲν οἶν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἡμετέρους λόγους. ψηφί-
 σασθε δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μηδέποτε μεταμελή-
 σει.

εἰ τις · τι · προσθεῖναι] Bl. εἴ τις προσθεῖναι mss. Bl. Turr.: the
 latter would prefer εἴ τι τις. Sluiter proposed εἰ τις προσθεῖναι
 τι. § 41. ἐλέσθαι] A, B, M, Z, Turr. Bl. ἐλέσθε other mss.
 and Bl., who points thus: Ἀθηναῖοι· τούτων ὅτι ἂν βούλησθε
 ἐλέσθε.

ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.

I. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΟΣ.

[Or. xxxiii.—388 B.C.]

Ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ἕνεκα, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἄξιον Ἡρακλέους μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τόνδε

LYSIAS.

The codex Palatinus X (Heidelberg) is the parent of all other manuscripts of Lysias yet collated (except Marciani *F*, *G*, and Parisini *U*, *V*, which contain only or. ii., the spurious Ἐπιτάφιος); it is also the basis of the Aldine. This was shown at length by Hermann Sauppe in an epistola critica to Godfrey Hermann (1841), and is now generally admitted. Carl Scheibe's first edition of Lysias, in the Teubner series, appeared in 1852. Subsequently X was carefully collated for him by C. L. Kayser, and this new collation is the critical basis of Scheibe's second edition (1876), in which the distinctive feature is the recognition of the codex Palatinus as an authority of paramount value. When Baiter and Hermann Sauppe were engaged upon their *Oratores Attici*, the authorities of Heidelberg sent Palatinus X to Zurich for their inspection, but before it arrived the first twenty orations of Lysias had already been printed. An examination of it, however, led Sauppe to the conclusions which he embodied in the letter already mentioned. Second in importance is Laurentianus *C* (15th century). This was I. Bekker's principal guide. So confident was he of its superior merit, that he looked at X only occasionally, and without much attention. It has now been shown that the points in which *C* varies from X are nowhere due to a better archetype, but simply to the conjectures of a scribe whose learning was at least equalled by his temerity. In orations x—xxiv inclusive Bekker used only *C* and X; in orations i—ix he drew from time to time on eleven inferior mss. (mostly containing only these nine speeches), viz. Marciani *F*, *G*, *I*, *K*: Laurentiani *D*, *E*: Vaticani *M*, *N*: Parisini *U*, *V*: Urbinas *O*. As a rule, X and *C* are the only mss. which have much weight in regard to the real difficulties of the text.

Schb. = Carl Scheibe's second edition (Teubner, 1876). Turr., as before, = Baiter and Sauppe; Bk. = Bekker's Berlin edition.

τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτος συνήγειρε δι' εὐνοίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ τέως χρόνῳ ἀλλοτρίως αἱ πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διέκειντο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς τυράννους ἔπαυσε καὶ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ἐκώλυσε, ἀγῶνα μὲν σωμάτων ἐποίησε, φιλοτιμίαν δὲ πλούτου, γνώμης δ' ἐπίδειξιν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἵνα τούτων ἀπάντων ἕνεκα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθωμεν, τὰ μὲν ὀψόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἀκουσόμενοι· ἠγήσατο γὰρ τὸν ἐνθάδε σύλλογον ἀρχὴν <ἄν> γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ταῦθ' ὑφηγήσατο, ἐγὼ δ' ἦκω οὐ μικρολογησόμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μαχούμενος. ἠγοῦμαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἔργα μὲν εἶναι *σοφιστῶν λῖαν *ἀχρήστων καὶ σφόδρα βίου δεομένων, ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου πολλοῦ ἀξίου περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλεύειν, ὁρῶν οὕτως αἰσχρῶς διακειμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῆς ὄντα ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένας. καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὲν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπάσχομεν, στέργειν ἂν ἦν ἀνάγκη τὴν τύχην· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ στάσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον τῶν μὲν παύσασθαι τὰ δὲ κωλύσαι, εἰδότας ὅτι φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ἐστὶν εὖ πραττόντων, γινῶναι δὲ τὰ

I. § 2. πλοῖτου] Turr. Schb. Undoubtedly the true reading, though not found in X or C: Turr. quote for it two mss., 'A B Grosii,'—the same from which they cite the true reading ἐγγίους (for ἐγγίους) in Lys. or. xxxii § 15. —πλούτῳ vulg. Bk. * - ἄν - γενέσθαι] I have inserted ἄν, which could easily drop out after ἀρχήν. Markland conjectures γενήσασθαι, and so Turr. Schb. § 3. *σοφιστῶν λῖαν *ἀχρήστων] Markland, Bk. Turr. Schb.—σοφῶν τῶν λῖαν χρηστῶν mss.

βέλτιστα τῶν *ἀτυχῶν; ὀρώμεν γὰρ τοὺς κινδύ- 5
 νους καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πανταχόθεν περιεστηκότας·
 ἐπίστασθε δὲ ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς
 θαλάσσης, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων βασιλεὺς ταμίας, τὰ
 δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα τῶν δαπανᾶσθαι δυνα-
 μένων, ναῦς δὲ πολλὰς μὲν αὐτὸς κέκτηται, πολλὰς
 δ' ὁ τύραννος τῆς Σικελίας. ὥστε ἄξιον τὸν μὲν 6
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον καταθέσθαι, τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
 γνώμῃ χρωμένους τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντέχεσθαι, καὶ
 περὶ μὲν τῶν παρεληλυθότων αἰσχύνεσθαι, περὶ
 δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι δεδιέναι, καὶ τοὺς προ-
 γόνους μιμεῖσθαι, οἱ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐποίησαν
 τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν
 ἐστερηῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ἐξελάσαντες κοινὴν
 ἅπασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατέστησαν. θαυμάζω δὲ 7
 Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων μάλιστα, τίνι ποτὲ γνώμῃ
 χρώμενοι καιομένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιορῶσιν,
 ἡγεμόνες ὄντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀδίκως καὶ διὰ
 τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐπιστήμην, μόνοι δὲ οἰκοῦντες ἀπόρθητοι καὶ
 ἀτείχιστοι καὶ ἀστασίαστοι καὶ ἀήττητοι καὶ
 τρόποις ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι· ὧν ἕνεκα ἐλπίς
 ἀθάνατον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι κινδύνοις σωτῆρας γενομένους
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προορᾶσθαι.
 οὐ τοίνυν ὁ ἐπιὼν καιρὸς τοῦ παρόντος βελτίων· 8
 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας δεῖ τὰς τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμφο-

§ 4. τῶν *ἀτυχῶν is my conjecture. The τῶν αὐτῶν of the mss. is certainly corrupt. Sauppe conjectures τῶν εὐ νοοῦντων.

§ 7. διὰ τὴν πρὸς] Schb., with Reiske, reads διὰ τὴν τῶν

ρὰς νομίζειν ἄλλ' οἰκείας, οὐδ' ἀναμεῖναι, ἕως ἂν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς αἱ δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρων ἔλθωσι,
 ἀλλ' ἕως ἔτι ἔξεστι, τὴν τούτων ὕβριν κωλύσαι.
 9 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν *ἐνορώη ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 πολέμῳ μεγάλους αὐτοὺς γεγενημένους; ὧν οὐ
 μόνον αἰσχρῶν ὄντων ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινῶν, τοῖς μὲν
 μεγάλα ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐξουσία γεγένηται τῶν πε-
 πραγμένων, τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησιν οὐδεμία αὐτῶν τι-
 μωρία.

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ.

[Or. xxxiv.—403 B.C.]

Ὅτε ἐνομίζομεν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς γεγενημένας
 συμφορὰς ἱκανὰ μνημεῖα τῇ πόλει καταλελείφθαι,
 ὥστε μηδ' ἂν τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους ἐτέρας πολιτείας
 ἐπιθυμεῖν, τότε δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς κακῶς πεπονθότας
 καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένους ἐξαπατήσαι ζητοῦσι
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ψηφίσμασιν οἷσπερ καὶ πρότερον *δις
 2 ἤδη. καὶ τούτων μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω, ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν
 ἀκρωμένων, ὅτι πάντων *ἐστὲ ἐπιλησμοιέστατοι ἢ
 πάσχειν ἐτοιμότατοι κακῶς ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν,
 οἳ τῇ μὲν τύχῃ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς πραγμάτων μετέ-

πρὸς. § 9. οὐκ ἂν *ἐνορώη (Stephanus) is the simplest and
 best correction of οὐκ ἂν ἐνορῶν.—Baiter, οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσειεν
 ὀρῶν.—Dobson, οὐκ ἀνιάται ὀρῶν (which Schb. inadvertently
 attributes to Dobree).—Reiske, οὐκ ἂν ἐντρέπεται ὀρῶν.

II. § 1. πρότερον *δις ἤδη. καὶ] Dobree's conject., Turr.
 Schb.—πρότερον. διὸ δὴ καὶ mss. Bk. § 2. *ἐστὲ] Markland

σχον, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος. καίτοι τί ἔδει
 φεύγοντας κατελθεῖν, εἰ χειροτονοῦντες ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
 καταδουλώσεσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, <οὔτε 3
 πλούτῳ> οὔτε γένει ἀπελαυνόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀμφότερα
 τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων πρότερος ὢν, ἠγοῦμαι ταύτην
 μόνην σωτηρίαν εἶναι τῇ πόλει ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις
 τῆς πολιτείας μετεῖναι, ἐπεὶ ὅτε καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς
 ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτήμεθα,
 οὐχ *ὅπως <ἄτιμον> Ἀθηναίων τινὰ ποιήσομεν
 διενοοῦμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐβοεῦσιν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποι-
 οῦμεθα· νῦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας
 ἀπολοῦμεν; οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε *πειθησθε, οὐδὲ μετὰ 4
 τῶν τειχῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν αὐτῶν περιαιρησόμεθα,
 ὄπλιτας πολλοὺς καὶ ἰππέας καὶ τοξότας, ὧν
 ὑμεῖς ἀντεχόμενοι βεβαίως δημοκρατήσεσθε, τῶν
 δὲ ἐχθρῶν πλέον ἐπικρατήσετε, ὠφελιμώτεροι δὲ
 τοῖς συμμάχοις ἔσεσθε· ἐπίστασθε γὰρ <έν> ταῖς
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀλιγαρχίαις γεγεννημέναις οὐ τοὺς γῆν
 κεκτημένους ἔχοντας τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς

conject., Turr. Schb.—*εἰσὶν* mss. Bk. § 3. <οὔτε πλούτῳ>. Markland thus supplies the lost wrds; Sauppe supplies οὔτε οὐσία, which Schb. prints between brackets; Stephanus, οὔτε ἡλικία, which Bk. prints. Turr. leave dots. || ἐκτήμεθα Aldine, Turr. (quoting the codices A B Grosii).—ἐκτησάμεθα mss. Bk.—ἐκεκτήμεθα Emperius, Schb. || οὐχ *ὅπως <ἄτιμον> Ἀθηναίων τινὰ ποιήσομεν] The mss. have οὐχ οὕτως ἵνα Ἀθηναίων τινὰ ποιήσωμεν (Bk.), or ποιήσομεν. Stephanus conjectured ὅπως for οὕτως ἵνα. I supply ἄτιμον before Ἀθηναίων, believing that a vestige of it remains in the corrupt ἵνα of the mss.—Turr., whom Schb. follows, read on their own conject., οὐχ ὅπως Ἀθηναίων τινὰ ἀπόσωμεν. || ἀπολοῦμεν] Bk., on Reiske's conject., reads ἀπελώμεν. § 4. *πειθησθε] Sluiter conject., Turr. Schb.—πειθόμεθα mss. Bk. || <έν> ταῖς] Reiske, Turr.—ταῖς mss. Bk.—κάν ταῖς Franz, Schb. || οὐ τοὺς γῆν] mss. and Bk. have καὶ before οὐ: Turr. and Schb. follow Markland in omitting

μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 5 ἐκπεσόντας, οὓς ὁ δῆμος καταγαγὼν ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν
 ὑμετέραν ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύτης οὐκ ἐτόλμησε
 μετασχεῖν. ὥστε, ἂν ἔμοιγε πείθησθε, οὐ τοὺς εὐερ-
 γέτας, καθὸ δύνασθε, τῆς πατρίδος ἀποστερήσετε,
 οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους πιστοτέρους τῶν ἔργων οὐδὲ τὰ
 μέλλοντα τῶν γεγενημένων νομιεῖτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 μεμνημένοι τῶν περὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας μαχομένων, οἱ
 τῷ μὲν λόγῳ τῷ δῆμῳ πολεμοῦσι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τῶν
 ὑμετέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ἄπερ κτήσονται, ὅταν ὑμᾶς
 ἐρήμους συμμάχων λάβωσιν.

6 Εἶτα τοῖς τῶν ὑμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἐρώσει τίς
 ἔσται σωτηρία τῇ πόλει, εἰ μὴ ποιήσομεν ἢ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν; ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους εἰπεῖν
 ἀξιῶ, τί τῷ πλήθει περιγενήσεται, εἰ ποιήσῃμεν
 ἢ ἐκεῖνοι προστάττουσιν; εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολὺ κάλλιον
 μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ φανερώς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 7 θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι. ἡγοῦμαι γάρ, ἐὰν μὲν
 πείθω, ἀμφοτέροις κοινὸν εἶναι κίνδυνον. ὁρῶ δὲ
 Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας
 γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ὁμόρους
 ὄντας Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας,
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλείους, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ
 8 τρισχιλίους ὄντας. ἴσασι γὰρ ὅτι, κἂν πολλάκις
 εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐμβάλλωσι, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς

it. § 6. εἶτα τοῖς τῶν ὑμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἐρώσει] mss., Bk.; rightly. I think. For ἐρώσει Markland conject. ἐρωτώσει, which Turr. adopt. In doing so, they ought to have omitted τοῖς: see comment. Schb., on Baier's conject., gives εἶτα τοιούτων ὑμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἐρωτώσει. § 7. κίνδυνον] Schb., on his own conject., τὸν κίνδυνον. Ἀργίους] Schb. καὶ Ἀργείους. § 8. καταδου-

ἀπαντήσονται ὄπλα λαβόντες, ὥστε οὐ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μὲν νικήσωσι, τούτους καταδουλώσεσθαι γε, εἰ δὲ ἡττηθῶσι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀποστερηῆσαι· ὅσω δ' ἂν ἄμεινον πράττωσι, τοσούτω <ἡττον> ἐπιθυμοῦσι κινδυνεύειν. εἴχομεν δέ, ὦ Ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, ὅτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤρχομεν, καὶ ἐδοκοῦμεν καλῶς βουλευέσθαι περιορῶντες μὲν τὴν χώραν τεμνομένην, οὐ νομίζοντες δὲ χρῆναι περὶ αὐτῆς διαμάχεσθαι. ἄξιον γὰρ ἦν ὀλίγων ἀμελοῦντας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν φείσασθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπάντων μάχῃ ἐστερήμεθα, ἡ δὲ πατρίς ἡμῖν λέλειπται, ἴσμεν ὅτι ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος μόνος ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ χρὴ ἀναμνησθέντας ὅτι 10 ἤδη καὶ ἑτέροις ἀδικουμένοις βοηθήσαντες ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πολλὰ τρόπαια τῶν πολεμίων ἐστήσαμεν, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι, πιστεύοντας μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐλπίζοντας τὸ δίκαιον μετὰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἔσεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν ἐφεύγο- 11 μεν, ἐμαχόμεθα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἵνα κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα ἵνα μὴ μαχώμεθα.

λώσεσθαι γε] οὐ was conjecturally inserted before by Reiske, whom Turr. Schb. follow. To me it seems clear that the mss. (and Bk.) are right in omitting it: see comment. || τοσούτω <ἡττον>] ἡττον is added by Turr. and Schb., on Reiske's conject. § 9. ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι] Turr. (with A B Grosii), Schb.—ὦ ἄνδρες the other mss. Bk. || ἡμῖν λέλειπται] ἡμῖν Turr. (with A B as reported by Auger), Schb.—ἡμῶν the other mss. Bk. § 10. ἐλπίζοντας τὸ δίκαιον] τὸ δίκαιον Taylor, Turr. Schb.—ἐπὶ τὸ δίκαιον mss. Bk.—Franz suggested ἔτι for ἐπὶ. See comment.

οὐκουν αἰσχροὺν εἰ εἰς τοῦτο κακίας ἤξομεν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν πρόγονοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας Ἑλλήνων διεκινδύνεον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν τολμᾶτε πολεμεῖν;

III. ΥΠΕΡ ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΥ.

[Or. xvi.—About 392 B.C.]

Εἰ μὴ συνήδειν, ὦ βουλή, τοῖς κατηγοροῖς βουλομένοις ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, πολλὴν ἂν αὐτοῖς χάριν εἶχον ταύτης τῆς κατηγορίας· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀδίκως διαβεβλημένοις τούτους εἶναι μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, οὔτινες ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζωσιν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν αὐτοῖς
 2 βεβιωμένων καταστῆναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὕτω σφόδρα ἐμαυτῷ πιστεύω, ὥστ' ἐλπίζω καὶ εἴ τις πρὸς με τυγχάνει ἀηδῶς ἢ κακῶς διακειμένος, ἐπειδὴν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσῃ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, μετα-
 3 μέλλσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πολὺ βελτίω με εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἡγήσεσθαι. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ βουλή, ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτο μόνον ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω, ὡς εἶνους εἰμὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι καὶ ὡς ἠνάγκασμαι τῶν αἰτῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν ὑμῖν, μηδέν πῶ μοι πλεονεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ φαίνομαι <καὶ> περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετρίως βεβιωκῶς καὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, δέομαι ὑμῶν ἐμὲ μὲν δοκιμάζειν, τοίτους δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι χείρους

εἶναι. πρῶτον δὲ ἀποδείξω ὡς οὐχ ἵππευον *οὐδ' ἐπεδήμουν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, οὐδὲ μετέσχον τῆς τότε πολιτείας.

Ἦμᾶς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ 4 συμφορᾶς ὡς Σάτυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ διαιτησομένους ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ οὔτε τῶν τειχῶν καθαιρουμένων οὔτε μεθισταμένης τῆς πολιτείας <ἐπεδημούμεν>, ἀλλ' ἦλθομεν πρὶν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατελθεῖν πρότερον πένθ' ἡμέραις. καίτοι 5 οὔτε ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἦν εἰς τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀφιγμένους ἐπιθυμεῖν μετέχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κινδύνων, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι φαίνονται τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχοντες ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσι καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνουσι μεταδιδόναι τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἠτίμαζον καὶ τοὺς συγκαταλύσαντας τὸν δῆμον. ἔπειτα δὲ 6 ἐκ μὲν τοῦ σανιδίου τοὺς ἵππεύσαντας σκοπεῖν εὔηθές ἐστιν· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἵππεύειν οὐκ ἔνεισιν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἀποδημούντων ἐπιγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐστὶν ἔλεγχος μέγιστος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατήλθετε, ἐψηφίσασθε τοὺς φυλάρχους ἀπενεγκεῖν τοὺς ἵππεύσαντας, ἵνα τὰς καταστάσεις ἀναπράττητε παρ'

and Schb., but not by Bk. Turr. || *οὐδ' ἐπεδήμουν] οὐδ' Turr. rightly.—οὔτ' mss. Bk. Schb. In the few places where the solecism οὐ—οὔτε occurs, it is probably a mere slip of the scribe for οὔτε—οὔτε or οὐ...οὐδέ. 'Huiusmodi errores etiam contra consensum librorum tollendi sunt.' (Elmsley, *Eur. Med.* 4, 5.)

§ 4. μεθισταμένης τῆς πολιτείας] After these words, a verb has been lost in the mss.; ἐπεδημούμεν is a conjectural restoration of it. § 5. ἔχοντες] Schb., on Sauppe's conj., reads σχόντες. But φαίνονται ἔχοντες can mean φαίνεται ὅτι εἶχον as well as φαίνεται ὅτι ἔχουσιν. § 6. ἀναπράττητε] Schb., from Harpocration s.v. κατάστασις, gives ἀναπράξαιτε: Sauppe conj. ἀναπράξαιτε: but the present denotes the repeated

7 αὐτῶν. ἐμὲ τοίνυν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποδείξειεν οὐτ' ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων οὔτε παραδοθέντα τοῖς συνδίοις οὔτε κατάστασιν παραλαμβάνοντα. καίτοι πᾶσι ῥᾶδιον τοῦτο γινῶναι, διότι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς φυλάρχοις, εἰ μὴ ἀποδείξειαν τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰς καταστάσεις, αὐτοῖς ζημιοῦσθαι. ὥστε πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ἢ τούτοις πιστεύοιτε· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τούτων ῥᾶδιον ἦν ἐξαλειφθῆναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοὺς ἰππεύσαντας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ἀπενεχθῆναι. ἔτι δέ, ὦ βουλή, εἴπερ ἴππευσα, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἕξαρκος ὡς δεινόν τι πεπονηκώς, ἀλλ' ἠξιῶν, ἀποδείξας ὡς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶς πέπονθε, δοκιμάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρωμένους, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν τότε ἰππευσάντων βουλεύοντας, πολλοὺς δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγούς καὶ ἰππάρχους κεχειροτονημένους. ὥστε μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο με ἠγεῖσθε ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἢ ὅτι περιφανῶς ἐτόλμησάν μου καταψεύσασθαι. ἀνάβηθι δέ μοι καὶ μαρτύρησον. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.]

9 Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὦ βουλή, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶσι περὶ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν κατηγορημένων προσήκειν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δοκιμασίαις δίκαιον εἶναι παντὸς τοῦ βίου λόγον διδόναι. εἶδομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μετ' εἰροίας ἀκροά-

or continued action. § 7. παραλαμβάνοντα] Bake conjectured καταβαλόντα. ἀποδείξειαν] Schib. with Cobet. ἀποδείξειαν mss. Bk. Turr. γινῶναι, διότι] Schib. γινῶναι, ὅτι with

σασθαί μου. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαὶν ὡς ἂν
δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς 10
καταλειφθείσης διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς τοῦ
πατρὸς καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, δύο μὲν ἀδελφὰς
ἔξέδωκα, ἐπιδούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρα, πρὸς
τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' οὕτως ἐνειμάμην ὥστ' ἐκείνον
πλέον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν ἐμοῦ τῶν πατρώων, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτω βεβίωκα ὥστε
μηδεπώποτε μοι μηδὲ πρὸς ἓνα μηδὲν ἔγκλημα
γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια οὕτω διώκησα· περὶ 11
δὲ τῶν κοινῶν μοι μέγιστον ἠγοῦμαι τεκμήριον
εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς, ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι
περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκο-
λασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι,
πάντας αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθέ μοι διαφόρους ὄντας, καὶ
πλεῖστα τούτους περὶ ἐμοῦ λογοποιοῦντας καὶ
ψευδομένους. καίτοι δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, οὐκ ἂν τοιαύτην γνώμην εἶχον περὶ
ἐμοῦ. ἔτι δ', ὦ βουλή, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποδείξει περὶ 12
ἐμοῦ δύναιτο οὔτε δίκην αἰσχροῦ οὔτε γραφὴν οὔτε
εἰσαγγελίαν γεγενημένην· καίτοι ἑτέρους ὁρᾶτε
πολλάκις εἰς τοιοῦτους ἀγῶνας καθεστηκότας.
πρὸς τοίνυν τὰς στρατείας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους
τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους σκέψασθε οἶον ἐμαυτὸν
παρέχω τῇ πόλει. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὅτε τὴν 13
συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ
εἰς Ἀλιάρτον ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀρθοβούλου
κατειλεγμένος ἰππεύειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντας ἐώρων τοῖς
Kayser. § 11. διώκησα] Schb. διώκηκα on Sauppe's conject.

μὲν ἰππεύουσιν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι δεῖν νομίζοντας, τοῖς δ' ὀπλίταις κίνδυνον ἡγουμένους, ἐτέρων ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀδοκιμάστων παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐγὼ προσελθὼν ἔφην τῷ Ὁρθοβούλῳ ἐξαλεῖψαί με ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ἡγούμενος αἰσχροὺν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους μέλλοντος κινδυνεύειν ἄδειαν ἐμαυτῷ παρασκευάσαντι στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ μοι ἀνάβηθι, Ὁρθόβουλε. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.]

14 Συλληγόντων τοίνυν τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, εἰδὼς αὐτῶν ἐνίους πολίτας μὲν χρηστοὺς ὄντας καὶ προθύμους, ἐφοδίῳ δὲ ἀποροῦντας, εἶπον ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς ἔχοντας παρέχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἀπόρως διακειμένοις. καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο συνεβούλευον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκα ὄνοιν ἀνδροῖν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκατέρῳ, οὐχ ὡς πολλὰ κεκτημένος, ἀλλ' ἵνα παράδειγμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις γένηται. καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε, <μάρτυρες>. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

15 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν, ᾧ βουλή, εἰς Κόρινθον ἐξόδου γενομένης καὶ πάντων προειδόντων ὅτι δεήσει κινδυνεύειν, ἐτέρων ἀναδυομένων ἐγὼ διεπραξάμην ὥστε τῆς πρώτης τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἡμετέρας φυλῆς δυστυχισίας, καὶ πλείστον *ἐναποθανόντων, ὕστερον ἀνεχώρησα τοῦ σεμινοῦ Στειριέως τοῦ πᾶσιν
16 ἀνθρώποις δειλίαν ὠνειδικότος. καὶ οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Κορίνθῳ χωρίῳ

§ 13. εἶναι δεῖν] Schb. suggests εἶναι δεῖν. § 14. ἀνάβητε - μάρτυρες -.] μάρτυρες is conjecturally added by Stephanus, Turr., Schb. § 15. *ἐναποθανόντων is my correction of ἐπιθανόντων. Markland conjectured ἐνθα or ἐνταῦθα θανόντων.

ἰσχυρῶν κατειλημμένων, ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ
 δίνασθαι προσιέναι, Ἀγησιλάου δ' εἰς τὴν Βοιω-
 τίαν ἐμβαλόντος, ψηφισαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων
 ἀποχωρίσαι τάξεις αἵτινες βοηθήσουσι, φοβου-
 μένων ἀπάντων, (εἰκότως, ὦ βουλή· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν
 ἀγαπητῶς ὀλίγω πρότερον σεσωσμένους ἐφ' ἕτερον
 κίνδυνον ἵεναι,) προσελθὼν ἐγὼ τὸν ταξίαρχον
 ἐκέλευον ἀκληρωτὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν πέμπειν.
 ὥστ' εἴ τινες ὑμῶν ὀργίζονται τοῖς τὰ μὲν τῆς 17
 πόλεως ἀξιούσι πράττειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδύνων
 ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν
 γνώμην ταύτην ἔχοιεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ προστατ-
 τόμενα ἐποιοῦν προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύειν
 ἐτόλμων. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οὐχ ὡς οὐ δεινὸν
 ἡγούμενος εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ'
 ἵνα, εἴ ποτε ἀδίκως εἰς κίνδυνον καθισταίμην, διὰ
 ταῦτα βελτίων ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομιζόμενος ἀπάντων
 τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνοιμι. καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε τού-
 των μάρτυρες. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Τῶν τοίνυν ἄλλων στρατειῶν καὶ φρουρῶν 18
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπελείφθην πώποτε, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν
 χρόνον διατετέλεκα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων μὲν τὰς
 ἐξόδους ποιούμενος, μετὰ τῶν τελευταίων δὲ ἀνα-
 χωρῶν. καίτοι χρῆ τὸς φιλοτίμως καὶ κοσμίως
 πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ'
 οὐκ, εἴ τις *κομᾶ, διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ
 τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα οὔτε τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὔτε τὸ
 κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως βλάπτει, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδυνεύειν
 ἐθελόντων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς
 § 18. *κομᾶ] Hamaker's conj., adopted by Rauchenstein,

- 19 ὠφελεῖσθε. ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπ' ὄψεως, ὃ βουλή, οὔτε φιλεῖν οὔτε μισεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν διαλεγόμενοι καὶ κοσμίως * ἀμπεχόμενοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιοι γεγόνασιν, ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελοῦντες πολλὰ καγαθὰ ὑμᾶς εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι.
- 20 Ἦδη δέ τινων ἠσθόμην, ὃ βουλή, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀχθομένων μοι, ὅτι νεώτερος ὢν ἐπεχειρήσα λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠναγκάσθην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πραγμάτων δημηγορῆσαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ φιλοτιμότερον διατεθῆναι τοῦ δέοντος, ἅμα μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι οὐδὲν πέπαυνται * τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες,
- 21 ἅμα δὲ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν (τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ χρῆ λέγειν) τούτους μόνους ἀξίους νομίζοντας εἶναι, ὥστε ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρθείη πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως; ἔτι δὲ τί ἂν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀχθοισθε; οὐ γὰρ ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτῶν κριταί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς.

IV. ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΔΙΔΟΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΩΙ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ.

[Or. xxiv.—After 403 B.C.]

§§ 10—14.

- 10 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἰππικῆς, ἧς οὗτος ἐτόλμησε μνησθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὔτε τὴν τύχην δείσας οὔτε instead of τολμᾶ: see comment. § 19. * ἀμπεχόμενοι] Dobree conject., Turr., Rauchenstein.—ἀπερχόμενοι mss. Bk.—περιερχόμενοι Emperius, Schb. § 20. * τὰ τῆς πόλεως] Dobree conject., Turr., Rauchenstein.—τῶν τῆς πόλεως mss. Bk. Schb.

ὑμᾶς αἰσχυνθεῖς, οὐ πολὺς ὁ λόγος. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ
 βουλή, πάντας οἶμαι τοὺς ἔχοντάς τι δυστύχημα
 τοιοῦτον ῥαστώνην τινὰ ζητεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο φιλο-
 σοφεῖν, ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα μεταχειριοῦνται τὸ
 συμβεβηκὸς πάθος. ὦν εἷς ἐγώ, καὶ περιπεπ-
 τωκῶς τοιαύτη συμφορᾷ ταύτην ἐμαυτῷ ῥαστώνην
 ἐξηῦρον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μακροτέρας τῶν ἀναγ-
 καίων. ὃ δὲ μέγιστον, ὦ βουλή, τεκμήριον ὅτι διὰ 11
 τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν, ὡς οὗτός
 φησιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, ῥάδιόν ἐστι
 μαθεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεκτῆμην οὐσίαν, ἐπ' ἀστράβης
 ἂν ὠχούμην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἵππους
 ἀνέβαινον· νυνὶ δ' ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον οὐ δύναμαι
 κτήσασθαι, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἵπποις ἀναγκάζομαι
 χρῆσθαι πολλάκις· καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστίν, 12
 ὦ βουλή, τοῦτον αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀστράβης ὠχού-
 μενον ἐώρα με, σιωπᾶν (τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔλεγεν;), ὅτι
 δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἠτημένους ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, πειρᾶσθαι
 πείθειν ὑμᾶς ὡς δυνατὸς εἶην; καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυοῖν
 βακτηρίαιν χρῶμαι, τῶν ἄλλων μιᾷ χρωμένων, μὴ
 κατηγορεῖν ὡς καὶ τοῦτο τῶν δυναμένων ἐστίν· ὅτι
 δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσθαι
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰμι τῶν δυναμένων; οἷς ἐγὼ διὰ τὴν
 αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀμφοτέροις χρῶμαι.

IV. § 10. ἐγὼ γάρ] mss. Bk. Turr.—ἐγνων γάρ Schb. on
 his own conject., omitting οἶμαι, which is wanting in X.—εἰκὸς
 γάρ Sauppe conject., Rauchenstein (edit. 5), also omitting
 οἶμαι. || ῥαστώνην τινὰ] These words are in C, but not in X.
 They are retained by Bk. and Turr., but omitted by Schb.,
 who reads ἔχοντάς τι δυστύχημα τοιοῦτόν τι ζητεῖν. § 12. σιω-
 πᾶν] σιωπᾶν ἂν Schb.: Kayser wished to insert ἂν after τοῦτον.
 But it is needless: see comment. || δυνατὸς εἶην] δυνατός

- 13 Τοσοῦτον δὲ διενήνοχεν ἀναισχυντία τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε ὑμᾶς πειράται πείθειν, τοσοῦτους ὄντας εἰς ὧν, ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐγώ. καίτοι εἰ τοῦτο πείσει τινὰς ὑμῶν, ᾧ βουλή, τί με κωλύει κληροῦσθαι τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ὀβολὸν ὡς ὑγιαίνοντος, τούτῳ δὲ ψηφίσασθαι πάντα ὡς ἀναπήρω: οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς μὲν ὡς δυνάμενοι ἀφαιρήσεσθε τὸ διδόμενον, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀδύνατον ὄντα
- 14 κληροῦσθαι κωλύσουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε ὑμεῖς τούτῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχετε γνώμην, οὔθ' οὔτος *εὐλόγα δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπικλήρου τῆς συμφροῶς οὔσης ἀμφισβητήσων ἤκει καὶ πειράται πείθειν ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ τοιοῦτος οἷον ὑμεῖς ὁράτε πάντες: ὑμεῖς δὲ (ὃ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἔργον ἐστί) μᾶλλον πιστεύετε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἢ τοῖς τούτου λόγοις.

ειμ Schb., on Kayser's conject. § 14. *εὐ[λόγα δοκεῖ] ποιεῖν is my conjecture. The mss. have simply εὖ ποιῶν, which is certainly corrupt, and probably arose through the loss of several letters after εὖ, which then became εὔ. I am persuaded that the above suggestion represents, at least, the true sense; and, in such a case, it seems warrantable to admit a provisional remedy to the text. Other conjectures are:—(1) Reiske, οὔθ' οὔτος - εἰμὶν, = εὖ ποιῶν, *i.e.* 'nor does he (agree) with you, — and quite right too': rather pointless irony. (2) Schb., οἷθ' οὔτος - ὑμῶν ὡς - εὖ ποιῶν, *i.e.* 'and he differs from you, as if he were acting rightly.' (3) Markland, εὖ φρονῶν: *i.e.*, 'you do not think with him, nor does he think so --when he is in his right mind.' (4) Sauppe, εὖ *νοῶν: 'nor does he (profess this belief) with any good intent (towards me).'

V. ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

[Or. XII.—403 B.C.]

§§ 1—36.

Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλήθος εἴργασται, ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορήσαι, μήτε τάληθῆ βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν κατήγορον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλιπεῖν. τοῦναντίου δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι ἢ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἐπιδείξαι, ἥτις εἶη πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας· νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχθρα, ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς τοὺς λόγους ποιούμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπασι πολλῆς ἀφθουίας οὔσης ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων ὀργίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐτ' ἔμαυτοῦ πρόποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας νῦν ἠνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων τούτου κατηγορεῖν, ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν κατέστην, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἔμαυτοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσωμαι· ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.

4 Οὐμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπέισθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περι-
κλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ
τριάκοντα ᾤκησε, καὶ οὐδενὶ πρόποτε οὔτε ἡμεῖς
οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα οὔτε ἐφύ-
γομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ᾤκουμέν δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε
5 ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα ποιηροὶ
μὲν καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέ-
στησαν, φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν
ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ'
ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι, [καὶ] τοιαῦτα
λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ
τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ πρώτον εἰπὼν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων
6 ἀναμνήσαι πειράσομαι. Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων
ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων ὡς
εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν
εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ
χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν *πένεσθαι,
7 τὴν *δ' ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς ἀκού-
οντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον· ἀποκτινύναι μὲν γὰρ
ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἠγούντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ
χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐ-
τοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα
αὐτοῖς ἦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημά-
των ἕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ
πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται. ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως
πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβαδιζον.

V. § 5. φάσκοντες] φάσκοντες δι Schb., with Emperius.
[καὶ] τοιαῦτα] Schb. and Rauchenstein, with Mark-
land, omit καὶ; see comment. § 6. *πένεσθαι, τὴν *δ'
ἀρχὴν] Markland, Turr. Schb.—γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν mss. Bk.

Καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἐστιῶντα κα-έλαβον. 8
οὓς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ
δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐλθόντες τὰ ἀνδρά-
ποδα ἀπεγράφοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἠρώτων
εἰ βούλοιτό με σῶσαι χρήματα λαβών· ὁ δ'
ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἶη. εἶπον οὖν ὅτι τάλαντον 9
ἀργυρίου ἔτοιμος εἶην δοῦναι· ὁ δ' ὠμολόγησε
ταῦτα ποιήσκειν. ἠπιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε
θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι πίστιν
παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὠμοσεν ἐξώλειαν 10
ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ
τάλαντόν με σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον
τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι· Πείσων δ' αἰσθόμενος
εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐνόητα καλεῖ τῶν ὑπη-
ρετῶν δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκέ-
λευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὠμολόγησα εἶχεν, ὧ 11
ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ
τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς καὶ ἑκατὸν δαρεικοὺς καὶ
φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς τέσσαρας, ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδιά
μοι δοῦναι, ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα
σώσω.

Ἐξιοῦσι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μη- 12
λόβιός τε καὶ Μνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου
ἀπιόντες, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς
θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν ὅπη βαδίζοιμεν· ὁ δ' ἔφασ-
κεν εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται. ἐκείνουν μὲν οὖν ἐκέ-
λευον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς
Δαμνίππου. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾶν μοι 13

- παρεκελεύετο καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἤξων ἐκεῖσε. κατα-
 λαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι Θεόγμιν ἑτέρους φυλάτ-
 τοντα· ᾧ παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν ᾗχοντο. ἐν τοι-
 ούτῳ δ' ὄντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς τοῦ γε
 14 ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἤδη. καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιπ-
 πον λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε, “ἐπιτήδειος μὲν μοι
 τυγχάνεις ἄν, ἤκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, ἀδικῶ δ'
 οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ' ἕνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι. σὺ οὖν
 ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν
 σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν.” ὁ δ'
 ὑπέσχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ βέλτιον
 εἶναι πρὸς Θεόγμιν μνησθῆναι· ἠγείτο γὰρ ἅπαν
 15 ποιήσειν αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνου
 δὲ διαλεγομένου Θεόγμινι, (ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὢν ἐτίγ-
 χανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ἤδειν ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἶη.)
 ἐδόκει μοι ταύτῃ πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένῳ
 ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ,
 ἠγοίμην μὲν, εἰ Θεόγμιν εἶη πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Δαμνίππου χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀφεθή-
 16 σεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι. ταῦτα
 διανοηθεὶς ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνλείῳ θύρᾳ
 τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν
 ἄς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἅπασαι ἀνεωγμένα ἔτυχον.
 ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου ἐκείνου
 πέμπω εἰς ἄστν, πευσόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ·
 ἤκων δὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
 λαβὼν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι.
 17 Καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκ-
 τὸς διέπλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγ-

γειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον πα-
 ράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι'
 ἦντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι· οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε
 κριθῆναι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέ- 18
 ρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου τεθνεώς, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν
 οὐσῶν οὐδεμιᾶς εἶσαν ἐξενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κλίσιον
 μισθωσάμενοι προῦθεντο αὐτόν. καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων
 ἱματίων αἰτοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔδοσαν εἰς τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλὰ
 τῶν φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον ὁ δὲ προσκεφάλαιον ὁ δὲ
 ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφήν.
 καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἑπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμετέρων, 19
 ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίου τοσοῦτον, χαλκὸν
 δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ ἱμάτια γυναικεῖα
 ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ᾤοντο κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ
 δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν, εἰς τοσαύτην
 ἀπληστίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ
 τρόπου τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαιτο· τῆς γὰρ
 Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς χρυσοῦς ἐλικτῆρας, οὐς
 ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν
 οἰκίαν Μηλόβιος, ἐκ τῶν ὧτων ἐξείλετο. καὶ οὐδὲ 20
 κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν· ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ
 χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον, ὥσπερ <οὐδ' > ἂν ἕτεροι
 μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων ὀργὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ τούτων
 ἀξίους γε ὄντας τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς χορηγίας

ἐκείνων] X, C, Turr. Schb.—ἐπ' ἐκείνων Aldine, Bk.
 (= 'in their time'),—a tempting variant, which may be
 right. § 20. ὥσπερ <οὐδ' > ἂν ἕτεροι] The insertion
 of οὐδ' is due to Westermann, whom Rauchenstein follows;
 it seems requisite. Scheibe, with Sauppe, inserts οὐκ.

χορηγήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας, κοσμίους δ' ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιούντας, ἐχθρὸν δ' οὐδένα κερτημένους, πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως μετακοῦντας ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο.

- 21 Οὔτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξήλασαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας ἀτίμους τῆς πόλεως κατέστησαν, πολλῶν δὲ
 22 θυγατέρας μελλούσας ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐκώλυσαν. καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὥσθ' ἠκούσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν· μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ
 23 τοῦτου τὰγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος. νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ· τὸν ἀδελφὸν γὰρ μου, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀρώων ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ προθύμως ἐξυπηρετῶν.
 24 ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί. τοιαύτην γὰρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τοῦτου ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τοῦτου διαλέγεσθαι ἀσεβὲς εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦτου βλάβῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὅσιον καὶ εὐσεβές. ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι. *ὅ τι ἂν σε ἐρωτῶ.

λυσαμένους τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν] Schb., with Bergk, points thus: λυσαμένοις· τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν. § 24. ὅτιον] Stephanus, Bk. Turr. Schb. = ὅσον C, X. § ὅ τι] Brunck's and Bk.'s cor-

Ἀπήγαγες Πολέμαρχον ἢ οὐ; Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν 25
 ἀρχόντων προσταχθέντα δεδιῶς ἐποίουν. Ἦσθα
 δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο περὶ
 ἡμῶν; Ἦν. Πότερον συνηγόρευες τοῖς κελεύουσιν
 ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ ἀντέλεγες; Ἀντέλεγον. Ἴνα <ἀπο-
 θάνωμεν ἢ> μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν; Ἴνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε.
 Ἠγούμενος ἡμᾶς ἄδικα πάσχειν ἢ δίκαια; Ἄδικα.

Εἶτ', ὧ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μὲν 26
 ἵνα σώσειας, συνελάμβανες δὲ ἵνα *ἀποκτείναις;
 καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας
 τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀντιλέγειν φῆς τοῖς βουλομένοις
 ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο
 καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μὴ, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
 ἀπήγαγες; εἶθ' ὅτι μὲν, ὡς φῆς, ἀντειπὼν οὐδὲν
 ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ
 συλλαβὸν ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ οἶει ἐμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ
 δοῦναι δίκην;

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, εἴπερ 27
 ἀληθῆ λέγει φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς αὐτῷ προσ-
 ετάχθη. οὐ γὰρ δὴ που ἐν τοῖς μετοίκους πίστιν
 παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον. ἔπειτα τῷ *ἦττον εἰκὸς ἦν
 προσταχθῆναι ἢ ὅστις ἀντειπὼν γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ
 γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος; τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν ἦττον

rection of the mss. εἴ τι. § 25. ἵνα <ἀποθάνωμεν ἢ>
 μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν;] Rauchenstein follows Reiske, Frei, and
 Frohberger in reading thus, as Dobree also wished to do.
 The mss. have simply ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν; and X omits μὴ.
 See comment. § 26. *ἀποκτείναις] Bk. conject., Turr.
 Schb.—ἀποκτείνους Bk. in text.—ἀποκτείνης (sic) X (acc. to
 Kayser), C. § 27. ἔπειτα] mss. Bk. Turr.—ἐπεὶ τοι
 Taylor conject., Schb. || *ἦττον εἰκὸς] ἦττον is due to
 Canter; C has οὐ πιστόν: the other mss., πίστιν. || ἐτύγχανε]
 X, Schb.—ἐτύγχανεν Bk. Turr. | καὶ γνώμην] Schb.,

ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι ἢ τὸν ἀντειπόντα οἷς ἐκείνοι
 28 ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι; ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
 Ἀθηναίοις ἰκανή μοι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν
 γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν
 αἰτίαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα, ἂν εἰς σφᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχασθαι;
 29 εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα
 αὐτῆς, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτῷ προσετάττετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον
 ἀνθρώπους ἀπολλύναι, ἴσως ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγ-
 γνώμην εἶχετε· νῦν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε
 δίκην, εἴπερ ἐξέσται τοῖς τριάκοντα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ
 30 ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποίουν; καὶ
 μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδοῦ, *σώζειν
 αὐτὸν *κατὰ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα *παρόν, συλ-
 λαβῶν ἀπήγαγεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ *πᾶσιν ὀργίζεσθε, ὅσοι
 εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας ζήτησιν ποιού-
 31 μενοι ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων τινός. καίτοι εἰ χρὴ
 *τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ἑτέρους ἀπολέσασσι
 συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκείνοις ἂν δικαιότερον ἔχοιτε·
 κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν πεμφθεῖσι μὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ κατα-
 λαβοῦσιν ἐξάρμοις γενέσθαι. τῷ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένει
 ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐκ

on his own conject., gives καὶ [σαντίαν] γλώσσην. § 29. ἰσχυ-
 ροτέρα αὐτῆς] Dobree wished to read ταύτης for αὐτῆς, or else to
 omit the latter, suggesting that it may have arisen from a
 variant αὐτοῖς for αὐτῷ just afterwards. § 30. σώζειν . παρόν]
 Most of the mss. give σώζοντα αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα
 ὄν σιλλαβῶν ἀπήγαγεν. C has σώζων αὐτὸν, omitting ὄν: and
 so Bk. reads. Baüter conject. σώζοντα αὐτὸν, κατὰ τὰ τούτοις
 ἐψηφισμένα σιλλαβῶν ἀπήγαγεν. Sauppe conject. σώζειν τε αὐτὸν
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα παρόν, and so Schb. now (1876) reads.
 Rauchenstein, combining Baüter's κατὰ with Sauppe's σώζειν
 παρόν, gives (edit. 5) the reading adopted in the text. * πᾶσιν
 is my correction of πάντες. § 31. * τοῖς διὰ] Reiske, Turr. Schb. —

εἶδεν ταῦτα γὰρ οὐτ' ἔλεγχον οὔτε βάσανον εἶχεν, ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐξελεγχθῆναι. χρῆν δέ σε, ὦ Ἐρατόσθενες, 32 εἴπερ ἦσθα χρηστός, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους συλλαμβάνειν. νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται οὐχ ὡς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις, ὥστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν 33 ἔργων χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἃ ἴσασι γεγενημένα τῶν τότε λεγομένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε παρασχέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνου ἡμῖν παρεῖναι οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις τὴν πόλιν πάντα τὰγαθὰ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, 34 εἰ βούλει, ἀντειπεῖν. θαυμάζω δὲ τί ἂν ποτε *ἐποίησας συνειπών, ὁπότε ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον. φέρε δὴ, τί ἂν εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; ἀπεψηφίσασθε; δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Ἐρατοσθέην δυοῖν θάτερον ἀποδείξαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτόν, ἢ ὡς δικαίως τούτ' ἔπραξεν. οὗτος δὲ ὁμολόγηκεν ἀδίκως συλλαβεῖν, ὥστε ῥαδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν διαψήφισιν περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε.

Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων 35 ἤκουσιν εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἔξετε.

τούτοις διὰ mss. Bk. § 34. *ἐποίησας] Dobree, Schb., Rauchenstein.—ποιήσαις mss. Bk. Turr. See comment. || ἐτύχετε...ἀπεψηφίσασθε] Rauchenstein, on Kayser's conject., ἐτυγχάνετε...ἀπεψηφίξεσθε, to which Schb. inclines, though he keeps the

ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται μαθόντες ἀπίασιν ὅτι ἢ δίκην δώσουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐξαμάρτωσιν, ἢ πράξαντες μὲν ὧν ἐφίενται τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως ἔσονται, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑμῖν ἔξουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύττουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ δικαίως. εἰ γὰρ διὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονηθέντες λαβόντες ἀφήσουσιν, ἢ που σφῆς αὐτοὺς ἠγήσονται περιέρ-
 36 γους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν * τιμωρουμένους. οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς οὐ ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, ἠγούμενοι χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀρετῇ παρ' ἐκείνων δίκην λαβεῖν, τούτους δέ, οὐ ἰδιώται μὲν ὄντες καθ' ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐποίησαν ἠττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτινύναι, οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὑφ' ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι;

§§ 92—100.

92 Βούλομαι δὲ ὀλίγα ἐκατέρους ἀναμνήσας καταβαίνειν, τοὺς τε ἐξ ἄστεος καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς,

aorists: but see comment. § 35. * τιμωρουμένους] Markland conject., Turr. Schb. — τιμωρούμενος Canter conject., Bk. — τηρουμένους or τηρούμενος mss. § 36. οὐκ οὖν] οἰκοῖν Bk. || ὅτε] Schb., with the mss. (X has ὅτε, acc. to Kayser: ὅτι, acc. to Bk.). — ὅτι Markland, Turr. Bk. || τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης] Reiske would add ναυαγοῦντας: Schb., τεθνεώτας. || τούτους δέ] X, C, Schb. — τούτους δὲ δὴ Bk. Turr.

ἵνα τὰς ὑμῖν διὰ τούτων γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα ἔχοντες τὴν ψῆφον φέρητε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἐξ ἄστεός ἐστε, σκέψασθε ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω σφόδρα ἤρχεσθε ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ νίεσι καὶ πολίταις ἠναγκάζεσθε πολεμεῖν τοιοῦτον πόλεμον ἐν ᾧ ἠττηθέντες μὲν τοῖς νικήσασσι τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἂν τούτοις ἐδουλεύετε. καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἂν 93 ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάττους ἔχετε. συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἠξίου, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροψίας ἐλθόντες ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες *εὖνοι ᾤοντο εἶναι· ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐν τῷ 94 θαρραλέω ὄντες, καθ' ὅσον δύνασθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς τιμωρήσασθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων πονηροτάτων ὄντων ἤρχεσθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρῶν νῦν ἀρίστων πολιτεύεσθε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθε καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλευέσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οἱ τοὶ φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν.

Καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν 95

§ 92. διὰ τούτων] C, Turr. Schb.—διὰ τοῦτον X, Bk. § 93. οὗτοι μὲν ἂν...ἐκτήσαντο] Schb. and Rauchenstein reject the ἂν: Turr. and Bk. do not. I hesitate to reject it, since it gives good sense; though its omission would make the passage simpler. See comment. || *εὖνοι] εὖρους mss. See comment.

- τοσαῦτα λέγω. ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐστε, πρῶτον
 μὲν τῶν ὄπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν
 τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ μαχεσάμενοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀφηρέθητε τὰ
 ὄπλα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι ἐξεκηρύχθητε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ἦν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν, φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς
 96 ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξητοῦντο· ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν
 ὡσπερ ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε, ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 κακῶν ἃ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἱ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς
 ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως
 ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ
 γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν
 γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἶασαν
 τυχεῖν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν
 97 εἶναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας. ὅσοι δὲ τὸν
 θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες καὶ
 εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες καὶ πανταχόθεν
 ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ
 μὲν ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τοῖς παῖδας καταλι-
 πόντες, οἱ δ' ἐν ξένη γῆ, πολλῶν ἐναντιουμένων
 ἦλθετε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων
 κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι
 τοὺς μὲν ἠλευθερώσατε, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
 98 κατηγάγετε. εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχῆσατε καὶ τούτων
 ἡμάρτετε, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε μὴ
 πάθητε τοιαῦτα ὅσα καὶ πρότερον, καὶ οὐτ' ἂν ἱερὰ
 οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους διὰ τοὺς τούτων
 τρόπους ὠφέλησαν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικούσι σωτήρια
 γίνονται· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν,
 ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ἰβρίζοντο, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν

ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον ἐρημία τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι 99 λέγειν, τὰπραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑνὸς κατηγοροῦ οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν. ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας <οὐδὲν> ἐλλέλειπται, ὑπὲρ <τε> τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμίαινον, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἣν μικρὰν ἐποίουν, ὑπὲρ τε τῶν νεωρίων, ἃ καθείλον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμύναι οὐκ ἠδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε. οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν τε ἀκροῦσθαι 100 καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας, ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τούτων ἀποψηφίσθησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον *κατεψηφίσθαι, ὅσοι δ' ἂν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰς τιμωρίας πεποιημένους.

Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν· ἀκηκόατε, ἑωράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε, δικάζετε.

§ 99. <οὐδὲν> ἐλλέλειπται] οὐδὲν was added by Canter: Turr., Schb., print it in brackets, Bk. without brackets. || ὑπὲρ <τε> τῶν ἱερῶν] τε is added, on Sauppe's conject., by Rauchenstein, Schb.—ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν mss. Bk. Turr. § 100. *κατεψηφίσθαι] Baiter.—καταψηφιεῖσθαι mss. Bk. Turr. Schb.—κατεψηφισμένους ἔσεσθαι Rauchenstein, and to this, or κατεψηφισμένους φανήσεσθαι, Schb. also inclines. || πεποιημένους] Reiske and Kayser think that φανήσεσθαι has dropped out after this. If anything were to be supplied, I should prefer εἶναι. But see comment.

VI. ΚΑΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΥ.

[Or. XIII.—About 399 B.C.]

§§ 5—48.

5 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν
καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀσθενέστερα ἐγεγέ-
νητο, οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον αἶ τε νῆες αἱ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀφικνοῦνται, καὶ
ἅμα λόγοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης
6 ἐγίνοντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι
νεώτερα πρῶτα ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι ἐπεβού-
λευον, νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι καὶ
μάλιστ' <ἂν> ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τὰ πρῶτα, ὥς
7 αὐτοὶ ἠξιοῦντο καταστήσασθαι. ἠγοῦντο δὲ
οὐδὲν ἄλλο σφίσιν ἐμποδῶν εἶναι ἢ τοὺς τοῦ δήμου
προεστηκότας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούοντας καὶ ταξι-
αρχοῦντας. τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο ἀμωσγέπως
ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥαδίως ἂ βούλοιντο δια-
πράττουτο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Κλεοφῶντι ἐπέθεντο
ἐκ τρόπου τοιούτου.

8 Ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πρώτη ἐκκλησία περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης
ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἤκοντες
ἔλεγον ἐφ' οἷς ἔτοιμοι εἶεν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ κατασκαφεῖ τῶν τειχῶν τῶν
μακρῶν ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια ἑκατέρου, τότε ὑμεῖς τε,
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἠμέσχεσθε ἀκούσαντες
περὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς κατασκαφῆς, Κλεοφῶν τε

VI. § 6. μάλιστ' ἂν . . . καταστήσασθαι.] The mss. have μά-
λιστ' ἂν: but, as Doüance saw, we require either μάλιστ' ἂν or

ἰπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν ὡς οὐδενὶ
 τρόπῳ οἷόν τε εἶη ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 9
 Θηραμένης, ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ,
 ἀναστὰς λέγει ὅτι, εἰν αὐτὸν ἔλησθε περὶ τῆς
 εἰρήνης πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα, ποιήσειν ὥστε
 μήτε τῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν μήτε ἄλλο τὴν πόλιν
 ἐλαττώσαι μηδέν· οἷοιτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν
 παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ πόλει εὐρήσεσθαι. πει- 10
 σθέντες δὲ ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε ἐκείνον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτο-
 κράτορα, ὃν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει στρατηγὸν χειρο-
 τουηθέντα ἀπεδοκιμάσατε, οὐ νομίζοντες εὖνουν
 εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν 11
 ἔλθων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ πολὺν χρόνον,
 καταλιπὼν ὑμᾶς πολιορκουμένους, εἰδὼς τὸ ὑμέτε-
 ρον πλήθος ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐχόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὸν πόλε-
 μον καὶ τὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας, νομίζων, εἰ διαθείη ὑμᾶς ἀπόρως
 ὥσπερ διέθηκεν, ἀσμένως ὁποιαντιοῦν ἐθελῆσαι
 ἂν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐνθάδε ὑπομένοντες 12
 καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν
 εἰς ἀγῶνα Κλεοφῶντα καθιστᾶσι, πρόφασιν μὲν
 ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος, τὸ δ'
 ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἀντεῖπεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ καθαιρεῖν τὰ
 τεῖχη. ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν δικαστήριον παρασκευά-
 σαντες καὶ εἰσελθόντες οἱ βουλόμενοι ὀλιγαρχίαν
 καταστήσασθαι ἀπέκτειναν ἐν τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ.

καταστήσασθαι. The former is most probable. § 9. ποιήσειν] X,
 C. Turr. Schb.—ποιήσει Stephanus, Bk. § 11. ἀπόρως] Schb.,
 while keeping this in the text, thinks with Kayser that it is a
 gloss. § 12. ἐν τῇ προφάσει] Baiter would read ἐπὶ instead

- 13 Θηραμένης δὲ ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Λακεδαι-
 μονος. προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν
 τινες καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ὧν ἦν Στρομβιχίδης καὶ
 Διονυσόδωρος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνο-
 οῦντες ὑμῖν, ὡς γ' ἐδήλωσαν ὕστερον, ἠγανάκτου
 σφόδρα. ἦλθε γὰρ φέρων εἰρήνην τοιαύτην, ἣν
 ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ μαθόντες ἔγνωμεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν
 14 πολιτῶν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπωλέσαμεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν τριάκοντα ἐξηλάθημεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ
 ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν διελεῖν ὅλα
 τὰ μακρὰ τείχη *κατασκάψαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλο τι
 ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει εὐρέσθαι τὰς τε ναῦς παραδοῦναι
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος
 15 περιελεῖν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν
 εἰρήνην *λεγομένην, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν
 καταλυομένην, οὐκ <ἀν> ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι ταῦτα
 γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ
 τείχη, εἰ πεσεῖται, οὐδὲ κηδόμενοι τῶν νεῶν, εἰ
 Λακεδαιμονίοις παραδοθήσονται (οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 16 τούτων πλεῖον ἢ ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ προσῆκεν). ἀλλ'
 αἰσθόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆ-
 θος καταλυθησόμενον, οὐδ' (ὡς φασί τινες) οὐκ ἐπιθυ-
 μοῦντες εἰρήνην γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι βελτίω
 ταύτης εἰρήνην τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιήσασθαι.
 ἐνόμιζον δὲ δυνήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔπραξαν ἂν ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ

of ἐν: but see comment. § 14. *κατασκάψαι] Bk. conject.,
 Turr. Schb. διασκάψαι mss., Bk. in text. § 15. *λεγομένην]
 Schb., on Hirschig's conject., γενομένην. | οὐκ - ἀν - ἔφασαν
 ἐπιτρέψαι] οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι mss. Turr. Schb. We must add
 ἀν before ἔφασαν (with Dobree), or after it (with Markland); or
 else read ἐπιτρέψαι with Stephanus and Rauchenstein. ||
 νεῶν] νηῶν mss. Bk. Turr. (the latter, indeed, with the remark,

ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἀπόλωντο. γνούς δὲ ταῦτα 17
 Θηραμένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες ὑμῖν,
 ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες οἱ κωλύσουσι τὸν δῆμον καταλυθῆναι
 καὶ ἐναντιώσονται περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, εἴλοντο,
 πρὶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γενέσθαι,
 τούτους πρῶτον εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ κινδύνους κατα-
 στῆσαι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους
 ἀντιλέγοι.

Ἐπιβουλὴν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐπιβουλεύουσι. πεί- 18
 θουσι γὰρ Ἀγόρατον τουτονὶ μηνυτὴν κατὰ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων γενέσθαι, οὐ ξυνει-
 δότα ἐκείνοις, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέν (οὐ γὰρ
 δήπου ἐκείνοι οὕτως ἀνόητοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄφιλοι,
 ὥστε περὶ τηλικούτων ἂν πραγμάτων πρᾶττοντες
 Ἀγόρατον ὡς πιστὸν καὶ εὖνουν, δούλον καὶ ἐκ
 δούλων ὄντα, παρεκάλεσαν), ἀλλ' ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς
 οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι μηνυτῆς. ἐβούλοντο οὖν 19
 ἄκουτα δοκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἐκόντα μηνύειν, ὅπως
 πιστότερα ὑμῖν ὑποφαίνοιτο. ὡς δὲ ἐκὼν ἐμήνυσε,
 καὶ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσθήσεσθαι.
 *εἰσπέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν [τὴν πρὸ τῶν
 τριάκοντα βουλευούσαν] Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλα-
 φοστίκτου καλούμενον· ὁ δὲ Θεόκριτος οὗτος ἐταῖ-
 ρος ἦν τῷ Ἀγοράτῳ καὶ ἐπιτήδειος. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἢ 20
 πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα βουλευούσα διέφθαρτο καὶ
 ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμει, ὡς ἴστε, μάλιστα. τεκμήριον
 δέ· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς βουλῆς τὴν

'immo νεῶν'). § 19. * εἰσπέμπουσι Dobree, Sauppe, Rauchen-
 stein: ἐκπέμπουσι mss.: see comment. || [τὴν πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα
 βουλευούσαν]] Dobree pointed out the interpolation. The words

- ὑστέραν βουλὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐβούλευον.
 τοῦ δ' ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω ὑμῖν; ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι τὰ
 ψηφίσματα τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς βουλῆς οὐκ ἐπ'
 εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου
 τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἅπαντα *ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτοις
 21 οὔσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν προσέχητε. εἰσελθὼν δὲ
 εἰς ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Θεόκριτος
 μηνύει ὅτι συλλέγονται τινες ἐναντιωσόμενοι τοῖς
 τότε καθισταμένοις πράγμασι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα
 οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῶν ἐρεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον· ὄρκους τε γὰρ
 ὁμωμοκέναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις, καὶ εἶναι ἑτέρους
 οὐκ ἐροῦσι τὰ ὀνόματα, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε
 22 ποιῆσαι ταῦτα. καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς
 ἐμηνύετο, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἠνάγκασεν ἡ βουλὴ εἰπεῖν
 τὰ ὀνόματα Θεόκριτου καὶ μὴ ἀνώνυμον τὴν μήνυ-
 σιν ποιήσασθαι; νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα *ἐψη-
 φίσατο. [ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.]
 23 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη,
 κατέρχονται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγόρατον εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ
 αἰρεθέντες τῶν βουλευτῶν, καὶ περιτυχόντες αὐτῶ
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐζήτουν ἄγειν, παραγενόμενος δὲ Νικίας
 καὶ Νικομένης καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ὁρῶντες τὰ πράγ-
 ματα οὐχ οἷα βέλτιστα ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντα, ἄγειν
 μὲν τὸν Ἀγόρατον οὐκ ἔφασαν προήσεσθαι, ἀφη-
 ροῦντο δὲ καὶ ἠγγυῶντο καὶ ὁμολόγουν παρέξειν

are bracketed by Rauchenstein and Schb. § 20. *ἐγένετο] Markland conject., Schb. (1st edit.), ἐλέγχοτο mss. Bk. Turr. Schb. (2nd edit.). τὸν νοῦν προσέχητε] X, Turr. Schb.—τὸν νοῦν μὴ προσέχητε C. τὸν νοῦν ἦσαν προσέχητε Reiske, Bk. § 22. *ἐψηφίσαστο] Reiske, Bk. Turr.—ψηφίσσεται Schb., on his own conject. ψηφίσαστε (sic) X, ψηφίσαστο (sic) C, ψηφίσασσθαι the other mss. § 23. παρέξειν] mss. Bk. Turr.—

εἰς τὴν βουλὴν. γραψάμενοι δὲ οἱ βουλευταὶ τὰ 24
 ὀνόματα τῶν ἐγγυωμένων καὶ κωλύοντων, ἀπιόντες
 ὄχοντο εἰς ἄστυ. ὁ δὲ Ἀγόρατος καὶ οἱ ἐγγυηταὶ
 καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνυχίασιν· ἐπειδὴ
 δὲ *ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐδόκει
 οὖν τοῖς ἐγγυηταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐκποδῶν
 *ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἀγόρατον ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ πα- 25
 ρορμίσαντες δύο πλοῖα Μουνυχίασιν ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ
 παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀπελθεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν
 συνεκπλευσεῖσθαι, ἕως τὰ πράγματα κατασταίη,
 λέγοντες ὅτι, εἰ κομισθείη εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, βασι-
 νιζόμενος ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὀνόματα εἰπεῖν
 Ἀθηναίων ὧν ἂν ὑποβάλωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι κακόν
 τι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργάζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐκείνων δεομέ- 26
 νων, καὶ παρασκευασάντων πλοῖα, καὶ αὐτῶν
 ἐτοίμων ὄντων συνεκπλεῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε πείθεσθαι
 αὐτοῖς Ἀγόρατος οὕτως. καίτοι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε, εἰ
 μή τί σοι ἦν παρεσκευασμένον καὶ ἐπίστευες μηδὲν
 κακὸν πείσεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὄχου καὶ πλοίων
 παρεσκευασμένων καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν ἐτοίμων ὄντων
 σοι συνεκπλεῖν; ἔτι γὰρ οἶόν τέ σοι ἦν, καὶ οὐπω
 ἡ βουλή σου ἐκράτει. ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ οὐχ ὅμοιά γε 27
 σοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις ὑπῆρχε. πρῶτον μὲν *γὰρ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἦσαν ὥστε οὐκ ἐδεδῖεσαν βασιμισθῆναι·
 ἔπειτα πατρίδα σφετέραν αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες
 ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν συνεκπλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ, ἡγησάμενοι
 ταῦτα μᾶλλον λυσιτελεῖν ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν πολλοὺς
 παράξειν Cobet, Schb. See comment. § 24. *ἐκεῖ ἦσαν]
 Taylor conject., Turr. Schb.—ἐκάθισαν C, Bk.—ἐκίνησαν mss.
 || *ποιήσασθαι] Foertsch conject., Turr. Schb.—ποιῆσαι mss.
 Bk. § 27. μὲν *γὰρ] Cobet, Schb.—μὲν γε mss. Bk. Turr.

καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσθαι. σοὶ δὲ
 πρῶτον μὲν κίνδυνος ἦν βασανισθῆναι ὑπομείναντι.
 28 ἔπειτα οὐ πατρίδα ἂν σαυτοῦ *κατέλιπες· ὥστ' ἐκ
 παντὸς τρόπου σοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐκπλεῦσαι
 συνέφερεν, εἰ μὴ τι ἦν ᾧ ἐπίστευες. νῦν δὲ ἄκων
 μὲν προσποιῆ, ἐκὼν δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
 Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας. ὡς δὲ παρεσκευάσθη
 ἅπαντα ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι καὶ αὐτὸ
 τὸ ψήφισμα σοῦ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς καταμαρτυρήσει.
 [ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.]

29 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐψηφίσθη
 καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Μουνυχίαζε, ἐκὼν
 ἀνέστη Ἀγόρατος ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ· καίτοι νῦν γε
 30 βία φησὶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν βουλήν
 ἐκομίσθησαν, ἀπογράφει Ἀγόρατος πρῶτον μὲν
 τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγγυητῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ἔπειτα τῶν στρα-
 τηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων
 τινῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τοῦ παντὸς
 κακοῦ ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἀπέγραψε τὰ ὀνόματα,
 οἶμαι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπ'
 αὐτοφώρῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐξελέγξω. ἀπόκριναι δὴ
 μοι. [ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.]

31 Ἐβούλοντο τοίνυν, ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἔτι
 πλείονων αὐτὸν τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπογράψαι· οὕτω
 σφόδρα ἔρρωτο ἡ βουλή κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι, *καὶ
 οὗτος οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τάληθῆ πω κατη-

! *κατέλιπες] G. A. Hirschig conject., Rauchenstein, Schb.—
 ἀπέλιπες mss. Bk. Turr. § 28. ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐκπλεῦσαι] X,
 Schb.—ἐκπλεῦσαι ἢ ἐκείνοις Bk. Turr. § 30. ἐκομίσθησαν]
 X, Rauchenstein, Schb.—ἐκομίσθη Bk. Turr. § 31. ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι, *καὶ οὗτος] so Rauchenstein, and this seems the best

γορηκέσαι. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἅπαντας ἐκὼν ἀπογράφει, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης οὔσης· [μετὰ τοῦτο προσαπογράφει ἑτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν·] ἐπει- 32
 δὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνηχίασιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐγίγνετο, οὕτω σφόδρα τινὲς ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων μήνυσις γένοιτο (περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχρη ἢ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήνυσις γεγενημένη), ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖ παράγουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. καὶ μοι ἀπόκρισαι, ὦ Ἀγόρατε· οὐ γὰρ <ἂν> οἶμαί σε ἕξαρνον γενέσθαι ἂ ἐναντίον Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐποίησας. [ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.]

Ὅμολογεῖ μὲν καὶ αὐτός, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὰ 33
 ψηφίσματα ὑμῖν τοῦ δήμου ἀναγνώσεται. [*ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.]

Ὅτι μὲν ἀπέγραψεν Ἀγόρατος οὕτως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἔστι φονεὺς ἐκείνων,

reading of the passage. X has ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸς, C ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡστ' (and so Bk. reads). Turr. give ἐργάζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δ'. Schb. adopts Sauppe's conject., ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς. Dobree inclined to read ἐργάζεσθαι ὡστ' (omitting αὐτὸν), but suggested also ἐργάζεσθαι, οὗτος δ'. || [μετὰ τοῦτο προσαπογράφει ἑτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν]] interpolated, as Dobree remarked, from § 56. Bk. and Turr. omit the words; Schb. brackets them. § 32. ἢ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήνυσις γεγενημένη] so Schb., but brackets μήνυσις, which Bremi and Cobet would omit. X has ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήνυσις μὲν ἢ γεγενημένη: C has ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήνυσις ἢ γεγενημένη, and so Bk.—Turr. give ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μήνυσις μόνῃ γεγενημένη: Rauchenstein, ἐν τῇ βουλῇ μόνῃ γεγενημένη. || οὐ γὰρ <ἂν> οἶμαί σε ἕξαρνον γενέσθαι] οὐ γὰρ οἶμαί σε ἕξαρνον γενέσθαι C: ἂν was supplied by Reiske. Turr., like Bk., omit ἂν in the text, but remark in a note that we require it, unless we read γενήσεσθαι. On the hint of X, which has ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε ἕξαρνον γενέσθαι, Schb. gives ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαί σε ἕξαρνον ἂν γενέσθαι. § 33. [*ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ]] Reiske conject.,

σχεδόν τι οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι· ὡς τοίνυν ἀπάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο καὶ οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς αὐτὸν προσήκει ἐλεεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ οἶμαι ὑμῖν
 34 ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀποδείξειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι συλληφθέντες ἐδέθησαν, τότε καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἰς τοὺς λιμένας τοὺς ὑμετέρους εἰσέπλευσε, καὶ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι Λακεδαιμονίοις παρεδόθησαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατεσκάφη, καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν,
 35 καὶ τί οὐ τῶν δεινῶν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο; ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οἱ τριάκοντα κατεστάθησαν, εὐθέως κρίσιν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐποιοῦν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὃ δὲ δῆμος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις ἐψηφίσατο. καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα. [ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.]

36 Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐκρίνοντο, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐσφύζοντο· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἤδη ἐγνωκότες ἦτε οὗ ἦν κακοῦ ἢ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν ἐδύνασθε· νῦν δ' εἰς τὴν βουλήν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσάγουσιν. ἢ δὲ κρίσις τοιαύτη ἐγίγνετο,
 37 οἷαν καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπίστασθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων, οὗ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέζονται· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφου οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους ἀλλὰ φανεράν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι, τὴν μὲν <ἀπολύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην, τὴν δὲ> καθαιροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν·

Turr. Schb. — ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ mss. Bk. § 37. τὴν μὲν... ὑστέραν] I supply the words in brackets. Some such words have plainly been lost. X has only τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, and so Schb. reads, leaving dots after ὑστέραν.—C has τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην, τὴν δὲ καθαιροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, and so Bk. Turr.—The Aldine gives τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, τὴν δὲ σφύζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην, which Rauchenstein (with Reiske) prints, but

ὥστε ἐκ τίνος τρόπου ἔμελλέ τις αὐτῶν σωθή-
 σεσθαι; ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, ὅσοι εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπὶ 38
 τῶν τριάκοντα εἰσῆλθον κριθησόμενοι, ἀπάντων
 θάνατος κατεγιγνώσκετο καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεψηφί-
 σαντο, πλὴν Ἀγοράτου τουτουῖ· τοῦτον δὲ ἀφείσαν
 ὡς εὐεργέτην ὄντα· ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὡς πολλοὶ ὑπὸ
 τούτου τεθναῖσι, βούλομαι ὑμῖν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν
 ἀναγνῶναι. [ONOMATA.]

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, θάνατος 39
 αὐτῶν κατεγνώσθη καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν,
 μεταπέμπονται εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὁ μὲν ἀδελφὴν,
 ὁ δὲ μητέρα, ὁ δὲ γυναῖκα, ὁ δ' ἢ τις ἦν ἐκάστῳ
 αὐτῶν προσήκουσα, ἵνα τὰ ὕστατα ἀσπασάμενοι
 τοὺς αὐτῶν οὕτω τὸν βίον τελευτήσειαν. καὶ δὴ 40
 καὶ Διονυσόδωρος μεταπέμπεται τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
 ἐμὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν.
 πυθομένη δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται, μέλαν [τε] ἱμάτιον
 ἠμφιεσμένη, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς
 τοιαύτη συμφορᾷ κεχρημένῳ. ἐναντίον δὲ τῆς 41
 ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς Διονυσόδωρος τὰ τε οἰκεία τὰ
 αὐτοῦ διέθετο ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ περὶ Ἀγορά-
 του τουτουῖ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αἴτιος ἦν τοῦ θάνατου, καὶ
 ἐπέσκηπτεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τουτωί, τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 τῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πᾶσι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατον· καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπέ- 42

follows Kayser in bracketing as a gloss. § 40. μέλαν [τε] ἱμάτιον ἠμφιεσμένη] mss. Bk.—Turr. say, 'τε malimus abesse': Schb. adds dots after ἠμφιεσμένη, to mark a lacuna. In his 1st edit. Schb. gave μέλαν τὸ instead of μέλαν τε. § 41. τὰ αὐτοῦ] Schb.—τὰ αὐτοῦ X.—τὰ ἑαυτοῦ vulg. Bk. Turr. || ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ] Sauppe, Turr. Schb.—ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ vulg. Bk.

σκηπτε, νομίζων αὐτὴν κυεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν γένηται αὐτῇ παιδίον, φράζειν τῷ γενομένῳ ὅτι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ κελεύειν τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς φονέα ὄντα. ὡς οὖν ἀληθῆ λέγω, μάρτυρας τούτων παρέξομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

- 43 Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες, ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους ἐκποδῶν ἐποίησαντο οἱ τριάκοντα, σχεδὸν οἶμαι ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι ὡς πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· ὧν οὗτος ἀπάντων αἰτιός ἐστιν, ἀποκτείνας ἐκείνους. ἀνιῶμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπομιμνήσκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει,
- 44 ἀνάγκη δ' ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὡς σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἐλεεῖν προσήκει Ἀγόρατον. ἴστε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ Σαλαμίνοσ τῶν πολιτῶν κομισθέντας, οἳ οἱ ἦσαν καὶ ὅσοι, καὶ οἷῳ ὀλέθρῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπόλλυτο· ἴστε δὲ τοὺς ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος, ὡς πολλοὶ ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐχρήσαντο· μέμνησθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε διὰ τὰς
- 45 ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἀπαγομένους εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· οὐ οὐδὲν κακὸν τὴν πόλιν ποιήσαντες ἠναγκάζοντο αἰσχίστῳ καὶ ἀκλεεστάτῳ ὀλέθρῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι, οἳ μὲν γονέας σφετέρους αὐτῶν πρεσβύτας καταλείποντες, οἳ ἥλπιζον ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν παίδων γηροτροφηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσειαν τὸν βίον, ταφήσεσθαι, οἳ δὲ ἀδελφὰς ἀνεκδότους, οἳ δὲ παῖδας μικροὺς πολλῆς ἔτι θεραπείας δεο-

§ 42. κυεῖν] κύειν X, Bk. § 45. σφετέρους αὐτῶν] Dobree and Baiter would omit these words: Schb. brackets them. || τελευτήσειαν] Cobet, Schb. Rauchenstein.—τελευτήσαιεν Bk.

μένους· οὓς, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποίαν τινὰ οἶσθε 46
 γνώμην περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, ἢ ποίαν τινὰ ἄν
 ψήφον θέσθαι, εἰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γένοιτο, ἀποστε-
 ρηθέντας διὰ τοῦτον τῶν ἡδίστων; ἔτι δὲ τὰ
 τείχη ὡς κατεσκάφη, καὶ αἱ νῆες τοῖς πολεμίοις
 παρεδόθησαν, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καθηρέθη, καὶ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὑμῶν εἶχον, καὶ ἡ δύναμις
 ἅπασα τῆς πόλεως παρελύθη, ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέ-
 ρειν τῆς ἐλαχίστης πόλεως τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ 47
 τούτοις τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀπωλέσατε, καὶ τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον συλλήβδην ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκ
 τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάθητε. ταῦτα ἐκείνοι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ
 ἄνδρες αἰσθόμενοι οὐκ <ἄν> ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν
 εἰρήνην, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποιήσασθαι· οὓς σύ, 48
 Ἀγόρατε, βουλομένους ἀγαθόν τι πράξαι τῇ πόλει
 ἀπέκτεινας, μηνύσας αὐτοὺς [τῇ πόλει] ἐπιβου-
 λεύειν τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ, καὶ αἴτιος εἶ ἀπάν-
 των τῇ πόλει τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων. νῦν
 οὖν μνησθέντες καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος δυστυχημά-
 των καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως τιμωρεῖσθε τὸν
 αἴτιον τούτων.

Turr. § 47. οὐκ <ἄν> ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι] We must read ἐπιτρέψειν, or else insert ἄν before ἔφασαν: cp. above on § 15.
 § 48. αὐτοὺς [τῇ πόλει] ἐπιβουλεύειν] Dobree proposed to read αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύων and omit τῇ πόλει. It is plain that τῇ πόλει, here, came in either from the preceding or from the following clause.—Bk., with Reiske, τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιβουλεύειν. || τῷ πλήθει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ] bracketed by Rauchenstein and Schb.

VII. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΥ.

[Or. VII.—Not before 395 B.C.]

§§ 17—25.

- 17 Ἐπι τοίνυν εἰ τῶν οἰκετῶν παρέστη μοι μηδὲν φροντίζειν, πῶς ἂν ἐτόλμησα, τοσοῦτων μεμισθωμένων καὶ ἀπάντων συνειδότην, ἀφανίσαι τὸν σηκὸν βραχέος μὲν κέρδους ἔνεκα, προθεσμίας δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῷ κινδύνῳ, τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἅπασιν τὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως προσήκον εἶναι σῶον τὸν σηκόν, ἵν' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἠτιᾶτο, εἶχον ἀνενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ παρέδοσαν. νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσαντες φαίνονται, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἶπερ ψεύδονται, μετόχους τῆς αἰτίας καθιστάντες.
- 18 εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασάμην, πῶς ἂν οἶός τ' ἦν πάντας πείσαι τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ τοὺς γείτονας, οἳ οὐ μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἴσασιν ἀ πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν ἔξεστιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμεθα μηδένα εἰδέναι, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων πυνθάνονται; ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τούτων οἱ μὲν φίλοι οἱ δὲ διάφοροι περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν
- 19 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. οὓς ἐχρῆν τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, καὶ μὴ μόνον οὔτῳ τολμηρὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι· ὅς φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν παρειστήκειν, οἱ δ' οἰκέται ἐξέτεμον τὰ πρέμνα, ἀναθέμενος δὲ ὁ βοηλάτης ὄχρετο ἀπάγων τὰ ξύλα.
- 20 καίτοι, ὦ Νικόμαχε, χρῆν σε τότε καὶ παρακαλεῖν τοὺς παριόντας μάρτυρας, καὶ φανερὸν ποιεῖν τὸ

VII. § 18. τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ] bracketed by Schb., with Dobree and Kayser. || ἀποκρυπτόμεθα] ἀποκρυπτόμενοι οἰόμεθα

πράγμα· καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἂν ἀπολογία
 * ὑπέλιπες, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν σοι ἐχθρὸς ἦν, ἐν τούτῳ
 τῷ τρόπῳ ἦσθα ἂν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς
 πόλεως ἕνεκα ἔπραττες, οὕτως ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἂν
 ἐδόκεις εἶναι συκοφάντης, εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, 21
 τότε ἂν πλεῖστον ἔλαβες· φανεροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ
 πράγματος οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἡγούμην ἂν εἶναί μοι
 σωτηρίαν ἢ σὲ πείσαι. τούτων τοίνυν οὐδὲν ποιή-
 σας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἀξιοῖς με ἀπολέσθαι,
 καὶ κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν
 ἐμῶν χρημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει σοι μαρτυρεῖν. καί- 22
 τοι εἰ * φήσας μ' ἰδεῖν τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζοντα τοὺς
 ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἐπήγαγες ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ
 Ἀρείου πάγου, οὐκ ἂν ἐτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων·
 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἵπερ
 καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν ἔμελλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος.
 δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω, ὃς εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυ- 23
 ρας, τούτοις ἂν ἡξίου πιστεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ
 εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην ζημίαν οἴεται χρῆναι
 γενέσθαι. καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω· οὐ γὰρ
 δήπου συκοφαντῶν ἅμα τοιούτων γε λόγων ἀπο-
 ρήσει καὶ μαρτύρων· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν
 τούτῳ γνώμην ἔχειν. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ 24
 πολλὰς μορίας οὔσας καὶ πυρκαϊὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις
 τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, ἅς, εἶπερ ἐπεθύμουν, πολὺ ἦν

Schb. on his own conject. § 20. * ὑπέλιπες] Franz. conject.,
 Turr. Schb.—ἀπέλιπες mss. Bk. § 22. * φήσας μ' ἰδεῖν]
 Reiske conject., Bk. Turr. Schb.—φῆς (sic) μὴ δεῖν mss.—φήμας
 μ' ἰδεῖν Meutzner, Rauchenstein: see comment. § 23. ὃς εἰ]
 Schb., retaining ὃς εἰ, conjectures ὄσω εἰ, which Rauchenstein
 adopts. || ταύτην ζημίαν] Turr. Rauchenstein.—ταύτην τὴν

ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἐπεργάσασθαι, ὅσῳ περ ἦττον τὸ ἀδίκημα πολλῶν
 25 οὐσῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δ' οὕτως αὐτὰς
 περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεαι ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 οὐσίαν, ἠγούμενος περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων εἶναι
 μοι τὸν κίνδυνον. αὐτοὺς τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τούτων
 μάρτυρας παρέξομαι, ἐπιμελουμένους μὲν ἐκάστου
 μηνός, γνώμονας δὲ πέμποντας καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἐνιαυτόν· ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐζημίωσεν ὡς ἐργαζό-
 μενον τὰ περὶ τὰς μορίας χωρία.

VIII. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ.

[Or. x.—384 or 383 B.C.]

§§ 6—20.

6 Ἴσως τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τούτων
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπολογήσεται, ἐρεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἅπερ
 ἐτόλμα λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τὸν διαιτητὴν, ὡς οὐκ
 ἔστι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, εἴαν τις εἶπῃ τὸν πατέρα
 ἀπεκτονέειν· τὸν γὰρ νόμον οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύειν,
 7 ἀλλ' ἀνδροφόνου οὐκ εἶναι λέγειν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων
 διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων διανοίας, καὶ πάντας

ζημίαν mss. Schb.—ταύτην [τὴν] ζημίαν Bk. § 25. ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν] Schb. and Rauchenstein insert καὶ τὴν πατρίδα after ὥσπερ. Kayser had proposed to insert τὴν πατρίδα (without καί). || ἐπιμελουμένους] X, C, O, Turr. Schb.—ἐπιμελομένους Bk.

VIII. § 7. οἶμαι] οἶμαι δεῖν Schb., from the epitome, or.

εἰδέναι ὅτι, ὅσοι <ἀπεκτόνασί τινας, καὶ ἀνδροφόνου τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι, καὶ ὅσοι> ἀνδροφόνου εἰσί, καὶ ἀπεκτόνασί τινας. πολὺ γὰρ <ἄν> ἔργον ἦν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ἅπαντα τὰ ὀνόματα γράφειν, ὅσα τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει· ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐνὸς εἰπὼν περὶ πάντων ἐδήλωσεν. οὐ γὰρ δήπου, ᾧ Θεόμνηστε, 8 εἰ μὲν τίς σ' εἴποι πατραλοίαν ἢ μητραλοίαν, ἡξιόους ἂν αὐτὸν ὀφλεῖν σοὶ δίκην, εἰ δέ τις εἴποι ὡς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἢ τὸν φύσαντα ἔτυπτες, ᾧ αὐτὸν ἀζήμιον δεῖν εἶναι ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα. ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν σου πυθοίμην (περὶ τοῦτο 9 γὰρ δεινὸς εἶ καὶ μεμελέτηκας καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν)· εἴ τις σε εἴποι ῥίψαι τὴν ἀσπίδα, ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ εἴρητο, ἑάν τις φάσκη ἀποβεβληκέαι, ὑπόδικον εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐδικάζου αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐξήρκει ἂν σοὶ ἐρριφέαι τὴν ἀσπίδα λέγοντι οὐδὲν σοὶ *μέλειν; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ ῥίψαι καὶ ἀποβεβληκέαι. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἑνδεκα γενόμενος 10 ἀποδέξαιο, εἴ τις ἀπάγοι τινὰ φάσκων θοιμάτιον ἀποδεδύσθαι ἢ τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκδεδύσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφείης ἂν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅτι οὐ λωποδύτης ὀνομάζεται. οὐδ' εἴ τις παῖδα ἐξαγαγὼν ληφθείη, οὐκ ἂν φάσκοις αὐτὸν ἀνδραποδιστὴν εἶναι, εἴπερ

xi. § 3. || <ἀπεκτόνασί τινας καὶ ἀνδροφόνου τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι, καὶ ὅσοι>] Dobree suggested the insertion of these words, comparing or. xi. § 3. Turr. and Schb. print them in brackets. Sauppe says, 'τῶν αὐτῶν hic abesse malim.' || γὰρ <ἄν>] ἄν is added by Turr. (comparing or. xi. § 4) Schb. § 9. οὐδὲν σοὶ *μέλειν] μέλειν Stephanus, Turr.—οὐδὲν σοὶ μέλει C, Bk. (X has μέλλει).—οὐδὲν μοι μέλει Schb., placing all from οὐδὲν to ἀποβεβληκέαι inclusive between inverted commas. But the clause οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ ῥίψαι καὶ ἀποβεβληκέαι is clearly, I think, part of the speaker's own argument, not a remark

- μαχῆ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν νοῦν προσέξεις, ὧν ἕνεκα τὰ ὀνόματα πάντες τίθενται.
- 11 ἔτι τοίνυν σκέψασθε, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί· οὐτοσὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας καὶ μαλακίας οὐδ' εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναβεβηκέναι. πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ὅταν τὰς τοῦ φόνου δίκας δικάζονται, οὐ διὰ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τὰς διωμοσίας ποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ δι' οὐπερ ἐγὼ κακῶς ἀκήκοα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διώκων ὡς ἔκτεινε
- 12 διόμνυται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων ὡς οὐκ ἔκτεινει. οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον ἂν εἴη τὸν φεύγοντα, *δόξαντα κτεῖναι, <ἀπολογεῖσθαι> φάσκοντα ἀνδροφόνον εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ διώκων, ὡς ἔκτεινε, διωμόσατο. τί γὰρ ταῦτα, ὧν οὗτος ἐρεῖ, διαφέρει; καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἑὐνομι κακηγορίας ἐδικάσω εἰπόντι σε ἐρριφέναι τὴν ἀσπίδα. καίτοι περὶ μὲν τοῦ ῥῖψαι οὐδὲν <ἐν> τῷ νόμῳ εἴρηται, ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὴν ἀσπίδα, πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς
- 13 ὀφείλειν κελεύει. οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ ὅταν μὲν

supposed to be made by Theomnestos. § 12. οὐκοῦν... διωμόσατο.] The mss. have οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον ἂν εἴη τὸν δειξαντα κτεῖναι φάσκοντα ἀνδροφόνον εἶναι ὅτι ὁ διώκων ὡς ἔκτεινε τὸν φεύγοντα διωμόσατο.—δόξαντα is Reiske's certain correction of δειξαντα. Some infinitive has dropped out: the notion required is either 'to seek acquittal' or 'to acquit.' Bk., with Reiske, inserts ἀποφάγειν after κτεῖναι. Schb. indicates by dots a lacuna after εἴη, and thinks, with Foertsch, that we should supply ἀφείναι. Turr. print the reading of the mss. as given above, with the comment 'vel ἀποφάγειν vel ἀφείναι deesse certum est.' I like ἀποφάγειν better than ἀφείναι, but prefer ἀπολογεῖσθαι to either. I also think that τὸν φεύγοντα must stand immediately after εἴη, and that the τὸν before δόξαντα must be omitted. See comment. οὐδὲν <ἐν> τῷ νόμῳ ἐν is supplied by Markland, Turr. Schb.: omitted, with the mss., by Bk. § 13. οὐκ οὖν] (interrogative) X, Schb., who

δέη σὲ κακῶς ἀκούσαντα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω τοὺς νόμους ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν *λαμβάνεις, ὅταν δ' ἕτερον παρὰ τοὺς νόμους εἴπῃς κακῶς, οὐκ ἀξιοῖς δοῦναι δίκην; πότερον οὕτως σὺ δεινὸς εἶ ὥστε, ὅπως ἂν βούλῃ, οἷός τ' εἶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἢ τοσοῦτον δύνασαι ὥστ' οὐδέποτε οἶει τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ τιμωρίας τεύξεσθαι; εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ οὕτως ἀνοήτως διακείμενος, ὥστ' 14 οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εὖ πεποιήκας τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἀδικῶν οὐ δέδωκας δίκην, οἶει δεῖν πλεονεκτεῖν; καὶ *μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον. [ΝΟΜΟΣ.]

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὑμᾶς μὲν 15 πάντας εἰδέναι ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὀρθῶς λέγω, τοῦτου δὲ οὕτω σκαιὸν εἶναι ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι μαθεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα. βούλομαι οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων νόμων περὶ τούτων διδάξαι, ἂν πως ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παιδευθῇ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν μὴ παρέχῃ πράγματα. καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τούτους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος τοὺς παλαιούς.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. Δεδέσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ ποδοκάκκῃ ἡμέρας πέντε 16 τὸν πόδα, εἰν προσημῆση ἢ ἡλιαία.

Ἡ ποδοκάκκη αὐτὸ ἐστίν, ὦ Θεόμνηστε, ὃ νῦν

compares or. xi. § 6, πῶς οὖν οὐ δεινόν...; || δέη σὲ] Turr. Schb.—δέη σε Markland.—δεήση mss. Bk. || *λαμβάνεις] Taylor conject., Bk.—λαμβάνειν mss. Turr. Schb. § 14. ὥστ' οὐκ] ὥστε οὐκ X, Schb. || καὶ *μοι] Markland, Turr. Schb.—καίτοι mss. Bk. § 15. ἀλλὰ νῦν] ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' Reiske, Bk. § 16. ποδοκάκκη] ποδοκάκη X, C. || πέντε] δέκα X, C. But πέντε is confirmed by the νόμος in Dem. or. xxiv. § 105, πένθ' ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἴσας. Sauppe proposed to insert καὶ νύκτας ἴσας here after τὸν πόδα. || αὐτό] so Harporation s. v. ποδοκάκκη, Turr.—ταυτό Schb. on his own conject.—αὔτη mss.

καλεῖτε ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δεδέσθαι. εἰ οὖν ὁ δεθεὶς ἐξελθὼν ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις τῶν ἔνδεκα κατηγοροίη ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ ποδοκάκκῃ ἐδέδετο ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ, οὐκ ἂν ἠλίθιον αὐτὸν νομίζοιεν; λέγε ἕτερον νόμον.

17 ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἐπεγγνᾶν δ' ἐπιορκήσαντα τὸν Ἀπόλλω. δεδιότα δὲ δίκης ἔνεκα δρασκάζειν.

Τούτων τὸ <μὲν> ἐπιορκήσαντα ὁμόσαντά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ δρασκάζειν, ὃ νῦν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὀνομάζομεν.

ἽΟστις δὲ ἀπίλλει τῇ θύρῃ, ἔνδον τοῦ κλέπτου ὄντος.

Τὸ ἀπίλλειν τὸ ἀποκλείειν νομίζεται, καὶ μηδὲν διὰ τοῦτο διαφέρει.

18 Τὸ ἀργύριον στάσιμον εἶναι ἐφ' ὀπόσῳ ἂν βούληται ὁ δανείζων.

Τὸ στάσιμον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ βέλτιστε, οὐ ζυγῶ ἰστάναι ἀλλὰ τόκον πρίττεσθαι ὀπόσον ἂν βούληται. ἐπανάγνωθι τοῦτὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸ τελευταῖον.

19 Ὅσαι δὲ πεφασμένως πολοῦνται, καὶ

οἰκῆος καὶ *δούλης τὴν *βλάβην εἶναι ὀφείλειν.

Bk. § 17. τούτων τὸ - μὲν -] Bk. Turr. — τοῦτο τὸ X, Schb. — τούτων τὸ the other mss. | ὁμόσαντα] Harpoer. s. v. ἐπιορκήσαντα, Turr. Schb. — ὁμόσαι mss. Bk. | ἀπίλλειν] ἀπέλλειν X.

§ 18. τοῦτὶ] mss. Bk. Turr. — τουτουὶ Markland, Schb.

§ 19. πολοῦνται... πολαιῖσθαι] πωλοῦνται... πωλιῖσθαι X. | ὅσαι δὲ... καὶ οἰκῆος... ὀφείλειν] Bk. prints the whole as a single citation: Taylor pointed out that two different laws are quoted. || οἰκῆος... ὀφείλειν] The mss. have οἰκῆος καὶ βλάβης τὴν δούλην εἶναι ὀφείλειν: and so Bk. Turr. The obvious

Προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. τὸ μὲν πεφασμένως ἐστὶ φανερώς, πολεῖσθαι δὲ βαδίζειν, τὸ δὲ οἰκῆος θεράποντος. πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἐστίν, 20 ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦς ἐστίν, οἶομαι αὐτὸν ἔννουν γεγονέναι ὅτι τὰ μὲν πράγματα ταυτὰ ἐστὶ νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι, τῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων ἐνίοις οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον. δηλώσει δέ· οἰχήσεται γὰρ ἀπιὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος σιωπῇ.

IX. ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΓΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΗΝ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΥΣ.

[Or. xxiii.—Date uncertain: prob. about 380 B.C.]

Πολλὰ μὲν λέγειν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τουτουὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὔτ' ἂν δυναίμην οὔτε μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν· ὡς δὲ ὀρθῶς τὴν δίκην ἔλαχον * τουτωὶ Παγκλέωνι οὐκ ὄντι Πλαταιεῖ, τοῦτο ὑμῖν πειράσομαι ἀποδείξαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀδικῶν με πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπαύετο, 2 ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὸ γναφεῖον ἐν ᾧ εἰργάζετο προσεκαλεσάμην αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, νομίζων μέτοικον εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ τούτου ὅτι Πλαταιεὺς εἶη, ἠρόμην ὑπόθεν δημοτεύοιτο, παραινέσαντός τινος τῶν παρόντων προσκαλέσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλήν, ἧς τινος εἶναι σκήπτοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπε- 3

correction δούλης...βλάβην is made by Schb.; but εἶναι, if not interpolated, went with something which is now lost. H. Schelling conjectured καὶ οἰκῆος βλάβης τὴν διπλὴν εἶναι ὀφείλειν.

IX. § 1. * τουτωὶ Schb., comparing τουτουὶ in § 9: so in or. iii. § 4 Cobet and Schb. Σίμων οὔτοςι for Σίμων οὔτος.—

κρίνατο ὅτι Δεκελειόθεν, προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῆ *Ἰπποθωντίδι δικάζοντας, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ κουρείον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς, ἵνα οἱ Δεκελεῖς προσφουτῶσιν, ἡρώτων, οὓς τε ἐξευρίσκοιμι Δεκελέων ἐπυνθανόμην εἴ τινα γιγνώσκοιεν Δεκελειόθεν δημοτευόμενοι Παγκλέωνα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔφασκεν γιγνώσκειν αὐτόν, πυθόμενος ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρας δίκας τὰς μὲν φείγοι τὰς δ' ὠφλήκοι παρὰ τῷ πολεμάρχῳ, ἔλαχον καὶ ἐγώ.

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν Δεκελέων οὓς ἡρόμην μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λαχόντων τε δίκας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ καταδικασαμένων, ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι παρόντες, καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

5 Ἐκ μὲν τούτων πεισθεῖς πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἔλαχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μοι αὐτὴν ἀντεγράψατο μὴ εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος μηδεὶ δόξα ὑβρίζειν βούλεσθαι μάλλον ἢ δίκην λαβεῖν ὣν ἡδικήθην. πρῶτον μὲν Εὐθύκριτον, ὃν πρεσβυτάτον τε Πλαταιέων ἐγίνωσκον καὶ μάλιστα φάμην εἶδέναι, ἡρόμην εἴ τινα γιγνώσκοι Ἰππαρμόδιον υἱὸν Παγκλέωνα

6 Πλαταιέα· ἔπειτα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατό μοι ὅτι τὸν Ἰππαρμόδιον μὲν γιγνώσκει, υἱὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον οὐδένα οὔτε Παγκλέωνα οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα εἰδείη ὄντα, ἡρώτων δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους ἦδεν Πλαταιέας ὄντας. πάντες οὖν ἀγροῦντες τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀκριβέστατα ἀν' ἔφασάν με πυθίσθαι ἐλθόν-

ταυτῶν μισθ. § 3. Ἰπποθωντίδι] Same as Turf. Sold. Ranchon-
stein. — Ἰπποθωντίδι μισθ. Bk. § 6. γιγνώσκου] γινώσκου X,

τα εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν τῇ ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ· ταύτη γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἐκεῖσε συλλέγεσθαι τοὺς Πλαταιέας. ἔλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν τυρὸν ἢ ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπυθανόμην αὐτῶν, εἴ τινα γιγνώσκειεν Παγκλέωνα πολίτην σφέτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐκ ἔφασαν γιγνώσκειν, εἰς δέ τις εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ εἰδείη τοῦτο ὃν τὸ ὄνομα, δοῦλον μέντοι ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ ἀφεστῶτα εἶναι Παγκλέωνα, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν λέγων τὴν τούτου καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἣ οὔτος χρῆται. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἀληθὴ ἔστι, ὅτον τε Εὐθύκριτον, ὃν πρῶτον ἠρόμην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πλαταιέων ὅσοις προσῆλθον, καὶ τὸν ὃς ἔφη δεσπότης τοῦτου εἶναι, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. καὶ μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Ἡμέραις τοίνυν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἕστε-
ρον ἰδὼν ἀγόμενον τουτοῖ Παγκλέωνα ὑπὸ Νικομήδους, ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῦ δεσπότης εἶναι, προσῆλθον βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ὁποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραχθήσοιτο. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσαντο μαχόμενοι, εἶπόν τινες τῶν τούτῳ παρόντων ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἀδελφὸς ὃς ἐξαιρήσοιτο αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγγυησάμενοι παρέξεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ᾧχοντο ἀπιόντες. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τῆς
τε ἀντιγραφῆς ἔνεκα ταυτησὶ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς δίκης ἔδοξέ μοι χρῆναι μάρτυρας λαβόντι παραγενέσθαι, ἵν' εἰδείην τόν τ' ἐξαιρησόμενον αὐτὸν καὶ ὅ τι λέγων ἀφαιρήσοιτο. ἐφ' οἷς μὲν οὖν ἐξηγγυήθη,

Schb. § 9. ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύρητο Rauchenstein, with Westermann. See comment. παρέξεν] παράξεν Schb., with Cobet and Kayser. But see above on vi. § 23. § 10. ἀντιγραφῆς] Turr. Schb.—ἀντιγράψως C, Bk.—X, acc. to Kayser, has

- οὔτε ἀδελφός οὔτε ἄλλος οὔδεις ἦλθε, γυνὴ δὲ
 φάσκουσα αὐτῆς αὐτὸν εἶναι δούλον, ἀμφισβη-
 τοῦσα τῷ Νικομήδει, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ἑάσειν αὐτὸν
 11 ἄγειν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν αὐτόθι ἐρρήθη, πολὺς ἂν εἴη
 μοι λόγος διηγείσθαι· εἰς τοῦτο δὲ βιαιότητος
 ἦλθον οἷ τε παρόντες τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος, ὥστε
 ἐθέλοντος μὲν τοῦ Νικομήδους ἐθελοίσης δὲ τῆς
 γυναικὸς ἀφιέναι, εἴ τις ἢ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τοῦτον
 ἄγοι ἢ φάσκων ἑαυτοῦ δούλον εἶναι, τοιῶν οὐδὲν
 ποιήσαντες ἀφελόμενοι ᾤχοντο. ὡς οὖν τῇ τε
 προτεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξηγγυήθη καὶ τότε βία
 ᾤχοντο ἀφελόμενοι αὐτόν, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι
 ὑμῖν. καὶ μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ. [ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ.]
- 12 Ῥάδιον τοίνυν εἶδέναι ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτὸς Παγκλέων
 νομίζει ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὅτι Πλαταιέα εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
 ἐλεύθερον. ὅστις γὰρ ἐβουλήθη βία ἀφαιρεθεὶς
 ἐνόχους καταστήσαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιτηδεῖους τοῖς
 βιαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τὴν ἐλευθε-
 ρίαν ἐξαιρεθεὶς δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων
 αὐτόν, οὐδενὶ χαλεπὸν γινῶναι ὅτι εὖ εἰδὼς ἑαυτὸν
 ὄντα δούλον ἔδεισεν ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσας περὶ
 τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνίσασθαι.
- 13 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι πολλοῦ δεῖ, οἶμαι
 ὑμᾶς ἐκ τούτων σχεδὸν τι γιγνώσκειν· ὅτι δὲ οὐδ'

ἀντιγρά (sic). § 11. ἄγοι ἢ φάσκων] so MSS., Turr.: ἢ, which
 C omits, is printed in brackets by Bk. — ἀφαιρέτο· ἢ εἰς
 δουλείαν· ἄγοι φάσκων Reiske conjct.: and Schb. now gives
 ἀφαιρέτο· ἢ ἄγοι φάσκων. So Sauppe conjectures, but with
 ἀφαιρέτο. Franz proposes ἢ εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοι φάσκων: Step-
 hanus, ἄγοι ἢ φάσκοι. This last would be best, as it is simplest,
 but for one drawback. ἄγειν εἰς δουλείαν is correct, but hardly
 ἄγειν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν. The regular phrase was ἀφαιρέσθαι or

οὗτος, ὃς ἄριστα οἶδε τὰ αὐτοῦ, ἠγγήσατο δόξαι ἂν ὑμῖν Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι, ἐξ ὧν ἔπραξε ῥαδίως μαθήσεσθε. ἐν τῇ ἀντωμοσίᾳ γὰρ τῆς δίκης ἦν αὐτῷ ἔλαχεν Ἀριστόδικος οὐτοσί, ἀμφισβητῶν μὴ πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον εἶναί οἱ τὰς δίκας, διεμαρτυρήθη μὴ Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι, ἐπισκηψάμενος δὲ τῷ μάρτυρι 14 οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλ' εἴασε καταδικάσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστόδικον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο, ἐξέτεισε τὴν δίκην, καθότι ἔπειθε. καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἀληθῆ ἔστι, μάρτυρας ἐγὼ παρέξομαι ὑμῖν. καὶ μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Πρὶν τοίνυν ταῦτα ὁμολογηθῆναι αὐτῷ, δεδιὼς 15 τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, μεταστὰς ἐντεῦθεν Θήβησι μετώκει. καίτοι οἶμαι εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς ὅτι, εἴπερ ἦν Πλαταιεὺς, πανταχοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ Θήβησιν εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸν μετοικῆσαι. ὡς οὖν ὄκει <ἐκεῖ> πολλὸν χρόνον, τούτων ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. καὶ μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Ἐξαρκεῖν μοι νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα, ὧ ἄνδρες 16 δικασταί· ἐὰν γὰρ διαμνημονεύητε, οἶδ' ὅτι τά τε δίκαια καὶ τὰληθῆ ψηφιεῖσθε, καὶ ἂ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.

ἐξαιρεῖσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, vindicare in libertatem. § 13. δόξαι ἂν ὑμῖν Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι] X, Turr. Schb.—δόξαι ἂν ὑμῖν εἶναι Πλαταιεὺς vulg. Bk. § 14. ἐξέτεισε] the spelling attested by Attic inscriptions of the 5th and 4th cent. B.C. (Meisterhans p. 88).—ἐξέτισσε mss. § 15. <ἐκεῖ>, supplied by Markland, is given by Bk. and Turr. in brackets, by Rauchenstein and Schb. without them. || τούτων ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν is omitted by Bk.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

I. ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ.

[Or. III.—Probable date, between 372 and 365 B.C.]

§§ 14—24.

14 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὑποτιθέμενος ἠρξάμην, οἶμαι πᾶσι δοκεῖν δεινότα-

ISOCRATES.

The smooth style and lucid syntax of Isocrates favoured a pure tradition of his text. But his very popularity with the grammarians and rhetoricians brought in a mass of interlinear or marginal glosses. The citations by Priscian and Stobaeus, who usually agree with our inferior mss., show that this had happened before the sixth century. Coming after Jerome Wolf and Koraes, Immanuel Bekker restored the text to comparative soundness. He used five mss., viz. (1) codex Urbinas 111, Γ: (2) Vaticanus 936, Δ: (3) Laurentianus 87. 14, Θ (13th century). These three belong to the same family, and have oration xv. entire. (4) Vaticanus 65, Δ: (5) Marcianus 415, Ξ: these two, again, are from the same archetype, with or. xv. incomplete. Γ, the best of all the mss., was Bekker's chief guide.

Baiter and Sauppe follow Γ, in their own words, 'even more constantly than Bekker did.' But at the same time they recognize that the true reading is often preserved only by a ms. which was not among his five,—codex Ambrosianus O. 144, E, collated in or. xv. by A. Mustoxydes, in the rest partly by Melchior Ulrich, partly by Baiter. The readings of E were given in full by G. E. Benseler in his 2nd edit. (1854—55). Benseler thus sums up the difference between the Zurich edition and his own. 'Baiter and Sauppe's first rule was—follow the Urbino ms. (Γ)': my rule is—follow the usage of Isocrates, even when something else is supported by Γ.' By 'the usage of Isocrates' Benseler meant that author's theory of composition so far as it can be inferred from his own

τον μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι τοὺς χρη-
στοὺς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, δικαιοτάτον δὲ τὸ διω-
ρίσθαι περὶ τούτων καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἀνομοίους τῶν
ὁμοίων τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι
κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστους. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ὀλιγαρχίαι 15
καὶ δημοκρατίαι τὰς ἰσότητας τοῖς μετέχουσι
τῶν πολιτειῶν ζητοῦσι, καὶ τοῦτ' εὐδοκιμεῖ παρ' αὐ-
ταῖς, ἣν μηδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου δύνηται πλεον ἔχειν·
ὁ τοῖς πονηροῖς συμφέρον ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ μοναρχίαι
πλείστον μὲν νέμουσι τῷ βελτίστῳ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ
μετ' ἐκείνου, τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον τοῖς ἄλλοις

recorded precepts or from the statements of ancient writers. Thus Isocrates is said to have observed the rule that there should be no 'collision of vowels' (*φωνήεντα μὴ συμπίπτειν*),—no 'hiatus'; *i.e.*, that a word ending with a vowel should not be immediately followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Hence Benseler says:—'When, therefore, in the writings of Isocrates a hiatus remains, the passage is corrupt, or not Isocratic.' Such logic is dangerously rigid. And when, on the other hand, a general conception of the writer's style is made to overbear the mss., the process becomes dangerously lax. A new edition of Benseler has lately appeared (1878—79) under the revision of F. Blass, who regards **E** as not much inferior to **Γ**. He has amended Benseler's readings in about 300 places, but has usually followed him in details of form (*e.g.*, *ἄν versus ἐάν*, *ἠδυνάμην versus ἐδυνάμην*), even where he did not agree with him.

The questions on which the more recent editors of the text differ are now principally of this last kind—*e.g.*, *δεκαδαρχία* or *δεκαρχία*, *κυλινδεῖσθαι* or *καλινδεῖσθαι*, *μεγαλοφρονεῖν* or *μέγα φρονεῖν*—or else concern the order of words. Not many graver difficulties remain.

Bens. = Benseler : Bl. = changes made in Benseler's text by F. Blass, the reviser of the new edition (Teubner, 1878—79). As before, Bk. = Bekker's Berlin edit., Turr. = Baiter and Sauppe.

I. § 15. τοῦτ'] **E**, Turr. Bl.—τοῦτο Bk. || δεύτερον δὲ τῷ μετ' ἐκείνου, τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον τοῖς ἄλλοις] vulg. Bk. Turr.—δευτέρῳ δὲ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνο τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, Bens. with **Γ**, except that **Γ** has τῷ μετ' ἐκείνου, which Bl.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ πανταχοῦ
 καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ τό γε βούλημα τῆς πολιτείας
 16 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. καὶ μὲν δὴ διορᾶν καὶ τὰς φύσεις
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἅπαντες ἂν τὰς
 τυραννίδας μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσειαν. καίτοι τίς οὐκ
 ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν εἰς φρονούντων τοιαύτης πολιτείας
 μετέχειν, ἐν ἣ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστὸς ὢν, μᾶλλον ἢ
 φέρεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ γινγνωσκόμενος
 ὁποῖός τις ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πραοτέραν τοσοῦ-
 τῷ δικαίως ἂν αὐτὴν εἶναι κρίναιμεν ὅσῳ περ ῥᾶόν
 ἐστιν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γνώμη προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν
 μᾶλλον ἢ πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διανοαῖς
 ζητεῖν ἀρέσκειν.

17 "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡδίων ἐστὶ καὶ πραοτέρα καὶ
 δικαιότερα, διὰ πλειόνων μὲν ἂν τις ἀποδείξειεν,
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτων συνιδεῖν ῥᾶδιόν
 ἐστι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅσον αἱ μοναρχίαι
 πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ πράξαι τι τῶν δεόντων
 διαφέρουσιν, οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστα θεωρήσασιν,
 εἰ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παρ' ἀλλήλας
 τιθέντες ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσασιν αὐτάς. οἱ μὲν
 τοίνυν κατ' ἐνιαυτῶν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰσιόντες
 18 τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβεῖν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δ'
 αἰεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἦν καὶ τὴν φύσιν
 καταδεεστέραν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῖς γ' ἐμπει-
 ρίαις πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων προέχουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ
 μὲν πολλῶν καταμελοῦσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀπο-

gives. § 16. κρίναιμεν] Stobaeus, Koraes, Bens.—κρίνοι-
 μεν Γ, Bk. Turr. Bl. § 17. αὐτάς] bracketed by Bl.

βλέποντες, οἱ δ' οὐδενὸς ὀλιγωροῦσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντα δεῖ δι' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις διὰ τὰς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίας λυμαίνονται τοῖς κοινοῖς· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντες, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτῳ φθονήσουσι, πάντων ὡς οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ βέλτιστα πράττουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὑστερίζουσι τῶν πραγμάτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐπὶ 19 τοῖς ἰδίους διατρίβουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δ' εἰς τὰ συνέδρια συνέλθωσιν, πλεονάκεις ἂν τις αὐτοὺς εὔροι διαφερομένους ἢ κοινῇ βουλευομένους· οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεδρίων οὔτε χρόνων αὐτοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ δέοντι πράττουσιν. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν δυσμενῶς 20 ἔχουσι, καὶ βούλουιτ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ὡς κάκιστα διοικῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἵν' ὡς μεγίστην δόξαν αὐτοὶ λάβωσιν· οἱ δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου κύριοι τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· τοῖς γὰρ κοινοῖς 21 οἱ μὲν ὡς ἰδίους, οἱ δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ συμβούλοις χρῶνται περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀστῶν τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἅπαντων ἐκλεξάμενοι τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις, καὶ τιμῶσιν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις εἰπεῖν δυναμένους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπισταμένους.

Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ 22

§ 18. φιλοτιμίας] φιλονικίας Bl. with Stob. 47. 14. || βέλτιστα] τὰ βέλτιστα Bens., with Stob. § 20. δυσμενῶς] Γ, E, Turr.

τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην γιγνομένοις αἱ μοναρχίαι δια-
φέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πλεονεξίας
ἀπάσας περιελήφασιν. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασ-
θαι δυνάμεις καὶ χρήσασθαι ταύταις, ὥστε καὶ
λαθεῖν καὶ ὀφθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πείσαι, τοὺς δὲ
βιῦσασθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς
ἄλλαις θεραπείαις προσαγαγέσθαι μᾶλλον αἱ τυ-
ραννίδες τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν οἷαί τ' εἰσίν. καὶ
ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἂν τις οὐχ ἤττου ἢ τῶν λόγων
23 πιστεύσειεν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν
δύναμιν ἅπαντες ἴσμεν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος
γεγενημένην οὐ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φρόνησιν,
ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τὴν βασιλείαν
τιμῶσι· τοῦτο δὲ Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι
παραλαβὼν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Σικελίαν ἀνάστατον
γεγενημένην, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολιορκου-
μένην, οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν τῶν παρόντων κινδύνων
ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
24 πόλεων ἐποίησεν· ἔτι δὲ Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίους, τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευομέ-
νους, οἴκοι μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν
πόλεμον βασιλευομένους. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις ἐπιδείξαι
καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν μάλιστα τὰς
τυραννίδας μισοῦσαν, ὅταν μὲν πολλοὺς ἐκπέμψῃ
στρατηγούς, ἀτυχοῦσαν, ὅταν δὲ δι' ἐνὸς ποιήσῃται
τοὺς κινδύνους, κατορθοῦσαν.

Bens.—πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀπισθενῶς vulg. Bk. § 22. ὀφθῆναι]
φθῆναι Komes conject., Bens. § 24. τῶν Ἑλλήνων] τῶν ἄλλων
Bens. on his own conject. τῶν Ἀθηναίων] omitted by Γ, Ε.
Bens., with Baiter's assent.

II. ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ.

[Or. x.—About 370 B.C.]

§§ 54—58.

Εὐλόγως δὲ κάκεῖνοι ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν, καὶ γὰρ 54
 τηλικαύταις ὑπερβολαῖς ἔχω χρήσασθαι περὶ
 αὐτῆς· κάλλους γὰρ πλείστον μέρος μετέσχευ, ὃ
 σεμνότατον καὶ τιμιώτατον καὶ θειότατον τῶν
 ὄντων ἐστίν. ῥάδιον δὲ γινῶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ·
 τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἢ σοφίας ἢ δικαιοσύνης μὴ
 μετεχόντων πολλὰ φανήσεται τιμώμενα μᾶλλον ἢ
 τούτων ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ κάλλους ἀπεστερημένων
 οὐδὲν εὐρήσομεν ἀγαπώμενον ἀλλὰ πάντα κατα-
 φρονούμενα, πλὴν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς ἰδέας κεκοινώ-
 νηκε, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα εἰδοκιμού-
 σαν, ὅτι κάλλιστον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐστίν.
 γνοίη δ' ἂν τις κάκεῖθεν, ὅσον διαφέρει τῶν ὄντων, 55
 ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ διατιθέμεθα πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν· τῶν
 μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων, ὧν ἂν ἐν χρεῖα γενώμεθα, τυχεῖν
 μόνον βουλόμεθα, περαιτέρω δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν
 τῇ ψυχῇ προσπεπόνθαμεν· τῶν δὲ καλῶν ἔρωσ
 ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται, τοσοῦτ' αὖ μείζω τοῦ βούλεσθαι

II. § 54. μὴ μετεχόντων...ἢ τούτων ἕκαστον] Cp. Lucian Charid. 26, τῶν μὲν ἢ δικαιοσύνης ἢ σοφίας ἢ ἀνδρείας μετεχόντων πολλὰ τις ἂν εὔροι τιμώμενα μᾶλλον, τῶν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἰδέας κεκοινωνηκότων βέλτιον ἐστὶν εἶρεῖν οὐδέν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τῶν μὴ μετεσχηκότων ἀτιμότερον οὐδέν. So loose a transcript' from Isocr. affords no ground for the changes which have been proposed here on the strength of it,—viz. to omit μὴ before μετεχόντων, or to omit ἢ τούτων ἕκαστον. Lucian's μετεσχηκότων suggests, however, that he had μετέσχηκεν (the reading of our inferior mss.), instead of μετέσχευ, in § 54.

ῥώμην ἔχων, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κρεῖττόν
 56 ἔστιν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ σύνεσιν ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι
 προέχουσι φθονοῦμεν, ἣν μὴ τῷ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς εὖ
 καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν προσαγάγωνται καὶ
 στέργειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάσωσι· τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς
 εὐθύς ἰδόντες εὖνοι γιγνόμεθα, καὶ μόνους αὐτοὺς
 ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀπαγορεύομεν θεραπεύοντες,
 57 ἀλλ' ἥδιον δουλεύομεν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἢ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἄρχομεν, πλείω χάριν ἔχοντες τοῖς πολλὰ προσ-
 τάττουσιν ἢ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐπαγγέλλουσιν. καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλη τινὶ δυνάμει γιγνομένους λοι-
 δοροῦμεν καὶ κόλακας ἀποκαλοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ τῷ
 κάλλει λατρεύοντας φιλοκάλους καὶ φιλοπόνους
 58 εἶναι νομίζομεν. τοσαύτη δ' εὐσεβεία καὶ προνοία
 χρώμεθα περὶ τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν τοιαύτην, ὥστε καὶ
 τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ κάλλος τοὺς μὲν μισθαρνήσαντας
 καὶ κακῶς βουλευσαμένους περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἡλικίας
 μᾶλλον ἀτιμάζομεν ἢ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 σώματ' ἐξαμαρτόντας· ὅσοι δ' ἂν τὴν αὐτῶν ὥραν
 διαφυλάξωσιν, ἄβατον τοῖς ποιηροῖς ὥσπερ ἱερὸν
 ποιήσαντες, τούτους εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον
 ὁμοίως τιμῶμεν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὕλην τὴν πόλιν
 ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντας.

III. ΕΥΑΓΟΡΑΣ.

[Or. ix.—About 365 B.C.]

§§ 47—50.

47 Παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐκβεβαρβαρω-

μένην καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Φοινίκων ἀρχὴν οὔτε τοὺς
 Ἑλληνας προσδεχομένην οὔτε τέχνας ἐπισταμένην
 οὔτ' ἐμπορίῳ χρωμένην οὔτε λιμένα κεκτημένην,
 ταῦτά τε πάντα διώρθωσε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ
 χώραν πολλὴν προσεκτήσατο καὶ τείχη προσπε-
 ριεβάλετο καὶ τριήρεις ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ ταῖς
 ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς οὕτως ἠύξησε τὴν πόλιν ὥστε
 μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπολελεῖσθαι, καὶ δύνα-
 μιν τοσαύτην ἐνεποίησεν ὥστε πολλοὺς φοβεῖσθαι
 τῶν πρότερον καταφρονούντων αὐτῆς. καίτοι 48
 τηλικαύτας ἐπιδόσεις τὰς πόλεις λαμβάνειν οὐχ
 οἶόν τ' ἐστίν, ἣν μὴ τις αὐτὰς διοικῆ τοιοῦτοις
 ἤθεσιν οἷοις Εὐαγόρας μὲν εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγω
 πρότερον ἐπειράθην διελθεῖν. ὥστ' οὐ δέδοικα μὴ
 φανῶ μείζω λέγων τῶν ἐκείνω προσόντων, ἀλλὰ
 μὴ πολὺ λίαν ἀπολειφθῶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ.
 τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐφίκοιτο τοιαύτης φύσεως, ὃς οὐ μόνον 49
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τὸν τόπον ὅλον τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ
 πραότητα καὶ μετριότητα προήγαγεν; πρὶν μὲν γε
 λαβεῖν Εὐαγόραν τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἀπροσοίστως
 καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τού-
 τους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βελτίστους οἵτινες ὠμότατα
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας διακείμενοι τυγχάνοιεν· νῦν 50
 δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταπεπτῶκασιν ὥσθ' ἀμιλλᾶσθαι
 μὲν οἵτινες αὐτῶν δόξουσι φιλέλληνες εἶναι μάλιστα,
 παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν γυναῖκας
 λαμβάνοντας παρ' ἡμῶν, χαίρειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κτή-
 μασι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς

μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, πλείους δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείου ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διατρίβειν ἢ παρ' οἷς πρότερον εἰωθότες ἦσαν. καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν Ἐὐαγόραν αἴτιον εἶναι προσομολογήσειεν.

IV. ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ.

[Or. XIII.—391 or 390 B.C.]

Εἰ πάντες ἤθελον οἱ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἀληθῆ λέγειν καὶ μὴ μείζους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὧν ἡμέλλον ἐπιτελεῖν, οὐκ ἂν κακῶς ἤκουον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν· νῦν δ' οἱ τολμῶντες λίαν ἀπερισκέπτως ἀλαζονεῖσθαι πεποιήκασιν ὥστε δοκεῖν ἄμεινον βουλευέσθαι τοὺς ῥαθυμῶν αἴρουμένους τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριβόντων.

Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν μισήσειεν ἅμα καὶ καταφρονήσειε πρῶτον μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐριδας διατριβόντων, οἳ προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ζητεῖν, εὐθὺς δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ψευδῆ λέγειν ἢ ἐπιχειροῦσιν; οἶμαι γὰρ ἅπασιν εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ μέλλοντα προγιγνώσκειν οὐ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεώς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν ταύτης τῆς φρονήσεως ὥσθ' Ὀμηρος ὁ μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δόξαν ἀληφῶς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πεποίηκεν ἔστιν ὅτε βουλευομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην εἰδὼς ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος

§ 50. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑλλην. Δ, Bens.

ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. οὗτοι τοίνυν εἰς τούτῳ τόλμης ἐληλύθασιν, ὥστε 3 πειρῶνται πείθειν τοὺς νεωτέρους, ὡς, ἣν αὐτοῖς πλησιάζωσιν, ἅ τε πρακτέον ἐστὶν εἴσονται καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστήμης εὐδαίμονες γενήσονται. καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοὺς διδασκάλους καὶ κυρίους καταστήσαντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας μῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰτοῦντες. ἀλλ' εἰ 4 μέν τι τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς ἀξίας ἐπώλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἠμφισβήτησαν ὡς [οὐκ] εὖ φρονοῦντες τυγχάνουσι, σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὕτως ὀλίγου τιμῶντες ὡς νοῦν ἔχοντες διδάσκαλοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιούσι γίγνεσθαι. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐδὲν δέονται χρημάτων, ἀργυρίδιον καὶ χρυσίδιον τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦντες, μικροῦ δὲ κέρδους ὀρεγόμενοι μόνον οὐκ ἀθανάτους ὑπισχνοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας ποιήσειν. ὁ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ὧν 5 δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐτούς, τούτοις μὲν ἀπιστοῦσιν, οἷς μέλλουσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην παραδώσειν, ὧν δ' οὐδέπωποτε διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, παρὰ τούτοις τὰ παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μεσεγγυοῦνται, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν εὖ βουλευόμενοι, τῷ δ' ἐπαγγέλματι τὰναντία πράττοντες. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τι 6 παιδεύοντας, προσήκει διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων (οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τοὺς περὶ ἕτερα δεινούς γενομένους μὴ χρηστοὺς εἶναι περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια)· τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σωφρο-

IV. § 4. οὐκ ἂν ἠμφισβήτησαν ὡς [οὐκ]] Δ, E, Z, Turr. Bens.—ἠμφεσβήτησαν Γ, Bk.—Dobree saw that the second οὐκ

σύνην ἐνεργαζομένους πῶς οὐκ ἄλογόν ἐστι μὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς μάλιστα πιστεύειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ που περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντες καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι περὶ τούτους ἐξαμαρτήσονται δι' οὓς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.

7 Ἐπειδὴν οὖν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες, ἅπαντα ταῦτα συλλογισάμενοι, κατίδωσι τοὺς τὴν σοφίαν διδάσκοντας καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παραδιδόντας αὐτούς τε πολλῶν δεομένους καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς μικρὸν πραττομένους, καὶ τὰς ἐναντιώσεις ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων τηροῦντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μὴ καθορῶντας, ἔτι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδέναί προσ-

8 ποιούμενους, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρόντων μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων μὴτ' εἰπεῖν μῆτε συμβουλευσαί δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁμοιοῦντας καὶ πλείω κατορθοῦντας τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις χρωμένους ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπαγγελλομένους, εἰκότως οἶμαι καταφρονοῦσι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀδολεσχίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.

9 Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τοὺς πολιτικούς λόγους ὑπισχνουμένοις ἄξιον ἐπιτιμῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν, ἡγοῦνται δὲ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν τέχνην, ἣν ὡς πλείστους τῇ μικρότητι τῶν μισθῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων προσαγάγωνται καὶ λαβεῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν δυνηθῶσιν· οὕτω δ' ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὶ τε διάκεινται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν ὑπειλήφασιν,

is spurious; Bl. brackets it. See comment. § 9. τῶν μισθῶν] Δ, E, mg. Γ, Turr. Bens.—τοῦ μισθοῦ vulg. Bk.

ὥστε χεῖρον γράφοντες τοὺς λόγους ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 τινες αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν, ὅμως ὑπισχνοῦνται τοι-
 ούτους ῥήτορας τοὺς συνόντας ποιήσειν ὥστε
 μηδὲν τῶν ἐνόητων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι παραλιπεῖν.
 καὶ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν οὔτε ταῖς ἐμπει- 10
 ρίαις οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ μαθητοῦ μεταδιδόασιν,
 ἀλλὰ φασιν ὁμοίως τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμην
 ὥσπερ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων παραδώσειν, ὡς μὲν
 ἔχει τούτων ἐκάτερον, οὐκ ἐξετάσαντες, οἴομενοι
 δὲ διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων αὐτοί
 τε θαυμασθήσεσθαι καὶ τὴν παιδείυσιν τὴν τῶν
 λόγων πλέονος ἀξίαν δόξειν εἶναι, κακῶς εἰδότες
 ὅτι μεγάλας ποιοῦσι τὰς τέχνας οὐχ οἱ τολμῶντες
 ἀλαζονεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἷτινες ἂν, ὅσον
 ἔνεστιν ἐν ἐκάστη, τοῦτ' ἐξευρεῖν δυνηθῶσιν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν χρημάτων ἐτιμη- 11
 σάμην τηλικούτου δύνασθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὅσον
 οὔτοι λέγουσιν (ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς πλείστον
 ἀπελείφθημεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἀπελαύ-
 σαμεν αὐτῆς). ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, βουλοίμην
 ἂν παύσασθαι τοὺς φλυαροῦντας· ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐ
 μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας τὰς βλασφημίας
 γιγνομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας συν-
 διαβαλλομένους τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διατριβὴν
 ὄντας.

Θαυμάζω δ' ὅταν ἴδω τούτους μαθητῶν ἀξιου- 12
 μένους, οἳ ποιητικοῦ πράγματος τεταγμένην τέχνην
 παράδειγμα φέροντες λελήθασι σφᾶς αὐτούς. τίς
 γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε πλὴν τούτων ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν γραμμά-
 των ἀκινήτως ἔχει καὶ μένει κατὰ ταῦτόν, ὥστε

- τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρώμενοι διατε-
 λούμεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν λόγων πᾶν τούναντίον πέπονθεν·
 τὸ γὰρ ὑφ' ἑτέρου ῥηθὲν τῷ λέγοντι μετ' ἐκείνου
 οὐχ ὁμοίως χρήσιμόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὗτος εἶναι δοκεῖ
 τεχνικώτατος, ὅς τις ἂν ἀξίως μὲν λέγη τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρίσκειν
- 13 οὐνηται. μέγιστον δὲ σημεῖον τῆς ἀνομοιότητος
 αὐτῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους οὐχ οἷόν τε καλῶς
 ἔχειν, ἢν μὴ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τοῦ πρεπόντως καὶ
 τοῦ καινῶς ἔχειν μετάσχωσιν, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν
 οὐδενὸς τούτων προσεδέησεν. ὥσθ' οἱ χρώμενοι
 τοῖς τοιούτοις παραδείγμασι πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον
 ἀποτίνοιεν ἢ λαμβάνοιεν ἀργέριον, ὅτι πολλῆς
 ἐπιμελείας αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι παιδεύειν τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἐπιχειροῦσιν.
- 14 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑμῆν αὐτοῦ δηλωῆσαι διάνοιαν, ἡγοῦμαι
 πάντας ἂν μοι τοὺς εὐφροσύνας συνειπέειν, ὅτι
 πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἰδιῶται διετέλε-
 σαν ὄντες, ἄλλοι δὲ τινες οὐδεὶ πώποτε συγγενό-
 μοι τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι
 εἰνοι γεγόνασιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν
 λόγων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀπᾶτων ἐν τοῖς
 εὐφροσύναις ἐγγιγμονται καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας
- 15 γεγυμνασμένοις· ἢ δὲ παιδεύσεις τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους
 τεχνικώτερους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ζητεῖν εὐπορωτέρους
 ἐποίησεν· οἷς γὰρ νῦν ἐντυγχάνουσι πλανώμενοι.
 ταῦτ' δὲ ἐτοιμοτέρου λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς εἰδῶξεν·

1 13. καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν E. Bk. Tiar. Eē. (also brackets
 γὰρ).—καὶ αὐτῶν ἔχειν F. Δ (cop. to Bk.), Bonn. (1873).

τοὺς δὲ καταδεεστέραν τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἀγωνιστὰς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἢ λόγων ποιητὰς οὐκ ἂν ἀποτελέσειεν, αὐτοὺς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν προαγάγοι καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ φρονιμωτέρως διακείσθαι ποιήσειεν.

Βούλομαι δ' ἐπειδὴ περ εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον, 16
 ἔτι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας καὶ λέγομεν καὶ συντίθεμεν, λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ εἶναι τῶν πάνυ χαλεπῶν, ἣν τις αὐτὸν παραδῶ μὴ τοῖς ῥαδίως ὑπισχνουμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰδόσι τι περὶ αὐτῶν· τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄς δεῖ προελέσθαι καὶ μῖξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τάξαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἔτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πρεπόντως ὄλον τὸν λόγον καταποικίλαι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὐρύθμως καὶ μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα δὲ πολλῆς 17
 ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρικῆς καὶ δοξαστικῆς ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν μαθητὴν πρὸς τῷ τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν οἴαν χρῆ τὰ μὲν εἶδη τὰ τῶν λόγων μαθεῖν, περὶ δὲ τὰς χρήσεις αὐτῶν γυμνασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ διδάσκαλον τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς οἶόν τ' εἶναι διελθεῖν ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν διδακτῶν παραλιπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν παράδειγμα παρασχεῖν, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκτυπωθέντας 18
 καὶ μιμήσασθαι δυναμένους εὐθὺς ἀνθηρότερον καὶ χαριέστερον τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι λέγοντας· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἀπάντων συμπεσόντων τελείως ἔξουσιν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες· καθ' ὃ δ' ἂν ἐλλειφθῆ τι τῶν

§ 16. παραδῶ] E. Turr. Bens.—παραδιδῶ vulg. Bk. μῖξαι] Turr. Bl.—μῖξαι Bk.—μῖξασθαι vulg. Bens. τάξαι] Bk. Turr.

εἰρημένων, ἀνάγκη ταύτη χειῖρον διακεῖσθαι τοὺς πλησιάζοντας.

- 19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρτι τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀναφυόμενοι καὶ νεωστὶ προσπεπτωκότες ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις, εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσιν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ ταύτην κατενεχθήσονται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. λοιποὶ δ' ἡμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καὶ τὰς καλουμένας τέχνας γράψαι τολμήσαντες, οὓς οὐκ ἀφετέον ἀνεπιτιμήτους· οὔτινες ὑπέσχοντο δικάζεσθαι διδάξειν, ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὃ τῶν φθονούντων ἔργον ἦν λέγειν ἀλλ' οὐ
- 20 τῶν προεστώτων τῆς τοιαύτης παιδείσεως, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ πράγματος, καθ' ὅσον ἐστὶ διδακτόν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς δικανικοὺς λόγους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὠφελεῖν δυναμένου. τοσοῦτω δὲ χειροὺς ἐγένοντο τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καλινδουμένων, ὅσον οὗτοι μὲν τοιαῦτα λογίδια διεξιόντες, οἷς εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐμμεΐρειεν, εὐθύς ἂν ἐν πᾶσιν εἴη κακοῖς, ὅμως ἀρετὴν ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ σωφροσύνην περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτικούς λόγους παρακαλοῦντες, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν, πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ πλεονεξίας ὑπέστησαν εἶναι διδάσκα-
- 21 λοι. καίτοι τοὺς βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ταύτης προσταττομένοις πολὺ ἂν θᾶττον πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ πρὸς ῥητορείαν ὠφελήσειεν. καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με λέγειν ὡς ἔστι δικαιοσύνη διδακτόν· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἡγοῦμαι τοιαύτην εἶναι τέχνην, ἥτις τοῖς κακῶς πεφυ-
- Bl.—τάξασθαι Γ, Δ, Εῲ, Θῲ, Bens. § 19. ἔργον ἦν λέγειν]

κόσι πρὸς ἀρετὴν σωφροσύνην ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐμποιήσειεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπαρακελεύεσασθαί γε καὶ συνασκήσαι μάλιστα ἂν οἶμαι τὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλειαν.

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑποσχέσεις ²² διαλύειν, αὐτὸς δὲ μείζω λέγειν τῶν ἐνόντων, ἐξ ὧνπερ αὐτὸς ἐπείσθη οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ῥαδίως οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανερόν καταστήσειν.

V. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΣΕΩΣ.

[Or. xv.—353 B. C.]

§§ 270—302.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη μοι τὸ νῦν εἶναι ²⁷⁰ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι καὶ συμβεβουλευκέναι· περὶ δὲ σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τοῖς μὲν περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοις οὐκ ἂν ἀρμόσειε λέγειν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων (ἔστι γὰρ ἀλλότρια πάσαις ταῖς πραγματείαις), ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπίσιδῃ καὶ κρίνομαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ὑπό τινων φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ εἶναι φημί, προσήκει τὴν δικαίως ἂν νομιζομένην ὀρίσαι καὶ δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἀπλῶς ²⁷¹ δέ πως τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν, ἣν ἔχοντες ἂν εἰδείμεν ὅ τι πρακτέον ἢ λεκτέον ἐστίν, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν σοφοὺς

Dobree would omit λέγειν. § 21. πρὸς ἀρετὴν σωφροσύνην ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην] Bk. Turr. Bl.—ἀρετὴν ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην Bens. : ep. next extract, § 274.

- μὲν νομίζω τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὡς ἐπὶ
 τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βελτίστου δυναμένου, φιλοσόφους
 δὲ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις διατρίβοντας ἐξ ὧν τίχιστα
 272 λήψονται τὴν τοιαύτην φρόνησιν. ἃ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ταύτην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν ἔχω
 μὲν εἰπεῖν, ὀκνῶ δὲ λέγειν· οὕτω γάρ ἐστι σφόδρα
 καὶ παράδοξα καὶ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀφεστῶτα
 διανοίας, ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν
 ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἅπαν ἐμπλήσητε τὸ
 δικαστήριον. ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενος
 ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι
 γάρ, εἴ τισι δόξω δεδιῶς ὑπὲρ γήρως καὶ μικροῦ
 273 βίου προδιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν μὴ
 προκαταγινῶναί μου τοιαύτην μακίαν, ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ
 κινδυνεύων προειλόμην ἂν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίους
 ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς προειρη-
 μένοις ἀκολουθούς αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι καὶ τὰς
 ἀποδείξεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ σαφεῖς ὄμην ἔχειν ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν.
- 274 Ἰγούμαι δὲ τοιαύτην μὲν τέχνην, ἣτις τοῖς
 κακῶς πεφυκόσιν ἀρετὴν ἐνεργάσαιτ' ἂν καὶ δι-
 καιοσύνην, οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν οὐδεμίαν εἶναι,
 τοὺς τε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιουμένους περὶ αὐτῶν
 πρότερον ἀπερεῖν καὶ παύσεσθαι ληροῦντας πρὶν
 275 εὔρεθῆναι τινα παιδεῖαν τοιαύτην, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'

V. § 273. ταῖς ὑμετέραις] Θ, Turr. Bl. — καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις
 vulg. Bk. (who proposed to omit καὶ). § 274. πεφυκόσιν
 ἀρετὴν ἐνεργάσαιτ' ἂν καὶ δικαιοσύνην] So Turr. Bens., with Θ.
 The other mss. (which Bk. follows) add πρὸς before ἀρετὴν:
 but then the καὶ before δικαιοσύνην becomes unmeaning. Bl.,
 reading πεφυκόσιν πρὸς, meets that difficulty by inserting σωφρο-

αὐτοὺς γ' αὐτῶν βελτίους ἂν γίγνεσθαι καὶ πλείονος ἀξίους, εἰ πρὸς τε τὸ λέγειν εὖ φιλοτίμως διατεθεῖεν καὶ τοῦ πείθειν δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐρασθεῖεν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμήσειαν, μὴ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων νομιζομένης ἀλλὰ τῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην ἐχούσης. καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς οὕτω πέφυκε, ταχέως οἶμαι δηλώσειν. 276

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ λέγειν ἢ γράφειν προαιρούμενος λόγους ἀξίους ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ποιήσεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀδίκους ἢ μικρὰς ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων· μὴ γὰρ τοιαύτας εὐρίσκων οὐδὲν διαπράξεται τῶν δεόντων. ἔπειτα τῶν πράξεων τῶν συντει- 277

νουσῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξεται τὰς πρεπωδεστάτας καὶ μάλιστα συμφερούσας· ὁ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας συνεπιζόμενος θεωρεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξει ταύτην δύναμιν, ὥσθ' ἅμα τὸ λέγειν εὖ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παραγενήσεται τοῖς φιλοσόφως καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους διακειμένοις. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ πείθειν τινὰς 278

βουλόμενος ἀμελήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μάλιστα προσέξει τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως δόξαν ὡς ἐπιεικεστάτην λήψεται παρὰ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀληθεστέρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ διακειμένων

σύνην, with Orelli, after ἀρετῆν. § 275. ἐπιθυμήσειαν] Θ, Bens.—ἐπιθυμήσειεν Bk. Turr. Bl. § 277. τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξει ταύτην] ταύτην Θ, Bk. Turr. Bl.—ταύτη Γ, Δ, Bens. § 278. πείθειν τινὰς] Bk. Turr.—τινὰς is omitted by Γ, Bens.

λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τὰς πίστεις μείζον δυναμένας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίου γεγεννημένας ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεπορισμένας; ὥσθ' ὅσῳ ἂν τις ἐρρωμενεστέρωσ ἐπιθυμῇ πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἀσκήσει καλὸς καὶ γαθὸς εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν.

279 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οἰέσθω· τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας γιγνώσκειν, ὅσῃν ἔχει ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ πείθειν τὸ τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἀρέσκειν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντας μόνους ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας δύναμιν·

280 πολὺ γὰρ ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτ' ἴσασι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι τὰ μὲν εἰκότα καὶ τὰ τεκμήρια καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶνπίστεων εἶδος τοῦτο μόνον ὠφελεῖ τὸ μέρος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τύχη ῥηθέν, τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι καλὸν καὶ γαθὸν οὐ μόνον τὸν λόγον πιστότερον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐντιμοτέρας κατέστησεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ σπουδαστέον ἐστὶ τοῖς εὐφρονούσι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

281 Τὸ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὃ δυσχερέστατον ἦν τῶν ῥηθέντων· εἰ μὲν τις ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς ἀποστεροῦντας ἢ παραλογιζομένους ἢ κακὸν τι ποιοῦντας πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ἔρθῶσ ἔγνωκεν· οὐδένεσ γὰρ ἐν ἅπαιτι τῷ βίῳ μᾶλλον ἐλαττοῦνται τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδ' ἐν πλέοσιν ἀπορίαισ εἰσίν, οὐδ' ἐπονειδιστότερον ζῶσιν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἀθλιώτεροι

282 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· χρὴ δὲ καὶ νῦν πλέον ἔχειν

[ὅσῳ] ὅσῳπερ Bens. § 280. ἐφ' ᾧ] ἐφ' ᾧπερ Bens.
§ 281. πλέοσιν] vulg. Bk. Turr.—πλείοσιν E, Θ, Bens.

ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ πλεονεκτῆσειν νομίζειν παρὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιμελεστάτους ὄντας, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς τούτους μεθ' ὧν ἂν οἰκῶσι καὶ πολιτεύονται διακειμένους καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δοκοῦντας. καὶ 283 ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ συμφέρει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον λέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ νῦν γ' οὕτως ἀνέστραπται καὶ συγκέχυται πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἔνιοί τινες ἔτι χρῶνται κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοὺς μὲν γε βωμολοχευομέ- 284 νους καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ μιμῆσθαι δυναμένους εὐφνεῖς καλοῦσι, προσῆκον τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀρετὴν πεφυκότας· τοὺς δὲ ταῖς κακοηθείαις καὶ ταῖς κακουργίαις χρωμένους, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν λαμβάνοντας πονηρὰν δὲ δόξαν κτωμένους, πλεονεκτεῖν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ὀσιωτάτους καὶ δικαιοτάτους, οἳ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν κακῶν πλεονεκτοῦσι· τοὺς 285 δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῦντας, τὰς δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν τερατολογίας ἀγαπῶντας φιλοσοφεῖν φασιν, †ἀμελήσαντες τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μανθάνοντας καὶ μελετῶντας ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον

§ 283. τοῖς ὀνόμασιν] Γ (1st hand) Turr. Bens.—τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ vulg. Bk. § 284. πλεονεκτεῖν] Γ, Bk. Turr.—πλεονεκτικούς Δ, Ε, Θ, Bens. || οἳ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν] mss. Bk. Turr. Bens.—οἳ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν Dobree conject., Bl. § 285. †ἀμελήσαντες τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μανθάνοντας καὶ μελετῶντας] Γ, Δ, Ε, Bk. Turr. I leave ἀμελήσαντες in the text. It is certainly spurious, but no emendation

καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως καλῶς διοικήσουσιν, ὥνπερ ἔνεκα καὶ ποιητέον καὶ φιλοσοφητέον καὶ πάντα πρακτέον ἐστίν. ἀφ' ὧν ὑμεῖς πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀπελαύνετε τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους τῶν διαβαλλόντων τὴν τοιαύτην
 286 παιδείαν. καὶ γὰρ τοι πεποιθήκατε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεστάτους αὐτῶν ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις καὶ ῥαθυμίαις καὶ παιδιαῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν διάγειν, ἀμελήσαντας τοῦ σπουδάζειν ὅπως ἔσονται βελτίους, τοὺς δὲ χεῖρω τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐν τοιαύταις ἀκολασίαις ἡμερεύειν. ἐν αἷς πρότερον οὐδ' ἂν
 287 οἰκέτης ἐπιεικῆς οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐννεακρούνου ψύχουσιν οἶνον, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις πίνουσιν, ἕτεροι δ' ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις κυβεύουσι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀνλητρίδων διδασκαλείοις διατρίβουσι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέποντας οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν κήδεσθαι φασκόντων τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσήγαγεν· ἡμῖν δὲ κακὰ παρέχουσιν, οἷς ἄξιον ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου. τούτου γε χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι τοὺς συνόντας τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων

is satisfactory. My own impression is that ἀμελήσαντες has displaced a participle, similar in general sense, such as ἀτιμίσαντες. The pen. is required after ἀμελήσαντες: we cannot compare such a passage as Eur. *Ion* 133, *θνήσκοντας ἀμελεῖ*, 'recks not that they die,' where ἀμελεῖ περιφρῆ. Dobree thought that ἀμελήσαντες was an interpolation arising from ἀμελοῦντας just above. Benseler, with Θ, gives ἀμελήσαντες ἐπαινεῖν τοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Sauppe conjectures ἀπελασαντες τοῖς, κ.τ.λ. He also proposed ἀπελήσαντες ἐς τοῖς. Baizer, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθητῶν καὶ μελετῶν. Bake and Havet would omit ἀμελήσαντες and in its place read simply οὐ: and Bl. now omits it ('quamvis dubitanter'), substituting ἀλλ' οἱ. This is surely to cut the knot. § 287. διατρίβουσι] Turr.—διατρίβουσιν Bk. Bens.

ἀποτρέπομεν. οὕτω δ' ἐστὶ δυσμενὲς ἅπασιν τὸ 288
 τῶν συκοφαντῶν γένος, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν λυομέ-
 νοις εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα μῶν τὰς μελλούσας
 καὶ τὸν ἄλλον οἶκον συναναιρήσειν οὐχ ὅπως ἂν
 ἐπιπλήξαιαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχαίρουσι ταῖς ἀσω-
 τίαις αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν παιδείαν ὀτιοῦν
 ἀναλίσκοντας διαφθείρεσθαι φασιν. ὧν τίνες ἂν
 ἀδικώτερον ἔχοιεν τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην; οὔτινες ἐν 289
 ταύταις μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς ὄντες ὑπερεῖδον τὰς
 ἡδονάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τηλικούτων μάλιστ'
 αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐξὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ῥαθυμεῖν μηδὲν
 δαπανωμένοις εἴλοντο πονεῖν χρήματα τελέσαντες,
 ἄρτι δ' ἐκ παίδων ἐξεληλυθότες ἔγνωσαν ἃ πολλοὶ
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὀρθῶς 290
 καὶ πρεπόντως προεστῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ καλὴν
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ βίου ποιούμενον αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τῶν
 αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ μὴ σπεύδειν
 *μηδὲ ζητεῖν ἐτέρων ἄρχειν πρὶν ἂν τῆς αὐτοῦ
 διανοίας λάβῃ τὸν ἐπιστατήσοντα, μηδ' οὕτω χαί-
 ρειν μηδὲ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἐγγιγνομέ-
 νοις. καὶ τοι τοὺς τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ κεχρημένους
 πῶς οὐκ ἐπαινέσθαι χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ψέγεσθαι, καὶ
 νομίζεσθαι βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεστάτους
 τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν;

Θαυμάζω δ' ὅσοι τοὺς μὲν φύσει δεινοὺς ὄντας 291
 εἰπεῖν εὐδαιμονίζουσιν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ πράγ-

§ 289. ἐν ταύταις μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς...τῶν τηλικούτων] Dobson wished to read ἐν μὲν ταῖς (or ἐν ταῖς μὲν) ἀκμαῖς, and to omit τηλικούτων. —ἐν αὐταῖς μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς Θ. § 290. μὴ σπεύδειν *μηδὲ ζητεῖν] μηδὲ Baiter, Turr. Bl.: μήτε mss. Bk.—: σπεύδειν καὶ ζητεῖν

ματος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότος, τοὺς δὲ τοιοῦτους γενέσθαι βουλομένους λαιδοροῦσιν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ παιδεύματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας. καὶ τοι τί τῶν φύσει καλῶν ὄντων μελέτη κατεργασθὲν αἰσχρὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν; οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς ταῖς φιλοπονίαις ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν τι κτήσασθαι δυναθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρα-
292 λαβόντας, εἰκότως· συμφέρεи γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ μάλιστα' ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, μὴ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιμελείας εὐδοκιμεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τύχῃ δεινοὶ γενόμενοι λέγειν οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν τύχωσιν, οὕτω χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις εἰώθασιν· οἱ δὲ φιλοσοφία καὶ λογισμῶ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην λαβόντες, οὐδὲν ἀσκέπτως λέγοντες, ἤττου περι-
293 τὰς πράξεις πλημμελοῦσιν. ὥσθ' ἅπασιν μὲν βούλεσθαι προσήκει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ παιδείας δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν γιγνομένους, μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ προέχετε καὶ διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων οὐ ταῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείαις, οὐδ' ὅτι κάλλιστα πολιτεύεσθε καὶ μάλιστα φυλάττετε τοὺς νόμους οὓς ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἷς περ ἢ φύσις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν
294 βαρβάρων, τῶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἄμεινον πεπαιδεῦσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ὥστε πάντων ἂν συμβαίῃ δεινότατον, εἰ τοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἡλι-
Bens. § 293. [ζῶων] Γ (1st hand), Turr. Bens.—ζῶων διήνεγκε

κιωτῶν, οἷς περ ὑμεῖς ἀπάντων, διαφθείρεσθαι ψηφίσαισθε, καὶ τοὺς τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους, ἧς ὑμεῖς ἡγεμόνες γεγένησθε, συμφορᾷ τινὶ περιβάλοιτε.

Χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λαυθάνειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι πάντων τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος. εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ ἄθλα μέγιστα τιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ὀρώσι τοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην ἔχουσι, καὶ γυμνάσια πλείστα καὶ παντοδαπώτατα παρέχουσιν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι προηρημένοις καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας <διατριβάς> γυμνάζεσθαι βουλομένοις, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἣ περ 295 μάλιστα ποιεῖ δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἐνθένδε πάντας λαμβάνοντας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐτραπέλιαν καὶ φιλολογίαν οὐ μικρὸν ἡγοῦνται συμβαλέσθαι μέρος πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀδίκως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἅπαντας τοὺς λέγειν ὄντας δεινοὺς τῆς πόλεως εἶναι μαθητάς. σκοπεῖτ' οὖν 297 μὴ παντάπασιν ἢ καταγέλαστον τῆς δόξης ταύτης φλαυρόν τι καταγιγνώσκειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἔχετε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ φανερώς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔσεσθε κατεψηφισμένοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀδικίαν, καὶ πεποιηκότες 298 ὅμοιον ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς τὰ περὶ

vulg. Bk. § 295. <διατριβάς>. The mss. have περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας γυμνάζεσθαι, without any substantive. Havet and Bl. simply alter the fem. pl. into τὰ τοιαῦτα: but, since there was nothing to provoke the change into τὰς τοιαύτας, it seems far more likely that a substantive has been lost. I have conjecturally supplied διατριβάς. § 297. ἢ ἐγὼ] ἡγὼ Baïter, Bens. || ἄλλ' ἢ] ἄλλ' ἢ Bens. § 298. τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον]

τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντας ζημιοῦν ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἢ
 Θετταλοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἵππεύειν μελετώντων δίκην
 λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῖεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν φυλακτέον ἐστίν,
 ὅπως μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐξαμαρτήσεσθε περὶ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτούς, μηδὲ πιστοτέρους * ποιήσετε τοὺς λόγους
 τοὺς τῶν κατηγορούντων τῆς πόλεως ἢ τοὺς τῶν
 ἐπαινούντων.

- 299 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 οἱ μὲν δυσκόλως πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ὡς
 οἶόν τε μάλιστα φιλοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς
 σωτηρίας ἐν ὑμῖν ἔχουσι. καὶ φασιν οἱ μὲν τοιοῦ-
 τοι μόνην εἶναι ταύτην πόλιν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κώμας,
 καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτὴν ἄστυ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προσα-
 γορευέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας
 τὰς ἐνθένδε τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνομένας καὶ μάλιστα
 300 διὰ τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἐνοικούντων· οὐδένας γὰρ εἶναι
 πραοτέρους οὐδὲ κοινοτέρους οὐδ' οἷς οἰκειότερον
 ἂν τις τὸν ἕπαντα βίον συνδιατρίψειεν. οὕτω δὲ
 μεγάλας χρῶνται ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ
 τοῦτ' ὀκνοῦσι λέγειν, ὡς ἥδιον ἂν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀθη-
 ναίου ζημιωθεῖεν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρων ὀμότητος εὖ
 πάθωεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν διασύρουσι, διεξιόντες
 δὲ τὰς τῶν συκοφαντῶν πικρότητας καὶ κακοπρα-
 γίας ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀμίκτου καὶ χαλεπῆς
 301 οὔσης κατηγοροῦσιν. ἔστιν οὖν δικαστῶν νοῦν
 ἐχόντων τοὺς μὲν τῶν τοιοῦτων λόγους αἰτίους
 γιγνομένους ἀποκτείνειν ὡς μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ
 πόλει περιποιούντας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐπαινῶν τῶν

Bk. omits τα, prob. by a mere oversight. * ποιήσετε] Baiter,
 Turr. Bens.—ποιήσητε Θ.—ποιήσεσθε mss. Bk.

λεγομένων περι ἀυτῆς μέρος τι συμβαλλομένους
 τιμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στεφα-
 νίταις ἀγῶσι νικῶντας· πολὺ γὰρ καλλίω δόξαν 302
 ἐκείνων κτώμενοι τῇ πόλει τυγχάνουσι καὶ μᾶλ-
 λον ἀρμόττουσαν. περι μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων
 ἀγωνίαν πολλοὺς τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας ἔχομεν,
 περι δὲ τὴν παιδείαν ἅπαντες ἀν ἡμᾶς πρωτεύειν
 προκρίνειαν.

VI. ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ.

[Or. iv.—380 B. C.]

§§ 160—186.

Ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ λίαν εἶναι τὰ παρα- 160
 κευόμενα πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρῶν
 καιρός, ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχροὺς παρόντι
 μὲν μὴ χρῆσθαι, παρελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ μεμνήσθαι.
 τί γὰρ ἀν καὶ βουλευθεῖμεν ἡμῖν προσγενέσθαι,
 μέλλοντες βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἔξω τῶν νῦν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων; οὐκ Αἴγυπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ Κύπρος 161
 ἀφέστηκε, Φοινίκη δὲ καὶ Συρία διὰ τὸν πόλεμον
 ἀνάστατοι γέγονασιν, Τύρος δ', ἐφ' ἣ μέγ' ἐφρόνησεν,
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου κατείληπται; τῶν δ'
 ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείστας οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν
 ὄντες ἔχουσι, τὰς δ' οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ κτήσασθαι.
 Λυκίας δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν. Ἐκα- 162
 τόμνως δ' ὁ Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ

VI. § 160. ὁ παρῶν καιρός, ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον] Γ (1st hand),
 Bk. Turr.—ὁ παρῶν καιρός, οὐ σαφέστερον οὐδέν. ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον
 E, Γ (corrector), Bens. § 161. τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνοι]

- πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφέστηκεν, ὁμολογήσει δ' ὅταν ἡμεῖς βουλευθῶμεν. ἀπὸ δὲ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἑλληνας τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν, οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύειν πολεμεῖν. καίτοι τοιούτων ὀρμητηρίων ὑπαρξάντων καὶ τοσούτου πολέμου τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστάντος τί δεῖ τὰ συμβησόμενα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν; ὅπου γὰρ μικρῶν μερῶν ἤπτους εἰσίν, οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς ἂν διατεθεῖεν, εἰ πᾶσιν
- 163 ἡμῖν πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως. εἰ μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐρρωμενεστέως κατάσχη τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, φρουρὰς μείζους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ νῦν ἐγκαταστήσας, τάχ' ἂν καὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον, οἷον Ῥόδος καὶ Σάμος καὶ Χίος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου τύχας ἀποκλίνειαν· ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς πρότεροι καταλάβωμεν, εἰκὸς τοὺς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ὑπερκείμενην χώραν οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμωμένοις εἶναι.
- 164 Διὸ δεῖ σπεύδειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι διατριβὴν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὑστερίσαντες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πρόεμενοί τινες τῶν συμμάχων ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς κινδυνεῖν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς πρότεροις διαβᾶσιν εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμεως ἐν μέρει τῶν ἔθνων ἕκασ-
- 165 τον χειροῦσθαι. δέδεικται γάρ, ὅταν τις πολεμῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων συλλεγομένους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν. ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν
- Bk. Turr. Bl.—τῶν ἰχθρῶν ἐκείνου Γ, Bens. § 165. ἐκεῖνοι

προεξαμαρτόντες ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, καταστάντες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας· ἡμεῖς δ', ἂν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλαξόμεθα καὶ πειρασόμεθα φθῆναι περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν στρατόπεδον ἐγκαταστήσαντες, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ 166 βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἐκόντων ἄρχει τῶν ἠπειρωτῶν, ἀλλὰ μείζω δύναμιν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκάστων αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος· ἥς ἡμεῖς ὅταν κρείττω διαβιβάσωμεν, ὃ βουλευθέντες ῥαδίως ἂν ποιήσαιμεν, ἀσφαλῶς ἕπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καρπωσόμεθα. πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πολεμεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν 167 στρατείαν, ἵν' οἱ τῶν συμφορῶν κοινωνήσαντες, οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ μὴ πάντα τὸν χρόνον δυστυχοῦντες διαγάγωσιν· ἴκανὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθώς, ἐν ᾧ τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ γέγονεν; πολλῶν γὰρ κακῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοὶ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσεξευρήκαμεν, πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμποίησαντες, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀνόμως 168 ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλᾶσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπικουρεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖς φίλοις μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν. ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν συγκειμέναις δακρῦειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ πάθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ γιγνόμενα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφορῶντες τοσοῦ-
 μὲν οὖν] οὖν is omitted by Γ, Ε, Bens.

- του δέουσιν ἐλεεῖν, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς ἢ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίους ἀγαθοῖς. ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐηθείας πολλοὶ καταγελάσειαν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὀδυροίμην ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς Ἰταλία μὲν ἀνάστατος γέγονε, Σικελία δὲ καταδεδούλωται, τοσαῦται δὲ πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐστίν.
- 170 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστεύοντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἠγοῦνται μέγα φρονεῖν, μηδὲν πῶποθ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων μῆτ' εἰπεῖν μῆτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνηθέντες. ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς παρούσης δόξης, ἀπάντων ἀφεμένους τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ συμβου-
- 171 λεύειν. τυχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τι συνεπέραναν· εἰ δὲ καὶ προαπεῖπον, ἀλλ' οὖν τοὺς γε λόγους ὥσπερ χρησμούς εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον ἂν κατέλιπον. νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες ἐπὶ μικροῖς σπουδάζουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων συμβουλεύειν παραλελοίπασιν.
- 172 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μικροψυχότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ προεστῶτες ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρρωμενεστέρωσ δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα τῆς παρούσης ἐχθρας. νῦν μὲν γὰρ μάτην ποιούμεθα τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας· οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα τοὺς πολέμους ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα,

§ 168. τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίους] αὐτῶν Turr. Bens.—αὐτῶν Bk.

§ 171. ἐξεστηκόσι] Bk. Turr. Bl.—ἐξεστῶσι Bens.

καὶ περιμένομεν τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἀνήκεστόν τι
κακὸν ἀλλήλους ἐργάσασθαι δυνησόμεθα. δεῖ δὲ 173
ταύτας τὰς ἐπιβουλάς ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένους ἐκεί-
νοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔξ ὧν τὰς τε πόλεις
ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσομεν καὶ πιστότερον διακει-
σόμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦς καὶ
ῥάδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ εἰρήνην
οἶόν τε βεβαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, ἢ μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβά-
ροις πολεμήσωμεν, οὔθ' ὁμοιοῦσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς
κινδύνους πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιησώμεθα. τούτων 174
δὲ γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον
ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, ἢ καὶ τὰς ἐταιρίας διαλύει καὶ
τὰς συγγενείας εἰς ἔχθραν προάγει καὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καθίστησιν,
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ ὁμοιοῦσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας
ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔξομεν. ὧν ἕνεκα
περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα τὸν
ἐνθένδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον διορισῶμεν, ὡς
μόνον ἂν τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσασιν τῶν κινδύνων
τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, εἰ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς ἐκ
τούτων γεγενημέναις πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καταχρή-
σασθαι δόξειεν ἡμῖν.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισ- 175
χεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ θάπτον ποιήσασθαι
τὴν στρατείαν; δι' αἷς αἱ μὲν ἠλευθερωμένοι τῶν
πόλεων βασιλεῖ χάριν ἴσασιν, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον τυχοῦ-
σαι τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, αἱ δ' ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς
βαρβάροις μάλιστα μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπικαλοῦ-
§ 173. ὠφελείας] E, Bens.—ὠφελίας Γ, Bk. Turr.—φιλίας vulg.

- σιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων δουλεύειν ἠναγκασμένοι. καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ διαλύειν ταύτας τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν, ὡς ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος κήδεται τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δὲ τινές εἰσιν οἱ λυμαινόμενοι καὶ κακῶς
- 176 ποιοῦντες αὐτήν; ὁ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὰ χεῖριστα τυγχάνομεν διαφυλάττοντες. ἂ μὲν γὰρ αὐτονόμους ἀφήσει τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, πάσαι λέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἐστίν· ἂ δ' αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν φέροι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἐκδέδωκε, ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ χώραν μένει καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ κύρια ποιούμεν, ἂ χρῆν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ μηδὲ μίαν ἑᾶν ἡμέραν, νομίζοντας προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας εἶναι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι συνθήκαι μὲν εἰσιν, αἴτινες ἂν ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις ἔχωσι, προστάγματα δὲ τὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐλαττοῦντα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον;
- 177 διὸ καὶ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην δικαίως ἂν κατηγοροῖμεν, ὅτι πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐποίησαντο τὰς συνθήκας. ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴτ' ἐδόκει τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους, εἴτε καὶ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἐπάρχειν, εἴτε τούτων κρατεῖν ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες, ἔν τι τούτων ὀρισamenous καὶ κοινὸν τὸ δίκαιον ποιησαμένους οὕτω συγγρά-

§ 175. ὡς ὁ μὲν] E, Turr. Bens.—ὥστε vulg. Bk. § 176. μηδὲ μίαν] Sauppe, Turr. Bens.—μηδεμίαν Bk. § 177. τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν] αὐτῶν Turr. Bens.—ἑαυτῶν Bk.

φεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει 178
καὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν,
τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότην
κατέστησαν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων
ἡμῶν, ἣ τῆς μὲν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς πάλαι καθεστη-
κυίας, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις κατοικούντων,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μὲν νεωστὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν
ἐχόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς
"Ἑλλησι δυναστευόντων. οἶμαι δ' ἐκείνως εἰπὼν 179
μᾶλλον δηλώσειν τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγε-
νημένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν. τῆς
γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα
τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης
καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν εἵλη-
φεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος
ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος.
καὶ ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις 180
ἀναγράψαντας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν καταθεῖ-
ναι, πολὺ κάλλιον τρόπαιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
γιγνομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἔργων καὶ
μιᾶς τύχης ἐστίν, αὐταὶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστήκασιν.

Ἐπὲρ ὧν ἄξιον ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως 181
τῶν τε γεγενημένων δίκην ληψόμεθα καὶ τὰ μέλ-
λοντα διορθωσόμεθα. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἰδίᾳ μὲν
τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις ἀξιούν χρησθαι, δημοσίᾳ
δὲ τοσοῦτους τῶν συμμάχων περιορᾶν αὐτοῖς δου-

§ 178. ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ] E, Turr. Bens.—ὡς ὑπὲρ Bk. § 179.
τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως] τὴν [τοῦ] βασιλέως Bk. || πρὸς ἀνθρώπους]
Bk. Turr. Bl.—πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Bens. § 180. καταθεῖναι]
Γ, E, Turr. Bens.—ἀναθεῖναι Bk.

- λεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενομένους μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδικηθείσιν ὥστε μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον
- 182 ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἔξαμαρτεῖν, ἡμᾶς δ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβριζομένης μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι κοινὴν τιμωρίαν, ἐξὸν ἡμῖν εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπράξασθαι. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἰρήνης κρείττων ἐστί, θεωρία μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ *στρατεία προσεικῶς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων, καὶ τοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν τοῖς μὲν ἀδεῶς τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν καρποῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μεγάλους πλούτους κατακτήσασθαι.
- 183 Πολλαχῆ δ' ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὔροι ταύτας τὰς πράξεις μάλιστα λυσιτελοῦσας ἡμῖν. φέρε γάρ, πρὸς τίνας χρὴ πολεμεῖν τοὺς μηδεμιᾶς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον σκοποῦντας; οὐ πρὸς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσαντας καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένους;
- 184 τίσι δὲ φθονεῖν εἰκὸς ἐστί τοὺς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάνδρως διακειμένους ἀλλὰ μετρίως τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους; οὐ τοῖς μείζους μὲν τὰς δυναστείας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους περιβεβλημένοις, ἐλάττωτος δ' ἀξίοις τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δυστυχοῦντων; ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ στρατεύειν προσήκει τοὺς ἅμα μὲν

§ 182. *στρατεία] Koraes, Bk. Turr. Bens.—στρατιᾶ mss. ἄγειν] Γ, E, Turr. Bens.—ἄγειν βουλομένοις Bk. § 183. πολλαχῆ] E, Koraes, Turr. Bens.—πολλαχοῦ vulg. Bk.

εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐνθυμουμένους; οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ φύσει πολεμίους καὶ πατρικοὺς ἐχθροὺς, καὶ πλείστα μὲν ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένους, ἥκιστα δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμύνεσθαι δυναμένους; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις λυπήσομεν στρα- 185
τιώτας ἐξ αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες, ὃ νῦν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀχληρότατόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς· πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι σπανιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μένειν ἐθελήσοντας τῶν συνακολουθεῖν ἐπιθυμησόντων. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ῥάθυμός ἐστιν, ὅστις οὐ μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγουμένης, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλευθερίας ἀθροισομένης, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἐκπεμπομένης, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων τιμωρίαν πορευομένης; φήμην δὲ καὶ 186
μνήμην καὶ δόξαν πόσῃν τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; ὅπου γὰρ οἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμήσαντες καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἐλόντες τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθησαν, ποίων τινῶν χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐγκωμίων τεύξεσθαι τοὺς ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας κρατήσαντας; τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσει καὶ

§ 185. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ῥάθυμός ἐστιν] mss. Bk. Turr. Bens.—τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἠλίθιος [ἢ παλαιὸς] ἢ ῥάθυμός ἐστιν conject. E. Mehler (ed. Panegy. Areopag. 1861), following Hirschig. Bl. thinks that, if anything should be expunged, it is ῥάθυμος.

φιλοσοφήσει βουλόμενος ἕμα τῆς θ' αὐτοῦ διανοίας
καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μνημεῖον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν
χρόνον καταλιπεῖν;

VII. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ.

[Or. v.—346 B. C.]

§§ 81—104.

- 81 Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, ἅπερ ἐπέστειλα καὶ πρὸς
Διονύσιον τὴν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον, εἰ μῆτε
στρατηγὸς ὢν μῆτε ῥήτωρ μῆτ' ἄλλως δυνάστης
θρασύτερόν σοι διείλεγμαί τῶν ἄλλων. ἐγὼ γὰρ
πρὸς μὲν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι πάντων ἀφύεστατος
ἐγενόμην τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν ἔσχον
ἰκανὴν οὔτε τόλμαν δυναμένην ὄχλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ
82 καλινδουμένοις, τοῦ δὲ φρονεῖν εὖ καὶ πεπαιδεύ-
σθαι καλῶς, εἰ καὶ τις ἀγροικότερον εἶναι φήσει
τὸ ῥηθέν, ἀμφισβητῶ, καὶ θείην ἂν ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἐν
τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν
ἄλλων. διόπερ ἐπιχειρῶ συμβουλεύειν τὸν τρόπον
τοῦτον, ὃν ἐγὼ πέφυκα καὶ δύναμαι, καὶ τῇ πόλει
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς
ἐνδοξοτάτοις.
- 83 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ὧν σοὶ πρακτέον

VII. § 81. τὴν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον] Γ, Bk. Turr.—
τὸν τῆν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον Ε, Bens. But see comment.
§ 82. καλινδουμένοις] Ε, Ζ, Bens.—καλινδομένοις Γ, Bk.
Turr. * καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι] Ε, Bens.—τοῖς Ἑλλησι Bk.
Turr. Bl. § 83. καὶ ὧν] Γ, Ε, Bk. Turr.—καὶ περὶ ὧν Bens.

ἔστι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, σχεδὸν ἀκήκοας, περὶ δὲ τῆς στρατείας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν, ἃς ἔφην χρῆναί σε διαλλάττειν, τότε συμβουλευσομεν, ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὅταν ἴδωμεν αὐτὰς ὁμονοούσας, πρὸς σὲ δὲ νῦν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων διανοίαν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡλικίαν ὅτ' ἔγραφον περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην. τότε μὲν γὰρ 84 παρεκελευόμην τοῖς ἀκουσομένοις καταγελᾶν μου καὶ καταφρονεῖν, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον διατριφθέντος ἀξίως φαίνωμαι διεξιῶν, νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων πολὺ καταδεέστερον τύχῳ διαλεχθεῖς. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ λόγος ὁ πανηγυρικός, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντας εὐπορωτέρους ποιήσας, ἔμοι πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχηκεν· οὔτε γὰρ ταῦτ' αὖ βούλομαι λέγειν τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γεγραμμένοις, οὔτ' ἔτι καινὰ δύναμαι ζητεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀποστατέον ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ λεκτέον 85 περὶ ὧν ὑπεθέμην, ὅ τι ἂν ὑποπέση καὶ συμφέρη πρὸς τὸ πείσαι σε ταῦτα πράττειν. καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἐλλίπω τι καὶ μὴ δυνηθῶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γράψαι τοῖς πρότερον ἐκδεδομένοις, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπογράψειν γ' οἶμαι χαριέντως τοῖς ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ διαπνεεῖν δυναμένοις.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ σύμπαντος 86 οἶμαι πεποιῆσθαι ταύτην, ἣνπερ προσήκει τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν πείθοντας στρατεύειν. δεῖ γὰρ

|| τότε συμβουλευσομεν] Bk. Turr. Bens.—τότε μοι δοκῶ συμ-

μηδὲν πρότερον πράττειν, πρὶν ἂν λάβῃ τις τοὺς Ἑλληνας δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ συναγωνιζομένους ἢ πολλήν εὐνοίαν ἔχοντας τοῖς πραττομένοις. ὧν Ἀγησίλαος ὁ δόξας εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων φρονιμώ-
 87 τιμίαν. ἔσχε γὰρ διττὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καλὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, οὐ συμφωνούσας δ' ἀλλήλαις οὐδ' ἅμα πράττεσθαι δυναμένας. προηρείτο γὰρ βασιλεῖ τε πολεμεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν καταγαγεῖν καὶ κυρίου ποιῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. συνέβαινε οὖν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, διὰ δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν τὴν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένην μὴ σχολὴν ἄγειν μηδὲ δύνασθαι
 88 πολεμεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις. ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγνοηθέντων κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον ῥᾶδιον καταμαθεῖν ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ πρότερον ἐκφέρειν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον. πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ τις τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ παύσῃ τῆς μαρίας τῆς νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστῶσης· ἅπερ καὶ σοὶ συμβεβουλεύκότες τυγχάνομεν.

89 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντειπεῖν τῶν εὐ φροούντων τολμήσειεν· οἶμαι δὲ τῶν μὲν

βολευσῶν (Κοραεὶς συμβουλεύσειεν) vulg. before Bk. § 88. τοῖς ὀρθοῖς βουλευομένοις] Γ, Ε, Turr. (comparing *Epist.* ix. § 14) Bens.—τὸν ὀρθῶς βουλευομένον vulg. Bk. πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον] so Turr. Bens., with Ε in *Epist.* ix. § 14, where this passage, from *ἔσχε γὰρ διττὰς ἐπιθυμίας* down to *ἐνεστῶσης*, recurs nearly verbatim. πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πόλεμον Ε (here), Γ (there), Β. —τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον Ζ, Bk.—πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν πόλεμον Γ in *Epist.* ix. § 14. διαλλάξῃ τις τοὺς Ἑλληνας] τις is added from *Epist.* ix. § 14 by Turr. Bens. ἐνεστῶσης] Bk. Turr.—*ἐνεστηκυίας* Bens.

ἄλλων εἴ τισι δόξειε περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς εἰς
 τὴν Ἀσίαν συμβουλεύειν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐπιπε-
 σεῖν τὴν παράκλησιν, λέγοντας, ὡς ὅσοι περ ἐπε-
 χείρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν, ἕπασιν
 συνέπεσεν ἐξ ἀδόξων μὲν γενέσθαι λαμπροῖς, ἐκ
 πενήτων δὲ πλουσίοις, ἐκ ταπεινῶν δὲ πολλῆς
 χώρας καὶ πόλεων δεσπόταις. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν 90
 τοιούτων μέλλω σε παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἡτυ-
 χηκένοι δοξάντων, λέγω δ' ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Κύρου καὶ
 Κλεάρχου συστρατευσαμένων. ἐκείνους γὰρ ὁμο-
 λογεῖται νικῆσαι μὲν μαχομένους ἕπασαν τὴν
 βασιλέως δύναμιν τοσοῦτον, ὅσον περ ἂν εἰ ταῖς
 γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συνέβαλον, ἤδη δ' ἐγκρατεῖς δο-
 κοῦντας εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν Κύρου
 προπέτειαν ἀτυχήσαι· περιχαρῆ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄντα
 καὶ διώκοντα πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν μέσοις
 γενόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅμως 91
 τηλικαύτης συμφορᾶς συμπεσοῦσης οὕτω σφόδρα
 κατεφρόνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνά-
 μεως, ὥστε προκαλεσάμενος Κλεάρχον καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τούτοις μὲν
 ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν, τοῖς δ'
 ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦς
 ἀποπέμψειν, τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ
 πίστεις δούς τῶν ἐκεῖ νομιζομένων τὰς μεγίστας,
 συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο
 περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξαμαρτεῖν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις
 οὕτως ἐρήμοις οὔσι συμβαλεῖν. ὥστε τίς ἂν 92
 γένοιτο παράκλησις ταύτης καλλίων καὶ πιστο-
 τέρα; φαίνονται γὰρ κακῆνοι κρατήσαντες ἂν τῶν

βασιλέως πραγμάτων, εἰ μὴ διὰ Κῦρον. σοὶ δὲ τὴν τ' ἀτυχίαν τὴν τότε γεγενημένην οὐ χαλεπὸν φυλάσασθαι, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου τοῦ κρατήσαντος τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν ῥάδιον πολὺ κρείττον κατασκευάσασθαι. καίτοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρξάντων πῶς οὐ χρὴ θαρρεῖν ποιούμενου τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην;

- 93 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με βούλεσθαι λαθεῖν ὅτι τούτων ἓνα πέφρακα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρότερον. ἐπιστὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διανοίας εἰλόμην μὴ πονεῖν γλιχόμενος τὰ δεδηλωμένα καλῶς ἑτέρως εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιοῦμην, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
94 φεύγειν, σοὶ δὲ συμβουλευῶν μωρὸς ἂν ἦν, εἰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν πλείω χρόνον διέτριβον ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἔτι δ' εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρωμένους αὐτὸς μόνος ἀπειχόμενι τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον εἰρημένων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν οἰκείοις τυχόν ἂν χρησαίμην, ἦν που σφόδρα κατεπεΐγη καὶ πρέπη, τῶν δ' ἄλλοτριῶν οὐδὲν ἂν προσδεξαίμην, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ.

- 95 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως· δοκεῖ δέ μοι μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς διαλεκτέον εἶναι τῆς τε σοὶ γενησομένης καὶ τῆς ἐκείνοις ὑπαρξάσης· τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μέγιστον, σὺ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὖνους ἔξεις, ἦν περ ἐθελήσης ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς περὶ τούτων εἰρημένοις, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διὰ τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς ἐπὶ

§ 92. κατασκευάσασθαι] Γ, Ε (corrector), Turr.—παρασκευάσασθαι Ε (1st hand), Bk. Bens. § 94. ἦν που σφόδρα] Ε, Bk. Turr.—ἦν σφόδρα Γ, Bens. § 95. δεκαρχίας] Ε, Α,

Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς οἶόν τε δυσμενεστάτους. ἡγοῦν-
 το γὰρ Κύρου μὲν καὶ Κλεάρχου κατορθωσάντων
 μᾶλλον ἔτι δουλεύσειν, βασιλέως δὲ κρατήσαντος
 ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων· ὅπερ
 καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιώτας 96
 σὺ μὲν ἐξ ἐτοίμου λήψει τοσοῦτους ὅσους ἂν βου-
 ληθῆς· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε ῥᾶον
 εἶναι συστήσαι στρατόπεδον μείζον καὶ κρεῖττον
 ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων· ἐν
 ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἦν ξενικὸν οὐδέν, ὥστ'
 ἀναγκαζόμενοι ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πλέον
 ἀνήλiskon εἰς τὰς διδομένας τοῖς συλλέγουσι
 δωρεὰς ἢ τὴν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας μισθοφοράν.
 καὶ μὴν εἰ βουλευθῆμεν ἐξετάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν 97
 σέ τε τὸν νῦν ἡγησόμενον τῆς στρατείας καὶ βου-
 λουσόμενον περὶ ἀπάντων καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν
 ἐπιστατήσαντα τῶν τότε πραγμάτων, εὐρήσομεν
 ἐκείνον μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς πώποτε δυνάμεως πρότερον
 οὔτε ναυτικῆς οὔτε πεζῆς καταστάντα κύριον ἀλλ'
 ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς συμβάσης αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν
 ἡπειρον ὀνομαστὸν γεγόμενον, σέ δὲ τοσαῦτα καὶ 98
 τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος διαπεπραγμένοι, περὶ ὧν εἰ
 μὲν πρὸς ἐτέρους τὸν λόγον ἐποιούμην, καλῶς ἂν
 εἶχε διελθεῖν, πρὸς σέ δὲ διαλεγόμενος, εἰ τὰς σὰς
 πράξεις σοι διεξιόην, δικαίως ἂν ἀνόητος ἴμα καὶ
 περίεργος εἶναι δοκοίην.

Ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφο- 99
 τέρων, ἐφ' ὃν σοὶ τε συμβουλεύω στρατεύειν καὶ

Bens.—δεκαδαρχίας Γ, Bk. Turr. See comment. | δυσμενε-
 στάτους] after this word Koraes added εἶχον, which Bens. adopted,

- πρὸς ὃν Κλέαρχος ἐπολέμησεν, ἴν' ἑκατέρου τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰδῆς. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τούτου πατήρ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ πάλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεπολέμησεν, οὗτος δ' οὐδενὸς πώποτε τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ
- 100 λυμαινομένων ἐπεκράτησεν. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐξέλαβεν, οὗτος δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκδοθεισῶν αὐτῷ πόλεων ἐγκρατὴς ἐστίν. ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε, πότερα χρὴ νομίζειν τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀφειστάναι δι' ἀνανδρίαν ἢ ἐκείνας ὑπερεωρακέναι καὶ καταπεφρονηκέναι τῆς βαρβαρικῆς δυναστείας.
- 101 Τὰ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν χώραν ὡς διίκεται, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσας παροξυνθείη πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν; Αἴγυπτος γὰρ ἀφειστήκει μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ποτε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος στρατείαν κρατήσειε καὶ τῆς διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν δυσχωρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἀπάσης· νῦν δ' οὗτος ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους τούτου. συμπαρασκευασάμενος γὰρ δύναμιν ὅσην οἶός τ' ἦν πλείστην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μόνον ἠττηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελασθεὶς καὶ δόξας οὔτε βασιλεύ-
- 102 εἰν οὔτε στρατηγεῖν ἄξιος εἶναι. τὰ τοίνυν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον, ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο ναυτικῶ, τότε μὲν ἦν βασι-

but in the new edit. of Bens. Bl. omits it. § 100. αὐτῷ] bracketed by Bl., with Dobree. § 101. γὰρ ἀφειστήκει μὲν] μὲν γὰρ ἀφειστήκει μὲν Bl. on his own conject. § 102. ναυτικῶ] τῷ ναυτικῷ Bens.

λέως, νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφέστηκε, τὰ δ' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ
κακοῖς τοσοῦτοις ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν μηδὲν
εἶναι τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν χρήσιμον, σοὶ δ', ἣν πολε-
μεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν βουλευθῆς, συμφόρως ἔξειν. καὶ 103
μὲν Ἰδριέα γε τὸν εὐπορώτατον τῶν νῦν περὶ τὴν
ἠπειρον προσήκει δυσμενέστερον εἶναι τοῖς βασι-
λέως πράγμασι τῶν πολεμουμένων· ἢ πάντων γ'
ἂν εἴη σχετλιώτατος, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο καταλελύσθαι
ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τὴν αἰκισαμένην μὲν τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν, πολεμήσασαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν
χρόνον ἐπιβουλεύουσιν καὶ βουλομένην τοῦ τε
σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπάντων γενέ-
σθαι κυρίαν. ὑπὲρ ὧν δεδιὼς νῦν μὲν ἀναγκάζεται 104
θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν· εἰ δὲ σὺ διαβαίης εἰς τὴν
ἠπειρον, ἐκείνός τ' ἂν ἄσμενος ἴδοι βοηθὸν ἤκειν
αὐτῷ σε νομίζων, τῶν τ' ἄλλων σατραπῶν πολ-
λοὺς ἀποστήσεις, ἣν ὑπόσχη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο διασπείρης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπερ
εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰσπεσὸν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ
τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν κατέλυσεν.

VIII. ΠΛΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ.

[Or. xiv.—373 B. C.]

§§ 56—63.

Ἐπὲρ ὧν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ἰκετεύομεν ἀποδοῦναι 56
τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέ-
ρους ὑπομιμνήσκοντες ὡς οἰκτρὸν τοὺς τηλικούτους

ὀράσθαι δυστυχοῦντας καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπο-
 ροῦντας, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἀντιβολουῦντες καὶ δεό-
 μενοι βοηθῆσαι τοῖς ἡλικιώταις καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν
 57 ἔτι πλείω κακὰ τῶν εἰρημένων παθόντας. ὀφεί-
 λετε δὲ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦτον τὸν ἔρανον,
 ἀναστάτοις ἡμῖν γενομένοις ἐπαμῦναι. καὶ γὰρ
 τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασίν, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν
 ὑμετέρων πατέρων ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ταύτην
 τὴν χώραν, μόνοις τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου κοινω-
 νοὺς ἐκείνοις τῶν κινδύνων γενομένους συνανασῶσ-
 αι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς· ὥστε δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν
 εὐεργεσίαν ἀπολάβοιμεν ἢ ἢνπερ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν
 εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες.

58 Εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν σωμάτων τῶν
 ἡμετέρων δέδοκται φροντίζειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε χώραν
 οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνέχεσθαι πεπορθημένην, ἐν ἣ
 μέγιστα σημεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῶν
 59 ἄλλων τῶν συναγωνισαμένων καταλείπεται· τὰ
 μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τρόπαια πόλει πρὸς πόλιν γέγονεν,
 ἐκεῖνα δ' ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς ὅλην
 τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἔστηκεν. ἂ Θηβαῖοι
 μὲν εἰκότως ἀφανίζουσι (τὰ γὰρ μνημεῖα τῶν τότε
 γενομένων αἰσχύνη τούτοις ἐστίν), ὑμῖν δὲ προσ-
 ηκει διασώζειν· ἐξ ἐκείνων γὰρ τῶν ἔργων ἡγε-
 60 μόνες κατέστητε τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν
 θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων μνησθῆναι τῶν ἐκείνων τὸν
 τόπον κατεχόντων, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τὰς τιμὰς
 αὐτῶν καταλυόμενας, οἷς ὑμεῖς καλλιερησάμενοι

VIII. § 57. γενομένοις] Γ, Bk. Turr. Bl.—γεγεννημένοις
 vulg. Bens. (1st edit.). § 59. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα] Γ omits ἄλλα,

τοιούτον ὑπέστητε κίνδυνον, ὃς καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἑλληνας ἠλευθέρωσεν.

Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν προγόνων ποιήσασθαι τινα πρόνοιαν, καὶ μὴ παραμελῆσαι μηδὲ τῆς περὶ ἐκείνους εὐσεβείας, οὐ πῶς ἂν διατεθεῖεν, εἴ τις 61 ἄρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ φρόνησίς ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, εἰ κυρίων ὑμῶν ὄντων αἰσθιοῖντο τοὺς μὲν δουλεύειν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀξιώσαντας δεσπότης τῶν ἄλλων καθισταμένους, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας συναγωνισαμένους μόνους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν συγκινδυνευσάντων τάφους μὴ τυγχάνοντας τῶν νομιζομένων σπάνει τῶν ἐποισόντων, Θηβαίους δὲ τοὺς τἀναντία παραταξαμένους κρατοῦντας τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης; ἐνθυμείσθε δ' ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων 62 μεγίστην ἐποιεῖσθε κατηγορίαν, ὅτι Θηβαίοις χαριζόμενοι τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προδόταις ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας διέφθειραν. μὴ τοίνυν ἐάσητε ταύτας τὰς βλασφημίας περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γενέσθαι πόλιν, μηδὲ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν τούτων ἀντὶ τῆς παρούσης ἔλησθε δόξης.

Πολλῶν δ' ἐνότων εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις ὑμᾶς 63 ἐπαγάγοιτο μᾶλλον φροντίσαι τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, οὐ δύναμαι πάντα περιλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς χρὴ καὶ τὰ παραλελειμμένα συνιδόντας καὶ μνησθέντας μάλιστα μὲν τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνη-

and so Bens. (2nd edit.): Bl. replaces it. § 63. δ' ἐνότων] Bk. Turr. Bl.—δ' ὄντων Γ, Bens.—δε ὄντων E. || ἐπαγάγοιτο] Γ (corrector), E, Bk. Turr.—ἐπαγάγοι Γ (1st hand), Bens. || αὐτοὺς] Γ, E. Turr. Bens.—αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς vulg. Bk.

κῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς
τούτων ἔχθρας, ψηφίσασθαι τὰ δίκαια περὶ ἡμῶν.

IX. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.

[Or. VIII.—355 B. C.]

§§ 121—131.

- 121 Ὡν ἐνθυμουμένους χρῆ μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν
τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μὲν χαριζομένοις, τοῦ δὲ μέλ-
λοντος χρόνου μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένοις,
μηδὲ τοῖς φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον φάσκουσιν, ὅλην
δὲ τὴν πόλιν λυμαινομένοις· ὡς καὶ πρότερον,
ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήμα-
τος δυναστείαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἄνοιαν προήγαγον
τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε παθεῖν αὐτὴν οἰάπερ ὀλίγω πρό-
122 τερον ἡμῖν διηγησάμην. ἂ καὶ πάντων μάλιστ'
ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν, ὅτι προχειρίζεσθε δημαγωγούς
οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τοῖς μεγάλῃ
τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὅμοια καὶ λέ-
γοντας καὶ πράττοντας τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν αὐτήν,
καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ποιῆσαι τὴν
πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τοὺς χρηστοὺς τῶν πονηρῶν
123 διαφέροντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπὶ μὲν
ἐκείνων ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν οὔτε
μεταστᾶσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δις
ἤδη καταλυθεῖσαν, καὶ τὰς φυγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν

τὰ δίκαια περὶ ἡμῶν] Θ, Bk. Turr. —τι περὶ ἡμῶν δίκαιον
Γ, E, Bens.

IX. § 121. οἰάπερ] Bk. Turr. Bl.—ὅπερ, Γ, E, Bens.
§ 122. ἂ καὶ] Γ, E, Turr. —δ καὶ vulg. Bk. Bens. § 123. τὰς
φυγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων] Bk. Turr. —τὰς φυγὰς καὶ τὰς

τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα γενομένας οὐ διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας κατελθούσας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς μισοῦντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξαν ἔχοντας.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως τηλικούτων ἡμῖν ὑπομνημάτων 124 καταλελειμμένων ὡς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν ἢ πόλις ἔπραπτεν, οὕτω χαίρομεν ταῖς τῶν ῥητόρων πονηρίαις, ὥσθ' ὀρώντες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ταραχάς, ἃς οὗτοι πεποιήκασιν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρῶων ἐκπεπτωκότας, τούτους δ' ἐκ πενήτων πλουσίους γεγενημένους, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν ταῖς εὐπραγίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν τὴν μὲν πόλιν διαβολὰς 125 ἔχουσαν ὡς λυμαίνεται καὶ δασμολογεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, τούτους δὲ τὰς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβάνοντας, καὶ τὸν μὲν δῆμον, ὃν φασιν οὗτοι δεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, χεῖρον πράττοντα τῶν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις δουλευόντων, οἷς δ' οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀγαθόν, τούτους δὲ διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ ταπεινῶν εὐδαίμονας γεγενημένους. καίτοι Περικλῆς ὁ πρὸ τῶν 126 τοιοῦτων δημαγωγὸς καταστάς, παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χεῖρον μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἢ πρὶν κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἔτι δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευομένην, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον ἐλάττω τὸν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν. οὗτοι δὲ 127

ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων Γ, Bens. § 125. εὐδαίμονας] Bk. Turr. Bl.—εὐδαιμονεστέρους Γ, Ε, Bens.—εὐδαιμονεστάτους Sauppe conject. § 126. ἀνήγαγεν] Γ, Ε, Turr.—ἀνήγεκεν Bk.

τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου διενηνόχασιν, ὥστε λέγειν μὲν
 τολμῶσιν ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ
 δύνανται τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίους προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν,
 φαίνεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀμελούμενα τοσαύτην εἰλη-
 φότα τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ὕσην οὐδ' ἂν εὔξασθαι τοῖς
 θεοῖς πρότερον ἠξίωσαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, οὐ
 κήδεσθαί φασιν, οὕτω διακείμενον ὥστε μηδένα
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἠδέως ζῆν μηδὲ ῥαθύνως, ἀλλ' ὄδυρ-
 128 μῶν μεστήν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς
 περίας καὶ τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναγκάζονται διξιέειν καὶ
 θρηνεῖν πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
 προσταγμάτων καὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ τὰ κακὰ
 τὰ περὶ τὰς συμμορίας καὶ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις· ἃ
 τοιαύτας ἐμποιεῖ λύπας, ὥστ' ἄλγιον ζῆν τοὺς
 τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους ἢ τοὺς συνεχῶς πενο-
 μένους.

129 Θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μὴ δύνασθε συνιδεῖν ὅτι γένος
 οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κακορῶστερον τῷ πλῆθει πονηρῶν
 ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 κακοῖς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀναγ-
 καίων οὗτοι μάλιστα βούλονται σπανίζειν ὑμᾶς,
 ὀρῶντες τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐνταμένους τὰ
 σφέτερον αὐτῶν διοικεῖν τῆς πόλεως ὄντας καὶ τῶν
 130 τὰ βέλτιστα λεγόντων, τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστη-
 ρίων ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν
 λημμάτων ὑφ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐπίεικτον ἠναγκασμέ-
 νους εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ἔχοντας ταῖς εἰσαγ-
 γελίαις καὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις συκο-
 131 φαντίαις ταῖς δὲ αὐτῶν γεγενημέναις. ἐν οὖν ταῖς

ἀπορίαις ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ δυναστεύουσιν, ἐν ταύταις ἥδιστ' ἂν ἴδοιεν ἅπαντας ὄντας τοὺς πολίτας. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν, ἐξ οὗ τρόπου τοῖς δεομένοις βίον ἐκποριοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοὺς ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντας τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐξισώσουσιν.

X. ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ.

[Or. VI.—366 B. C.]

§§ 52—57.

Ἦν ἐνθυμουμένους χρὴ μὴ προπετῶς ὑμᾶς 52
αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς αἰσχρὰς ὁμολογίας μηδὲ ῥα-
θυμότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων φανῆ-
ναι βουλευομένους. ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ὅτι τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, εἰ πολιορκου-
μένη τινὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν συμμαχίδων εἰς μόνος
Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθήσειεν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὁμο-
λογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐ-
τοῖς. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν
παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἂν τις ἀκούσειεν, τοὺς
δ' ὀνομαστοτάτους ἔχω καὶ γὰρ διελθεῖν. Πεδάριτος 53
μὲν γὰρ εἰς Χίον εἰσπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
διέσωσε· Βρασίδης δ' εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν εἰσελθὼν,
ὀλίγους περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν πολιορκουμένων συνταξά-
μενος, πολλοὺς ὄντας τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐνίκησε

§ 131. αὐτοὶ δυναστεύουσιν] αὐτοὶ is omitted by Γ, Ε, Bens.; but we should certainly retain it. It points the contrast between the power which these men win for themselves and the misery which they inflict on others.

μαχόμενος· Γύλιππος δὲ Συρακοσίοις βοηθήσας
 οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους διέσωσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
 τὴν κρατοῦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
 54 θάλατταν ἕπασαν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν. καίτοι
 πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τότε μὲν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἰκανὸν
 εἶναι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις διαφυλάττειν, νυνὶ δὲ
 πάντα μηδὲ πειρᾶσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν δια-
 σφῆζειν; καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
 μεστήν πεποιηκέναι τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων
 πολεμοῦντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτω φανερώς
 ὑβριζομένης μηδὲ μίαν μάχην ἀξίαν λόγου φαί-
 55 νεσθαι μεμαχημένους; ἀλλ' ἑτέρας μὲν πόλεις
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομείναι
 πολιορκίας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀναγ-
 κασθῆναι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ποιεῖν μηδὲ μικρὰν
 οἴεσθαι δεῖν ὑπενεγκεῖν κακοπάθειαν, ἀλλὰ ζεύγη
 μὲν ἵππων ἀδηφαγούντων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀράσθαι
 τρέφοντας, ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰς δεινοτάτας
 ἀνάγκας ἀφιγμένους καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεεῖς
 οἶντας, οὔτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

56 Ὁ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον, εἰ φιλοποιώτατοι
 δοκοῦντες εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥαθυμότερον τῶν
 ἄλλων βουλευσόμεθα περὶ τούτων. τίνας γὰρ
 ἴσμεν, ὧν καὶ ποιήσασθαι μνείαν ἀξιὸν ἐστίν,
 οἵτινες ἅπαξ ἠττηθέντες καὶ μιᾶς εἰσβολῆς γενο-

X. § 54. μηδὲ πειρᾶσθαι] μήτε δύνασθαι μήτε πειρᾶσθαι
 Γ. E. Bens. This reading, though it has Γ's support, is
 immeasurably inferior to the other, and possibly arose from a
 corruption of μηδὲ to μήτε, when μήτε δύνασθαι may have been
 inserted to balance it. μηδὲ μίαν] Sauppe, Turr. Bens. —
 μηδεμίαν Bk. § 56. ἐστίν] ἐστι Bk.

μένης οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ὠμολόγησαν πάντα τὰ προσταπτόμενα ποιήσῃν; πῶς δ' ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πολὺν χρόνον δυστυχοῦντες ἀνταρκέσειαν; τίς δ' 57 οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας εἴκοσιν ἔτη πολιορκηθέντων ἡμεῖς οὕτω ταχέως κατὰ συνθήκας αὐτῆς ἀποσταίημεν καὶ μηδὲ τῶν προγόνων μνησθείημεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ λόγων πεισθέντες ἀποβάλοιμεν;

XI. ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ.

[Or. VII.—355 B. C.]

§§ 36—55.

Ἴσως ἂν οὖν τις ἐπιτιμήσειε τοῖς εἰρημένοις 36 ὅτι τὰς μὲν πράξεις ἐπαινῶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις γεγενημένας, τὰς δ' αἰτίας οὐ φράζω, δι' ἵς οὕτω καλῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν διώκουν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν εἰρηκέναι τι καὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι πλείω καὶ σαφέστερον πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐν μὲν ταῖς παιδείαις πολλοὺς 37 τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖεν, ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅ τι βουλευθεῖεν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀκμαῖς πλέονος ἐπιμελείας ἐτύγχανον ἢ παῖδες ὄντες. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ

πρόγονοι σφόδρα περὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐσπούδαζον, ὥστε τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εἰκοσμίας, ἧς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν μετασχεῖν πλὴν τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι καὶ πολλὴν ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεδειγμένοις, ὥστ' εἰκότως αὐτὴν διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 38 συνεδρίων. σημεῖοις δ' ἂν τις χρήσαιτο περὶ τῶν τότε καθεστώτων καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι γιγνομένοις· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἀπάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν κατημελημένων ἴδοιμεν ἂν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασι οὐκ ἀνεκτοὺς ὄντας, ἐπειδὴν εἰς Ἀρείου πάγου ἀναβῶσιν, ὀκνοῦντας τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν κακίαις ἐμμένοντας. τοσοῦτον φόβον ἐκείνοι τοῖς ποιηροῖς ἐνεργάσαντο καὶ τοιοῦτον μνημεῖον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐγκατέλιπον.

39 Τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην, ὥσπερ εἶπον, κυρίαν ἐποίησαν τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἢ τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους ἐνταῦθα βελτίστους ἄνδρας γίγνεσθαι, παρ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι μετὰ πλείστης ἀκριβείας κείμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἀγνοεῖν ἐνόμιζεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν κωλύειν ὁμοίους ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἕνεκά γε τοῦ ῥάδιον εἶναι τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων.

40 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ὁμοίους τοῖς ἦθεσιν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἕκαστοι παιδευθῶσιν. ἐπεὶ τὰ γε πλήθη καὶ τὰς ἀκριβείας τῶν νόμων

σημείον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην· ἐμφράγματα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ποιουμένους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πολλοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀναγκάζεσθαι. δεῖν δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένους 41 οὐ τὰς στοὰς ἐμπιπλάναι γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχειν τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡθεσι καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κακῶς τεθραμμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀκριβῶς τῶν νόμων ἀναγεγραμμένους τολμήσειν παραβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένους καὶ τοῖς ἀπλῶς κειμένοις ἐθελήσειν ἐμμένειν. ταῦτα 42 διανοηθέντες οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐσκόπουν, δι' ὧν κολάσουσι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν παρασκευάσουσι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἄξιον ζημίας ἐξαμαρτάνειν· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῶν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας σπουδάζειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προσήκειν.

Ἀπάντων μὲν οὖν ἐφρόντιζον τῶν πολιτῶν, 43 μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων. ἐώρων γὰρ τοὺς τηλικούτους ταραχωδέστατα διακειμένους καὶ πλείστων γέμοντας ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν μάλιστα *γυμνασθῆναι δεομένας *ἐπιμελείαις

—τοιούτου Γ, Bk. Turr.—τοσοῦτον mss. § 41. τοὺς δὲ καλῶς] Bens. (on his own conject.?) gave τοὺς δ' ἀσφαλῶς: Bl. replaces the vulg. || πεπαιδευμένους] Bk. Turr. Bl.—παιδευομένους Γ, Bens. § 42. ζημίας ἐξαμαρτάνειν] After ζημίας the mss. (except Γ) insert βουλήσασθαι, which is bracketed by Bk., and omitted by Turr. Bens. § 43. *γυμνασθῆναι is my conjecture. The first hand in Γ wrote δαμασθῆναι (which Turr. keep),—a word otherwise strange to classical Attic prose. The corrector of Γ gave παιδευθῆναι (so Bk. Bens.), which suits the sense, but does not explain the corruption. || *ἐπιμελείαις] Bk. conject., Turr. —ἐπιθυμίαις Γ, Bk. in text: ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις other mss.—γυμνα-

- καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πόνοις ἡδονὰς ἔχουσιν·
 ἐν μόνοις γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐμμεῖναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρως
 44 τεθραμμένους καὶ μεγαλοφρονεῖν εἰθισμένους. ἄ-
 παντας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἄγειν διατριβὰς
 οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν, ἀνωμάλως τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον
 ἔχοντας· ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ἤρμοττεν, οὕτως
 ἐκάστοις προσέταττον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑποδεέστε-
 ρον πρίπτοντας ἐπὶ τὰς γεωργίας καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας
 ἔτρεπον, εἰδότες τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας
 γιγνομένας, τὰς δὲ κακουργίας διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας·
 45 ἀναιροῦντες οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι
 ᾄοντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων τῶν μετ'
 ἐκείνην γιγνομένων. τοὺς δὲ βίον ἰκανὸν κεκτημέ-
 νους περὶ *τὴν ἵππικὴν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ
 κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἠνάγκασαν διατρί-
 βειν, ὀρῶντες ἐκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν διαφέροντας
 γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πλείστων κακῶν ἀπεχο-
 μένους.
- 46 Καὶ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντες οὐδὲ τὸν λοιπὸν
 χρόνον ὠλιγώρουν, ἀλλὰ διελόμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν
 κατὰ κώμας, τὴν δὲ χώραν κατὰ δήμους, ἐθεώρουν
 τὸν βίον τὸν ἐκάστου, καὶ τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἀνή-
 γον εἰς τὴν βουλήν. ἡ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνουθέτει τοῖς
 δ' ἠπείλει, τοὺς δ' ὡς προσῆκεν, ἐκόλαζεν. ἠπί-
 σταντο γὰρ ὅτι δύο τρόποι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ
 καὶ προτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ παύοντες

σας Bl. on his own conject. | ἐλευθέρως] Bk. Turr.—ἐλευθερίως
 E. Mehler, Bl. | μεγαλοφρονεῖν] Bk. Turr.—μέγα φρονεῖν
 Cobet, Bl. See comment. § 44. τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν] Γ, E,
 Turr. Bens.—τὰς μὲν ἀπορίας vulg. Bk. § 45. περὶ *τὴν
 ἵππικὴν] Γ, Bk. Turr.—περὶ τε ἵππικὴν mss.—περὶ τε τῶν

τῶν πονηριῶν· παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ μήτε φυλακὴ 47
 *μηδεμία τῶν τοιούτων καθέστηκε μήθ' αἱ κρίσεις
 ἀκριβεῖς εἰσι, παρὰ τούτοις μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ
 τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν φύσεων, ὅπου δὲ μήτε λαθεῖν
 τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ῥαδίον ἔστι μήτε φανεροῖς γενομένοις
 συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐξιτήλους γίγνεσθαι
 τὰς κακοηθείας. ἄπερ ἐκείνοι γιγνώσκοντες ἀμφο-
 τέροις κατεῖχον τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις
 καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις· τοσούτου γὰρ ἔδεον αὐτοὺς
 λανθάνειν οἱ κακόν τι δεδρακότες, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
 ἐπιδόξους ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τι προησθάνοντο. ✕ τοι- 48
 γαροῦν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις οἱ νεώτεροι διέτρι-
 βον, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
 συλλόγοις ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς
 ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔμενον ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθησαν, θαυμά-
 ζοντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ἐν τούτοις πρωτεύοντας.
 οὕτω δ' ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ ποτε
 διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ
 σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. ἀντει- 49
 πεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι δεινό-
 τερον ἐνόμιζον ἢ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτεῖν.
 ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν
 οἰκέτης ἐπιεικῆς ἐτόλμησεν· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμε-
 λέτων ἀλλ' οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς εὐτρα-
 πέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν
 εὐφνεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκείνοι δυστυχεῖς ἐνό-
 μιζον. ✕

Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με δυσκόλως διακεῖσθαι 50

ἰπικὴν Bl. § 47. *μηδεμία] Bk. conject. (Γ, 1st hand, μήτε μία), Turr. Bens.—μήτε ζημία vulg., Bk. in text.

πρὸς τοὺς ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν ἡλικίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι τούτους αἰτίους εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων, σύννοιδά τε τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἠκιστα χαίρουσι ταύτη τῇ καταστάσει, δι' ἣν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀκολασίαις ταύταις διατρίβειν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως τούτοις ἐπιτιμῶν ἄλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον τοῖς

51 ὀλίγοις πρὸ ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν διοικήσασιν. ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προτρέψαντες ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ὀλιγωρίας καὶ καταλύσαντες τὴν τῆς βουλῆς δύναμιν. ἥς ἐπιστατούσης οὐ δικῶν οὐδ' ἐγκλημάτων οὐδ' εἰσφορῶν οὐδὲ πενίας οὐδὲ πολέμων ἢ πόλις ἔγεμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡσυχίαν εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπαντας εἰρήνην ἦγον. παρείχον γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησι πιστούς, τοῖς δὲ

52 βαρβάροις φοβερούς· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σεσωκότες ἦσαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν δίκην τηλικαύτην εἰληφότες, ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἐκείνους εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι κακὸν πάσχοιεν. τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας διῆγον, ὥστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκίσεις καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰς ἄστὺ καταβαίνειν ἀλλ' αἰρεῖσθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ

53 τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὰς θεωρίας, ὧν ἕνεκ' ἂν τις ἦλθεν, ἀσελγῶς οὐδ' ὑπερηφάνως ἀλλὰ νουνεχόντως ἐποιοῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πομπῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς χορηγίας φιλονεικιῶν οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀλαζονειῶν τὴν

§ 53. νουνεχόντως] Bk.—νοῦν ἐχόντως Turr. (with Baiter and Panegy. p. 25) Bens. φιλονεικιῶν] φιλονικιῶν Bens., with

εὐδαιμονίαν ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σωφρόνως
 οἰκεῖν καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοῦ
 μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἐξ
 ὧν περ χρὴ κρίνειν τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς εὖ πράττοντας
 καὶ μὴ φορτικῶς πολιτευομένους· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τίς 54
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων
 ἀλγήσειεν, ὅταν ἴδῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοὺς
 μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, εἴθ' ἔξουσιν εἴτε μὴ, πρὸ
 τῶν δικαστηρίων κληρουμένους, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων
 τοὺς ἐλαύνειν τὰς ναῦς βουλομένους τρέφειν ἀξι-
 ούντας, καὶ χορεύοντας μὲν ἐν χρυσοῖς ἱματίοις,
 χειμάζοντας δ' ἐν τοιούτοις ἐν οἷς οὐ βούλομαι
 λέγειν, καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας ἐναντιώσεις περὶ τὴν
 διοίκησιν γιγνομένας, αἱ μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ
 πόλει ποιούσιν; ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς 55
 βουλῆς· ἀπήλλαξε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πένητας τῶν
 ἀποριῶν ταῖς ἐργασίαις καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐχόν-
 των ὠφελείαις, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους τῶν ἀκολασιῶν
 τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείαις,
 τοὺς δὲ πολιτευομένους τῶν πλεονεξιῶν ταῖς τιμω-
 ρίαις καὶ τῷ μὴ λαθάνειν τοὺς ἀδικούντας, τοὺς
 δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τῶν ἀθυμιῶν ταῖς τιμαῖς ταῖς
 πολιτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν νεωτέρων θερα-
 πείαις. καίτοι πῶς ἂν γένοιτο ταύτης πλείονος
 ἀξία πολιτεία, τῆς οὕτω καλῶς ἀπάντων τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθείσης;

Baier. § 54. τῇ πόλει ποιούσιν] Bk. Turr. Bl.—περιποιούσι
 τῇ πόλει vulg.—τῇ πόλει περιποιούσιν Bens.

XII. ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΙΚΟΣ.

[Or. xix.—394 or 393 B. C.]

§§ 18—27.

- 18 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἶη λέγειν· ὅτε δὲ Πασίνος Πάρον κατέλαβεν, ἔτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὑπεκκείμενα τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὐσίας παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς· ὥμεθα γὰρ μάλιστα ταύτην τὴν νῆσον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν. ἀπορούντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτ' ἀπολωλέναι, πλεύσας ἐγὼ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐξεκόμισ' αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα,
- 19 κινδυνεύσας περὶ τοῦ σώματος· ἐφρουρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ χώρα, συγκατειληφότες δ' ἦσαν τινες τῶν ἡμετέρων φυγάδων τὴν πόλιν, οἳ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόχειρες γενόμενοι τὸν τε πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν θεῖον καὶ τὸν κηδεστήν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνεψιούς τρεῖς. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδέν με τούτων ἀπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ὥχόμην πλέων, ἡγούμενος ὁμοίως με δεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων κινδυνεύειν
- 20 ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φυγῆς ἡμῖν γενομένης ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τοσοῦτου θορύβου καὶ δέους, ὅστ' ἐνίοις καὶ τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν ἀμελεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κακοῖς ἡγάπησα εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς ἑμαυτοῦ διασῶσαι δυνηθείην, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Σώπολιν μὲν ἀποδημοῦντα, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνον ἀρρώστως διακείμενον, συνεξεκόμισ' αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν

XII. § 18. Πασίνος Πάρον] Γ, E, add.: πᾶσιν οἷς παρῶν (παρῶν) the other mss. § 20. τοσοῦτου] Bk. Turr. τοιοῦτου Γ, E, Bens. οἰκείους] οἰκέτας Γ, Bens.: Bl. replaces the

ἅπασαν. καίτοι τίνα δικαιοτέρον αὐτὴν ἔχειν ἢ τὸν τότε μὲν συνδιασώσαντα, νῦν δὲ παρὰ τῶν κυρίων εἰληφότα;

Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν εἰρημένα ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς ἐκινδύνευσα 21
 μὲν, φλαῦρον δ' οὐδὲν ἀπέλαυσα· ἔχω δὲ καὶ τοιαύτ' εἰπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος αὐτὸς ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιέπεσον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤλθομεν εἰς Μῆλον, αἰσθόμενος ὅτι μέλλοιμεν αὐτοῦ καταμένειν ἐδεΐτό μου συμπλεῖν εἰς Τροιζῆνα καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀπολιπεῖν, λέγων τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἔξοι χρησθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. φοβουμένης δὲ τῆς μητρός, ὅτι 22
 τὸ χωρίον ἐπυυθάνετο νοσῶδες εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ξένων συμβουλευόντων αὐτοῦ μένειν, ὅμως ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἐκείνῳ χαριστέον εἶναι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔφθημεν εἰς Τροιζῆνα ἐλθόντες, καὶ τοιαύταις νόσοις ἐλήφθημεν ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθον ἀποθανεῖν, ἀδελφὴν δὲ κόρην τετρακαιδεκέτιν γεγонуῖαν ἐντὸς τριάκουθ' ἡμερῶν κατέθαψα, τὴν δὲ μητέρα οὐδὲ πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐκείνης ὕστερον. καίτοι τίν' οἷεσθέ με γνώμην ἔχειν τοσαύτης μοι μεταβολῆς τοῦ βίου γεγενημένης; ὃς τὸν μὲν 23
 ἄλλον χρόνον ἀπαθῆς ἦν κακῶν, νεωστὶ δ' ἐπειρώμην φυγῆς καὶ τοῦ παρ' ἑτέροις μὲν μετοικεῖν, στέρεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις *ἑώρων

vulg. οικείους. § 21. εἰρημένα ἐστὶν] εἰρημέν' ἐστὶν Bl.—εἰρημένα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ξ, Bens. § 23. *ἑώρων] Koraes conject., Turr.—ὀρώων mss. Bk. Bl. I cannot think that ὀρώων derives any confirmation from the fact that Priscian (xviii. § 174) has it, since he, like Stobaeus, sometimes agrees with the manifestly

τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεπτωκυίας, ἐπὶ ξένης δὲ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοτρίοις τὸν βίον τελευτώσας. ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἄν μοι δικαίως φθονήσειεν, εἴ τι τῶν Θρασυλόχου πραγμάτων ἀγαθὸν ἀπολέλαυκα· καὶ γὰρ ἵνα χαρισαίμην ἐκείνῳ, κατοικισάμενος ἐν Τροιζῆνι τοιαύταις ἐχρησάμην συμφοραῖς ὧν οὐδέποτε ἂν ἐπιλαθέσθαι δυνηθείην.

- 24 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἔξουσιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς εὖ μὲν πράττοντος Θρασυλόχου πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπέμενοι, δυστυχήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπον· ἐν αὐτοῖς γὰρ τούτοις ἔτι σαφέστερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδειξάμην τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς ἐκείνους. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς Λίγιναν κατοικισάμενος ἠσθένησε ταύτην τὴν νόσον ἐξ ἧσπερ ἀπέθανεν, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσα ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις πῶποθ' ἕτερος ἕτερου, τὸν μὲν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου ποιήρως μὲν ἔχοντα περιμένα ὃ ἔτι δυνάμενον, ἐξ μῆνας δὲ συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ κλίῃ
- 25 κείμενον. καὶ τούτων τῶν ταλαιπωριῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν μετασχεῖν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπισκεψόμενος ἀφίκετο, πλὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, αἱ πλεόν θάτερον ἐποίησαν· ἀσθενεῖν γὰρ ἦλθον ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, ὥστ' αὐτὰ ἰατρικῆς ἐδέοντο. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγώ, τοιούτων τῶν ἄλλων περὶ αὐτὸν γεγενημένων, οὐκ ἀπέειπον οὐδ' ἀπέστην, ἀλλ' ἐνοσήλευον αὐτὸν μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνός·

corrupt readings of the inferior mss. Here ὁρῶν is surely a mere blunder. [ἑμαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ Bens. [ξένης δ] Turr. (E, ξένους δ.) — δὲ ξένης Bk. Bens. § 24. [ἐπεδειξάμην] mss. Bk. Turr. — ἐπεδειξάμην Priscian xviii. § 174, Bens. — ἐπεδειξάμην Korae's conject. [μῆνας δὲ] Γ, E, Turr.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενευ. καὶ γὰρ 26
 φύσει χαλεπὸς ὢν ἔτι δυσκολώτερον διὰ τὴν νόσον
 διέκειτο, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἰ μὴ
 παρέμενον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ἐγὼ τοιαύτην
 νόσον θεραπεύων ἀνταρκεῖν ἠδυνάμην· ἔς ἔμπυος
 μὲν ἦν πολλὸν χρόνον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς κλίνης οὐκ ἠδύνατο 27
 κινεῖσθαι, τοιαῦτα δ' ἔπασχεν ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μηδεμίαν
 ἡμέραν ἀδακρύτους διαγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦντες
 διετελοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς πόνους τοὺς ἀλλήλων καὶ
 τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν.
 καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδένα χρόνον διέλιπεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπελ-
 θεῖν οἶόν τ' ἦν ἢ δοκεῖν ἀμελεῖν, ὃ ἐμοὶ πολὺ
 δεινότερον ἦν τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων.

XIII. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙ.

[Epist. v.—342 B. C.]

Ἦρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου γράφων ἐπιστολὴν ἄτο-
 πον ᾧμην ποιήσεις, εἰ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα σὲ
 τόπον ἐκείνω μήτε προσερώ μήτ' ἀσπάσομαι,
 μήτε γράψω τι τοιοῦτον ὃ ποιήσει τοὺς ἀναγνόν-
 τας μὴ νομίζειν ἤδη με παραφρονεῖν διὰ τὸ γῆρας
 μηδὲ παντάπασι ληρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸ καταλελειμ-
 μένον μου μέρος καὶ λοιπὸν ὃν οὐκ ἀνάξιον εἶναι
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἢν ἔσχον νεώτερος ὢν.

Ἄκούω δέ σε πάντων λεγόντων, ὡς φιλόφθω- 2

Bens.—δὲ μῆνας Bk. § 25. ὑπέμενευ] Γ, Bk. Turr. Bens.—
 ὑπέμεινε Ξ, ὑπέμεινεν Bl. § 27. ἀδακρύτους] Bk. Turr. Bens.
 —ἀδακρυτὶ Ξ: as in or. xiv. § 47 all the mss. have οὐδεμίαν
 ἡμέραν ἀδακρυτὶ διάγομεν (ἀδακρυτεὶ E). || διέλιπεν] διέλειπεν
 Bens.

πος εἶ καὶ φιλαθήναιος καὶ φιλόσοφος, οὐκ ἀφρόνως
 ἀλλὰ νουνεχόντως. τῶν τε γὰρ πολιτῶν ἀποδέ-
 χεσθαί σε τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐ τοὺς ἡμεληκότας
 αὐτῶν καὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας,
 ἀλλ' οἷς συνδιατρίβων τε οὐκ ἂν λυπηθείης συμ-
 βάλλων τε καὶ κοινωνῶν πραγμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν
 βλαβείης οὐδ' ἀδικηθείης, οἷοισπερ χρηὶ πλησιά-
 3 ζειν τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας· τῶν τε φιλοσοφιῶν οὐκ
 ἀποδοκιμάζειν μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας, ἀλλὰ
 νομίζειν εἶναι πλεονεκτικὴν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις διατρι-
 βαῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀρμόττειν οὔτε τοῖς τοῦ πλήθους
 προεστῶσιν οὔτε τοῖς τὰς μοναρχίας ἔχουσιν· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ συμφέρειν οὐδὲ πρέπειν τοῖς μεῖζον τῶν ἄλλων
 φρονοῦσιν οὔτ' αὐτοῖς ἐρίζειν πρὸς τοὺς συμπολι-
 τευομένους οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπειν πρὸς αὐ-
 4 τοὺς ἀντιλέγειν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀγαπᾶν σε
 τὴν διατριβὴν, προαιρεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν παιδείαν τὴν
 περὶ τοὺς λόγους οἷς χρώμεθα περὶ τὰς πράξεις
 τὰς προσπιπτούσας καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ
 μεθ' ὧν βουλευόμεθα περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· δι' ἣν νῦν
 τε δοξάζεις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιεικῶς, τοῖς τ'
 ἀρχομένοις προστάττειν οὐκ ἀνοήτως ἢ δεῖ πράτ-
 τειν ἐκάστους ἐπιστήσει, περὶ δὲ τῶν καλῶν καὶ
 δικαίων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐναντίων ὀρθῶς κρίνειν,
 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τιμᾶν τε καὶ κολάζειν, ὡς προσῆ-

XIII. § 2. νουνεχόντως] Bk.—νοῦν ἐχόντως Turr. Bens.
 § 3. οὐδὲ γὰρ] Γ, E, Turr. Bens.—οὐ γὰρ Bk. | συμφέρειν
 οὐδὲ πρέπειν] Bk. Turr.—συμφέρον οὐδὲ πρέπον ἐστὶ Γ, Bens.
 Acc. to Bl., three letters seem to have been effaced in Γ
 after συμφέρειν οὐδὲ. § 4. δοξάζεις] Γ, Bk. Turr. Bens.—
 δοξάζειν Bl. on his own conject. | τιμᾶν τε] The τε is added

κόν ἐστιν ἑκατέρους. σωφρονεῖς οὖν νῦν ταῦτα 5
 μελετῶν· ἐλπίδας γὰρ τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις παρέχεις ὡς, ἐὰν πρεσβύτερος γενόμενος
 ἐμμείνης τούτοις, τοσοῦτον προέξεις τῇ φρονήσει
 τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον περὶ ὁ πατήρ σου διενήνοχεν ἀπάν-
 των.

XIV. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΙ.

[Epist. III.—338 B. C.]

Ἐγὼ διελέχθην μὲν καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περι-
 τε τῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν σοὶ συμφερόντων ἔξαρκού-
 ντως, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ἔπειθον, ἠβουλήθην δὲ καὶ
 πρὸς σὲ γράψαι περὶ ὧν μοι δοκεῖ πρακτέον εἶναι
 μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ
 γεγραμμένοις, πολὺ δ' ἐκείνων συντομώτερα.

Κατ' ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ τὸν χρόνον συνεβούλευον 2
 ὡς χρὴ διαλλάξαντά σε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν
 καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν
 Ἀργείων εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καταστήσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 ἠγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰς προεστῶσας πόλεις πείσης
 οὕτω φρονεῖν, ταχέως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπακολουθή-
 σειν. τότε μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἦν καιρός, νῦν δὲ συμβέ-
 βηκε μηκέτι δεῖν πείθειν· διὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν
 γεγενημένον ἠναγκασμένοι πάντες εἰσὶν εὖ φρονεῖν,
 καὶ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν ὑπονοοῦσί σε βούλεσθαι

by E, Turr. Bens. § 5. ὡς, ἐὰν] Bk. Turr.—ὡσάν Γ.—ὡς, ἀν
 Bens.

XIV. § 2. προεστῶσας] Γ, Bk. Turr. Bl.—προεχοῦσας vulg.
 Bens. || ὑπονοοῦσι] Γ (corrector), E, Koraes, Bk. Turr. Bl.—
 ἐπενούμην mss. (codex Matthaei ἐπινοοῦσι).—ὑπενούμην Bens.

- πράττειν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ παυσαμένους τῆς
 μαυίας καὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἣν ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξευεγκεῖν.
- 3 καὶ πολλοὶ πυνθάνονται παρ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον ἐγώ
 σοι παρήνεσα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἢ σοῦ διανοηθέντος συνείπον·
 ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναί μὲν φημι τὸ σαφές (οὐ γὰρ
 συγγεγενῆσθαί σοι πρότερον), οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' οἶεσθαι
 σὲ μὲν ἐγνωκέναί περὶ τούτων, ἐμὲ δὲ συνειρηκέναί
 ταῖς σαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. ταῦτα δ' ἀκούοντες ἐδέοντό
 μου πάντες παρακελεύεσθαί σοι καὶ προτρέπειν
 ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων μένειν, ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἂν
 γενομένων οὔτε καλλιόνων ἔργων οὔτε ὠφελιμοτέ-
 ρων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὔτ' ἐν καιρῷ μᾶλλον πραχθη-
 σομένων.
- 4 Εἰ μὲν οὖν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἢπερ
 πρότερον, καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν ἦν ἀπειρηκώς, οὐκ
 ἂν δι' ἐπιστολῆς διελεγόμην, ἀλλὰ παρῶν αὐτὸς
 παρῶξυνον ἂν σε καὶ παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις
 ταύτας. νῦν δ' ὡς δύναμαι παρακελεύομαί σοι
 μὴ καταμελῆσαι τούτων, πρὶν ἂν τέλος ἐπιθῆς
 αὐτοῖς. *ἔστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων
 ἀπλήστως ἔχειν οὐ καλὸν (αἱ γὰρ μετριότητες
 παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσι), δόξης δὲ μεγάλης
 καὶ καλῆς ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ μηδέποτ' ἐμπίπλασθαι
 προσήκει τοῖς πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκοῦσιν·

§ 3. οὔτ' ἐν καιρῷ] οἰδ' ἐν καιρῷ Sauppe conject., comparing
Epist. i. § 8, καὶ μὴν οἰδ' ἀκαιρως, κ.τ.λ. § 4. *ἔστι] The conject.
 of H. Wolf, received by Bk. Turr. Bl. —ἔσται Γ, Ε, Bens. —
 ἔστι the other mss. ὄντων] mss. (except Γ, Ε) Turr. (com-
 paring or. v. § 135, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ἀπλήστως

ὅπερ σοὶ συμβέβηκεν. ἡγοῦ δὲ τόθ' ἔξειν ἀνυπέρ- 5
 βλητον αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν σοὶ πεπραγμένων ἀξίαν,
 ὅταν τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀναγκάσης εἰλωτεύειν
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πλὴν τῶν σοὶ συναγωνισαμένων,
 τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τὸν νῦν μέγαν προσαγορευόμενον
 ποιήσης τοῦτο πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ προστάττης.
 *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται λοιπὸν ἔτι πλὴν θεὸν γενέσθαι.
 ταῦτα δὲ κατεργάσασθαι πολὺ ῥᾶόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν
 νῦν παρόντων, ἢ προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
 τὴν δόξαν, ἣν νῦν ἔχεις, ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ὑπαρξάσης. χάριν δ' ἔχω τῷ γήρα 6
 ταύτην μόνην, ὅτι προήγαγεν εἰς τοῦτό μου τὸν
 βίον, ὥσθ' ἂ νέος ὦν διενοοῦμην καὶ γράφειν ἐπε-
 χείρουν ἔν τε τῷ πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς
 σὲ πεμφθέντι, ταῦτα νῦν τὰ μὲν ἤδη γιγνόμενα
 διὰ τῶν σῶν ἐφορῶ πράξεων, τὰ δ' ἐλπίζω γενή-
 σασθαι.

διακειμένους) Bl.—δεόντων Γ, Ε, Bk. Bens. § 5. *οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἔσται λοιπὸν ἔτι πλὴν θεὸν γενέσθαι.] These words are wrongly
 placed in the mss. after ὑπαρξάσης (four lines lower down).
 Dobree saw this, and Turr. assent, though they leave the vulg.
 in their text. Bl. makes the transposition in the new edit. of
 Bens.

ΙΣΑΙΟΣ.

Ι. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ.

[Or. v.—Probably 390 B. C.]

1. §§ 7—24.

7 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνείμαντο τὸν κλῆρον, ὁμόσαντες μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὰ ὠμολογημένα, ἐκέκτητο ἕκαστος δώδεκα ἔτη ἃ ἔλαχε· καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ οὔσῳν δικῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἠξίωσε τὰ πεπραγμένα

ISAEUS.

The British Museum ms., codex Crippsianus *A*, already cited for Antiphon and Andocides, is the best for Isaeus, as it is also for Lyeurgus and Deinarchus. Besides *A*, Bekker had five other mss. Three of these five have already been mentioned in relation to Antiphon and Andocides—Laurentianus *B* (the second-best for Isaeus), Marcianus *L*, Vratislaviensis *Z*. The other two were very inferior,—Ambrosianus *A*. 99, *P*, and Ambrosianus *D*. 42, *Q*. Bekker dismissed *P* after or. 1; he used *I*, which closely resembles *Z*, only in i. and iii.: *Q* contains only i. and ii. Thus for or. iv. and the eight following orations he consulted only three mss.,—*A*, *B*, *Z*. G. F. Schömann had no further apparatus for his edition (1831), except a Paris ms., *R*, which had been collated for him in part of or. i. He had, however, examined the Aldine much more carefully than Bekker, and not without some gain. Schömann followed Bekker's text as a general rule, but altered his readings in some sixty places, for reasons which he gives either briefly in his critical notes or more fully in his excellent commentary, where his knowledge of Attic law is so fruitfully brought to the illustration of his author. Baiter and Sauppe profited by a new

εἰπεῖν ἀδίκως πεπράχθαι, πρὶν δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ στάσεως γενομένης καὶ γῶνος οὐ-
 τοσὶ πεισθεῖς ὑπὸ Μέλανος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ᾧπερ
 καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπέιθετο, ἠμφισβῆται ἡμῖν ἅπαντος
 τοῦ κλήρου, φάσκων ἐφ' ὅλη ποιηθῆναι υἷος ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἡμετέρου. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν μαίνεσθαι δ
 αὐτὸν ἡγούμεθα τῇ λήξει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἴομενοι
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα τοτὲ μὲν φάσκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ
 μέρει ποιηθῆναι τοτὲ δ' ἐφ' ἅπαντι τῷ κλήρῳ
 δόξαι τὰληθῆς λέγειν ὑμῖν· εἰς δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον
 εἰσελθόντες καὶ πολλῶ πλείω καὶ δικαιοτέρα λέ-
 γοντες ἠδικήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀλλ'
 ὑπὸ Μέλανος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου
 φίλων, οἳ διὰ τὰς τῆς πόλεως συμφορὰς ἐξουσίαν

collation of *A*, and of Burneianus 96, *M*, which Dobson had given in vol. 4 of his edition (1828). C. Scheibe, in the Teubner *Isaeus* (1860), made it his special aim to complete the work of predecessors by restoring the distinctively Attic forms of words. The mss. of *Isaeus* have some forms which can be at once rejected, such as οὐθεῖς, ἐφόρεσαν, etc., but they have also some others on which critics are divided. Scheibe performed a delicate task with much tact and judgment. Thus he corrected the mss. by writing such forms as ἡγγύα for ἐνεγύα, συγκατα-
 γηράσαν for συγκαταγηράσασαν, γίγνεσθαι for γίνεσθαι, δέδιμεν for δεδίαμεν, etc. On the other hand he followed the consent of the *Isaeus* mss. in retaining such forms as Δικαιογένην (instead of -η), φανήσομαι (not φανοῦμαι); and he also deferred to the mss. in cases where the question might be considered open, as when he refrained from altering Εἰληθείας into Εἰλει-
 θείας, φράτερες into φράτορες. On two, at least, of these points the mss. are supported by epigraphic evidence coeval with *Isaeus*. In Attic inscriptions of the 4th century B.C., proper names in -ης form the acc. regularly in -ην, rarely in -η: and from φράτηρ we have regularly φράτερα, φράτερες, φρατέρων, φράτερσι, φράτερας (cp. Meisterhans, *Gramm. der Attischen Inschriften*, pp. 58, 63, 1885).

Schöm. = Schömann, Schb. = Scheibe. As before, Bk. = Bekker's Berlin text, Turr. = Baiter and Sauppe.

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦντο εἶναι κεκτῆσθαι τε τὰλλό-
τρια καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ ἀλλήλοις μαρτυρεῖν· ὑπὸ δὲ
τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοούντων ἐξηπατήθησαν οἱ δικα-
σταί.

- 9 Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καταψευδομαρτυρηθέντες ἀπω-
λέσαμεν τὰ ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ οὐ πολλῶ
χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἐτελεύτησε, πρὶν
ἐπεξελθεῖν οἷς ἐπεσκήψατο τῶν μαρτύρων· Δι-
καιογένης δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐβούλετο ἀγωνισάμενος
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξήλασε μὲν τὴν Κηφισοφῶντος
τοῦ Παιανιέως θυγατέρα ἐκ τοῦ μέρους, ἀδελφιδὴν
οὖσαν Δικαιογένους τοῦ καταλιπόντος τὰ χρήματα,
ἀφείλετο δὲ τὴν Δημοκλέους γενομένην γυναῖκα,
*ἂ Δικαιογένης ἀδελφὸς ὦν ἔδωκεν, ἀφείλετο
<δὲ> καὶ τὴν Κηφισοδότου μητέρα καὶ αὐτὸν
10 τοῦτον ἅπαντα. καὶ γὰρ τούτων *γε ἴμα καὶ
ἐπίτροπος καὶ κίριος καὶ ἀντίδικος ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ
κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οἰκειότητος ἐλέου
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ὄρφανοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι
καὶ πένητες γενόμενοι πάντων καὶ τῶν καθ'
ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἦσαν ἐνδεεῖς. οὕτως αὐτοὺς
Δικαιογένης οὕτωσὶ ἐγγυτάτω ὦν γένους ἐπετρό-
πευεν· ὅς γε, ἂ μὲν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῖς Θεόπομπος
κατέλιπε, τοῖς τούτων ἐχθροῖς παρέδωκεν, ἂ δὲ ὁ
πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν,
11 αὐτὸς ἀφείλετο πρὸ δίκης. καὶ ὁ πάντων δει-

§ 9. *ἂ Δικαιογένης] ἂ Reiske conject., editors: ἦ mss.
ἀφείλετο - δὲ - καὶ] ἀφείλετο καὶ mss.: δὲ was supplied
by Reiske. § 10. τούτων *γε] γε Dobree conject.—τούτων
τε mss. Bk. Schöm. Turr.—τούτων τοι Schb. on his own
conject. He had formerly proposed τούτων τότε.—Cp. comment.

νότατον, τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν πατρῶαν, παίδων ὄντων τούτων, πριάμενος καὶ κατασκάψας τὸν κῆπον ἐποιήσατο <τὸν> πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἐν ἄστει. καὶ λαμβάνων μίσθωσιν ὀγδοήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκ τῶν Δικαιογένοῦς τοῦ ἡμετέρου θείου χρημάτων, τὸν ἐκείνου ἀδελφιδοῦν Κηφισόδοτον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρμοδίῳ συνέπεμψεν εἰς Κόρινθον ἀντ' ἀκολούθου· εἰς τοῦτο ὕβρεως καὶ μιαρίας ἀφίκετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ὀνειδίζει καὶ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐμβάδας καὶ τριβώνια φορεῖ, ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενός τι εἰ ἐμβάδας Κηφισόδοτος φορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικῶν ὅτι ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν τὰ ὄντα πένητα πεποίηκεν.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν περὶ τούτων τосαυτά μοι εἰρήσθω· 12
 πάλιν δ' ἐπάνειμι ὕθεν ἀπέλιπον. Μενέξενος γὰρ ὁ Κηφισοφῶντος υἱός, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν Κηφισοδότῳ τουτῶι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ προσῆκον αὐτῷ τοῦ κλήρου μέρος ὅσονπερ ἐμοί, ἐπεξήει τοῖς καταμαρτυρήσασιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκείνου τὰ ψευδῆ, καὶ Λύκωνα, ὄνπερ εἰσήγαγε πρῶτον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, τοῦτον εἶλεν· ὃς ἐμαρτύρησε Δικαιογένην ποιηθῆναι τὸν νῦν ὄντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἡμετέρου υἱὸν ἐπὶ παντὶ

§ 11. τὸν κῆπον ἐποιήσατο <τὸν> πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ] I have supplied the second τόν. The other possible courses are: (1) as Dobree suggested, to omit the first τόν, reading κῆπον ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ: (2) as Schb. suggested, to transpose it, reading κῆπον ἐπ. τὸν πρὸς τῇ αὐτ. οἰκίᾳ. But from a palaeographical point of view it is more probable that a second τὸν should have dropped out than that the first should here have been interpolated or misplaced. || τριβώνια] τριβωνα Schb., with Cobet: but see comment. § 12. Δικαιογένην] so Aldine, Schöm. Schb. (and in § 33).—Δικαιογένη A (and in § 33, contrary to the otherwise uniform preference of the Isaeian mss. for the accus. in -ην), Bk. Turr., though Sauppe

τῷ κλήρῳ. μαρτυρήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐάλω ψευδο-
 13 μαρτυριῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Δικαιογένης, ὃ ἄνδρες,
 οὐκέτι ὑμᾶς δύναται ἐξαπατᾶν, πείθει Μενέξενον
 τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράττοντα, ἃ
 ἐγὼ αἰσχυρόμενος ἀναγκάζομαι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου
 πονηρίαν λέγειν,—τί ποιῆσαι; κομισάμενον αὐτὸν
 μέρος ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου ὅ τι ἐγίγνετο, ἡμᾶς μὲν ὑπὲρ
 ὧν ἔπραττε προδοῦναι, τοὺς δὲ μήπω ἐαλωκότας
 τῶν μαρτύρων ἀφεῖναι. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα ὑπὸ
 τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παθόντες εἶχομεν
 ἡσυχίαν. τούτων δ' ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι.
 [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

14 Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν Μενέξενος παθῶν ἄξια τῶν
 ἑαυτοῦ τρόπων ἠπατήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Δικαιογένους·
 ἀφείς γὰρ τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἡμᾶς προδοὺς, ὧν
 ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν οὐκ ἐκομίσατο. ἀδικηθεὶς δὲ
 ὑπὸ Δικαιογένους μεθ' ἡμῶν πάλιν ἔπραττεν.
 ἡμεῖς δὲ καθηγούμενοι οὐκέτι προσήκειν Δικαιογέ-
 νει ἔχειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου μέρος οὐδέν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ
 μάρτυρες ἐάλωσαν, ἀμφισβητοῦμεν αὐτῷ ἅπαντος
 τοῦ οἴκου κατ' ἀγχιστείαν. καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς τε ὀρθῶς
 ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι προσήκει Δικαιογένει τοῦ
 15 κλήρου, ῥαδίως διδάξω. δύο γὰρ διαθῆκαι ἐφάνη-
 σαν, ἡ μὲν πάλαι πολλῶ, ἡ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ κατὰ
 μὲν τὴν παλαιάν. ἣν ἀπέφηνε Πρόξενος ὁ Δικαιο-
 γένους τούτου πατήρ, ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει τοῦ
 approves the form in -ην. § 14. δὲ καθηγούμενοι] δὲ ἄθ'
 ἠγούμενοι Baiter conject.—δ' ὃ ἄνδρες ἠγούμενοι Sauppe conject.
 But see comment. § 15. ἐφάνησαν] ἀπεφάνησαν Schb., with
 Dobree. πάλαι πολλῶ, ἡ δ' ὕστερον] Turr. and Schb. wish
 to place πολλῶ either immediately before or immediately after
 ὕστερον; but see comment. Δικαιογένους τούτου] for τούτου

κλήρου ἐγίγνετο τῷ θείῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ υἱὸς ποιητός, καθ' ἣν δ' αὐτὸς ἀπέφηνε Δικαιογένης, ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ. ταῦταιν δὲ ταῖν διαθήκαιν ἦν μὲν Πρόξενος ἀπέφηνε, Δικαιογένης ἔπεισε τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς οὐκ ἀληθὴς εἶη· ἦν δὲ Δικαιογένης ἀπέφηνεν, οἱ μαρτυρήσαντες αὐτὴν τὸν θεῖον τὸν ἡμέτερον διαθέσθαι ἐάλωσαν ψευδομαρτυριῶν. ἀμφοῖν δὲ 16 ταῖν διαθήκαιν ἀκύροιν γιγνομέναιν, καὶ ἑτέρας μηδεμιᾶς ὁμολογουμένης εἶναι, κατὰ δόσιν μὲν οὐδενὶ προσῆκε τοῦ κλήρου, κατ' ἀγχιστείαν δὲ ταῖς Δικαιογένους τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἀδελφαῖς, ὧν εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι μητέρες. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξέ τε ἡμῖν λαχεῖν τοῦ κλήρου κατ' ἀγχιστείαν καὶ ἐλάχομεν τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος. μελλόντων δ' ἡμῶν ἀντόμνυσθαι διεμαρτύρησε Λεωχάρης οὕτοσιν μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλῆρον ἡμῖν. ἐπισκηψαμένων 17 δ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὲν λήξις τοῦ κλήρου διεγράφη, ἢ δὲ τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη εἰσῆει. ἐν δὲ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πάντα μὲν ἡμῶν εἰπόντων ἄπερ νυνί, πολλὰ δὲ Λεωχάρους ἀνταπολογησαμένου, ἔγνωσαν τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῆσαι Λεωχάρην οἱ δικασταί. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐγένετο ἐξαιρεθεισῶν τῶν ψήφων, ἃ μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη Λεωχάρης ἢ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐξεγένετο διαπράξασθαι τότε, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγειν, ἃ δὲ ὠμολογήθη ἡμῖν, ταῦτα ἀκούσατε. συγχωρούντων γὰρ ἡμῶν τῷ 18 ἄρχοντι μὴ συναριθμεῖν ἀλλὰ συγχέαι τὰς ψήφους, ἀφίστατο μὲν Δικαιογένης τοῖν δυοῖν μεροῖν τοῦ κλήρου ταῖς Δικαιογένους ἀδελφαῖς, καὶ ὠμο-

Schb. gives τουτουι. § 16. ἀμφοῖν δὲ] ἀμφοῖν δὴ Reiske conject.

λόγει ἀναμφισβήτητα παραδώσειν ἡμῖν ταῦτα τὰ μέρη· καὶ ταῦτα ἠγγυᾶτο αὐτὸν Λεωχάρης οὗτος <ὡς> ὠμολόγει * καὶ ποιήσειν, οὐ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ Μνησιπτόλεμος ὁ Πλωθειεύς. καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

- 19 Ἴμεῖς τοίνυν ταῦτα παθόντες ὑπὸ Λεωχάρους, καὶ ἐγγενόμενον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἐπειδὴ εἶλομεν τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἀτιμῶσαι, οὐκ ἐβουλήθημεν, ἀλλ' ἐξήρκεσε τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμῖν κομισαμένοις ἀπηλλάχθαι. τοιοῦτοι δὲ γινόμενοι περὶ Λεωχάρην καὶ Δικαιογένην ἐξηπατήθημεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες· οὔτε γὰρ Δικαιογένης τὰ δύο μέρη ἡμῖν τοῦ κλήρου παρέδωκεν, ὠμολογήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, οὔτε Λεωχάρης ὠμολογεῖ ἐγγυήσασθαι
- 20 αὐτὸν τότε. καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐναντίον μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν, πεντακοσίων ὄντων, ἐναντίον δὲ τῶν περισστηκότων ἠγγυᾶτο, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐποίησεν. ὡς μὲν τοίνυν περιφανῶς ψεύδονται, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρεχόμεθα τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτε Δικαιογένης μὲν ἀφίστατο τοῖν δυοῖν μεροῖν τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ὠμολόγει ἀναμφισβήτητα παραδώσειν ταῖς Δικαιογένους ἀδελφαῖς. Λεωχάρης δὲ ἠγγυᾶτο αὐτὸν ἂ ὠμολόγησε καὶ ποιήσειν. δεόμεθα δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες, εἴ τις ἐτύγχανε παρῶν τότε, ἀναμνησθή-
- 21 ναι εἰ λέγομεν ἀληθῆ καὶ βοηθήσαι ἡμῖν· ἐπεὶ, ὧ

§ 18. <ὡς> ὠμολόγει * καὶ ποιήσειν. I thus correct the reading of the mss., καὶ ὠμολόγει ποιήσειν. I believe that ὡς dropped out after οὗτος, and that καὶ was then transposed. Cp. § 20 ἠγγυᾶτο αὐτὸν ἂ ὠμολόγησε καὶ ποιήσειν. Scheibe deletes ὠμολόγει.—a drastic remedy; Sauppe would either (a) delete καὶ ὠμολόγει, or (b) change καὶ to ὡς. § Πλωθειεύς] Schöm. Turr. Schb.—Πλωτιεύς vulg. Bk.

ἄνδρες, εἰ Δικαιογένης ἀληθῆ λέγει, τί ἡμεῖς ὠφε-
 λούμεθα νικήσαντες, ἢ τί οὗτος ἐζημιώθη ἡττηθείς;
 εἰ γὰρ ἀπέστη μόνον, ὡς φησι, τοῖν δυοῖν μεροῖν
 τοῦ κλήρου, ἀναμφισβήτητα δὲ μὴ ὠμολόγει πα-
 ραδώσειν, τί ἐζημιούτο ἀφιστάμενος ὧν τιμὴν εἶχεν;
 οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι τὴν δίκην εἶχεν ὧν ἡμεῖς
 δικαζόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ τούτου πριάμενοι καὶ
 θέμενοι, οἷς ἔδει αὐτὸν ἀποδόντα τὴν τιμὴν ἡμῖν
 τὰ μέρη ἀποδοῦναι. διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐγ- 22
 γνητὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάβομεν, οὐ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ
 ἂ ὠμολόγησε ποιήσειν. πλὴν γὰρ δυοῖν οἰκιδίου
 ἔξω τείχους καὶ ἐν Πεδίῳ ἐξήκοντα πλέθρων οὐδὲν
 κεκομίσμεθα, ἀλλ' οἱ παρὰ τούτου θέμενοι καὶ
 πριάμενοι ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐξάγομεν· δέδιμεν γὰρ μὴ
 ὄφλωμεν δίκας. καὶ γὰρ Μικίωνα, κελεύοντος
 Δικαιογένους καὶ φάσκοντος μὴ βεβαιώσειν, ἐξά-
 γοντες ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου ὄφλομεν τετταράκοντα
 μῶας διὰ Δικαιογένην, ὧ ἄνδρες. ἡγούμενοι γὰρ 23
 οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν βεβαιώσειν οὐδὲν ὧν ἡμῖν ἀπέστη ἐν
 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, δυσχυριζόμεθα πρὸς Μικίωνα
 ἐναντίον τῶν δικαστῶν, ἐθέλοντες ὅτιοῦν πᾶσχειν,
 εἰ βεβαιώσειεν αὐτῷ Δικαιογένης τὸ βαλανεῖον,
 οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἴομενοι αὐτὸν ἐναντία οἷς ὠμολόγησε
 πράξαι, οὐ δι' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἢ διὰ τοὺς ἐγγνητὰς, ὅτι
 καθειστήκεσαν ἡμῖν. ἀποστὰς δὲ Δικαιογένης 24

§ 21. ἀναμφισβήτητα] Schöm. Turr. Schb.—ἀναμφισβήτητον
 mss. Bk. § 22. ἂ ὠμολόγησε ποιήσειν] Reiske would add
 καὶ before ποιήσειν: but in this negative sentence it is less
 missed than it would be in an affirmative statement, such
 as that in § 18. ¶ δέδιμεν] Cobet, Schb.—δεδιάμεν
 mss. Bk. Schöm. Turr. ¶ Μικίωνα] Reiske, Schöm. Turr.
 Schb.—Μηκίωνα A, B (and in § 24), Bk.—μήλλωνα Z.

[ταῦτα τὰ μέρη], ὧν καὶ νῦν ὁμολογεῖ ἀφεστάναι ἡμῖν, ἐβεβαίωσε Μικίωνι τὸ βαλανεῖον. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ ἄθλιος οὐχ ὅπως τι ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου εἰληφώς, ἀλλὰ προσαπολωλεκῶς τετταράκοντα μνᾶς, ἀπῆεν ὑβρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δικαιογένους. καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

2. §§ 39—47.

39 Εἰς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὕτω καὶ τοσαῦτα λελει-
τούργηκε Δικαιογένης ἀπὸ τοσούτων χρημάτων·
περὶ δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἶον
ὁρᾶτε, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἡμῶν ἀφείλετο τὴν οὐσίαν,
ὅτι μεῖζον ἐδυνήθη, τοὺς δὲ περιεώρα εἰς τοὺς
μισθωτοὺς ἴοντας δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. τὴν
δὲ μητέρα τὴν * αὐτοῦ καθημένην ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλει-
θυίας ἱερῷ πάντες ἐώρων, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγκαλοῦσαν
ἂ ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν, οὗτος δὲ ποιῶν οὐκ
40 ἡσχύνετο. τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων Μέλανα μὲν τὸν
Λιγύπτιον, ᾧ ἐκ μεираκίου φίλος ἦν, ὅπερ ἔλαβε
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργύριον ἀποστερήσας, ἔχθιστός ἐστι·
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ φίλων οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλαβον
ἂ ἐδάνεισαν, οἱ δ' ἐξηπατήθησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον
ἂ ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐπιδικάσαιτο τοῦ κλήρου,
41 δώσειν. καίτοι, ᾧ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οἱ

§ 24. [ταῦτα τὰ μέρη] Dobree rightly condemned these words as interpolated, and Turr. assent, though they keep them in the text. Schb. omits them.

2. § 39. μητέρα τὴν * αὐτοῦ] for αὐτοῦ I read αὐτοῦ. Schb., on his own conject., gives μητέρα τὴν τούτου.—Turr. propose to omit τὴν: if this were done, αὐτοῦ would be the adverb, 'there.' [Εἰλειθυίας] Εἰληθυίας mss.,—a form which occurs as a variant in Theoc. 17. 60, but which seems very questionable. Turr. and Schb. retain it here, though with hesitation.

ταῦτα κτησάμενοι καὶ καταλιπόντες πάσας μὲν
 χορηγίας ἐχορήγησαν, εἰσήνεγκαν δὲ εἰς τὸν πόλε-
 μον χρήματα πολλὰ ὑμῖν, καὶ τριηραρχοῦντες
 οὐδένα χρόνον διέλιπον. καὶ τούτων μαρτύρια ἐν
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήματα ἐκείνοι ἐκ τῶν περιόντων,
 μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, ἀνέθεσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν
 Διονύσου τρίποδας, οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες
 ἔλαβον, τοῦτο δ' ἐν Πυθίου· ἔτι δ' ἐν ἀκροπόλει 42
 ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀναθέντες πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ
 ἰδίας κτήσεως, ἀγάλμασι χαλκοῖς καὶ λιθίνοις
 κεκοσμήκασι τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρί-
 δος πολεμοῦντες ἀπέθανον, Δικαιογένης μὲν ὁ
 Μενεξένου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πάππου πατήρ στρατηγῶν
 ὅτε ἢ ἐν *Ἀλιεῦσι μάχῃ ἐγένετο, Μενέξενος δ' ὁ
 ἐκείνου υἱὸς φυλαρχῶν τῆς *Ὀλυθίας ἐν Σπαρ-
 τῶλῳ, Δικαιογένης δὲ ὁ Μενεξένου τριηραρχῶν
 τῆς Παράλου ἐν Κνίδῳ.

¶ Τὸν μὲν τούτου οἶκον σύ, ὦ Δικαιογένης, πα- 43
 ραλαβῶν κακῶς καὶ αἰσχρῶς διολώλεκας, καὶ
 ἐξαργυρισάμενος πενίαν ὀδύρη, ποῖ ἀναλώσας;
 οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὔτε εἰς τοὺς φίλους
 φανερὸς εἶ δαπανηθεὶς οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ
 καθιπποτρόφηκας· οὐ γὰρ πώποτε ἐκτήσω ἵππου
 πλείονος ἄξιον ἢ τριῶν μνῶν· οὔτε κατεζευ-
 γοτρόφηκας, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ζευγος ἐκτήσω ὄρικόν
 οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις ἀγροῖς καὶ κτήμα-
 σιν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλύσω οὐδένα. 44
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἃ Μενέξενος τριῶν τα-

§ 42. *Ἀλιεῦσι is Dobree's certain correction of Ἐλευσίνοι. See comment. *Ὀλυθίας] Palmer conject., Schb.—Ὀλυσίας

λάντων ποιησάμενος ἀπέθανε πρὶν ἀναθεῖναι, εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν κεκόμικας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς λιθουργείοις ἔτι
 κυλινδεῖται, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡξιόους κεκτῆσθαι ἄ-
 σοι οὐδὲν προσῆκε χρήματα, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς οὐκ
 45 ἀπέδωκας ἃ ἐκείνων ἐγίγνετο ἀγάλματα. || διὰ τί
 οὖν ἀξιώσεις σου τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀποψηφίσασθαι,
 ὦ Δικαιόγενης; πότερον ὅτι πολλὰς λειτουργίας
 λελειτούργηκας τῇ πόλει, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα
 δαπανήσας σεμνοτέραν τὴν πόλιν τούτοις ἐποίη-
 σας; ἢ ὡς τριηραρχῶν πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς πολεμίους
 εἰργάσω, καὶ εἰσφοράς δεομένη τῇ πατρίδι εἰς τὸν
 πόλεμον εἰσενεγκῶν μεγάλα ὠφέληκας; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν
 σοι τούτων πέπρακται. ἀλλ' ὡς στρατιώτης ἀγα-
 46 θός; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστράτευσαι τοσούτου καὶ τοιούτου
 γενομένου πολέμου, εἰς ὃν Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν καὶ νη-
 σιῶται ὑπὲρ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἀποθνήσκουσι μαχό-
 μενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, σὺ δέ, ὦ Δικαιόγενης, πολίτης
 ὦν οὐδ' ἐστράτευσαι. ἀλλ' ἴσως διὰ τοὺς προγό-
 νους ἀξιώσεις μου πλέον ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸν τύραννον
 ἀπέκτειναν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπαινῶ, σοὶ δὲ
 47 οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μετεῖναι. || πρῶ-
 τον μὲν γὰρ εἴλου ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκείνων δόξης τὴν
 ἡμετέραν οὐσίαν κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἐβουλήθης μᾶλλον
 Δικαιογένους καλεῖσθαι υἱὸς ἢ Ἀρμοδίου, ὑπεριδῶν
 μὲν τὴν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν, καταφρονήσας δὲ
 προεδριῶν καὶ ἀτελειῶν, ἃ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγυνοῦσι
 δέδοται. ἔτι δὲ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκείνος καὶ

vulg. Bk. Schöm. Turr. § 44. *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*] *εἰς πόλιν* A,
 Schb. § 46. Ὀλύνθιοι] Schöm. would read Κορίνθιοι. I have
 defended the vulg. Ὀλύνθιοι in the *Attic Orators*, II. 351. Cp.
 comment.

Ἄρμόδιος οὐ διὰ τὸ γένος ἐτιμήθησαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἧς σοι οὐδὲν μέτεστιν, ὦ Δικαιογένης.

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΝΙΟΥ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ.

[Or. XI.—359 B. C.]

§§ 1—19.

NOMOI.

Διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἀνέγνων τοὺς νόμους, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἰσχυρίζεται τῷ παιδί τοῦ ἡμικληρίου προσήκειν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν Ἀγνίας ἀδελφός, ὁ δὲ νόμος περὶ ἀδελφοῦ χρημάτων πρῶτον ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ ἀδελφιδοῖς πεποίηκε τὴν κληρονομίαν, ἂν ὧσιν ὁμοπάτορες· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένους ἐστίν. ἐὰν δ' οὔτοι μὴ ὧσι, δεύτερον ἀδελφὰς 2 ὁμοπατρίας καλεῖ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τούτων. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὧσι, τρίτῳ γένει δίδωσι τὴν ἀγχιστείαν, ἀνεψιοῖς πρὸς πατρός μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκλείπη, εἰς τὸ γένος πάλιν ἐπανέρχεται, καὶ ποιεῖ τοὺς πρὸς μητρός τοῦ τελευτήσαντος κυρίου αὐτῶν, κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀθάπερ τοῖς πρὸς πατρός ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίδου τὴν κληρονομίαν. ταύτας ποιεῖ τὰς ἀγχιστείας ὁ νομοθέτης μόνας, 3 συντομωτέρως τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ φράζω· τὴν

II. § 1. NOMOI] added by Turr. Schb. § 2. μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν] μέχρι Turr. Schb. (and below, §§ 11, 12). In § 11 M (1st hand) has μέχρι (Dobson).—μέχρις vulg. Bk. Schöm. || ἐκλείπη, εἰς τὸ γένος πάλιν] Schöm., bracketing εἰς, reads ἐκλείπη

μέντοι διάνοιαν ὧν βούλεται ταύτη δείκνυσιν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων Ἀγνία προσήκει τῇ ἀγχιστεία, ἀλλ' ἔξω τῆς συγγενείας ἐστίν. ἵνα δ' ἀκριβῶς μάθητε περὶ ὧν ψηφιεῖσθε, τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους ἐάσας οὗτος εἰπάτω ὅτι ὁ παῖς προσήκει τουτωνὶ τῶν εἰρημένων τῶ τὸν κλῆρον καταλιπόντι· κὰν φανῆ κατά τι προσήκων, ἐκὼν ἐγὼ συγχωρῶ τὸ ἡμικλήριον
 4 εἶναι τοῦ παιδός. εἰ δέ τοι μηδὲν τούτων ἔξει εἰπεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἐλεγχθήσεται φανερῶς ἐμὲ μὲν συκοφαντῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἔξαπατήσαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ζητῶν; ἀναβιβασάμενος οὖν αὐτὸν ἐναντίου ὑμῶν ἐρωτήσω τὰ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὑπαναγινώσκων· οὕτω γὰρ εἴσεσθε εἰ προσήκει τῶ παιδὶ τῶν Ἀγνίου χρημάτων ἢ μή. λαβὲ οὖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους· σὺ δ' ἀνάβηθι δεῦρο, ἐπειδὴ δεινὸς εἶ διαβάλλειν καὶ τοὺς νόμους διαστρέφειν. σὺ δ' ἀναγίγνωσκε. [ΝΟΜΟΙ.]

5 Ἐπίσχεσ. ἐρωτήσω σέ. ἀδελφός ἐσθ' ὁ παῖς Ἀγνίου, <ἢ> ἀδελφιδούς ἐξ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς, ἢ ἀνεψιός, ἢ ἐξ ἀνεψιοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς ἢ πρὸς πατρός; τί τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων, οἷς ὁ νόμος τὴν ἀγχιστείαν δίδωσι: καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖνο ἐρεῖς, ὅτι ἐμὸς ἀδελφιδούς. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ κλήρου νῦν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν· ζῶ γάρ. εἰ δ' ἦν ἄπαις ἐγὼ τετελευτηκὼς καὶ ἡμφισβῆται τῶν ἐμῶν, τοῦτο ἂν προσήκοι ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐρωτωμένῳ. νῦν δὲ

τὸ γένος, πάλιν. § 5. Ἀγνίου, -ἢ- ἀδελφιδούς] ἢ is added by Taylor, Turr. Seh. Ἀγνίου, ἀδελφιδούς Bk. Schöm. || ἐν προσήκοι] Bk. Turr.—ἂν προσήκειν Schöm. Seh.—ἂν προσήκει

φῆς τῶν Ἀγνίου χρημάτων τὸ ἡμικλήριον εἶναι τοῦ παιδός· δεῖ δὴ σε τῆς ἀγχιστείας, ὅ τι ὁ παῖς Ἀγνία προσήκει, τὸ γένος εἰπεῖν. φράσον οὖν τουτοισί.

Αἰσθάνεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τὴν συγγένειαν εἰπεῖν, 6 ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνεται πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὃ δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς. καίτοι τὸν γε πράττοντά τι δίκαιον οὐ προσήκεν ἀπορεῖν ἀλλ' εὐθύς λέγειν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διόμνυσθαι καὶ τοῦ γένους παρέχεσθαι μαρτυρίας, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύετο ὑφ' ὑμῶν. νῦν δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀπόκρισιν οὐ δέδωκεν, οὐ μάρτυρας παρέσχετο, οὐχ ὄρκον ὤμοσεν, οὐ νόμον ἀνέγνωκεν, οἴεται δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὁμωμοκότας ψηφιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, αὐτῷ πειθομένους ἐμοῦ καταγνώσθαι ταύτην τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· οὕτω σχέτλιος καὶ ἀναιδής ἄνθρωπος ἐστίν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τούτων οὐδέν, 7 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐρῶ τοῦμόν καὶ ὅθεν μοι προσήκει τῆς κληρονομίας, καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπιδείξω καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἀμφισβητήσαντας ἐμοὶ τοῦ κλήρου πάντας ἔξω τῆς ἀγχιστείας ὄντας, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν. ἀνάγκη δ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ συμβεβηκότα εἰπεῖν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γνώσεσθε τὴν τε ἐμὴν ἀγχιστείαν καὶ ὅτι τούτοις οὐδέν προσήκει τῆς κληρονομίας.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ Ἀγνίας, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ Εὐβουλί- 8
δης καὶ Στρατοκλῆς καὶ Στρατίος ὁ τῆς Ἀγνίου

A: ἂν προσήκει B, Z. See comment. § 6. παρέχεσθαι μαρτυρίας] παρέχεσθαι μάρτυρας Schb., with Cobet. || μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύετο] Schb. omits ἂν, with Dobree and Cobet; Baiter,

- μητρὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐξ ἀνεψιῶν ἐσμεν γεγονότες· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἦσαν ἀνεψιοὶ ἐκ πατραδέλφων. Ἀγνίας οὖν, ὅτε ἐκπλεῖν παρεσκευάζετο πρεσβεύσων ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς πράξεις αἰ τῇ πόλει συμφερόντως εἶχον, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐγγύτατα γένους, εἴ τι πάθοι, τὰ ὄντα κατέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησατο θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδῆν· εἰ δέ τι καὶ αὐτὴ πάθοι, Γλαύκωνι τὰ ὄντα ἐκίδου, ἀδελφῶ ὄντι ὁμομητρίῳ· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν διαθήκαις ἐνέγραψε.
- 9) χρόνων δὲ διαγενομένων μετὰ ταῦτα τελευτᾶ μὲν Εὐβουλίδης, τελευτᾶ δ' ἡ θυγάτηρ ἦν ἐποίησατο Ἀγνίας, λαμβάνει δὲ τὸν κλῆρον Γλαύκων κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ πρόποτ' ἠξιώσαμεν ἀμφισβητῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου διαθήκας, ἀλλ' ὥόμεθα δεῖν περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην εἶναι κυρίαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐνεμένομεν. ἡ δ' Εὐβουλίδου θυγάτηρ μετὰ τῶν αὐτῆ συμπραττόντων λαγχάνει τοῦ κλήρου καὶ λαμβάνει νικήσασα τοὺς κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἀμφισβητήσαντας, ἔξω μὲν οὔσα τῆς ἀγχιστείας, ἐλπίσασα δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐκ ἀντιδικήσειν, ὅτι οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰς
- 10) διαθήκας ἠμφισβητήσαμεν. ἡμεῖς δέ, ἐγὼ καὶ Στρατίος καὶ Στρατοκλῆς, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐγγύτατα γένους ἐγεγένητο ἐπίδικος ὁ κλῆρος, παρεσκευάζοντο ἅπαντες λαγχάνειν· πρὶν δὲ γενέσθαι τὰς λήξεις τῶν δικῶν ἡμῖν τελευτᾶ μὲν ὁ Στρατίος, τελευτᾶ δ' ὁ Στρατοκλῆς, λείπομαι δ' ἐγὼ μόνος * τῶν πρὸς πατρὸς ὧν ἀνεψιοῦ παῖς, ᾧ μόνῳ κατὰ

too, approves: but see comment. § 9. περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ] περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Schb., on Baiter's conject. § 10. * τῶν πρὸς

τοὺς νόμους ἐγίγνετο ἡ κληρονομία, πάντων ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων ἐκλελοιπότην, οἷ ταυτὸν ἐμοὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ προσήκοντες ἐτύγχανον. τῷ δὲ γνώσεσθε ¹¹ τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀγχιστεύειν, τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγυνοσιν οὐκ ἦν, ἐν οἷς οὗτος ὁ παῖς ἦν; αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος δηλώσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀγχιστείαν ἀνεψιοῖς πρὸς πατρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων· εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἡμᾶς δίδωσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις παισὶ, τοῦτ' ἤδη σκεπτέον ἐστί. Λαβὲ οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀναγίνωσκε.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶς ἦ πρὸς πατρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων, τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς κυρίους εἶναι κατὰ τὰ αὐτά.

Ἄκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ὁ νομοθέτης οὐκ εἶπεν, ¹² ἐὰν μηδεὶς ἦ πρὸς πατρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων, τοὺς τῶν ἀνεψιαδῶν εἶναι κυρίους, ἀλλὰ ἀπέδωκε τοῖς πρὸς μητρὸς τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ ὤμεν, τὴν κληρονομίαν ἤδη, ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παισὶ τοῖς τούτων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, κατὰ ταῦτά καθάπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν ὑπειρημένον· τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους παῖδας ἔξω τῆς ἀγχιστείας ἐποίησεν. οἷς δὲ μηδ' εἰ *καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ἦν ἐγὼ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος τὴν Ἀγνίου κληρονομίαν, πῶς ἐμοῦ τε ζῶντος καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντος οἷονται αὐ-

πατρὸς] τῶν Dobree conject., Schöm. Turr. Schb.—τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς mss. Bk. § 12. μηδ' εἰ *καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ἦν ἐγὼ] μηδ' εἰ τετελευτηκότες ὦσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ mss. Bk. Turr.—Schöm., printing this, approves Reiske's emendation, εἰ καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ὦ ἐγώ: but, to make this tolerable, we must with Dobree change ὦ into ἦν.—μηδ' ἐὰν τετελευτηκῶς ὦ ἐγώ, Schb. The emendation εἰ—ἦν is decidedly better: see comment. Sauppe suggests, not happily, μηδέ, κἂν τετελευτηκότες ὦσιν, οἷος ἐγώ.

- 13 τοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἀγχιστείαν; οὐδαμῶς δὴ πούθεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τούτοις μὴ μέτεστιν, ὧν οἱ πατέρες ταυτόν ἐμοὶ προσῆκον, οὐδὲ τούτῳ τῷ παιδί γίγνεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τούτου πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἦν ἐκείνοις συγγεινής. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν ἐμοὶ μὲν διαρρήδην οὕτω τῶν νόμων δεδωκότων τὴν κληρονομίαν, τούτους δ' ἔξω τῆς ἀγχιστείας πεποιηκότων, τολμᾶν τουτοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι μὲν, ἡνίκ' ἐγὼ τοῦ κλήρου τὴν δίκην ἐλάγχανον, μὴ οἶεσθαι δεῖν μηδὲ παρακαταβάλλειν, οὐ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἴ τι δίκαιον εἶχεν εἰπεῖν διαγνωσθῆναι προσῆκεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ὀνόματι πράγματ' ἐμοὶ παρέχειν καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰς κίνδυνον καθιστάται;
- 14 καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογουμένων εἶναι τοῦ παιδὸς χρημάτων μὴδ' αἰτιᾶσθαι με, μὴδ' ὡς τι εἴληφα ἔχειν εἰπεῖν (ἐφ' οἷς, εἴ τι αὐτῶν κακῶς διώκουν ὡσπερ οὗτος, κρίνεσθαι μοι προσῆκεν), ἃ δ' ὑμεῖς ἐμὰ εἶναι ἐψηφίσασθε, τῷ βουλομένῳ δόντες ἐξουσίαν ἀμφισβητεῖν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμοὶ τοιούτους ἀγῶνας παρασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναισχυντίας ἤκειν;
- 15 Οἶομαι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἤδη εἰρημένων γιγνώσκεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐτ' ἀδικῶ τὸν παῖδα οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἔνοχός εἰμι ταύταις ταῖς αἰτίαις οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν· ἔτι δὲ ἀκριβέστερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὑμᾶς μαθήσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιδικασίαν, ὡς γέγονεν, ἀκούσαντας περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, λαχόντι τοῦ κλήρου τὴν δίκην οὔτε οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἐμὲ εἰσαγγέλλων φήθη δεῖν παρακαταβάλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδός, οὔτε οἱ Στρατίου παῖδες οἱ αὐτὸ τῷ

παιδὶ προσήκοντες, * οὐδὲν δι' ἄλλο <ἢ ὅτι> οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον προσήκειν τούτων τῶν χρημάτων· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν οὗτος νῦν ἐμοὶ πράγματα παρείχεν, εἰ 16 τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἶων ἀρπάζειν καὶ μὴ ἠναντιούμην αὐτῷ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰδότες ὅτι ἔξω ἦσαν τῆς ἀγχιστείας, οὐκ ἠμφισβήτουν ἀλλ' ἠσυχίαν εἶχον· οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβουλίδου θυγατρὸς πράττοντες, τῆς τὸ αὐτὸ δικαίως τῷ Στρατίου παιδὶ προσηκούσης, καὶ οἱ κύριοι τῆς Ἀγνίου μητρὸς ἦσαν οἰοί τε πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀντιδικεῖν. εἰς 17 τοσαύτας δ' ἀπορίας κατέστησαν ὅ τι ἀντιγράφονται περὶ τῆς ἀγχιστείας, ὥστε ἡ μὲν τὸν κληρὸν ἔχουσα καὶ οἱ λέγοντες τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γένος, ἐπειδὴ κατεψεύσαντο, ῥαδίως ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε ἐξηλέγχθησαν οὐκ ἀληθές τι γράψαι τολμήσαντες, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγνίου μητρὸς, γένει μὲν ἐμοὶ ταῦτ' ἀποκλειομένης (ἀδελφὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Στρατίου) νόμῳ δὲ ἀποκλειομένης, ὃς κελεύει κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄρρενας, τοῦτο μὲν εἶασαν, οἴομενοι δ' ἐμοῦ πλεονεκτήσειν μητέρα εἶναι τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἔγρα-

§ 15. * οὐδὲν δι' ἄλλο <ἢ ὅτι> οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον προσήκειν] This is Schömann's correction of the corrupt reading in the mss., οὔτε δι' ἄλλο οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον προσήκειν. See comment. § 16. δικαίως] Dobree and Schb. would omit this word. Baiter conject. ἠσυχίαν εἶχον δικαίως· οἱ δ' κ.τ.λ. But the vulgate is sound. The word δικαίως concedes that there is a legitimate distinction between the daughter of Eubulides and those persons who were ἔξω τῆς ἀγχιστείας. | τῷ Στρατίου παιδὶ] τῷ Στρατοκλέους παιδὶ Schb., on Schöm.'s conject., who himself gives τῷ [Στρατίου] παιδὶ.—τοῖς Στρατίου παισὶ Baiter conject. See comment. || ἦσαν οἰοί τε] Schb. errs in giving ἦσαν οἰοί on his own conject. See comment. § 17. οἱ λέγοντες τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γένος, ἐπειδὴ κατεψεύσαντο] So Bk. Schöm. Schb.—λέγοντες, τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γένος ἐπειδὴ κατεψεύσαντο Turr.—λέγοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος κατεψεύσαντο Reiske

- ψαν· ὃ συγγενέστατον μὲν ἦν τῇ φύσει πάντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις ὁμολογουμένως οὐκ ἔστιν.
- 18 εἶτα * γραψάσης ἀνεψιοῦ * παιδὸς εἶναι, κἀκείνας ἐξήλεγα οὐκ οὔσας ἐν ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις. οὕτως ἐπεδικασάμην παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἴσχυσέ τι οὔτε τῇ τὸν κλῆρον ἐχούσῃ τὸ προνεικηκέναι τοὺς κατὰ διαθήκην ἀμφισβητήσαντας, οὔτε τῇ ἑτέρα τὸ μητέρα εἶναι τοῦ τὸν κλῆρον καταλιπόντος, ἀλλ' οὕτως οἱ τότε δικάζοντες καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιήσαντο, ὥστ' ἐμοὶ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀμφισβητοῦντι τὴν ψῆφον
- 19 ἤνεγκαν. καίτοι εἰ τὰς μὲν νενίκηκα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἐπιδείξας μηδὲν Ἀγνία κατ' ἀγχιστείαν προσηκούσας, οὔτος δὲ μὴ ἐτόλμησεν ἀντιδικῆσαι τῷ παιδί τοῦ ἡμικληρίου πρὸς * ἡμᾶς, οἱ δὲ Στρατίου παῖδες οἱ ταῦτον τούτῳ προσήκοντες μηδὲ νῦν ἀξιούσιν ἀντιδικῆσαι πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔχω δ' ἐγὼ τὸν κλῆρον ἐπιδικασίμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐξελέγγω δὲ τοῦτον μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον ἔχοντ' εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ὁ παῖς Ἀγνία προσήκει κατ' ἀγχιστείαν, τί ἔτι δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἢ τί ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τούτων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς εὖ φρονούσιν ὑμῖν ἰκανὰ τὰ εἰρημένα νομίζω.

conject. § 18. εἶτα * γραψάσης ἀνεψιοῦ * παιδὸς εἶναι, κἀκείνας ἐξήλεγα οὐκ οὔσας ἐν ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις. οὕτως ἐπεδικασάμην] I venture to think that the remedy for the corruption here is the simple change of γράψας...παιδὸς into γραψάσης...παιδὸς. See comment. — εἶτα γράψας ἀνεψιοῦ παῖς εἶναι κἀκείνας ἐξελέγγω οὐκ οὔσας ἐν ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις, οὕτως ἐπεδικασάμην Schb., παῖς for παῖδας being his own conject., and ἐξελέγγω for ἐξήλεγα (with a comma instead of a full stop at ἀγχιστεῖαις) Reiske's. Sauppe proposes the same, only with παῖδά με instead of παῖς. § 19. ἡμικληρίου πρὸς * ἡμᾶς] ἡμᾶς Reiske, Turr. Schb.—ὑμᾶς mss. Bl. Schöm.

III. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ.

[Or. VIII.—About 375 B. C.]

§§ 1—42.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ χαλεπῶς φέρειν, ὅταν τινὲς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ἀμφισβητεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων δίκαια τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν λόγοις ἀφανίζουσι ἐλπίζουσιν· ὕπερ καὶ νῦν οὗτοι ποιεῖν ἐγχειροῦσι. τοῦ γὰρ ἡμετέρου πάππου Κίρωνος οὐκ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἐκ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γνησίας παιδᾶς αὐτῷ καταλελοιπότης, οὗτοι τε τοῦ κλήρου λαγχάνουσιν ὡς ἐγγυτάτω γένους ὄντες, ἡμᾶς τε ἰβρίζουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς ὄντας, * οὐδὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ πώποτε τὸ παράπαν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν αὐτούς ἐστιν ἡ 2 τούτων πλεονεξία, τό <τε> πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων ὧν Κίρων μὲν καταλέλοιπεν, οὗτοι δ' ἔχουσι βιασάμενοι καὶ κρατοῦσι· καὶ τολμῶσιν ἅμα μὲν λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν καταλέλοιπεν ἐκεῖνος, ἅμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ κλήρου τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν. τὴν μὲν οὖν 3 κρίσιν οὐ δεῖ μοι νομίζειν εἶναι ταύτην πρὸς τὸν εἰληχότα τοῦ κλήρου τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Διο-
 ἑα τὸν Φλυέα, τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐπικαλούμενον· οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτον παρασκευάσας πράγμαθ' ἡμῖν παρέχειν, ἀποστερῶν τὰ χρήματα ἅ Κίρων ὁ

III. § 1. * οὐδὲ γενομένης] οὐδὲ Reiske, Turr. Schb.—οὔτε (a solecism) mss. Bk. Schöm. § 2. τό <τε> πλῆθος] τε is supplied by Turr.—τὸ πλῆθος mss. Bk.—καὶ τὸ πλῆθος Schöm.

πάππος ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπεν, ἡμῖν δὲ τούτους
 τοὺς κινδύνους ἐπάγων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀποδιδῶ τούτων,
 εἰν ὑμεῖς ἐξαπατηθῆτε πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τούτου
 4 λόγων. δεῖ δὴ τούτων τοιαῦτα μηχανωμένων
 πάνθ' ὑμᾶς τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν
 ἀγνοήσαντες τῶν γεγενημένων ἀλλὰ σαφῶς εἰδό-
 τες περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐνέγκητε τὴν ψῆφον. εἴ
 τιμι οὖν καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε δίκη προσέσχετε ἀκρι-
 βῶς τὸν νοῦν, δέομαι ὑμῶν καὶ ταύτη προσέχειν
 ὁμοίως, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι. πολλῶν δὲ
 δικῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενομένων οὐδένες ἀναιδέστερον
 τούτων οὐδὲ καταφανέστερον ἀντιποιησάμενοι φα-
 5 νήσονται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. ἔστι μὲν οὖν χαλεπόν,
 ὦ ἄνδρες, πρὸς παρασκευὰς λόγων καὶ μάρτυρας
 οὐ τάληθῆ μαρτυροῦντας εἰς ἀγῶνα καθίστασθαι
 περὶ τηλικούτων, παντάπασιν ἀπείρως ἔχοντα δι-
 καστηρίων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω
 καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τεύξεσθαι τῶν δικαίων καὶ μέχρι
 γε τοῦ τὰ δίκαια εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρκούντως εἶναι,
 ἂν μὴ τι συμβῆ τοιοῦτον ὃ νῦν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τυγχάνει
 προσδοκώμενον. δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μετ'
 εὐνοίας τέ μου ἀκούσαι, κἂν ἡδίκησθαι δοκῶ, βοη-
 θῆσαί μοι τὰ δίκαια.

6 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἦν ἢ μήτηρ ἢ ἢ Κίρωνος
 θυγάτηρ γνησία, ἐπιδείξω τοῦτο ὑμῖν, τὰ μὲν
 πάλαι γεγενημένα λόγων ἀκοῇ καὶ μαρτύρων, τὰ
 δ' ὥστε καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι, τοῖς εἰδόσι χρώμενος
 μάρτυσιν, ἔτι δὲ τεκμηρίοις ἃ κρείττω τῶν μαρτυ-
 ριῶν ἐστίν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτα φανερὰ καταστήσω,

τόθ' ὡς καὶ κληρονομεῖν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ * τοῖτοις προσήκει τῶν Κίρωνος χρημάτων. ὅθεν οὖν ἤρξαντο περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ πειράσομαι διδάσκειν.

Ὁ γὰρ πάππος ὁ ἐμός, ὦ ἄνδρες, Κίρων ἔγημε τὴν ἐμὴν τήθην οὖσαν ἀνεψιάν, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς αὐτὴν γεγενημένην. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν συνοικήσασα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον, τεκοῦσα αὐτῷ τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα, μετὰ ἐνιαυτοὺς * τέτταρας τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν· ὁ δὲ πάππος μιᾶς μόνης οὖσης αὐτῷ θυγατρὸς λαμβάνει πάλιν τὴν Διοκλέους ἀδελφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ ἐγιγνέσθην υἱεῖς δύο. καὶ ἐκείνην τε ἔτρεφε παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης παίδων, ἐκείνων τε ἔτι ζώντων, ἐπεὶ συνοικεῖν δ εἶχεν ἡλικίαν, ἐκδίδωσιν αὐτὴν Ναυσιμένει Χολαργεῖ, σὺν ἱματίοις καὶ χρυσοῖς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐπιδούς. κακείνος μὲν τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι μετὰ ταῦτα κάμνων ἀποθνήσκει, πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παῖδας ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας μητρὸς· ὁ δὲ πάππος κοιμισάμενος αὐτὴν, καὶ τὴν προῖκα οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν ὅσην ἔδωκε διὰ τὴν Ναυσιμένους ἀπορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων, πάλιν ἐκδίδωσι τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ καὶ χιλίας δραχμὰς προῖκ' ἐπιδίδωσι. ταυτὶ θ δὴ πάντα πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἃς νῦν οὗτοι λέγουσι

ἡμῖν ἢ * τοῖτοις] As Schb. saw, the τοῖτον of the mss. should be τοῖτοις: cp. § 45, προσήκει ὑμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖτοις κληρονομεῖν. § 7. τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς] αὐτοῦ Baier, Turr. Schb.—αὐτοῦ Bk. Schöm. | * τέτταρας] τριάκοντα mss. Bk. Schöm. Turr.—Dobree conjectured τέτταρας, suggesting that X had been written by mistake for δ', and so Schb. reads. Reiske and Sir W. Jones had already proposed to substitute τρεῖς for τριάκοντα. || ἐγιγνέσθην] B, Z, Turr. Schb.—γιγνέσθην A, whence

- πῶς ἂν τις δείξειε γεγενημένα φανερώς; ἐγὼ ζητῶν
 ἐξηῦρον. ἀνάγκη τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα, εἴτε θυγάτηρ
 ἦν Κίρωνος εἴτε μή, καὶ εἰ παρ' ἐκείνῳ διητάτο
 ἢ οὐ, καὶ γάμους εἰ διττοὺς ὑπὲρ ταύτης εἰστίασεν
 ἢ μή, καὶ προῖκα ἦντινα ἐκάτερος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῶν
 γημάτων ἔλαβε, πάντα ταῦτα εἰδέναι τοὺς οἰκέτας
 10 καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἐκέκτητο. βουλό-
 μενος οὖν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μάρτυσιν ἔλεγχον
 ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μᾶλλον
 αὐτοῖς πιστεῦητε μὴ μέλλουσι δώσειν ἔλεγχον
 ἀλλ' ἤδη δεδωκόσι περὶ ὧν μαρτυροῦσι, τούτους
 ἠξίουν ἐκδοῦναι τὰς θεραπαίνας καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
 περὶ τε τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσα
 11 τυγχάνουσι συνειδότες. οὗτος δ' ὁ νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιώ-
 σων τοῖς αὐτοῦ μάρτυσι πιστεῦειν ἔφυγε τὴν βά-
 σανον. καίτοι εἰ φανήσεται ταῦτα ποιῆσαι μὴ
 θελήσας, τί ὑπολείπεται τοῖς ἐκείνου μάρτυσιν ἢ
 δοκεῖν νυνὶ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν, τούτου τηλικούτου
 ἔλεγχον πεφευγός; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐδέν. Ἄλλα
 μὴν ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι πρῶτον ταύτην τὴν
 μαρτυρίαν καὶ ἀνάγνωθι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.]
- 12 Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ βάσανον
 ἀκριβέστατον ἔλεγχον νομίζετε· καὶ ὁπόταν
 δούλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι παραγένωνται καὶ δέη εὔρε-
 θῆναι τι τῶν ζητουμένων, οὐ χρῆσθε ταῖς τῶν
 ἐλευθέρων μαρτυρίαις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δούλους βασανί-
 ζοντες οὕτω ζητεῖτε εὔρεῖν τὴν ἀλίθειαν τῶν γεγε-

Bk. and Schöm. γίγνεσθον. § 9. ἢ οὐ] 'malim abesse,'
 Baier: Schb. brackets them. εἰ διττοῖς] εἰ, which A (1st
 hand) omits, is bracketed by Schb. § 11. μὴ θελήσας] μὴ

νημένων. εικότως, ὦ ἄνδρες· σύνιστε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μὲν μαρτυρησάντων ἤδη τινὲς ἔδοξαν οὐ τᾶληθῆ μαρτυρήσαι, τῶν δὲ βασανισθέντων οὐδένας πώποτε ἐξηλέγχθησαν ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων εἰπόντες. οὗτος δ' ὁ πάντων ἀναισχυντότατος 13 ἀνθρώπων λόγοις πεπλασμένοις καὶ μάρτυσιν οὐ τᾶληθῆ μαρτυροῦσιν ἀξιώσει πιστεύειν ὑμᾶς, φεύγων οὕτως ἀκριβεῖς ἐλέγχους; ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν μαρτυρηθήσεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώσαντες εἰς βασάνους ἐλθεῖν, *τούτου δὲ φεύγοντος, οὕτως οἰησόμεθα δεῖν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἡμετέροις μάρτυσι πιστεύειν. Λαβὲ οὖν αὐτοῖς ταυτασὶ τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἀνάγνωθι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.]

Τίνας εἰκὸς εἰδέναί τὰ παλαιά; δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς 14 χρωμένους τῷ πάππῳ. μεμαρτυρήκασι τοίνυν ἀκοῆν οὗτοι. τίνας εἰδέναί τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῆς μητρὸς ἀνάγκη; τοὺς ἐγγυησαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνοις παρόντας ὅτε ἠγγυῶντο. μεμαρτυρήκασι τοίνυν οἷ τε Ναυσιμένους προσήκοντες καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός. τίνες δὲ οἱ τρεφομένην ἔνδον καὶ θυγατέρα οὖσαν εἰδότες γνησίαν Κίρωνος; οἱ νῦν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἔργῳ φανερώς μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, φεύγοντες τὴν βάσανον. ὥστε οὐ δήπου τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀν ἀπιστήσαιτε εἰκότως, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς τούτων μάρτυσιν.

ἠελήσας Baiter conject. § 13. *τούτου δὲ φεύγοντος] Turr., on the conject. of A. Voigtlaender.—τούτους δὲ φεύγοντας mss. Bk. Schöm. Schb. The two latter indicate a lacuna, which Reiske proposed to fill up by inserting ἐπιδείξαντες after φεύγοντας. Stephanus conject. ἀξιώσαντες εἰς βασάνους ἐλθεῖν τούτους δὴ τοὺς φεύγοντας, which, as Schöm. says (p. 386), 'placere

- 15 Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια πρὸς τούτοις ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, * ἃ <μαθόντες> γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐκ θυγατρὸς ἡμεῖς Κίρωνος ἐσμέν. οἷα γὰρ εἰκὸς παίδων * ὄντων ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρός, οὐδεπώποτε θυσίαν ἄνευ ἡμῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τε μικρὰ εἴ τε μεγάλα θύοι, πανταχοῦ παρήμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ συνεθύομεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεκαλούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν
- 16 ἦγεν ἀεὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκεῖνον πάσας· τῷ Δίῳ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερά συνεχειρουροῦμεν καὶ * συνεπετίθεμεν καὶ τ' ἄλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ἠὔχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτήσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ
- 17 εἰκὸς ὄντα πάππου. καίτοι εἰ μὴ θυγατριδοῦς ἡμᾶς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι καὶ μόνους ἐκγόνοους ἐώρα λοιποὺς καταλελειμμένους αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐποίει τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τόνδ' ἂν αὐτῷ παρίστατο, ὃς ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ νῦν εἶναι φησί. καὶ

nemini potest.' § 15. * ἃ «μαθόντες» γνώσεσθε] ἵνα γνώσεσθε mss.,—a solecism. I adopt Dobree's suggestion, that a partic. has fallen out before γνώσεσθε, and that ἵνα then arose through ἃ being connected with the last two letters of εἰπεῖν (EIHENA). Bekker conjectures οἷς, which would not account for ἵνα. παίδων * ὄντων] The corrupt παίδων νίεων is given by B, Z, A (corrector), Turr.—νίεων (without παίδων) A 1st hand.—πάππου νίεων E, Aldine.—παππον νίεων Reiske conject., Bk. Schöm. Schb. I accept Sauppe's conjecture ὄντων as at least restoring the sense, but suspect that the fault really lies deeper. See comment. § 16. * συνεπετίθεμεν] Schb. on his own conject., rightly.—συνετίθεμεν mss. Bk.

ταῦθ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ πάντ' ἐστίν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν οἱ τοῦ πάππου θεράποντες ἴσασι, οὓς * οὗτος παραδύναται εἰς βάσανον οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἴσασι δὲ περιφανέστατα καὶ τῶν ἐκείνω χρωμένων τινές, οὓς παρέξομαι μάρτυρας. Καί μοι λαβὲ τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἀνάγνωθι. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.]

Οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων δῆλόν ἐστι μόνον ὅτι ἦν 18 ἡμῶν ἢ μήτηρ θυγάτηρ γνησία Κίρωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν ἔπραξε καὶ ἐξ ὧν αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγίγνωσκον. ὅτε γὰρ ὁ πατήρ αὐτὴν ἐλάμβανε, γάμους εἰστίασε καὶ ἐκάλεσε τρεῖς αὐτοῦ φίλους μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσηκόντων, τοῖς τε φράτορσι γαμηλίαν εἰσήνεγκε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους. αἱ τε γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν 19 δημοτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα προῦκριναν αὐτὴν μετὰ τῆς Διοκλέους γυναικὸς τοῦ Πιθέως ἄρχειν εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα μετ' ἐκείνης. ὃ τε πατήρ ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγενόμεθα, εἰς τοὺς φράτορας ἡμᾶς εἰσήγαγεν, ὁμόσας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους ἢ μὴν ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς γυναικὸς εἰσάγειν· τῶν δὲ φρατόρων οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν οὐδ' ἠμφισβήτησε μὴ οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' εἶναι, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα σκοπούμενων. καίτοι μὴ οἶεσθ' ἄν, εἰ τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἢ μήτηρ 20 ἡμῶν οἴαν οὗτοί φασι, μήτ' ἄν τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν γάμους ἐστίαν καὶ γαμηλίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀποκρύψασθαι ταῦτα πάντα, μήτε τὰς τῶν ἄλλων

Schöm. Turr. § 17. οὗτος] Dobree conject., Schb.—αὐτὸς mss. Bk. Schöm. Turr. See comment. § 18. μόνον] μόνων Z, Bk. Schöm. § 19. Πιθέως] Reiske, Bk. Schöm. Turr. Schb.—πιτέως (or πίτεως) mss.—Sauppe would prefer Πιθέως.

δημοτῶν γυναῖκας αἰρεῖσθαι ἂν αὐτὴν συνιεροποιεῖν τῇ Διοκλέους γυναικὶ καὶ κυρίαν ποιεῖν ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρα ἂν τιμὴν περὶ τούτων ἐπιτρέπειν, μῆτε τοὺς φράτορας εἰσδέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ κατηγορεῖν καὶ ἐξελέγχειν, εἰ μὴ πάντοθεν ἦν ὁμολογούμενον τὴν μητέρα ἡμῶν εἶναι θυγατέρα γνησίαν Κίρωνος· νῦν δὲ τῇ περιφανείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τῷ συνειδέναι ταῦτα πολλοὺς οὐδαμῶθεν ἠμφισβητήθη τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

- 21 Ἐπι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Διοκλῆς ἔπραξεν ὅτε ἡμῶν ὁ πάππος ἐτελεύτησε γινῶναι ῥᾶδιον ὅτι ὁμολογούμεθα εἶναι θυγατριδοῖ Κίρωνος. ἦκον γὰρ ἐγὼ κομιούμενος αὐτὸν ὡς θάψων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ, τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ οἰκείων τινὰ ἔχων, ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ πατρός· καὶ Διοκλέα μὲν οὐ κατέλαβον ἔνδον, εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἶσω κομίζεiu
- 22 οἶος ἦν, ἔχων τοὺς οἴσοντας. δεομένης δὲ τῆς τοῦ πάππου γυναικὸς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτὸν ἐκείνης θάπτειν, καὶ λεγούσης ὅτι βούλοιστ' ἂν αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐκείνου συµμεταχειρίζεσθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ κοσμήσαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἰκετενούσης καὶ κλαιούσης, ἐπέισθην, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ οὕτω προσελθὼν μαρτύρων ἐναντίον εἶπον ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσομαι τὴν ταφήν· δεδεημένη γὰρ εἶη ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτου ἀδελφῆ.
- 23 καὶ ταῦτα Διοκλῆς ἀκούσας οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐωνῆσθαί τι τῶν εἰς τὴν ταφήν, τῶν δὲ ἄρραβῶνα δεδωκέναι οὗτος φάσκων ταῦτα ἡξίου παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, καὶ διωμολογήσατο τῶν μὲν ἡγορασμένων τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὧν δὲ ἄρραβῶνα ἔφασκε

δεδωκέμαι, συστήσαι τοὺς λαβόντας. εὐθύς οὖν
 τοῦτο παρεφθέγγετο, ὡς οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν εἶη Κίρων
 καταλελοιπῶς, οὐδένα λόγον ἐμοῦ πω ποιουμένου
 περὶ τῶν ἐκείνου χρημάτων. καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἦν 24
 θυγατριδοῦς Κίρωνος, οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα διωμολογεῖτο.
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἂν τοὺς λόγους ἔλεγε, σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;
 σοὶ δὲ τί προσήκει θάπτειν; οὐ γιγνώσκω σε· οὐ μὴ
 * εἶσει <εἰς> τὴν οἰκίαν. ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν προσῆκεν,
 ἄπερ νῦν ἐτέρους πέπεικε λέγειν. νῦν δὲ τοιοῦτον
 μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν, εἰς ἕω δὲ τὰργύριον ἐκέλευεν
 εἰσενεγκεῖν. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει
 μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. [ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

Οὐ τοίνυν ἐκείνος μόνος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ νῦν ἀμ- 25
 φισβητῶν τοῦ κλήρου τοιοῦτον εἶπεν· οὐδέν, ἀλλ'
 ὑπὸ τούτου παρασκευασθεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ. κάκει-
 νου τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ κομισθὲν ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐθε-
 λήσαντος ἀπολαβεῖν, παρὰ τούτου δ' ἀπειληφέναι
 τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ φάσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκωλυόμην συνθάπ-
 τειν ἀλλὰ πάντα συνεποιοῦν· οὐχ ὅπως τοῦδε
 ἀναλίσκοντος οὐδὲ Διοκλέους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνος
 κατέλιπε γιγνομένων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναλωμάτων.
 καίτοι καὶ τούτῳ προσῆκεν, εἰ μὴ πάππος ἦν μοι 26
 Κίρων, ὠθεῖν <καὶ> ἐκβάλλειν καὶ κωλύειν συν-
 θάπτειν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅμοιον ἦν μοι πρὸς τούτου· ἐγὼ
 μὲν γὰρ εἶων αὐτὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα τοῦ πάππου
 ταῦτα πάντα συμποιεῖν, τούτῳ δ' ἔμ' οὐ προσῆκεν
 εἶναι, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἦν ἄπερ νῦν λέγειν τολμῶ-

§ 24. οὐ μὴ * εἶσει <εἰς> τὴν οἰκίαν] Bk. conject., Turr. Schb.—οὐ μὴ εἰσίης τὴν οἰκίαν mss., Bk. in Berlin text, Schöm. § 26. <καὶ> ἐκβάλλειν] καὶ, rightly supplied by Schb., is absent from the mss., and from the texts of

27 σιν. ἀλλ' οὕτω τῇ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθείᾳ κατεπέπληκτο, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ *μνήματος ἐμοῦ ποιουμένου λόγους, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος Διοκλέους ὅτι τὰ χρήματα ἀποστερῶν τούτων μοι πέπεικεν ἀμφισβητεῖν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε *γρῦξαι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἂ νῦν τολμᾷ λέγειν. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.
[ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.]

28 Πόθεν χρῆ πιστεῦσθαι τὰ εἰρημένα; οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν; οἶμαί γε. πόθεν δὲ τοὺς μάρτυρας; οὐκ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων; εἰκός γε. πόθεν ὁ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς τούτων λόγοις; οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ φεύγειν τοὺς ἐλέγχους; ἀνάγκη μεγάλη. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειε γνησίαν οὔσαν θυγατέρα Κίρωνος τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
29 ἐπιδεικνύς, τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν ἀκοὴν μαρτυρούντων παρεχόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἔτι ζώντων τοὺς εἰδότας ἕκαστα τούτων, οἱ συνῆδεσαν παρ' ἐκείνῳ τρεφομένην, θυγατέρα νομιζομένην, δις ἐκδοθεῖσαν, δις ἐγγυηθεῖσαν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ πάντων τούτους βάσανον ἐξ οἰκετῶν πεφευγότας, οἱ ταῦτα πάντα ἤδεσαν; *ἔγωγε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους οὐκ ἂν

Bk. Turr. Schöm. § 27. κατεπέπληκτο] Z. Schb.—καταπέπληκται vulg. *μνήματος] Schöm. on his own conject., Turr. Schb.—βήματος mss. Bk. See comment. *γρῦξαι] Due to Stephanus, who wrote γρύξαι, as do also Bk. Turr. Schöm.—γρῦξαι Cobet, Schb.—ἐρύξαι mss. § 28. τὰ εἰρημένα] Reiske adds πρὸς θεῶν after εἰρημένα, quoting Dionys. *De Isaeo* c. 12, Bk.—Schöm. (p. 391) points out that it is uncertain whether Dionys. is there citing our passage, or some other of Isaeus, and that therefore there is no sufficient ground for the addition. § 29. ἤδεσαν; *ἔγωγε] ἔγωγε Dobree conject.—ἤδεσαν, ἔγωγε Schb.—ἤδεσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ mss. Bk. Turr. Schöm.

ἔχοιμι πίστεις μείζους τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὰς εἶναι νομίζω τὰς εἰρημένας.

Φέρε δὴ, καὶ ὡς προσήκει ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τούτῳ 30
 τῶν Κίρωνος χρημάτων, νῦν ἤδη τοῦτο ἐπιδείξω.
 καὶ νομίζω μὲν ἀπλῶς καὶ ὑμῖν ἤδη εἶναι φανερόν
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐγγυτέρω τῆς ἀγχιστείας εἰσὶν οἱ μετ'
 ἐκείνου φύντες ἢ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγονότες· πῶς
 γάρ; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀνομάζονται συγγενεῖς, οἱ δ'
 ἔκγονοι τοῦ τελευτήσαντος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ οὕτως ἐχόντων τολμῶσιν ἀμφισβητεῖν, καὶ ἐξ
 αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων ἀκριβέστερον διδάξομεν. εἰ 31
 γὰρ ἔζη μὲν ἢ ἐμὴ μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ δὲ Κίρωνος,
 μηδὲν δὲ ἐκείνος διαθέμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἦν δὲ
 ἀδελφὸς οὗτος αὐτῷ, μὴ ἀδελφιδοῦς, συνοικῆσαι
 μὲν ἂν τῇ γυναικὶ κύριος ἦν, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων
 οὐκ ἂν, ἀλλ' οἱ γενόμενοι παῖδες ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξ
 ἐκείνης, ὁπότε ἐπὶ δίετες ἤβησαν· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ
 νόμοι κελεύουσιν. εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ζωσῆς κύριος
 αὐτὸς μὴ ἐγένετο τῶν τῆς γυναικός, ἀλλ' οἱ παῖ-
 δες, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τετελευτηκυίας, ἐπεὶ παῖδας
 ἡμᾶς καταλέλοιπεν, οὐ τούτοις ἀλλ' ἡμῖν προσήκει
 κληρονομεῖν τῶν χρημάτων.

Οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ τούτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ 32
 περὶ τῆς κακώσεως νόμου δῆλόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ
 ἔζη μὲν ὁ πάππος, ἐνδεὴς δὲ ἦν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,
 οὐκ ἂν οὗτος ὑπόδικος ἦν τῆς κακώσεως ἀλλ'
 ἡμεῖς. κελεύει γὰρ τρέφειν τοὺς γονέας· γονεῖς δ'
 εἰσὶ μήτηρ καὶ πατήρ καὶ πάππος καὶ τήθη καὶ
 τούτων μήτηρ καὶ πατήρ, εἰ ἔτι ζῶσιν· ἐκεῖνοι

§ 31. ἤβησαν] A, Schöm. Turr. Schb.—ἤβήσειαν Scaliger

γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ γένους εἰσί, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων παρα-
 δίδονται τοῖς *ἐγγόνοις· διόπερ ἀνάγκη τρέφειν
 αὐτούς ἐστι, κὰν μηδὲν καταλίπωσι. πῶς οὖν
 δίκαιόν ἐστιν, εἰ μὲν μηδὲν καταλίπωσιν, ἡμᾶς
 ὑποδίκους εἶναι τῆς κακώσεως, ἣν μὴ τρέφωμεν, εἰ
 δέ τι καταλελοίπασιν, τόνδ' εἶναι κληρονόμον ἀλλὰ
 μὴ ἡμᾶς; οὐδαμῶς δήπουθεν.

33 Πρὸς ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρῶτον τῶν συγγενῶν προσ-
 ἄξω, καὶ τοῦ γένους καθ' ἕκαστον ὑμᾶς ἐρωτήσω·
 ῥᾶστα γὰρ οὕτω μάθοιτ' ἄν. Κίρωνος πότερον
 θυγάτηρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ γένους ἐστί;
 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι θυγάτηρ· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου
 γέγονεν, ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου. θυγατρὸς δὲ παῖδες ἢ
 ἀδελφός; παῖδες δήπουθεν· γένος γὰρ ἄλλ' οὐχὶ
 συγγένεια τοῦτ' ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ προέχομεν ἀδελφοῦ
 τοσοῦτον, ἢ που τοῦδέ γ' ὄντος ἀδελφίδου πάμπλου
 34 πρότεροί ἐσμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μὴ λίαν ὁμολογούμενα
 λέγων ἐνοχλεῖν ὑμῖν δόξω· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς τῶν
 πατρῶων, τῶν παππῶων, τῶν ἔτι περαιτέρω κλη-
 ρονομεῖτε ἐκ γένους παρειληφότες τὴν ἀγχιστείαν
 ἀνεπίδικον, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τιμι πρὸ τοῦ πώποτε
 τοιοῦτος ἀγὼν συμβέβηκεν. ἀναγνοὺς οὖν τὸν
 τῆς κακώσεως νόμον, ὧν ἕνεκα *ταῦτα γίγνεται,
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδη πειράσομαι διδάσκειν. [ΝΟΜΟΣ.]

35 Κίρων γὰρ ἐκέκτητο οὐσίαν, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ἀγρὸν
 μὲν Φλυῆσι, καὶ ταλαντοῦ ῥαδίως ἄξιον, οἰκίας δ'
 ἐν ἄστει δύο, τὴν μὲν μίαν μισθοφοροῦσαν, παρὰ

conject., Bk.—ἐβησαν B, Z. § 32. *ἐγγόνοις] Turr.
 Schb.—ἐγγόνοις mss. Bk. Schöm. § 34. *ταῦτα
 γίγνεται] ταῦτα Dobree and Schöm. (p. 395) conject., Turr.

τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον, δισχιλίας εὐρίσκουσιν, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν, ἐν ἧ αὐτὸς ὄκει, τριῶν καὶ δέκα μνῶν· ἔτι δὲ ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα καὶ δύο θεραπαίνας καὶ παιδίσκην, καὶ ἔπιπλα δι' ὧν ὄκει τὴν οἰκίαν, σχεδὸν σὺν τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις ἄξια τρισκαίδεκα μνῶν· σύμπαντα δὲ ὅσα φανερὰ ἦν, πλεον ἢ ἐνενήκοντα μνῶν· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δανείσματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος τόκους ἐλάμβανε. τούτοις Διοκλῆς μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς πάλαι ἐπεβού- 36
 λευεν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα οἱ παῖδες οἱ Κίρωνος ἐτελεύτησαν. ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεδίδου δυναμένην ἔτι τεκεῖν παῖδας ἐξ ἑτέρου ἀνδρός, ἵνα μὴ χωρισθείσης περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ βουλευσαίτο καθάπερ προσῆκεν, ἔπειθε δὲ μένειν φάσκουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κτεῖν οἶεσθαι, προσποιουμένην δὲ διαφθεῖρειν ἄκουσαν, ἵν' ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ γενήσεσθαι παῖδας αὐτῷ μηδέτερον ἡμῶν εἰσποιήσαίτο υἷόν· καὶ τὸν πατέρα διέβαλλεν αἰεὶ, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύειν τοῖς ἐκείνου. τά τε οὖν χρέα πάντα ὅσα ὠφείλετο 37
 αὐτῷ καὶ τόκους ἔπειθε τά *τε φανερὰ δι' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, παράγων ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον θεραπείαις καὶ κολακείαις, ἕως ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείνου περιέλαβεν. εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι πάντων ἐγὼ τούτων κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον εἶναι κύριος ζητήσω, ὁπότε ὁ πάππος ἐτελεύτησεν, εἰσιέναι μὲν με καὶ θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον καὶ συνδιατρίβειν οὐκ ἐκώλυε, δεδιὼς μὴ τραχυνθεὶς εἰς ὀργὴν κατασταίην πρὸς αὐτόν, παρ-

Schb.—τάλλα mss. Bk. Schöm. (in text). § 36. κτεῖν]
 Turr. Schb.—κτεῖν mss. Bk. Schöm. § 37. τά *τε φανερὰ]
 τε Sauppe, Turr. Schb. — τά γε φανερὰ mss. Bk. Schöm.

- εσκεύαζε δέ μοι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσοντα τῆς οὐσίας, μέρος πολλοστὸν τούτῳ μεταδιδούς εἰ κατορθώσκειν, αὐτῷ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα περιποιῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τούτον ὁμολογῶν τὸν πάππον χρήματα κατα-
- 38 λιπεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι φάσκων οὐδέν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐντάφια προπαρασκευασάμενος τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἐμὲ ἐκέλευεν ἐνεγκεῖν, ὡς τῶν μαρτύρων ἠκούσατε μαρτυρησάντων, ἀπειληθέναι δὲ παρὰ τοῦδε προσεποιεῖτο. παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐκέτι ἠθέλεν ἀπολαβεῖν, ὑποπαρωθῶν, ὅπως ἐκεῖνος δοκοίη θάπτειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐγὼ τὸν πάππον. ἀμφισβητοῦντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ταίτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν φάσκοντος καταλελοιπέναι, βιάσασθαι μὲν καὶ τὸν πάππον μεταφέρειν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀκαιρίαις οὐκ ὄμην δεῖν, τῶν φίλων μοι ταῦτα συγγιγνωσκόντων, συνεποίουν δὲ καὶ συνέθαπτον, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πάππος κατέλιπε τῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένων.
- 39 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔπραξα τούτου τὸν τρόπον· ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν μου ταίτη πλεονεκτήσειν, παρ' ὑμῖν φάσκοντες οὐδέν με εἰς τὴν ταφήν ἀνηλωκέσαι, τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐρόμενος ἐκείνου κελύσαντος ἀνήλωσα παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔρατα ἐπήνεγκα, ὡς οἶόν τε κάλλιστα παρασκευάσας, ἵνα αὐτῶν ἐκκόψαιμι ταύτην τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ δοκῆεν οὗτοι μὲν ἀνηλωκέσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καγῶ.
- 40 Καὶ τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα, καὶ δι' ἃ τὰ πράγματα ταῦτ' ἔχομεν, σχεδόν τι ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες· εἰ δὲ εἰδείητε τὴν Διοκλέους ἀναισχυντίαν, καὶ περὶ

τὰ ἄλλα οἷός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπιστήσαι τις τῶν
 εἰρημένων οὐδεὶ. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ *ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν,
 ἀφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστι λαμπρός, ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀδελφῶν
 τριῶν ὁμομητρίων ἐπικλήρων καταλειφθεισῶν αὐ-
 του τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν εἰσποιήσας, οὐδεμίαν ἐκείνου
 περὶ τούτων ποιησαμένου διαθήκη. *τοῖν δ' ἀδελ- 41
 φαῖν τοῖν θυοῖν ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα εἰσεπράττετο
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείναις συνοικουόντων, τὸν μὲν τὴν πρεσ-
 βυτέραν ἔχοντα κατοικοδομήσας καὶ ἐπιβουλεύ-
 σας ἠτίμωσε, καὶ γραφὴν ὑβρεως γραφεὶς οὐδέπω
 τούτων δίκην *δέδωκε, τῆς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην γενομέ-
 νης τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσας οἰκέτην ἐκείνου
 μὲν ἐξέπεμψε, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴν
 ἔτρεψε, καταπλήξας δὲ ταῖς αὐτοῦ βδελυρίαις 42
 προσαφήρηται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπιτρο-
 πεύσας, καὶ κατέχει τὸν ἀγρόν, *φελλία δὲ [χωρία]
 ἅττα ἐκείνῳ δέδωκε. καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω.
 δεδίασι μὲν αὐτόν, ἴσως δ' ἂν μοι καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι
 ἐθελήσειαν· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς εἰδότας παρέξομαι
 μάρτυρας.

§ 40. οἷός ἂν ἀπιστήσαι τις] ἀπιστήσαι ἴσως Schb. on his own conject. *ἔχει] Baiter, Turr. Schb.—είχε mss. Bk.—ἔσχε Bk. conject., Schöm. § 41. *τοῖν] ταῖν mss. and edd. But Attic inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. always have τοῖν as the fem., never ταῖν. (Meisterhans, p. 50.) *δέδωκε] Sauppe, Turr. Schb.—ἔδωκε mss. Bk. Schöm. § 42. φελλία δὲ [χωρία] ἅττα] φελλιαὶ δὲ χωρία ἅττα A. φελλιαὶ δὲ χωρία ἅ τὰ B. φολία δὲ ἅττα Z. Bekker seems right in keeping ἅττα and rejecting χωρία as a gloss. But then we should write φελλια (Non. Cyn. 5. 18): there is no adj. φελλιός. Schömann rejected ἅττα as well as χωρία, taking φελλία as acc. sing. of φελλιός: so, too, Turr. and Schb. See comment.

NOTES.

ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON: 480—411 B.C. Approximate period of extant work, 421—411 B.C. *Life in Attic Orators*, I. 1—17.

Style. Antiphon, the earliest forensic speech-writer (λογό-γραφός), represents that early style of Attic prose composition which Dionysius (*de comp. verb.* 22—24) calls the 'austere' or 'ungled' (αἰσθητὴ ἀφροσύνη), as distinguished from the 'smooth' (γλαφυρά) of Isokrates, and the 'middle' (μέση) of Demosthenes. Its leading characteristics are (1) dignity: 'the movement of the whole is to be slow and majestic, impressing by its weight and grandeur, not charming by its life and flow': (2) reliance on contrasts of simple words: e.g. γυμνασταί—δασυραί—δοξασταί—κρηταί, Antiph. *De Caed. Her.* § 94: (3) bold, but not florid, imagery: e.g. ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπαθείᾳ βίαι ἔτι κατορθοχθήσομαι, *Tetr.* II. B § 10: (4) sparing use of the 'figures of thought', εὐχέματα δακρύας, —as irony, rhetorical question, etc.: see *Attic Orators*, I. 29: (5) predominance of direct appeals to feeling (pathos) over subtle expression of character (óthos): (6) in the structure of sentences, the transition from a 'continuous' style, λέξις εὐκταία, in which clauses are simply strung together, to a periodic style, λέξις κατασκευασμένη.

Thucydides belongs to the same stage of Attic prose as Antiphon, differing from him principally in (1) a more pregnant brevity: (2) a tendency to peculiar arrangements of words, caused by desire of emphasis on the key-note of the thought: e.g. Thuc. V. 91, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ εἶναι τοῖς Λάδοις ἀπέβλεν τῆς ἐκστέρης πόλεως, instead of ἐπὶ σωτ. τῆς ἐκστ. πόλ.: (3) a tendency to bring a greater number of clauses within the compass of a single sentence, in order that the whole of a complex thought may be seen at one view.—See *Attic Orators*, I. 18—44. On Antiphon's Works in general, *ib.* 45—70.

I. ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Β. β. The *Tetralogies* have this special interest, that they represent rhetoric in its transition from the technical to the practical stage, from the schools to the law-courts and the ecclesia. Antiphon stood between the sophists who preceded and the orators who followed him as the first Athenian who was at once a theorist of rhetoric and a master of practical eloquence. The Tetralogies hold a corresponding place between merely ornamental exercises and real orations. Each of them forms a set of four speeches, supposed to be spoken in a trial for homicide. The accuser states his charge, and the defendant replies; the accuser then speaks again, and the defendant follows with a second reply. The imaginary case is in each instance sketched as lightly as possible; details are dispensed with; only the essential frame-work for discussion is supplied. Hence, in these skeleton-speeches, the structure and anatomy of the argument stand forth in naked clearness, stripped of everything accidental, and showing in bold relief the organic lines of a rhetorical pleader's thought.—*Attic Orators*, i. 45 f. The Tetralogies are distinguished by their *practical* character from the 'displays' of the sophists as well as from the 'declamations' of the Augustan age.

The subject of the *Second Tetralogy* is the death of a boy accidentally struck by a javelin while watching a youth practising at the gymnasium. The boy's father accuses the youth—whose father defends him—of accidental homicide; and the case comes before the court of the Palladion. In order to understand the issues raised, it is necessary to keep in mind the Greek view of accidental homicide. This view was mainly a religious one. The death was a pollution. Some person, or thing, must be answerable for that pollution, and must be banished from the State, which would else remain defiled. In a case like the supposed one, three hypotheses were possible:—that the cause of the impurity had been the thrower, the person struck, or the missile. There was a special court—that held at the Prutaneion—for the trial of inanimate things which had caused death. Here, however, the question is only of living agents. The judges have nothing whatever to do with the question as to how far either was morally to blame. The question is simply which of them is to be considered as, in fact, the author or cause of the death.

The accuser's first speech consists only of a few sentences, in which he says that the facts admit of no doubt. A homicide has been committed, though an involuntary one. The penalty demanded is the banishment of the accused, in order that Athens may not be polluted by his presence (*αὐτὸς ποιοῦντος ἀπαγαγεῖται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἧς πόλεως ἀναίμακτον* § 2). It is expressed by the phrase *ἀφύστασιν* in § 10 and 11. The

condemned person remained in exile until the relatives of the deceased gave their consent to his return (*ὅπως ἂν ἀδελφῶναι τῶν τῶν ἐν γῆναι τοῖς πεπονημένοις*: cp. Dem. or. xxxvii. *Adv. Pantaion*. § 59, or. xliii. *Adv. Mamest*. § 57): the usual statement that the term was limited to a year (*ἀπεναιματιστός*) needs confirmation, at least for Athens. See K. F. Hermann, *Antiq.* i. § 104. 11.

§ 1. ἀπράγμονας] ἀπράγμων, the man 'of quiet life', who keeps out of law-suits and politics: ἡσύχιος, the man 'of peaceful disposition'. In regard to law-suits, the Athenian ἀπράγμων stood in favourable contrast with the σιαιοφάντης, but in politics he was despised: Thuc. ii. 40, τῶν μὲν τῶνδ' (τῶν πολιτικῶν) μετέχοντα οἷα ἀπράγμονα ἀλλὰ ἀχρῆσον νομιζομεν.

τολμᾶν τὰ τε ἄλλα] —τὰ τε ἄλλα τολμᾶν. For τε misplaced, cp. Thuc. iv. 10, ἦν ἐπέλωμέν τε μὲναι καὶ μὴ καταπροδοῖναι.

τὴν ἀκρίβειαν] 'the exact truth'. Thuc. i. 22, χαλεπὸν ἦν διασκευαίνειν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αἰσθρῶν τῶν λεχθέντων, 'the exact form'.

§ 2. καὶ αὐτός] 'myself also':—alluding to the *accuser's* previous appeal (a. § 2), ὅπως δὲ ἀξίω ἐλευσέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

ἀκριβέστερον] 'with more subtlety'—referring especially to the distinction which he proceeds to draw between πρῶτορες τῶν ἀκουσίων and τῶν παθημάτων αἰτίας (§ 6). The accuser, in his second speech (γ. § 3), says, μὴ ἔργα φαίνομαι ἐπὶ ποικίλῃς λόγων ἀκριβείας ('a quibbling subtlety') πεισθέντες ψεῖδι τῆς ἀλήθειαν τῶν προχθέντων ἠγγευσθε.

μὴ. τὴν κρίσιν ποιήσασθαι] With the vulg., μὴ διὰ τὰς προσημασίας τεχνας ἀποδείξαι μοι, κ.τ.λ., we can only render: 'I ask you to entertain my defence, and not to give your judgment—under the influence of those mischances to which I have referred—on grounds of opinion rather than of fact'. But the position of ἀποδείξαι μοι—ἀποδείξαι, inserted between εἰ and ποιήσασθαι, is then intolerable. Blass conjectures ἴσα τῶν προσημασίας τεχνας: i.e. 'I beg you not to receive my defence in the spirit—not to view them in the light—of the mischances', etc. The objections are (1) the phrase ἴσα τῶν τεχνας, which surely will not yield such a sense: (2) the necessarily favourable sense of ἀποδείξαι μοι. I propose, retaining διὰ, τὰς τεχνας, to insert ὅπως τι before ἀποδείξαι μοι: 'I beg you not to entertain my defence the less favourably on account of the mischances to which I have referred'. See p. 55, § 8, for another instance in which ὅπως seems to have dropped out.—An alternative remedy would be

to change ἀποδειξαμένους for some partic. of opposite meaning ('having rejected'): but neither ἀποδοκιμασίας nor ἀπωσαμένους is palaeographically probable.

πρὸς τῶν λέγειν δυν.] 'is on the side of', 'favours', those who can speak. Eur. Alc. 57, πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, φοῦρε, τὰν νόμον τίθης, 'for the rich'—in their interest.

§ 3. παρὰ γνώμην τούτων] 'The result has completely disappointed these expectations': παρὰ ταῦτα ἃ ἤλπιζον, the genitive τούτων depending on the idea of *contrariety* implied in παρὰ γνώμην, as if he had written συμβέβηκε αὐ ἐναντία τούτων.

μειράκιον] *μηρ.* denotes the age from about 14 to 18: παῖς is younger. Xen. Symp. iv. 17, ὡςπερ γὰρ παῖς γίγνεται εὐδός, οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτες.

οὐχ ἔβρει οἰδὲ ἀκολασία] 'insolence or wantonness'. The essence of *ἔβρις* is that it involves the sense of power by humiliating another: ἀκολασία does what it likes at the moment, without thinking of others. Aristotle distinguishes three *αἰσῆ* of ὀλιγαρία (*oligist eotom*),—viz. καταφρόνησις (contempt), ἐπικρασία (active spite), ἔβρις, outrage (*Rhet.* ii. 2),—the point of ἐπικρασίας being that it *rears* the other, and of ἔβρις that it *dis-honours* him. Arist. makes ἀκολασία the ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας.—the *μεσότης* being *σωφροσύνη*. The accuser, in his reply, attributes ἀκολασία to the youth (γ. § 6).

3 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ] The *παιδεία*, the school of wrestling and boxing, is often mentioned in connection with the *διδασκαλείον* as a place of training for boys: cp. Theophr. Char. vii. The *γυμνάσιον* was a more general resort, including grounds for running and archery, baths, and (as here) a range for javelin practice. Plato recommends that a boy should begin at six years of age to learn *τάξις*, and the use of the bow, javelin and sling: 'letters' he postpones to the age of ten (*Loisg.* vii. 794 c).

ἀκουσίους αἰτίας] 'charges arising from an involuntary act'. A harsh phrase: but the conj. *ἀκουσίους* seems weak.

μὴ φονεύσιν εἶναι] Notice the simple *μὴ*, where *μὴ αὖ* would be regular. Cp. Soph. Phil. 342, οὐ πάλιν | χροῖον ἢ ἐπέγω μὴ με κατατάξῃς τὰς. See *Tragic.* 226. This is more frequent with τὸ μὴ, e.g. O. T. 1387: Xen. Cyr. v. 1. 25, τίς σὺ ἀκολασίῃ τὴ μὴ καὶ βουλομένη; Her. i. 209, οἷς ὡς ἔστι μηχανή... οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί.

§ 4. — ὁ μὲν ἐκωλύθη —] Cp. § 7, ἐπαθε... διακωλύθει τὸν καταπύργον.

§ 5. (ἐπερ ἀποθανών] 'As to the boy, if it has been proved to you that he was not struck while he stood still (στάτης), it is still more manifest that, since he came of his own accord into the range of the javelin, he was killed through his own error: — *οὐκ* and not *οὐ* before *βλήθης* because it depends on *ἐπερ*: but *οὐ* would have been admissible here, owing to the *conclusion* on the negative fact. Cp. on *De Cael. Her.* § 14. — ἐπελθὼν δηλοῦται ἀποθανών. *Scire, or know*, he came, ... it is clear that he died: — τὸ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτὸν δηλοῖ ὅτι... ἀπέθανε. So we might have, ἀμελήτας δηλὸς ἔστιν ἀσάρταν, 'it is clear that he erred *by carelessness*'. The argument is: 'If he *voluntarily* left a *safe* place, he alone is answerable for the consequences'. In *ἐτι σαφεστέρας* the comparative is merely rhetorical:—It must be, if possible, more obvious still, etc. Note the alternative forms *σαφεστέρας*, *σαφέστερον* (§ 6): cp. *Isocr. Panegy.* § 193.

§ 6. ὧν ἂν ἐπινοήσωσί τι δράσαι] The proper construction would have been simply ἀμαρτάνουτες ὧν (— ταύτων ἂ) ἂν ἐπινοήσωσι, failing in the designs which they may have formed. But to this τι δράσαι is added, as if, instead of ἀμαρτάνουτες, such a word as *καλοῦσιν* had preceded: failing to execute some part of their designs. The redundancy was suggested by the antithesis between planning and doing: cp. *Thuc.* v. 13, οὐκ ἀξίόχρεων αὐτῶν ὄντων δρᾶν τι ὧν κάκεινος ἐπενδει.

§ 7. ἀπειρημένον προστεταγμένον] *Acquainted, advised*: προστεταγμένον also in *Plat. Legg.* x. 902 D. So ἄρα ἀγνοῦν παρεῖχον παλαιῶν — πρῶτον — εἰρημίου — δεδουμένον — γυμνασίου — προσταχθέν, κ.τ.λ. Goodwin § 110. 2.

ἔξιμελέτα] 'was carefully practising'. *Plat. Hipp. mai.* 286 D. ἀκούεις καὶ μαθὼν καὶ ἐκαστοφθαί (having perfected my skills) πάλιν λέγει ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα.

ἐν γυμναζομένοις] *i. e.* not among those who were practising athletic exercises (where the risk of an accident would have been greater), but 'in the rank' (τάξις) of the javelin throwers, who had a special part of the gymnasium reserved for them.

§ 8. τιμωρημένος (αὐτόν] Cp. *De Cael. Her.* § 21, τὰς τλῆας τιμωρήσας. So *Thuc.* iii. 67, τιμωρημένους, 'having taken vengeance': but in *Thuc.* vii. 77 it is passive, ἀπαχθέντες ἢ τιμωρηθέντες, 'we have been punished': and so vi. 60, ἐπειμωρηται. So *ε.φ.* ἀμαρτάνουτες, ἐπειμωρημένοι, ἐκτιμωμένοι, ἴππιαινοί, κεντιμωμένοι, can be either *midl.* or *pass.*

οὐ συνηδομένων οὐδὲ συνεθ.] The use of *συν-* in the first pair of compounds is incorrect: the meaning is, οὐκ ἐσυχνοῦσαν οὐδ' ἐσυνέθων: but the form of the first *εἰναι* is assimilated to that of the second. Cp. *Thuc.* i. 142 § 2.

ἡ ἐπιτειχισίς... ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτειχισμένων. 'when our city (Athens) is a counter-fortress to theirs', as Shilleto takes it: the ἐπί in ἀντεπιτ. losing its proper force ('on hostile soil'), and being merely in rhetorical symmetry with ἐπιτειχισίς... ἡμῶν] — τοῦ μὲν τοῦ νηπίου, ἐὼν δὲ τοῦ γηραιού. § 9. More boldly below, § 9, ὡς φονέα με διώκει.

§ 9. μηδὲ ἀκουσίως] 'not even involuntarily': i.e. the boy himself was αἴτιος τοῦ παθήματος, § 6.

- 5 § 10. ἀπολούμενος δέ. ἐσμέν] The amicolouthon is caused by the speaker's thought passing, as the sentence goes on, from the charge of which the son is really innocent to the consequences for both father and son, if he is condemned.

τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων] 'our aims in life'. Cp. § 3, ταῦτα παιδείων τῶν τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλα τὸ κοινὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν. — ἐπιτήδευμα, a practice founded on a principle, Thuc. i. 32, 37.

οὗτός τε γάρ] [I say *we*,] for both he, etc.

ἐπί τε γάρ] ἐπί before διαφθορῆ might mean 'after': but it is better to take it, both with ἀκούσιως and with ἀπαίδεγ, as denoting the condition. 'If he is to perish' 'if I am to be left childless'.

ζῶν κατορυχθήσομαι] The accuser, in his second speech, appropriates the metaphor (γ. § 12), ζῶντες κατορυχθήσομεθα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. This is characteristic of the *Tetralogiai* (cp. β. § 2 and γ. § 3, εἰ τὸν ἐαυτὸν ἔλασ κατορυχθήσομαι), which are repertoires of points and topics, not examples of finished form.

§ 11. γηραιού] A poetical word, used by Herod.; also once by Thuc. vi. 54, Περσικῶν γηραιῶν τέλειστοις; but not in later Attic prose.

συμφέρειν] Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 3 § 13, ἕκαστος δὲ οὐκ εἰσφέρει, τὸ ἅτε οὐδὲν ἔργον φέρειν, ἐπεὶ ἵππου τούτου συμφέρειν; (help to carry it.)

- 6 II. ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ Γ. α. — An elderly man having died of blows received in a quarrel, the youth who had dealt them is accused of murder before the Areiopagus. The accuser's first address expresses in a striking form the religious view of homicide as a defilement. See *Attic Orators*, i. 55.

§ 2. τοὺς πρώτους γενομένους] Cp. Hes. *Op.* 109, χρῆσται μὲν πάντες τῆς γῆς ἀρπάζει ἀβυστῶν ἀλλήλων παίρειν — καρπὸν δ' ἔργου (εὐθύναι ἀνομιῶν) αὐτῶν τε πολλὴν τε καὶ ἀφθονον.

§ 3. τῶν ἀλιτηρίων] 'avenue spirits'. The gods under whose protection the murdered person stood, and to whom his spirit turns for vengeance — εἰ τὸν ἀποκτείνω, πρὸς τῶν ἀλιτηρίων προστρέψεται.

(§ 4)—*λοσάνω ἀλαστρον, punishment of sin*, in relation to the murderer. The commoner sense of ἀλαστρον is 'sinful', with a genit. of the god offended or the place polluted (e.g. *θεῶν, Ελλάδος*): for the double meaning, cp. ἀλάστωρ, μάλιστα, πρῶτος, πάλαι, ἀλάστωρ, πρῶτος.

οὐ προσήκον] 'gratuitous': strictly 'alien'. *not* arising from *τίσιν αἰσῶν σου*. From another point of view, 'self-inflicted' woes are οἰκεία πάθη, Soph. *Αἰ.* 260.

§ 4. οὐ τιμωροῦντες] (1) *τιμωρεῖν παρά τινι*, to punish A for B's satisfaction: (2) *τιμωρεῖσθαι παρά τινι*, to *revenge oneself* on A for wronging B. The accus. is more often omitted with *τιμωρεῖν*, the dat. with *τιμωρεῖσθαι*.

τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις] A word of poetical cast, like many which the older prose writers used: see *Attic Orators*, i. 20. Soph. *Π.* 1382, *ἐπιτίμια τῆς διαστοχίας*. Lycurg. *In Leocr.* § 4, *τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμια*.

καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἁμαρτ. ὑπαίτιοι] 'responsible for your offence also'. ὑπαίτιος is not 'necessary', like *μεταίτιος* or *παραίτιος* (opposed to *παραίτιος*, but 'under', 'liable to, αἴτια').

§ 6. ἕβρει καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ] Cp. note on *Tetr.* B. β. § 3.

τῶν γεραιότερων] As *τα τῶν γ. νόμιμα* could not mean 'the privileges of elders', we can only render 'the institutions of our ancestors'. But it may be suspected that the text is corrupt, and that the *τῶν γεραιότερων* of N points to this. The contention is that he would in any case have been guilty of homicide; but that the offence has been aggravated by violence to a man so much older than himself. After *τῶν γεραιότερων, τῶν* or a similar participle may have fallen out.

ἁμαρτεῖν] 'to miss': Ansoe, *De Myst.* § 20, *ἁμαρτεῖν μεγίστην οὐκὸς οἷς ἢ ἀπὸ ἁμαρτεῖν*. Cp. *ἁμαρτεῖσθαι*, 'to get one's due', to be punished, Thuc. iii. 40.

§ 7. τιμωρεῖσθαι] Middle, 'to punish'. Cp. *Tetr.* F. 3. § 11, *τὴν δὲ μίσην τῆς χολῆς ἀποδέσσει φῶρα τοῖς ἔγγιστα τιμωρεῖσθαι ὑποδείκνυσι*.

τὴν βουλευσασαν ψυχὴν] Cp. Ansoe, *De Reditu* § 24, where he argues that not his *πῦρ* but his *γνώμη* was answerable for his deeds: *ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἔσθ' ἐπὶ τῆς πρῆξις ὄραμα καὶ παύσηται*. Here, as there, the animating mind is personified. In Thuc. *ψυχή* is nearly always 'the breath of life' in a physical sense: once, in ii. 40 § 3, *κρατορῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐψυχότατοι*, of moral courage.

III. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΦΟΝΟΥ] Herodotus, an Athenian citizen, had settled at Mytilene in 424 B.C., after the

revolt and reduction of that town. He was one of the *cleruchs* among whom its territory was apportioned, but not otherwise wealthy. Having occasion to make a voyage to Aenes on the coast of Thrace, to receive the ransom of some Thracian captives who were in his hands, he sailed from Mytilene with the accused, — a young man whose father, a citizen of Mytilene, lived chiefly at Aenes. Heracles and his companion were driven by a storm to put in at Methymna on the north-west coast of Lesbos; and there, as the weather was wet, exchanged their open vessel for another which was decked. After they had been drinking on board together, Heracles went ashore at night, and was never seen again.

The accused, after making every inquiry for him, went on to Aenes in the open vessel; while the decked vessel, into which they had moved at Methymna, returned to Mytilene. On reaching the latter place again, the defendant was charged by the relatives of Heracles with having murdered him at the instigation of Lycnius, an Athenian living at Mytilene, who had been on bad terms with the deceased. They rested their charge principally on three grounds. First, that the sole companion of the missing man must naturally be considered accountable for his disappearance. Secondly, that a slave had confessed under torture to having assisted the defendant in the murder. Thirdly, that on board the vessel which returned from Methymna had been found a letter in which the defendant announced to Lycnius the accomplishment of the murder.

It was necessary that the trial should take place at Athens, whither all subject-athens were compelled to bring their criminal causes. The ordinary course would have been to have laid an indictment for murder (*ἡγορή εὐνοία*) before the Areopagus. Instead, however, of doing this the relatives of Heracles laid an information against the accused as a 'malefactor' (*κακοποιός*). He was accordingly to be tried by an ordinary dikastery under the presidency of the Eleven. 'Malefactor', at Athens, ordinarily meant a thief, a house-breaker, a kidnapper, or criminal of the like class; but the term was, of course, applicable to murder, especially if accompanied by robbery. Date about 417 B.C. See *Attic Orators*, i. 55 ff.

1. Narrative: §§ 1—30.

§ 1. *ἔβουλόμην*] Without *ἀντι*—of that which one wishes were now true, but which is not so; Ar. *Ilou.* 866, *ἔβουλόμην ἀντι τοῦ ἔμμεναι τιμῆτε*, 'I could have wished that I was not'. Cp. the use of *ἔβου*, *ἐβούλω*, etc., with *ἵμην*; Goodwin § 49. 3. c.

τοῦ μὲν τοῦ δέ] τοῦ ἀνέστη τε ἀποφασίαι καὶ τὰς κατὰ αὐτὸν αἰτιολογίας τοῦ ἀποστῆναι ἀποφασίαι τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τὴν ἀποφασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων,—the power of self-defence.

§ 2. οὐ μὲν γάρ] 'In circumstances where I was forced to suffer personal ill-treatment on the charge falsely brought, legal expedients did not come to my rescue; and here, when I trust save myself by help of the truth, and by a narrative of the facts, I am embarrassed by my incapacity for speaking'. ἐκασταράει, because he had been imprisoned, bail being refused; see § 17.

ἔπειτα τοῖς] So § 10, ἔπειτα πεποιθήσει τὴν κρίσιν. 'they have brought the trial hither'. Here, too, the idea of motion can be omitted from ἀπολυσεν as ἀφαιρήσασκεν. In Soph. *Philoct.* 481, ἐμείλιον ἀποσταῖ κρίσιν ἀλλὰ ἀλγύνοισι, ὅπου ἐστίτε ἔπει. In *As. Eur.* 526, πρὸ γὰρ ἀποκρίσασκεν ἄλλο τινα χυθῆσαι; Cp. Pors. on *Eur. Hec.* 1062.

§ 3. ἀπίστοι γὰρ τοῖς ἀλλ.] 'have been disbelieved because they told the truth: γὰρ ἐγρήσει, a somewhat harsh instrumental dative, 'by the truth', = τὴν τῆ ἀληθείας λέγειν. — δηλώσαι αὐτά, to prove, establish their story, which, though really true, seemed improbable.

ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγ. λόγ.] 'In regard to those'. αἰτὰ τὰ θρηγὰ. 'The actual facts': ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων. 'The true version' of the story. Cp. *Teetr. B. β.* § 2. ἡ βία τῶν πραγμάτων, opposed to ἡ ἀλήθεια.

§ 4. οὐχ ἄπειρ. ἀκροῦσθαι] Οὐκ ἴδιον τοῖς ἴσιν, οὐχ ἄπειρ. = πολλοὶ κίττωται, ἀκροῦσθαι αὐτῶν. Cp. *Phil. Soph.* 522 λ. πειρῆν καὶ διψῆν ἀναγκάζων, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ πολλὰ καὶ ἠδέα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔπει: τ. οὐχ ἄπειρ. ἐγὼ ἀπείρως ἐπέχεσθαι.

§ 5. τάδε δέ] Νότος δέ, ἵνα τοῖς ἴσιν οὐχ ἄπειρ. κτ. λ.) later ὅ μὲν would not have said: ἵνα ἀλλί: cp. *Thuc.* iv. 80, οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῶ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει δέ. *Soph. Ant.* 81, προμηνησίης γε μηδενί... κρυφῆ δὲ κέθε. So οὐδέ = ἀλλ' οὐ, *Il.* xxiv. 25.

ἀληθείᾳ ἐρήσθαι] 'that it has the force of truth, and of rhetorical art'. The expressed intention of εἰς ἄποδῆσιν seems to weaken the sense. ἀλυσίγ. ἀποφασίαι, instrumental dat., like τῶν ἀληθείων in § 3: by means of, in the strength of.

§ 6. καὶ πού τι καὶ ἔξαμ.] The first καί = 'also': i.e. as he is in peril, so will he be forgiven: the usual καὶ ἔξαμ. 'actually', indicating by implication: = 'I suppose', rather than 'at some point'. The very fact that a man's life is at stake makes it almost certain that he will commit some indiscretion.

§ 7. διαπράσσονται ὀρθομένους] 'But when they are

seeking (*pros.*) to effect some object without risks, they are more successful (as speakers)'. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 676, τὰ δ' ὀρθουμένων, 'of the prosperous'.

ἐν τῷ ὑμετ. δικ.] 'A part of your duty no less than of my right': *i.e.* compatible with the δικαιῶν's laws taken by the dikasts.

- 10 § 8. οὐ τῷ φεύγαν ἄν] 'Not on the chance of eluding the judgment of the Athenian people'. τῷ φεύγαν is a dat. expressing the motive as a circumstance of the action, like εἰσαγγέλλω ἐπιμα. I acted with (or from) good will: as we might say, 'I do not urge this *by way of* possibly escaping'. φεύγειν ἄν, the oblique of φεύγω ἄν, not of ἐφευγε ἄν.—τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, the judges as representing τὸ δίκαιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων: a regular mode of respectful address: so Anon. *Myt.* § 135, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

κάν ἀνωμότοις κ.τ.λ.] 'I would commit my life to your decision even if you were bound by no oath, and were to decide on no basis of law': οὐ κατὰ νόμον μηδὲν with διαφρασεσθαι.—ὡς γὰρ τῷ πιστεύειν, 'so far as concerns', etc.

παρανομία] 'illegal conduct', often also in a general sense of anti-republican licence: αἱ ἀπαρτοὶ παρνομίαι (of Alcibiades) Thuc. vi. 28.

§ 9. κακοῦργος] On the strength of the information (ἐπίστασι κενεργίας) laid against him, he was arrested by the Eleven (σπαργήτης, § 2: ἀσάχνης, § 85). The same summary procedure (instead of the ordinary γλαυκὸν νόμον) was taken against the murderers of Phrynichus in 411 *BC.* (Dionys. *In Lucr.* § 12) and against Agoratus (*Lys. In Agor.* § 80). The speaker here seems to have been treated harshly, but not, as he alleges, illegally.

§ 10 φασὶ δὲ αὐ] They argue that the general term κενεργία includes τὰ ἀπαρτοῖς as well as τὰ ἐκαστοῖς, etc.: he admits this, but argues that these ἀπαρτοὶ κενεργήματα should be tried under the laws special to each. His conclusion αὐτὸ δὲ ἀπὸ γὰρ τὸ ἐκαστοῖς, with ἀπαρτοῖς inserted before αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπαρτοῖς, is needless, and suggests a contrast, which lies in point here, between accidental homicide and deliberate murder.

- 11 ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ] The prosecutor in a case of *δίκαιον* gave the accused formal notice (πρόσφορος) to keep away from all public places: see below § 28. Several lawcourts were situated in the nearest places: *Lys.* *in* 19, § 55. ἔγγεν' εἶδεν τὴν ἀγορὰν (ἐκαστὸν ἔβλεπε πᾶσι) ὅτι πρὸς ἀπαρτοῖς ὅτι πρὸς βουλευτήριον ὡφθην οὐδὲ πῶποτε.

§ 11. ἀπαντα τὰ δικαστήρια] viz. (1) the Areiopagus, (2) τὰ ἐπι Πιλαδίου, for accidental homicide, (3) τὰ ἐν Ἄρκετος, when a man already punished for an accidental homicide is tried anew for homicide, (4) τὰ ἐπι Δαλφύων, for homicide where justification is pleaded, (5) τὰ ἐπι Πισιστηγῶν, when an imputable offence had caused death. In the last four courts the ἐφέται judged. Cp. Hermann *Antiq.* i. § 104.

τοῦτο δὲ ἴδον σε] The analysis would probably have been ἀποπέμψαι μὲν... ἐξουσίῃ, at the beginning of § 12: but owing to the length of the sentence the construction is interrupted, and § 12 begins with εἰ instead of ταῦτα εἰ ταυτέστι.

§ 12. ἀνώματος μὲν] The usual προσηγορία can scarcely have been dropped with in cases of ἐπαγωγῆς. The expression is rhetorical: 'you have not taken the solemn oath of the Areiopagus'.

ἀποπέμψους τῶν σφαγίων] 'with hand laid upon the sacrifice'. Dem. *In Aristocr.* § 67, πρῶτον μὲν διοικεῖται κατ' ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους καὶ οἰκίας...στὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων καπροῦ καὶ κριοῦ καὶ ταύρου, καὶ τούτων ἐσφαγμένων ὑφ' ὧν δεῖ καὶ ἐν αἷς ἀπέμψαι καθήκει.

§ 13. —τοῦτο μὲν — τοῦτο δ'] 'in the first place' 12
 'in the next place'. The accuser says that the accused would have fled, & he had not been arrested. The accused replies that he would have had no motive for secret flight. He could have left Attica easily, either (1) before the proceedings began, in which case judgment would have gone by default; or (2) after the proceedings had begun, and when he had made his first speech in court, —in which case he would have accepted the penalty of exile.

ἴσον ἦν μοι] 'It was as good for me' not to come: 'I might as well not have come'. Πῶς μὲντοι δεῖται after δέχεται, rendering ἀποπέμψαι ἴσον ἴσως: but the sense is, 'I might as well have incurred judgment by default'.

τὴν πρότεραν] i.e. ἀπάνωτος — his first speech, in reply to the first speech of the accuser. In a trial which ran its full course, the accuser and the accused would each speak a second time. Dem. *In Aristocr.* § 69, τὸν πρότερον δ' ἔξεστιν εἰπόντα λέγει ἀπαντα. This voluntary withdrawal is expressed in *Tetr.* I. δ. § 1 by ὑπαπέστη.

§ 14. ἀρχαιοτάτοις] *Index. Pausan.* § 40, αἱ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγκληθέντων...εἰ τὴν εἰσὴν τοῦ δαιμόνιου τὰ κρίσεις ἐποίησαντο περὶ αὐτῶν.

ἢ οὐ] αἰ. and not αἰ. in the second clause, because there is 13
 an emphasis on the fact that he does not state the case

correctly. He seeks to lead you into an abstract speculation (εἰ καλῶς κρίνεται ἢ οὐ): you must draw a practical conclusion. Cp. Soph. *Ai.* 7, ὅπως ἴδῃς | εἴτ' ἐνδόν εἴτ' οὐκ ἐνδόν.

§ 15. οὐδείς πάποτε] Grote (v. 498) is with those who deny that Ephialtes took away the jurisdiction of the Areopagus in *Leimiois*. In *Lys.* or. 1. *De Caus. Frat.* § 30, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἀποδόναται τὰς φωνὰς τὰς δικαστικὰς, ἀπείλεται is not 'it has been given back', but 'it is assigned'.

καὶ ταῦτα παρελθών] Cp. § 12 εἰς παρελθόν, § 11 εἰς τὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ παρασώτων, κ.τ.λ. Baiter here, *ibid.*, 'and having discontinued these exhortations': rather than 'and, what is more, you have come forward', etc.

§ 16. ὥς καὶ τοῖς τότε δικασταῖς, κ.τ.λ.] τὰς ἡ, in fact, you meant to dispute the previous verdict'. εἰ ποτε κρινέσθαι αἱ τοῖς δικασταῖς who are trying the case, but who, at the time denoted by ἀπαστάται, will be 'the former judges', whose verdict he will then seek to upset. It seems unnecessary to conjecture τοῖσδε τοῖς or τοῖς ἐνθάδε.

μηδὲ πλέον μηδ'] ὅσον if I am acquitted (so far from being finally saved) I am not even benefited'.

§ 17. ἔτι δὲ μάλ' ἐδίδην] Ἐπισημύνας, I was actually surprised'. εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπισημύνας', but ποσὸν gives a certain colloquial emphasis, 'I can assure you'.

ἐγγνητὰς τρεῖς] *ibid.* In *Thucyd.* § 144 (from the oath of the *βουλευταί*), and *ibid.* Ἀθηναῖοι κἀὶ τὸ ἐγγνητὰς τρεῖς καθιστῆ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος τελούντας (i.e. three *ἰππεῖς* if he were a *ἰππεύς*, etc.). The oath comprised τὰς πέντε the accused was charged with *παύσαι τὴν πόλιν αἰ ἐπισημύνας καὶ φωνὰς*; and the object, *ἐπισημύνας*, was to prevent unbecoming silliness among the *ρήτορες* in the *βουλή*.

οἱ ἐπισημητὰς τῶν κ] = αἱ ἐπισημύνας. By whom the accusation the *ἐνδοξίς κακοῦργίας* was made. *Herm. Antiq.* i. § 139, 13.

14. ἐμὴ μόνῃ ἐπέλιπε] 'fallen in my own case'. The *ἐπισημύνας* αὐτὸς ἔπειτα τὸν ποσὸν αἰτήσας the admission of an *ἰππεύς* proposed by Reiske. Baiter, needlessly, ἐπέλιπε.

§ 18. τοῖς τε φίλοις] Cp. *ibid.* In *Thucyd.* § 145. *Ἰσὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἐδιδάσθαι χεῖρον ἀνεφελέστερον ἀφαιρούμενον ἢ ἐπὶ ποσὸν ποσὸν ἀπάρσκειναι εἶναι*: where *χεῖρον*, 'at greater disadvantage', means that the discharge of those *ἐπισημύνας* would outrage their supporters.

§ 19. πολλοῖς θλασσοδείξ. κ.τ.λ.] 'tripped at a double gait' αἱ τρεῖς τὸ πᾶσι ποσὸν ἐπὶ χεῖρον ἔχον καὶ ἐπὶ ποσὸν; because he had been acquitted as a *κακοῦργος*, and had had been

refused. Cp. *ἀναρροῦσθαι*, 'suffering a disadvantage', 'exacting less than our due', Thuc. i. 77; Dem. *De Cor.* § 3, πολλὰ μὲν αὖτε ἀναρροῦσθαι ἀναρροῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀναρροῦσθαι.—*ἀναρροῦσθαι* is Dindorf's correction (supported by N) of the vulgate *αὐτὸς δέ*, which could only mean, 'when I might (justly) be acquitted', 'though entitled to acquittal', *ὡςτε αὐτὸς δέ* (cf. τὸν δίκαιον τόχον). Cp. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4. 4, ἴσθιεν δὲ ἀρροῦσθαι [= ἄτε ἀρροῦσθαι]—πρωτοῦτο ἀρροῦσθαι. But, though grammatically possible, *σῶθεις ἄν* ill suits the context.

§ 20. *Αἰνον*] a town on the coast of Thrace, on the promontory s.e. of the lake Stentoris at the mouth of the Hebrus: about 100 miles s. of Lesbos. It is named by Thuc. vii. 57 as one of three Asiatic places (Methymna and Tenedos being the others) which helped Athens against Sicily.

Θραξίν] Her. v. 6 says of the Thracians, πολλοὶ τὰ τέσσα ἔπ' ἀστυγόνῃ (as slaves). *Θραξία*, a Thracian *ἄλλο*, Theoph. *Char.* xxviii.

§ 21. ἡ πρόφασις] the (real) occasion: cp. Thuc. i. 23, τὴν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν. But below § 26 ἡ πρόφασις is the (false) pretext. *πρόφασις* is a cause *alleged*—truly or untruly.

τῆς Μηθιμναίας] *Μηθιμνῆ* (Melivo) on s.w. coast of Lesbos. Thuc. iii. 2, ἄλλοτε τῆς Μηθιμνῆς ἵππερα. The land of Methymna was not confiscated by Athens after the revolt (iii. 50): and in vii. 57 its people are *φύλαξι* ἀπὸ ἵππεων—an exemption shared in 415 B.C. only by Chios (vi. 85).

[τὸν Ἡρώδη] A manifest gloss, which a comma after αὐτὸν fails to make tolerable.

πεποιημένος] Cp. *Tetr.* B. β. § 8, *τετιμωρημένος*.

§ 22. ἐγένετο] 'This, too, followed (impart.) of necessity': but *ἐγένετο*, 'took place',—of the same thing viewed, not as a consequence, but as an independent occurrence at a given moment in past time.

ταῦτ'] 'All this': *ταῦτα* (cf. *ταῦτα*) and its circumstances.

§ 23. ἢ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ] The *καὶ* is redundant, and can be expressed only if we say 'by me on my part': but the Greek love of balanced contrast borrows it from the form, *ἀμφοτέρωθεν* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ—*ἐμὸν* καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. So Soph. *El.* 1146, *O. C.* 53, *Ant.* 927.

ὡς τε τὴν Μυσ.] The *τε* after *ὡς* corresponds with the *καὶ* before *ἀλλο* ('both—and', i.e. 'not only—but'): the *αὐτὸς* καὶ τ. ἄ. γ. ἐπέμπετο explains *ὡς* (cf. *ὡς* ἄρα *ἔπεμπε*). 'Not only was I the cause of a messenger being sent,—that is, it was on my

suggestion that it was proposed to send him (*ἀποπέμψαι*), —but etc.

§ 24. ἔπεμπον] ‘offered to send’. Aeschin. *In Ctes.* § 83, Ἀλόνηγον εὐδοιοὶ ὁ δὲ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν: so *ἐπέμψαι*.

πλοῦς ἐγίγνετο] ‘The weather favoured our voyage’: Thuc. i. 137, μηδὲνα ἐξέβηται ἐκ τῆς πλοῦς μεγάλῃ πλοῦς γένηται.

§ 25. ἐπεδήμου] ‘was still in the country’—i.e. in Lesbos, before he had sailed for the coast of Thrace. Reiske wrongly, ‘Athenis adhuc versabar’—supposing the speaker to have gone there from Aenos, before returning to Lesbos.

§ 26. ἐν μὲν τῇ γῆ] The *ἀφ’* is taken up by ὅπως δ’ ἠφαιεσθη: he had certainly *been killed* on land, they said, but how the body had *disappeared*, they could not tell.

- 17 ἀν ἐδύνατο] The imperf. with *ἄν* might mean either (1) he would not *now* be able [as in fact he is]: or (2) he would not, at the supposed past time, have been able: the imperf. differing here from the aor. in expressing the man’s *state*, and not merely his ability for a certain act at a certain moment. ‘He probably *would not have been in a condition* to control his own movements’.

§ 27. ὀπτῆρ] A poet. word, used by Xen. in this sense, *Cyr.* iv. 6. 17.

κατ’ ἐγώ] ‘Nevertheless, I concede [I will take for granted] the assertion of the prosecutors. — *παρὰ χύμας*, although I bring witnesses’, etc. — *εἴτα*, —after all that I have proved: cp. Plat. *Prot.* 327 c.

§ 28. μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν] Franke would write (*κατ.* μὴ ἀποθ., but the unusual order arises from the eager stress on the negative. Thuc. vi. 18, οὐ νόμιμα ἐπίσταται τι ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ὅπως ἐπεισι προκαταλαμβάνει, i.e. ὅπως μὴ ἐπεισι.

- 18 § 29. τι αἶμα is a certain correction of the vulg. τὸ αἶμα. For the position of *τι* cp. Dem. *Phil.* iii. § 47, ὅτι τῶν τινος εὐθής λόγος: Soph. *Aí.* 468, καὶ δρῶν τι χρηστόν.

οὐκ ἐνεχώρει] ‘But when they found that this theory was inadmissible’.

ἀποτραπόμενοι συλλαβόντες ἴβασ.] The second part belongs more closely to the verb: cp. Plat. *Phaed.* p. 70A, ὅτι εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνακαταστάσιν ἴβασται ἀσπασίως.

§ 30. φλαῦρον] ‘compromising’.

2. *Peroration*: §§ 81—96.

§ 81. τεκμηρίων σημείοις] Arist.'s distinction between the conclusive τεκμήρια and the fallible σημεία is not clearly drawn by earlier writers, though τεκμήρια often = 'a proof'. Antiphon, frag. xxiii. 2 (Sauppe), τὰ τεκμηρία σημείοις πιστάται τὰ δὲ μέλλουσα τεκμήρια. — where σημεία = indications furnished by facts, τεκμήρια = grounds of conjecture: and so Andoc. *De Pace* § 2, περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. Here, however, τεκμήρια are rather positive proofs: σημεία, signs.

τοὺς κινδύνους] 'their appointed dangers'.

§ 82. μὴ καθαροί] *sc.* ὄντες. Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 1. 16, τί 19
χρήσαιτ' ἂν τις ἰσχυρῶ ἢ ἀνδρείῳ, μὴ σώφρονι;

συνεισβάντες] Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 1. 25, ὡς περὶ οἱ πλεὺν αἰρούμεθα μετὰ τῶν εὐνοούντων καὶ ἄλλοι ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἠτιμωμένων τι δοκοῦντων. Cp. *Asch.* *Thib.* 597—600: *Hor. Carm.* iii. 2. 26: *Eur. El.* 1354.

διακωλύοντες μὴ γίνεσθαι] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3. 3, θιουμένη ἵσται ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐγγύστε τὰ ἱερά, οὐρ. το κατὰ ἡμῶν τὰ ἱερά ὄν. The pollution incurred by the slaying of the Persian heralds hindered the sacrifices at Sparta from being favourable until the μῦθος of Talthybius had been appeased, *Her.* vii. 134.

§ 83. τεκμήρια τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'evidence concerning the charge (against me), showing that these men are accusing me falsely'.

§ 85. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν] Dobree's emendation, δέομαι δὲ 20
καὶ ὑμῶν, is the simplest, but gives less point than οἶμαι δὲ καὶ <πρὸς> ὑμῶν <εἶναι> ἀποψ.

καθ' οὗς μὲν ἀπήχθη] 'I am not liable to the laws under which I was arrested, while as to the acts with which I am charged, I can still be brought to trial in the legal form'. He was arrested for *κακοργία*: if that means *φόνος*, he can still be tried for it by a *γραφὴ φόνου*: if it means anything else, he is innocent.

εἰ δὲ δύο ἐξ ἑνός] 'If two trials have been made out of one, the fault is not mine, but that of the accusers. When, however, my worst enemies have left me the chance of a second trial, surely you, the impartial awarders of justice, will never pronounce on the present issue a premature verdict of murder'. In *εἰ γυγένηται, πεπομφακται* he *assumes* that he will be acquitted now, and tried again. For the form of the sentence, *εἰ δὲ ποῦ, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *Plat. Gorg.* 512A, λογίζεσθαι οὖν ὅτι οὐκ, εἰ μὲν τις, κ.τ.λ.

§ 86. δότε τι καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ] 'Leave some scope for that

ἤδη δέ τισιν] Alluding to the debate (427 B.C.) in the Athenian ecclesia on the fate of Mytilene, when Cleon's proposal of a massacre was first carried and afterwards rescinded—about ten years before the probable date of this speech.—καὶ μετεμέλησεν, 'have actually repented'.

§ 92. παραχρήμα] *i.e.* while the purpose is still clearly present to his mind. From another point of view, an interval between the planning and the execution might be urged as being essential to the deliberate character of the act: but here the contrast is merely between ἐκούσιον and ἀκούσιον. 23

τὴν ἴσθην γε δύναμιν ἔχει, ὅστις] *ἔσθην δύναται, ὅτε τις... αἴτε.* Cp. Thuc. vi. 14. καί γε τὸ καλῶς ἀρετὰ τούτ' εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ.

§ 93. νῦν δὲ πιστεύων] The parenthesis beginning at ἐγὼ γὰρ τῷ τῶν... interrupts the constr., which is resumed by ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ, κ.τ.λ., ἤκω εἰς ὑμᾶς. Cp. §§ 11, 12.

συναϊδοίτι... ξυναϊδέναί] The *ματ.* of Antiphon fluctuate between *σύν* and *ξύν*: the latter recurs in § 78 of this speech, ξυμβόλων, and in § 87, ξυναϊδώς.

τὴν τιμωρίαν ταύτην] 'that this had come upon her as the punishment'. Cp. Lys. *In Agor.* § 30. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ αἰτίας... ἐγένετο, 'this became the beginning'. The pronoun, which might have been neuter (*ταύτην*), is assimilated to the gender of the noun. See my n. on Soph. *O.C.* 88. In this construction the definite article is not usually added to the noun, but is, of course, quite admissible. It is unwarrantable, therefore, to delete τὴν here.

§ 94. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ] 'For on the one hand, if you listen to me... the correct, *οἷστας, τούτῳ δὲ, τοῖς τούτοις*, being compressed into *τοῦτο δὲ τούτοις*. This is better than to understand, 'if you listen to me in this matter'.

γνωριστάι, κ.τ.λ.] 'On the present occasion, then, take a survey of the case; on the next, sit in judgment on the witnesses; form now an opinion, but defer a decision, on the facts'. Cp. Thuc. vi. 87. ἀπὸ δὲ βουρραῖ... *τοῖς ἡμῶν πρῶτον... ἀπὸ δὲ καταρριστάι.* See introductory note on Antiphon's style. 24

§ 96. οὔτε παρεῖς] 'with due regard to your conscience as well as to my own right': cp. § 7.

IV. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΡΕΥΤΟΥ] The speech On the Chorus relates to the death of Diobotus, a boy who was in training as member of a chorus to be produced at the Thesmolia; and who was poisoned by a draught given to him to improve 25

his voice. The accused is the choregus, an Athenian citizen, who discharged that office for his own and another tribe, and at whose house the choros received their lessons. The accuser, Philocrates, brother of the deceased Diotous, laid an information for poisoning before the Archon Basileus; and, after some delay, the case came before the Areiopagus. It was not contended that the accused had intended to murder the boy, but only that he had ordered to be administered to him the draught which caused his death. According to Athenian law this was, however, a capital offence. The present speech is the second made by the defendant, and the last, therefore, of the trial. Its date may probably be placed about 412 B.C.: see *Athic Orators*, i. 62. — A short extract is given here as illustrating the greater ease and freedom of Antiphon's later style, which is already beginning to emancipate itself from the stiffness of the *ἀύστηρά ἀρμονία*.

Narrative: §§ 11—15.

§ 11. εἰς Θαρρήλια Διονυσίους] The second day of the Tharrelia was celebrated by a procession and a musical contest (ἐγώνη) between choruses of boys: *Herm. Ant.* ii. § 60. 21. At the Dionysia the chorus would have been dramatic.

οὔτε ζημιώσας κ.τ.λ.] 'Without fining any man [the last resort], without extorting pledges [from the parent who demurred to sending his son], without (even) incurring any dislike'.

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἐπιμπον] 'But, just as if the business in hand were most agreeable and advantageous to both parties, I made my demand or request, while the parents sent their sons without compulsion, — indeed, with good will'. The full construction would be: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐγίγνετο ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ἐγίγνετο (εἰ ἡδίστα κ.τ.λ. ἐγίγνετο): and the clause οὕτω ἐγίγνετο is represented by ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκέλευον, κ.τ.λ.

ἡτοίμην] So BELL. for ἡτοίμασεν, which could mean only 'I conducted the boy' (see τῆσιν περὶ ἄλλων), ἀπέλασεν = 'I invited' (the official *invitation* being equivalent to a command: see Γγ, 100-101): ἡτοίμασεν softens this down, 'or rather, I made a personal request': corresponding to the gradation of ἐκέλευον — βουλόμενοι.

§ 12. πράγματα] 'for I happened to be engaged in cases against Ariston and Philinus, and was anxious to lose no time after the impeachment (εἰσαγγελία) in making a due and formal statement to the Council and to the Athenian public'. Philinus and two other persons had been charged by the speaker with

embellish public speeches, as appears from §§ 21, 55. Antiphon wrote a *ῥησὶς κατὰ Φαλίαν* (*Attic Orators*, I. 63 *note*).

εἴ τι δέοι τῷ χορῷ] Cp. Eur. *Suppl.* 594. *ἔν δέ μοι ἄβρον μοι*. Usually *δέ μοι τινος*, more rarely *δέ μοι τινος*.

§ 13. συλλέγειν] to conduct the levy and act as steward of the tribe on each occasion. — *ἐκασταίε*, whenever it was called upon to contribute a chorus to a public festival. The *ἐπιμητρηταὶ τῶν φαλιῶν* were responsible to the Archon for the appointment of the choroi: cp. Dem. *In Mid.* § 13. Herm. *Ant.* I. § 142. 8. By τῶν φαλιῶν συλλέγειν below is meant to levy (such a contribution) in the tribe. συλλέγειν, at Athens, were esp. those who called in property confiscated to the State: Herm. *Ant.* I. § 151. 4.

§ 14. εἴ τι ψεύδομαι προφάσεως ἕνεκα] 'If any part of this statement is false, or made for effect'.

τοῦ ὀρκωτοῦ] The officer of the court who tenders the oath. See *De Caed. Her.* § 12.

§ 15. ταῦτα σφόδρα λέγω] 'insist upon this point' — *περὶ ταῦτων ἐπιχρήζουσι*. Reiske inserts *ὅπως* before *σφόδρα*.

πλὴν γε τῆς τύχης] lit., 'putting Fortune out of the question': i.e. 'unless Fortune so ordain it', (viz. that I *should* bring another person into peril).

ANDOCIDES.

ANDOCIDES: born about 440 B.C.: died later than 390 B.C. 28
Approximate period of extant work, 410—390 B.C. *Life in Attic Orators*, I. 71—87.

Style. Andocides is less a rhetorical artist than a vigorous speaker of quick native wit. The ancient criticism of oratory tended to regard it too much from the reader's point of view, and too little from the hearer's. This was unfavourable to Andocides. He is declared by Hermogenes (170 A.D. *περὶ ἑ. Β.* xi.) to be wanting in the distinctive excellences of practical oratory, deliberative and forensic. His diction is plain (*εὐφραγέ*), though not with the studied plainness of Lyxias. He is sparing in the use of the rhetorical figures of language (*εὐχρησάτα λέξεις*), such as antithesis, parallelism between the forms of the two sentences (*παρόμοιος*), or assonance (*τραυμακωσις*): though he uses largely the figures of thought (*εὐχρησάτα*

δυναμίας), such as rhetorical question. In the arrangement of subject-matter he is simple and inartificial (ἀπλοῦς—ἀνεπίστατος). His strength lies in narrative, diversified by anecdote and enlivened by graphic description—sometimes by touches of true dramatic power. In addition to these literary merits, his speeches are of great historical value for the years 415—390 B.C.—See *Attic Orators*, i. 88—108. On the **Works** of Andocides in general, *ib.* 109—141.

I. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΟΔΟΥ] Spoken before the Athenian Ecclesia not later than the summer of 410 B.C. [See *Attic Orators*, i. 109. Andoc. lays stress on the service which he has rendered to Athens by securing a supply of corn from Cyprus: but the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C. was followed by the re-opening of the corn-trade between the Euxine and Athens: Xen. *H. i.* l. 35. The benefit for which Andoc. claims credit would have been of little importance had it been conferred later than the middle of the year 410.] The object of the speech is to procure the removal of certain disabilities under which he was allowed to lie. His disclosures in 415 B.C. were made under a guarantee of immunity from penalties. But the decree of Isotimides, passed soon afterwards, excluded from the market-place and from temples all who had committed impiety and who had confessed it; and his enemies maintained that this decree applied to him. The appeal was unsuccessful. He returned to Athens only after the general amnesty of 403 B.C. Having first deprecated the resentment felt against him for having denounced the mutilators of the Hermae in 415 B.C. (§§ 1—9), he proceeds, in the following passage, to speak of his life in exile—his services to the army at Samos in 411 B.C.—his return to Athens during the rule of the Four Hundred—and his imprisonment at the instance of Peisander.

§§ 10—16.

§ 10. τότε αὐτὸς γνούς] In 415 B.C., when he had denounced certain persons as concerned in the mutilation of the Hermae, αὐτὸς: *he himself* felt the misery of his position as keenly as those who condemn him.

παρὰ νόμον—ἀνάγκη] So in § 7 he says that he had acted *παρὰ νόμον* τε καὶ ἀνάγκη. In this speech Andoc. distinctly implies that he was concerned in the sacrifice: this was his '*madness*': τὸ ἀνάγκη was the necessity of denouncing the guilty, or else allowing the innocent to perish. In the *De Mysteriis* (see next Extract), speaking 14 years later, he protests his own entire innocence. (Cp. *Attic Orators*, i. 113.)

πράττειν... ὄφθ.] 'To live a life and choose an abode in which I should be as far as possible out of your sight': ὅπου, as relative to ταύτα no less than to ἐσθλ. = ἐν οἷς, or ἢ πρῶττον. = ἄπου μέλλουσι, oblique for ὅπου αὐ μέλλω.

ἐκείνης δευρί] 'A longing for that civic and social life with you in Athens (ἐκείνης), from which I passed into this exile' (ὄστρα). He is speaking at Athens; but the words describe his feeling *in banishment*. The vividness is characteristic of Andocides.

§ 11. ἐκ δὲ τούτου] 'from that moment'—which the context fixes to 411 B.C. 29

τῶν τετρακοσίων] The Four Hundred were in power from March to June, 411 B.C. For the details of the Revolution, see the life of Antiphon in the *Attic Orators*, i. 7 f.

Διδόντος ἕμνεσθαι] Archelaus, king of Macedon (413—399 B.C.), had given Andoc. leave to cut down and export timber for oar-spars. Macedonia was the great timber-market of Greece (Xen. *Hellen.* vi. l. 11). See my note on Theophrastus (*Opusc.* xxiii (= xi. p. 195), where the ἀλαζον boasts that Antipater has offered him 'the privilege of exporting timber free of duty' (ἐξαγωγῆ ξύλων ἀτελής).

πέντε δραχμῶν] ἑσθλ., of price: 'at the rate of five drachmas' (for each κοπέυς).

ὅσου ἐμοὶ κατέστησαν] ἄπου, not ὅπου: 'the sum in which they stood me'—the cost-price.

§ 12. ἐνίκησαν] Referring to the Athenian victory at Cynossema in 411, and perh. also to that at Cyzicus in 410 B.C.

τ. τῆς αἰτίας] 'this merit' or 'credit'. Cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 4. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ.

εἰ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if the supplies had not been imported for the army at that time, the prospect before them was not a chance of saving Athens, but a risk of losing their own lives'. κινδύους ἢ is equivalent to an apodosis with δε and αὐτ., indic. (as εἰκότως οἷον ἔν σπουδαίῳ). Cp. Thuc. iii. 74. ἢ πάλαι ἐκινδύνισσε πάντα διαφθεῖσθαι, εἰ ἄνευ ἐπαγγέστα. Cp. Aeschin. *Ores.* § 123 (where ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἄν is a v. l.).

ἢ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι] κινδύους περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι, a risk in which the saving of Athens was the thing at stake: κινδύους περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι = κινδύους μὴ οὐδ' αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, a risk *lest* not even they themselves should be saved. Hence the *οὐδ'*: the form περὶ τοῦ σωθῆναι being adopted merely for the sake of symmetry with περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι.

§ 13. οὐκ ὀλίγω. κ.τ.λ.] 'The situation there (*ἐνταῦθα*, with regard to the army at Samos) proved to be very different from what I had supposed': *i.e.* the relations of the army at Samos with the Four Hundred at Athens were such that the latter received Andoc. not as a friend but as a foe. *ἔχοντα* with οὐκ ὀλίγω μοι παρά γυνώμη, — πάντ' ἄλλως ἔχοντα ἢ ὡς ἐπέλαβον.

30 § 14. οἱ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὄντες] 'those upon service', 'the army abroad': cp. Plat. *Pha. dr.* 260 B. *ἄλλοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατείας, domi militaturoque.* *στρατείας* is a v. l., but *στρατιά* (see L. and S. s. r.) sometimes *στρατεία*. The army at Samos was the mainstay of the Democracy against the oligarchical Revolution: cp. *Attic Orators*, i. 9.

§ 15. τὴν ἑστίαν τῶν ἱερῶν] The hearth of the Βοιωτῶν was called Ἑστία Βοιωτῶν (*Aesch. n. F. L.* § 45). In Andoc. *De Myst.* § 41, threatened persons ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο. — τῶν ἱερῶν, 'the sacred precincts' of the altar.

εἰς... τοὺς θεοὺς, κ.τ.λ.] 'although it was against the gods that I was said to have sinned, the gods seem to have been more merciful to me than men': *ἔχοντα* (acc. masc.) ὀνειδίη, because he was charged with having profaned the Mysteries and mutilated the Hermae.

οὗ δὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And then it was' [at this point in my fortunes] 'that I most bewailed my fate: I who, at a moment when the People seemed to be in evil plight' [the Democracy having been overthrown], 'suffered in their stead, and further, when I was found to have been the People's benefactor, was condemned to new misery on this account': *i.e.* Andoc. suffered first as a democrat, and secondly as a patriotic democrat. The antithesis is defective, since the overthrow of the Democracy (*κακοῦσθαι*) cannot properly be contrasted with the benefits which it had received from Andoc. — Cp. Thuc. viii. 68, τὰ τετρακοσίων... ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακούτο.

§ 16. *ἀπωλλόμεν] A corr. suggested by Bekker. ἀπολλόμεν might stand if for ἀπτις we wrote αἰ: and this would also account for the now redundant ἐγὼ. But, considering εἶχον, I think it more likely that the copyist's eye had wandered to *τραποῦσιν*.

31 καὶ ἐκ τούτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'even after my escape from these perils, grave as they were': *i.e.* undeterred by this warning. We cannot well render, 'even under these circumstances, grave as they were, when I had escaped': for ἀπαλλαγῆς clearly belongs to the preceding words.

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ] — Date, 399 B.C. — Andocides had laid information, in 415 B.C., against certain persons

whom he accused of complicity in the mutilation of the Hermae. He did so on the guarantee of impunity (*ἄδεια*) which a special decree of the Assembly had given to all who should inform. Subsequently another decree was passed—known as *the decree of Isotimides*—that all who had committed impiety, and had confessed it, should be excluded from the market-place and the temples.

Andocides had returned to Athens under the amnesty of 403 B.C. His accusers now (399 B.C.) charge him with having broken the decree of Isotimides by attending the Mysteries and entering the temple at Eleusis. The form of the accusation is an *ἐπίδειξις ἀσεβείας*, an ‘information’ charging him with impiety. But, in order to prove that he came under the decree of Isotimides, they had to show that he had committed impiety in 415 B.C.

His speech is to show that he had not done so, either by profaning the Mysteries or by mutilating the Hermae. The Mysteries, from which it takes its title, is only one of its topics. It would be better described as a Defence on a Charge of Impiety. As to the Mysteries, Andoc. affirms that he neither profaned them himself nor informed against others as having done so (§§ 11—33). But his account of the Hermae affair is the most important part of the speech. (Analysis of the whole in the *Attic Orators*, 1. 117.)

1. *The Mutilation of the Hermae—Information laid by Teucus and Diocleides*: §§ 34—45.

§ 34. τῶν ἀναθημάτων | τῶν Ἐρμῶν, ‘the images’, as dedicated to the god. Cp. § 62, ὁ Ἐρμῶς... ἢ Αἰγύπτου (the Aegoid tribe) ἀναθήσει. The Ἐρμαι were plain four-cornered posts surmounted by a head or bust.

ἄδειαν εἰρόμενος | ‘having obtained special permission’. Teucus was a *μεταξικὸς* who had withdrawn to Megara, and had thence sent word to the Athenian Council that he would give information regarding the Mysteries and the Hermae if he received license to do so (εἰ ἐὼς δέδωκεν ἄδειαν). Thereupon the Council ἐψηφίσαντο τὴν ἄδειαν, and sent for him (§ 15). —ἄδεια, technical term for the authorisation required by a non-citizen (*μεταξικὸς*, ξένος, δούλος) who desired to accuse anyone of an offence against the State,—by an *ἀτιμὸς* before he could exercise any civic right,—or by a citizen who proposed to re-enfranchise an *ἄτιμος*.

ἀπογράφει | ‘denounces’, in a ‘list’ or ‘return’ (ἀπογραφή) presented to the Βουλῆ, which the Ecclesia had invested with plenary powers for the occasion (§ 15, ἀπογραφεύς).

οἱ δὲ σ. ἀπέθανον] Grote (vii. 268) doubts this assertion (cp. Thuc. vi. 53, 60), but it is incidentally confirmed by the statement ascribed to Charmides in § 49. See *Attic Orators*, i. 122.

- 32 § 36. τῶν ζητητῶν] 'The Commission of Inquiry' specially appointed by the Ecclesia. Cp. § 14. ἤσθα ζητητής, ὃ Διόγνητι, ὅτι Πισσακὸς εἰσηγγέλου ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου, 'impeached A. in the Assembly'.

ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου κ.] 'with a view to the overthrow of the Commonwealth'. δόσον καταλοπίς, the crime of attempting to subvert the democratical government, — often coupled with the more general προδοσία τῆς πόλεως: for each there was a γῆραφ. Lysias's or. 25 is δήμου καταλύσεως ἀπολογία.

τὸ σημεῖον κατέλοι] 'took down the signal', — displayed from the βουλευτήριον to show that it was time to meet, and taken down when business was about to commence. There was a similar σημεῖον for the Ecclesia (Ar. *Thesm.* 277) and for the law-courts (*Vesp.* 690).

§ 37. εἰσαγγ. εἰς τ. β.] 'lays an impeachment before the Council'.

ὡς δ' ἴδοι. κ.τ.λ.] 'and stated how he had chanced to become an eye-witness of the plot'. ὡς here = ὅπως τῶν πρῶν: below § 40 ὡς ἴδοι = merely 'that he had seen'.

§ 38. ἀποφοράν] 'He said that he had a slave at Laurium, and that he had occasion to go for a payment due to him', ἀποφορά, the 'return' or 'profit' accruing to the master from the labour of his slave. Anschin. *In Tomicch.* § 97, (slave-making slaves) ἕν ἑκάστου τούτου δὲ ὀβάλους ἀποφορᾶν ἔλαβεν τῆς δούλης.

- 33 πανσέληνον] Plut. *Alexib.* 20, εἰς δ' αἰθέρα (the informers) ἠρώτημενος ὅπως τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἡμερῶν πειθῶν γινόμεσαι, καὶ ἀποκλειστέος ὅτι πάλαι σέληνον, εὐφραδὴ τοῦ πατρὸς (made a fatal slip), ἔπειτα καὶ νέμει ὀφθαλμοῖς (the new moon) ὅτι τούτῳ ἔλαβεν. So Diod. xiii. 2. Grote (vii. 271) rightly treats this part of the story as a minor fiction. If Dioecides had made such a blunder, Anibic. would not have failed to note it'. (Cp. *Attic Orators*, i. 123.)

τὸ προπ. τοῦ Δ., κ.τ.λ.] 'When he had come to the gateway of Dionysius' [the entrance to the Ἄδειαι, the enclosure sacred to Dionysius on the s.w. of the Acropolis], 'he saw several persons descending from the Odium' (of Pericles, close to the Dionysiac Theatre on the E.) 'into the orchestra' [the open central space of the Theatre]. 'Afraid of them, he drew into the shade, and crouched down between the pillar and the column with the bronze statue of the General' [just inside the

προτύλαιον, as εἰσελθεῖν seems to indicate, and covered by its shadow].

ἀνά πέντε καὶ δέκα] 'in groups of fifteen'.

§ 39. τοῖθ' ὑπέθετο...δπως] 'Thus, in the first place, judges, he assumed this story—a most extraordinary one—in order, I fancy, that it might rest with him to include in this list any Athenian he pleased, or at pleasure to exempt him'. τοῖθ' ἐπέθετο, made this (the story of the moonlight scene) the *basis* of his evidence: δεινός, πρ. in appos. with τοῖτο, 'a most strange', 'an incredible affair'. I now prefer this version to rendering: 'He made this assumption, viz. that it was in his power', where δπως would = ὡς or ὅτι, in sense of 'that'.

§ 40. καταλαμβάνειν] So below, λέγειν. The infins. might κατελάμβανον, ἔλεγον, but perhaps represent rather the vivid καταλαμβάνω, λέγω used by Dioecides in his narrative.

ἐν τῷ χ. καθ.] 'sitting in his forge'—he being a χαλκός.

τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον] The guild of smiths, and perhaps artisans generally, held the annual festival of the χαλκεία to Hephaestus early in Nov. (Pöhlux vii. 105). The Ἡφαιστεῖον, or temple of H., was on the w. of the Agora, having the Stoa Poecile just above it (Paus. i. 14. 6). For the custom of taking oaths in a temple, cp. Plat. *Prot.* 328 c, ἐθλὼν εἰς ἱερὸν, ὁμόσας, ὅσον ἂν φῆ ἄξια εἶναι τὰ μαθήματα, τοσοῦτον κατέθηκε.

οὔκουν θέοιτο] 'Now, he said, he did not desire'—oblique for οὔκουν θεομαι, after a secondary tense (ἔφη in § 39).

καὶ νῦν ἤκειν κ.] 'and said, "Now pray come to the house of L., that you and I may there confer with A. and the other needful persons"'. Euphemus said: νῦν ἤκε μοι εἰς τὴν Α. οἴκιαν: this becomes, Εὐφήμος (Διοκλεΐδῃ) νῦν ἤκειν οἱ ἐκδέχεται, and, in the oblique form, ἔφη τὸν Εὐφήμου νῦν ἤκειν κενύσαι οἱ.—οἱ = 'to oblige him' (Euphemus). κενύσαι does not, in Attic prose, take a dat. of the person commanded.

§ 41. ἤκειν...κόπτειν] The oblique of ἤκειν καὶ διηέκοπτο: 34 'He said that the next day he was there [*ἤκειν*—I came *promptly* or *punctually*], and was in the act of knocking at the door': καὶ δῆ= 'and even now'.

ἄρα γε σέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Are you the visitor whom the company here expect? Well, one ought not to reject such friends—and with these words he was gone'. αἶδε—Andocides and the others who were already at the house of Leogoras: σε, Dioecides. Acc. to D.'s story, the father of Andoc. gives him a parting hint not to reject the overtures about to be made to him by the conspirators.—ἀπώλλυε, 'sought to ruin'.

§ 42. ὅτι βουλεύσοιτο] 'that he would think it over'. He

said, *βουλεύονται*: the fut. opt. here, as always, being the oblique of the fut. ind. after a secondary tense.

καθομολογήσας. κ.τ.λ.] 'concluded an agreement with us, and gave us pledges on the Acropolis' (by taking an oath in one of the temples: cp. on § 40).—*ἀαφ' ἑλ.*—*ἀέλιαν*, oblique pres. rather than imperf.: 'fail to keep our word or to pay': as *ἔσται* for *ἦκω* rather than *ἦκον*.

- 35 § 43. τὸ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίου ψήφ.] A ψήφισμα forbidding that *εἰτίσεις* should be put to the torture. A decree of the *Βουλὴ* (then temporarily invested with pleurary powers) could of course suspend this.—Cp. Herm. *Ant.* i. § 141. 15.

ὅπως μὴ ἔσται] This would be regular in an object-clause (as *ἕκαστα ὅπως μὴ ἔσται*): here, in a final clause, we should expect *ταῖς ἡμέραις*. But the notion of *εἰτίσεις* *ἕως* the object may be attained in uppermost, and so the clause is virtually an object-clause. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. l. 21. *οὐδὲ δ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίεσσιν ἢ ὅπως μαχοῦνται*. Goodwin § 44. 1.

§ 44. ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν] Cp. note on *De Pol.* § 15, p. 222.

§ 45. ἐξελθούσα, κ.τ.λ.] 'The Council, after retiring to a secret conference, had us seized and put in the pillory. Then they came and the Generals before them' [*ἦσαν*., up to the *βουλευτήριον*], 'and ordered them to proclaim that those Athenians who lived in the city should proceed under arms to the market-place,—those at the Long Walls, to the *Πισσαριον*,—those in the *Περαίους*, to the market place of *Ἱπποδάμου*; that before dawn the knights should sound the trumpet-call to the *Ἀνακτοραί*; that the Senate should go to the *Ἀστυπύλις*, and sleep there; and that the *Πρόσβουλοι* should sleep in the *Ἰσοπύλα*'.

—*τοὺς δ' ἐν μακρῷ τείχεϊ*: cp. Thuc. ii. 17. *ἐν τῷ ἄνω τείχεϊ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρειον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρειον τὰ πύλλα*. The sing. here denotes the two main long walls (the 'Northern' and the 'Middle'), with the space enclosed by them, conceived as a district.—*Ἱπποδ. ἀγοράν*, the market place of the *Περαίους*.—*Ἀνάκτορον*, temple of the *Διόσκου* (*Ἰφραία*), s.w. of *Ἀστυπύλις*.—*θάλασ*, a circular building, with dome, near the *Βασιλειῶν* in the *Ἄρση*; the *Πρυτανεὶς* and *γυμνασιεὶς* dined there, Dem. *Fals. Legat.* § 249.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑρίοις ἔξιστ.] 'had taken the post, and were on the frontier'.

- 36 *ἐδέσπαι*] 'was entertained'. The privilege of daily *εἰσέναι ἐν Ἱπποδάμῳ* (Ar. *Men.* 764) was given either for a limited period or for life (*ἀεὶσέναι*): here the imperf. shows that at least more than one day is meant.

2. *The Disclosures of Andocides*: §§ 48—69.

§ 48. ἐπειδή δέ] The apodosis is λέγει πρὸς με X. Compare the prison-scene in Lysias, *Agorat.* §§ 39 f.

ὅτι. Ἀνδοκίδῃ, κ.τ.λ.] ὅτι redundant before the *direct* quotation: Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 3. 3, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι, ὃ δέσποτα, κ.τ.λ. Goodwin § 79.

§ 49. οὐδὲν ἐδῶμην] 'I had no wish to speak or to give you pain'. But ἐδῶμαι ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως. 'I wished to say nothing'. Cp. § 40, οὐκ οὐκον δέοιτο, 'did not desire'.

οἷς γὰρ ἔχρω] 'Your other friends (ἐχρῶ) and associates (συνῆτοι), except us your relations'. ἀλλὰ, 'besides', rather = 'except' (as here, or 'in addition to'). Cp. Dem. *De Cor.* § 89, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀεργασίαι, 'in addition to bringing you fair fare'. So when Caesar says (*Bell. Gall.* v. 12) of south Britain, *Materia* (Dumbr) *est* *quae* *generis* *est* *in* *Gallia* *est*, *praeter* *frugum* *atque* *aliam* *rem*, same reader 'except'; others, 'in addition to'.

§ 50. πρῶτον μὲν] With this series, πρῶτος—ἕτρα—ἔπειτα—ἔτι, cp. Soph. *El.* 261—271, πρῶτα—ἕτρα—ἔπειτα—τελευταίως.

ἀναγκαίους] 'near relations'. παγγενεῖς is the larger term, 37 including the more distant degrees of kinship: ἀναγκαῖαι (*necessarii*) are those to whom one is bound by the first, the closest natural tie; καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα are those things with which life cannot dispense.

§ 51. πότῃρα περιίδω] deliberative subj., to which answers ἢ εἴπω: the tense being, as usual, the aor., since the prospective act will be done once for all, not continued or repeated. But Eur. *Ion* 718, εἴπωμεν ἢ ἀργῶμεν; 'shall we speak (once for all: aor.); or keep silence?' [pres. of the continued act]

ἄλλιτ. τῶν θεῶν] For genit., cp. Aeschyl. *Chor.* § 157, ἄλλοτ. ριος τῆς Ἑλλάδος: Thuc. i. 26, τὸ ἄγος τῆς θεῶν.

§ 52. ἐτεβήκεσαν] In the 3rd pers. plus. of the pluperf. act., *esse*, not *erant*, was the Attic form. *πετεβήκεσαν* occurs in an inscription of 323 B.C. (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Attisch. Inschriften*, p. 76). In the 3rd pers. sing. of the pluperf., *-a* is contracted, of course, from *ea*, and the post-Attic *esse* in the 3rd pers. plus. was perhaps an instance of false analogy. (Cp. Curtius, *Greek Verb.* p. 433 Eng. tr.)

§ 53. εἶναι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν] to belong to their party, to be their confederates. Cp. above, § 41, ἦτα αἰτίῃ *συνεβήθη*.

εἰ μὴ τις ἐρεῖ] The vivid construction, instead of εἰ μή τις 38 λέξοι or εἴποι, after βέβαιος ἦν.

ἀποθανόντας] Here, as in § 51, the aor. refers, not to those

who had already died (cf. 49, *οἱ οὐκ αἴσθησαν τὸ θάνατον*), but to those who were threatened with death. It is stronger than *ἀποθανέσθαι* (cf. *ἀπολλυμένων* of the same persons in § 51), just as 'to see them murdered' is stronger than 'to see them being murdered': the aor. pictures the deed as *accomplished* while he looks on.

§ 54. *κατὰ τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ*] 'against my own associates'. Here, the word *ἐταῖρος* seems to bear a merely social sense, referring to a circle of private friends (cp. § 61 *πρόσθετε ἡμῶν*). On the other hand, the title of a lost speech by Andocides, *Περὶ τῶν ἐταίρων*, probably indicates the members of the oligarchical *ἐταῖρον* at Athens (*Graecia Antica*, vol. 1, p. 139). For the latter, or political, sense of *ἐταῖρον*, cp. below, p. 138, § 87.

ἔλογοποιούν] Cp. Thuc. vi., *οἷτε δεῖνα γίνεσθαι δε γλώσσῃσιν λαλοῦσίν τε*. So *λαλοῦσίν τε*; of one who spreads fictitious news (Theophrastus, *Char.* viii).

§ 56. *ἐμοὶ γάρ. ὦ ἄνδρες]* Andoc. says:— 'Now, in this trial, judges, nothing is so important for me as that, if acquitted, I should be acquitted with honour: and, further, that the general public (*τοὶ δὲ πάντες ἔταῖροι*) should understand my whole conduct to have been absolutely free from baseness or cowardice'. He wishes to be pronounced an honourable man (1) by his judges, (2) by *οἱ πάντες ἔταῖροι*. All that would be given by *ὁ δὲ πρῶτος μὲν εἶπεν*, which Bias proposes to insert after *κατὰ δίκην* (see crit. note), is already contained in *καθ' ἑστέρας*.

39 § 57. *φίρε δὴ—χρῆ γάρ]* 'Now consider—for a judge ought to examine the facts by a human standard [*ἀνθρώπων—making allowance for human infirmity*], as if the misfortune had been his own—What would any one of you have done?' *ἄπειρα δὲ αἰεὶ δεῖνα*: i.e. *ἀπειρα δὲ γίνεσθαι δεῖνα* (*ἀπειρα δὲ αἰεὶ δεῖνα*). A simpler form would have been *ἄπειρα δεῖνα γίνεσθαι αἰεὶ δεῖνα*.

εἰ μὲν γάρ ἦν δυσίον] The thought is not completed till the end of § 60, *χρῆσθαι ὀφείλομαι*. Briefly, it is this:— 'If it had been a question between noble death and shameful life, my conduct might be condemned. But it was really a question between saving the innocent by my silence, and saving them at the expense of the guilty, by speaking out. Therefore I speak'.—In the series of clauses, note these points:—(1) All is plain down to *τοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπων*. (2) *ἀπειρα δὲ γίνεσθαι* begins a protasis which has no formal apodosis. The virtual apodosis comes at § 60, *τοὺς καὶ τὰς πάντα εἶπεν*, 'considering all these things, I say I εἶπεν. 'I found' that the least evil was to speak. (3) The protasis begun by *ἀπειρα δὲ γίνεσθαι* is interrupted by the parenthesis *Διὰ δὲ τούτων αἰεὶ γὰρ... αἰεὶ δὲ δεῖνα*. Then the

consequences of his *εὐλογία* are pursued in § 57, δὲ ἀπώλλουσι, the long parenthesis having broken the original construction. *ἢ σκοποῦνται ἢ ἀπώλλονται.* (4) The new independent clause, is continued in describing the consequences of his *εὐλογία*: εἰπὼν δὲ τὰ ἄλλα, κ.τ.λ. Then at § 60 comes the result, prefaced by the summary, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα σκοπῶν.

§ 58. ὅπου δὲ τούτων μὴ ἀπόντος] But here the case was the very reverse: by keeping silence I must have permitted ignominiously in my innocence, and must also have permitted the destruction of my father, of my father-in-law, of all my country and relations, whom I and no one else threatened with death, by concealing the guilt of others. The falsehoofs of Diocleides had sent them to prison; their only hope of deliverance lay in the Athenians learning the whole truth. I was in danger, therefore, of becoming their murderer, if I failed to tell you what I had heard. I was also in danger of destroying three hundred Athenians, and of involving Athens in the most serious evils. This, then, was the prospect if I were silent'.

§ 60. καὶ τιμωρησασθαι] The ἀπορρητοῦ insertion before 40 these words of εἰ σκοποῦνται ἢ σκοποῦνται as the similar insertion in § 56 (where σκοπῶν), since the thought is contained in ὅς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπώλλειν (was seeking to destroy).—ἐκείνον ἡλλοῦσα ἀπώλλειν as it often follows ἀπώλ. e.g. Πλάτ. Πρωτ. 310 η. ἢ ἀπώλλεται ἢ ἀπώλλεται καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου σοὶ σέλλεται on Thuc. i. 132.

§ 61. οὐ γίνασθαι δὲ ἐμὲ] Notice the opt. γίνασθαι presented by εἰσηγήσατο, ἀντίειπον, and followed by ἔπεσον, κ.τ.λ.—all depending on ἐφάραξε σοί. The optative has the effect of presenting this particular statement, not simply as a fact, but as a quotation of what was confessed by the conspirators. It is the sole form of εἰς ἔργον or ἀλλοτρίως: 'I proved the facts.—[that E. proposed this plan, etc., and that you then said it was I who hindered the party from being executed at the time].'

ἐν Κινεσάρῃ] = Κινεσάρῃ, ἢ Κινεσάρῃ, with a sanctuary of Heracles, on the n. side of Athens, near the Διοῦσια πύλαι.

τὴν κλίην συνετρίβην] ἡ κλίη ἐστὶν ἡ κλίη ἡ κλίη: Πλάτ. ητ. 18 l. 67, —καὶ ἡ κλίη ἡ κλίη.—τὴν κέφαλην κατέαγεν (ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς), 'cut my head': Ar. Ach. 1180, καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς (partic. used)—the usual usual construction in this phrase).

§ 62. τὸν Ἐ. τὸν παρὰ τὸ Φ.] The Heracles by the Phocæans—the hero of Phocæa, such the hero of that name worshipped at Linnæa as having banished snakes from the

island (Diet. v. 58), and also famed in myth as a boxer (schol. ad Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 660, etc.). The idea of *παρὰ* with *οὐρα*, in such general indications of position, is — that which one sees *when one goes past* the place. We may render it 'by'. *παρὰ* with *dat.*, 'beside', is more precise.

- 41 § 63. δεινὰ ἐποίουν] 'On finding this out, the conspirators were furious that I should know of the deed without having had a hand in it'. The more usual phrase, *δεινὸν ποιούμεναι τι*, 'to regard a thing as monstrous', 'to feel indignant at it'. On the other hand, *δεινὰ ποιεῖν* (*lit.*, 'to do dreadful things'), refers to the external manifestation of horror or grief by gestures, cries, etc.: Hes. iii. 14. *χλαδύτας καὶ θεὰ πένοντας* 'weeping, and displaying anguish': Thuc. v. 42. *ἀγορεύουσα δὲ τούτων* 'I exclaimed', 'raised an outcry'.

δὲ ἡμᾶς] *ab uno proficitur*. 'Otherwise our enmity will be more effectual than any friendships that you can make by betraying us'.

§ 64. αὐτοῖς...ἐκείνοις] For *ἐκείνους* following *αὐτοῖς* in reference to the same persons, see note on § 60.

ὡς οὖν ἐκείνοις] 'In support of this statement, I gave up my own slave for the torture, (to prove) that I had been ill, [*imperf.* was at the past time in question,] and unable even to leave my bed; and the Presidents received [for examination] the female slaves in the house from which the conspirators set forth to begin their work'. *ὄθεν* = *ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξ ἧς*.

§ 65. φράσας] 'on condition of revealing'.

Φηγοίσιον] Of the deme of Phlegon near Marathon.

- 42 § 66. λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἀπ.] 'and you yourselves' (*αὐταί*, the Athenians collectively, as represented by the court) 'took up your arms and went home'. The notice given in the margin had best, *τὸς μὲν ἐν ἔργῳ ἀποκτείνονται ἕκαστος ἐκ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ὄπλα λαβόντας, κ.τ.λ.*, § 45.

§ 67. πίστιν τῶν ἐν ἀ. ἀπιστοτάτην] The most traitorous of all possible contracts: *πίστιν*, the pledge given by the conspirators *τὴν καθ' αἴθερ*: *ἀπιστοτάτην*, most disloyal to the State. Cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 1021, *ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοῦπιστῆμον λαβεῖν*.

τότε δέ] We might expect *τότε δέ, τότε δέ*, then and not sooner; but the *ἰστορῆδ* is (*κατανοήσας μὲν*) *εὐεργετήν*, *τότε δὲ ἀπέργ.* Cp. § 34, note on *ἀπογράφει*.

- 43 § 69. σὺ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] To the *προσωπικῆ* of the Court. 'Oath, — and the persons themselves who were released by my means'.

μέχρι τούτου] 'They will come up and give evidence for as long as you desire to listen to it'.

III. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ.—The speech On the Peace with Lacedæmon belongs to 390 B.C., the fourth year of the Corinthian War. Athens, Boeotia, Corinth and Argos were at this time allied against Sparta. The success of Agesilaus in 391 had led the Athenians, probably in the winter of 391—90 B.C., to send plenipotentiaries, among whom was Andocides, to treat for peace at Sparta. According to the terms proposed by the Lacedæmonians, Athens was to retain her Long Walls—rebuilt three years before by Conon—and her fleet; she was also to recover Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros: and Boeotia was to be gratified by the withdrawal of the Spartan garrison from Ophiomerus. The plenipotentiaries did not use their powers, but requested that the Athenian ecclesia might have forty days in which to consider these proposals; and returned, accompanied by Spartan envoys, to Athens. It was in the ensuing debate—early in the year 390—that the speech of Andocides was made.—*Attic Orators*, I. 83. The genuineness of the speech has been questioned, but without sufficient reason. One passage of it (§§ 3—12) was adopted, with slight modifications, by Aristotle (*De Fals. Legat.* §§ 172—176). See *Attic Orators*, I. 129.

Andoc. first shows that a peace with Sparta is not a danger to the Athenian democracy (§§ 1—12). He then argues that there is no good reason for continuing the war, and that the proposed terms are peculiarly advantageous to Athens (§§ 13—23). If the Boeotians make peace on their own account, Athens will be left with one weak ally, Corinth, and another of which the policy is thoroughly selfish—Argos (§§ 24—27).

§§ 28—41 (contd.). *Alliance with Sparta is better than alliance with Argos.—Objections to the Peace answered.*

§ 28. τοιούτων δ' ἔλπ. μ.] 'Committed, as we are, to such prospects, we have to choose between joining the Argives in war against Sparta, and joining the Boeotians in making a peace for the common interest'. τ. ἔλπ. μεταρχ. 'having become sharers in such hopes', i.e. having entered into alliance with States which have such objects in view as Argos and Boeotia have respectively. Argos hoped to get Corinth if the war were prolonged (§ 27); Boeotia was likely to make peace on its own account with Sparta (§ 24).—*καὶ*: ἄρ. § 27. μετὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων τὴν εἰρήνην ποιούμενους.

δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς] for our own sakes, ἄρ. τὸ ἔλ. *delimus*. The

words might also mean 'through our own exertions'. In *De Myst.* § 63, *ἡ' ἡμᾶς* = 'on account of (betraying) us'.

§ 29. *χρῆ γὰρ ἀναμνησθέντας*] The partic. here expresses the thought on which the chief stress falls. 'For if we are to take a prudent decision, we must refresh our memory of the past'. Cp. Her. viii. 129, *ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς (μοῖραι) ἐπόλαστοι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χερῶν εἶναι ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ*, 'which they must traverse before arriving in Pallene'. Thuc. i. 20, *δράσαντες τε καὶ καθύπευθε*, i.e. 'to do something if they must risk their lives' (and Shilleto's note): iv. 11, *τὰς ἀπεστῆρας καὶς βλαπόμενας τὴν ἀπόβυστον καταγυμναί*, 'to force the passage, though they must wreck their ships in doing it'.

ἃ ἡμῖν ἐπρέσβευσεν πειθόμενοι] 'listening to the overtures made to us by Epilyceus, on behalf of Amorges,—the slave of the Great King, and an exile': lit., 'as in the proposals made us by the envoy E.—in regard to those complying with Amorges', obeying his wishes. Amorges, son of the satrap Pissuthnes, revolted from Darius II. (regn. 424—405 B.C.) and established himself in Iasus, a sea-board town of Caria. In 412 B.C. the Peloponnesians took Iasus, and delivered Amorges to Tissaphernes: Thuc. viii. 28: Grote vii. 504, 535.

14 § 30. *Συρακοῖσιν δ'*] In 427 B.C. the chief Ionic cities of Sicily—viz. Leontini, Naxos and Catana—in alliance with the Dorian Camarina, sent an embassy to Athens, with Gorgias at its head, asking aid against Syracuse. This was the occasion of the first Athenian expedition to Sicily in 427 B.C.; a second was sent in 425, and a third in 422. The application of Ergastis for help against Selinus led to the great expedition of 415 B.C. Andoc. seems to be thinking of the embassy sent by the Ionic Siciliots, and to imagine that a rival embassy had been sent by Syracuse—which was not the case.

ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν εἰλόμ.] 'Well, we chose then also': *εἰλόμ* 'so', 'accordingly', i.e. with our usual perversity.

ἀντὶ τοῦ μένοντες ἔχεν] The rule that the subject of the finite stands in the nominative, if it is identical with the subject of the principal verb, holds good even when the finite takes the article: Plat. *Rep.* 526 B, *εἰς γὰρ τὸ ὀξύτεροι αὐτοὶ αἰσῶσι γυγασθῆναι πάντες ἐπιβόησαν*: *Id.* 528 B, *ἠσπασμένη δὲ τὸ αὐτὸς μὴ οἷός τ' εἶναι ἐπιστήμην... ἕξεσσαι*.

ἀριστίνδην] lit. 'merit-wise': *ἀριστῆναι ἀριστῶν* (*Arist. Pol.*, ii. 11, 3) to choose (inaugurate) by merit, *ἡ πλανητικῶν*. Here the idea is that the best men were chosen out (by destiny) for destruction. 'Having lost the very flower of our citizens and allies'. Cp. Her. vi. 21, *Μαθησοῖσι πάντες εἰλόμ (ἵσταν ἡν γυμὰ ἠρῶνται—All the wisdom) ἀπέσπασον τὰς κεφαλὰς*.

αἰσχ. δ. οἱ σωθέντες αὐτ.] Not a *formal* anacoluthon: but we can see that the speaker's thought has changed its direction. He began the sentence as if it were to end in some such way as ἀλλοίως ἄλλοις κερθίζεται. Thuc. vii. 87, ἀλλοίως ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν.

§ 31. ὕστερον δ' ἐπ' Ἄργ.] *ἕπτερον* can be justified only if Andoc. refers to the *beginning* of Athenian intervention (427—422 B.C.) in the affairs of Sicily. The events noticed here occurred *before* the Sicilian expedition of 415 B.C. ἀμείψασθε ἀλλήλους: the Peace of Nicias, 422 B.C.—πλευστάτας ἐπὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμῶν: an allusion to the expedition against *Epidaurus* in which the Argives were assisted by the Athenians under Alcibiades (419 B.C., Thuc. v. 52—54): ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτ. τὸν θάνατον, because the Spartans retaliated by invading Argos, thus opening the campaign which was closed by the battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.) and an alliance between Argos and Sparta.

ἔξ οὗ πολεμήσαντες] Andoc. regards the aid given by Athens to Argos in 419 B.C. as the origin of the renewed war which ended in the final defeat of Athens. But the Sicilian Expedition came after (not, as he seems to think, before) this event, and it was the result of that expedition which led up to the Δεκελειὸς πόλεμος (413—404 B.C.).

§ 32. τοῦτο ὑπόλοιπον] ironical: all that is needed to 45 complete the list of our follies.

Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς ν. ἔχ.] 'The Corinthian party which now holds the city'—the war party, who were in the closest alliance with Argos, as opposed to the Philo-Laconian or peace party led by Pausanias. The *present* rulers of Corinth, Andoc. means, are mere instruments of Argive ambition. See Grote ix. 462 f.

§ 33. τοσαύτην] explained by *οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ* instead of *ὅσον φάναί*. Cp. below, p. 69, § 19, line 6.

τὰς τετταράκονθ' ἡμέ.] 'The forty days for which the Athenian plenipotentiaries at Sparta had asked, in order that they might refer the proposed terms to the Athenian Ecclesia.—ἡμᾶς, the envoys, of whom Andoc. had been one.

τὴν ἀσφ. ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπαναφορᾶς] 'The prosecution taken by us in making the *recessus*': cp. Thuc. iii. 47, τὸ Κλέωνος το σὸν ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἔργασθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, Cleon's view that the punishment is both just and expedient.

§ 34. λαμβάνοντα. κ.τ.λ.] 'must bewilder and beguile the multitude, if he is to bring them to face dangers': see note on § 29, ἀναμνησθέντας.

στίλαι] slabs set up in public places inscribed with the 46

terms of treaties, etc.: *κατὰ τὴν στήλην*. Ar. *Av.* 1051, 'acc. to the compact': *στ. αἱ πρὸς Θεβαίους*, their treaty with Thebes. Dem. *Megalop.* § 27. *ταῦτα δέ*, 'in regard to those' (*de* in apodosis, = 'on the other hand').

§ 35. *γράμματα τὰ γεγραμμ.*] 'the letter of the terms': cp. § 40.

ὑπονοσῖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'In regard to what is at your disposal' (*ὑπονοσῖν*, the advantages offered by the Spartan terms), 'it is your right to feel misgivings and to raise objections'.

§ 36. *ὅπου—τροφὴν*] *ἔπευ*—'and in such a case'. 'Such is the choice now; and some people are already saying that they do not understand the meaning of the Convention, if the city is merely to get walls and ships: "we do not recover our possessions on foreign soil"; they argue, "and these walls do not give us bread!"—*ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπονοσῖς*: Athenian possessions abroad, esp. in Sicily and the Chersonese, of which Athens had been deprived at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Cp. § 15, *φάρμακον*, ἄλλα *Χερσονήσους* καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῶν ἐπιπέλαγος (possessions acquired in a foreign land) καὶ τὰ χρεῖα (debts) ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔσται. Xen. *Mem.* ii. § 1 contains the speaker's reference to the end of the War, *επειδὴ ἠνασθέντες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιπέλαγος κτήματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ πατήρ μοι οὐδὲν κατέλιπεν*.

§ 37. *ὧν ταῦτα*] *ὧν—τῶν ἐργαζομένων ταῦτα ἐπέχει καὶ καὶς—ταύτην*, κ.τ.λ.: 'These were the resources from which our fathers set out'.

47 *πριάμενοι*] from *πρ.* *ἐπρεβόμεν*: *πρ.* in *πρ.*, *ἀπό*.

§ 38. *Ἀθήνησι ποιήσ.*] 'To make Athens the seat of the Board which administered the common fund' (of the Delian Confederacy), derived from the *αἶψα* of the *πρόεδρος*; Thuc. i. 95—96. The transferring of the fund from Delos to Athens is said to have been proposed—not, as *Andoc.* implies here, by the Athenians—but by the Samians (Plut. *Arist.* 25): Grote v. 465.

λαθόντες δὲ Πελ.] In 479 B.C., when the walls of Athens were rebuilt and the Peloponnesus was settled. *Andoc.*: alluding to the artifice by which Themistocles gained time, Thuc. i. 90 f. Grote v. 331.

πριάμ. π. Λακθ.] The statement that Athens 'bought impunity' from Sparta is not only baseless but absurd. It seems to refer to the Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta (445 B.C.) by which Athens gave up *Asiatic Troezen* and the harbours of Megara: see Grote v. 475.

ὄγδοῖκοντα καὶ πέντε] i.e. from the battle of Marathon (490 B.C.) to the battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.): since the

policy by which Themistocles made Athens a naval power dated from the close of the first Persian invasion.

§ 39. ἀέχουρα] as phrases against the restoration of the Athenian ἀρχή: Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 2. 19, 20.

τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ναῦς] The Long Walls (except the Phaleric wall) had been restored by Cimon in 393 B.C.—*naῖς*, without the art., because a fleet had yet to be created under the terms imposed by Sparta in 404 B.C. Athens had retained only 12 ships, acc. to § 12 of this speech.

§ 40. πᾶσι τε τοῖς γεγρ.] 'And we can have a peace on 48 the basis of all the terms thus defined': *i.e.* any new terms proposed by Athenian critics of the treaty can be added to those already formulated (προσγράφεσθαι).

§ 41. τούτων δ' ἡμᾶς] 'And the decision on these questions is with you' (the ἀέχουρα), 'and does not depend on the Lacedaemonians—thanks to us' (the envoys, who asked for the forty days).

προσβευτός] *i.e.* προσβουτός ἀποσπάρτας. The plur. of προσβουτός is usually πρόσβουτος, but προσβευτός in Thuc. viii. 77, 86.

οὗτος ὁ προσβ.] 'He is the true plenipotentiary'.

LYSIAS.

LYSIAS: born 459 B.C., acc. to Dionysius and the *Phalarica* 49 *Life*: between 444 and 436 B.C. acc. to K. F. Hermann, etc.: had later than 380 B.C. Approximate period of extant work, 403—380 B.C. *Life in Attic Orators*, i. 142—157.

Style. Lysias takes up the development of Attic prose at a point where the attainment of the older rhetoric, as seen in Antiphon's work, had been modified, but no perfect reconciliation had yet been effected between literary diction and the Attic idiom of ordinary life. Lysias achieves this reconciliation. Unlike Antiphon before him and Isocrates after him, he has the art of concealing his art. His distinctive qualities are a delicate mastery of the purest Attic, a subtle power of expressing character, a restrained sense of humour, and a certain flexibility of mind which enables him under the most diverse circumstances to write with almost unerring tact and charm,—with that χάρις, hardly to be analysed save in so far as felicity of expression and an essential urbanity are implied in it, which the old critics felt in him.

Technically, Lysias represents the 'plain' manner as distinguished from the 'stately' and the 'middle': (*ἁπλῆς χαρακτήρ*, λιτή or ἀφελὲς λέξις, opp. to μεγαλοπρεπὲς and μέση; Cic. *or.* 6. § 20 grandiloqui—tonnes—modius et quasi temperatus.) His *composition* (*ἀντιθέσις*) varies with the subject and the occasion. In the first of the following extracts, for example, the Ὀλυμπιακός, we find elaborate and artistic periods. In the fifth extract—from the *εἰσαγγελτικὸς λόγος*, where the public and private characters are combined—the periodic structure is blended with a style of greater ease and simplicity. In the last extract, the *εἰσαγγελητὴς λόγος*, the manner of the composition is throughout of a simpler kind. The *diction* (λέξις) of Lysias is marked by a general avoidance of words or phrases foreign to the ordinary idiom of the day: by abstention from rhetorical figures, except such as consist in the parallelism or opposition of clauses; and by the union of elegance with conciseness. His power of delineating character (*ἰσορροπία*) is illustrated by the speech *ἐπὶ Μαρτυρίᾳ*, our third extract: his power of vivid description (*εἰσαγγελτικὸς λόγος*) will be seen in the speeches against Erastosthenes and Aristoteles. The *arrangement* (τάξις) of subject-matter is nearly always simple:—proem—narrative—proof—epilogue.—See *Attic Orators*, i. 158—198. On the Works of Lysias in general, *ib.* i. 199—316.

The following selections have been made in such a manner as at once to illustrate the leading characteristics of his style and to represent the several departments of his work. Thus:—(1) *Probæticæ*. i. (2) *Deliberative*. ii. (3) *Forensic*. *ἑμψυχῶν λόγων*: iii. iv. v. vi. vii.—*ἰδιωτικῶν*: viii. ix. (See table in *Attic Orators*, i. 215: ep. 203, 211.)

I. ΟΔΥΜΗΙΑΚΟΣ. [Ὁρ. ἀκτῆς.]—This is a fragment—probably the greater part—of an oration delivered by Lysias at Olympia. The great panhellenic festivals afforded an appropriate opportunity to poets and orators who desired to speak, not of those interests or glories which belonged to a single city, but of those which were common to Greece. The ancient Greeks, although they never formed a nation, had a national sentiment, founded on a consciousness of blood-kinship and marriage; and this sentiment was probably never called forth more vividly than when Greeks of all cities came together at Nemea or at the Isthmus, at Delphi or at Olympia.

Hippias, we are told, *ἔθελλε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγοις ποικίλοις καὶ πεφροντισμένοις εἶναι*, 'used to charm Greece at Olympia with various and carefully considered speeches' (Plutarch, i. 11). The Ὀλυμπιακοὶ of Otagras came with the largest of political questions. Seeing Greece torn by faction, he became a messenger of concord, seeking to turn the Greeks against the tyrants, and advising them to take the land of the

allies—not each others' cities—for the prize of their arms' (*ib.*).

The *Olympian* of Lysias was spoken, according to Diocorus in the first year of the 98th Olympiad, 388 B.C.—the year before the Peace of Antalcidas, by which the Corinthian War was brought to a close. Athens, Thebes, Argos and Corinth had then been seven years at war with Sparta. During this time two powers, both dangerous to the freedom of Greece, had been rapidly growing. In the east the naval strength of Persia had become greater than it had been for a century. In the west Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, had reduced Naxos, Catana and Leontini; had twice defeated Carthage; and was threatening the Greek towns of Italy. A magnificent embassy from the court of Dionysius, with his brother Thearides at its head, appeared at the Olympic festival of 388 B.C. Tents embroidered with gold were pitched in the sacred enclosure; a number of splendid chariots were entered in the name of Dionysius for the four-horse chariot-race; while rhapsodists, whose skill in recitation attracted crowds, repeated poems composed by their royal master. While eye and ear were thus allured by the glories of the Syracusan tyrant, Lysias lifted up his voice to remind the assembled Greeks that in Dionysius they must recognise one of the two great enemies of Greece. Let them not admit to their sacred festival the representatives of an impious despotism. Let them remember that their duty is to overthrow that tyranny and to set Sicily free; and let the war be begun forthwith by an attack upon those glittering tents.—*Attic Orators*, i. 203 f.

§ 1. πρώτος συνήγαγε] Heracles, the legend said, founded 50 the prizes of the Olympic games with the spoils taken in his war with Augias: Pind. *Ol.* ii. 3, Ὀλυμπιάδῃ δ' ἔταρασε ἦ. ἀμφότῃα ποδῶτα: cp. xi. 57; and brought trees—esp. the olive—from the land of the Hyperboreans to the Olympian valley,—that 'garden of the gods' (κατός) which had before been 'naked' (*O.* iii. 24).

§ 2. φιλοτιμίαν πλοῦτον] 'rivalry in wealth'—i.e. in chariots entered for the races (horses being ἀγῶνας ἔτι ἐπιπλοῦστω χλ.δόν), and in the general splendour of the *θυσία*.—πλοῦτον, not πλοῦτον; cp. [Lys.] *Εὐριτομῆς*, § 80, ἀγῶνας, δόξαι καὶ σοφίας (= γνῶμης here) καὶ πλοῦτου.

γνῶμης δ' ἐπιδειξίω] 'a display of intellect' (in the recitation of poems, orations, etc.); but not properly ἀγῶνας, a contest, since at Olympia there were not prizes for a *σοφίας* ἀγῶνας, as there were at Delphi. Lucian, it is true, says of Herodotus, ἀγωνιστὴν παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν Ὀλυμπίῳ: but he presently explains

that this is metaphorical—ἀνακηρυχθεὶς εἰχ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς μὰ Δία νόμοκος ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπιστῶ πάλαι, κ.τ.λ. (*Her.* 2). Besides the 'sophists, historians and speech-writers', Lucian mentions Aetion as having exhibited at Olympia his picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxana (*ib.* 3).

- αὖν - γενέσθαι] It seems probable that we should supply αὖ, rather than change γαρήσθαι to γαρήσεισθαι. One of the two remedies is necessary. The aor. infin., without αὖ, might be used if the context made it clear that the reference was to the future: but, here, ἠγγέλτο γαρήσθαι would mean 'thought that it had become'. On p. 69, § 19, εἰς αὖν ἐπιφύλασθαι means, indeed, 'thought to acquire'; but there a difference is made (a) by the fact that the sense of 'expecting' can be given to εἰσαι more easily than to ἠγγέσαι: (b) by the fact that the context is clearer.

§ 3. ταῦθ' ἐφήγγισατο, ἐγὼ δ' ἤκω] Heracles 'traced this plan', sketched the outline of the Olympic festival, leaving it for us to fill in the details. Now I, Lysias says, do not think that he meant this γέλωτες ἐπιφύλασι to be frivolous. 'I am not here to dispute on subtleties or to cavil about words': like the sophists (Polus, Prodicus, Anaximenes, —*Luc. De Her.* 3), who have displayed their niceties of dialectic or of grammar at Olympia. Prodicus taught ἀμθότες ἀνοσώτων, the accurate use of synonyms, Plat. *Euthyd.* 277 ε.

σοφιστῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'These, I consider, are the tasks of worthless and noisy declaimers'. On ταπεινὰ, see below, introd. to Isocrates κατὰ σοφιστῶν.

πολίτου] Lysias never acquired the Athenian citizenship, though he had deserved it; but at Olympia he would feel that he was at least a citizen of Greece: see *Attic Orators*, i. 151.

τῷ βαρβάρῳ—τυράννων] The king of Persia (Artabanus Mnemon, 405—359 B.C.):—Dionysius I. of Syracuse.

§ 4. τῶν μὲν παύσασθαι] 'cease from our feud': τὰ δὲ κωλύσαι—arrest their consequences.

ἀδότας τῶν ἀτυχῶν] 'knowing that rivalry, indeed, is for the prosperous, but that the part of the unfortunate is to devise remedies'. τῶν ἀτυχῶν is, I think, the true correction of the reading found in the mss., τῶν ἀτάκων. 'The same men' would mean instead of τῶν ἀτυχῶν. But there is no point here in saying that it is the part of prosperous men γαῖαν τὴν βλάπτειν. He is saying that the Greeks, being the reverse of prosperous, cannot afford to indulge in strife with each other, but must provide for their common safety.

51 § 5. τῶν δὲ χρ.—τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλ.] Dubree thought that logical order required τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλ.—τῶν δὲ χρ.: but the

change is needless. The orator puts his two main propositions first. The third (τά δὲ τῶν Ἑλλ.) could almost have been understood.

αὐτὸς] *he himself*, as distinguished from Dionysius, who in this view is his *ally*. Sauppe need not, then, wish for αὐτῶν.

§ 6. ἐποίησαν ἐστερηθῆναι] more than *στερηθῆναι*: not merely 'made them lose' their land, but 'left them stripped' of it.

§ 7. ἀτάχιστοι] Sparta was not a town in the proper sense, but a group of hamlets (ὡς συνοικισθῆναι τὰ πόλεις κατὰ νότον δὲ εὐκρίθωνα: *Time*, i. 10). In the Macedonian period it acquired walls; and Polybius describes Sparta as circular in form (ἐχθιστὴ περιφέρειά, v. 22), having a circumference of about six miles—rather less than that of Megalopolis (ix. 21).

προοράσθαι] depending on εὐπίς, this might mean there is hope (1) that they are now providing, or (2) that they will continue to provide. — *προοράσθαι* differing from *προβλέπειν* or *προβλέπειν* (4c) by expressing that the vigilance is to be *sustained*: and this is the sense here. See Goodwin § 15, n. 2.

§ 8. ὁ ἐπιῶν καιρὸς] 'The future opportunity' (at whatever particular moment it is to come); *i.e.* 'Now the future can give us no better opening than the present'. — ἀμφότερον, — τῶν τε θανάτων καὶ τῶν Διαιτητῶν: after *at* 'fortunes', because the idea is, 'come upon us from both quarters'.

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΝ 52
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ. [Or. xxxiv.]—'A Plea against
abolishing the ancestral Constitution of Athens': a fragment,
preserved (like the last) by Dionysius. When, after the fall of
the Thirty, the Democracy was restored in 403 B.C., it was the
aim of Sparta to restrict it. One Phœnicians proposed in the
Ecclesia that only land-owners should have the franchise, a
measure which, according to Dionysius, would have excluded
about five thousand citizens. The speech from which he gives
an extract was made against this motion during a debate in the
Ecclesia. It appears to have been written by Lysias for some
wealthy citizen who was not personally affected by the proposal,
and may probably be regarded as the earliest of the orator's
works now known.—*Attic Orators*, i. 211.

§ 1. τὰς γεγεν. συμφορὰς] 'our past misfortunes': the
defeat at Aegospotami, which was popularly ascribed to oligar-
chic treason (see on *Lys. In Eristarchō*, § 36, p. 256), the surren-
der of Athens, and the tyranny of the Thirty. The date of the
speech is shortly after the restoration of the Democracy in 410
B.C.

ὥστε μηδ' ἄν] 'So that not even a later generation [much less our own] could desire a change in the constitution [from Democracy to Oligarchy]'. *μηδ' ἄν ἐπιθυμῶν*, oblique of *οἷα ἄν ἐπιθυμοῖεν*. — *ἀμφοτέρων*: Democracy and Oligarchy.

πρότερον *δὶς ἤδη. καὶ] So Dobree for *πρότερον*. *δὶς ἤδη καὶ*. *δὶς* referring to (1) the Revolution of the 400 in 411 B.C., and (2) the tyranny of the Thirty. This gives more point. Yet *δὶς ἤδη καὶ* is possible. 'For that very reason [i.e. just *because* you have had these experiences], though I do not marvel at them, I marvel at you'.

§ 2. τούτων ἑμῶν] As we often have *θαυμάζω τοὺς ἑμῶν*. 'I wonder at this in (belonging to) you'. so also *θαυμάζω ἑμῶν* *ὅτι ἐστέ, κ.τ.λ.*, where *ὅτι ἐστέ* = *τὸ εἶναι ἑμᾶς*.

Πειραιῶς ἄστυες] 'men whose fortune associated them with the party of the Peiræus [the patriots whom Thrasybulus led from Phyle], but whose sympathies were with the party of the Town' [the oligarchical adherents of the Tyranny]. See note below on *In Eratosth.* § 92, p. 74.

53 § 3. — οὔτε πλούτῳ —] Mathlan's conj. to supply the lacuna, before *οὔτε γένει*, is better than *οὔτε φιλίᾳ* (Stephanus) or *οὔτε αἰσίᾳ* (Saurma). 'Though I am not in danger of exclusion [from the franchise] on the score either of wealth or of birth, but have in both respects the advantage of my opponents'. The proposed restriction of the franchise probably threatened to exclude all who could not satisfy some definition of a pure Attic descent (*γένος*), as well as those who did not possess a certain property qualification (*πλοῦτος*).

ἐκτήμεθα] 'we possessed', from *ἐκτήσασθε*, *πιπρ.* for *ἐκτηθήσασθε*, as in Andoc. *De Pace* § 37, Her. II. 108: v. l. *ἐκτησθήμεθα*, 'when we acquired', i.e. 'after we had acquired'.

οὐχ ὅπως ἄτιμον Ἀθ. τινὰ ποιήσομεν διεννοοῦμεθα] 'We did not think of disfranchising any Athenian'. Note that the constr. differs from (though it is akin to) that in which *οὐχ ἔπειτα ἀλλὰ* = 'not only not, but': for this we should need *ποιήσαι*. Cp. Lysias *κατὰ Φιλάρου* (or. XXXI.) § 17. *ἀλλὰ τοῖσι οὐχ ὅπως ἐφέλησκει τῆς πόλεως ἐν ταύτῃ καί τῃ καὶ ταύτῃ κατακτείνε διεννοῦθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως τι κερδαίνει ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας παρανομιῶντα*.

Ἐββοῦσιν] 'we even proposed to confer on Eubœans the right of intermarriage with Athenians': probably at some time subsequent to the revolt and reduction of the island in 415 B.C. 'In Eubœa two-thirds of the island gradually became the property of Attic citizens' (Curt. *Hist. Gr.* II. 486, i.e. of *ἐλλήνων* — *ἐπιγναῖα*, one of the privileges of *ἰσοπολιτεία*, or admission to the citizenship of a foreign state: others were *ἀνέλευα* (exemp-

tion from the taxes on aliens) and ἐγκτησις, right of acquiring land.

ἀπολοῦμεν] 'ruin' (by disfranchisement): so the mss.: Bekker ἀπέλωμεν, 'eject from their rights'.

§ 4. μετὰ τῶν τειχῶν] 'along with the walls' (of Athens, demolished in 404 B.C. under the terms imposed by Sparta).

πλέον] 'better' (than you could hope to do otherwise).

ἐν ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀλ. γ.] 'under the oligarchies that have arisen in our own time': those, namely, of 411 and 404 B.C. — ἐν is rightly supplied by Reiske.

§ 5. ἄλλως τε καὶ μεμν.] 'Especially when you remember 54 that the champions of oligarchy, while nominally waging war on Democracy, are in fact lusting for your property': alluding to the recent spoliation by the Thirty. See *Lys. In Eratosth.* § 6 (below, p. 66), καλλίστην... πρῶτασι τιμωρῆσθαι αἰν δοκέειν, τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ χρημιστέσθαι ('to make money'—in reference to the raid of the Tyrants on the μέτραι). On the art. with Ἀναρχίας, δῆμῳ, cp. *ib.* § 97, note.

§ 6. ἐρώσι... προστάττουσιν] 'And then, those persons who are so enamoured of your possessions—what safety are they to find for the city, unless we do what Sparta bids us? But I would ask them to tell me, what will be left to the people, supposing that we obey her behests?' i.e. the proposed partitioning of the franchise would so diminish the number of ἄστυοι and ἰσχυροὶ as to leave Athens, in a military sense, at the mercy of Sparta; and if Sparta's dictation were obeyed, the end would be an Oligarchy of the closest type—like that of the Thirty. With Markland's ἐρωσὶν (adopted by Boiter and Sauppe) we must strike out τὰς (as they have not done), and render:— 'And then they ask, How is the city to save your property, unless we do what Sparta bids us?' But the tenor of the argument clearly supports the ἐρώσι of the mss.

§ 7. Ἀργείους... Μαντινέας] 'Now I observe that the Argives and Mantinians, while they maintain the same policy' [i.e. have democratic governments, instead of oligarchies servile to Sparta], 'are in possession of their territory, though the Argives (ταῖς μέγ) touch the frontier of Laedæmon, and the Mantinians (ταῖς με) are its neighbours.—the citizens of Argos being not more numerous than we are, while those of Mantinea do not number 3000'. Clinton (*F. H.* ii. 517) computes that at this time Argos and Athens may each have had about 16,000 male citizens, which would give a total free population for each of about 66,000; similarly the free population of Mantinea and its territory would be about 13,000 (*ib.* p. 507).

§ 8. Ἰσασι] sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: ταύτων, the Argives and Mantincians.

55 ὥστε οὐ καλός] 'And so the venture strikes them as offering ignominious alternatives; if they conquer their neighbours, they must enslave them too (γὰρ): if they are vanquished, they will have robbed themselves of the advantages which they now enjoy'. Reiske's insertion of *οὐ* before *καταδουλεύεσθαι* (adopted by Baier and Sauppe) seems to me to make nonsense of the whole sentence. *Lys.* does not mean 'the risk of *falling* to enslave them' (where, too, we should expect *αἴ*, not *οὐ*), but the discredit of *being compelled* to enslave them, in order to avoid τὸ πολλάκις ἐμβάλλειν.

- ἦπτον =] The sense shows that Reiske is right in supplying ἦπτον. It is perhaps to be supplied before ἀπαλειψάμενοι in Antiph. *Tetr.* B. β. § 2 (above, p. 2, where see note).

§ 9. τὴν χώραν τεμν.] Cp. Thuc. ii. 62 (Pericles to the Athenians, during the Peloponnesian invasion of 430 B.C.), οἰδ' αἰὲς χαλεπῶς φέρειν ἀπέων (for your lands and houses) μίλλαν ἢ οἱ κηπίαν καὶ ἰγυλλασπείην πλοῦτον πρὸς ταύτας (the naval empire of Athens) νομίσαντες ὀλιγωρήσαι.

ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος] 'We know that on this one cast all our hopes of welfare are stake': ὁ κινδ. οὗτος, i.e. τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ, the question whether the πάτριος πολιτεία (the Democracy) is to be maintained or not.

§ 10. τὸ δίκαιον] We can say, ἐπινοεῖν (or even προερεῖν) ἐπὶ τὸ δίκαιον, to amend (or to act) 'in the direction of right'; but hardly εἶναι μετὰ τὰς δίκαι. ἐπὶ τὸ δίκαι., to be on the side of the wronged in the cause of right: hence Taylor's omission of ἐπὶ seems warranted. 'Trusting in the gods, and hoping that Justice will be the ally of the injured'. *σοφ. και.* (as *σοφ. τε* Soph. *O. T.* 108), Thuc. ii. 65, τῆνδε οὐκ ἔτι ἀντιέχουσαν καὶ ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἐπέχουσαν.—If the subject to *δοτεῖν* is *θεοὶ* understood, τὸ δίκαι.= 'as is just', an acc. like τὸ λεγόμενον (Thuc. vii. 68): but this is too harsh.

§ 11. φειζόμεθα] 'go into exile'—as the mass of Athenian citizens had actually done when the Thirty limited the franchise to 3000; see *Lys. In Proxenos*, § 25, p. 76, and notes, p. 258.

56 III. ΥΠΕΡ ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΥ. [Or. xvi.]—The name occurs only in the title, which, contrary to the general rule, is perhaps of the same age as the speech. 'A defence for Mantitheos on his Scrutiny before the Senate'. The office to which that scrutiny related was perhaps that of an ordinary senator, since in § 8 the speaker cites instances of persons

who had really done what he is charged with doing, and had yet been admitted to the Senate. The complaint against him was that his name appeared on the list (*γραφίσαι*, § 6) of those who had served as Knights in the time of the Thirty. As or. xxvi. against Euxandrus shows (§ 10), the fact of such service under the Tyrants became, after the restoration of the Democracy, a disqualification for the office of senator. Manthinos must, then, have been at least eighteen years of age in 405 B.C., and so must have been born before 422. He refers to his share in campaigns subsequent to that of 394 B.C. (§§ 15—18). On the other hand, the tone of § 15 rather suggests that Thrasybulus was still alive:—that is, that the speech is earlier than 389 B.C. The date may have been about 392 B.C. The speaker, who was taunted with youthful presumption (§ 20), cannot have been much more than thirty. *Attic Orators*, i. 245.

§ 1. τῶν αὐτοῖς βεβ.] 'their course of life'. Dem. *De Cor.* § 265. ἀλλήματα τῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλα τὰ καὶ κίρια βεβήματα.

§ 3. ἀξιῶ δέ] 'What I ask of your House is this:—If I merely prove that I am loyal to the existing Constitution' [the restored Democracy], 'and that I have been compelled to share your dangers' [by ordinary service in war], 'let not that bring me any positive (πρὸς) credit: but if my career is shown to have been worthy in the most complete sense—in a sense directly opposed to the opinion and the assertions of my enemies—then I pray you to ratify my admission [to the Senate], and to pass a silent condemnation on my foes'.—καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα: 'in all other things also': i.e. not only in the rudiments of civic loyalty, but in all its duties, public and private.

§ 4. τῆς ἐν Ἑλλ. σ. Σάτυρον] The Athenian overthrow 57 at Aegospotami, 405 B.C.—Satyrus, king of Bosporus in the Tauric Chersonese (Crimæa), 407—393 B.C. The *Trapeziticus* of Isocrates (or. xvii.) was written for a subject of this Satyrus. Cp. *Attic Orators*, ii. 222.

οὔτε τῶν τευχῶν] 'neither when the walls were being pulled down' [under the terms imposed by Sparta when Athens surrendered to Alexander in the spring of 404 B.C.], 'nor when the form of government was being changed' [by the establishment of the Thirty Tyrants a little later, in April, 404]. See *Annals* in *Attic Orators*, i. p. xlv. After πολιτείας, ἐπεδῆ-μοῦμεν seems to have dropped out of the mss.

§ 5. τῶν ἀλλοτρ. κινδ.] i.e. the perils of the Thirty Tyrants, who were deposed soon after the advance of Thrasybulus and the exiles from Phylæ to the Peiræus (Dec. 403 B.C.), and

were succeeded by the Ten. The exiles were in possession of Athens in July 403, and the Democracy was formally restored in September.

τοῖς μὴδὲν ἔξ.] 'who had no share in their crimes', and therefore no claim upon their favour.

§ 6. ἐκ τοῦ σανίδιου] The tablet (a board covered with cypress-wood), the official list. Cp. *Lys.* *In Epitaph.* (or. xxxv.) § 16, *ὁ μὲν ἄν βουλεύσασκε καὶ ἐλακτικώτατα καὶ ὡς ἱππεύοντες αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τριάκοντα τοῦνομα ἐν ταῖς σανίσιν ἐνεγέγραπτο.*

τοὺς φυλάρχους, κ.τ.λ.] 'that the cavalry commanders' (10 in number, one for each *σφέ*—opp. to *παύσηαι*, commanders of the tribal infantry) 'should make a return of those who had served as *Kuirites*, in order that you might compel them to refund the sums paid to them for their equipment' (*ἐκταστάσεις, ἀρροιστήματα*—allowances for outfit made by the State to *ἱππεῖς* when first enrolled).

58 § 7. τοῖς συνδίκου] The Fiscal Board of Ten,—the Athenian 'Solicitors to the Treasury'—by whom he would have been prosecuted as a public debtor (*βλάβη τῆ δημοσίῃ*). Cp. *Hyperbrotion* p. 279, *συνδίκου, πρὸς οὗ τὸ ἀρροιστήμα ἐπιφέρεται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκταστάματα μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Περικλέους ἀπέδωκε* (i.e. at the restoration of the Democracy in 403 B.C.): *Harm. Ant.* i. § 151 n. 4.

οὔτε κατ. παραλ.] 'nor that I had received any allowance' (in the first instance). *ἔλαβε ποσὰ καταρροιστήματα*, which could hardly be 'refunded'. Others regard the clause as interpolated.

ἐκείνοισι] The list kept by the φυλάρχαι, *τῶνται*—the list on the *σανίδιον*.

§ 8. βουλευόντας]—*βουλευοῦμαι* *ἔπειτα*. The *βουλεύματα* of *Μακρίδης* was himself was probably for admission to the *βουλῆ* (see introd.).

μαρτύρησον] viz. that I returned to the *Πειραιῶσι* only at the time stated in § 4.

§ 9. ταῖς δακμ.] ('Claws of justice': see the meaning by the *βουλή* of officials *δακμῶν*). *Εἶμι ὅστις πρόεδρος ὁ ἕναστος ἀποκρίσασθαι μετὰ ἀποκρίσειν, viz. παντ. πρῶτ. πνν. πννν.* See *Attic Orators*, i. 215, and 242—254.

59 § 10. ἐπιθροῦς] 'giving a dowry of 30 minas to each'. i.e. giving *σπῆδ* (*γυνή*) the *ἕναστος* (in the *παιδικῶν*): *Il.* ii. 148, *ἀεὶ ὄπωπ' τις ἐγ' ἐπέδωκε θυγατρὶ.*

ἐνεμάμεν] 'I shared my inheritance': *Isae.* vi. § 5, *οὐσίαν ἐνεμάμετο πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

§ 11. *περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν*] 'As to my public life':—not merely, as the context shows, his discharge of public duties, but, more generally, the character which he bore in society, as distinguished from his conduct of family affairs (*τὰ ἴδια*).

περὶ κίβους] Cp. *Lys. or. xiv. § 27* (of the younger Alcibiades), *κατὰ νόμον τὰ θεῖα*. Isocrates says of the able youth of the day, *ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἰετὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπισημοῦσι ψυχόμενοι εἰσιν. ἔτι δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖσι ἀναιδέως κίβουσι*, *Antid. § 287*.

§ 12. *δίκην . . . γραφήν . . . εἰσαγγ.*] Neither a private lawsuit, nor a public prosecution, nor an impeachment (for an offence more directly against the State).

§ 13. *εἰς Ἀλιάρτον*] The Athenian expedition in 325 B.C. for the relief of Halicarnus, defended by the Thebans against the Lacedaemonians, whose leader, Lysander, was killed in the battle under its walls: *Xen. Hellen. iii. 5. 16 f.*

ἡγουμένους] synonymous with *κομιστάς*. The contracted 60 clauses *ἀπὸ τῶν αἰετῶν ἰππέων ἀφελαιε, τοὺς δ' ἑπλάτας κίβουσι*. The notion of 'thinking' is common to both clauses. Yet it is repeated in different words, as if these words, too, were contracted. This trait deserves remark as showing immaturity in the use of antithesis. Cp. *or. xxv. § 22*, *ἡγουμένοι δὲ τῆς τῶν γράμματα πικρίας πολὺ μᾶλλον πικρύνεσθαι ὅ ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοφρονῶν δόγμασι κατεῖναι*. Also *In Episth. § 7* (below, p. 66) *περὶ αἰετῶν ἡγουμένων, περὶ πολλῶν ἀπικουμένων*: *ib. § 32 p. 73* *τοὺς μάλιστα δίκην ἀπικουμένων. . . τοὺς δὲ δίκην ἀπικουμένων*. See, too, note on *Antiphon De Ocul. Herod. § 87* (above, p. 21).

ἀδοκιμάστων] who had not passed the scrutiny necessary for admission to the cavalry: the law was, *ἀδοκίμαστος ἰππέυη, ἀτιμον εἶναι* (*Lys. or. xiv. § 8*).

τῷ Ὀρθοβοίῳ] prob. the phylarch of the tribe to which Mantitheus belonged.

§ 14. *ἐφοδίων*] 'funds' for their equipment and journey. M. assisted the more needy of his own *φύλαξαι*, who were personally known to him. The tribe consisted of *demes* not adjacent to each other.

§ 15. *εἰς Κόρινθον*] in 394 B.C., when the allies, including the Athenian contingent under Themistocles (whose *deme* was *Stairia*—hence *ἡ πύλας Στάριον*), were defeated by the Spartans: *Xen. Hellen. iv. 2. 9—23*.

τῆς πρώτης τεταγμ.] 'posted in the front rank' (*τάξις*): cp. *Isoc. Panath. § 180*, *τῆς πρώτης τάξεως*. *Below, § 19*, *τάξις*—the contingent of infantry furnished by each *φύλαξ*.

*ἐναποθανόντων] 'died on the field'. The place to which the *ἐν* of the compound refers is left to be understood from the context: cp. Her. ix. 65. οἷτε ἐπέλασαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, εἴτε ἐναποθανόντων. Thuc. ii. 52. τὰ ἰσθμῶν κέρκωα πλεῖα ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνήσκοντων. While ἐναποθνήσκω is current in classical prose, ἐθνήσκω is unknown to it, being (like the simple θνήσκω) a poetical word.

§ 16. χωρίων ἰσχ.] 'strong positions having been occupied (by the Athenians and their allies), so that the enemy (the Spartans) could not approach'. The reading παρ' ἰσθμῶν (near the Isthmus) would give more point.

- 61 Ἀγησιλάου δ' εἰς τὴν Β.] Agesi-laus, recalled from Asia Minor, entered Bœotia from the north, and won the battle of Coroneia against the allies (394 B.C.).

ἀποχωρίσαι . βοηθ.] 'to detach some companies as supports' (of the allied forces in Bœotia). ἀποχωρίσαι can only mean, against Agesi-laus: and ἐπεὶ κατέβηεν, 'peril in a new quarter', is opp. to peril at Corinth.

ἀγαπητῶς σεο.] 'hardly saved': i.e. so as *only* just to satisfy the desire of safety: cp. Plat. *Lysis* 218 c. εἶχε ἀγαπητῶς δ' ἐθροσέδηεν, 'having *only* just secured my prey'.

ἀκληρωτί] 'without ballot'—waiving the chance of *not* being drawn.

§ 18. στραταῶν καὶ φρ.] 'expeditions and terms of garrison duty'.

ἀλλ' οὐκ, εἴ τις *κομᾷ] 'instead of hating one for wearing long hair',—a custom which, at this period, was retained by the Spartans, but which, at Athens, was restricted to youths under 18, and to the Ἴππειοί,—being regarded, in other cases, as a mark of foreignness, or as an affectation of Spartan manners. κομᾷ. Hamaker's conjecture, is tentatively commended by the context here. The traditional τολμᾷ is not only weak, but incompatible with the context: for the verb ought to denote some harmless personal peculiarity which is contrasted with military merit in the field (τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀελλήσεως). So the Ἴππειοί only in Ar. *Eq.* 552. ἦν ποὶ ἀμφοῖν γένοιτο, καὶ φθονοῦσθ' ἡμῖν κομῶσι: Ar. 1281, ἐλακωνομάνουν... ἐκόμωον. Cp. § 19, ἀπ' ἐφ' ἧς (propositional ἀφροστικισμός).—With ἀλλ' οὐκ κομῶν χροί, we could not have χρὴ οὐ μισεῖν.

- 62 § 19. μικρὸν δ, κ.σ.λ.] 'through their voice was low and their speech discreet'. Cp. [Dem.] *στ.* κενυτι. *Adv.* Callim. § 52, ἐπέφθεκα ἔπει καὶ ταχέως βαλίζε καὶ μέγα σφέγγεται.

§ 20. νεώτερος ὢν) In *Anab.* iii. 1. 14 Xenophon speaks as if his youth made it strange that he should take a leading part—being then, probably, about 30 years old.—καὶ ἐμαυτῷ, 'to myself also' and not only to my possible critics.

§ 21. μόνους ἀξιόους) Cp. *Thuc.* ii. 40. τῶν μόνων παρὰ τῶν πολλοῦ (καὶ πλείους) μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχίνοιον νομίζουσιν.

κριταί) 'the judgment on their character rests with none but you': *κριταί* is more general than *ἀκαρπαί*, judges of their (legal) cause. Cp. *Antiph.* *De Caed. Her.* § 94 (above, p. 241).

IV. ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΥ. [Or. xxiv.]—'For the Invalid'. At Athens a certain allowance was made by the State to the *ἀδυνατοί*: that is, to persons who were unable, through bodily ailment, to earn a livelihood, and who had less than three minae of private property. Once a year, or perhaps oftener, the list of applicants for such relief was scrutinised by the Senate and then passed by the Ecclesia (§ 22). It is on the occasion of such a scrutiny that the present speech is made. The speaker had for years (§ 8) been in receipt of an aid daily (§ 20) from the State; but lately it had been attempted to show that he was not entitled to public relief. This objection is termed in the title to the speech not in the speech (itself) an impeachment (*εἰσαγγελία*); but had, of course, nothing in common with *εἰσαγγελία* technically so called, except that it was an accusation laid immediately before the Senate. As appears from § 25, the date was later than 493 B.C.; and it might be inferred that the memory of the tyranny in 404 B.C. was no longer very recent. *Attic Orators*, i. 254.

§§ 10—14.

§ 10. (ἰπποσύης) 'As to my riding, which he has had the hardihood to mention to you,—so little does he fear Fortune, or respect your common sense—the reply is brief'. Τετρα may some day make *ἑνὲς ἰπποσύης*, and then he will need the cripple's dose: cp. § 22, οὐδ' ἴσως μετέδωκεν ἢ τετρα καὶ ἑναίη ἐν τῷ παραλή. 'the only privilege which Fortune [who has afflicted me] has permitted me to enjoy in my country'. Cp. *Thuc.* v. 101, ἡ τύχη ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.—οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἀσχ.: because he asks them not to believe their own eyes, § 14.

φιλοσοφείν) 'study'. *Isocr.* *Προσφυγέ.* § 6. τὰς αἰ. καὶ 63
εκαταὶ καὶ εἰκοσάκις τούτοις τὰς λέγουσιν: (the theme of a
Panhellenic war on Persia): for *φιλοσοφία* in the general sense
of study, see *Attic Orators*, ii. 36.

τὰς μακρ. τῶν ἀναγκ.] 'for the longer of my necessary excursions'; τῶν ἀναγκαίων is partitive gen., not gen. after *μικροτέρως*. The longest of his ὁδοί were still only ἀναγκαίαι.

§ 11. ἀστράβης] 'If I were wealthy, I should sit at ease on my mule, instead of riding other men's horses': ἀστράβη, a padded saddle with a back like a chair, used by luxurious persons, who preferred steady-going mules: hence the notion that ἀστρ. meant a mule. Cp. Dem. *In Mid.* § 133, ἐπ' ἀστράβης ὀχούμενοι ἄρτους. In Lucian *Leucippicus* 2, ὁ ἀστραβυλάτης = 'the mule-teer'.—ἀντρακίων: an effort for him, as the ordinary Greek saddle, or rather horsecloth (ἐπίπτεον, = στρώμα), of that period had no stirrups.

§ 12. τοῦτον αὐτὸν σιωπᾶν] 'that the prosecutor himself should be silent, if he saw me in my mule-saddle (for what could he say?)' The insertion of αὐτὸν before σιωπᾶν is unnecessary, because the parenthesis, τὶ γὰρ δε καὶ εἰλεγεῖν: is equivalent to ὡσπερ αὐτὸν ἐσιώπα.—ἰναρτεῖ, 'sound': cp. § 4, τῷ σῶματι δύνασθαι.

οἷς] 'when I have the same reason for using both these resources' (crutches and riding).

64 § 13. κληρ. τῶν ἑ. ἀρχ.] 'to ballot for a place among the nine archons'. The archons were ἐλευθεροί, chosen by lot, (comp. to αἰρετοί, chosen by χειροτονία,) prob. from Solon's time, though Her. vi. 109 ascribes the change to Cleisthenes. Cp. the pseudo-Lysian or. vi. *In Andr.* § 4, ἐν ἐκῇ ἐλευθεροῦσιν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων καὶ Νέχρη βασιλεῖσι (draw the lot to be Archon Basileus).—ἀναπήρω, 'a cripple'.

οὐ γὰρ δῆπου] 'For I presume that the same person will not be deprived of his allowance by you on the ground that he is able-bodied, and excluded by the presidents of the ballot on the ground that he is physically disabled': οἱ θέσοι θεσμοσέται, who presided over the ballot for offices: Aschm. *In Clea.* § 13, ἀρχαὶ ἐκείνας (comp. to ταῖς αἰρεσίς) δὲ οἱ θ. ἀποκαταστάω ἐν τῷ Οἴσιω.

§ 14. ὡσπερ ἐπικλήρου] When the property of a deceased citizen was inherited by his daughter, her nearest male kinsman was legally entitled to claim her in marriage: and this claim was sometimes enforced, acc. to law, even when it involved the dissolution of a marriage contracted before her father's death: Isac. or. iii. § 64, πάλαι συνέβαινεταί φησ ἀρραβῆται τὰς θυγατέρας γυναικας. So the prosecutor, the ἀδελφῶτα says with grim humour, seeks to take the θυγατὶς—dowered as it is with its one obol a day—away from its lawful consort. The Greeks could say, *πυρρὴ θυγατὶς τῷ*: thus the common idiom would

make the irony seem less strained. For ἀμφοτεβητέῳ with gen. of the object slain, cp. Isaac. or. v. § 14 (below, p. 170) ἀμφοτεβητούμεν αὐτῷ ἅπαντος τοῦ ὄκου.

V. ΚΑΤΑ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. [Or. xii.]—Polemarchus, 65
 brother of Lysias, had been put to death by the Thirty Tyrants. Eratosthenes, one of their number, was the man who had arrested him and taken him to prison. In this speech Lysias, himself the speaker, charges Eratosthenes with the murder of Polemarchus, and, generally, with his share in the Tyranny. A special clause in the Amnesty of 403 B.C. excluded the Thirty Tyrants, the Ten who had succeeded them, and the Eleven who had executed their sentences. But any one even of these might enjoy the Amnesty if he chose to stand a public inquiry, and was acquitted. When the oligarchy was finally overthrown, Phocion and Eratosthenes were the only members of it who stayed at Athens. As they dared to do this, they must have availed themselves of the permission to give account of their office. Here, then, we have not to do with an ordinary indictment for murder (γυναικὶ φόνος). The public inquiry into the conduct of Eratosthenes afforded Lysias the opportunity for preferring his accusation. This is indicated (1) by the wide range of topics in the speech, dealing, as it does, with the whole history of the Anarchy: (2) by § 37, where the accuser says that he has done enough in having shown that the guilt of the accused reaches the point at which death is deserved: which he could scarcely have said if (as in a γυναικὶ φόνος) death had been the necessary penalty in case of conviction.

Date, 403 B.C., shortly after the formal restoration of the Democracy in Sept., and before the expedition against Elusis had dislodged the fugitive Tyrants from that place (Non. Hellen. ii. 4. 46): see § 80 of the speech, αὐτῶν ἀπέστη μὲν τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ, παύσαντες δ' ἔστησαν.—Attic Orators, i. 261 f.

1. *Narrative: the Murder of Polemarchus.*—§§ 1—36.

§ 1. αὐτοῖς|—ταῖς τρεῖσιν, whose names were already before the court. In § 33, τούτων—the Thirty as represented in court by Eratosthenes.

μήτ' ἂν ψ.—δύνασθαι| i. e. εἴτε βίη δύναιτο (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι) ἢ τῶν ὁ κατηγοροῦμαι ἐν τῷ, ἢ τοῦ τάλ. βουλομένου (καὶ ἐδ βουλοῦμαι) εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δύναίτο ἂν.

§ 2. τοῦναντίον δέ ἄξιμαρτάνειν| 'And I believe that our experience' (as accusers of E.) 'will be contrary to all pro-

dent. Heretofore the accuser has always been expected to show what enmity exists between himself and the accused: here, it is from the accused that we have to ask what was that enmity towards the Commonwealth which gave them the heart to sin so enormously against it'. Personal enmity (ἔχθρα) was regarded as a proof that the accuser was in grim earnest, — that he was not a mere busy-body (πολιπράγμων) or mercenary calumniator (σικκορίντης). Thus the accuser of Agoratus begins by showing that his own wrongs entitle him to appear in that capacity: *τιγχνίει ὄν ἐμοῦ ἢ αὐτῆ ἔχθρα πρὸς Ἀγορατεν τουτοῦ καὶ τῷ πλείθει τῷ ἑωτέρῳ ἐπαρχούσα*: 'so my personal quarrel with A. is the same as that of the Athenian People': *In Agor.* § 1.

ἦτις εἴη ἦτις ἦν] εἴη, because εἶαι is a secondary tense. εἴη may be the oblique either of ἐστί or of ἦν: δὲ τοῦ ἐκατέρω. ἐπιθ. τῆν ἔχθρ. ἦτις ἐστί. (or ἦν, *was* when they brought the charge): but is best taken as representing ἐστί. Just to avoid this ambiguity, the Greek *imperf.* and *pluperf.* are usually kept in the indic., even when they might be changed into the optat. For an *exception*, see *Dem. Adv. Oret.* i. § 20, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ οἰσίν μάρτυς παροῖν: this would usually mean, 'they replied, "No witness is present"' (παροῦσι): it really means, 'they replied, "No witness *was* (at that former time) present"' (παρῆν).—Cp. Goodwin pp. 148, 153.

οὐ μέντοι ὀργίζ.] 'I do not speak, however, as one who has no personal resentments or grievances' [against the Thirty]; 'I only mean that everyone has abundant matter of indignation against them, either on private or on public grounds': *i. e.* if there be any one who (unlike myself) has no private wrongs to resent, he may remember the wrongs of the community. The first part of L.'s speech (§§ 1—36) deals with τὰ δικά: the second (§§ 37—end) with τὰ δημοτικά.

§ 3. ποιήσωμαι] better, I think, here than ποιήσομαι, which Rauchenstein prefers. The fut. indic., after a verb of fearing, usually implies that the thing feared is vividly seen as the more probable of the possible results; the subjunctive suits the present context better, because it better expresses a mind divided between fear and hope.

66 § 4. Κέφαλος] A Syracusan who settled at Athens as a *μετανοήσας*. Plato marks his hospitable disposition in the *Republic* (328 B), of which the opening scene is laid at the house of his eldest son Polemarchus.—*Attic Orators*, i. 145.

ἐδικασάμεθα, ἐφέγγ.] 'maintained' an action — 'defended it'. Though *δικασάμεθα* can be said of both parties to a suit, yet *δικάζει δικασάμεθα* τὰς is esp. said of him who 'goes to law' with another,—ὁ δικάων.

§ 5. συκοφάνται] 'mercenary accusers'. Cp. *Lys. or.* xxv. § 10 (of the demagogues), *ἐνοι δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμετέροις ἐδαρσίκοιαν, οἱ δὲ συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς συμμίχους ἀφίστασαν*: *Xen. Hellen.* ii. 3. 12, ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας.

τραπέσθαι] 'and that the rest of the citizens should come into the paths of virtue and justice'. It is needless to conjecture προτρέψασθαι.

[καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες] The καὶ here seems clearly a spurious addition, whether due to a mere error of the eye, or to a desire of connecting φάσκοντες with λέγοντες. Only two versions of it are possible, and neither is tolerable. (1) 'and saying things of that kind',—so that the words become a general statement appended to the special statement φάσκοντες γράψαι, a sort of 'etcetera': (2) 'though they said such things'. But, in a simple contrast between deed and word, καὶ would not thus be added to the participle. Here, if so added, it ought rather to mean 'even when saying'.

ὡς ἐγὼ...πειράσομαι] 'as, when I have first spoken of my own affairs (§§ 1–36), I will endeavour to bring to your memory in regard to your affairs also': ἀναμνήσται—διδάξει ἀναμνήσαντα, with καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων.

§ 6. τῇ πολιτείᾳ] 'the constitution'—a ἱκανόμια: for the rule of the Thirty was unconstitutional (ὡς μετὰ νόμον), and was known, when a real πολιτεία had been restored, as the ἀναρχία.

χρηματίζεσθαι] 'to make money': lit. 'to do business to one's own profit': οἴησεναι χρηματοῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι (Athenians in Sicily). *Thuc.* vii. 13: but act. χρηματίζειν, to transact (public) business, *ib.* i. 87.

πάντως] 'at any rate'—i.e. whatever view their colleagues might be disposed to take of the project for plundering the resident aliens.

§ 7. ἡγούντο...ἐποιούντο] See note above on p. 60 § 13, ἡγουμένους ποιούστας.

ἵνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους] 'in order that, as against the others', [the eight *rich μέτριοι*.] 'they might have the plea' [ἵ] vivid for εἶναι] 'that these measures had not been taken from mercenary motives, but in the interests of the Constitution,—just as they might defend any other measure adopted for sufficient reasons'. ὡς περ τι...πεπράσμενός, sc. ἀπολογίαν ἔχειν: the nom., as if ἵνα ἔχασιν ἀπολογίαν (instead of ἵνα ἀπολοῖεν ἢ ἀπολ.) had preceded.—εἰλόγας, i.e. for reasons satisfactory to the government, though not communicated to the people.

διαλαβόντες δέ] 'Each was told off for certain houses (of the μέτεικοι), and the visits began'. Cf. Dem. *De Cor.* § 132. ἐπ' αἰτίας βασιλείων ἀνευ ἐψηφισματος, making domiciliary visits without special authority from the Ecclesia.

- 67 § 8. τὸ ἐργαστήριον] The shield-manufactory, the property of the brothers, near the house in the Piræus occupied by Lysias: see *Attic Orators*, i. 147. —ἀπεγράφατο, 'proceeded to take a list of'.

ἔφασκεν, κ.τ.λ.] sc. σάσται. His words were, σάσται, ἂν πολλὸν ἦ.—εἴρη, ὑβρίσις of εἰπά (not of ἦν): see on ἦσα εἴρη, § 2.—ταῦτα, not τοῦτο: so § 14.

§ 10. ἐξώλειαν] See Antiph. *De Cited. Her.* § 11 (above, p. 11).

τῶν ὑπηρετῶν] apparitors, attending him in his official capacity, since the search was made by authority of the Thirty.

§ 11. κυζ.—δαρ.] The Κεζικρός στατήρ = about £1. 2s. 9d.; the Δαρεικός στατήρ (= Ἀττικός) about £1. 1s. 10d.

ἀγαπήσειν] He said, ἀγαπήσεις εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσεις, 'you will be content', i.e. 'you must be'. 'You may think yourself lucky enough if you save your life'.

§ 12. ἐπιτυχχάνει...ἀπόντες] Dem. *In Aristarch.* § 12. ἐπιτυχχάνει τὰ ἔργα οὐκ ἠμελλεν ὁ Σίμων εἶναι ὁ Βασιλεὺς, πολλοὶ γὰρ γινώσκουσιν.

βαδίζοιμεν...σκέψηται] βαδίζοιμεν, not βαλλοιμεν, because the historic pres. ἐρωτάω is equivalent to a secondary tense: σκέψεται, and not σκέψαιτο, by the vivid construction.

- 68 § 13. ὑπάρχοντος] 'was assured'.

§ 14. πρόθ. π. τὴν σεαυτοῦ δ.] i.e. do all that lies in your power, = ὅσον γε ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐστί.

§ 15. ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη] 'that there was a passage through it' (from the front door, ἀλυσσὸς εἶναι, to the back-door, κρηπὰ εἶναι). Of the three doors in § 16, one would be the μέγας, another the κρηπὰ.

ἐνθυμομένῳ—ἀποθ.] 'reflecting that, if I escaped notice, I should be saved, but if I were caught—well, in that case I thought that I should set off nevertheless, supposing Th. had been persuaded by D. to take the money; or if he had not, my prospect of death would only be the same' [as if I did not try to save myself by flight]. Instead of ἐπιβήσασθαι ἀποθανόντων, depending on ἀπέθανοντες, we have the future influ. depending

on ἡγάγον, — inserted to avoid the awkwardness of one conditional clause immediately following another (ὅταν δὲ λυσιπ. εἰ μὲν εἴη, κ.τ.λ.).

§ 16. εἰς ἄστυ] The ship-master lived in the Piræus, where Lyxias himself resided. — ἀστὴρ, Polemarchus.

§ 17. τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον] sc. παραγγέλλεσθαι.

69

§ 18. τριῶν...αὐτόν] 'Though we had three houses, they did not allow the funeral (ἐκφορά) to take place from any one of them, but hired a mean tenement, and there laid out the corpse'. κλίσιον, also written κλίσιον (from κλίω, not κλίωσθ), is used by Antiphon (Ἐπιστῆμα 2, Mein. *Engl. Comp.* p. 348) of an *enkheion* or shed for cattle: τῆς οἰκίας τὸ κλίσιον τὸ κληθόμενον, ἃ πρότερον ἦν τὰς ἐξ ἀγροδὶ βουσι σταθὸς, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, πεπερασμένον δ' ἐργαστήριον. — ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐτιχεῖ, sc. δοῦς.

§ 19. κόσμον] *lyta*, apparently, 'valuables', articles of value, etc., as dist. from ἐπιπλά, furniture. κέσμα in sing. used of dress, personal adornments, as *Il.* xiv. 187, πάντα περὶ χροῖ θήκατο κόσμον.

ἔοντο κτήσασθαι] 'thought to acquire' (not, as the words might mean, 'thought that they had acquired'). So § 26, εἰς αὐτὸν ἔοντο κτήσασθαι; § 27, εἰς αὐτὸν ἔοντο ἐπιπλάσασθαι. In such cases, the work of indicating future time is done by the principal verb (ἐλπίω, etc.), and the *acc. infin.* has its proper function of marking a momentary as opposed to a continued or repeated act. It is tempting here to read κτήσασθαι: but the context, and the usage of εἰσάει, seem to render it unnecessary. — Cp. note on p. 50 § 2, ἔγγισσον... ἔλθον... γαστήρ.

εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν] 'handed over the rest for the benefit of the Treasury'. (ἀπέδοσαν would have meant 'sold'.)

τοσαύτην...φασὶ γάρ] Cp. Andoc. *De Pace* § 33 (ἀλάω, p. 45) τοσαύτην...φασὶ γάρ (instead of ὥστε φάναι).

ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον] 'when Melidæus first visited the house'. Francken puts a comma after οἴκῃ, understanding 'when she first came (as a bride) to the house': but a Greek would not thus have expressed ὅτε πρῶτον ἐγγύσθη.

§ 20. ὥσπερ — οὐδ' — ἄν] sc. ἐθαυμάσασθαι. The conjectural insertion of αὐτῶν is a rhetorical, though not a logical, necessity. 'They outraged us as other men would not outrage their bitterest enemies'. Omit the 'not': the statement remains intelligible, but ceases to be effective.

εἰσφοράς — λυσαμένους] Occasional 'war-taxes', in addition to the regular *επιπλά* paid by resident aliens. — λυσαμένους: 70

Dem. *De Chers.* § 70. ἔχων καὶ τρηφαρχίας εἶπεν καὶ χηρῶν αἰσφορίας καὶ λυτεῖς αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας φιλαργυρίας.

§ 21. μελλούσας ἐκίδοσθαι] 'prevented the approaching marriage of many a daughter'—by leaving her father without the means of giving her a dowry (πρῶτα ἐπιδόσθαι).

§ 22. δ' ἐβουλόμην ἄν] sc. εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν: Goodwin § 52. 2, cp. Antiph. *De Gaed. Her.* § 1 (ἀγορεύω, p. 81). 'For my part, I could wish that their story were true, since my own share in that gain would not be small': i.e. his brother would be alive, and their wealth would be intact.—οὐτε... τοιαύτη ἐπιόχη. 'they have not such a case': cannot plead such iniquities.

§ 24. καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον] The man stained with murder (ἀναγῆ) might speak to no one (*Dem. T. 126. ἀποβύβρον εἶπαι τῶν παλαιῶν ἐδόξασεν*); and for the relatives of the slain it was not ἔτιον to accost him (*Isae. or. ix. § 20*; cp. Soph. *O. T.* 238). By a rhetorical exaggeration, Lysias says that he would think it impious to speak even *about* Eratothemus, ἐπ' ὠφελεία, for E.'s advantage.

71 § 25. ἵνα - ἀποθάνωμεν ἢ - μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν] The words supplied in brackets might easily have dropped out, by accident, or through their supposed redundancy. They are clearly requisite to the rhetorical point of the passage viz. the contrast between his alleged protest and his subsequent acts. In protesting, was your aim to kill us, or to save us? 'To save you'. And yet afterwards you did everything in your power to kill us? 'Was the object of your protest to kill us? or to save us?'

§ 26. εἰθ'] εἶτα, : ἔπειτα i.e. after protesting as you allege.

ἀνταπὼν οἶδεν ὠφ.] 'because you protested.—though the protest was fruitless'. See on Antiph. *De Pison.* § 29, p. 232.

οὐκ οἶα δοῦναι] 'Do you not expect to pay the penalty?' See above on § 19, *ῥοντο κτήσασθαι*.

§ 27. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πον] 'For I presume that they did not mean to make the case of the resident aliens the test of his loyalty: viz. the Thirty Tyrants had proved the fidelity of Eratothemus to their commands in the case of so many citizens that they did not need to test him on humbler victims. *Ἰατρίαν, ἡν ἔλαλλον ἑαυτοῖς. ἕτεροι*: besides, as it happened, he was a possibly profitable instrument in this particular case, if (as he says) he had opposed the measure.

72 § 28. τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἄθ] 'The other Athenians' are, as § 20 shows, those on whom the Thirty had imposed odious tasks, esp. of domiciliary search.

§ 29. καὶ λήψεσθε] 'from whom will you ever exact satisfaction?'

§ 30. καὶ μὲν δὴ ἀπήγαγον] 'And moreover it was not in the house but in the street—when he might have saved him without breaking the decree of the Thirty—that he arrested him and took him to prison': i.e. the commands of the Thirty (if such had been given to Eratosthenes) would have been satisfied by a domiciliary search: cp. § 8. He was not obliged to arrest Polemarchus when he met him in the street.

Haiter (see the critical note) keeps closer to the mss. by reading σφίσι αὐτοῖς, 'when trying to save himself' (the active as in § 11): but the words κατὰ τὰ τοῖσιν ἐφ' ἑφ' ἑμὲ must then be taken with σὺλλασθαι, against the sense, since then they tend to εἰσαίε E. Sauppe, σφίσι τὸ αὐτὰρ καὶ τὰ τ. ἔσ. παύει, i.e. ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ, 'to save at once his life and the letter of the decree'. This is neat, but the double use of σφίσι is unseasonably epigrammatic.

§ 31. καίτοι εἶδεν] 'If, however, you are to make allowance for those who destroyed their neighbours to save themselves, those others' [who were not members of the Oligarchy] 'have a better claim to your indulgence' [than Eratosthenes has]: 'for they incurred peril if they failed to go when they were sent' [to make an arrest], 'or if, when they had found the person at home, they denied the fact. But E. might have said that he had not met with Polemarchus, or at all events that he had not seen him': ἔπειτα—i.e. if it was urged that he had certainly met him.

ταῦτα οὐτ' ἔλεγχον οὔτε βάσανον εἶχεν] 'these statements could not be disproved, or even tested' 73

§ 32. ἀποθανεῖσθαι ἀπολουμένους] On the element of false antithesis (εἰ ἢ ἀποθ. and αὐτὸ ἀποθ. being the same, cp. note on *Pro Mantitheo* § 13 (p. 60).

§ 33. τῶν τότε λεγομένων]—ἐπίστασις δὲ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων—the discussion at the Board of the Thirty, in which E., as he alleges, had opposed the measures taken against Lykias and Polemarchus: §§ 25 f.

παρεῖναι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι] 'Since, so far from being allowed to assist at their councils, we were not allowed even to remain in our own homes' (alibi nous: cp. *apud* vs. *Ch. In Or.* 1. § 214).—αὐτοῖσιν—αὐτὸ ἐγὼ αὐτοῖσιν, as represented by Eratosthenes.

πάντα τὰ κακά, &c.] Dörrie would read πάντα κακά, as in § 57, πάντα ἀγαθὰ. But cp. § 41, πάντα τὰ κακά.—πάντα κακά, all sorts of evils: πάντα τὰ κακά, all possible evils.

§ 34. τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω] 'I do not shrink, however, from meeting you on this point': i.e. as I cannot prove that you did not protest, I am ready to assume that you did.

*ἐποίησας] So Dobree for πείρασται. The optative can be defended as an abstract hypothesis. But the mention of Polemarchus in the sentence certainly strengthens the presumption that Lysias said, 'what would you have done?' rather than, 'what would you do?'

ἐτύχετε ἀπεψηφίσασθε:] I should hesitate to write, with Kayser, ἐτύχαιετε ἀπέψηφισαίτε: The imperf. (ἐπ) ἀπέψηφισαίτε: 'would you have been disposed to assault him?' The sup. (ἐπ) ἀπέψηφισαίτε: 'would you have acquitted him?'—which is more forcible here, since it implies that his condemnation is already assumed. And if ἀπέψηφισαίτε is genuine, then ἐτύχετε may well be so too, though ἐτύχαιετε would be equally fitting.

§ 35. καὶ μὲν δὴ] Cp. § 30. 'And further': i.e. apart from the intrinsic merits of the case, it will be taken as a precedent. ἀπὸ αἰσῶν 'Athenians': not πᾶσι δὲ Ἀθηναίοισιν, to οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς (below § 92).

74 δυστυχήσαντες δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔ. ξξ.] 'i.e. if they fail, will be no worse off than the rest of you'; i.e. will retain their civic privileges, instead of being punished with stripes or death. Cp. § 92, ἡττηθέντες τοῖς νικήσασι τὸ ἴσον ἔχετε.

ἐκκηρύττουσιν] 'I should be prejudicing'—referring, apparently, to some particular instances of the late Oligarchy who had vainly sought refuge in other cities. The party of the Thirty still had their headquarters at Eleusis: see introd., p. 249.

τιμωρομένους] The perf. would seem more natural here. But the imperf. would imply no more than that the Athenians' own sense of justice is satisfied: cp. below § 94, *In Agor.* § 76.

§ 36. τοῖς στρατηγοῖς] The six generals who were put to death after the Athenian victory at Arginusæ (480 B.C.) for having failed to pick up the floating bodies of the slain, or to save the men in the disabled ships. (Death was inflicted upon τοῖς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης;) Grote, viii. 238. Cp. Plat. *Apol.* p. 32 n. οἱ ἀνελευμένοις τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας.

οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι] 'who, while still private persons, did all that lay in their power to bring disaster on your feet' (at Arginusæ, 405 B.C.). 'The moment we held that the Athenians were had been sold in rebellion by the treason of some of its own commanders', Grote, viii. 300. Lysias means that the oligarchical spirit—instilled by such men as Dem-

afterwards become Tyrants had prepared this result. Cp. Xen. *H.* ii. 1. 32, Isocr. *Philipp.* § 62.

ἀποκτιννύει] imperf. = ὅτι ἀπεκτιννυσαν.

οὐκ ἄρα χρῆ] The construction, as originally planned, was εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξέχρησάτε, . . . τοῖσι δὲ μὴ καλέσαστε: where, however, εἰ καλέσαστε would stand, as in Thuc. i. 121. εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκτιννύει, καὶ τὸ δὲ . . . οὐκ ἄρα κατακρίνομεν. (See note to p. 93 § 8, εἰ γὰρ ἄραται, &c.) But here the insertion of χρῆ gives a new turn to the clause:—'now ought they not to be punished?' Cp. the insertion of ἠγγελάμε in § 15, note, p. 252.

2. Peroration.—§§ 92—100 (end).

This passage is translated in the *Attic Orators*, i. 189—192.

§ 92. τοὺς ἐξ ἄστ. τοὺς ἐκ Π.] εἰ ἐξ ἄστας, 'the party of the Town': those who were at Athens under the tyranny of the Thirty, and who were thus identified with the oligarchical side in the struggle between the Tyrants and the patriots. εἰ ἐκ Περικλέα, the popular party: the exiles led by Thrasybulus, who came from Phylæ to the Piræus in Dec. 404 B.C., and reorganised Athens before the end of July, 403 B.C. Cp. above, p. 52, § 2: Dem. *In Timocr.* § 134, τὰς ἐκ Περικλέα καὶ ἀπὸ Φιλιππῶν οὗτος ἦν.

τοιούτων πόλεμον] 'a war of such a sort that, having been vanquished, you are the equals of the conquerors' (the patriotic party), 'whom, had you conquered, you would have been the slaves of the Tyrants': i.e. they had been forced to fight against their own interests. τοῖσι = τοῖς τριάκοντα, as in § 33.

§ 93. ἂν ἐκτήσαντο] 'they would have gained wealth for their own houses from the administration' (if they had prevailed in the struggle). There seems no reason for suspecting the genuineness of εἰ. If it were absent, the statement of fact would apply to the time before the struggle, when the Thirty were in power.

τῶν ἀγαθῶν] 'their prizes' (their power and ill-gotten wealth): τὰς ἀτιμίας, 'their dishonours'—the struggles in which they compelled Athenian citizens to be their instruments: see § 30.

* εἶνοι ᾄοντο εἶναι] 'Instead of seeking to win your loyalty by giving you partnership in their prizes, they fancied themselves friendly if they gave you a share of their dishonours'. I read εἶνοι, instead of εἶνοισι, which the MSS. give, for the following reasons. (1) εἶνος can be taken only as εἶνος, plur. We find, indeed, a statement that the comic poet Philemon

used *εἶπες* for *εἶπαι*, as if by crasis from *εἶπαι* (Philola. fr. 122. Meineke); but such a notice is not sufficient warrant for assuming so strange a license in Lysias. (2) *εἶπες* being, then, *αἶπες* *πῶρ*, the words would mean, 'thought that you were friendly'. But the sense wanted is, 'thought that you ought to be much obliged to them'. This sense would be obtained if we adopted Dobson's suggestion, and read *εἶπες* *ἔπειτα* = *εἶπες* *εἶπα*. (3) But it appears more probable that an original *εἶπαι* should have been altered to *εἶπες*, for the sake of symmetry with *ταῦτα* in the preceding clause, than that *εἶπαι* should have been omitted.

§ 94. τοῖς πολέμοις] The treaty of the Thirty at Eleusis: cp. § 80, ἀποῦσι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε.

τῶν ἐπικουρῶν] 'the Spartan troops': the Lacedæmonian *ἐπιτροπὴ* of 1200, under Cephælus, which supported the Tyranny: Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 13 f. *ἐπικουρῶν* = *ἐπιπαιρῶν*, here used invidiously, because the Athenian oligarchs wished to maintain the Spartan *φύλαξις*: Xen. *Gr. Hellen.* ii. 2. 12 *ἐπιπαιρῶν*.

76 § 95. τῶσαῦτα] 'only thus much': Thuc. ii. 72.

ἀφῆρέθητε τὰ ὄπλα] The Thirty formed a picked body of 3000 hoplites, and then proclaimed a general muster of all the hoplites in Athens. When this was over, the 1000 seized the arms which the other hoplites had laid in various places, and deposited them in the Acropolis: Xen. *H.* ii. 3. 20, 41: Grote viii. 336.

ἐξεκρήχθητε] The Thirty resolved that every one not included in the list of 3000 should quit Athens: Grote viii. 349.

ἐκ τῶν πόλεων] 'The Laced. government, at the instance of the Thirty, issued an edict prohibiting all the members of their confederacy from harbouring fugitive Athenians' (6. 350). The exiles were expelled: *Ἰωνία*, in *Μακεδ.*, *Θήβαι*, *Οἴον*, *Χαλκίς*, *Ἄργος*.

§ 97. τὸν θάνατον] 'death', not 'the death which threatened them': the art. giving merely a certain rhetorical emphasis, 'the doom of death'. So *ἡ εἰρήνη* peace, *ὁ πόλεμος* war, *ὁ ἕως θανάτου*: see *Hobbes's* *Leviat.* *Lib. I.* c. 140, 149.

ἐπέφυγον ἑλθετέ] The thought of the state being oppressed was in his mind at the beginning of the sentence caused him to use the third pers. pl. in reference also to the survivors, though these are the same whom he presently addresses in *ἄλλοι*.

ἐν πεδερῆς τῆ πατρ. γῆς] 'in that fatherland which had become hostile soil, or in the land of strangers'.

τοὺς μὲν ἤλευθ.] 'you freed some' [viz. τοὺς ἐξ] *despot.* the unwilling subjects of the Thirty]; 'you restored others to their country' [viz. τοὺς ἐκ *Heiraiōs*, the patriotic exiles].

§ 98. ἄν... ἐφεύγετε] 'would now be exiles'.

μικρῶν ἕνεκα σ.] 'would now be in slavery on account of petty liabilities', *i.e.* small debts which their poverty made them unable to discharge, thus giving the creditor a claim upon their persons. *Lucan. Metamorph.* § 48, τὰς παῖδας (the children of the destitute Phalaris)... π' ἄλλοις ἢ μικρῶν ἕνεκα πτωχολόγους ἐκ-
 λυσσέναι. ἄλλοις δ' ἐπὶ θρησκυλίας. — where τὸ ἐκ-λίσσειν, slavery, is opp. to *θητεία*, labour for wages.

§ 99. τῆς ἐμῆς προθ.] lit. 'nothing is wanting to my zeal', 77
i.e. 'my indignation is perfect'. αἴθε was supplied by Canter.

ἀπέδοντο] 'hastened away': meaning, perh., that the Thirty allowed sacred buildings to be sold and put to secular uses. Others understand, 'sold the sacred vessels and furniture' of the temples: as if τὰ ἱερά, a general term, had different meanings with ἀπέδοντο and ἐμίλαιον.

εἰσπίδοντες ἐμίλαιον] 'defiled by entering them'—since the Tyrants were *εναγείς*, guilty of blood.

§ 100. εἰσοῦσαι τὴν ψήφον φ.] 'will be aware of you when you give your verdict'.

*κατεψηφίσθαι] 'have [by that very act] passed sentence'. This is Canter's simple correction of the corrupt *καταψηφίσθαι*. It is more probable than *κατεψηφίσθαι* *δεσφαι*, 'will have passed' (*καταψηφίσθαι*). — *πεποιημένους. π. ἀπαι* as if *κατεψηφισμένους εἶναι* had preceded.

ἀκηκόατε, &c.] *Imperially cited by Lucan. Phars.* iii. 19. 6, *τελευτῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαιτῶν ἢ ἀπελευτῶν, ἅπασιν ἐπιλύγαι ἄλλὰ μὴ λέγει δὲ (consecratio) and not altera oratio, Quint.* vi. 1. 2.) *εἶρηκα, ἀκηκόατε, ἔχετε, κρίνετε.*

VI. ΚΑΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΥ. [Or. xiii.] *Agoratus*, son of a 78
 slave, had gained the Athenian citizenship by pretending (falsely, his name says) to have had a hand in the assassination of *Phrynichus* in 411 *b.c.* (p. 76.) For six years afterwards he had lived at Athens, exercising the trade of an informer, and laying 'all conceivable inducements' (τὰ δὲ ἀδύνατα γράσει, § 78) before the law-courts. He is now charged with having enslaved away the lives of several distinguished citizens just before the establishment of the Thirty.

It was in the spring of 404 *b.c.* that *Theramenes* came back from *Sparta* with the hard conditions of peace. Athens had been suffering for months the extreme of famine and misery.

the mass of citizens were thankful for relief on any terms. But there were still a few men, influential by their position and services, who stood out against the bargain which the oligarchical party were about to strike with Sparta. The oligarchs, impatient to get rid of their opponents, had recourse to the aid of Agoratus. It was arranged that he should himself be charged with plotting to defeat the peace, and should then denounce a certain number of other persons as his accomplices. One Theocritus accused him before the Senate. A party of Senators went to the Pnyx to arrest him. Agoratus, feigning alarm, took sanctuary at the altar in the temple of Artemis at Munychia. Certain citizens who suspected him to be the victim, or the agent, of a plot, gave bail for him, and offered to take him out of Attica to await quieter times. He declined this proposal, and appeared before the Senate to give information. He denounced, first, the men who had bailed him; then several of the Generals and taxiarchs (§ 15), among whom were the General Strombichides, Dionysodorus (kinsman of the assassin in this case), and probably Euerates the brother of Nicias; also a number of other citizens. These, with Agoratus himself, were imprisoned; and it was decreed that they should be tried both by the Senate and by a special court of Two Thousand. Immediately afterwards the peace with Sparta was ratified.

The government of the Thirty having been established, the prisoners were tried: but not by the Two Thousand; only by a new oligarchical Senate. They were all condemned to death, except Agoratus, who was banished. In 404 B.C. he joined the democratic exiles at Phylæ, and afterwards returned to Athens with them, but appears to have been ill received (§ 77). He is now accused of murder by Dionysius, cousin and brother-in-law to Dionysodorus.

The procedure was by *ἡ δόξα* (information) laid before the archon, followed by *ἄρραγμα* (summary arrest)—just as in the case of Hercules—see introd. to *Anaph. de Gaur. Her.*, p. 208).—Date about 399 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, i. 269 f.

Narrative: §§ 5—48.

§ 5. οὐ πολλὰ χρο. ἔστ.] The capture of 170 Athenian triremes by the Peloponnesians under Lysander at Arginæ took place about Sept. 405 B.C. (Oros. viii. 297): Lysander next took measures to assure Dymium, Chios, Lesbos, etc., establishments: "delectationes"; and it was about Nov. 405 B.C. when he arrived with his fleet of 200 triremes in the Saronic Gulf (*ib.* 307).

λόγοι· περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης] The Athenians' proposal to Agis to become allies of Sparta, retaining their walls entire and their

fertilised harbour of Péræus': Grote viii. 308. Agis referred the envoys to the Ephori, who would not even receive them: Xen. *H.* ii. 2. 11—15.—τῶν ἐπέμψαι, 'years', not 'the peace': see *In Eratosth.* § 97, τὸν θάνατον, note, p. 258.

§ 6. εἰληφῆναι καὶ μάλιστα ἄν καταστήσασθαι] 'thinking that they had found an excellent opportunity, and that this was the moment at which they were most likely to constitute the government in accordance with their own views'. It seems better thus to add *ἄν* than to alter the acc. inf. into καταστήσασθαι. One of the two remedies is required. For we cannot render—'that they had found an opportunity to constitute the gov. as much as possible (καὶ μάλιστα) etc.: as if καταστ. depended on εἰλεφ. καίμην. And here καταστήσασθαι could mean nothing but 'thinking that they had constituted'. Cp. *Ὀλιγαρχίαι* § 2 (p. 50), note on εἰληφῆναι.

§ 7. ταξιαρχοῦντας] The commanders of the tribal infantry (ταξιαρχοί) would have democratic sympathies, while the ἵππειοι, with their tribal commanders (φύλαρχοι), would, as the wealthier class, be the natural allies of oligarchy. Cp. Arist. *Πολ.* xi [iv] § 13, ἕκαστοι πόλεμον ἐκ τῶν ἵππειων ἢ ἑκαταμύχων ἀλλοτριάζουσι παρὰ τοῦτοις ἦσαν: and *ib.* 13. § 10.

ἀμωσγέπαι] 'by some means or other'. *Lys.* or. xxiv. *De Ictio.* § 20, ἀμωσγέπαι γὰρ εὐκαρῆς τραπεζιῶν καὶ διατρίβων ἀμωσγέπαι. Cp. *προβία*. On the stem ἀμω—prob. akin to that of εἰς—see Curt. *Gr. Etym.* 600.

βουλοῦντο] might represent either ἄ βουλοῦνται or ἄ βε βουλοῦνται: here it represents the latter.

Κλειοφῶντι] ἄ λυγροτάτη, 'the demagogue who led the popular party at this time': *Lys.* or. xix. § 48, Κλειοφῶντα δὲ πείθει ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πολλὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ τῷ τῆς πόλεως πέντα καὶ πρῶτον πάντοτε πάντολλα ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν (and yet died poor).

§ 8 ἐπὶ δέκα στάδια] C. 10 the length of about a mile and a quarter.

ὀδόν τε εἶη] oblique of εἶπει (not of εἶπαι. See to Anschim. *Loeb.* 79 *Legeb.* § 76, Cleophon threatened 'to cut off the head of anyone who mentioned peace'.

§ 9. λέγει ὅτι εἰρήσεσθαι] He says that, if they appoint him envoy with plenary powers to treat for peace, he will effect a peace (ἑπιπέσει, sc. εἰρήσει) on such terms (ᾧστε) that no breach shall be made in the walls, and that Athens shall suffer no detriment whatever: and 'I think', he added, 'that I shall even obtain some further advantage for the city from the Lacedæmonians'. πῶς εἰρήσει, Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 12.—

πεισθέντες ἄστε might does well be taken as = 'to effect that' no breach shall be made: cp. Isocr. *Ad. Soph.* § 1, πεισθέντες ἄστε ἑσσεύεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. For πεισθέντες instead of πεισθέντες (or -ου) after ὅτι, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 4. 15, ἰσχυρῶς ὅτι γυμνάσαι (ὅτι ἐγένετο).— ἄστε depending on ὅτι: he said ἄστε: cp. Soph. *Phil.* 617.— The subject to ἐκείνη, ἐλαττωταί is not τὸν Λακκῶν, under-stand, but αὐτόν, Theramenes.

§ 10. τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει] In 405 B.C.—right on the occasion when three new στρατηγοί were appointed (Xen. *H.* ii. 1. 10). The people were doubtless disgusted with the conduct the year before, when he had been active in procuring the judicial murder of the Generals after Arginusae. Thirlwall thinks that in that affair Theramenes was the agent of an oligarchical plot (iv. 138).

§ 11. (ἔθλων εἰς Λακ. πολὺν χρόνον] Theramenes went first to Lacedaem., who was now blockading the Peloponnese (Xen. *H.* ii. 2. 2), and remained with him 'fifteen months or more'—in the month that L. detained him. In the fourth month, at his own request, he was sent to Lacedaem. as a pleistrotentary, with nine soldiers: Xen. *H.* ii. 2. 10 f. Lysias quits the first to Lacedaem., and represents the long sojourn of Ther. as made at Sparta (ἐκεῖ).

διαθήναι ἀπέρος] 'to leave you to destitution':—by the pressure of Lysias, which was already mentioned by Lys. Athens (φόντο... πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι, Xen. *H.* ii. 2. 14).— ἀπέρος is not indistinguishable, but neither is it, I think, a phrase.

§ 12. οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἀναπ.] '... οὐκ εἶπεν οὐκ εἶπεν ἔλθαι (not come to pass the night at his post': cp. Xen. *H.* ii. 4. 21, ἐξ-κάθενδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ἰωδῆϊ. So in the panic of 415 B.C. the hoplites were ordered to muster under arms in the camp (and ἐγένετο ἡμεῖς, Xen. *H.* ii. 4. 14 (p. 10), note. For τὰ ὄπλα as = 'the place where the arms are piled', 'the camp', cp. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1 § 3, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν ὕστα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὄπον ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος.

ἐκείνη ταύτη] '... having convened the assembly of a court to try him, and having taken seats in it themselves, the promoters of the oligarchy put Cleophon to death by means of this pretext'. Acc. to Lysias or. xxx. §§ 10 f., the people, with the assistance of some of the Demagogues (then a small party, claimed to have taken to the field along with the dikasts—ὡς χρὴ τὴν βουλήν συνδικάζειν. Cleophon had already denounced the βουλή,—φάσκων συνιστάναι (was in a conspiracy against the Democracy), *ib.*

ἐν τῇ προφασί τ] '... and Cleophon said, ἐπὶ, ἢ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ means of', cp. Lys. or. vii. § 20 (below, p. 91) ἐν τούτῳ τῷ

ταύται: ἢ ἄλλο ἄγινε (Soyak. Phil. 102), ἐν ταύται στέλλεται (ib. 60), ἐν λόγοις πείθειν (ib. 1394).

§ 13. ποιαύτην. ἦν ἔγνωμεν] 'a person of that character 80 which you experienced yourself as to know': ἔγνω, came to know: ἀνοήτως, in self. after γινώσκω. Cp. Shaksp. *HF* W. III. 6. 24, 'Shak' will I have: αἴλου I am sure he knows not'.

ἔξηλάθημεν] Cp. in *Leontoth.* § 95. ἔτριπαχοντε ἐν τῇ πόλει (p. 76), note.

§ 14. ἦν κατασκάψαι] 'For the terms were that... we should destroy'. The subj. is ἡ ἐκείνου, which, ἀνοήτως-βασίς or ὁμολογία, takes the infin.

§ 15. λεγομένην. α.π.λ.] 'These men (Strombichides and the democratic party, § 13) seeing that, though the talk was of peace, the work really in hand was the overthrow of the Democracy, said that they could not allow such terms to be ratified'. —*λέγουσιν*, λέγουσιν, lit. 'that (the arrangement) was nominally called peace'. The arrangement γινώσκω is impossible, since peace had not been concluded: we should require γινώσκοντες. —οὐκ ἂν ἔβρασαν ἐπιτρέψαι. Cp. note on § 6 above, μάλιστ' <ἂν> ...καταστήσασθαι.

οὐκ ἠλοοῦντες ποιήσ.] 'Not despising their pity was moved by the threatened destruction of the walls, —not because they shrink from the thought of our that being surrendered to Sparta—*for* these things did not touch them more nearly than they touched every one of yourselves—but because they perceived that this was the way to rule your Commonwealth they were not, as some allege, reluctant that peace should be made, but they desired to obtain for the Athenian people a peace on better terms than those'. —*ἔβρασαν* has to show two things: (1) that the democrats were right in objecting to the peace; (2) that they sincerely desired a peace, and were not pursuing a party policy in selfish disregard of the extreme suffering endured by their fellow-citizens. They would have made exceptions, he says, however painful, if those exceptions had not further involved the destruction of the Commonwealth.

§ 17. εἰλοντό] οὐκ ἔπειθε: ἢ ἐπειθεῖσθε? *ἔβρασαν*: but 81 (N. corrected) as the final of two evils. *Deus. Falltop*, § 93. εἰλόμην μὴ ποιεῖν.

τὴν ἐκκλ. τὴν περὶ τῆς ἑρ.] The meeting of the *Boule* at which the peace was accepted took place, acc. to Xen. *H.* II. II. 2. 22, on the day after the return of Theramenes with the terms offered by Sparta. In the *Attic Orators*, t. 270 note, I have given reasons for dismissing from *crates* view that Agoratus laid his information after the capitulation of Athens.

and for believing that the account of Lysias is correct in this particular.

§ 18. οὐ ξυνειδότα ἐκείνοις] 'though he was in none of their secrets'.—ἐκείνοις, the Generals and the democratic party: αὐτοῖς below, the oligarchic conspirators.

§ 19. ὅπως π. ὑμῖν ὑποφαίνοιτο] Dohme would read φαίνοιτο, thinking that ἔπε has arisen from φαίνο: but ἔπερ. expresses what is hinted by the look of that about which we cannot be sure. 'In order that the affair might have a more plausible colour in your eyes'.—καὶ ὑμῖν: 'you, too' will see (as clearly as the speaker himself).

* ἐσπέμπουσι] Dohme's correction of ἐκπέμπουσι. The verb ἐσπέμπε is often used of suborned agents. (Cp. Andoc. *De Recl.* § 4. ἐπέμπε δ' ἐσπέμπουσι: Isoc. *De Heliō* § 7. ἀποστῆς ἐσπέμπεται. On the other hand, ἐκπέμπουσι could mean only, 'send forth (from their secret councils)'.—a use of the word which seems rather forced (at least for present) without further definition of the place to which ἐκ refers.

[τὴν πρὸ τῶν τριάκ. β.] plainly a clause which has crept in from § 20 *ad init.*

Θ τὸν τοῦ 'Ε. καλούμενον] The nickname Ἐλαφίστατος ('dressed like a deer') may have been that of a slave or freedman,—a branded *στιγματίας*. Perh. καλουμένου.

82 § 20. ἔγένετο] Marland's correction of ἐλέγετο. I formerly preferred ἐλέγετο, on the ground that it shows the development in the making, and is thus more vivid. But there seems to be no warrant for such a phrase as λέγει ψευδῶς in the sense of γράφω ψευδῶς, to 'propose' a device. Rather reluctantly, then, I have assented in the emendation, which, from the palaeographical point of view, is an easy one.

καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτ. οὔσιν αὐτ. τὸν νοῦν προσέχητε] 'and that (μετ'), knowing them to be such, (as you did,) you may carefully note their conduct': i.e. this knowledge will throw light on the facts which I have to relate. Bekker with one ms. μὴ προσέχετε, 'may disregard them', and so Reiske can), *forte*: but this destroys the point.

§ 21. ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ] Cp. Andoc. *De Myst.* § 45 (p. 35). § Δὲ πολλὰ ἐλάσσονα ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ. Strangers (ἀλλοτρίοι) were often present at the sittings of the βουλῆ. Dem. *F. L.* § 18. καὶ γὰρ βουλευτήτων μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, τοῖς νόμοις τὰς ἐπισημασίας, was μεταρρηματῆται τῶν βουλευτῶν. *Demosth. In Olyn.* § 125.

τοῖς τότε καθιστ. πράγμασι] 'The government which was then in process of being established'.—ἐπὶ τοῖς καθίστατο—(the Oligarchy).—ἐκείνοις, the democratic opposition.

§ 22. *καὶ δὲ ἔψηφ.*] 'but, as it was, the Council passed the following decree'—merely for the arrest of Anaxias, instead of compelling Thucor to give a complete list of names.

§ 23. *ἐν ἀγορᾷ*] The Ἰπποδάμοι ἐγένετο in the *Peiraicus*, Andoc. *De Myst.* § 45 (p. 35).

Νικίας Νικομένης] supporters of the democratic party, mentioned only here.

οὐχ οἷα βέλτιστα] 'seeing that the state of affairs in Athens was not all that could be desired'.—*οὐ τὰ πάντα οἷα βέλτιστα εἴη*. Dem. *De Cor.* § 207, *ὡς οἷα τὰ βέλτιστα εἴη πολιτευόμενοι*.

προήσισθαι, κ.τ.λ.] 'said that they could not allow A. to be taken away,—vindicated him from arrest (*ἀφαιρέσειν*),—and offered bail, binding themselves to produce him before the Council'.—*ἀπαλλάττειν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*—*release in liberation*: but A. was not a slave, and here ἀφαιρ. merely—'asserted his right to be at large' against *ἀφαιρέσειν*.—Cebot was not right in placing *παρῆλθε* into *παρῆλθε*: the society 'produced' (*παρῆλθε*) the bailor, the accuser 'brought' the accused 'into court' (*παρῆλθε*).—Cp. *Lyg. 91*, *ΛΑΜΠ. § 2* (p. 39), *ἐγγυησάμενος παραίτησε εἰς ἄρκον* (*τὸν δαίμοντα*).

§ 24. *τὸν βωμὸν Μουν.*] The altar in the temple of 83 Artemis: *Μουνυχίας ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Paus. i. 1. 4.

§ 25. *παρορμ. δύο πλοῖα Μουν.*] 'having brought two boats alongside the shore at Mounychia'.—The *βόσκοντες* of the *Peiraicus* need not have hindered them (*Κερ. H. ii. 2. 9*, the *Peiræp. Πλοῖα τὰ πλοῖα εἴργε τὰς ἀπ' Ἀπλίου*): see *Diffie Oration*, i. 271, note.

ὥς τὰ πρ. καταστ.] 'until quieter times': i.e. until the terms of peace should have been passed, and the strife of parties in Athens allayed.

§ 27. *ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ*, κ.τ.λ.] 'but this is not all—your situation was very different from those': i.e. much more perilous, if you stayed; if *they* were ready to go, much more would you have been so, had you not had a secret understanding with the government.

βασανισθῆναι] 'to be proved from torture by ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίον ψήφισμα', Andoc. *De Myst.* § 43, p. 35.

οὐ πατρίδα, κ.τ.λ.] 'you would not have forsaken your 84 land': *ἀπογεννηθεὶς ἀπὸ ἴσθ.*, being of foreign and servile origin. The v. l. *ἀπολιπεθεὶς* 'quitted'; *μετῆλ.* (99, *ἀναλιπεθεὶς* above) 'left behind'.

§ 28. προσποιῆ] sc. ἀπατεῖναι, as below § 75, εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἀποκτείνας προσποιεῖται (ἀποκτεῖναι).

παρεσκευάσθη] 'contrived' (between Agor. and the βουλῆ): so παρασκευάσαντες, § 12.

τὸ ψήφισμα] The object of the law ψήφισμα, as §§ 29, 30 show, was to authorise the arrest of Agoratus, notwithstanding that ἐγγυηταί had been found for him: § 24.

§ 30. ἐσπίσθησαν] 'were brought' (not merely 'came'). The plural verb would most naturally refer to Agoratus and the persons who, by giving bail for him, had frustrated the first attempt to arrest him. They were probably still with him at Muniyehia (cp. § 24) when he was arrested by the second mission from the Council, armed with the second decree (§§ 28, 29)—which apparently authorised an immediate arrest, irrespective of bail having been given. The plural εσπίσθησαν may, however, also refer to the fact that, besides Agoratus, two other persons denounced by Thucydides were brought before the Council at the same time, as we learn from a later part of the speech (cf. 54), where the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν βουλομένων παρεπίσθησαν.

ἢ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη] The more usual form would be ἐχθρὴ αὕτη. Cp. note on Antiph. *De Caed. Herod.* § 93 (p. 23), τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ταύτων, 'that this has come on her as the punishment'.

ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ] 'I will convict him in the very act', i.e. I will show precisely how and when he did it.

§ 31. ἔρατο αἰσῆς] 'So vigorously was the Council bent on mischief': Thuc. ii. 8, ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. At first the Council had accepted the demand made by Thucydides (§ 27); then Agor. had given certain names (§ 29): and, after that, the Council still pressed for more: this fact was elicited by the ἐρώτησις (§ 31, τοῖνυν).—ἐκῶν, since he had not yet been threatened with torture (cp. § 27), ἀνάγκη.

85 § 32. Μόνον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ] Thuc. viii. 93, οἱ γὰρ κληρονομοῦναι Μοιρηνίαν Διορισιακὸν θέατρον ἐλθόντες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐξεκλήσιασαν (411 B.C.). The theatre was at the N.W. side of the Muniyehian hill.—ἐγίγνετο, 'came to be held'.

οἷτο ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν] 'Some persons were so anxious that the information regarding the Generals and the Infantry Commanders should be laid before the people as well, (in regard to the others, the information had been the Council's affair,) that they being Agoratus before the people in the Ecdesia also' (καὶ ἐκεῖ). καὶ ἐκεῖ...εἰς τὸν δ., i.e. 'there also', and *this* time before the people.—ἀπέχον, i.e. 'Distant is right in

ἀνακρίσεις: μέντοι καὶ ἡ σχολίον, but ἐκ τῆς β-Νῆ is prob. genuine: cf. earlier the contract with ἐκ τῆς β. charter. Cp. § 33.

§ 33. ἀναγνώσεται] *sc.* ὁ γραμματεὺς.

καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ β., *ε.π.λ.*] *sc.* ἀπαγγεφόρα: 'with those names which were given before the Council and those which were given before the Ecclesia'.

§ 34. ἀπέπλευσε] Xen. *H.* ii. 2. 23. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγουσιν τῶν* 86
ἐλευσῶν, μετὰ δὲ ταῖς Λακεδαιῶν τε κατεπέρι ἐπὶ τοῦ Παισίου
[ὡς ἔοικε ἔχει ἴσως ἄν τις ἀνακρίσει ἢ τοῦ Παισίου, πρὸς τὸν Η.,
§ 19], καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰ τεύχεα ἀπέπλευσαν ὡς
ἀλλοτρίων πολλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευσίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκείνη τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς
'Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

§ 35. κατεστάθησαν] 'were installed in office'. The 1st *opt. pres.* κατεστῆσαν is to differ from the 2nd *opt. pres.* κατεστήσαντες in § 34 ('were established') by suggesting the formal induction into office. On the other hand, in Anthon's *De Vitar.* § 11 (p. 26), γερουσίαν κατεστάθησαν seems to be no more than κατέστησαν. The *pass. nor.* is mainly poetical.

κρίσιν ἀποδοῦν] 'appointed in direct that these men should be tried before the Council': but κρίσιν ἀποδοῦν would be merely ἐκρίνον, 'proceeded to try them'.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος] 'whereas the wants of the people's desire had been, "before the ordinary court, with a jury of 2000".'

§ 36. εἰ ἐκρίνοντο] 'If they had been on their trial before the ordinary court, they would have been in a fair way to be acquitted': the *impers.* referring here to a hypothetical action in past time, whereas κατέστησαν ἀποδοῦν would have meant simply, 'If they had been tried, they would have been acquitted'. Cp. Goodwin § 49. 2.

ἐν ᾧ] referring to δῆμος: 'but now, when you could no longer do any good, you had recognized the desperate situation of Athens'. — νῦν δ', 'but well was', with *ἔπειτα* *pres.*, as in § 22.

§ 37. ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων] 'The Thirty sat on the seats usually occupied in the Prohedria of the Assembly' (100 in number). Cp. Plat. *Phae.* 118 a, where Hierias and Xanthias sit upon τὸ θρόνον, surrounded by his hearers ἐπὶ βάθρων.

καδίσκου] 'was' for the secret ballot. The *ἀρχαὶ* being ἀποψηφισθέντες a formal charge for treason. Cf. *Lucr.* § 149, *δυσὶν καδίσκου κειμένω, τὸν μὲν προδοσίας τὸν δὲ σωτηρίας εἶναι.*

§ 38. οὐδενὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο] The Thirty attempted to 87
summarily put to death without trial any one who

was not in the list (*κατάλογος*) of 3000. Isocrates speaks of them as having executed '1500 citizens without trial' (*ἀμαρτοίς*: or. xx. § 11). Cp. Xen. *H. II.* 3. 51: Grote viii. 327.

§ 40. μέλαν [τέ] Baier and Sauppe would omit *τε*: and I incline to think that it may have been a spurious addition, designed to link the participles. If we retain it, we must suppose a partic. (e.g., *ὀδονομήν, ἀποκλεισμένη, κατακλιμένη*) lost before or after *ἠμφισμένη*.

§ 41. διέθετο] not *ἔθετο* (though *ἔλεγε*, etc.), because the testamentary disposition—*ἔθετο*, the making of a *διαθήκη*—is an act completed at a definite moment.

88 § 42. τιμωρεῖν] *τιμωρισθῆναι* could stand; cp. *In Epitaph.* § 35. *ἔπειθ' ἴδωκε τιμωρισσόμενος* (p. 74): but the active marks more clearly that the cause in which the punishment is dealt is another's.

§ 44. τοὺς ἐκ Σαλ.—ἐξ Ἐλευσ.] Cp. *In Epitaph.* § 52. *Ἰδὼν δὲ Περικλέωνος μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἐπὶ Σαλαμίᾳ καὶ Ἐλευσίᾳ τοιαύτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπύργου εἰς τὰ ἄστυγερον, καὶ μὴ ἄλλω ἄλλω ἀπίστευ βασιλεὺς καταφύεσθαι.—τοὺς ἐνθάδε*, at Athens. From § 30 of the speech against Eratosthenes (above, p. 72) we may infer how frequently such *ἠμαρτῶν* were thus indulged. In *Lys. or. xxy.* § 15 a speaker claims credit for *not* having gratified his enemies during the Oligarchy.

89 § 46. ἔτι δὲ τὰ τεῖχη ὡς κατεσκάφη] *sc. ἔτι*, to be supplied from § 44.

§ 47. οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψαι] See note above on § 15.

§ 48. ἀπέκτεινας, &c.] The words *εἰς τὰλοι* occur thrice in the sentence. Before *ἐπιβουλεύειν* they are clearly, as Hölzer saw, an interpolation, either from the previous or from the subsequent clause. 'You put them to death, by denouncing them as plotters against the Commonwealth'. There is no inconsistency in this, since the oligarchical *Βασιλῆς* claimed to represent the Commonwealth, and would affect the language of patriotic citizens.—Dehro, with great plausibility, proposed to read, *ἀπέκτεινας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιβουλεύων τῶν πλῆθει τῶν ἐπιτρέφω*.

90 VII. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΥ. [or. vii.]—On the Sacred Olive'. The man for whom this defence was written—a rich Athenian citizen (ss 21, 31)—had originally been charged with destroying a *πρῶτον*, or sacred olive, on a farm which belonged to him. As to do this was a fraud upon the Treasury, the

farm of the original accusation had been an apographê (ἀπογραφὴ, § 2). But the charge was not supported by the persons who had rented from the State the produce of the moria on this farm of *ἐκνομία τῶν κτηνῶν τῆς ἀγορᾶς*, § 2). The accusers had therefore changed their ground. They now charge the defendant mainly with uprooting the *finced-in stump (στυβὴ)* of a moria; and they lay against him an indictment for impiety. The chief accuser is one Nicomachus.

Throughout Athens, besides the olives which were private property (*οἶκος ἄγρος*, § 10), there were others which, whether growing on public or on private lands, were considered as the property of the State. These were called *moriae* (*μορία*)—the legend being that they had been propagated (*παρομοιωμένοι*) from the original olive which Athens herself had caused to spring up on the Acropolis. This theory was convenient for their conservation as State property, since, by giving them a sacred character, it placed them directly under the care of the Areiopagus, which caused them to be visited once a month by Inspectors (*ἐπιμεληταί*, § 29), and once a year by special Commissioners (*ἐπιθεωρηταί*, § 25). To uproot a *moria* was an offence punishable by banishment and confiscation of goods (§ 41).

The case is tried by the Areiopagus under the presidency of the Archon Basilicus. The offence was alleged to have been committed in the archonship of Senniades (§ 11), OI. 95. 4, 397 B.C. To judge from § 42 (*κατασκευασθὲν γὰρ* *γενέσθαι*) the trial took place not earlier than 395 B.C.; probably later.—*Athenian Orators*, I. 289.

§§ 17—25.

§ 17. *ἔτι τοίνυν*] The speaker has been arguing that he could not have destroyed the olive without the knowledge of his slaves. He now adds that the deed would have been liable to detection by (1) former tenants of the farm, § 17: (2) passers-by, (3) neighbours, § 18.

ἂν παρέστη μοι] 'if it had occurred to me': i.e. 'if I had been so ill-advised' as to pay no heed to my slaves. Cp. the frons. 104 nos. PARS. IV. 14. 6, *τοῖσι ἑκαστοῖσι παύσασθαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι*. 'this suggested to E. that he should lead them back'.

ποσούτων μεμ] 'when so many persons had rented the farm': the speaker having let it to four different tenants in succession, before he took it into his own hands (*οἶ. 9. 10*), *μωτοῖσι* of landlord, *κατανομήσι* of tenants: § 10, *Ἄλλοι δὲ διαθήσει. οἶκος Ἄλλοις δὲ κατανομήσει. κατανομήσει*: 'in the secret' (that a moria had existed on the land).

προθεσμίας] 'when there was no statutable limit to my

liability': *i.e.* a γῆρας might be laid at any length of time after the alleged offence. In some cases (*e.g.* the γῆρας περασμένων) the προθεσμία was a year.

τοῖς εἰργασμένοις] 'while it was the common interest [προσῆκον, acc. absol.] of all who had worked the farm that the olive should be safe, so that, if any of them were insulted, they could have laid the blame on him to whom they gave up the land': (*i.e.* each would shift the blame on to his own immediate successor: hence ἄρα, not γὰρ. For προσῆκον in this sense, cp. *In Agon.* § 15, p. 80, ἀλλὰ αἰτίας τούτων πλῆθος ἢ ἕνα ἐκάστῳ προσῆκον.

εἶναι σῶον τὸν σηκόν] *i.e.*, it would be the interest of each man who had rented the farm to prove that, at the time when he gave it up, the olive was still safe. Tenants A would be prepared to show that he had transmitted the olive to B, B to C, and so on. A series of vigilant witnesses would thus fix the responsibility on the latest tenant, — the speaker.

ἵνα εἶχον] the secondary tenses of the ἵνα in final clauses with ἵνα (or ἵνα, ἵπτα) 'denote that the end or object is dependent upon some antecedent condition, and therefore is not or not not attained': Goodwin § 44, 3. — ἀναγγεῖλαι ἄρα ἄρα—ἀναγγεῖλαι ἄρα: cp. *In Eratosth.* § 81, ἀναγγεῖλαι ἅ τ' ἕκαστος θέλει εἰς τούτου φίλων, εἰς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀναγγεῖλαι, *i.e.* 'on whom shouldst thou lay the blame of his acts': but in § 64, τὰς ἀπολογίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφερομένας.

§ 18. παρσκευασάμην] 'Now, supposing that I had arranged matters in these quarters also' [as well as with my *είκεται*, *i.e.* had hired the former tenants of the farm to be silent: cp. *In Agon.* § 12 (p. 79), ἄσπετος παρασκευασέμενος: *ib.* § 22 (p. 82) ἐκ παρασκευῆς.—παῖσαι—to be safe, as § 21.

ἀλλήλων, *i.e.* λ.] 'know not only each of each other's concerns as are plain for all to see': ἄλλ. with ταῦτα, a constr. like σοῦ τοῦτο θαυμάζω: cp. *Lys. or.* xxxiv. § 2 (p. 54, p. 54).—καὶ περὶ ἐκ. πυνθέν., 'infama δημοκλήτουσαν these also'.

διαφόροι περὶ τῶν ἡμῶν] 'as found with you about my own': τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιδησίαις ἡμῶν which are really mine, but which they claim as theirs, alluding to hereditary disputes of the like.

§ 19. καὶ μὴ μόνον οὕτω] 'instead of making unbecoming charges in this off-hand way (οὕτω) on his bare word (μόνον)': cp. *Plat. Gorg.* 494 κ, δὲ ἂν φῆ ἀνέδην οὕτω (in this reckless fashion) τοῖς χαίροντας, ὅπως ἂν χαίρωσιν, εὐδαίμονας εἶναι.

τὰ πρόμα] 'that our accounts are the only—among our by

the roots, and the wagoner carried the wood and drove off with it'. *πρόμακρός* = ὁ στυλός, the route or stump of the olive: in § 11 we have *ἐπιπύκνιστος ἐκκετόμενος*, — *ἐπιπύκνιστος*, properly the fence round the stump of a sacred olive, coming to mean the fence with the stump.

§ 20. *καίτοι τότε*] 'Now it was your father [our duty at the time *τότε*, when the alleged act was happening] to call the persons by us witnesses, and to make the fact known'.

ἐν τοῦτω τ. τρ.] Cp. *In Arce.* § 12 (p. 73), *ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ* 91 *ταῦτα*.

οὕτως ἐξελέγξας] 'after thus proving your case, you could not longer have been suspected of calumny': *οὕτως* = ὡς εἶπαι, you would not have continued to seem: implying *διπλῶς εἶπαι*. The words might mean, 'you would not now seem', implying *ἔπειτα ἔλεξι*: but the context (*ὡς ἐπέλεξε, ἐπὶ ἔλασεν*) shows that the imperf. refers to the past.

§ 22. **φήσας μ' ἰδάν*] 'if, when you alleged that you had seen me destroying the sacred olive, you had invoked the presence of the Archons, or other representatives of the *Διοικησία*'. *φήσαι* (*Non. Cyr.* iv. l. 24) a rare verb: Heide's emend. of *φήσας* *ἰδάν*. The conjunct. *φήσαι μ' ἰδάν* = 'having informed yourself no [by a *φήσαι* laid before [the magistrates] as having been seen by you'. — *ἐπήγαγε*: referring to the procedure called *ἐπιπύκνιστος*, which consisted in bringing the proper officer to the spot where the criminal was to be arrested: here that officer would be the *ἀρχαὶοὶ βανδύται*, or one of the *ἐπιπύκνιστοι* (§ 25, 29) charged by the *Διοικησία* with the care of the sacred olives.

§ 23. *δευρότατα οὖν πάσχω, ὅς ἂν ἤξιον*] 'My case, then, is a very hard one, seeing that he would have claimed', etc. The antecedent to *ὅς*, if expressed, would have been *ὅτι τούτω*, 'at his hands', after *παύχαι*. As the antecedent is not expressed, the relative *ὅς* is virtually equivalent to *ὅτι* *ἕνεκα*. For this unusual use of the relative, cp. my note on *Soph. O. C.* 263. — The conjunctive *ὅσῳ* (to replace *ὅς*) is neither useful nor tenable. When *ὅσῳ* = 'inasmuch', it always stands with a double comparative or a double superlative (e.g. *μᾶλλον πλεονάζει, ὅσῳ καὶ πλείονα ποιεῖται*).

ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην] 'he thinks that this case, [the fact of his having no witnesses] must be turned to my prejudice' [by the imputation that I have bribed them to be silent]. *ταύτω* (ie. τῷ τῷ, virtually = ταῦτα, as *Andr. Dr. Foss* § 27. *ταύτω λαβόντες ἀφορμὴν*).

καὶ ταύτου, κ.τ.λ.] 'Nor do I wonder at his, of course, when he is bringing a vexatious charge, he will take care that,

if he has no witnesses, at least he shall have such assertions as command: *καταμαρτυροῦμαι* Λύσιαν, allegations of bribery on the part of the accused.—*καίτοι*: either *ταύτα* or a clause with *εἰ* or *ἄν* would usually follow *καταμαρτυροῦμαι*: but here the sentence *εἰ γὰρ κτλ.* takes its place. Cp. p. 240, *note* on Lys. or. xxxiv. § 2.

§ 24. *πυρκαϊάς*] *καρμῶν* which had been burnt down, as often happened in the raids during the Peloponnesian War. On the vitality of the olive cp. Her. viii. 55: Soph. O. C. 698 (*ἀπότρεμ' ἔχει καὶ πάλιν ἀνασπασίαν*, 'a growth unconquered, self-renewing'): Verg. *Geo.* ii. 30, 181.

92 *ἐπεργάσασθαι*] 'cultivate its former site': *ἐπεργ.*, of previously cultivating *καρμῶν* soil. *Acrothia. Ia. Ctes.* § 413. (the *Ἀμφικτυονιστῶν ἀποκαταστασὶς τοῦ πεδίου* (of Crisa). See *ἐπεργασίς τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς*, Thuc. i. 139.

§ 25. *ὡσπερ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν*] 'as much as any part of my own property'. The *καρμῶν* were not part of his *οὐσία*, but belonged to the State, so that *ταῖς ἄλλ. οὐσ.* strictly—'all my property *besides*': Plat. *Phaed.* 110 c, *καὶ λήθεις καὶ γῆ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς*.

ἠγοῦμαι περὶ ἀμφ.] 'deeming that I have interests at stake in both of them'—both in the *καρμῶν* and in my own property: i.e. he regards himself as bound by public duty and by religion to protect the *καρμῶν*. Cp. or. xxvii. § 9 (p. 55), *ἡ ἀρχὴν ἔχει*, the interests staked on the maintenance of the Constitution.

ἐπιμελουμένους] Cp. § 28, *ἢ κείνη γὰρ ἐργασίη ἐγγὺς ἐργασίη ἐστὶν ἐπικαταλύσει αὐτῶν* ('I have taken' ἔφηροντο). The *γροικαστῶν* were higher officials, 'Commissaries', who made a personal journey once a year.

ἐργαζ., κτλ.) 'cultivating the soil around the sacred olives' (i.e. the cultivating of the *καρμῶν*: not so much as *ἐπεργαζ.* in § 24, which means to cultivate the spot on which *καρμῶν* (now destroyed) had stood).

VIII. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ. (Or. κ.)—Theomnestus, a young Athenian, had been indicted by one Lysitheus for throwing away his shield in battle, but had been acquitted. The present speaker had been among the witnesses of Lysitheus, and in the course of the trial had been called a parricide by Theomnestus. A certain Dionysius, also a witness of Lysitheus, was next prosecuted by Theomnestus for perjury, and was sentenced to disfranchisement (§ 23). The present speaker then brought his action against Theomnestus.

The Athenian law against Delamation (*καταγγλία*) punished with a fine of 500 drachmas (about £20) the utterance of certain reproaches classed as *ἀπειρομα* (§ 2). To call a citizen a murderer, a striker of father or mother, or to charge him with having thrown away his shield in battle, was among these. The present case had already been submitted to arbitrators (§ 6); it now came before an ordinary court, under the presidency of the Thesmothetæe.

From § 4 the date is certain. The speaker had been thirteen years old in the time of the Tyrants (404—3 B.C.), and was now thirty-three: the speech belongs therefore to 384—3 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, i. 293.

§§ 6—20.

§ 6. *διστητήν*] The Attic *διστηταί* were of two kinds,—public (*ὄλιγοι*), and private, chosen (*αἰεταί*) by the parties themselves. Here, private arbitration is meant.

ἀπορρήτων] ‘forbidden’ words, which rendered those who used them liable to a *δίκη κακῆγορίας*.

ἀπεκτονένας] The term used by Theopompus, acc. to the speaker, § 3. *ταῖς πατέρας δ’ ἐφάρσατο ἀπεκτονένας τῶν ἑσπευόντων*.

§ 7. *τῷ νομοθέτῃ*] We often find similar intimations that the intention or purpose of a law is to be considered when the letter is not explicit: *cp.* Arist. *Met. Mor.* ii. *ad init.* *ἡ νομοθέτη ἐπιβουλεύει κατ’ ἐκέρση ἀποθνήσκει δολογίαν*: *cp.* *Rhet.* i. 1.

§ 8. *οὐ γὰρ δῆπου, κ.τ.λ.*] ‘If anyone were to call you a “striker” of father or mother [the *ἀπειρομα*, or actionable words] you would claim damages from him: surely, then, if anyone were to say that you had “smitten her who bore you” or “him who beget you”, you would not consider him deserving of impunity or innocent of libel’. For the form of the sentence, *ὡς ἄρατος, εἰ μὴ εἰ δέ*, *cp.* *in Epistolæ*, § 36 (above, p. 74), *οὐκ οὖν δευόν, εἰ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς κ.τ.λ.*: *Isocr. Panegy.* § 181 (below, p. 186); *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἴδιον μὲν κ.τ.λ.*: *Plat. Gorg.* 512 A, *λογίζεται ὅτι οὐκ, εἰ μὲν...εἰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*—*ὡς εἴθε εἴη*, ‘on the ground that he has not’: *but ὡς μηδέν*, ‘as if he had not’.

§ 9. *περὶ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν*] ‘For you are an expert in this subject (*τοῦτο, τῷ ἐπιτελεῖν*), and have studied both the theory and the practice’: *ποιεῖν*, how ‘to invent’ taunts; *λέγειν*, how ‘to utter them’.

ῥίψαι τὴν ἀσπ.] *ῥίπτω, abicere*, was stronger than *ἀποβάλλω*, which, like *iacturam facere*, was capable of meaning

simply 'to lose': hence *ρίψασπις* is the term of reproach, one who *flings* away his shield.

ἄρητο] *Dobree*, ἄρηται, which would be easier: but ἀποβελήσασθαι was the word actually used in the law, as appears from the epitome of this speech (κατὰ Θεομ. B § 5). Retaining ἄρητο, take it as depending on εἰ: 'If some one were to say... and it had been proscribed by the law...': the *actual* provision of the law being stated *hypothetically*, as one of the data of the imagined case.

ἔξήρκει ἄν σοι... μέλειν] 'You would be content to be set down as one who had thrown away his shield, saying merely that you did not care'. *Dobree* would omit ἐμφορέσει τῆς ἀσπίδος: wrongly, I think. The perf. is thoroughly Greek: 'you would be content to *have* thrown away', i.e. you would acquiesce in the position of one who was said to have done so. He is supposed to say, εὐ μοι μέλει. Cp. Her. vi. 129, εὐ φρονεῖτε ἱπποκλήβη.

§ 10. τῶν ἑνδεκα] 'Or again, if you had been made one of the Eleven (the Commissioners of Police), you would not be satisfied if a person were arrested for "robbing a man of his cloak" or "stripping him of his tunic"; you would acquit him on the same principle, because the epithet "clothes-stealer" was not applied to him'. — ἐπέε., ἀπέε., true perfects pres.: lit. 'if one were to arrest another saying that (he himself) had been robbed': ἀπέεσθε, of the *ἐπέεσθε*: ἀπέεσθε, of the *under-garment*, the χιτῶν.

οὐδ' εἰ τιθένται] 'Nor, if any one were convicted of "having sold a boy into slavery", would you call him a kidnapper. — on your principle [ἀπέε. with fut. ind. σαχθῆ] = cavilling about words, instead of attending to the facts which all men have in view when they establish the terms'. — ἀπέε.: cp. Her. v. 6, πωλεῖται τὰ τέλει ἐπ' ἡγαγῶν (for exportation as slaves).

94 § 11. ἔτι τοίνυν, κ. τ. λ.] 'Well, here is another illustration, *judica*. The defendant appears to be an avenger to trouble or question that he has never even gone up to the Areiopagus. As you are all aware, when cases of homicide are tried in that place, the term employed in the preliminary oath of the jurists is τὸ εἶπε, i.e. the accuser does not say that the accused is ἀδελφοφόνος]: it is the phrase in which I have been perjured (i.e. *perjured*): for the prosecutor deposes that the prisoner "hath slain", and the prisoner replies, "I have not slain".

§ 12. οἰκοῖν ἀτοπον διαμόσατο] 'Now it would be absurd that the prisoner, after having been adjudged guilty of

"slaying", should defend himself on the plea that he was "a homicide", the prosecutor's statement having charged him with "slaying". As to the text of this passage, which has been corrupted in the mss., see the critical note.

τί γὰρ ταῦτα διαφέρει] 'How, I ask (γάρ), do such cases differ from that which the defendant is prepared to maintain [ἀσπείρει]?', i.e. the defendant uses ἀσπείρειν, implying ἀειροφάνης; the Areiopagus, *vice versa*.

πεντακ. δραχμ.] about £20.

§ 13. *λαμβάνεις] 'If you accept the laws in the sense in which I now take them'; —σῶτα, i.e. with a view to the spirit rather than to the letter. The mss. have λαμβάνεις, —an impossibly harsh anacolouthon when εἰ precedes and ἀξίως follows. It was probably a mere error of transcription.

οὐκ ἀξιοίς] for εἰ instead of ἀφ' after εἰ in such a sentence, cp. *In Eratosth.* § 36 (p. 74) οὐκ ἄρα χρή.

§ 14. εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχ., κ.τ.λ.] 'Now do you not blush for being such a simpleton as to suppose that you are to be enriched, not by the rewards of patriotism, but by the profits of impunity?' i.e. do you not see that every one will soon recognise you as a *συκοφάντης*?

§ 15. Ὅστε σὺ δύνασθαι] Not ὥστε σὺ: a parallel, if the text is sound (as it seems), to the anomaly in Soph. *El.* 780, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ποιεῖν ἄνακτα σὺν τῷ ἰσχυρῶν τῶν πτωχῶν ἄλλοι. The 'rules' of Greek grammar were in the making in those days, and the thought sometimes overbore the normal usage: here, for instance, the writer was thinking most of the negative *first*.

ἂν πως, κ.τ.λ.] 'if, even at this late hour, when he stands at your bar, he can be educated, and prevented from troubling us in the future'. (εἰ μὴ πρότερον) ἄλλα πῶς, 'better late than never': cp. note on Soph. *Cl.* 1276.—There was one *θῆσις* (tribune) for the accused, another for the accused: *Λαοκῆν.* *In Ctes.* § 207, τὸ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ β....τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος.

Σόλωνος] The laws written *ἑκατομῆρες* on the wooden rollers (ἀξίαι) and *ἑκατομῆρες* tablets (ἀξίαι) preserved in the Prytæneion were known as the 'laws of Solon'. See to Plat. *Stol.* 17, τὰς Δελφικὰς εἰσὶν ἔλας τὰς φαιάδας διαλεῖν ('to cancel') ἀποιεῖν, but, as Grote says (iii. 186), 'there is reason for supposing that the repeal cannot have been so sweeping'; Solon was popularly credited with political reforms that came after him (*ib.* 169), and so also, doubtless, with laws that had been before him.

§ 16. ποδοκάκη] This sentence (with τὰς πόδας ποδῶν ἑκάστας καὶ κέρας ὄντας) occurs also in the *ῥήσις* (interpretation)

ἀρ. [Heim.] or. LYIII. In *Thuc.* § 105. Hesych. πῶστας: ἢ ἐν τῷ εἰλωτῷ δουλεύει. ἐν ᾧ δὲ κακοποιεῖα διατρέχουσα. εἶλον τοδοκατοχῆ. citing Plato comicus (circ. 420—390 B.C.).

προστιμῆση] 'If the Helians award an additional penalty' (in an aggravated case). The Periclean subdivision of the ἕλαια into δουλοποιεῖα was subsequent to this law.

- 96 § 17. ἐπιορκήσαντα δρασκάζειν] 'He shall give severity, calling Apollo to witness his oath' (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι would ordinarily mean 'having sworn falsely' by the god).—If in fear of the proceedings, he should attempt flight:—a detached phrase, which in the original may have depended on ἐν τῷ πλοῦτι or the like.

ἀπ' ἄλλαι τῇ θύρῃ] 'Whoever shuts the door of the house [lit. excludes by the door] when the thief is within'—to prevent the master entering, or to secure the θυροφυλῆ, —ἀπ' ἄλλαι, from root *Feλ*, whence εἶλω, εἰλέω, ἄλ-υ-σι-ς, a chain—ἐλ-υ-σ-σ-μαι, etc. Curt. *Gr. L.* § 656. Hesych. quotes ἐπιλλομι 'enclosure'—ἐπικαλ. ἐκκλησία: whence the Iacon. ἀπ' ἄλλαι-ζου = ἐκκλησία, to hold assemblies.—On the question between the spellings ἐπιλλω and ἀπ' ἄλλαι, cp. my note on Soph. *Ant.* 340 (appendix, p. 250).

καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρου] 'and make no avail on that account'.—said derisively to Theomachus: i.e. 'you cannot pretend that *here* the strange word makes the sense of the law doubtful'.

§ 18. τὸ ἀργίριον στάσιμον] 'The money shall stand at whatever rate the lender chooses'. The word probably here does not refer to weighing, but to the condition of interest as high as he pleases: i.e. στάσιμον δεῖν = δουρεῖα λεγάνη, or στάσιμον, the loan can stand, can remain put out. cp. Andoc. *In Hes.* § 11, δεῖν δεῖν κατ' ἄρῃον. v. p. 224. For στάσιμον in the sense of 'variable' (ἐν γὰρ λεγάνη), cp. Pollux iv. 173, κτὲρ εἴτερ στάσιμα ἢ ἄμετα for 'variable', by Oribasios (Ἐπιφάν. *Όπια*. 342). Polyb. viii. 31. § 4, ἄλλα τὰ τῆς ἀρίθου στάσιμον, 'turning the scale of the crisis'.

§ 19. οἰκέτης καὶ δούλης. ε.τ.λ.] 'He shall be required to make good the injury done to the male or female slave'. Cp. the εἰμαι σκῆν in Lys. or. i. § 32, καὶ τῆ δουλοποιεῖα ἐκδίδουσι ἢ παῖδα αἰσχρῆ βία, διπλὴν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλουν.

- 97 τὸ δὲ οἰκέτην θεράποντος] ἀπὸ τῆς *H.* and *Id.* συνετάσσουσα (free) number of a δουλοποιεῖα; sometimes, as here and in Soph. *O. T.* 756, a slave, οἰκέτης. In Homer θεράπων usu. = a free attendant—ε.τ.λ. as servant, etc.: later, it is simply a more honourable name for the slave as the personal attendant of his master. In *Thuc.* iv. 16 θεράπων is the servant of the Spartan

hoplite: in vii. 13 the *θεράποντες* perh. include the free *εἴπτες* who had been pressed for naval service, as well as the *δούλοι*. *θεράποντες* was esp. the Chian word for *αἰεταί*, Eustath. *ad* Dionys. 533.

§ 20. *σιδηροῦς*] i.e. impenetrably stupid—incapable of receiving knowledge, even when it is hammered into him: cp. *Λαοῖσιν. In titos. § 196, πᾶν πῦρ, ᾧ σιδήρεαι, ἐκασταστοὶ ἐκαστοῖσιν*, i.e. men of iron endurance: *Δρ. Αἰσχίν.* 491, *ἀναισχυντος σιδηροῦς τ' ἀνήρ*, shameless and brazen.

τοῦ βήματος] Cp. note on § 15.

IX. ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΓΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ. [Of. viii.]—The speaker had formerly indicted Panchon, a fuller living at Athens (§ 2), for some offence not specified, and, believing him to be a resident alien, had summoned him before the Polemarch, who heard cases in which foreigners were concerned. Panchon thereupon put in a 'plea to the jurisdiction', on the ground that he was a Pantonian by birth, and, as such, entitled at Athens to the rights of an Athenian citizen: and that, therefore, the action ought not to have been brought before the Polemarch. This plea (*παρεγγραφή*) gave rise to a previous trial to decide whether the action, in its original form, could be brought into court (§ 5). In such a case the first speech was usually made by the maintainer of the original plea: here it is evidently made by the opponent. The date is uncertain.—*Attic Orators*, i. 302.

§ 1. *ὀρθῶς τὴν δίκην ἐλαχον*] 'brought the action in proper form'. The speaker's object is to show that Panchon is not an Athenian citizen but a foreigner, and that therefore the Polemarch was the magistrate who had jurisdiction in the *dike*. What the matter of the original *dike* was, does not appear. Here we are concerned only with the question concerning the form. The issue is that raised by the *παρεγγραφή*, or special plea, put in by Panchon, who relied on *εὐνομία* ποτ', denying that the Polemarch had jurisdiction. Every answer made in writing by a defendant to a plaintiff was *ἀπεγγραφή*. The *παρεγγραφή* was a species of *ἀπεγγραφή*—that is, an answer, namely, which consisted in an objection to the form of the proceeding. Hence in § 5 we read, *ἀντεγράψατο μὴ εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι τὴν δίκην*: which is only another way of saying that his *ἀπεγγραφή* took the particular form of a *παρεγγραφή*.

§ 2. *γραφεῖον*] The Athenian fuller had a thriving trade, as the woollen fabric was sent to him to be renovated: this process consisted in scouring,—i.e. rubbing in 'Cassian clay', a sort of white earth,—and carding (*καθίζω*), to raise the

παρ. In Ar. *Eccles.* 415 and Athen. xiii. p. 582 we have people complaining of the γυαφός who delays to send back their *κίβητα* by the promised day. Cp. Theophr. *Char.* xxii, where it is noted as a trait of the ἀειδυστέρος (the man who shows 'excessive indifference to honour where expense is concerned'), that 'he will stay in the house when he has sent his cloak to be scoured' (ἐπιβῆναι κίβητα ὅταν ἐκδῶ βαλάντιον ἐπιδύσει).

προσεκαλεσάμην] 'summoned him before the Polemarch, summoning him to be a resident alien'. Harpocration p. 246 s. v. Προκαλεσέν (quoting Arist. 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία) εἰς τὴν τε εἰσαγγὴν ἵκειν τῶν τε ἀποστάντων καὶ ἀπρωστάντων (for having deserted a *πρωστάνης*, or for having none) καὶ ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἐπολιτῶν τοῖς μετέδοται, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα τοῖς πολιταῖς ὁ βραχίων, ταῦτα τῶν μετὰ τὸν ὁ παλιέμαρχος. Harp. *Lex.* i. § 138. 10.

ὅπῳθεν δημοτεύοιτο] 'to what deme he belonged'. Cp. [Dem.] or. lvi. *Adv. Lebal.* § 49, δημοτεύομενος (=δημότης ἴδι) μετ' ἐμοῦ.

παρανέσαντος. κ.τ.λ.] 'one of those who were with me' [one of the ἀγγέλοι, or εἰσέτοι who assisted at the summons] 'having recommended that I should also summon him' (as he had evaded the citation before the Polemarch) 'before the trial of which he pretended to be a member' (the adviser said, εὐπίστειται: this becomes εὐπίστειται after εἰσέτοι). Before he could be brought under the jurisdiction of a *tribe*, it was necessary to ascertain his *deme*.

- 98 § 3. πρὸς τοὺς τῆ Ἰππ. Δικαζ.] 'The judges for the Hippothontid tribe', to which the deme of Deschis belonged. Judges appointed annually for each tribe, make the circuit of the demes included in it, deciding causes where not more than ten drachmas were at stake. Pollux viii. 190, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸ μέγιστον δικαστὴν ἵκειν εἰκόσων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ταῦτα δικαστῶν ταῖς παρεδίδουσαν: cp. Arist. *Polit.* iv. 13. § 2.

τὸ κορυ. τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑρμ.] 'the barrier's limit by the Hermae'. The northern limit of the Athenian Agora was formed by rows of Hermae (statues of the god) on plain quadrangular pedestals, which extended from the Παιδαγωγεῖα, or Portico of *Proxenos*, on the eastern side of the Agora, to the Βασιλικὴ πύλη, or Portico of the Archon *Basilikos*, on its western side. Among these Hermae, a few were of marble, bearing metrical inscriptions, and erected there by special permission in memory of the capture of Ereb on the Strymon from the Persians, though neither Simon, nor any individual victor, was allowed to be recorded by name. (Curtius, *Hist.*

Gr. II. 564; cp. his explanatory text to the 'Sieben Karten' of Athens, p. 52.)

τὰς μὲν φεύγοι. κ.τ.λ.] 'on learning that he was actually defending some actions before the Polemarch, and had already been cast in others. I brought mine also': they said, φεύγοι, ᾤφληκε: cp. Goodwin § 18. 1.

§ 4. ἐπίλαβε] 'stop the water-clock': since the time occupied by the μαρτυρῆς was not deducted from the time allowed for the speech.

§ 5. ἐκ τούτων] 'on these grounds' (the statements about Pauleon just mentioned): not 'by these persons', which in Attic prose would be ὑπὸ τούτων.

ἀντεγράψατο] 'entered a plea against the jurisdiction of the court': see note on § 1.

πρεσβύτατον] 'the oldest inhabitant of Platæa that I knew'.

§ 6. εἰς τὸν χλ. τυρόν] 'They said that I should be most likely to obtain precise information (πυθέσθαι δε, oblique of πύθεσθαι) if I went to the cheese-market on the first day of the month'—first-day at Athens: Ar. Vesp. 171, Eq. 48. Cp. Theophr. Char. iv (xiv in my edit., and note there, p. 223).—τῆς χλ. τυροῦ, the place where fresh cheese is sold, like of ἰχθῶς, the fish-market, Ar. Vesp. 789, τὰ Λαχάρια, the green-market, Ixaiatr. 557. εἰ ἑρμῆαι, the myrtle-wreath-market, Τάσση. 448.

§ 7. ἀφιστίωτα] 'who had forsaken him'.—the word expressing, not merely the flight of the slave (ἀποδραστῆς), but the fact that he has set up for himself.—εἰχέρη, the fuller's trade.

§ 8. τὸν ὅς ἐφη δεσπότης τοῦτου ἀναί. . . . τῆς ἀπορίας π. ἀναί: the relative clause being substituted for the participle in order to give greater precision and emphasis to the statement of the fact, ἴφη.

§ 9. ἀγόμενον] 'being carried off', sc. εἰς ἀσπίδα by his ἀσπότης.

τότε μὲν οὖν] 'At that time, then [τότε, in contrast with what happened next day], some of Pauleon's supporters said that he had a brother who would vindicate his liberty. On this understanding they gave him that they would produce him in the market place, and departed'. παραί(ον): cp. In Epov, § 23, note on παραφύσθαι, p. 265. For εἰς ἀγοράς, perh. εἰς αὐρίον.

§ 10. τῇ δ' ἑστέρ.] 'Next day, with a view both to this

special plea and to the original action' [brought before the Polemarch § 3]. 'I thought it right to take witnesses with me to the place, that I might know who it was that proposed to assert Panceon's freedom, and on what ground he would do so. Now, as to the understanding on which he was bailed, [viz. ἐπι εἰη εἰς ἀφῆς, κ.τ.λ., § 9] no brother came, nor any other man', etc.

100 § 11. εἰς τοῦτο δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But the defendant's supporters and the defendant himself carried matters with such a high hand that, though Nicomachus on his part, and the woman on hers, were willing to let Panceon go if any one would assert his freedom, or else would claim him as a slave, Panceon's friends did neither one thing nor the other, but carried him off'.

ἐπὶ τοῦτοις] the understanding that his brother was to vindicate his freedom, § 9.

§ 12. μὴ ὅτι Πλ.] 'that even in his own eyes Panceon is not a Plataean.—or rather, not even a free man': αἰ (Μέγιστος) ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐ, Πλ. εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ὅτι Πλαταῖον εἶναι φαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλευθέρου.

ἐνόχους τοῖς βιαίοις] 'liable to the penalties of forcible seizure' (ἀπὸ βίας). The ἀγοραὶ κατὰ δέουσαν (note on § 2) had jurisdiction in cases of αἶψα and τὰ τῶν βίας, Dem. *Adv. Panceon*, § 33; Herm. *Ant.* i. § 146. 10.

τοῦ σώματος]—τοῦ ἐπιπέτου, 'his status': which would be changed by a conviction from that of a citizen to that of a slave.

101 § 13. ἐν τῇ ἀντιμοσίᾳ] 'When Panceon contended (in his affidavit on the occasion of the suit brought against him by Aristodemus here) that the Polemarch had no jurisdiction over him, it was proved by testimony that Panceon was not a Plataean; and, though he insisted the witness for perjury [ἐπιπελάσαντα, ἢ ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα], he failed to follow up the indictment, but allowed A. to obtain a verdict against him. And when his term of grace had expired, he paid the fine, on such conditions as he could obtain' (from Aristodemus).—κατὰ δέουσαν, i.e. he obtained an abatement, or arranged to pay by instalments; cp. Thuc. i. 117, ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα αἰσῶνται.

§ 15. πρὶν τοῦτων] 'Now before he had effected this compromise, in his fear of Aristodemus he removed from Athens and resided as an alien at Thebes'. ταῦτα, the arrangement relating the sum, or allowing him to pay it gradually. After ἔκει below, ἐκεῖ is rightly supplied by Markland.

ISOCRATES.

Isokratēs: 436—338 B.C. Period of extant work, 403—338 B.C. *Life in Attic Orators*, II, 1—34.

Style. The work of Isocrates was to establish a standard type of literary rhetorical prose. His discourses were meant to be read rather than to be spoken. This is one essential characteristic which distinguishes them from the compositions of the other Attic orators. Isocrates is properly an 'orator' only in his forensic speeches, the earliest, and in his own view the least significant, of his writings. In his later life he altogether repudiated Forensic Rhetoric; on the other hand, 'want of voice and nerve', as he tells us, deterred him from taking part in the debates of the *Ecclesia*. The real work of his life was twofold. First, he was an educator, the head of a school which became renowned—teaching young men the art which he calls $\eta\ \tau\alpha\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\ \tau\alpha\ \rho\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\alpha$, the discipline of discourse—meaning by this, the art of speaking and writing on large political subjects, considered as a preparation for advising or acting in political affairs. (Cp. *Attic Orators*, II, 416—417, on his $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$, or theory of culture.) Secondly, he was a political essayist. In this quality—his writings being widely read throughout Greece—he had perhaps a greater influence on popular opinion than belonged to any literary man of his time. The style of literary prose which he developed had found general acceptance before 350 B.C.; through Greek teachers who gave it a more florid colour, it did much to mould the style of Cicero, who speaks of himself as using 'all the fragrant essences of Isocrates, and all the little stores of his disciples' (ad *Att.* II, 1); and through Cicero, or directly, it has exerted an influence on modern literature. It has been truly remarked that, for the modern world, the oratory of the preacher is the best image of that prose eloquence in which Isocrates excelled. Isocrates ranks of three Greek writers—Plato and Demosthenes being the others—to whom Bossuet declared himself most indebted in the matter of style.

Isocrates has not the distinctively Attic spirit, the subtle grace or finished simplicity of *Lysias*. His *litera*, indeed, resembles that of *Lysias* in purity, and also—though it has a general bent towards grandeur—in avoiding ornament of a poetical kind. But his *composition* is of an altogether different stamp. Instead of aiming at the vigorous compression fitted for real contests, it has a certain rich diffusiveness. Dionysius speaks of the $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta\eta\sigma\iota$, the 'meandering' periods of Isocr.—having in her mind such an image as that of a river which leads us on from *scenia* to *band* through the

soft beauties of its winding course. Isocrates was the first great artist in a Greek prose which, without being bound by the constraints of *metre* (*ῥυθμός*), has yet a free *rhythm* of its own (*εὐρύθμος καὶ ποσειδὸς ἀρετὴ*, *Adv. Soph.* § 16, p. 115). The peculiar *smoothness* of Isocr. results esp. from his careful observance of his own rule, *τέλ' τὰ φωνήεντα μὴ συνίπτεται*, i. e. a vowel at the end of a word must not be followed by a vowel at the beginning of the next. Plutarch speaks of Isocr. as *ὁ φωνηέντων φωνῆν φωνήεντι συνηπόμενος* (*De Glor. Athén.* c. 8). Demosthenes did not press this rule so far (*Attic Orators*, II. 67). The figures (*εὐχάρια*) specially used by Isocr. are those which depend on parallelism: VII. (1) *ἀντιθέσεις*—a parallelism in sense: (2) *παράλληλοι*, a parallelism in form between two clauses or sentences: (3) *παράλληλοις*, a parallelism of sound, when the latter of two clauses gives an echo of the former, either at its opening or at its close, or throughout. The same antithetical bent appears in Isocr.'s treatment of subject-matter, where his habit is to work out a leading idea by developing all the contrasts which it suggests. Thus the subject of the *Panegyricus* is a Greek war with Persia. Greece is dealt with in the first part, Persia in the second: in part I. again, Athens is contrasted with Sparta: the services of Athens to Greece are divided into the civil and the military.—the latter being classed as in wars between Greeks or in wars between Greek and barbarian: part II. shows that Persia is open to attack, while Greece has every motive for attacking.

Isocrates marks the moment at which the purest Attic prose begins to pass over into an artificial literary prose of greater richness, but with less of spiritual grace and delicate precision. In this respect his literary style corresponds to his intellectual position. He belongs to the latter days of free Hellenic life, and while he has the political ardour of a true Hellenic, is already able to conceive that men not Hellenic in blood should come to share in Hellenic culture—a conception which, in the generation after his own, began to be realised by the evolution of Hellenism. This has been well brought out by Curtius (*Hist. Greece* v. 116, 204). 'Athens', says Isocr., 'has seduced the rest of the world in power of thought and speech that her disciples have become the teachers of all other men. She has sought it to pass that the name of Greek should be thenceforth no longer a matter of race but a matter of intelligence, and should be given to the participators in our culture rather than to the sharers of our common origin': *Panegy.* § 50.—See *Attic Orators*, II. 16: 54—79: 425 f.

On the Works of Isocr. in general, *ib.* II. 80—260. The

following Extracts represent the several departments of his writings:—

A. *Scholaric*: I. Niccolus, §§ 14—24: II. Encomium on Helen, §§ 34—38: III. Eurytus, §§ 47—50: IV. Against the Sophists: V. On the Antidosis, §§ 270—302.

B. *Political*: VI. Pansicyrius, §§ 160—186: VII. Philippus, §§ 81—104: VIII. Pansatus, §§ 56—63: IX. On the Perses, §§ 121—131: X. Archidamus, §§ 52—57: XI. Arsopagiticus, §§ 36—55.

C. *Forensic*: XII. Aegineticus, §§ 18—27.

D. *Letters*: XIII. Letter v., to Alexander: XIV. Letter III., to Philip. See Table in *Attic Orators*, II. 83.

I. ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ. [Or. III.]—Niccolus succeeded his father Eurytus as king of the Cyprian Salamis in 374 B.C. The discourse of Isocrates entitled *Ἡδὲ Νικολέῳ* (Or. II.) was addressed to the young king soon after his accession. It is a series of precepts on the duty of a ruler to his subjects. The *Νικολέῳ ἢ Κίπριαι* is a companion piece to the former. Here it is Niccolus who is supposed to speak, and who instructs his Salaminian subjects in their duties towards their king. Since the prince can appeal to his people's past experience of his rule (¶ 63), the date can hardly be earlier than 372 B.C.: on the other hand it cannot be later than 365 B.C., and may probably be placed between 372 and 365 B.C.

In the following passage the king urges the advantages of a Monarchy as compared with an Oligarchy or a Republic. Here Isocrates is essentially the professional rhetor—at being distinctive of Rhetoric that, like its counterpart Dialectic, it is equally ready to argue either side of a question (*ἐκέρταται ἀμφοτέρωθεν*, Ar. *Rhet.* I. 1). Isocrates has given the other side in his *Ἀγορεύματα* (p. 151) as well as in the *Panathenæus*, where he intempests his own political ideal,—a Democracy tempered by a censorship.—*Attic Orators*, II. 87, 90 f.

The advantages claimed for Monarchy, it will be seen, are briefly these: (1) it discriminates merit, §§ 14, 15: (2) it has more insight into the natures and actions of men: (3) it is the mildest of governments, § 16: (4) its ministers learn and perform their duties more thoroughly, §§ 17, 18: (5) it is prompt in action, § 19: (6) it has fewer jealousies, § 20: (7) it has a more direct interest in good government, § 21: (8) it is more effective in war, § 22.—As a plea for monarchy by the citizen of a Greek Republic, compare the brief speech invented by Herod. for Darius in the debate of the Persian conspirators, III. 82.

§§ 14—24.

- 103 § 15. τὰς ἰσότητας] 'Now Oligarchies and Democracies aim at conditions of equality for all who participate in the franchise, and the principle which they approve is that no one should be permitted to have the advantage of his neighbour'. τὰς ἰσότητας, plur., because the two forms of 'civic equality' are different: οἱ ἀποτέχοντες τῆς πλειτείας are in the one case the many, in the other the few. Cp. *Thuc.* iii. 62, ἀλιγαρχία ἰσότητος, i.e. constitutional oligarchy, opp. to a δημοκρατία.
- 104 τό γε βούλημα] 'the intention',—that to which its theory points,—that which it *purposes* to achieve. *Plat. Laws* 769 b, ἐὶ δὲ ἀγαθότερον δοκῶν τοῦ τοῦ εὐνομήτου βουλήμ' εἶναι; *Arist. Pol.* vi [iv] 2. § 1 (speaking of δημοκρατία and βουλευτικὴ), βουλεύεται γὰρ ἐκαστὸν κατ' ἀξίαν συνιστάτω κεχρησμένον; and *De Anim. Gen.* iv. ad fin., βούλεται αὐτὸν εἶναι ἢ φέρει (tends)—ὡς ἀκριβοῦς δέ, 'but does not attain a perfect result'.

§ 16. τὰς τυραννίδας] 'Again, all would allow that despotic governments have superior insight into men's natures and actions'. Here, as in § 22, the ἀναρχία is tacitly identified with the τυραννία. The ἀναρχός is a ruler whose power is above and against the laws; it is characteristic of him that he rules in his own interest (τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συμφέροντα αὐτοῦ, *Arist. Eth. Nic.* viii. 12). Depending much on the choice of instruments (*Arist. Politt.* viii [v] 11. § 12), he has, indeed, practice in the study of character: only, as *Arist.* says, the τυραννία is apt to be ἀνομοφρόνας, to favour bad men. The founder of a despotism was usually a man of exceptional energy and activity: the fallacy here consists in crediting the tyrants with the merits of some τύραννοι.

φέρεισθαι μ. τοῦ πλήθους] 'to be carried with the stream of the crowd'.—ἀλλὰ μὲν, 'then, again'.

§ 17. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ῥηδίων ἔστι] 'First Monarchy is the more aristocratic, the milder and the juster form of government, which we pointed in simpler detail; however, the general view just given may perhaps suffice': iii. 'not but that (ὅτι οὐκ ἔλλα) it is easy to see this comprehensively (ῥηδίων) by means of the foregoing considerations': *Isocrates*, i. c. 10 §§ 15, 16. Cp. *Xen. Mem.* i. 4. § 8, ἄβυσσος ἔστρεψεν εἰς γούνατα, καὶ οὐκ ἔκλεισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκυλοῦ (threw him over his head), εὐδὲ οὐκ ἔβλεψεν ἐπέμεινον, 'nevertheless he kept his seat': where, after οὐ μὲν, κερήρυξ ἐστραγγελοῦται, we have ἀποδοῦμαι δέ.—εὐδοῦσαι: cp. *Arist. Politt.* i. 2. § 12, τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαστῶν, 'to take in a long chain of reasoning at one time', joined with πείρασθαι ἀρχιτέττα, 'to proceed from fact to fact', i.e. to construct a series of syllogisms.

περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν] See introd. *ad fin.* Eight points of advantage are claimed for Monarchy. Three—graduation of merit, insight, clemency,—have now been noticed. Five (τά λοιπά) remain. 'As to the other points, the superiority of Monarchies [to Oligarchies or Democracies] with respect to deliberation or action in needful matters may best be judged by us, if we endeavour to institute a systematic comparison in the most important provinces of activity'. Lit., 'if, comparing the most important actions [as performed by Monarchy and by its rival forms of government respectively], we attempt to examine these' (αὐτάς, —τάς ἀρχαίας πράξεις).

ἰδιῶται γίγν.] 'return into private life' (their year of office having expired).

§ 18. οἱ δ' αὖ γίνεσθαι] 'while the ministers of a Monarchy, having permanent charge of their duties, even if their natural abilities are inferior, have at least (*sic*) a decided pre-eminence in the lessons of experience. Further, the one class [i.e. the ministers of an Oligarchy or a Democracy] betray many interests by neglect, because they rely upon each other [i.e. what is every one's business is no one's]; but the ministers of a Monarchy neglect nothing, since they know that everything must pass through their hands'. The plur. αἱ ἀρχαίαι, § 17, leaves room for doubt whether αἱ δ' αὖ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιστασάνται, &c., αἱ μίσηται, or the monarch and his ministers: the context favours the latter view: cp. §§ 15, 16.

οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγ—οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχ.] πρὸς τὰς ὀλιγ. καὶ ταῖς δημοκρ. mean the citizens of oligarchical or democratical states: lit., those who are in these forms of government, i.e. who hold their powers. So αἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις οὐκ αἰεὶ τὸ μὲν, those who hold monarchical power, viz. αἱ μίσηται. But, for the sense of the context, τὰς αἰτίας μίσηται, τὰς ἀρχαίας οὐκ αἰεὶ τὸ μὲν should mean that the subjects, as well as the monarch, are eminently prosperous. Now the clause, αἱ ἐχέραι ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίαις, is not against this: since Monarchy is here conceived of [§ 15] as a system which fixes each man in his proper rank, and thus precludes uneasy rivalry. Therefore I take αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις here as meaning 'those who live in monarchic States'.

§ 19. συνέδρια χρόνων] συνέδρια, 'public conferences', a general term, including (e.g.) the Athenian βουλή, ἐκκλησία, δισσολόγιαι.—χρόνος, limits of tenure: § 17, κατ' ἀναγκαίαν αἱ τὰς ἀρχαίας ἐπιπέσει.—αἱ ἀναγκαίαι, τὸ ἐπιπέσει, 'do not allow the right moments to slip', do not 'lag behind' them.

§ 20. δυσμενῶς ἔχουσι] 'The ministers of other govern-

ments (*οἱ μὲν*) cherish enmities;...monarchs, (*οἱ δέ.*) having a life-long tenure of office, maintain their friendships also through life'.

§ 21. *οἱ μὲν ὡς ἰδίους*] 'The monarch regards the public interests as his own, — the citizen, as belonging to others':—a remark utterly untrue to the spirit of the Athenian democracy as described by Pericles, *ἐνὶ δὲ τοῖς αἰτοῖς αἰσίων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια*, κ.τ.λ. Thuc. ii. 40. The essence of Greek political life, while vigour remained to it, was the identification of the citizen's interests with the city's: *αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πόλις αἴσα, καὶ ταύτης ἐπι | πλείους ἑσθλῶς τοῖς φιλῶσι περιέμελλε*, Soph. *Ant.* 189.

ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις] 'before mobs'; i.e. 'before the Ecclesia or law-courts': cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 989, *οἱ γὰρ ἐν ποσσὶς | φαιλαί, παρ' ὄχλῳ μολικώτεροι λέγειν*.

§ 22. *οὐ μόνον δ'...περιελήφασιν*] 'It is not only in matters of routine and in the affairs of every day that monarchies are superior; they hold in their grasp [*grasp*] also all the gains of war'.

106 *ᾧστε καὶ λαθεῖν . προσαγαγέσθαι*] 'for purposes of surprise or of display [*δρᾶσαι*, so as to strike terror], — in order to persuade or to compel, — to buy advantages in one quarter, or to conciliate by attentions in another'. Cp. Andoc. *De Pace* § 37, p. 47, which Isoer. may have had in mind, *τὰ αἰετὴ πείσανται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ λαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ προσαγαγεῖν, τὰ δὲ διασπᾶναι*. — *ταῖς ἄλλαις θεσπιαῖς*, attentions, flatteries, *ἀλλήθην ποσὴν* (implied in *ἐκρημάσασα*): for the idiom, see Lysias or. vii. § 25, *τὰ ἄλλα αἰσίων, κ.τ.λ.*, p. 272.—Ὁμισίῳ τυραννίῳ tacitly identified with *μοναρχία*, as in § 16.

§ 23. *Ἱερσῶν . Διονύσιον*] In illustrating the advantages of *μοναρχία*, Isoer. takes the word in its widest sense, and draws his examples from the most diverse forms of government, viz. (1) the Persian monarchy, — a hereditary and constitutional despotism, *μοναρχία τυραννικὴ*, but *κατὰ νόμον καὶ πατριᾶς*, Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14; (2) the *τιραννίς*, an unconstituted despotism, which is only a perverted form, *παλίλασις*, of monarchy, and not properly a *πᾶσις* at all; (3) the constitutions of Sparta and of Carthage, in both of which the general tendency was *oligarchical*, and the 'royal' office meant principally the chief command in war: Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. § 11.

τηλικαύτην γὰρ.] The real lessons taught by the Persian Wars were that free men fight better than slaves, and that good strategy is incompatible with the caprices of a feeble despot.

πολιορκ.] When Dionysius became tyrant of Syracuse in 406 B.C. the Carthaginians were rapidly conquering the Sicilian cities. His first operations against them failed: and the words in the text refer, not to an actual siege of Syracuse (τῆν αἰτὴν πατρῴαν), but to its imminent danger after the fall of Gela and Camarina. The peace which he made with Himilcon in 405 B.C. was a compromise which gave him leisure to confirm his own power. His tyranny was disastrous to all the higher interests of Hellenic civilisation. Cp. Lysias or. xxxiii. § 5 (above, p. 51).

§ 24. τοὺς ἀριστα τῶν Ἑ. πολιτ.] An awkward clause, referring as it does to Λακεδ. only: for grammatical clearness, it should stand between καὶ and Λακεδ.

ὀλιγαρχ.—βασιλ.] Arist. (*Pol.* ii. 11) compares the Carthaginian Council of One Hundred and Four with the Spartan Ephors, and the Carthaginian Elders (γέροντες) and Kings (βασιλεῖς) with those of Sparta. The Carthaginian 'Kings' or Suffetes seem to have been chosen annually from a few principal families: Corn. Nepos speaks of Hannibal being made rex when appointed to his foreign command (c. 7), and Diod. (xiv. 54) of Himilcon, and Herod. of Hamilcar (vii. 166); Grote, x. 548.—Of the Spartan kingship, Arist. says, ἀσπί μὲν εἶναι βασιλῖα καὶ ἅπαντα τῶν κατὰ νόμον, αἳ ἔστι δὲ κερὰ πάντων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ τῆς χώρας, ἡγεμονία ἐστὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. αἴτη μὲν αἰεὶ ἡ βασι. αὐτῆ στρατηγία τις αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀϊδιός ἐστιν, *Pol.* iii. 14.

πολλούς...ένος] πολλοί—*c.g.* in the case of the Sicilian expedition, and of the defeat at Asgorpotami: ἐνός—*c.g.* Cimon, Phormio. The argument might be illustrated by the story of the dissension among the Athenian commanders before the battle of Marathon, when the four who agreed with Miltiades resigned to him their days of command (Her. vi. 109 f.).

II. ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ. [Or. x.]—The *Eucommium on Helen* (like another of his works, the *Basileis*, or. xi.) is a slight essay by Isocr. in a province not his own. Declamations on subjects taken from epics or from the myths had always a prominent place among the "displays" of ordinary Sophists. Such, for instance, are the *Eucommium on Helen* and the *Defence of Palamedes* ascribed to Gorgias; the speech of Odysseus *Against Palamedes* ascribed to Alcidas; the speeches of Ajax and Odysseus in the contest for the arms, ascribed to Antisthenes. The bent of Isocrates, as he himself tells us, was not towards this kind of composition. He was not, indeed, hostile to it, any more than he was hostile to criticism

§ 56. οὐκ ἀπαγορ. θρασι.] 'and never tired of paying 108
homage'.

§ 57. ἀποκαλοῖμεν] ἴσως αἰσχρολογία καὶ συντηρητικὸς ὁ
ep. below, p. 111 § 4, ἀργυροῖδιον...τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦντες:
but not always so: e.g. Arist. *Eth.* ii. 9, τοὺς χαλεπαίνοντας
ἀποκαλοῦν ἀποκαλοῦντες: ep. Skiffers on Dem. *J. L.* § 274.

§ 58. περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἡλικίας] Cp. Isidore, p. 198 § 290, εἰς
τοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν τῶν ἡλικιῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγῶν τῶν
ἡίου ποιούμενον.

ὄσοι δ'] 'but we honour for all time, and as bene-
factress to the State, thus who have granted the glory of their
own youth in the character of an inviolable status'.—ἄστρα
ἡλίαι τῶν ἀστῶν: ep. Plat. *Phaedr.* 245 a, ἀπὸ Μουσῶν
κατακλιθῆναι καὶ ἀπὸς ἡελίου ἀπ᾿ ἧν καὶ ἡλιὰς ἀστῶν ἐγένετο
ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡλιόκτιστοι καὶ ἡλίαι. Soph. *Ant.* 86 (*Antiquus*),
Νεότης μ. 118, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔσται πλεῖστα θεῶν τέρματα | καὶ πρὸς
θεοῦ (νῆ. ὁ θεός), wealth can win its way into sacred
places no less than into those that all may tread.

III. ΕΥΑΓΟΡΑΣ (Or. iii.)—On the occasion of a festival
held by Nicoteles, king of the Cyprian Salamis (ep. *introd.* to
or. iii., p. 283), in memory of his father Evagoras (who died in
374 B.C.), Isocrates sent this oration as his tribute. The
date is probably about 365 B.C.

Evagoras appears to have been a man of unusually strong
character, and of great abilities both military and political.
Cyprus was divided between Phoenician settlements, such as
Citium and Tarsus, and later Greek settlements, such as
Salamis and Soli. But the bulk of the population was, till
long after the time of Evagoras, Phoenician; and continual
contact with the non-hellenic East must always have tended to
depress the Greek element in Cyprus. Evagoras was the
champion of Hellenism against barbarism at this out-post,
not, as evidence of that Greek civilization which the Pho-
nician and Tyrian masters of Salamis had opposed; afterwards,
as antagonist of Persia in a War of Independence. Perhaps
the most striking passage in the oration is the following,
which describes his commerce, arts, letters, business inter-
course with the outer world, having become extinct under the
rule of the barbarian, suddenly springing into a new life under the
rule of the Hellenic.—*Attic Orators*, ii. 113.

§§ 47—50.

§ 47. παραλαβὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐκβ.] 'When the city (Salamis)
came into his hands, it had been reduced to barbarism; owing

to the domination of the Phoenicians. It had no intercourse with Greece, no knowledge of the useful arts, no commerce, no harbours: but he supplied all these deficiencies', etc.

109 διὰ τὴν τῶν Φοινίκων ἀρχ.) The earliest Greek immigrants into Cyprus seem to have found Phoenicians already established. The Greek settlements traced their origin to Athens, Salamis, Aegadia, Cythrus (one of the Cyclades: Her. vii. 90). Long after the time at which Isocrates is writing the Phoenician element in Cyprus greatly preponderated over the Hellenic: thus Strabon in his *Γεωγραφ.* p. 37 (written in the time of Philip of Macedonia, 359—336 B.C.), calls the inhabitants of the interior collectively 'Phoenicians'. Of the Greek cities on the coast, the chief in the time of Strabon seem to have been Salamis, Soli and Maroneia. (See Rawlinson on Her. v. 104.)

In 300 B.C. the Cyprian Salamis was ruled by a dynasty of Greek princes tributary to Persia (Her. v. 104, 114). Acc. to Isocr., this Greek dynasty which claimed descent from Leontides, was dispossessed by a Phoenician adventurer (cf. *Περικλέους ἑκλογ.* p. 19), whose descendants (*ἑταίροι*, § 21) held the throne until it was again taken from them by Evagoras, the heir of the old Greek kings.

This would place the Phoenician usurpation about 410 B.C. (x. 21), with good reason: though Isocr. at least seems to have conceived it as occurring much earlier. The restoration of the Greek, 'Teuclid' dynasty by Evagoras cannot have been later than 411 B.C., in which year Anabasis visited Cyprus, and found Evagoras reigning at Salamis. [*Ἰσ.* *Ἄνταξ* § 28. And Evagoras must have been 'not newly established, but powerful' (*ἰσχυρὸς* v. 26) when he returned to his native country after Aegospotami (105 B.C.). At the time of his death in 374 B.C. Evagoras was an old man (§ 71).

αὐτ' ἐμπορίου χροῦμ.] i.e. Salamis—did not afford an *ἐμπόριον*, a centre or seat of commerce, to foreign traders. At Athens the *ἐμπόριον* was the 'Exchange'. It is unnecessary to read *ἐμπορία*.

τείχη προεπιβέβαλετο &c.] 'presented his city with new fortifications', in addition to its old *τείχη*.—*ἐναυπηγήσατο*, 'caused to be built'. Her. and Thuc. always use the midd.

ταῖς ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς] 'and, further, so-called the city with public buildings that it is surpassed by no other in Hellas'. For *ταῖς ἄλλαις* cp. *Nicoles* § 22, *ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπαίαις*, note. The term *κατασκευαί* might perhaps include *τείχη*, but not *πυλῆεις*. Cp. Thuc. i. 10, *οὔτε ξηνοικισθείσης τῆς πόλεως* (Sparta) *οὔτε ἱεροῦ καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελεῖσι*

ἀποκαταστάσει τῶσδε τοῖς θεοῖσι βωλόθῃσι'. A Greek would think of τῶσδε θεοῖσι, theatre, γυμνασίῳ, gymnasion, baths.

§ 48. τῆλ. ἐπιδόσεις λαμβάνειν] 'take such rapid steps in progress'; — τῶσδε ἐπιδόσει. — opp. to ἀποδόσει, or ἐπι-
λάσει, to fall back, fail. At Athens ἐπιδοσίαι had the special meaning of 'donations' contributed by the citizens in the emergencies of the State. Hence the story in Athenians re-
lates of Phocion's disolute son: 'Once, when subscriptions to the Treasury (ἐπιδοσίαι) were being made, he came forward in the Lyceum, and said, "I, too, advance!" (ἐπιδοῖμαι) — ἠεὶ ἀποδοίμαι', roared the House with one accord'.

τοιούτοις ἡθεσιν] 'with such qualities'; a dat. of circum-
stances (— ἔχει τοιαύτα ἡθη). — ἄλλω παύτρῳ: in § 22 f., where it is said that Euryg. was distinguished in youth by εὐσέβειαν as well as μῦθος and κάλλος. — in manhood, by ἀνδρία, σοφία, ἀκατακτάς.

πολί λῖαν ἀπολ.] μὴ λῖαν γὰρ το σὸν ἔργον, Xen. Vect. v. 6.

§ 49. ἐφίκοιτο] 'do justice to': Dem. *F. L.* § 65, οὐδ' ἐ-
εἰς δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι τῶ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων. So
oratione consequi aliquid, Cic. *Post Red. ad Quir.* 2. § 5.

τὸν τόπον τὸν περὶ ἐξ.] 'The coast adjacent to Cilicia' —
meaning sup. the coastland of Cilicia and Caria. Phoenicians
trading ports had existed there from early times, but on the
Cilician coast the Greeks had few settlements before the time
of Alexander.

ἀπροσοίστος, οὐκ.] 'these temples was so miserable and
poor that they deserved those rulers the least who were most
opposed towards the Greeks'; — ἀπροσοίστος which
Demetrius includes the Phoenician colonies as well as the
natives of the Asiatic mainland. In the pseudo-Isyan speech
'Against Antiochus' it is stated that when he visited Cyprus
he was impressed by the [Phoenician] king of Citium, καὶ
οὐ μόνον θάνατον ἐφοβήτο ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αἰκίσματα,
οἰόμενος τὰ ἀκρωτήρια ζῶντος ἀποτμηθήσεσθαι, § 26.

§ 50. ἀμλλ. οἵτινες δόξωσι] 'sic with οὐκ ὄντων, which
of itself shall mean'. The relative with dat. ind. here is personal
a proteron, οἵτινες δόξωσι τῶσδε οὐκ ὄντων τοῖσδε θεοῖσδε
τοιαύτα ἡθεσιν. So προφθασίαι ποικίλαι, ἦτοι ἐκεῖ, Dem. *Ol. l.*
§ 2: Goodwin § 65.

κτῆμασι—ἐπιτηδ.] Εν κτῆμασι ἡν ἔσονται sup. ποικίλα of πτῆ,
the beautiful objects which surrounded a Greek in his home-
life: sup. Thuc. ii. 88, ἕλας ἀπαισιότατα ἐπιτηδέματα, καὶ καθ'
καίαν ἡ πόλις ἐν ἑσπέρῳ ἔκκελλετο. — ἐπιτηδέματα, 'possessions'

(business or recreation) in the most general sense: cp. *Thuc. iñ.*, τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύματα.

110 πλείους δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'a greater number of men versed in literature and art (αἰσθητικῶν), and men of intellectual accomplishment generally (ἡ ἄλλη παλαιοτέρη), reside in these regions than in the communities [παύσθι, ἀπὸ σοῦ] which they formerly frequented'.

τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν] Here, αἰσθητικῶν is best taken in its larger sense. But cp. *Isocr.*, viii. of *Isocr.* (ἄλλο Μυτιληνῶν ἀρχόντων), which commends to the government of Mytilene the eminent musician Arion, by whom the grandsons of Isocr. had been taught *μουσική—παιδοθεῖται περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν*, *I. p.* viii. § 1. In § 4 *ib.* he calls Mytilene *μουσικώτατος*, i. e. famous for poetry, letters and art—where again the larger sense is uppermost. (See *Attic Orators*, II. 247.)

προσομολογήσειεν] 'concede': πρὸς in this verb and its subst. *πρὸς ἐπιλογῆα* does not mean 'besides': 'in addition', but merely 'to', i. e. 'in discussion with another': as *πρὸς προσέειπε* in *Her.* II. 52 is not 'to give an additional name', but 'to accost by a name'.

IV. KATA TIN ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ. [10. vii.]—'Against the Sophists'.—As Isocr. himself tells us (*ibid.* § 120), this discourse was written at the beginning of his professional life; and it may probably be assigned to the year 391 or 390 B.C. The speech would thus have the character of a manifesto in which, at the outset of his career, the teacher protests against the system adopted by other members of his profession, and declares the principles by which he himself intends to be guided. In its extant form this discourse is sadly imperfect. It breaks off at the point where Isocr. is passing—at his passage in the introductions to the *Busiris* and the *Encomium on Helen*—from destructive criticism to positive illustration.

Isocr. accepts for himself the name of *σοφιστής*, as of honorable import when rightly understood (*ibid.* § 230), but distinguishes himself from the *πυθαγόρειοι σοφισταί*. The common head of the profession (*ἡμαρτάνοι* § 18), under the title of *σοφιστῶν*, three classes of teachers are enumerated in this piece, viz. :—

(1) The *Ἐρατῶν*—οὗτοι περὶ τὰς θανάτους ἀπορροῦσιν, § 1: whose characteristic is that they profess, for a small fee, to impart absolute knowledge (*ἀπορροῦσιν*). Isocr. probably includes, if he does not specially designate, the minor Socrates, and particularly Euclides.

(2) The professors of 'Political Discourse'—οἱ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιτεχνήματα—meaning the teachers of Practical Rhetoric, Deliberative and Forensic. Now the general aim of these teachers was that of Isocr. himself, viz. to train men for the active duties of civic life. The point of this censure is that they claim too large and infallible an efficacy for their method: παιδεία, instruction, can do much, but it must be aided by φύσις, natural aptitude, and by ἐμπειρία, experience.

(3) The writers of Treatises on Rhetoric, αἱ τὰς τέχνας γυμνάσεις. These are censured for devoting themselves to the Rhetoric of the law-courts, neglecting the higher or political province of their art, and so becoming 'teachers of meddlingness and greed'.

Here, Isocr. is stating what his φιλοσοφία, or theory of culture, is *not*. In the discourse on the *Antidosis* (written 35 years later, in 353 B.C.—see p. 117) he states what it is.—*Attic Orators*, II. 127—134.

§ 1. ἀλαζονεύεσθαι] 'As it is, the reckless bragging of impostors has created an impression that the votaries of indulgence are better advised than those who give their days to serious study'. ἀμελεῖν—careless enjoyment, opp. to strenuous preparation (through πειθαρχία λόγου) for public life. φιλοσοφία, in the special sense of Isocr., is the art of speaking or writing on large political subjects, considered as a preparation for advising or acting in political affairs. See *Attic Orators*, II. 35. ch. XIII. on his 'Theory of Culture'. The term φιλοσοφία was often used at this period, as later, in the general sense of φιλοκαλία τῶν καὶ διατριβῶν καὶ λόγων (Aristotid. II. 407).

τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας διατριβ.] including some of the minor Socratics, e.g. Antisthenes and the Cynics, Eurhodes and the Megarians—to whom he alludes again in a later work, the *Isocriticism* on *Helen*, § 1. There we find a clear allusion to Plato also, as teaching that Valour, Wisdom and Justice form the subject-matter of one science. Here there is prob. no reference to Plato, who at this time (390 B.C.) was prob. not yet conspicuous: in the *Panathenaïcus* (399 B.C.), however, the ἑλληνικαὶ δαδολογίαι named as popular with young men (§ 118) must certainly include the dialogues of Plato.

§ 2. βουλευομένους ἐπὲρ αὐτῶν] 'deliberating about the future'. ἐπὲρ αὐτῶν—ἐπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων: a common use of ἐπὲρ in early Greek, but somewhat rare in good Attic: cf. Plat. *Amat.* 39 A. εὐθεὶ δὲ δαδελχθῆναι ἐπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τιποτὶ πράγματος.

οὐ τὴν ἐκείνων, ε.π.λ.] 'not that he knew their [the girls'] mind, but because he wished to show us that, for men, know-

ledge of the future is a thing impossible:—*et fortiori*, if not even gods are certain about it.

111 § 3. ἐπιστήμης] Cp. § 8, where 'those who profess to have ἐπιστήμη' (ἐπιστήμη) are said to be 'less consistent and less successful than those who act upon opinion'; *οἱ τὰς ἀφαιρᾶς χεῖρον*. The mention of ἐπιστήμη here again points to the Socratics. The view of Isocr. was that the teacher of φιλοσοφία has to prepare men to deal with opinions (ἐπίνοιαι) as they arise. It is impossible to foresee exactly all these occasions; there can be no science (ἐπιστήμη) of them. There can be only opinion (δόξα, συμπεριεργασμένη), about them; and he is the wisest man who—*exact foresight being out of the question*—can best conjecture what any given crisis will demand of him (*Attic Orators*, ii. 40). Cp. Isocr. *Antid.* § 184, ἵνα... ἐγγυτέρω παρενοχλήσῃται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρᾶς γινώσκων, τῶν δὲ γὰρ εἰδέναι περιλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐκ οἶόν τ' ἐστίν.

§ 4. οὐκ ἂν ἠμφισβ. ὡς [οὐκ] εὐ φρ. τυγχ.] 'Were they selling any other of their possessions for a small fraction of its value, they would not dispute [= they would admit] their own folly'. This is plainly the sense: but, in order to obtain it, we must omit *ὡς* before *εὐ φρ.* For *ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖν ὡς εὐ φρ.* means, 'he does not maintain that he is sensible'; see Plat. *Polit.* 476 v. *ὡς ἀμφισβητεῖ ὡς εὐ φρ. ἀγαθὸν λέγουσιν*. If he maintains that we do not speak truly: *Phaedr.* 135 v. *ἀμφισβητεῖ ὡς εὐ φρ. ταῦτα*, *α.τ.λ.* *Isidore* (*Glosses*, i. 275) saw that the second *ὡς* must be omitted here, nothing Isocr. or. xviii. *Adv. Callim.* § 35 as a case in which, on the contrary, *ὡς* should be inserted: *ὡς ἂν ἔφθ.*... *αὐτὸς αὖτις ἔλεγε ἀετρίως*. But *these*, I think, the order of the clauses confirms the text: 'As to the property: I do not think that even he would deny it'. Had *αὐτις* preceded *ὡς ἔφθ.* there *ὡς* must have been inserted.

ἀργυρίδιον, κ.τ.λ.] 'The scientific aim of the teachers decried, compared with their moderate earnings, and contemptible, genuine or affected, of "filthy lucre" (ἀργυρίδιον, κ.τ.λ.) are features which stand in the midst of Socrates, and in them only': W. H. Thompson, *Phaedrus*, p. 177, n. 9.—For ἀποκαλοῦντες, cp. *Helen. Encom.*, § 57, note.

§ 5. παρὰ τοῦτο:ς μισογγυοῦνται] 'they censure the *Isos* paid by their pupils to be deposited with those men'. Isocr. says that the *Isos* is, who professes to teach his pupils virtue, believes so little in the virtue which his pupils will have acquired at the end of the course that he requires them to deposit their *Isos* beforehand in the hands of a survey, who acts as a middle-man (μισογγυοῦνται) between teacher and disbeliever.—The form

μεσεγγυήματα. In *Illustrations de l'enseignement en Grèce*, p. 13, where Sauppe conj. μεσεγγυήματος.

§ 6. οἶδεν κωλύει] κωλύει (imperative) : ἄλλοι μολυβδαῖοι : cp. *Ar. Av.* 463, ὄν διαμάττειν οὐ κωλύει.

(ἐνεργαζομένους) 'those who are engaged in action and improvement' 112
 (in their discourse). The same topic of ridicule is used by Plato: *Isocr.* 519 ε. οἱ μαθηταί, πολλὰ κωλύει, τῶν ἀποπε-
 φημένον τῶν λόγων ἀπομακρυνθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰς τὸ εἶναι
 ἀπομακρυνθῆναι τὸν μαθητὴν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τὸν τε μολυβ-
 δαῖον ἀποστεροῦντες, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *ib.* 460 ε.

§ 7. τὰς ἐναντιώσεις] 'contradictions'. *Plat. Ion.* 454 ε.
 κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα διώκειν τοῦ λεχθέντος τὴν ἐναντίωσιν, i.e.
 in regard to verbal dissonance. Cp. *Isocr.* *Evangel.* § 44, ἵνα
 τὰ ἐναντία τῶν λόγων ἀπομακρυνθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν λέγων ἵνα
 μαθητῶν, ἀποστῆναι ἐπιπέμπῃ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆναι.

§ 8. ταῖς δόξαις] See § 3, ἐπιστήμης, note.

§ 9. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τοῖς πολ. λόγ. ἐπισηχ.] *Isocr.* now
 takes issue with the 'Eristic' as the essential class of *σοφιστικὰ* which
 he censures. *παλιναὶ λόγοι* mean properly 'Deliberative or
 Forensic Rhetoric': see *Attic Orators*, i. 90. *Isocr.* would
 limit the name to what he regards as the merely 'political'
 theories: *σοφιστικὰ σοφιστῶν* are in his view *πολιτικὰ σοφισ-
 τικὰ*. Cp. below, § 20, and introd.

(ἀναισθητῶς—παραλιπεῖν) 'So stupid are they, and we will
 do they conceive others to be, that, although they acknow-
 ledge their own absolute inferiority, they yet promise
 to make their pupils ἀπὸ σοφιστικῶν ῥητορῶν that they
 shall make use of the topics which their subjects afford'.
 ὥστε μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν: as if they said, οἶδεν ἂν παραλίποιτε.

§ 10. ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τῆ φύσεως] 'the lessons of experi- 113
 ence'... 'the native power of the learner'. In *Antid.* §§
 180—191 *Isocr.* explains that these things go to make a
 competent speaker—*φύσις, παιδεία, ἐμπειρία*—and that the
 first is by far the most important. The motto of the teachers
 mentioned here is that they represent *παλιναὶ λόγοι* as *τὸν λόγον*
ἐπιστήμη) as being of certain and absolute efficacy.

ἴσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ] 'the capability' of each art, what
 it can, or cannot, do.

§ 11. τὴν φιλοσοφίαν] i.e. the study of *παλιναὶ λόγοι*, as
 opp. to natural power or practical experience in them: cp. § 1,
 note on ἀλαζονεύεσθαι.

οὐδ' ἂν ἐλάχιστον μέρος] Cp. *Lysias In Leucosth.* § 22 (ed. Bonn, p. 70), ἄρα δ' ἔβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς εὐνοῦν λέγων· μετὰ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου τάγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος.

τοὺς φλυαροῦντας] *Dolm.* would omit τοὺς, or change it to αὐτούς: needlessly, I think.

τὰς βλασφημίας] 'for I perceive that the slanders which arise do not touch the offenders only, but affect all who are engaged in the same pursuit'.—*Isocr.* regarding himself as a σαρπητός, though not ἀγ-λαῖος, 'of the herd': see introd. Cp. the *Antidosis*, the apology for his life, of which a great part (ss. 167–269) is devoted to answering ἡ βλαψὴ περὶ τῶν σαρπητῶν διαβολή (§ 168).

§ 12. ποιητικοῦ πράγμ.] 'who are not aware that they are measuring a creative process by the analogy of an exact art' i.e. to make a really good speech is a πρᾶξιον πρᾶγμα,—it demands some degree of inventive faculty and natural ability; but these sophists pretend that they can teach a man to speak well with as much certainty and precision as they can teach him his letters. πεταγμένον τέχην, an art with fixed rules, where nothing is left to imagination or invention. For πεταγμένον cp. § 17. ἔτι δὲ ἐπιμαχίῃ καὶ ἰσοκρᾶτικῇ. *Dolm.* strangely says, 'malim ποικίλον'.

114 μηδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν] 'and is capable of finding topics different in all respects from those used by others'.—*εἰρηαι.* invention, and τάξις, arrangement, were the two provinces of παρασκευασθὲν τὰς ψαῖς, the treatment of subject matter (*Diagnosis. De Cōmpos.* 1); as *Μέτρον* (in the narrow sense), diction, and *εὐθεμία*, composition, were the two provinces of *ἀσκησῆναι τὴν γλῶσσαν*, the treatment of language.

§ 13. τῆς ἀνομοιότητος αὐτῶν] i.e. γλωσσολογία, grammar, the 'art with fixed rules', and *λόγος*, political speaking, the 'creative' effort.

§ 14. ἰδιῶται] 'Many of those who have studied this art (of 'political discourse') have remained private persons, while others, who have never attended the lectures of any professor, have proved themselves powerful orators and statesmen': *Isocr.* with an allusion to the case of *Isocr.* himself, who, as he tells us, was hindered by want of money and weakness of voice (μέλας φωνῆ, *Protr.* § 10) from entering public life. See *Attic Orators*, II. 5.

τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐμπ. γηγ.] 'those who have passed the ordeal of experience'—in the Ecclesia and the law-courts.

§ 15. ζητεῖν ἰδιόταξεν] i.e. their training gives them greater readiness of resource in the search for topics: they know

where to look for them. The very phrase *τάπηται*, *loci communes*, meant those places (in the mind or memory) where classified arguments or illustrations are stored. 'These things which they now find upon at random (*πλατυσσόμενοι, τρεσσοί*), the *Maieutic* teaches them to find by a more ready method': *ἐξ ἐπιμαρτυρίας*, the *empiricist* only, because, though a systematic training gives the speaker a surer command of his weapons, it cannot enable him to foresee the exact requirements of each occasion.

ἀγωνιστάς. λόγ. ποιητάς] 'It cannot make them good 115
debaters or masterly orators, but it can improve their natural power, and in many respects sharpen their insight'.—*ἀγώνιστής*, a combatant in real debate, opposed to a mere student or declaimer. Clean's speech in *Theor.* III. 37, 38 brings out this image of debate as an *ἀγών*. *Attic Orators*, I. 39.

§ 16. τῶν μὲν ἰδεῶν] 'the forms', or 'elements': strictly, the various kinds, classes of argument or ornament which prose composition employs. Cp. *Artid.* § 183, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας ἀπείραται αἰεὶ ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἀνὰ χροῖαν: where, as here, it includes all the resources of literary art which can be reduced to formulae. *Idem.* also uses *ἰδέα* in narrower senses, as (1) *literary style* of composition, *Artid.* § 11, or (2) *figures* of rhetoric, *Panath.* § 2. *Attic Orators*, II. 39.

τοῖς ῥηδίως ἐπισχύν.] 'those who make rash promises'. Cp. § 11.

τὸ δὲ τοῦτων] 'but to choose from among these resources [*τοῦτων* from... in *τὰς ἰδέας*] those which should be applied to each subject, — to combine and arrange them fitly, — further, not to miss the right moments for using each, but to stud the whole discourse with points happily made, and to clothe it in phrases of gracious movement and melody, — this, I say (*ὅτι*), demands much study, this is the task of a mind possessing vision and imagination, and, for this, the learner must not only have the due natural gifts, — he must further learn to distinguish the branches (*αἰτίαι*) of oratory, and must gain practice in their use. The teacher, again, must expound the theory (*τὰ θεωρῶντα*) with all possible precision, so as to omit nothing that can be taught; while in the practice (*τὰς ἀσκήσεις*) he must set such an example that those who have already been formed in the rough (*ἡλωταί*), and who are capable of imitating him, may from the outset (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου*) exhibit a style of more than ordinary elegance and finish'.—*εὐκλείας*, rhetorical syllogisms: see *Attic Orators*, II. 289.—*ἀγαθὰς*, capable of forming a sagacious *ἀγών* (*discussion* being out of the question: cp. § 3, note); paralleled by Plato, *Theor.* 463 a. *ὅσοι τὸν αἰὶν, ὡς Πόργου, ἀβὰν τὸν ἀποφθόνου (ἢν κλυτοί) τεχνίαν*

were such as belonged to practical civic life, i.e. either *dolobrotic*, *εὐσεβέστατος*, or *φρονεῖν*, *δουλοῦν*. These teachers, Isocr. says, neglect the real benefits which their study can confer (ἐκ πωλοτέρων ἀποδοῦν ὄφελος, that is, in the higher or *dolobrotic* branch), and undertake to be 'teachers of useful, momentous and good' (i.e. of the *φρονεῖν* branch,—the art of litigation).

§ 21. καίτοι ἀφελήσεται] These, however, who think that only the precepts of this study (ἐκλεπόμενα—*the true λόγος παιδεία*) will be aided by it to acquire moral worth much more easily than rhetorical skill: πᾶσι πάρος, because, as he has said (§ 10), the teacher cannot promise to make the pupil a good speaker.—Cp. *Antid.* §§ 274 f., p. 118.

ὡς ἔστι δικαίως διδασκόν] *Plat. Erythra.* 328 a (*Socrates to Erythraean*), τῆ ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἐδασκῶν εἶδος. 'That virtue cannot be taught is a paradox of the same sort as the profession of Socrates that he knew nothing. Plato seems to say that virtue is not brought to a man, but must be drawn out of him,—and cannot be taught by rhetorical discourses or citations from the poets' (Jowett, *Plato*, i. 119). Cp. *Antid.* § 279, p. 120.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά] At the same time I think that the study of 117
rhetorical oratory is most likely to be helpful (ἴσως—*I so estimat-*
ing and forming such a disposition: *εὐσεβέστατος* &c. i.e. will
help a man to practise those virtues.—Cp. *ibid.* § 17, note,
p. 284.

V. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΣΕΩΣ. (Or. vi.)—'On the Antidosis', or 'Exchange of Properties'.—In the discourse 'Against the Sophists' Isocr. sought to distinguish his own conception of his calling—as a *σπουδῆς* in the higher sense—from those of teachers whose views he deemed false and worthless. In the present discourse—written 45 years later (368 B.C.)—he explains his own conception more fully, and defends his art (*ὁ τῶν λόγων παιδεία*) against its assailants generally. Taken together, these two essays express his whole literary and educational creed, both on its negative and on its positive side: they are the program and epitome of his professional life.

Isocrates had lately been called upon to undertake the *trivectoria*, or to make exchange of properties (*αντιδοῦν*) with his challengers. The case had come to a trial: the *trivectoria* had been imposed upon Isocrates, and he had discharged it (§ 5). Yet, however, by the general prejudice against his parents in which he felt that the verdict had been due, he determined to publish an *Apologia*—a discourse 'which should be an image of his mind and life' (§ 7). This he throws into the form of a speech made in court against one Lysimachus (§ 14), who, by

working on popular prejudices, is seeking to cast the burden of the trierarchy upon him. Much of the discourse is not, he allows, in the forensic style (§ 10); yet, by the concluding allusion to a verdict (§ 323), he aims, in some measure, at sustaining the fiction to the end.

It is known that, in 355 B.C., Isocrates had really been challenged to an exchange of properties by one Menocleides; and, being unable through illness to appear in court, had been represented by his adopted son Aphareus, whose speech on the occasion is quoted by Dionysius. Now this is probably the trial to which Isocrates refers as having been decided against him. It must have taken place at least a year before the date of this *Alcibiades*, since it is implied that the public services had now been discharged (cf. *Lycomachus* is a fictitious person who stands for the Menocleides of the real trial, *Attic Orators*, II, 134 f.).

The following passage contains the pith of the whole discourse—his account of his *φιλosophία*, and the personal grounds on which he rests its claims.

§§ 270—302.

§ 270. *περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων* [i.e. the practical worth for the State of those studies to which Isocr. has given his life, and the danger to Athens from the *καταπράται* who denounce them: §§ 199—269.—*τὸ νῦν εἶναι*, 'for the present': so *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, *τὸ τήμερον εἶναι* (Plat. *Crat.* 396 E), *κατὰ τοῦτο εἶναι*, (*Prot.* 317 A), *τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι* (*Xen. H.* III. 5, 9). Goodwin § 100, 2.

σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας [Wisdom and philosophy?]. The term *φιλοσοφία*, said to have been invented by Pythagoras, does not yet come into general use at Athens until the time of Socrates. Cp. Thompson's note on Plat. *Phaedr.* 278 D. *Attic Orators*, II, 36.

πάσαις ταῖς πραγματείαις [for *ἕνεκα* (these matters, issues, φιλοσοφία)] have nothing to do with any legal issue—and would usually, therefore, be out of place in a forensic speech, such as this purports to be. Cp. Isocr. *Ad Nicocl.* [or. II] § 18, *τὰς μὲν ἐργασίας αὐτοῖς καθίστη κερδαλέας, τὰς δὲ πραγματείας ἐπιβλαβεράς, ὡς οὐκ ὀφείλουσιν πρὸς τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀποδοτικὰς*, 'and their lawsuits costly'.

ἐπιπέθη καὶ κρίνομαι καὶ φημί [καὶ ἵνα ἵσθηται κρίσις ἐν τοιαύταις ἰσχυροῦς, καὶ ἐπειδή καὶ κρίνομαι καὶ φημί] 'since I am being tried on such issues, and since, too, . . .'. The *καὶ* before *κρίνομαι* = 'both' (not 'actually'), answering to the *καὶ* before *τὴν καλουμένην*.—*περὶ τῶν τοιούτων* = *σοφίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας*, because the

actions concerning the *ἀπίθετοι* had been brought against him on the strength of a general prejudice against his pursuits. The real issue, for him, is to vindicate his past life.

τὴν δίκαιως ἀν νομιζομένην] 'that which might properly be deemed such'—the genuine *φαινομένη*: = ἡ ἀν δίκαιον νομιζομένη.

§ 271. ἐπιστήμη] Cp. *Adv. Sophist.* § 3, note, p. 291. Isaur. does not deny *ἐπιστήμη* in the Platonic sense, a possible knowledge of absolute truth, but merely an *ἐπιστήμη* of the contingencies which may arise in practical life. His view means no more than that the future is uncertain. See *Attic Orators*, II. 52.

ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν] 'in the next resort': lit. 'of the man who remain'.—*μη* gifted with *ἐπιστήμη* being out of the question.

§ 272. οὕτω σφόδρα καὶ πολὺ] The adverb *σφόδρα* (the adjective would have been *σφόδρα* *μᾶλλον* both with *ταπεινός* and with *πολύ*—*ἐφ' ἑσθ' ἄρα*). For the combination *σφόδρα πολὺ*, cp. or. ix. § 48, *πολύ λίαν* (= *λίαν πολὺ*), note, p. 291.

τὴν ἀρχὴν] *ἀναρχία*. 'at the outset': *ἀρχή*. *De Pace* § 29, *ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι Ὀργάνου καὶ ἀναρχίας εἶναι ἀρχήν*. In negative sentences, *ἀρχή*, without *μη*,—'at all' (*omnino*).

§ 273. ὡς ἄρ' ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to suppose (*ἄρα*) that, standing in peril as I do [of your verdict], I would have resorted to the arguments which contravene your views, did I not consider that they follow from those which I have already urged, and that the proofs by which I can support them are sound and clear'. His meaning, 'It will suffice you to hear that virtue cannot be taught: but a definition of the intellectual and moral scope which I claim for my *ἐκπαίδευσις* is a necessary supplement (*πρόσθεσις*) to what I have already said on its practical worth'.

§ 275. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ', κ.τ.λ.] 'At the same time, I grant that their characters are likely to be improved and stimulated': cp. *Adv. Sophist.* § 15, p. 116, *ἀλλ' ἂν ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα ἀπομαρτυροῦμαι βελτιοῦσθαι τρωμένον*.

τῆς τὴν δυνάμιν τ' ἐχούσης] 'that which is truly what the term imports': *εἰπε ἄλλως νομισθῆναι*, that *ἐκπαίδευσις* which means *πᾶσι δόξαι* in the highest sense: see below, § 282.

§ 276. π. τὰς ὑποθέσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'he is certain not to take his theories from the dissonant or frivolous controversies of private litigation, but from great and noble subjects which concern the welfare of mankind and the interests of the

Commonwealth: since, if he does not find such themes, he will utterly fail to achieve his objects'.—*viz.*, will fail to derive *ἐπαινοι* and *τιμὰ*.—*ὅλας συναλλάξαι*, 'private contracts', *i.e.* all the transactions between men which give rise to loans: *cp.* *Lys. In Exor.* § 28, *καίτοι ἐνεστὶ συναλλάξαι* (for small debts), *note*, p. 259. So in *Arist. Rhet.* i. 1 § 19 Forensic Rhetoric is *ἡ περὶ τὰ συναλλάγματα*.

μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς] Earlier in this speech Isocr. has given examples of what he means by *μεγὰρ ἐπιθέσειν*, *viz.* the comparative claims of Athens and Sparta to the hegemony (§ 59), treated in his own *Panegyricus*: and the measures needed for a reform of Athenian policy (§ 65), treated in his *De Pace*.

§ 277. *τῶν πράξεων*] 'Not', he will select the most impressive and the most beneficial of the actions which illustrate his subject'. Thus, in showing that Athens had a better claim than Sparta to lead Greece, Isocr. adduces (in the *Panegyricus*) the great actions of Athens to Greece: these are *καίτοι παραδείγματα* *πρὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα*, historical facts bearing on this theme.—*ὁ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας, κ.τ.λ.*: *i.e.* the habitual contemplation of noble actions, as illustrating a noble subject, will educate the intelligence no less than the literary faculty of the student—will give him *τὸ εὖ γινώσκειν* as well as *τὸ εὖ λέγειν*.

§ 278. *τῆς ἀρετῆς*] 'virtue'. *Cp. Adv. Sophist.* § 21 (p. 116), *πολὸν ἂν θάπτον πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ πρὸς ῥητορείαν ὠφελωτικὴν ἢ φιλοσοφίαν*, *and note*, p. 276. The argument is that the professor of *μετακτικὴν* will cultivate virtue, because virtue is persuasive.

τῶν εὖ διακειμένων] 'men of good disposition' (*cp. ut. sc.* § 49, p. 109, *ὠμότατα πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας διακείμενοι*, *opp.* to *οἱ διαβεβλημένοι*, 'men of tarnished character'). The fallacy peeps out in the tacit substitution of *τῶν εὖ διακειμένων* for *τῶν δοκοῦντων εὖ διακίεσθαι*: for, even granting that the surest way to *seem* anything is to *be* it, yet for Isocr.'s argument it would suffice that one should *seem* without being.

120 *τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίου γγεν.*] 'the proofs which have been afforded by a man's life': *i.e.* apart from the logical value of the speaker's reasonings (*πίστεις αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεπορισμέναι*), he will be the more *μετακτικὸν* in *μετακτικῶν* as his past conduct makes it probable that he is sincere.

§ 279. *τὴν τῆς ἐνοίας δύναμιν*] 'the power of mind will'. This claim tallies to the history for a man whom the world is to be good. *Arist. Rhet.* ii. 1 says that *ἠθικὴ πίστις*—the persuasive power arising from the speaker's qualities as certified by the facts—*viz.* the facts themselves—the intelligence (*φρονεῖν*),

the moral worth (*ἀρετή*), and the good-will (*εὐνοία*) towards themselves, which the hearer recognises in him. The *εὐνοία* however of which I use, speaks here means, the power of the good-will which the hearer feel for the speaker: thus it amounts to the *χρησὶς ἕκαστου* term of Aristotle, and not merely to the third element therein.

§ 280. τὰ εἰκότα τὰ τεκμήρια πᾶν τὸ τῶν πίστεων εἶδος] 'that probabilities (*εἰκότα*), proofs (*τεκμήρια*), and the hypothetical instruments of persuasion generally (*πᾶν τὸ τῶν πίστεων εἶδος*), are valid only for that particular occasion to which they may especially be applied'—whereas a good reputation creates in every case a presumption that its possessor is acting rightly. —*εἶκος*. The topic of *εἶκος*, general probability, had been prominent in the early *τέχνη*, as those of Cora and Tisias: see *11th Oration*, l. cxxi. Arist. defines the epithymia, or emotional *ἐπιθυμία*, as a *παλλογενεὶς ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ τεκμηρίων*—i.e. *δύωσι* (1) from (*μῆτις*) general likelihoods: (2) from particular signs which may, or may not, be conclusive. —*τεκμήρια* have a merely 'non-*κατά*' as opp. to 'probabilities': not, as Arist. & *ἐπιθυμία* seem, the demonstrative as dist. from the fallible *εἰκότα*. cp. Antiph. *De Card. Her.* § 81, note, p. 215. —*πᾶν τὸ τῶν πίστεων εἶδος*—*αἱ πίστεις γενικῶς*. Arist. distinguishes *τέσσαρι* (1) *λογιστῆ*, (2) *συνα*, (3) *παθητικῆ* here *ἰσχυροῦ* (1), and *μαθητῆ* (2), but treats (2) as something of a different and higher order.

§ 281. ὁ δυσχερίστατον ἦν τῶν ῥηθ.] 'the most invidious, as I felt, of the terms which I used': *ἦν*, was, as I felt and heard at the time, referring to § 275, whose *ἀνεπίστατος* is named with an *ἀπίσταντος* explanation: that it is not employed in its common sense. Plat. *Rep.* 522 A, *ἦν ἡ μουσικὴ ἀντίστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μὲν ἦσαι*. Goodwin § 11. 6.

παρὰλογίζομένους] 'making a false reckoning', *cheating* in bills or accounts *μὴ καὶ ὑποκρίσασθαι (falsehood)*: cp. Dem. *11th Arthob.* l. § 29, *ἄρα μικρὸν τι καὶ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ποθεν καὶ παρὰλογισασθαι ῥᾶδιον, ἀλλ' οὐ φανερώς εἴπωσι μικροῦ δεῖ τρία τάλαντα ταῦτα ἀνηπάκασιν*.

μᾶλλον ἐλαττοῦνται] 'are as a matter of disadvantage' *ἐπιλάσσωθεις*, Antiph. *De Card. Her.* § 19, note, p. 212.

§ 282. καὶ τὴν πλῆθον ἔχουσιν] 'are not only more fortunate than [is this mortal life], but will receive the better portion from the gods'.

§ 283. καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις]—*ταῖς ἰσχυραῖς* 'not only are the realities of the case [true]', Philonem *11th Arthob.* 43, *ταῖς ἀληθείαις*. The tendency to use the phrase of abstract nouns, common in later Greek, is marked in Iamb. Op. § 284, *ταῖς*

Ἡμετέρας. Συμμερα. Φάσμα τὰ κείνηται, ἐπειδὴ δεσποῦν ἐν Σαίρῳ οἱ ἀφείκοντες, ὡς Οὐλίππος (the historian) ἐν τῇ ποιητικῇ ἱστορίᾳ. Meineke *Frag. Com.* 484, Müller *Frag. Hist.* i. 322. Cp. Lyx. *Pro Mantich.* § 11. ἄρα, πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ πότους, κ.τ.λ., note, p. 245.

τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης] 'those who profess to care for persons of this age'—i.e. πρὸς ἡλικίᾳ—alluding, not to official παιδαγωγοί, but to those who dissuade young men from following the φιλοσοφία of Isocr.

οἷς ἄξιον ἦν χάριν ἔχειν] 'who might well have been grateful': ἦν like χρῆν, ἔδει, Goodwin § 49. 3.

§ 288. δυσμενὲς αὐτῶν] 'The tribe of informers are so distinctly the public enemies' [i.e. so hostile to public morality] 125
'that, so far from being disposed to censure those who pay a ransom of 20 or 30 minas for the paramours who are to help them in squandering the rest of their substance, they positively rejoice in the dissolute acts of such men'.—Λοιδοῦναι: i.e. they ransom ἀλλοίαι from those into whose hands they had come as prisoners of war. Cp. Antiph. *De Causid. Hec.* § 20, p. 14. τὰ τε ἀλλοίαια ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπόλασται, καὶ οἱ ὄφρα οἱ Λοιδοῦναι.

§ 289. τ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς] 'that youthful prime': for plur., cp. § 283, ταῖς ἀληθείαις, note.

ἐκ παίδων] 'from boyhood'. Dem. *In Mid.* § 154. εἰδὼς μὲν κατ' ἐπίστασιν τοῦτο γινώσκων ἀγαθὰ λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκ παίδων ἐκείνων. Properly said of one who is ἐπαινετός (ant. 17—20) but not yet technically ἀνήρ.

§ 290. προιστώτα] 'who daily and mostly watches over his own youth'. Contrast *Herod. Ep.* § 38, p. 108. καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείπειν περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φιλίαι. Cp. Eur. *Androm.* 220, χεῖρ' ἀρτίως ποιεῖ] ταῦτα γινώσκων, ἰδὼν προιστώτα καλῶς: 'we have this weakness more than men, but ever with it well'—lit. 'administer', i.e. control it.

ἡ τῶν αὐτοῦ] neut., 'his property': but ἐτέρων masc., 'other men'. For the thought that ἀδύνατον οὐκ ἐγγράτοιον, perfected in τὰς ἀρετὰς should possess the attempt to rule others, cp. Plat. *Gorg.* p. 491.

§ 291. ὡς συμβεβηκός] 'on the ground that they have been endowed with a good and noble gift': συμβῆ, as an 'accident' of genius, opp. to the skill gained by ἀσκήσις and φιλοσοφία.

§ 292. συμφέρει, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is expedient in all cases, and especially in the case of oratory, that credit should be won by the efforts of study rather than by the gifts of fortune'. 124

ὅπως ἂν τύχωσιν, κ.τ.λ.] *sc.* χρονοῦται: 'use their eloquence at random: while those who have acquired this faculty by study and reflection say nothing without consideration, and so commit fewer errors in practical affairs': *i.e.* the discipline trained by study will be carried into πράξις, real life. Cp. § 277.

§ 293. κάλλ. πολιτεύεσθε, κ.τ.λ.] 'nor because you have the best constitution, and are most conservative of the laws bequeathed to you by your ancestors':—implying that all this is true of Athens, though not its distinctive glory. Even, though, however, that the Athens of his day had departed too much from the lines of the old Democracy: *see Anaxagoras*, §§ 36—55, p. 151, with notes, pp. 340 f.

§ 294. τὴν φρόνησιν τοῖς λόγοις] 'by unsparingly exacted hours of training in the twofold province of thought and of expression': *εὐμαρῆτι*, *κ.τ.λ.* from military and political ability, means here the general cultivation of the intelligence by literature and art.

125 τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ]—τῆς τοῦ λόγου παιδείας (1168), 'this discipline' of thought and expression. *εὐμαρῆτι*, in the forensic sense, of an adverse verdict. Cp. *Andoc. De Myst.* § 86, *ἐπειὴ ἵτι πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν εἶναι εὐμαρῆται* (personal disqualification), τοῖς μὲν κατὰ νόμους, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ ψήφισματα. *Dem. In Mid.* § 17, ἀστρατείας ἐάλω καὶ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ.

§ 295. γεννήσθαι] 'to be established' as the teacher: *εὐμαρῆτι* *μετ'*. Cp. *Thuc.* ii. 41, *λόγῳ τῶν πόλεων πολὺν Ἑλλήνων παιδόνων εἶναι*.

ἄλλα γυμνάσια ἔμπειρίαν] Athens offers to the students of oratory (1) the greatest prizes,—*i.e.* political power or literary fame: (2) 'the most numerous and most various fields of exercise', *γυμνάσια*, *viz.* the law-courts, the *eklesia*, the public recitations: (3) experience, *ἐμπειρία*,—the result of using these opportunities.

§ 296. καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς, κ.τ.λ.] 'Further, men deem that the wide currency (*εὐμαρῆτι*) and standard character (*ὁμογενεῖα*) of the Attic idiom, no less than a general flexibility of mind and love of literature, contribute not a little to the formation of an orator: and hence they conclude, not without reason, that all teachers of eloquence are pupils of Athens': *ἀερίστῳ*: because the Attic dialect—afterwards the base of the *κοινὴ ἑλληνική*—represents a temperate compromise between the Ionic and the Doric,—clastic without too much softness, precise and vigorous without hardness. In *Thuc.* 7. 63 Nicias records the address serving in the Athenian army that their familiarity with the Attic dialect

had been a recommendation for them to all Greeks: πῆρ, φασί, καὶ ἐν ἑστέμιν, ἴθαισι (καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος.—ἐστρατιώταις: cp. Thuc. ii. 41 for the typical Athenian), ἐπι πλείοντ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλα χεῖρατα ἄλλιστ' ἐν ἐστρατεῖαισι τῷ πόλει καὶ τῶν πατριωτῶν. Here, ἀνθρώπινα—'possibility of intelligence': πολιότητα 'civility', as with Thuc. sur yet 'Hellenism', 'wit', as with Aristotle (*Eth. N.* ii. 7. § 13).

§ 298. οἶδιν γὰρ ἀλλ' ἢ ἀξιοῖεν] 'for you will have virtually presumed yourselves as unjust as the Lacedaemonians would be, and will have acted as they would act, if they were to think of doing those who practised warlike exercises, or the Thebaidians, if they proposed to punish those who exhibited such in inhumanity'.—τὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐστρατιωτῶν ἴσους.—Αἰσίου: cp. Arist. *Πολ.* v [viii] 4. § 4, ἐπι τῷ πόλει τῶν Λακεδαιμόνων, ἐστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ πεισθίσανταί τις φιλοπονίας, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων, νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πόλεμοις ἄλλοις ἀεικλιόμενοι τοῖς ἔλλησι: καὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῖς νέους γυμνάσειν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πόλει μὴ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φασί (i.e. because they attacked those things, which their competitors did not)—καὶ τῶν: 'Breeding the young Lacedaemonians in Sparta, they were distinguished for their excellence as soldiers; but their inferiority is little noticed' (Grote, ii. 370).

(ἐπὶ ὧν)—τῶν δὲ: cp. ἐπὶ ἀέθρῳ, *Idem* *Sepulch.* § 2, note. 126 p. 293.

§ 299. πόλιν ἄστυ] cp. § 293, τὴν πόλιν, κατ' Ἀθῆνας for Athens; *Lys. In Agor.* § 46, ὥστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς ἐλαχίστης πόλεως τῆς πόλεως.—ἄστυ, *Athens* as towns of Athens as ἄστυ (without the art.), 'town': cp. Philochorus *frag.* 4 (*Frag. Hist.* i. 384), ἄστυ δὲ προσηγορέεσαν τὴν πόλιν, where he defines ἴθαισι ἄστυ, as the place where οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναίθετος (fixed their abode). ἄστυ, for Ἔστυ, is the Sanscr. *vāstu*, place, house (Curt. *Gr. Et.* § 206), the local habitation of the πόλις καὶ τῆς πόλεως. πόλις is *phlō* to Sanscr. *phlō* (Cognom.), from τὸ φθί (φθί, φθί), denoting habitance (πόλις ἀπὸ πολίς): hence (1) a throng; (2) a town.

§ 300. οὐαὶ τῆς ἐν ἀφῶτ.] 'that receive benefits through the rule made of others'. The meaning is not that the merits of others are small, but that their way of doing good is harsh. The flatterers of Athens allowed, of course, to Spartan manners.

οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κατηγοροῦν.] 'Others [and themselves] take notice of their faults, and recounting the malignities and disasters of the slander-

mongers, denounce Athens at large as unsocial and cruel: i.e. they quote the bitter things which the *σοφισταί* say of Athenian life, and then point to the penalties which these calumniators sometimes incur.—inferring that Athens is savage because such men are punished.

§ 301. *περιποιούντας*] 'surrounding the name of Athens with infamy' (not *περιποιέσθαι*, 'winning' disgrace for her). Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 35 A, *αίσχύνην τῇ πόλει περιάπτειν*.

127 *στεφανίταις*] A wreath of wild olive at Olympia; of laurel at Delphi; of pine at Nemea; of papyrus at the Isthmus. Cp. Plat. *Procr. Hier. Eupr.* xxvii. 820 c (compare *στέφανος*, of an honorary, not a substantial kind, sought to confer in a Republic, *ὥστερ' αἱ ἀγαθὰς αἰεὶ στεφανώσασκεν πολέτας ἀγαθὰς αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ ἔργα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀρετὰς*, 'seeing that the competition of political life is not for money or gifts, but in truth a sacred contest, of which the prize is a wreath' (as in the great national *ἀγῶνες* of Greece).

§ 302. *πρωτεύειν προκρίν.*] 'would place us in the first rank'. For the pleonasm, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 8, *ταῦτα πρῶτον κριταὶ εἶναι βέλτιστον*.

VI. ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ. (107, iv.) The title means, 'A Discourse for a Public Festival': in this case, for the Olympic festival of 380 B.C. The day of Hellenic unity against the barbarian had already been the theme of Gorgias and of Lycurgus in speeches delivered at Olympia. It is not likely that, like theirs, the oration of Isocrates was recited at the festival by its author. His want of money and youth and youth in the composition itself, would probably have deterred him from such an attempt. The discourse may, indeed, have been recited for him; but it is more likely that it was first introduced to the Greek public by some orator at Olympia, and sent to cities in which Isocrates had friends among the leading men.

The appeal to Panhellenic patriotism was made at a time when such patriotism was sorely needed. By the Peace of Antalcidas in 387 B.C. Artaxerxes II. had become master of the Asiatic Greeks, and ultimate arbiter in the affairs of western Hellas; the Aegean, no longer protected by an Athenian fleet, was infested by pirates; the party strife which the democracies had engendered was everywhere sowing the smaller cities with bloodshed; and Sparta, regardless of the autonomy which the Peace had guaranteed to every state, was using these troubles for her own ends. In 385 B.C. the Spartans had destroyed Mantinea; in 383, besieged Olynthus; in 382, seized the Cadmeia; in 380, besieged Phlius.

The *Panegyricus* falls into two main divisions. In the first (§§ 1—184) Isocrates urges that Athens and Sparta, laying aside their jealousies, should assume the joint leadership of Greece. He argues that, if Sparta at present holds the first place, Athens has the better historical claim to it; and that, therefore, a compromise might well be made. In the second part (§§ 185—186) he shows the direction in which the forces of Greece, once consolidated, ought to be turned—namely against Persia.

The *Panegyricus* is the earliest and the most complete expression of its author's ruling political idea—the idea of a Panhellenic War on Persia. This, he believed, would heal Greek discord, liberate the Asiatic Greeks, draft the roving and lawless peoples who infested Greece into new Asiatic settlements, and bring wealth into Greece Proper. (See the *Life of Isocr.*, *Mitt. Græcol.*, II, 20 f.) The tradition that Isocr. spent ten or more years on this discourse (Quint., x. 4: Plut. *Mar.*, 350 ff) shows the anxious feeling that it was a masterpiece of careful work. It is, indeed, admirable alike for finished brilliancy of composition, and for the lucid power with which a wide range of facts and a multitude of details are marshalled in subordination to the central thought.

Notices for an Invasion of Persia: §§ 160—186.

§ 160. ὅστε μοι δοκεῖ] The general and permanent causes of Persian weakness have just been stated: viz. that the country cannot have good soldiers while the mass of the people is an unruly, nerveless and slavish mob, or good generals while the Persians of the lower classes are insulted and abused by turns, with pampered bodies and greivous spirits. He now goes on to urge that the present moment is peculiarly favourable for an attack by the united forces of Greece.

ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς, ὃν οὐκ ἀφελτέον] No better, better and surper with the first band of the *Urtana* ms. (F) — Between *καιρὸς* and *ἃ οὐκ ἀφελτέον* the Ambrosian ms. (E) and the corrector's hand in the margin of F insert *ἢ οὐδὲν ἀλλοῦ*, i. e. 'than which nothing could be a clearer summons'. Cp. Dem. *Oluntik.* i. § 2, *ἢ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο*, ὃ ἰσχυρὸν ἄρ. ἀλλοῦ οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφελτέον ἐπὶ τοῖς πραγμάτων καὶ ἀπολαφτέον ἐστίν.

τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ βουλευθεῖμεν] 'What further advantage could we desire in prospect of a war with Persia, beyond those which are already assured to us?'

§ 161. Αἴγυπτος—Κύπρος] (1) This revolt of Egypt is not known from other sources, but is noticed again in the

Philippus, § 101. From *Pasegyp*, § 140 it appears that Egypt had held out for three years against three of the best Persian generals, and had finally assembled them. (2) The war between Persia and Evagoras, king of the Cyprian Salamis, seems to have begun in 385 B.C., and to have lasted ten years: at this time a Persian fleet was blockading Salamis, § 134. See *Attic Orators*, II. 158 and notes.

Φοινίκη Συρία Τέπος] Evagoras had 'traversed Phœnicia, stormed Tyre, made Cilicia revolt from the Persian King': Isocr. *Evag.* (or. IX.) § 62.

Λυκίας] 'Of Lycia in Persia has even become master'. Lycia had been tributary to Persia (*Hec.* III. 90) from the time of its conquest by Dariusus, the general of Cyrus: but the warlike dwellers in the Lycian highlands had not been thoroughly tamed. *ἐπὶ τρεῖς*, then, = 'incorporated' as dist. from *ἐπε* 'nominally' 'reigned over'. Cp. *Hec.* II. 1 (Cyclo-hyæa *ἦσαν ἀσπασὶ Ἰαγρῶ*) *ὅσῳς τε πικρὰτατος τὸς ἄλλοις* (his Acætic vulgarism) *καὶ ἐπὶ καὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀσπαστῶν*, 'over whom he had the mastery'.

§ 162. Ἐκατόμωχος] Hecatomachus, Greek prince of Caria, had been appointed admiral of the Persian fleet at the beginning of the war with Evagoras, but had afterwards become disaffected, and had secretly supplied Evagoras with money: *Thuc.* III. 98. — *ἐπιτεταμένος*: *μοχλῆ* 'quarter-master', as supervising *σταθμοὶ*, stations or quarters: a term for the military government (primarily subordinate to the *εὐργάτης*) in the Persian provinces: see *Pasegyp*, § 129 the Persian King illates to Greece, *ἀσπασὶς ἐπιτεταμένος ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σαθιμένοις*. A Greek prince tributary to Persia was esp. *δυνάστης*.

128 τὴν Ἀσίαν παρακαύσων. κ.τ.λ.] 'from Cilicia [in Caria, at the S.W. corner of *Ἰουί Μίση*] to stretch [on the Asian] Greek settlements fringe the coast of Asia' (*τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν παραλίαν*, *Ep.* IX. § 8). *παρὰ* in the compound here with accus. = 'along': but *παροικεῖν* *πίσω*, to live *near* or *among*, *Thuc.* I. 71, III. 93.

οὓς οὐ δεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'and these we need not incite to war,—we have only need to restrain them' (and they will go to war of their own accord).

ἄρηστηρίων] 'Sooner, when such hosts of opposition have been annihilated, and when Asia is encompassed by hostile forces, we speak, they said, we examine the probable issues in minute detail! When they [the Persians] are unable to cope with small fractions of our strength, it is plain what their situation would be, if they were forced to grapple with the whole'.—*ἀσπαστῶν*: v.g. *Ἰαγρῶ*, *Ὀγγρῶ*, *Τυρῶ*, *Κιλικίᾳ*.

and the Greek cities of the coast, — *πιστεύει* as so many *μηνίαι* from which the candidates of Persia will not eat (*ὄψιν ἀρῆσονται*): Polyb. i. 17, *εἰς ταύτην (τὴν πόλιν) συνήθροισαν... τὰς θουάσι. ἀποστρέφει (ἠεὶ ἀποστρέφεται) κρηναίαι καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.*

§ 163. *ἄρρωμεναιστέρος*] 'more vigorously'. Iona. prefers this form: but *εἰ* (*ε* *μ*) *ἀρρωμεναιστέρος*. *Asiatic*. § 72. *Asiatic*. § 104: *ἀποστρέφει*. *Asiatic*. *Asiatic*. § 16: *καρμύσσει*. *Asiatic*. § 279.

αὐτὰς. κ. τ. λ.] 'But if we are the first to occupy them [the cities on the coast], it is likely that the populations of Lydia, Phrygia and the upper [interior] country generally will be at the mercy of those who hold these bases of attack': *ἐντεῦθεν* = *ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεων.*

§ 164. *ἄσπερσαντες*] Referring to the migration by Persia of the Greek cities on the Ionian seaboard (500—405 *b.c.*). The Greeks of Greece Proper (*οἱ πατέρες Ἕλληες*, *Ἕλληες* as well as *Ἀθηναῖοι*) having 'allowed the barbarians to get the start of them', and 'abandoned' the Ionians to their fate, were afterwards forced to fight, without Asiatic allies, against the whole strength of Persia. Had they gone to Asia soon enough, they would have vanquished in *καταστροφή* (*ὅτι μὲν*) most of the nations that made up the Persian host. — *ἄσπερα*: Her. vii. 61 f. comprises 46 nations or tribes as represented in the land-force of Xerxes.

§ 165. *δοδεκταί*] 'It has been twelve' (*ὅτι καρμύσσει*). *εἰ*. *Archid.* § 4, *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν δοδεκήμενοι, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν προσηβυτέροις περὶ πάντων εἰδέναι τὸ βέλτιστον, κ. τ. λ.*

ἐπιστώσιν] 'they have come upon us': *εἰ*. Her. iv. 203. *ἐπιστώσιν* = *ἐκ Κασπίας πύλ. ἐπιτεταί*, when the Persian army suddenly approached before Cyrus. *Asiatic*. *Asiatic*. § 18, *αὐτὸν δὲ λατὴν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλείου θύραις, κατὰ Ἀσιατικῶν* was aware, Cyrus was almost at his palace gates.

προεξαμαρτόντες ἐπηνωθώσαντο] 'Our fathers, after making 130
an error in the first instance' [by failing to support the Ionians in their revolt], 'retrieved all these faults when they were confronted with the most urgent perils' [in the Persian invasions].

§ 166. *ἐκάστων. κ. τ. λ.*] 'The Persian king does not take the peoples of Asia by their common [έναντες, predants], but by surrounding himself [προεμαρτόντες, circum] with a power which overmatches those peoples taken singly' [*ἐκάστων*]: if they unite, and are helped from Greece, they will prevail. — *βουληθέντες* = *εἰ βουληθῆμεν*, Goodwin § 109.

§ 167. ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας] 'in the present generation': strictly, in the time of the men who are now capable of active service. In *Antid.* § 230, etc., τῆς ἡλικίας = 'youth', but it is the context which so defines it: here it has the military sense, αἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ (Thuc. viii. 75) being opposed to ἀγχοῖα. — τῶν συμφορῶν. Men who at this time (380 B.C.) were 40 years old would have known the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, the troubles bred by the Spartan δεσποχία, the Corinthian War, and, generally, that widespread distress and disorder of which Isocr. speaks below (§ 168 f.). See *Attic Orators*, II. 17.

πολέμους καὶ στάσεις] With this picture cf. the following, abridged from Isocr. *Evagor.* ix. §§ 8—10 (date, about 366 B.C.): 'It is strange that no powerful statesman or speaker has yet taken pity on the miserable condition of Hellas. Every part of it is full of war, factions, massacres, woes unnumbered. Most wretched of all are those Greeks on the seaboard of Asia whom by the treaty [of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.] we gave over, not merely to barbarians, but to those of our race who are barbarian in all save speech. These roving desperadoes, under any chance leader, form armies larger and better than those of the settled communities: armies which do trifling damage to Persia, but bring desolation to the Greek cities which they visit: they slay, they banish, they violate, they plunder. — See *Attic Orators*, II. 244.

§ 168. ἐπικουρεῖν] 'to serve as mercenaries': Thuc. ii. 33, ἐπικουρεῖν τὴν πρῶτην μάχην. See *lex.* an honourable name for μισθοφόροι.

συγκεκρέμεναι] 'compressed', 'invented' by the [tragic] poets. In pure Attic of the classical time *κρέμα* is the perf. passive of κέμω, κέμεναι is the perf. middle. *κρ.* a father κέμεναι δαίμα παιδὸς, but παιδὸς κέμεναι δαίμα: cf. Shilleto on Thuc. i. 57, who quotes as an exception, belonging to the early decadence, Menand. *frag.* 66, *κρ. μὲν τὸ δαίμα κερταχόμενον καὶ ἐκδραμίζετο*.

ἑφορῶντες] Not, I think, merely 'gazing upon', but 'seeing in their own lifetime', or 'with their own eyes' (and not merely in reports from the past): cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 7. 7, *τοὺς φίλους ἐπέβη Νέειον εὐθιμὸν γαστήρα*, 'lived to see their friends made prosperous'. See II. xxii. 61, and πόλλ' ἐπέβον, ἰδὲν εἴδ' ἀλλοτρίων, εἴδ' αὖτ' and other passages quoted by Thompson on Plato *Quaest.* 473 c. αἰεὶ ἐν Ἀθῆναις καὶ ποτὶ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τοὺς (ἀποβλέποντες).

§ 169. ἐνθῆσις] 'simplicity'. — *ἐνθῆσις*, individuals as opp. to whole countries.

Ἰταλία Σικελία] *Italy*. In 389–387 B.C. Dionysius I. had reduced successively Sicily, Syracuse and Rhegium in Magna Graecia: Diod. xiv. 106 ff. *Sicily*. He had surrendered Agrigens, Himera, Selinus, etc., to Carthage, and had brought other towns—as Naxos, Leontini, Messana—under his own power: Diod. xiii. 114.

ἐκδίδονται] 'have been abandoned [not restored] to a lawful possessor, the sense of *ἐκδίδομαι* in *H.* iii. 430] by the Peace of Antalcidas: below, § 175.—τά ἄλλα μέρη: Greece Proper as opp. to (1) Sicily and Magna Graecia, (2) Asiatic Hellas.

§ 170. τῶν δυναστευόντων] 'the leading statesmen', cf. *προσφραστῆν* below, § 172. With the same meaning he says in *Epist.* ix. § 8. *ἀποστάξαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς πόλεις ἢ λέγειν δυναμένων*.

ἀπειν ἐνθυμηθῆναι] 'to contrive or [even] to devise' a comedy: *Thuc.* viii. 68 (of Anaxagoras) *ἐπιπυρρὸν διαιρηθῆναι καὶ ἄ γνῶνι εἰπεῖν*, a master of device and of expression.

ἐχρὴν ἄξιοι] An *epithetic* timoteer. In this and other cases where an accidental verb occurs in prose, it may usually be noticed that the rhythm or division of clauses imposed by the *causa* would have prevented the meter from being perceived in *πρακτικῶς*: thus, here, there is a pause at *ἀξιοι*, and the words *ἔπερ ἦταν ἄξιοι τῆς παρούσης, κ.τ.λ.*, cohere closely. So in Dem. *ὀλιγάδ, κ.τ.λ.* (quoted by Sandys), *ἔλασε γὰρ ἔστι τὰς ὀλιγάδων, κ.τ.λ.*, the mutual *cohesio* is destroyed by the coherence of *ἔστι* with the following words.

ἀσπείσθαι καὶ συμβουλεύειν] 'to hesitate and discuss [not necessarily 'advise'] through fear, because they the project of the war with Persia': 'the war', because the project had long been familiar to the Greeks; thus Aristotle had entertained it, *Isocr. Philipp.* § 85.

τυχὸν μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Fortunists they would have advised something; but even if they had been talked with the oracles bequeathed by them would have been as oracles for the future'.—*τυχῶν, κ.τ.λ.*, *σοφιστῶν* § 110, 2.—*πυρρῶτατα*, 'give up', from *ωρῶμαι* or *διῶμαι*, *ἀεὶ* they had carried their point: cp. *Isid.* § 274, *ἡγῶμαι ἐάθηναι πύρρως ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ παρῆσθαι λυσιπύρρως, πρὸς ἐπιπυρρῶν, κ.τ.λ.*—*ἀρρωστῶν*: so *Stob.* to his judges, *Plat. Apol.* 30 c. *ἐπιπυρρῶν τῶν ἀρρωστῶν, κ.τ.λ.*

§ 171. τοῖς τῶν πολιτ. ἐξιστηκόσι] 'who stand apart from public life'. With a similar reference to his own abstinence from political life (owing to want of *εὐνοῖα* and *εὐλαία*), he says,

ἀλλ' ἰσχυροί. § 14. πάντες οὐκ ἔτι φιλοφρονεῖσθαι ἡδύταται διετέλεσαν ὄντες, where see note.

§ 172. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔχθρας] ὁ λόγος [ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν] ἐλλὰ... δὲ κινεῖται: 'At the same time [sc. discouraging as is this speech on the part of the statesmen, and little as *ἡμεῖς* may seem entitled to speak] the rest of us are bound to consider', etc. — *ἔχθρας*, 'dislike' among Greeks.

τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας] 'As things are, it is in vain that we make treaties of peace': not *the* treaty: cp. *Lys. In Erat.* § 97, note on τὸν θάνατον.

131 § 173. ἀγαθὴν ὁμοιοῖσαι] Not (I guess) *comparative*, but as the speaker is thinking of the present *ἡμεῖς* rather than a remote *is to date*, and at which such a comparison is to be established, the pres. would have expressed merely the continuance of the conditions. 'It is impossible that we should consent an enduring peace, or that *justice* should be established among the Greeks'. — ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, masc., τῶν βαρβάρων.

§ 174. ἢ καὶ τὰς εἰρὰς προάγει] 'which dissolves friendly-ties [cp. *ἔσται* *ἡμεῖς*, *σοφία*, *τὸ* 889] and shows kindness on to quarrels'. *προάγειν* of leading onward in an evil path; cp. *Πλάτων*, 316. *πρὸς* (ἡμεῖς) ἡμεῖς ἀπορία.) § 7. ἰσχυρὰ προάγει ἡμεῖς ἐκ διαπλευρῶν] *ἰσχυρὰ* is a doubtful v. l.; *ἡμεῖς*. *In Androt.* § 78, εἰς τοῦτο προήχθητ' εἰρησίας καὶ βαθυμίας.

τὸν ἐνθάδε πάλεμον διοριζόμεν] 'transfer the war from Greece to Asia': *Plat. Legg.* 873 u, τὸ δ' ὄφλον [vulg. *ὄφλον*] ἔτι τὸν ἕνα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀποστρέφεται ἄλλοθεν, 'the animal which is killed lawfully (of course) death they shall slay and cast beyond the borders': *Eur. Helen.* 394, στρατεύμα κώπη δάσσει, 'to carry a host from its own land in ships'; — *πορθμεῖσαι* or *διαπεραιῶσαι*.

τῶν κινδύων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς] 'the perils of intestine warfare' (between Greek cities).

κατὰχρησασθαι] 'to utilize them': *κατὰ* *πανταίως* here, not 'wastefully, perversely' (*abuti*), but 'to the full' (cp. 'to use up'): so *Panegy.* § 9, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις [sc. ταῖς πράξεσιν, these historical examples] καταχρησασθαι... τὸς εὖ πάντας τῶν ἰστων.

§ 175. ἀλλὰ γὰρ... ἀλλ' ἰσχυροί] 'But perhaps it will be said that the Convention [sc. Antalcidas] is a reason for pausing, instead of making haste and accelerating the expedition'. For *ἄν* is *ἰσχυρὰ* *ἰσχυρὰ*, instead of *ἄν*, cp. *Lys. Pro Mastig.* § 18, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν... ἀλλ' ἰσχυροί, ὅτι τὸ ἰσχυρὸν... *ἰσχυρὰ*. The terms of the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) were as follows (*Xen.*

Hellen. v. i. 31):—King Artavercus thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands of Chazoumiae and Cyprus, shall belong to him. He thinks it just also to have all the other Hellenic cities autonomous, both small and great—except Ionia, Lydia and Sicyon, which go to belong to Athens, as they did originally. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, by land as well as sea, with ships and with money'. Grote ix. 534.

ἡλευθερωμένοι ἐκδεδομένοι] The *liberated* cities are those in Greece Proper, or belonging to the Aegean coasts and islands, which Athens or Sparta might otherwise have claimed as tributaries: those *abandoned* to the barbarians are the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic seaboard, with Chazoumiae and Cyprus.

§ 176. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἰστίον] 'Most absurd of all, those stipulations of the Treaty which we actually observe are the very worst. The articles which grant independence to the islands and the Greek cities of Europe have long ago been violated, and are dead letters in the world'. τῶν γεγραμμένων: *sp. Andoc. De Pace* § 45. γεγραμμένα τῶν γεγραμμένων, the latter of the terms (of peace): *ib.* § 34 ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐστασμέναι, *note*.—Μακεδόναι: meaning that Sparta had been leaving tribute to the Aegean islands (τῶν κρητικῶν ἀποδοχῶν, § 132), and helping Artaxerxes II. of Macedonia against Olynthus, besides devastating Mantineia, besieging Plataeae, and setting the Theban Cadmeis (i. 129).—But the omstr., ὁ δὲ πάντων (sc. ἰστίον) καταγεγραμμένων (τῶν ἰστίων) ἴστίον, *sp. Plat. Apol.* 18 v. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀλλοτριωμένων ἐν ἑστίῳ τὰ ἰστίον αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτῶν εἶδέναι. So *Isoc. Panegyri.* § 128, ὁ δὲ πάντων ἰστίων, *strac. Plat.* § 45, ὁ δὲ πάντων δωδέκατον, *et: De Pace* § 53, ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐγγεγραμμένων: *sc. γὰρ. κ. κ. κ.* For other examples see *Maivins, Syntax* § 197.

ἐκδίδωκε, κ. κ. κ.] *Gr. ἐπίθετον.* § 199, *note*.—ταῦτα δὲ καθ' ἕνα γένος μέγα: 'these articles, on the other hand (sc. in general), remain undisturbed'.—πρωτογενεῖας: 'diplomacy' (of the Persian king): see the terms, § 175, *note*.

§ 177. τῶν προβευσιάντων ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην] 'those who mediated this peace': *sp. Andoc. De Pace* § 29, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐβουλεύσατο Ἐπίδοτον, κ. κ. κ., *note*. The reference is to the diplomatic agents of Sparta generally, but esp. to Antalcidas, by whom, with the help of the satrap Tadrharns, the terms of the treaty were virtually settled. Grote ix. 531.

ἔχρην περὶ αὐτῶν] 'Whether it was their view (1) that each State should retain its own territory, or (2) that each

should have dominion also over all that it acquired by conquest, or (3) that each of us should keep those possessions which we happened to hold on the eve of the peace. — they were bound to define *some one* of those views,—to apply their principle impartially. — and on this basis to frame the terms of the treaty' (*πρὸς ἄλλα*, *ment.*, about the interests thus involved). *Isocr.* means: The Peace of Antalcidas is based on no intelligible principle. If (1) had been adopted, Persia would not have got the Greek cities of Asia: if (2), autonomy would not have been guaranteed to the Greek cities of Europe: if (3), Athens and Sparta would not have had to renounce dependencies which they claimed. Observe that *τὰς ἀπολαύσεις* refers, not to all that each State *had* from time to time acquired, but to all that it *might hereafter acquire*.

- 133 § 178. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων] *Μία* *ἰσοπέδη* we should expect *ἀπολαύσεις* εἰ ἐπὶ ἀπολαύσει. ἀλλὰ μὴ εἴπωσι: but the emphasis on the negative *that* warrants *εἰ*. Cp. *Iso. In Aristarch.* § 20, note on οὐκ ἄρα *χρή*.

§ 179. ἐκείνως εἰπὼν] 'by the following illustration'.

τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμ. γέγονε.] *ἀλλήως* *τὴν ἀτίμω* *γεγενημένην* could mean only, 'I will show that the dishonour has happened', *γέγονε* being a predicate. But *ἀλλήως* *τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτίμω* *γεγενημένην* can mean, 'I will show the dishonour that has been done to us', because *περὶ ἡμᾶς* is really a *part of the adjective*, and when this part has been put in its right place between *τὴν* and *ἀτίμω*, the supplementary *γεγενημένην* can be allowed to wait. Cp. *Thuc. vii. 23*, αἱ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος *ῥῆς* *εὐπαιχίας*, 'the ships fighting before the mouth of the harbour': here, the complete adjective is *πρὸ τοῦ στόματος εὐπαιχίας*, and it is enough that the first part of it, *πρὸ τοῦ στόματος*, should stand between the article and the subst. So *id. i. 11* τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος: *vii. 36* τῆ πρότερον ἀμαθία τῶν κυβερνητῶν δοκοῦσα εἶναι.

τῆς γὰρ γῆς ποιοῦμενος] 'Whom the whole earth beneath the firmament is divided into two parts, — Asia' and 'Europe', the great king has under this Treaty taken one-half,—as if he were dividing the territory with Zeus, and not making his compact with men'. 'That is, the Persian king has taken all Asia, as if he were a god who would not yield up more than half of the whole earth even to Zeus himself. *Isocr.* *prob.* began with the thought of *Ἀστύνοος* being on earth what Zeus is in heaven, and thus passed to this image of him as one who, in partitioning the earth, would consider himself the equal of Zeus. On *εἰσεσθαι* *ἑαυτῷ*, cp. *Iso. Nausith.* § 10, p. 31—*εἰσεσθαι*, the party *δρακωνίδαι*, — ἡ γῆς *τῆς γῆς* *ἐνταῦθα*.

Arist. *Meteor.* 1. 2.—*οἶχα τετμ.*: cp. Soph. *Tr.* 100, *οἶσαι ἔτιμα*.

§ 180 *τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερ.*] 'The national temples' (at Olympia, Delphi, etc.), not merely the 'public' temples of each State. Cp. *Platylithoi* § 107, *ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν θεῶν* (of Antelidai) *οὐκ εἶδε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἀφαιρέσει ἀεὶ ἄλλοτε καὶ τοῖς τετακτοῖς ἀδελφείοις*.—*στύλαι*: Thuc. v. 47, *ταὶ δὲ ἑστῆσαν ἀνεγχεῖται ἐκ πολλῶν ἁλλῶν Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἐκ πύλων* (the Acropolis), *Ἀργείων δὲ ἐκ ἑστῶν ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν ἱερῶν, Μαιναίων δὲ ἐκ τῶν Διὸς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκ τῶν ἑστῶν καταθέσται δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν πύλην ἁλάται*.

μᾶς τύχης] 'a single success': *Antidosis* § 128, *εἴ τις ἐκ μᾶς τύχης* (alluding to Acropolisium) *πύλωνε τὰ καταθέσται ἄσπερ Ἀνακτοῦ*. Cp. *ἐπὶ μῆτιν μὴ ὄσσει*, Thuc. v. 103.

καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλ.] 'but these pillars stand as witnesses on the whole war against all Greece'.

§ 181. *τοῖς περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γεν.*] 'those who were engaged in the Trojan war'. If the meaning were, 'those who lived in the time of the Trojan war', we should rather expect *κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ*. 134

§ 182. *εὐχῆς ἀξία*] 'all for which men would pray': not merely 'desirable' things, but such things as might satisfy the highest aspirations. So again in Lucr. *Indolentia* § 19. Cp. Arist.'s *ὑποτίθεσθαι κατ' εὐχὴν*, to suppose the best imaginable case; *ἡ κατ' εὐχὴν πόλις*—the ideal polity, *Indol.* ii. 6.

θεωρία στρατεία] 'like a sacred embassy rather than a hostile expedition',—i.e. contemplating no resistance, but received with *εὐχῆς πόλις* and honours in its stately processions. The image presented here is of the more appropriate, into the Hellenic gods are received) something common came against those barbarians who had destroyed their shrines when Ionia was conquered: see § 155, *οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη καὶ τοῖς νεῶς συλῶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν ἐτόλμασαν*.

§ 183—§ 184. *φῆρε γὰρ ἐνθιμονέμενος*] 'Let us see, who are fitting objects of hostility for those who desire me agreement, but have a view to justice in the abstract? And who are proper objects for the envy of those who, though not devoid of courage, become that quality under the restraint of prudence? And against whom should we march who are at once loyal to their duty and mindful of their interest?' i.e. The arms of Greece ought to be turned against Persia, (1) if we consider abstract justice—because Persia has wronged Greece: (2) if we desire a field of enterprise accessible at once to our valour and to our discretion—because Persia is

the art of the orator will not devote his labour and meditation to the purpose of besquitting for all time a monument of his own intellect and of that *κακοῦντ' ἄνευ*: as in Plat. *Ion* 524 B (quoted by Suidas), *πρὸς δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν γένεσθαι ἀποστὰς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν χερσασθῆναι. —* *Λυσίου Πρὸ Λυκούρου* § 10, note.

VII. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ. (Ch. 5.)—This appeal to Philip of Macedon may fully be taken after the *Προσφώνησις*. As the latter recommends that Athens should lead a Panhellenic War against Persia, so this discourse presses the task on Philip. It is the final expression—as the other was the first—of a lifelong desire.

Philip had taken Amphipolis in 358 B.C. and Potidæa in 356. The hostilities between him and Athens, carried on intermittently from 356, were closed in March, 346, by the so-called Peace of Philocrates. Before that event Isocrates had been composing a letter to Philip 'On Amphipolis', urging, in favour of peace, that Amphipolis, the chief cause of the war, was not a desirable possession either for Athens or for the king of Macedon (§§ 1, 3).

This letter had not been sent when peace was concluded (§ 7). Isocrates now writes on another and a larger subject. He was in Philip, at length recalled to Athens, the man who can lead the united Hellenes against Persia. Ever since the failure of the *Προσφώνησις* to bring about such an expedition under the joint leadership of Athens and Sparta, he had been looking for an individual powerful enough to execute his favourite plan (II 84, 198, 199). He had already applied to Dionysius I.—probably about 368 B.C. (*Ép.* I. 4 81)—and in 359 to Archidamus III. (*Ép.* IX 4 16). This oration was addressed to Philip soon after the Peace (§§ 8, 56), but before the conclusion of the Sacred War (II 13, 14). That is, between March and July, 346 B.C.

The most striking characteristics of the whole discourse is the recognition of Philip as the best of Hellenes and the natural champion of Hellas, by whom—though his subjects are aliens—the Hellenic spirit is as true as it was in the Argive Télémachus, the founder of his dynasty. —*Little Orators*, II. 166—176.

§§ 81—101.

§ 81. ἀπερ ἐπέστειλα] 'as I said in my letter to Dionysius after he had acquired the treasury'. The words are, in fact, closely similar: *Ép.* I. (to Dionysius) § 9, καὶ αὐτὸς παραίτηται, εἰ μὴτε ἐπαγγελῶν (being a speaker in the *Εὐκλείου*) ἀπερ

στρατηγῶν καὶ ἄλλως δικάστῃς ἀνὸς οὕτως ἐπιβλήεις αἰσῶσαι πρῶτα
 (take upon me so grave a task) καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιχειρῶ τὸν μεγίστον,
 ἔπειτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος λέγειν καὶ σοὶ συμβάλλωσαι. Dionysius
 became tyrant of Syracuse in 406 B.C., and the probable date of
 the Letter to him is 368 B.C. (*Attic Orators*, II, 230): κτησάμενον,
 then, cannot = 'immediately on his acquiring': but Isocr. is
 thinking of the career of Dionys. as divided into two great
 chapters, that which *preceded* and that which *followed* his
 acquisition of the tyranny. Isocr. felt that the war must be
 led either by a city or by a prince. He appealed successively to
 Athens—to Dionysius (when now a tyrant)—to Archidamus—
 and to Philip. We need not, then, insert τὴν before τὴν
 τυραννίδα κτησάμενον.

μητ' ἄλλως δυνάστης | 'nor in any way a person of
 influence': cp. *Paneg.*, § 170, τῶν ἀποστεινύτων, 'the leading
 statesmen', note, p. 313.

ὄχλῳ καλινδουμένοις | 'exhibits of dealing with a mob, and
 of exhorting sensible personalities with the best triflers of
 the platform' (σπῆρα, the raised place for speakers in the
 ecclesia).—ὄχλος, an inviolable term for πλῆθος, the audience in
 a popular assembly or law-court. ὄχλος ἢ πολεὺς | πολεὺς, παρ'
 ὄχλῳ κατακτείνω λέγων, *Isocr. Heliop.* 289. —κατακτείνω, pass.,
 'to be defied'.—c., late, to lose and thrown at one, to be
 entirely altered.—κατακτείνω, midd., 'to ravish', with *dat.* (the
 act, λοιδορεῖν usu. with *acc.*).—On καλινδουμένοις, cp. *Adv.*
Soph., § 20, note. Baizer and Sauppe give here κινδου-
 ρένους in colloquial form with the same meaning, but retain
 the other form in *Isocr. Panegy.*, 151, παρακινδουμένους: *Adv.*
Sophist., § 20, καλινδουμένους: *Antid.*, § 30, τὸν πρὸς τὸ κατακτείνω
 καλινδουμένων: § 213, καλινδουμένας.

- 137 § 83. πρὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν | In the former part of the
 discourse Isocr. has impressed on Philip that his duty is
 to reconcile the four great cities of Greece—Sparta, Argos,
 Thebes, Athens—and has shown in detail that this task
 is feasible (§§ 30—67).

ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχ. δοῖν | 'though not with the same feeling
 [δοῦσαί, thoughts about my own work] as at the former period
 of life when I was writing on this same subject'. The *Panegyricus*
 appeared in 380 B.C., Isocr. *actat.* 56: but he had
 certainly composed it some years before—seen in the tradition,
 at least ten: see introd. to *Panegyricus*, p. 263. In 346 B.C.,
 when this discourse was sent to Philip, Isocr. was ninety
 years of age.

§ 84. περικελευόμεν. καταγελῶν, ε. π. κ. | A literally exact
 reference to the opening of the *Panegyricus*, § 14, ἔγω δ' ἔκαστον
 καὶ τὸν παρακατῶ ἀφῆκα ὅπως καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ

χρόνῳ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἦν, τὰ δὲ λέγει οὕτω διαστειλόμενος, ἔλλα καὶ ἀπομνηστέον ἴσθαι, παρακλιόμενος μαθηταὶς συγγεγραμμένον εἶναι ἀλλὰ καταγελᾶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν.—τοῦ χρόνου: Isocr. spent ten years on the *Panegyric*, acc. to Quint. x. 4, [Plut.] *Vitt. X. Oratt.*, Phot. *Cod.* 260; Plut. *Mor.* 350 E makes it 'almost three olympiads' (nearly 12 years).

ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα. κ.τ.λ.] Cp. the passage, τὸ καλὸν ποιεῖν ἄρα προσηγορεῖται, διὰ τὸ εὖ γινώσκειν, ἢ τίθησι καὶ ἔπειθ' αὐτὸν εὖ καὶ οὐκ ἐπισημοῦσθαι καὶ ἐρωτησθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, προσηγορεύματα, c. 1, *Rhet. Graec.* II. 62). In several places Demosth. speaks of himself or alludes to passages of his own. One of these alludes illustratively to another kind of oratory as a fine art—*Attic Orators*, I. lxxii.

[§ 35. οὐ μὴν ἀποστατέον] 'I must not desert, however, but must speak on my chosen theme as the moment may prompt, and as may be expedient for the purpose of persuading you to act thus'. ὅ τι ἂν ὑποέσῃ, 'whatever may suggest itself': cp. *Od.* XII. 266, καὶ μοι ἔπος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ: Plut. *Ages.* 7, ἐπῆλθε τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, 'it occurred to him'. As the *Panegyricus* was the result of long thought and study, so the present discourse is to be rather an extemporaneous speech of a more personal kind.

ἄλλ(πω τι] not—'omit anything' (wh. would be rather παραλίπω), but—'fail in any respect'; τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς προτ. ἐκδεῖ. meaning, 'up to the level of' the work which he had formerly put forth (the *Panegyricus*).

ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπογρ.] 'yet at least I think that I can trace a pretty clear outline for those who are able to connect my lines, and to carry the work through': i.e. for one who, like Philip, is in a position to buy and acquire Asia. Cp. *Ἰσχυροσάου*, *Ilys. Olymp.* § 3, note, p. 238.

[§ 36. ἡ συναγωνιζόμενος. κ.τ.λ.] 'Nothing must be done until we had put the Greeks either as active supporters of the project, or as essentially favourable spectators': c. 107, EX., the Greeks *ἐπιθεωροῦντες*. Agesilaus had, of course, Greek troops, but the public opinion of Greece at large was not with him. 138

Ἀγησίλαος] Alluding to the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia Minor, 394—335 B.C. Cp. *Panegyric*, § 141, Ἀγησίλαος ἦν τῷ Κλέαρχῳ στρατηγῶσι χαλεπώτερος [the opponent of the Ion (Phoenician) army, but τὰς ἡμέρας Ἀλίου γένουσι ἐμπίπτερον, 'all but conquered Asia Minor west of the Helles']. See *Annals of Attic Orators*, I. xlvii. Agesilaus associated his expedition (396 B.C.) to a new Trojan War—an effort of united Greece, for

the purpose of taking vengeance on the common Asiatic enemy of the Hellenic name': Grote ix. 357.

§ 87. τοὺς ἐταίρους] See Isocr. *Epist.* ix. § 13 (Agésilans) γρηγοροὺς ἐργασίεσσι καὶ ἀκρίεσσι καὶ πλεονεξίαισιν [as here φρονεῖστας] [τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐπὶ τοῖς πόλεσσι γὰρ Σπάρτῃ τε πολέμοισι καὶ τῶν φίλων τοὺς φρονεῖστας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσσι καταγαλῆν καὶ κέρως ἀπαρτῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. Here τοὺς ἐταίρους are not 'his friends', but, 'the members of the oligarchical cities' (*ἐταίροι*) by whom the Spartan ἀναρχία had been supported in the various cities: cp. *Lycius In Leucoboth.* § 43, ποιεῖ ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἧσιν ἀπέστησαν πρὸ τῶν κλεινοτάτων ἐταίρων (at Athens in 494 B.C.). Not long after these ἀναρχίαι had been established by Lysonder (in 495—4—2) a reaction set in against them, and in many cities they were either dissolved or modified, with the express approval of the Spartan Ephors. When Agésilans went to Asia in 396 B.C., Lysonder accompanied him, 'in order', as Xen. says (*Hellen.* iii. 4. 2), 'to restore, with the help of Lysonder, the democracies which he [Lysonder] had established in the cities, but which had been banished ἀπεπύρασθαι by the (Spartan) Ephors, who directed the cities to resume their traditional constitutions'.

Isocr. correctly represents the general situation in the Asiatic Hellas of 396 B.C.; but he does not accurately describe the attitude of Agésilans. It was Lysonder, not Agésilans, who desired to restore the *εταίροι*, the oligarchical partisans. Agésilans appeared in contrast with Lysonder as *δημοκρατικός* (*Plut. Ag.* c. 7). Isocr. seems to condemn the *political* enterprise, in which Lysonder sought (not very successfully) to engage Agésilans, with the marked *astonishment* of Agésilans to enrich or honour his *personal* friends: see Xen. *Ag.* v. 18, τίμωσι πάντῃσι χρεῖματι φίλους, &c. &c.); and this misapprehension appears when, in the passage cited above (*Epist.* ix. § 13), he uses the phrase τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ φίλους.

ἐν κακοῖς τὴν παραχὴν τὴν ἐνθάδε γ.] *Is.* (1) The Asiatic Greeks were involved in troubles and dangers by that strife between the democratic and oligarchical parties which arose from the attempt to restore the oligarchical cities. (2) The trouble existed in Greece Proper by the outbreak of the Corinthian War in 394 B.C. ἡ παραχὴ ἡ ἐνθάδε γυγνώσκω which caused Agésilans to be recalled from Asia—left the *European Greeks* no leisure to think about a war against Persia.

§ 88. ἐκ τῶν ἀγνοηθέντων] 'And so, from the oversights which were made at that time, it is easy to discern the lesson that no prudent man will make war on Persia until he has reconciled the Greeks and cured them of the madness which now possesses them' [the discord which is ruining them]:

πύλασμα ἐπιφέρειν, ἐπιφέρειν ἐπιφέρειν: Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 5. (ἐφ' ἧς ἐξεύσειν πόλεμον πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

§ 89. τῶν μὲν ἄλλων] Most other people, perhaps, if they were invited to urge on you an expedition against Asia, would have resorted to this topic of exhortation—that all who have ever undertaken a war against Persia have had the fortune to exchange obscurity for eminence, poverty for wealth, a humble station for the lordship of wide lands and of cities. My appeal to you, however, will not rely on such examples (ὅτις τούτων παρ., cp. *Panegy.* § 173, ἐκ τῶν ἀφ' ἧς) but on the case of those who are adjudged to have failed—I mean the comrades of Cyrus and Clearchus'. ἐξείρηται, who have been set down as failures—more than δεκάκις πλεον.

§ 90. τὴν Κέρου προπέτειαν] 'the impetuosity of Cyrus',—at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.). The Greeks were conquering, and those around Cyrus were already saluting him as king. But he still restrained himself: αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλιχθεύει δεύων (Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 21). Presently, however, to defeat a movement of the enemy, he changed the Persian centre, and routed the men who surrounded Artabazus. His own body guard went on in pursuit. Cyrus was left alone with his immediate staff (ἡμετέρας). At this moment he caught sight of his hated brother. He cried, 'I see the man'—rushed at him—wounded him—and was slain (*ib.* § 25).

§ 91. τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως] 'the power about him'—the military resources of the Persian empire. Cp. *Panegy.* § 166, αὐτῆς δυνάμεως περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινται αὐτῶν περιουσιῶν, *ibid.*, p. 311.

προκαλεσάμενος εἰς λόγον εἶθ' εἰς] 'having invited' (them 'to a conference'). We cannot render 'having caused to be invited', since the act, προκαλεῖν is not εἰσθροῦν καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι. Take note with ἀποδοῦναι, not with εἶθ' εἰς: προκαλεσάμενος τούτους εἰς λόγον εἶθ' εἰς to explain it. Note the series of participles: προκαλεσάμενος—καὶ ἐπιστάμενος (representing the *ἡμετέρας*, ἐπιστάμενος—ἐπιταγόμενος καὶ δόξα—πύλασμα (this last being in closer connection with ἐπίταξις).—Xen. does not say that Tissaphernes offered 'large presents' to the leaders, and 'their pay in full' to the soldiers. Acc. to Xen., Tissaphernes offered (1) a safe conduct back to Greece, (2) a market for provisions on the march,—if the Greeks would abstain from ravage, and would pay for what they took: Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3, 26, 27.

πίστευαι... τὰς μεγίστας] Xen. *ib.* § 28. ταῦτα ἔλαβ' καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἐξέλιξ ἄλλων Τισσαφέρνην καὶ ἑ τῆς διακλίσεως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀρχηγῶν καὶ ἄλλων

ἔλας, καὶ ὃν ἠέλω ἴσως ὁδοὶ κατατίγει εἰς αὐτοὺς. 'there is no pressing need' for you to hear.

§ 95. τῆς ἐκείνους ὑπαρξάσης] 'which had been raised by them' [i.e. Cynos]: καὶ ἄρα καὶ ἡ ἐπιτοχὴ: ср. on § 92.

διὰ τὰς δεκαρχίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'while they [Cynos and his followers] had the Greeks most strongly persecuted against them on account of the decarchies of the Spartan period'. Δεκαρχία (the rule of a δεκά) is here, as often, κ.τ.λ. for Δεκαρχία (the rule of δέκα). Παρονομαί. supports δεκαρχία. Σουλτα and Χετ. δεκαρχία. The fact that Δεκαρχία had a technical military sense, 'a commander of ten' (ἴσως, in Xen.), seems to favour δεκαρχία in the sense of government by ten: καὶ πενταρχία (καὶ τετραρχία), τριαρχία (καὶ τετραρχία), κ.τ.λ. Cp. *Platonus*, § 110 f. of τὰς δεκαρχίας κατασκευαστοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικῶν ἀλλοιωματούς (those who supported the alterations of ten, established by Lycurgus, and so ruled their native cities); see note on § 87, τοὺς ἑταίρους.—ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, 'in the time of the Lacedaemonians', i.e. of their supremacy, which soon (346 B.C.) was a thing of the past: it lasted, roughly, from 404 B.C. to 371 B.C., when the battle of Leuctra gave the ascendancy to Thebes.

§ 96. ἔξ ἑτοίμων: 'readily': ср. *1st Pers. Hist.* § 16, p. 114. 141
ἐξ ἑτοιμοτέρου λαμβάνειν.

τῶν πλανωμένων—τῶν πολιτ.] 'A large and powerful force can more easily be raised from among the homeless exiles than from among the dwellers in cities'. Cp. *Epist.* ix. (to Aristodemus, 366 B.C.) § 2, μέγιστον καὶ ἐπιτόμως ἀνατίθει στρατοπέδων γιγνομένης ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων. These 'volunteers' were probably exiles, drawn out by the troubles of the ἑταίροις—actual men and criminals of every sort. See *Panegyric*, § 168, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀρούραις ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλῆσθαι, and note.

οὐκ ἦν ξηρόν] Cynos (in 401 B.C.) found it hard to raise 10,000 mercenaries from all Greece: in 398 B.C. 15,000 such formed a single expedition at Chastania: see *Attic Orators*, II. 17.

τοῖς συλλέγουσι] This Cynos made Chastania about £10,000 with a view to his mercenaries: ἔτι καὶ κατὰ τὸ χρηματικόν πένταγμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, Xen. *Anab.* I. 1. 9.—τὸν εἰς τὸν στρατόν τε ἀποπέμψας, the pay (μισθὸς) on the soldiers.

§ 97. Κλέαρχον τὸν ἐπιστατήσαντα, κ.τ.λ.] 'Clearchus, who was raised in command [ιστ.] of that expedition',—being the leader of the Greek mercenaries, and the only soldier

who knew from the first the real object of the march (*Xen. Anab.* III. 1. 10).

οὔτε ναυτικῆς οὔτε πεζῆς . κύριον] 'that he had never before been placed in control of any naval or land-force'. To make this exact, *κύριος* must mean 'commander-in-chief'. Clearchus had held a command under Mistrachus at Cyzicus in 410 B.C., and under Callieratidas at Arginusae in 406 B.C. At the end of the war he was sent as general to Thrace, but was recalled by the Ephians before he had arrived there. He disregarded their orders; and sentence of death was recorded against him at Sparta. After holding Byzantium for a time, he took service with Cyrus. — *ἔργα*: his seizure and execution by Tissaphernes, *Xen. Anab.* II. 6. 29.

§ 98. τσαῦτα καὶ τηλικάυτα] with *περὶ ὧν*: 'so great, that if I were speaking of them'. The sentence, as commented, should have gone thus: *περὶ ὧν, εἰ εἴθε... ἐπαινεῖσθαι, καὶ ἂν ἔλεγε ἄλλος, ἐπιθῆναι... ἀναγγεῖν, ἀδύνατον καὶ παράλογον ἔσθαι ἀρεσκῆναι*. But with *περὶ αἷ ἂν ἀναγγεῖσθαι* a fresh departure is taken. The expected *ἀδύνατον ἔσθαι... ἀρεσκῆναι* is broken up into *αἰ μὴ δύνασθαι καὶ ἀρεσκῆναι, εἰ ἄλλος... ἀρεσκῆναι ἔδωκεν*, thus forming an independent conditional sentence on a new plan.

142

§ 99. τούτου πατῆρ] Artaxerxes II. [Mnemon] reigned 405—359 B.C. (*Clinton F. H.* II. p. 181, c. 181. *καταπύματα* is incorrect: he gained no great military success over the Greeks. But Greek ill-will and Persian money combined to bring him his political victory over Athens and Sparta in the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — *ἄλλος*: Artaxerxes III. (Ochus): 359—339 B.C. Isocr. writes in 346 B.C.

§ 100. ὁ μὲν οὗτος δέ] 'The former king [Artaxerxes Mnemon] received the surrender of all Asia under the Treaty; the present king [Artax. Ochus], so far from being careless of extending his dominion, is not master even of the cities which were surrendered to him'. Note the use, *ἐκδοθέντα*, whereas in *Panegyri* § 176, p. 181, we have *ἐκδοθέντων* of the same cities, when the king was still master of them. — *ἰσχυροῖς*, correlative of *ἐκδοθέντα*: see *Panegyri*, § 169, note, p. 313. — *συνθήκαις*: for the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, see *Panegyri*, § 176, note, p. 314. — *ἄλλα τωσούτων ἂν [αὐτῷ] ἄρχων*: cp. *Lys. In Eratosth.*, § 17, *οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδόθησε κρηθῆναι καὶ ἀπαρνεύεσθαι* *Πλάτ. Ἄλκυ.* 80 B. *τὰλλαν ἄνω κραταυροῦσθαι: αὐτοῖς*, *Lysis* 204 B.

τούτων αὐτῶν ἀφιστάσθαι] 'that the king has abandoned them [*ἄλλοι... ἄνω*] from cowardice, or that they have conceived disdain and contempt for the barbarian authority'

[Περσικαί, the Persian suzerainty over Greek cities with municipal self-government]; i.e. these cities could not be more practically independent than they are if Persia had given them up, or if they had revolted from Persia.

§ 101. τὰ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν χώραν] The state of Persia is the next topic. This passage, to the end of § 101, is parallel to *Panegy.* §§ 160—166 (pp. 127 ff.).

Ἀίγυπτος ἀφίστηκει] was in revolt: κατ' ἐπίστασιν τοῦ βασιλέως, in the days of the late king's prosperity after the Peace of Antalcidas: see note on *Panegy.* § 161, p. 309. This revolt prob. began earlier than 385 B.C.

καὶ τῆς διὰ τον ποταμὸν δυσχωρίας, κ.τ.λ.] At the same time [*cf. supra* Δίλ., *Panegy.* § 172, note] the Egyptians were afraid lest the king should some day make an expedition against them in person, and become master of the difficult passage over the river, as well as of their defences generally. — ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δυσχωρία, the passage of the Nile at Pelusium, on the e. frontier of Egypt. When Cambyses invaded Egypt in 525 B.C. he approached by way of Cadytis (Gaza), obtaining safe guidance through the desert from 'the King of the Arabians' (Her. iii. 4), i.e. from some powerful sheikh, who also provided a supply of water for the three days' passage of the desert. Psammenitus, with his army, awaited the Persians at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and was there routed by Cambyses, who next besieged and took Memphis (Her. iii. 10—13). *Δυσχωρία*, here, suggests the desert by which the Nile is approached from the e.

γίνε δ' οὗτος, κ.τ.λ.] The chronology of the revolt, spoken of here as not yet subdued, is uncertain. Schafer (*Herodot. u. seine Zeit*, i. 456 ff.) thinks that Artabanus Ochaë made three expeditions against Egypt, viz. (1) on the occasion noticed, but without date, by *Diod.* xvi. 40. (2) In the winter of 351—350 B.C., when Nectanebus II. was assisted by Psophantus and Lamias: *Diod.* xiv. 48: *op. loc. cit.* *op. loc. cit.* § 8. This would be the expedition alluded to here, when the king was ignominiously repulsed. (3) In 340 B.C., when Egypt was reconquered, the king again commanding in person. See Thirlwall, c. 48, Vol. vi. p. 187 n.; Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. ii. Append. c. 18.—*Attic Orators*, ii. 172, note 4.

§ 102. Κύπρον Φοινίκην Κιλικίαν] See on *Panegy.* § 161, p. 309. *τοτε μὲν ἔτι περὶ τούτων* is accurate only if we suppose Xerxes to speak of a moment soon after the Peace of Antalcidas in 387 B.C. The war between Persia and Evagoras of Salamis began prob. in 385 B.C. In 380 B.C. Cyprus and Cilicia had revolted and Phœnicia had been ravaged.

142 § 103. Ἰδριεῖα] *Idrieus*, second son of Hecataëmus [*Panegy.* § 102, note, p. 916] succeeded his sister Artemisia as dynast of Caria in 351 B.C., and reigned till 344 B.C. On the chronology of the *Orator* compare Clinton *F. H.* ii. Append. c. 14 (*Attic Orators*, ii. 173).

ἡ πάντων ἀτυχία] 'this he would be the most fortunate of men'—*εὐτυχία*, most devoid of natural affection: *τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, see *ἀδελφία*, 'which illustrated his brother' Mausolus. Liricus, Mausolus and Artemisia were the three children of Hecataëmus. Artemisia married her own brother Mausolus, dynast of Caria from about 377 to 353 B.C. He seems to have died a natural death: *Διὸς*, *ὕψ.* 36 *ὕψ.* *παύση* *τελευτήσασκε*: but he had taken part in the revolt of the satraps from Artaxerxes Mnémon (362 B.C., *Diod.* xv. 90) and may have suffered imprisonment.—*πολεμήσασκε πρὸς αὐτόν*: Idrieus became his vassal as a boy subject of Artaxerxes Ochus, but he may have thrown off his allegiance later, for Dem. witnesses to him as τὸν Κῆρα who had seized Chios, Cos and Rhodes (*De Pace* § 25).

§ 104 Θεραπεύειν] 'to cheer his favour', alluding esp. to the fact that, soon after his accession in 351 B.C., Idrieus responded to a demand of Artaxerxes Ochus by sending 40 triremes and 2000 mercenaries against Cyprus: *Diod.* xvi. 42.—*ἀναπλεμεν*—from the seaboard to the Persian coast.

ἡ ὑπόσχη κατέλευσεν] 'If you remember *Slam Liberty*, well word abroad over the face of Asia that name, which had no sooner sounded in the ears of Greece than it destroyed our empire, as also the empire of Sparta'. The 'liberation of the Greeks' from Achaemenid tyranny was the watchword of Sparta in the Peloponnesian War: see esp. the speech of Brasidas in *Thuc.* iv. 86. The oppression of the cities by the Spartan oligarchies was the cause which chiefly discredited and at last ruined the Spartan *ἡγεμονία*: see *Isoer. Panegy.* § 64, τὴν Πλάταιαν κατέλευσεν (i.e. to the general Epaminondas, who set up the democracies).

VIII. ΠΛΑΤΑΙΚΟΣ (Or. iv.)—The revolution of 379 B.C. at Thebes had been a blow to Spartan influence throughout Hellas, and especially in Boeotia. Agesilaus in 378 and 377, Cleombrotus in 376 and 375, had invaded Boeotia without gaining any advantage. By the end of 376 the oligarchies supported by Sparta had been abolished in all the Boeotian towns except Orchomenos; and the Boeotian Confederacy, with Thebes at its head, had been reconstituted.

After its destruction in 427 B.C. Plataea had been left *ἀναία* till 372, when it was rebuilt by Sparta as a stronghold

against Thebes. Out all from Spartan support. Plataea had come (377 or 376 B.C.) into the Boeotian Confederacy; but, like Thespieae and Tanagra (p. 39), had joined it unwillingly. The chief fall of most other towns at this time from the Boeotian Confederacy was more than voluntary, in the case of Thespieae, Tanagra and Plataea, by hatred of Thebes. Diodorus states that the Plataeans secretly offered their town to Athens. At any rate the alarm felt at Plataea was so great that it was only on the days of public assemblies at Thebes that the men ventured to go into the fields, leaving their wives and children within the walls.

On one of these days a Theban force under the Boeotarch Neocles surprised Plataea, in the latter half of 373 B.C. The town was destroyed, and the territory was again annexed to Thebes. The inhabitants, with such property as they could carry, sought refuge, like their ancestors in 427, at Athens. Their case was discussed first, not merely in the Ecclesia, but in the congress of the allies (see § 24), Cleisthenes being the foremost advocate of Plataea, at Epaminondas at Thebes. It was not till 338, after Chaeronea, that Plataea was restored, this time through the agency of Philip, as formerly through the enmity of Sparta, towards Thebes.

The speech of Isocrates is supposed to be spoken by a Plataean before the Ecclesia; and there is nothing in the matter as form of the speech itself to make it improbable that it was actually so delivered. The date is 373 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, II. 176 f.

Peroration: §§ 56—63.

§ 56. ὑπερὶ ἅπας τὰς (κελευσάτω) : 'Wherefore we supplicate you all to give us back our land and our city'. ὑπερὶ ἅπας (*neut.*), in the name of the miseries which have been set forth (§§ 46—55). The town of Plataea had been wholly, or in great part, destroyed, and the territory had been annexed to Thebes. The object of the appeal is to obtain the assistance of Athens in restoring the town and recovering the land. ἅπας: all of you: in allusion to the fact that the Plataeans had some ties with Athens through marriage: § 51, ταῖς μὲν εἰσολαῖς ἅπαντες οἰκεῖοι, τῇ δὲ σιτηγενεῖα τὸ πλεῖστος ἡμῶν: 'we are all your kinsmen in heart, and most of us in blood'.

περικεῖν παρόντας | not to me and me crushed by sorrows 144
 even beyond those which have been mentioned'. — *καταρῆναι*,
 100. παρὰ τὰς ἐπ. *Attic Orators*, II. 176 f. ἀποκαταστήσει, 100.

§ 57. **μόνοι**] 'And you, above all the Greeks, owe us this great office, that you should succour us when we have been made homeless', *οἱ μόνι ἀπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ὑμῶν δεόμεθα* (not as implying that *no other* Greeks ought to pity them): cp. Soph. *O. C.* 260, *οἱ γὰρ γ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ βέλτερον πάντας ἄλλους, μόνους δὲ τῶν ἀποστραφέντων ἔσονται* | ἀπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ὑμῶν.

τοῦτον τὸν ἔρανον] (1) The primary notion of *ἐρανος* seems to be 'a putting together', 'a collection' (of money): from *ῥα*, with the fundamental idea of motion towards a goal which is attained: see Curt. *Gr. E.* 488. (2) Then *ἐρανος* = 'a subscription' (whichever for a picnic or opp. to an *ἀδελφία*, as in *Od.* i. 220, or for any other purpose). (3) Then figuratively, a *contribution* or *offering* to a cause: Thuc. ii. 43, *ἐλλογῶν ἕρανον κατὰ πεινυρίας*. 'laying on the city the tribute of their lives'. Cp. [Dica.] *In Aristot.* i. § 22, 'everything that each man among us does by injunction of the law is his *contribution* (*ἐρανος*) as a citizen of the Commonwealth'. At Athens there were organised societies which, as well as the subscriptions paid to them, were called *ἐραναί*. Some of these were private clubs for social purposes; others, associations for mutual relief in case of need, with collecting officers, *πληρωταί*: Dem. *In Mid.* § 184. Cp. Theophr. *Char.* i. τὰς ἀναγκαζόμενας ἢ ἐρανοφύλακας, 'applicants for a loan or a subscription'.

ἀνασπάτους] 'homeless': lit. 'forced to leave'. Used by Isocr. either of a ruined town, *Panegy.* § 98, *ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀνασπάται γυναιδῶν*—Athens sacked by the Persians; or a desolate house, *ἀνασπάτος οἶκος*, *Arch.* § 66, or a ravaged country, *Ἰταλὶα ἀνασπάται*, *Panegy.* § 102, or a population made homeless, *ὀρόρους ἀνασπάτους*, *ib.* § 108.

ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ] 'For they say that when, in the Persian War, your fathers had quitted this land [*Athens*], our ancestors were the only people north of the Tiberians who shared their dangers and helped them to recover their city'. Isocr. is thinking here of the fact that the Plataeans (with the Tegeans) were the only Greeks who joined with the Athenians in meeting the Persians at Marathon: cp. Thuc. iii. 54. But, as *ἀνασπάται* and *σπασθέντων* show, he has confused this with the crisis of the later invasion, when Athens was vainly besieged by the Persians: first under Xerxes, in the autumn of 480 B.C., secondly under Mardonius in the early summer of 479. Similarly in *Panegy.* § 94 he supposes that the Persian offers which the Athenians rejected were made by Xerxes in 480 B.C. They were really made by Mardonius in 479. Cp. Grote v. 147.

ἤνπερ ὑπάρξαντες] Dem. *F. L.* § 280, καὶ τὰς ἀεργίας ἀεὶ ἔπαιται εἰς ἡμᾶς: *Lysias* or. *vac.* § 25, εἴματα τὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπεργασίας, a fact illustrated by our former services to you. —τελλόμενοι ἐκείναις, we are in the position of having lost ourselves: 'which we ourselves were (in fact) the first to render'.

§ 58. εἰ δ' οὖν] If, however': *F. ac.* marking the descent from the greater to the lesser claim, as often the return from a parenthesis: c.g. *Dem.* *Ag.* 34. *Her.* vi. 76: *cp.* my note on *Soph. Ai.* 28.—πεπορθμένην: see on παθόντας, § 56.

σημεῖα καταλείπεται] in which abide the greatest witnesses to the heroism of Athenians and of those who fought by their side' [at Plataea, 479 B.C.]: viz. (1) the tombs of those who fell in the hands of Plataea, at which yearly honours were paid: (2) the festival of the Ἐλευσίαια, or Liberation, held once in every four years. Thus in 58 (Plataeans to Spartan judges), λέγεται γυναικῶν ὑμῶν τὰς πατρῶν τάφους, 'addresses you by the tombs of your fathers'. *Plot. Aristot.* 21, εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἐν Πλαταιῶν καὶ ἐκείναις ἡμεῖς καὶ τῆν Ἑλλάδα προσέχουσιν καὶ δεύουσι, ἔγνωσαν δὲ πιστάστρατος ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἐλευθερίων.

§ 59. Θεβαῖοι] 'The Thebans naturally wish to destroy these (τὰ σημεῖα) since the monuments of these achievements are their shame'. In *Thuc.* iii. 62 the Theban speakers seek to excuse the robbery of their fathers on the ground that (in 480 B.C.) the Theban government was neither a democracy nor yet an ἀγαθὸν εὐνοῦμεν, but merely a δημοτικὸν ἄδελφον. 'The Theban people, and the Boeotians generally, with the exception of Thebes and Plataea, seem to have had little sentiment on either side, and to have followed passively the inspirations of their leaders': *Grote* v. 104.

ἔξ ἱεάνων, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if you swing to these winds that you aspired the leadership of Greece'. *Thuc.* i. 95 (478 B.C.), καὶ τὰ ἑλλὰς ἑλλήνων ἕρπυον (at the invitation of Pausanias) καὶ οὐκ ἔδεισαν εἰς ἴσον καὶ θεοὺς καὶ πατῶν τιμῶν ἀεικλιμέναν φασίτωντες τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας σφῶν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ συγγενές, κ.τ.λ.

§ 60. ἱεάνων τὸν τόπον] Plataea and the vicinity: *Thuc.* ii. 71 (Plataeans to Aristodemus, 479 B.C.), ἀποστῆναι τὰ θεοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἱεῖα καὶ τὰς (after the battle in 479 B.C.) γυναικῶν προσέχουσιν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτάχων πατρῶν καὶ ἐπιτάχων ἑχθρῶν λέγομεν ὑμῖν τὴν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν.

οἷς καλλιερωσάμενοι] When Pausanias offered assistance before the battle of Plataea, the terms were at first unfavourable; but when at last he looked towards the temple of

the Plataean Hera, and invoked her, *αἰτίαι μετὰ τῶν εἰρηνῶν, ἐγείρεται θεοθέουσι τὰ σφάλματα χυμῶτα*: Her. iii. 62. The Mædonians, on the other hand, *ὡς ἔπειτα τοῦ πλείους ἀποδείξαι* (satisfactory) *γενέσθαι*, *ib.* 44, 45.

- 145 *χρῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν προγόνων, κ.τ.λ.*] 'You must take some thought, too, for your ancestors, and avoid an incidental neglect [*παρολιθῆσαι*] of your duty to them also: for what would be their feelings—if indeed the departed [*τῶν ὄντων*] have any consciousness of what passes on earth—supposing they should become aware that, by your deed, those who stood to be the barbarian's slaves were being set as masters over their brethren,—while we, who fight the fight of freedom, have, along of the Greeks, been made homeless,—that the tombs of those who shared their perils are deprived of the due honours, because there are none to render them,—while the Thebans, who stood in the ranks of the enemy, are loots of the best?' The *προγόνων* invoked are not merely the Athenians who fell at Plataea, but the Athenians generally who were contemporary with the Persian Wars.—*παρολιθῆσαι*: cp. Her. *ib.* 40, 41, § 175. *ὡς ἔπειτα τοῦ πλείους ἀποδείξαι ὡς γενέσθαι*, 'feeling best I should be valued as an incident of their rule': cp. *Is. Mid.* § 116, *παρολιθῆσαι* 'has incidentally become a victim' (to Meidias, whose *principal* victim was Demosthenes).

§ 61. *τάφους, κ.τ.λ.*] Cp. the Plataean appeal to the Spartan judges (*Thuc.* iii. 57): *ὡς ἀπείρατε ποιεῖτε καὶ χεῖρα τῶν Πλαταιῶν θεοθέουσι παρέτετε, τί ἄλλο ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ οὐκ ἀλλοίως (their jurisdiction) παύσαι τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ὡς ἔγγιστον ἀπίστους γερῶν (=τῶν νομιζομένων here) ἂν εἶν ἰσχύουσι καταλείψετε;*

§ 62. *Λακεδαιμονίων*] Addressed to the destruction of Plataea in 427 B.C.—*Θηβαίους χαρίζομενοι*: so the Plataeans say, *Thuc.* iii. 53, *δέδωκεν μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες* (*i.e.* for the gratification of the Thebans) *ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν* (a pre-judged case) *καθιστώμεθα*.

βλασφημίαι, ἔσ. 3. 1 (*ὅσον οὐκ ἐπισημαίνε'*: cp. *Is.* *Nymph.* § 11, *καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ποιεῖτε καὶ κατακαταστῆσθε τὴν δημοκρατίαν γενομένης*.—*ἔλησθε*: 'do not espouse their violence, to the loss of your present repute' (for *ἐπιείκεια*).

§ 63. *ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς συνιδόντας*] 'See you mine encompassed in your own survey those points also which I have recalled,—you must think first of the oaths and compacte concluded with the Plataeans by the Greeks in 490 B.C., next of our friendship with you, and of Theban enmity,—and so give the righteous sentence in our cause'.—*συνιδόντας*: cp. *Nicochl.* § 17, note.

IX. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ. [Or. viii.]—On the Peace. 146

Like the *επιτομή*, this is a polished pamphlet with the form of a deliberative speech. In 357 B.C. Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium revolted from Athens. The Second War was concluded about 355 B.C. by a treaty which secured the independence of the seceding states. The Speech on the Peace was probably written while negotiations for peace were pending, i.e. in the first half of 355 B.C.

The leaders of the War Party—esp. Chares and the orator Aristophon of Assos—are the *οὐκ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνθρωποι* whom Demosthenes has vigorously attacked. Athens, he urges, must resign her pretensions to foreign domination (ἐξουσίᾳ), and be content with the *ἐπιτομή* (ἐπιτομή) of a free B.C. The following passage is his censure on the corrupt public men of the day.

§§ 121—131.

§ 121. ἐν ἀδύνατον] 'It is impossible these things—*the desire of an ambitious foreign policy, as illustrated by the experience of Athens and Sparta, §§ 74—120.*

τῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου δευαστ.] 'the master of the platform' (in the Ecclesia): 'the ear of the House'. Cp. *Philipp.* § 81. δεύαστης—τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καλυδομένοις, note, p. 320.

προήγαγον] Cp. *Panegy.* § 174, note, p. 314.

§ 122. ἃ καὶ πάντων. κ. λ.] 'And, just for that reason, nothing is more surprising than that you elect', etc. ἃ, acc. referring to the whole preceding statement, lit. 'and as to these things' (like *quod* before *si* and *nisi*): cp. Thuc. ii. 40 § 3, διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τοιούτων τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ἧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν, ἐλλογίζεσθαι· ὃ [acc., as to which thing] αἰσῶμαι] 'we shall have to elect such things as are the most surprising'. δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.

προχειρίζεσθε.] 'elect', lit. 'make ready for your election': cp. [Dem.] *In Aristog.* i. § 13, ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς κατατάττοντάς με (designating) καὶ προχειριζομένους ἐπὶ τῆν τοῦτον κατηγορίαν.

§ 123. ἐπὶ μὲν ἰσχυρῶν] 'in their time'—i.e. when they were in the ascendant: cp. *Philipp.* § 95, δεκαρχίας τὰς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, note, p. 325.

δὲς ἤδη καταλ.] 'As the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., and the Thirty in 404 B.C.' Cp. Lysias or. xxxiv. § 1, p. 52.

τὰς φηγάς. κ. λ.] 'and that the exiles who were sent into banishment in the time of the tyranny (the Four Hundred) and in the time of the Thirty, were restored, not through the

mercenary adventurers, but through those who hate such men'. — φῶς ἴσ' ἀπελάσσειας φεγμίας ἀπελάσσειας. — τὰς τιμῶνας would more naturally mean the *Peisistratidae*: but ἐκ ἀλλοτρῶν χρόνῳ, with *δὲ*, excludes that view.

147 § 124. ἐκατέρων] i.e. the supporters of an imperial policy (*ἀρχή*), and its opponents.

οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν] 'nor are jealous' — with a righteous jealousy or envy: cp. the use of *φθίσεω* in *Panath.* § 184, note, p. 317.

§ 125. δασμολογεῖ] 'levies impost': as invidious means of despoiling the collection of the *εὐτερεῖα* as the tribute of the allies (ἀλλοεὶ) was emphatically called under the revived Athenian Confederacy. Cp. *Panath.* § 152, γὰρ... τῶν ἑργῶν ἐπιχορῆσι πολλὸ ἀλλοεὶ ἢ τοῖς ἡγεῖσται δασμολογεῖν. So *δασμοφορεῖν*, Aesch. *Pers.* 586.

οἷς δ' οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀγαθόν] 'while men who began with no property... those, on the other hand (i.e. in *ἀγαθόν*), have been ruined from a low estate to wealth, through our folly': a common topic of accusation against the demagogues, and often probably a *façon* one. Cp. *Lysias* or. xix. § 48, speaking of the *δασμοφορεῖα* (condemned to death by the oligarchs in 405 *π. μ.*), τῶν ἐπιχορηγῶν χερσὶν ἀπὸ πτωχῶν ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀποθανόντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδαμοῦ δῆλα τὰ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐπὶ χερσὶν καὶ αἰσθησάμενοι, παρ' οὗ κατέλιπον (his legates), ὁμολογουμένως πένητές εἰσι.

§ 126. Περικλῆς δημαγωγός] 'Pericles, who succeeded such men as these in the leadership of the people'. Thus, uses *δημαγ.* only in iv. 21, Κλέων... ἀνὴρ δημαγωγός... καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος, where it has not necessarily a bad sense: cp. what he says of Pericles, ii. 65, οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε. *Lysias* or. xxvii. § 10, καίτοι οὐ ταῦτα ἀγαθῶν ὑπομαχοῦσιν ἔστι· τὸ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἐπιπέσειν ἐπισημασθέντων. Isocr. has the word again in *Panath.* § 148, Πεισιστράτου... ὃς δημαγωγὸς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν λημνόμενος καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς ὄντας ἐκβαλὼν, τελευτῶν τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσε, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *Helen. Encom.* § 37 (of Theseus), τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσὶν αἰδομένη, τῇ μὲν ἐξουσία τυραννῶν, αἰδῶσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα κἄν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδείξει, — placed in authority above the laws, but leading the people by acts of kindness'. Plato never uses the word. In *Asia*, the bad sense is used, πικρῶς, κ. μ. *Πολίτ.* viii (v) 11, § 12 (the *βασιλευς* is popular both as demagogue and legislator), παρὰ οὗ κατέλιπον τὸν δῆμον ἢ δημαγωγῶν (ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ), παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ταπεινοὶ βασιλεύουσι.

πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων] meaning e.g. Cleon, Hyperbolicus, Cleonymus, and, among contemporaries, esp. Aristarchus of Assos. In this speech Isoc. distinguishes practically three stages of Athenian state-manship: (1) the state before Athens was imperial—represented by Aristides, Miltiades, Themistocles, § 75; (2) the best period of the empire—under Pericles; (3) the period of its decline, and then of federated democracy, represented by the *πονηροὶ δημαγωγοί* (§ 129).

ἐλάττω κατέλιπεν] Thuc. ii. 65, ἡμίτερον διέφερεν ἀπὸ ῥόγατος γενόμενος. Cp. Plat. *Gorg.* 515 n, ταῖσι γὰρ ἐγὼ λέω, Περικλῆς τεταπεινωτὸν ἄσπευκτον ἄγγεον καὶ ἐλάττω ἐπὶ Ἀθήναις καὶ φιλομαγοῦσιν, εἰς ἀποθέσειαν πρῶτον καταστῆσαι: but even his enemies admitted his personal probity.

εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν] i.e. to the Treasury, the ἀποθήκη, or chamber at the back of the Parthenon (Hesych., i. 515), ἵερὰ τὰ Ἀκροπόλεως δόματα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ δόματα ἀπέκρυτε χρῆματα, schol. Lucian *Tim.* 53. See Thuc. ii. 13, where Pericles tells the Athenians that they have (1) 600 talents a year from the tribute of the allies; (2) 6000 talents (about £1,400,000) in money ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει,—the greatest total having been 9700; (3) γὰρ τὰ δόματα (miscellany) καὶ ἀργύριον in sacred offerings, vessels, etc., to the value of 500 talents. Cp. Grote vi. 165.

§ 127. τὰ ἀμελούμενα, ἤξι(σαν) : these neglected affairs, 148 however, (financial, — τὰ ἴδια αἰεὶ, their private fortunes,) are found to have increased in a measure for which Isocrates (i.e. in the early days of their poverty, § 126) they would not have presumed even to pray to the gods'.—τὴν ἐπίδοσιν: see on ἐπίδοσις, *Evag.* § 48, note, p. 291.—οὐδ' ἂν εἴξασθαι: cp. *Panegy.* § 182, εὐχῆς ἄξια, note, p. 317.

§ 128. οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ] *οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ* are the two classes of the *πολιταί*: *οἱ μὲν* are the very poor, who suffer positive want: *οἱ δέ*, the *σοφιστικῶς πτωχοί*, who are oppressed by public burdens.

πενίας ἐνδείας] their narrow circumstances and their privations: for the phrase, cp. *Isoc.* § 290, οὐκ ἀνεύχεται, note, p. 303.—πρὸς σφᾶς αἰρούς, 'to themselves', i.e. 'among themselves'—αἰεὶ, that they find no sympathy from their so-called patrons, the *δημαγωγοί*.

τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσταγμάτων καὶ τῶν λατ.] : the number of arbitrary imposts and of public services: *προσταγματα*, lit. 'dictates' (cp. *Panegy.* § 179, *προσταγματα καὶ πρὸς τινος φέρας*, p. 132), i.e. special taxes imposed at the will of the demagogues, and, in general, extraordinary demands on the citizen's purse or labour: *λατογραφία*, the arbitrary

regular services (cf. *ἔργων καὶ λειτουργῶν*, Dem. *In Mid.* § 21) for the festivals—*γῆρογὰ, γυμναστικά, κτλ.*—but including the triarchy, which is indicated by *τὰ πρὸς τὰς συμμορίας*. The *λειτουργία* may be classified as (1) 'recurring' or annual, *ἔργων*; (2) periodic at longer intervals, as the sacred missions, *θεωρίαι*, in the great festivals; (3) extraordinary; e.g. missions to the Delphic oracle, and the triarchy. See my note on Theophrastus *Char.* xxix. (=xxvi.) p. 227.

τὰ κακὰ τὰ π. τ. συμμορίας ἀντιδόσεις 'the vexations of the Navy (wards and) Exchanges of property'. The duty of a triarch was to maintain in efficiency, for one year, a trireme found, rigged, and manned by the State (Dem. *In Mid.* § 150),—the average cost being about 2900 (1600 + 1300) s.c. the triarchy had been discharged by one person, or by two persons jointly. In 368 b.c. the 1200 richest citizens were divided into 20 *ἀντιδόσεις* 'partnerships', 'associations' of 60 each, for the division of the burden, i.e. a company (*ἐπιτελείαι*) cons. of 15, jointly defraying the cost of each trireme. This plan proved fatal to the poorer cons. as the original triarchic had been based on the rich. Demosth. or xlv. *περὶ συμμοριῶν* points this out (351 b.c., the year after this speech of Isocr.). A subsequent reform (340 b.c.) distributed the burden *ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας* property, at the rate of one trireme to about 2200 of taxable capital. (Cf. my note on Theophrast. *Char.* xxv. =xxii. p. 253.)—*ἀντιδόσεις*: challenges to exchange properties with the person on whom a *λειτουργία* had been laid, or else to relieve him of it: see introd. to Isocr. *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως*, above, p. 299.

§ 129. *συνεῖδαν* 'cons. ἅπασαν τὴν γνώσιν' (i.e. comprehending in one view all that you know): cp. *Nicoles* § 17, note, p. 284: *Plataicus* § 63, p. 332.

ῥητόρων 'Theor. ἡντ τῶν ῥητόρων, -always of the regular speakers in the Ecclesia, and always in a more or less unfavourable sense: iii. 40, vi. 29, viii. 1. Cp. Isocr. *Panathenaisus*, § 12, πάντες ἴσασι τῶν μὲν ῥητόρων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐπιτελεῖται ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποπέσει τῶν ῥητόρων, δημογοριῶν τολμῶντας. *Philipp.* § 81, p. 136, μήτε στρατηγός... μήτε ῥητωρ... μήτε δυνάστης.

τῆν πάλαιον ἔστας 'as to the sale of the Commonwealth and of its best advisers'—opp. to *ὑφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι*, servile to the demagogues.

§ 130. (*ἰσαγγελίαις—γραφαῖς—σκολοφαντίαις*) 'the impositions (for offences more directly against the State), the indictments, and, generally, the vexatious proceedings of which they are the instruments'. Cp. *Lysias Pro Mantith.* § 12, p. 59, οὔτε δίκην αἰσχρὰν οὔτε γραφήν οὔτε ἰσαγγελίαν.

X. ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ. [Or. vi.]—At the beginning of 366 B.C. 149 Sparta, Athens, Corinth and the smaller states dependent on Corinth, as Epidaurus and Phlius, were allied, and were at war with Thebes and her allies, of whom the chief was Argos. But in that year the treacherous attempt of Athens to seize Corinth gave the Corinthians a sense of insecurity and a desire for peace. They accordingly sent envoys to Thebes, asking on what terms peace would be granted to the allies. The Thebans prescribed, as one condition of peace, the recognition of the independence of Messene, the new state founded by Epaminondas in 370. A congress met at Sparta. The Spartans refused to recognise the independence of Messene; and accordingly remained, with Athens, at war against Thebes. The Corinthians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, and probably some other small states, accepted the condition, and made peace on their own account, B.C. 366: see § 91.

The *Archidamios* is in the form of a deliberative speech. It purports to be spoken in 366 B.C., by Archidamios III., son of the king Agisilaos, during a debate at Sparta on the Theban proposal. There seems no reason to doubt that the speech was written in 366 B.C., either just before or soon after the actual decision of the question. It may have been composed in the first instance as an exercise; yet, as discussing a question of contemporary politics from the point of view which a large party at Sparta must really have taken, it claims to be considered as something more. Isocrates probably sent it to Archidamios,—not, of course, for delivery, but as a proof of sympathy with the Spartan policy.—*Attic Orators*, II. 193 f.

§§ 52—57.

§ 52. Ὠν ἐνθυμουμένους] Remembering the examples of recovery from apparently hopeless disaster—Dionysius of Syracuse, when he was on the point of abandoning his city to the Carthaginians (394 B.C.)—Amyntas II. of Macedon when compelled by the Illyrians to evacuate Pella (393 B.C.)—and Thebes, lately at the mercy of Sparta, and now the foremost State in Greece (§§ 40—51).

προπετῶς...ὁμολογίας] 'commit yourselves with headlong haste to shameful terms'.—*πραπέτως*: cp. *Πρωτόγ.* § 90, p. 102, τῶν Κίμωνος *πραπέτεια*.—*ὁμολογίας*: the articles requiring Sparta to recognise the independence of Messene.

ἢ τῶν ἄλλων] 'pursuing a less spirited policy in the defence of our own country than in the cause of others'—*e.g.* of the Chians, the Syracusans, the Amphipolitans.

εἰ βοηθήσειεν... ἂν ὠμολογείτο] 'whenever a Lacedæmonian—were it but one—went to the rescue of an allied city under siege, it used to be allowed on all hands that the deliverance of the community was his work'.—ἂν ὠμολογείτο, expressing a customary action; so, though more rarely, with *οὐκ.*, Thuc. vii. 71, *ὄ τανν ἔθρον. ἀπερίσπυτος* &c.: Goodwin § 30. 2.—*παρὰ τοῦτον*, 'all along of him', *i.e.* indirectly the work of his spirit and example, even where it was not due to his personal effort.

παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων] 'The greater number of such names may be heard from the elder men among us, but even I can recount the most famous of them'. The speaker, *Ἀρτέμιδου*, was now (366 B.C.) about 35 years of age (*ἡλικίης* &c. § 1: see note in *Attic Orators*, ii. 195). He means,—'though I am too young to remember these men, as my elders can, I am still familiar with their deeds'. *παρὰ τῶν πρεσβ.*, κ.τ.λ., is a reminder that the days of Spartan heroism are within living memory.

§ 53. Πεδάρτος] When Chios revolted from Athens in 412 B.C., Pedaritus was posted there as Spartan governor—Thuc. viii. 28. Soon afterwards the Athenians set about fortifying Delphinion, a promontory on the E. coast, *ib.* 38. Pedaritus—who received no support from the Spartan fleet at Rhodes under Astyochus—attacked Delphinion with a small force. He was defeated and slain, Thuc. viii. 55. The words here, then—*ὡς τις εἰσπλέεται γὰρ πόλις ἕδωκε*—convey an inaccurate impression. Pedaritus did, indeed, hold out in Chios for a year, but his command ended disastrously.—*Attic Orators*, ii. 198.

Βρασιδίας] The majority in Amphipolis were loyal to Athens—and it was only by offering the most favourable terms that he enticed the place to capitulate (423 B.C.): *Oratio* vi. 572. Thuc. iv. 106.—*ἐπέκει* at the battle of Amphipolis (422 B.C.), in which both Brasidas and Cleon were killed.—*ἀλιγνός*: Brasidas made his rally against the retreating Athenians with a more harmful of men,—*ἀναβέβαιον. πενήτην τε καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀπλίτας*, Thuc. v. 8.—*τῶν πολιορκουμένων*: not inhabitants of Amphipolis, as the phrase suggests, but the Peloponnesian troops shut up in it: Thuc. *l.c.*

150 Γόλιππος] Nisius having omitted to invest Syracuse in 415 B.C., Gylippus was able to enter it in 414, and in 413 crushed the Athenian force in the last sea-fight. *ὡς αὐτὸν τὸ κέρτοςον αὐτῶν*, *i.e.* ἡ ἐκράτει, the Athenian force which was overmastering the Syracuseans—*καταστῆναι* which, alone, they could not overcome—*ὡς ἐπὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.*, with *ἕδωκε*, alluding to (1) the

sea-fight, (2) the defeat and surrender of the force retreating by land: Thuc. vii. 70, 84.

§ 54. τότε μὲν ἕκαστον νυνὶ δὲ πάντας] 'that, whereas in those days the individual Spartan was capable of guarding foreign cities, now the Spartans collectively should not even attempt to preserve their own land'. τότε μὲν ἕκαστος διεφύλαττε—νυνὶ δὲ πάντες εἰδὲ πειρᾶσθαι: when such a contrast is to be expressed in dependence on a comment, such as αἰσχρὸν ἔσται, the regular Greek idiom *correlative* the clauses, turning διεφύλαττε as well as πειρᾶσθαι into the infin. A modern composer would be apt to write (e.g.) αἰσχρὸν ἔσται, ἀπὸ τότε ἕκαστος διεφύλαττε, νυνὶ πάντας μὴδὲ πειρᾶσθαι.

§ 55. ἑτέρας μὲν πόλεις] Alluding to such cases as those of Sicyonia, Mytilene, Melos, all of which might be said, in some sense, to have suffered ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναί. ἀρχῆς, in the cause of Spartan against Athenian ascendancy.

ἀδηφαγούντων] 'eating their heads off': Plut. 9. 23 ἐφ' ἧς καὶ ἀδηφαγούσας Σικωνίαν καὶ ἀδηφαγούσας Μυτιλήνην (from the Old Comedy), Meineke. *Com. Græc.* p. 145. Cp. καθέλωται, Aesch. *Ag.* 1641, ἅπτε ἀκροῦσθαι ἐπὶ στρατῶν, II. vi. 506.

οὕτω] 'so fitting to ἄσπετος, i.e. αὐτῶς πειρᾶσθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰετῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπυγῶν (πυλῶνται ἢ πυλῶντο ἄν), 'to make peace on conditions fit only for those who', etc.

§ 56. σχετιώτατον] 'most intimate': cp. *Philipp.* § 103, p. 105, σχετιώτατος, 'most intimate': cp. Xen. § 55, ἄλλως ἢ δόξα καὶ σχετῆς πύσθησι, 'unusually and usual things'.

φιλοπονώτατοι] 'most industrious': referring to the military and athletic exercises of the Spartans. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* v [viii] 4. § 4, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν φιλοπονοῦσιν, ὑπερῶντα τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων καὶ τῶν καλλισθῶν ἀγῶνι λαμπρότατος ἀίθερος. Isocr. or. I. § 40, πειρῶ τῶ μὲν σώματι εἶναι φιλόπονος, τῆ δὲ εὐχῆ φιλόπονος. Hist. of *Atticorgr.* vol. viii p. 399, το φιλοπονοῦν εἶναι, *Ermit.* viii. § 5, ἕκαστος ἀγῶνι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἀγῶνι κατακρίσθησι ἄλλως ἢ τῶν τῆ κοινότητι καὶ τῆ φιλοπονοῦν τῶν χρησίμων εὐρίσκοντας.

ὧν καὶ ποιήσασθαι, &c.] 'worthy of any [and] mention': Thuc. I. 15, κατὰ τῶν δὲ πόλεων, ὅτις τις καὶ ἄλλως (101) φασὶν ποιήσασθαι, αἰετῶν ἀγῶνι: II. 48, οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πόλεων τῶν ἑτέρων ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον.

ἀπαξ ἤττηθέντες] by the Thebans under Epaminondas at Leuctra, 371 B.C.: cp. § 10 of this speech. *ὁ δὲ ἀπρωτότατος τι τῶν ἐστέμων αἰτῶν, βραχίστους τὰς Θηβαίων ἀλαφροίας καὶ πολλὸν σικυρότερον πρόπανον τοῦ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.*

μᾶς εἰσβολῆς] At this time (366 B.C.) Epaminondas had thrice invaded the *Peloponnese*—in 370, 369, 367 B.C. But he had invaded *Laconia* only once—in 370 B.C. The next invasion of Laconia occurred shortly before the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.

151 πῶς δ' ἂν ἀνταρκέσειαν] 'And how should such men [*i.e.* those who succumb to a single reverse] hold out against prolonged ill fortune?' *ἀνταρκέσειαν* implies *ἀνταρκεία*, but is in close connection with *ἀνταρκέσειαν*.

§ 57. Μεσσηνίων] 'Who would not reproach us, if, when the Messonians stood a siege of twenty years in defence of this territory, we should resign it so hastily under a treaty?' The *πελοπόννησος* is the siege of Ithome in the first Messonian War, 743—723 B.C., acc. to the legendary chronology. Cp. § 27 *ἀπὸ πελοποννήσου ἔδωκε μέλλουσι κατακτείναι*, they propose to restore Messenia after the lapse of 400 years: where *κατακτείναι* would agree better with the common tradition that the Second Messonian War ended, and the conquest of the country by Sparta was completed, about 688 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, II. 197—9.

καὶ μηδὲ τῶν προγ. μνησθῆμεν] 'and should not even mention our ancestors'—*i.e.* should not once recall their laborious conquest of Messenia:—not 'remember', which would be *μνησόμεθα* (or *μνηθήμεθα*).

XI. ΑΡΕΟΠΗΓΗΤΙΚΟΣ. [Or. VII.]—As a picture of the older Athenian Democracy this discourse supplements the *Πανελληνικός*. The latter describes the external relations of Athens in her great days; the *Areopagitikos*, the inner life.

In this speech Isocrates contrasts the Athenian Democracy as it existed in the middle of the 4th century B.C. with the Democracy of Solon and of Cleisthenes (p. 16). He dwells chiefly on two features of the older Democracy:—1. the preference of election (*ἐλέξις*) to ballot (*κλήροτος*) in the appointment of State officers, pp. 22 ff.; 2. the supervision of public morals exercised by the Council of the Areopagus: pp. 26—28. It is owing to the prominence of the latter topic that the speech has been called *Areopagitikos*. It is cast in a deliberate form. Isocrates expresses himself to have given notice in writing to the *prytanes* of an intention to speak 'On

the Safety of Athens' ($\mu\epsilon\tau\iota\ \sigma\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\eta\sigma\ \alpha\theta\eta\eta\omega\upsilon$, § 1. 15); and to be now urging in the ecclesia, as absolutely necessary to the welfare of the city, the restoration of commercial power to the Areopagus (cp. § 84). Like the *De Pace* (Oz. viii.), this speech was not delivered, or meant for delivery, in the Assembly. The deliberative form was adopted merely for the sake of giving greater life and impressiveness to the pleading.

The date is to be inferred from five indications:—(1) There was now peace on the frontiers of Attica ($\tau\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \tau\omega\ \chi\alpha\sigma\mu\omega$), and a confident sense of security at Athens, § 1–3: (2) The Athenians had 'lost all the cities in Thrace' (§ 9): (3) had spent more than 1000 talents on mercenaries, (4) had got a bad name in Hellas and incurred the enmity of Persia, § 10: (5) had been forced 'to save the friends of the Thebans' and to lose their own allies. The latter half of 375 B.C. is the date to which these indications seem to point. (See *Attic Orators*, ii. 262 f., where the question of the date is examined in detail.)

The powers exercised by the Areopagus before the reforms of Ephialtes were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. The definite powers were: 1. A limited criminal jurisdiction: 2. the supreme direction of religious worship, especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were: 1. A general supervision of all magistracies and lawcourts: 2. a general guardianship of the laws, with the right of protest (though not of veto) when proposed new laws conflicted with old: 3. a general control of the education of the young: 4. a general censorship of public words: 5. competence to assume, in emergencies of the State, a dictatorial authority.

The definite powers of the Areopagus were never at any time taken from it. But Ephialtes abolished almost wholly the indefinite powers. It is for the revival of these, especially of (3) and (4)—that Isocrates is anxious. While it possessed these, the Areopagus had been the strongest influence, though mainly a negative influence, in the State: it had been able to impress a conservative character upon the whole civic body. Deprived of these, it was merely a criminal court of narrow competence. Its connection with what was most venerable in the old religion, and the high standing of its individual members, still secured to it, indeed, a large measure of respect. Isocrates speaks of the good influence which, even in his own day, wrought on those who became members of the college. But politically the Areopagus was now powerless. The plea of Isocrates for a restoration of its strength is strikingly illustrated by the protest of Anaxagoras against its disfranchisement. It is not on any well-defined function, but rather on those prerogatives

which, being vague, were boundless, that orator and poet alike insist:—

Here, on the Hill of Ares,
Once seat and camp of Amazons who came
In anger against Theseus, and defied
From their new ramparts his acropolis,
And poured blood unto Ares, where is now
The hill, the rock of Ares—in this place
Ave kin to dread shall hold the citizens
From sinning in the darkness or the light,
While their own voices do not change the laws.

* * * * *

This Court, majestic, incorruptible,
Instant in anger, over those who sleep
The sleepless watcher of my land I set.

Attic Orators, II. 202: 211.

§§ 36—55.

§ 36. γεγενημένος] I believe this to be the true reading, and not γηγενέας (= αἰ ἐγγεγενεσθαι, adopted by Bunsen from the Urbino ms.), because the perf. better expresses the feeling of Isocr. that this glorious chapter of Athenian history was closed. The πρῶτοι are the political and social life of Athens under the Old Democracy, and before the rule of the demagogues. Isocr. would date the latter from the death of Pericles—regarding the administration of Pericles as a transitional period, in which the deterioration, moral and political, was mitigated by the personal qualities of the leader; see esp. *The First* § 126, p. 109, Περικλῆς ἄριστος τῶν πατρίων γέγονε αἰε φρονούσαν...ἔτι δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευομένην, κ.τ.λ.

καλῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'were so happy in their relations to each other [i.e. in their social and private life], and in their administration of the Commonwealth'. Cp. *Thuc.* II. 37, ἀπολαύοντες δὲ τὰ θεῶν προσημασμέναι τὰ δημόσια διὰ θεῶν μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν.

σαφέστερον] For the form cp. note on *Prosegr.* § 163, ἰρρωμενιστέρως, p. 311.

§ 37. ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἢ παῖδες ὄντες] 'The preceptors of the young Athenian's studies in that age were, indeed, numerous; but it did not follow that, when he entered on man's estate, he was allowed to do as he pleased, rather he was subject to stricter supervision just in the years of his prime than during his boyhood'. *Allegorically*, the sentence would be: ἐν μὲν

ταῖς παιδείαις πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπιστ. ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ διαιμαρτέοντες, κ.τ.λ. Thus the whole in brackets: *ποῖα εἰς*: and we have the negative form. This is due to the Greek love of symmetrical antithesis, and therefore of *co-ordinated* rather than *subordinated* clauses. Cp. *Archidamus* § 54, *τοὺς αἰγὶ κ.τ.λ.*, note, p. 339.

πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπιστ.] *ε.γ.* παιδαγωγός, παιδαγωγός (teacher of grammar), γραμματέβ, διδάσκαλος, ἀρχισκώβ (chief-master, etc.): after the use of 17, the *ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἐρωτῶν* or *παρηγορητής* (=the Spartan παιδαγωγός): *Herm. Ant.* iii. § 34. 6, § 35. 18.

εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθ.] At 18 the *ἐρωτῶν* (ἐκ παιδῶν ἐχθρῶν) passed his *δοκιμασία* as such: at 20, his *δοκιμασία εἰς ἀλῆναι* (ἀλῆναι εἶναι δοκιμασθέναι, εἰς κἀλῆναι ἐγγυηθέναι): *Herm. Ant.* i. § 121. — *ἐν αἰσὶν ταῖς ἀκαῖς*, i.e. just in those years of early manhood when passion is strongest: cp. *Antid.* § 289, p. 123, *ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀκαῖς ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσῶν τὰς ἡλικίας ἐκ αἰσῶν πλεονεκτήσῃ αἰσὶν ἐπιπορευόμεναι*.

τὴν σωφροσύνην — τῆς ἐκοσμίας) 'sobriety' — 'decorum', 152
Cp. *Archid.* *In ceteris* § 2 (he refers to Solon's regulations *πρὸς ἀρχαῖαν ἀσπιδίαν*): the oldest citizen was to speak first, *καθόλου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ παρεῖλον ἕνα ἀργύρου καὶ παραχρῆ*. *Dem. F. L.* § 251. *ἔφυ τῶν Σάλων ἀνακρίσθαι τὸν τῶν τοῦ ἐμμογγοῦσθαι καὶ ἀνακρίσθαι παλαιόγῃα*. *ὅταν τὸν χεῖρα ἔχουσα ἀνακρίσθαι* (with his class drawn round him, and his hand within the folds). See *Attic Orators*, i. 25.

ἧς τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι) 'membership of which (ἴε, α. τῆν ἐκ' Ἀσπίος πρὸς ἀσπιδίαν) was possible only for the well born'. If *καλῶς γεγονόσι* is present, this is true only of the pre-Solonian time when the *Ἀσπιδίαν* was confined to the Hippotrides: since Solon's reforms opened the archonship to the Pentakontomedimni, and most archons (unless rejected at their election on being shown *εἰσῆσι*) 'went up' to the *Ἀσπιδίαν*. *Herm. Ant.* i. § 109; Grote iii. 162. But no such clear distinction is present to Isoc's mind, who is thinking only of the broad contrast between the old aristocratic Republic and the later Democracy. *καλῶς γεγονόσι* cannot be explained as merely = *καθαρῶς γεγ.*, 'of pure Attic parentage'.

συνεδρίων) 'assemblies'—a general term: cp. *Nicoles* § 19, p. 75: *Antid.* § 38, *αἰεὶ ἐκ τῶν συνεδρίων* (Boule or Ekklesia) *αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακρίσεις* (preliminary law proceedings before the archon) *αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς συντάξεις*.

§ 38. τῶν περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν, κ.τ.λ.) 'when the safeguards of election and of scrutiny have fallen into neglect'. In § 22 Isoc. had said that the Athenians of *γοῦν φέρει τὴν πᾶν, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀπάντων τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐφροῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βελτιστοῖς καὶ*

τοῖς ἰκανωτέτοις ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων προκρίνοντες: and goes on to speak of the risk run by τὸ λαγχαίνειν and ἡ ἀλαλασει (ballot for office). The substitution of ballot (ἀλαλασει) for election (ἀλασει), in the case of the nine archons, prob. dated from Cleisthenes. The στρατηγία, at least, and the ταμίαι (steward of the Treasury) always remained ἀλασει. As regards most other offices, ballot was prob. substituted for ἀλασει about 478 B.C. But the term ἀλασει, in its general sense, included ἀλαλασει as well as ἀλασει in the special sense (χρημασειά): so κτασθαι ἀλαλασει. Lucian *Tit. Anst.* 6. Here Isocr. is thinking of ballot as a mischievous substitute for χρημασειά: but the word ἀλασει prob. merely 'mode of selection'—ἐπιλογησι, the scrutiny, before the βουλῆ, of those who had drawn the lot to be archons: including, here, the idea of the ἀλογία on retirement also.

ἀναβῶσιν] Cp. *Plat. Pericl.* 9, δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ (τῶν ἀρχῶν) καὶ δεκτικότεροι δέονται εἰς Ἄρειαν παρὰ τῆσθε (which was ἡ δὲ βουλῆ): below, § 46, ἀνήγον.

τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι] 'to indulge their propensities'.

φόβον—ἐν τῷ τόπῳ] Cp. *Asch. Evagor.* 664, πέται παρὰ τ' Ἄρειαν: ἐν δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἄττω φόβον τοῖς ζυγγοῦσι τὸ καὶ ἀποκείν | σχήσει, κ.τ.λ.

§ 39. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀλλήλων] 'Such then, as I have said (§ 37), was the Council to which they committed the care of legal order: a Council which deemed those men prominent who suppose that the best characters are possessed in the communities whose laws are framed with the greatest precision: since (they felt) there was nothing to hinder all Greeks being on the same level, so far as concerns the facility of obtaining written codes from each other'.—the *σοφιστῶν*... ἐπέσι (cp. *Iys. or. xiii.* § 13, note, p. 263): the *σοφιστῶν* of *βουλῆ* helping to personify the influence.—ἐπαίνοι, εἰς τούτοις, succeeded, to παρ' οἷς.—κείμενοι, = perf. pass. of τίθημι: cp. ὑπεκκείμενα, *Asch.* § 18, p. 158.—ἐγγαίῳ ἐγγραμματεῖ εἰσῆ.—ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθύνη, ὑψίστη either of ἐκ εὐθύνης (nothing could hinder, whereas something does), or εὐθύνη δὲ (could conceivably hinder): better taken as representing the latter.

§ 40. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παιδεύσιν] 'But in fact (the Council knew) it is not by such things that virtue is promoted, but by the pursuits of daily life: since most men retain the impress of the particular habits in which they have been educated'. παιδεύσιν fr. *νεύσι* for παιδεύσιν, in spite of εὐθύνη, on which the whole sentence discourse depends: cp. *Georg.* § 71. 1.—ἐπιτηδεύματων: *Thuc.* ii. 37, τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτ.: cp. *Antiph. Tetr.* B. β. § 10, note, p. 206.

ἐπεὶ τὰ γε πλῆθη . ἀναγκάζ.] 'For the number and precision of the laws (the Council held) is a sign that the city in which they exist [ταῖσιν] is ill administered; since it is in the attempt [πειρῶν, part.] to erect barriers against crime that such a community [πόλις] is compelled to multiply its laws'. ἀνάγκη—ἀναγκάσαι: for the plur. see *Antid.* § 283, note, p. 303.—εὐνοῦτος, of the legislator who is bound by his laws: τῶνδε, of one who legislates only for others: κείνων, of the laws themselves. Debono cp. Tac. iii. 27, *corruptissimum re publica plurimae leges*.

§ 41. τὰς στοὰς ἔμπιπλ. γραμμάτων] 'to cover the walls of their porticoes with statutes'; *Andoc. De Myst.* § 85, ἐβασίλευσαν αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς εἰμῶν, τοῖς δὲ κίρμασιν ἀλέγχεσθαι εἰς τὰς στοὰς (i.e. the στοὰ βασιλειῶν in the Agora). The φωνήεντα cited there directs, τοῖς δὲ κίρμασιν τὰς εἰμῶν ἀαγγεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς στοὰς, ἵνα τὰ πλείονα ἀγγεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς τῶ βασιλειῶν. So here ἀναγκάζει ἀναγγελλόμενος—'posted up', 'promulgated', in strict terms.

καὶ τοῖς ἀπλῶς κειμένοις] 'even those laws which are couched in simple terms'—opp. to ἐμπιπλ., i.e. with less attempt to define rigorously a number of special cases. Cp. *Lysias In Theomn.* § 7, note.

§ 42. δι' ὧν—ἐξ ὧν] διὰ—'by what means':—ἐξ—'on [starting from] what principles'. παρασκευασμένοι, 'contrived', often in a bad sense, of intrigues: cp. *Lys. In Agor.* § 12, p. 79, ἐκείνῳ δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες.

τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας] 'but that to press for retribution is the province of personal resentment': i.e. the affair of the injured. Cp. *Lysias In Demosth.* § 2, πρῶτον αὐτὸ γὰρ θεῖο τῆς τιμῆς τοῖς ἀδικησάντων ἀπιθῆναι, κ.τ.λ., where see note.

§ 43. παραχυδίστατα διακ.] 'subject to the most unruly passions': cp. § 37, note on εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖν.

ἐν μόνοις εὐνοῦτοις] 'for to such citizens only (sc. τῶν τὰς εἰμῶν ἐχούσιν), those laws, would those be constant, who had received a liberal education and learned to cherish a high spirit'. εὐνοῦτοι εἰ, oblique of εὐνοῦτος εἰ.—For μεγαλαυχεῖν we ought perhaps to read ἀγαθὸν φρονεῖν. *Isocr.* has ἀγαθὸν φρονεῖν in seven passages: ii. 11. § 30: iii. 96 35, 39: iv. §§ 81, 132: v. § 46: x. § 30; but μεγαλαυχεῖν only here. The only other place in a classical writer where μεγαλαυχεῖν has strong nos. authority is Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 2. § 39, where Collet would read ἀγαθὸν φρονεῖν, and O. Sappire gives μεγαλὰ φρονεῖν. In *Plat. Protag.* 322 v, and *Aristoteles* p. 104 v, it is merely an ill-attested variant. In later writers, εὐνοῦτος (Thomas Pöhlz

III. 114 seems to condemn it altogether, *αργαλοῦσιν* is not rare: *cf.* Plat. *Alcibi.* 30, Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 7. 3, *Adrian Vesp. Hist.* iii. 22. *Cr. Collet N. L.* 269, 340, 643, *Lobeck Ai.* 443.

§ 44. ἀνωμάλως ἔχοντας] 'owing to the disparity of their circumstances': τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνωμάλου εἰςίας: *cf.* § 45 *ἰσὺν ἰκανὸν κεκτημένους*.

τὰς γεωργίας. *κ.τ.λ.*] Note the six plurals: see *Attid.* § 283, note.

τὰς ἀπορίας μὲν. *κ.τ.λ.*] This form of εἰσιμὰ ὑπερβαία, *αερεσιμὸς* was originally called ἐπιπρᾶξις, *arsuere*: *cf.* *Dem. F. L.* § 179, *οὐκ εἶπτε ἀπὸ ταύτῃ, οὐκ ἐγγράφα ἢ καὶ ἐγγράφα οὐκ, οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυστα ἢ. κ.τ.λ.* *Cr. Pse. Herm.* 40, 27. 75, *tu certe luxuriose creatur; ex luxuria existat avaritia necesse est; ex avaritia consistat auidia*, etc. *Valkmann, Rhod. Gr. and Rom.* II. 403.

§ 45. ἀπαλλάξεν] that they would draw away [the youth, τοὺς νεωτέρους].

τὰ γυμνάσια—τὰ κυνηγέσια] not here 'the gymnasiarché', but 'athletic exercises': Plat. *Lachus* 181 a, *ὅσο ἴσθλος μάχησθαι* is good for young men] εἰδήσει γὰρ τὰς γεωμετρίας φιλοπόνησεν καὶ ἑλάττω τούτω ἔχει, καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόβωτον ἀλλήλα τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπὶ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἵππων—τὰ κυνηγέσια: *cf.* the kind of ἀσκήσιον καὶ τὸν ἀσκησθῆναι, *In Alcibi.* § 255, τίσι καὶ εἴσι μὲν ἀσκησθῆναι τῷ Δημοσθένει: πότερον ἐπὶ ἀσκησθῆναι ἢ οἱ σιγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ; ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸ ὑπερβαίνει καὶ ἴσθλος ἀσκησθῆναι... ἀσκησθῆναι.

ὀρῶντες] 'seeing that by these means [ταύταις] some are made excellent men, and others are led to abstinence from pleasures', ἀπεχομένους, *midd.*

§ 46. οὐδὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον] 'neither did they neglect the [citizen's] later years', i. e. they continued to watch over his adult life, as they had already watched over his boyhood and youth (§ 37).

κόμας δῆμονας] 'taking the city by wards (κόμας) and the country by *ἐνομοίηται*, they continued to supervise each man's life': *ἐκλόμους* not necessarily implying that they were the authors of such a division, but only that they took this division as the basis of their systematic inspection. (*Cr.* *Lys. In First* § 7, p. 66, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκλόμων—κόμας* [πόλις], wards or quarters of the town at Athens prob. merely local divisions, without any further political significance, *Horn. Ant.* I. § 11. 11, the word *πόλις*, preserving a reminiscence of the time before the process described by *Thuc.* II. 15. See *Attid. Post.* III. 6. *de Hellenismos* [as in *Laocleasmon*] *κόμας*

τὰς περιουσίας ἐλάθην φασίν, Ἀσπυγίαι δὲ θήματα. — The division into θήματα (μαζαί) was ascribed to Themistocles, and was at least much older than Cleisthenes. Plato, *Legg.* 756 c. has φασί τριας καὶ θήματα καὶ κώμας, where, however, κώμας may be 'villages'. Isocr. seems to be the only writer who names the city κώμας, as parallel with the country θήματα: cp. Herod., *Asp.* l. § 111. 4.

ἀνῆγον] Cp. § 38, ἀναβῶσι, note.

ἐνουθέτει — ἠπέλει — ἐκόλαξεν] 'admonished' (for a first of offence): 'threatened' (for repeated offences): 'punished' (the contumacious).

δύο τρόποι] 'for they knew that there are in fact (τετραχρονιστοῖ) two systems, one of which impels men to wrong-doing, while the other deters them from evil courses': οἱ καὶ προσεγγίζετε καὶ παύετε — which *respectively* impel or deter. For τὰς ἀδικίας and τὰς ποικυρῶν, where the anaphora required opposites, cp. Antiph., *De Cuck. Her.* § 67, note, p. 216.

§ 47. παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὰς κακοηθείας] The infinitives ἀδικεῖν 155 ἀδικεῖσθαι, γινώσκειν ἀδικεῖν depend on ἠγασμένοι: cp. § 40—42 (depending on ἐνοήθη § 39). — Observe the double μὲν in the protasis (παρ' οἷς μὲν, τὰ δὲ τούτοις μὲν) balanced by the double δέ in the apodosis (ὅταν δέ, ἐπειδὴ δέ). Cp. *De Pace* § 55, οἱ μὲν γὰρ — πεισθῆναι χρεῖσθαι, τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἀπείθεον χρεῖσθαι. — οἱ δ' ἀδικεῖν δὲ πεισθῆναι, τούτοις δὲ — ἀπείθεσθαι.

ἔξιτήλους γίνεσθαι] 'malicious tendencies gradually disappear'. So *Philipp.* § 60, εἴπερ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπίδηλον εἶναι τὰς σταφύλας τὰς δὲ ἐπίδηλον τὰς πύργους (the Πυρροποικίαν) ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγγυροσθέναι, 'have not even yet been effaced'. Cp. Xen., *Mem.* 10. 3, εἰ — πικροφρονεῖς ἐπιδήλον γίνεσθαι ἀγαθῶς εἶναι, 'if I were to say that animi [morally fading] qualities were real'.

ποσούτου ἔδειον λανθάνειν] Cp. *Philipp.* § 100, ποσούτου δέ... ἄρχειν, note.

τοὺς ἐπιδόξους ἀμαρτήσεσθαι] καὶ, 'those who were meditating an offence', καὶ, 'those on whose part an offence was apprehended'. For this use, cp. Isocr., *Archid.* iv. § 6, τὰς ἐπιδόξους διαφθαλεῖσθαι πραγματικῶς, 'the affairs which seemed likely to be ruined'. So *et. ex.* § 12, τὰς ἐπιδόξους γινώσκεισθαι παρῶς. In *Archidomus* § 8, ἐπίδηλον δὲ τυχὸν τῶν τιμῶν τούτων, the sense is, 'being *hinc* presumptuous to this dignity' (the Spartan kingship).

§ 48. σκιραφείους, κ.τ.λ.] 'zambing-houses': cp. *Aspid.* § 287, note. — ἐν τὰς ἀθήγραις, might simply 'among', but prob. — 'in their part of the town', — ἐν τοῖς ἀθήγραις (Athen. xii. 532). Cp. Κεραεῖς as the name of a district or deme, Plat. *Prot.* 315 d.

ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθησαν] 'were constant to the pursuits to which they had been appointed' (by the paternal authority of the Areiopagus): cp. above § 44. οὕτως ἐκάστους προσητάτων. Each man was given his *τάξις*, his place in the ordered life of the city.

σωφροσύνης] 'sobriety' (of demeanour): see on τῆν σωφροσύνην, § 37.

§ 49. ἐν καπηλείῳ] 'in a tavern'. καπηλεύς ὁ μεταβάλλας [read μεταβάλλει, *Imperfect*] καὶ ἀνομιλῆς, *Ephem. M.* 499. *Athen. p.* 506 E. Ἐπιπέδου δὲ τῷ κατὰ Παιτριολογίας τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους φησὶν ἀνομιλῆσιν τεταρτὴν ἐν καπηλείῳ καλεῖσθαι ἀνομιλίαν ἐν Ἀριστοτέλει. Cp. *Plato, Legg.* 918 E, πάντα τὰ πρὸ τῆν καπηλείων καὶ ἐμπορίων καὶ πωλοσίων (inn-keeping) γένη διαβήληται τε καὶ ἐν ἀσχροῖς γέγονεν δνειδεσιν.

βωμολοχεύεσθαι] 'buffoonery': cp. *Antid.* § 284. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ βωμολοχευομένοις καὶ ἐκείτων καὶ ποιεῖσθαι θνασάτους εἴφους καλοῦσιν, and note, p. 304.

εὐτραπέλους] 'And indeed [*Id.*, 'again',—to say nothing of positive βωμολοχίαι] the proficient in reports and jest who are now called wits were then thought warnings': εἴφους—δυσταχεῖς, a παρακωστής (cp. *Pseudo-Plat.* § 186, φησὶν... ἀέσασθαι, note, p. 318). *Arist. Eth.* II. 7. § 13, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ψῆν τὸ αἰετὸν ἐν παιδείῳ (playfulness) ἢ μὲν αἰετὸν εὐτραπέλους... ἢ δ' (πρὸς τὴν βωμολοχίαν) ἢ δ' ἄλλοτερον ἄγχιονος τοῦ. *Eth.* IV. 8. § 10, ἢ ἀέσασθαι, εἰς τὸ ἐπιδέξασθαι εἰς εὐτραπέλους [ὡς εὐτραπέλους, *Id.* § 3: his mark is τὸ ἐμμελεῖν τρέξασθαι] λέγονται: ἢ δὲ βωμολοχίαν ἔτιον ἐστὶ τὸ γέλοῦν, the buffoon *cannot resist the temptation to raise a laugh* (even when the joke is *serious*, or will give pain): he differs from the εἴφους, *again*, in *jesting*, not for his own amusement, but for that of others (*Id.* III. 18). On the sense of εὐτραπέλαι in *Antid.* § 296, see note.

156 § 50. καταστάσει] 'this state of things' (not in a political sense, 'constitution').

τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸ ἡμῶν] alluding to the reforms of Ephialtes about a century before (429 B.C.), by which the powers of the Areiopagus were restricted: see introd.

§ 51. ἥς ἐπιστάτουσής] 'while that Council exercised a supervision—referring to its general moral supervision: cp. *Aesch. Eum.* 659, εἰδούτων ὑπερ | ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα.

δικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀσφορῶν] (private law-suits—(criminal) indictments) (ἐγκλημάτων ἀσφορῶν) γράφαι καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι—private law-suits. The first two being parallel with *πενίας*, the third with *πολέμων*.

§ 52. παρὰ δὲ τῶν] Cp. *Panegyrg.* § 82, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔπειτα πείθεται, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς αἰὲν εἶτε ἀμαρτάνεται Λύκιος. Particularly, Sym. p. 310, truly remarks that this use is peculiar to Isoc., among the *orators*, though not rare among other Attic prose-writers.—εἰ πάσχοιεν: they would say, ἐγαπῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ ταρχαίῳ.

τοιγάρτοι] 'Accordingly': the notion is, 'And so, sure enough'—as might have been expected from those precautions.

κατασκευάς] 'establishments'. Thuc. ii. 65, κατὰ κτήματα κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἀνδραγαθίας τε καὶ τελευτήσιν κατασκευάς ἐπαλαιώσεται. So Pericles speaks of the country-houses and lands as κτήματα καὶ ἐγκαλλώπιστα κτήματα, *ib.* 62. Demosthenes touches on the same topic in *Olynth.* iii. § 25 f., ὅςθ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος εὐδαιμόνιος ἔσται καὶ εὐφρόδω ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἥθει μέμενται, so consistent to a republican simplicity, that the house of Aristides or of Miltiades is ἡστέον, implying that it is still pointed out) no grander, *εὐμωρέω*, than the house of the ordinary citizen.

§ 53. τὰς θεωρίας] 'spectacles'—including sacred processions (προσκυταί, dramatic or musical contents (ἀγῶνες) at the festivals, etc. Cp. *Panegyrg.* § 45, (ἢ πάλιν Αἰθῶν) θεόμαστα κτήματα καὶ ἀλλοτρία κέντημα, τὰ μὲν τῶν θεοτόμων ἐπισημάνωσται, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην εἰδωλοποιήσται. For θεῖαμα, cp. *ib.* § 44, πᾶσι δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων θεομαστων ἥματα, (προσκυταί) that all come to see *them* (the athletes). So, too, *or.* xix. § 10, ὅτε θεωρίας ὅτε θεόματα (spectacles) εἴθ' ἄλλως ἔργων εἰδωμάτων χάρις ἄλλωθεν ἴδωμεν. On the other hand, in *or.* xvi. § 31, τὰς θεωρίας has the technical sense, a sacred mission (to a festival).

χορηγίας] 'rivalries in the equipment of choruses' (for the festivals). Lysias speaks of two such χορηγίας together costing about £200 (*or.* xix. § 42), and of another which cost about £120 (*or.* xvi. § 161). The ἀνελκυστήριον, or *wooden wheel*, is apt. *κατασκευασμένη*—*κατασκευασμένη* ἐν ἡλίῳ (a wooden wheel instead of a tripod); Theophr. xiii. c. xxv. in my ed., where see note p. 251.—ἐλαφροσύνη, 'forms of pretentiousness'.

ἔξ ὄντερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is by these tests [the everyday circumstances of the average citizen] that we must distinguish a solid prosperity from a social system of vulgar display': φανερῶς—the profuse ostentation on great occasions, combined with sordid meanness and misery in daily life.

§ 54. ὅταν (δη . . . οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν] 'When he sees many citizens drawing lots in person outside the law-courts for a doubtful chance of daily bread, while their dignity prompts them to feed any Greeks who will row their ships for them,—leading the dance in gold-spangled raiment, and passing the

winter in payments which I decline to describe'.—*in eis et*
ἐπιβόλων ἡλίωσι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν: the *ἐπιβόλων* would have
 been by attract. for *ἐ*.

κλήρουμένους] casting lots in the morning for employment
 as dicasts during the day: *πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων*. Because on this
 depended the fee, *πρὸς βόλον*.—*εἰδ' ἕξουσιν εἶτε μὴ*, (casting lots,
 to see) whether they are to have *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα* or not.—Every
 year 600 members of each *εὐλή* were chosen *ἡλιασταὶ* by lot,
 thus constituting a body of 6000, of whom 1000 formed a
 reserve. The other 5000 were divided into 10 sections of 500
 each. On the morning of each day when the courts sat, lots
 were cast to determine which court should be assigned, for
 that day, to each section. In some cases only part of one
 section was employed; in others, two or more sections sat
 together,—the number of dicasts in a court ranging from 200
 to 1500 or even 2000. The courts were assigned by lots to the
 dicasts (*τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐπιεπινοουμένων*, *Dem. Adv. Pantæn.*
 § 39). Each dicast received a ticket (*εὐμβόλον*—not *πράξιον*,
 which denoted the tablet given to each of the 6000 heliasts of
 the year), and a staff, *βακτηρία*, of the colour which distin-
 guished the court in which he was to sit (*εὐμβόλος τῶ δικαστη-
 ρίου*, *schol. Ar. Vesp.* 1110). On presenting his ticket, he
 received his day's fee from the *εὐλακείας*.

All who 'drew lots before the law-courts' were *εὐμβόλοι*
 heliasts. The only uncertainty was as to whether they should
 be employed on that particular day. And this is the very
 point of the passage. The *δικαστῶν* in *ἐπιεπινοουμένων*
 had actually become the main-stay of citizens who were living
 from hand to mouth. Cp. *Isocr. De Pace* § 130, p. 109, *τοὺς*
ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἕδοντας: and *Antid.* § 152, where he says
 that he should have been ashamed 'if, having enough of his
 own to live on, he should stand in the way of those who were
 compelled to live by the law-courts (*ἐπιεπινοεῖν*) and to receive
 the dole of the state'. Hence the power of the *εὐλακείαι*,—
 the men who got up law-suits to enrich themselves and to
 make work for this hungry mob.

ἀξιούντας] in contrast with *ἀειροῖς*: the citizens, who *them-*
selves have to struggle for bread, are too proud to row their
 own ships. In the early years of the Peloponnesian War
 Athens employed *ἕνα ναυβάται* (*Thuc.* i. 121), but the com-
 manders (*εὐνομοῦντας*) and the hoplites on board (*ἐπιβάται*) were
 free citizens. When the soldiers were also the rowers (as in a
 rare emergency) they were called *ἀειρέται* (*Thuc.* iii. 18). The
Pentakosiomedimni and *Hippes* rarely served even as *ἐπιβάται*
(op. ib. 16). *Isocr.* is not complaining of the citizens for not
 serving as rowers: he merely notes the contrast between their
 penury and their sense of dignity.

χορείοντας—χαμάζοντας] A *παροικία*, like *είρηαις*—*ἑσπερίαι*, § 85. *Ἀσθίνων*, the part of the Middle County (flor. about 380—330 B.C.), was exactly contemporary with Isocr.; and, in the passage quoted by Athenæus III. 62, he thus describes the uncertainties of human life—

ἔστις ἐπιφύτας δὲ οὐκ
 ἀσφαλὲς τι στέλ' ἐπάσχειν τῷ βίῳ λογίζεσθαι
 τολίμων ἑαδύτησιν. ἢ γὰρ εἰσέσθαι τις ἕσπετα
 τὰ βόσκησ' ἢ βίβη τις πεπερημένον ἀνέλεον
 ἢ ἀναστῆσαι πικρὰν ἢ χαλεπὴν ἀσπίδα.
 ἰάντια χρὴσθαι παρασχῆναι τῷ χορῷ βίβος οὐρεῖ.

§ 55. *ταῖς ἐπιφύ. γὰρ ταῖς ἀντὶν ἐπιφύταις* 'by your pursuits' [the intellectual or physical exercises mentioned in § 45, as distinguished from the agricultural or commercial labours assigned to the poorer] 'and by the careful watch kept over them': *ἀσφά. τῶν κεντέων*, not *τῶν ἐπιφύτων*: the v. l. *ἀσφά.* would mean 'the care exercised by themselves' (the *Areopagites*).

ταῖς δὲ προεβούρ(τοις ταῖς ἡγεταῖς) *ἔσθαι* hardly taken as a time when the archons and other officers were chosen by *χερσικία*, not by *κλήρωσις*, since selection by lot destroyed the prerogative of age: see § 36, *τῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ.*

III. ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΙΚΟΝ [11. 218.]—The *ἑσπερίαι*—*ἑσπερίαι* 155 of Isocrates which are dated over a period of about 100 years, 380—330 B.C.—The second *ἑσπερίαι* (II) may be placed in 370, immediately after the restoration of the Isocratean, that *ἑσπερίαι* (I) is dated in 334, the speech *ἑσπερίαι* (III) in 334, the *ἑσπερίαι* (IV) and *ἑσπερίαι* (V) in the second half of 334 or early in 333.

In his later writings Isocrates nowhere recognises this phase of his own activity. He speaks with contempt of those who write for the law-courts, and emphatically claims it as his own merit that he does not do so. It has been justly said that the time of such passages which are allowed to stand in the *ἑσπερίαι* is surely that Isocrates had some notion of forensic speech. This statement is strongly supported by Isocrates, who concludes, in the *ἑσπερίαι* of *Κατακλιθεὶς*, the orator's pupil, that Isocrates among a certain number of such speakers, though not nearly so many as Aristotle had reported. The modern hypothesis that Isocrates composed the extant *ἑσπερίαι* merely as exercises, and not for real cases, is another attempt to reduce his later work. But these two witnesses hardly mean that Isocrates regarded his former work as the last-words of an ascending student of

his early life, previous to the beginning of his true career. Nowhere, he it observed, does he deny that he had written for the courts, or that, to use his own phrase, he had been a doll-maker before he became a Phidias. He only says that his *choice*, his real calling, lay in another direction.—*Attic Orators*, i. 7 f.

The *Aegineticus* is so called because the case to which it refers was tried in Aegina.—probably, to judge from the indications in §§ 18—20 and 36, at the end of 304 or early in 303 B.C. Thrasylochus, a citizen of Siphnos, one of the Cyclades, had at his death left his property to the speaker, whom he had previously adopted as his son. The speaker's right to the inheritance is disputed by a daughter of the testator; and the speech is in answer to her claim (*ἐπιδικαστικά*). The case is tried at Aegina, where the speaker had settled (*εὐνοεσκόπησεν*, § 24) before his death.—*Att. Or.* II. 217.

The narrative, of which the following passage is the chief part, is briefly as follows. The speaker's object is to show that the will is not only genuine, but also just and reasonable, since his own conduct towards the testator Thrasylochus had established a strong claim. In the first place he had saved the very property now in question. Thrasylochus and his brother Sopolis, citizens of Siphnos, had, for security, placed the greater part of their fortune in the neighbouring island of Paros. Paros was suddenly seized by a party of democratic exiles, Parians and Siphnians, led by one Pastonax. At the risk of his life, the speaker sailed by night to Paros, and carried the endangered property back to Siphnos. Presently the democratic masters of Paros attacked and took Siphnos itself. The speaker—whose family belonged to the aristocracy of the island, and had even given it kings—was among those who were forced to fly. He took with him, not only his own mother and sister, but Thrasylochus, who was then in weak health. The speaker and his family wished to remain at Melos. But Thrasylochus entreated them to accompany him to Troezen; and, though they knew the place to be unhealthy, they consented. The speaker's sister and mother died soon after their arrival. He afterwards nursed Thrasylochus through a long and distressing illness in Aegina. During that illness the half sister of Thrasylochus, who now claims his property, never once visited him; nor, on his death, did she attend his funeral (§§ 16—20).

§§ 18—27.

§ 18 καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ἴχαν] 'The whole story of the past would be long to tell: when, however, Pastonax seized

Paros, these [Theramylus and his brother Sopolis] happened to have the greater part of their property deposited there for safety in the hands of my Parian friends, as we believed that island to be more secure than any other. — see *παλινοί*: the early relations between the speaker and Theramylus, who had been friends from boyhood (§ 10). — Hence in 410 B.C. the oligarchy set up by Peisander during the rule of the Four Hundred was displaced by Theramylus, who established a democracy in its place (Grote viii. 139). The oligarchy was eventually restored in Paros, as elsewhere, after the final defeat of Athens in 405 B.C. From § 36 of this speech it is clear that the speaker belonged to the oligarchic party, and therefore that the exiles before whom he fled were democrats. The democratic revolution, led by the otherwise unknown Peisistratus, may have been encouraged by the blow dealt to Sparta — and at the same time to oligarchy throughout Hellas — by the victory of Corcyra at Cnidus in the autumn of 394 B.C. — *ἀποκλιθεὶς*, perf. pass. of *ἀποκλίνομαι*: cp. Thuc. i. 82, *ἀποκλιθεὶς εὐπείθετος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπιδόχων* [from Salamis, etc.] *καὶ γινώσκων καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀντιπρόσωπον*, viii. 41, *οὐκ ἀποκλιθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισίου*. — *ἀφ᾽ ἧντιν ἔφυγον*, i.e. Paros was most likely to resist an attack (showing that this was a time of general trouble) — as it had baffled Miltiades in 499 B.C., Her. vi. 102 f.

ἔξισκονσ' αὐτοῖς] conveyed their money for them out of Paros [back to the neighbouring island of Siphnos — a distance of about 20 miles].

§ 19. *ἔφρουρεῖτο*] 'for the coast (of Paros) was guarded, and some of our exiles [democrats expelled by the oligarchy of Siphnos] had helped to man Paros'. *συναστῆσαι*: cp. § 18, *εὐπείθετος*. See Xen. Cyr. iv. 2. 42, *τοὶ συστασάμενοι*, those who have helped us to take (the camp).

ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόχειρες γινόμενοι] 'killed with their own hands' (when Siphnos was subsequently taken, § 20). Cp. Isoc. Panegy. § 114, *οὐκ αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονεῖς τῶν παίδων*, 'the assassins and murderers'. *Archid.* § 150, *οἱ γὰρ αὐτόχειρες αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν γίνονται*. ' (the gods) do not cast mice either good or evil with their own hands to men' (but only implant the *εἴσοια* which leads to either).

§ 20. *φυγῆς ἡμῶν*] 'when we were compelled to fly from our island' (Siphnos, which the democratic exiles, masters of Paros, next attacked).

τῶν σφετέρων αἰτῶν] genit. of *αἰτίαι* *σφέτεροι* αἰτίαι, their own kinsfolk. Lycurg. Le. 1. 401, § 46, p. 88, *οἱ αὖτε γινώσκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν προσβύτας καταλιπόντες*.

οὐκ ἠγάπησα δὲ Δηνειθεῖην] 'was not content with the hope

of being able' [the historical form of οὐκ ἀγαπῶ οὐκ ἀνοήτῳ]. Cp. *Dem. Panath.* § 52, πρὸς ἀγαπῶν ἄκτιστος εἰ ἀγῶν ἔτι κἀκεῖ πάσχοιεν.—εἰδώς, 'although I knew'.

συνεξέκομισ' αὐτῷ. s. r. N.] 'I conveyed out of Siphnos, not only Thrasylochus, but also my mother, my sister and all our property'. Cp. § 23, τῶν ἀγῶν τῆν ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. From Melos (§ 21) they removed to Troezen. The speaker's mother and sister both died within 35 days after their arrival (§ 22). Thrasylochus had subsequently removed from Troezen to Argina (§ 24), and there fell into the illness of which—after more than a year—he died τὴν αὐτὴν πλείστα χρόνον ἐν 35 μῆνας, § 24).

159 § 21. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐρημένα περιέπεσον] 'Thus far, I have spoken of perils which, though they exposed me to risk, entailed no loss [viz. his voyage to Paros for the money, ἀποσκευασίας περὶ τῶν πλουτημάτων, § 18, and the escape from Siphnos]; but I can mention others by which, in obliging him, I brought the gravest afflictions on myself'.—ἀπέλαυνα: cp. § 23, ἀγῶν ἀπέλαυνα.

Μήλον] Melos is about 12 miles s.w.s. of Siphnos: from Melos it is a voyage of about 75 miles s.w. to Troezen on the coast of Argolis—just opposite the little island Calauria (where Demosthenes died—now *Ploos*, τῆλος, because the narrow strait can sometimes be forded).

μέλλοιμεν] 'that we intended'.—meaning the speaker, his mother and sister: so below, εἶδοξεν ἡμῖν.

καὶ ὅτι χωρὶς ἐμοῦ πράγμασιν] 'and (representing, λέγων) that, without me, he will be utterly helpless in his affairs'. He said, οὐκ ἔβη: the fut. opt. in classical Greek being used only to translate, after secondary tenses in *εὐτο* obloquā, a fut. indic. of the direct discourse: Goodwin § 26. In οὐκ ἔχω τί χρῆσαι ἢ χρῆσαι (deliberative *υἱ* *υἱ*) *ποῦ*, τί ἔβη ἢ ἔβηται ἔβηται (not *εὐ* *υἱ* *υἱ*), οὐκ ἔχω τί χρῆσαι χρῆσαι, I do not know what *εὐ* to make of this—what to do with it. The phrase is used colloquially to express helplessness or bewilderment. Hec. vi. 219, ἀποφασίαι δὲ μολύβδι δὲ τι χρῆσεται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι, not knowing what to make of the situation. Cp. Isocr. *Panath.* § 106, διαρρήδην γράψαντες κρήναι καὶ δὲ εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ πλουτημάτων, ὅσα ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποφασίαι δὲ τι χρῆσεται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι, not knowing what to make of the situation. Cp. Isocr. *Panath.* § 106, διαρρήδην γράψαντες κρήναι καὶ δὲ εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ πλουτημάτων, ὅσα ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποφασίαι δὲ τι χρῆσεται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι, whatever he pleased'.

§ 22. οὐκ ἐφθήμεν, καὶ ἀλήφθημεν] 'No sooner had we arrived, than we were seized'. Cp. *Panegy.* § 86, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐφθησαν πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον καλ...ῆμον. Isocr. καὶ ἑμῶν πύθουσι, οὐ καὶ οὐ ἐφθην, but in fact.

φθίσει, καὶ φθάσει. Thus, has ἵστη φθίσει and φθίσει; Χειρ, and Dem. φθάσει.

παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθον ἀποθανεῖν] 'I very nearly died'. In ποῖα βήματα (παρ' ἄλλοτερον, παρ' ἄλλον, παρὰ ταυτέρω, etc.) παρὰ = 'beside' in the sense of 'except': I came—*save for a certain measure*—to death: the infin. depending on παρὰ ποῖα βήματα ἀποθανεῖσθε. In Her. ix. 33, παρὰ τὸ πύλαιον ἔβρισε ποῖα ἄλλα πύλαια. ἔβρισε is rhetorical for ἔλασε: 'he missed the Olympic prize by nothing but a wrestling-match': i.e. he won two of the first four contests in the πύλαιον, but lost 'the old contest', the wrestling-match (πύλαιον). In Aeschyl. *In Orest.* § 258, παρὰ μίσην ἔλασε ἀποστραφῆναι: 'they all but put him to death'. μίσην is rhetorical for μικρὸν—there was *nothing* to spare.

τὴν οἰεσθε γνώμην ἔχειν . . .] 'what do you suppose my feelings were?' Cp. Soph. *Philoct.* 276, γὰρ τὸ, πέλας, ποῖος δ' ἔδεικται δούλις ἀνδρῶν ἀπώταται ἐξ ὅσων στρατα τῶν; Ionia. *Plutarch.* § 61, ποῖος δὲ διακρίσθη, κ.τ.λ., 'how would they feel?'

§ 23. ὅς ἦν] = οὗτος (or γνοῦσι) *factum*. Cp. Soph. *Electr.* 595, ποῖος κατερεῖ ἐξέστι σέ, | ἢ ποῖος ἦν γλαῖος, and my note on 592. For this causal use of the relative, see Goodwin § 65. 4.

μετοικεῖν στερεῖσθαι] 'live as an alien'. *Lyons In Xenoph.* § 20, p. 79, οἷον ἀλλοτὸν μετοικεῖσθαι ὡς περ ἀπὸ ἐπιδημιότητος, 'better resident aliens than (they were) citizens'. — (ταῖς) στερεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν [ἰσθῶν] 'separation from my friends' (in Sophocles) = *carere*, not *στερεῖσθαι*, *privari*.

τελευτώσας] Νεὶ τελευτώσασιν. He has related their death: 160 but now his thoughts go back to the month or more (§ 22) after the arrival at Treves, during which he saw them *dying*.

ἀπολλέουκα] Note the *metath.*, where ἀπέλασσα (§ 21) might have stood. It hints the speaker's confidence that the will cannot be upset. Cp. *Antisth.* § 296, p. 125, γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δύναμις ἀπολλέουθαι ἡδὲν ἔλκεν, ποῖος ἦν ἡ κατεῖληθευτοῦτος.

§ 24. ἠσθῆνυσε ταύτην τὴν νόσον ἐξ ἧς] 'took the illness of which he died': ταύτην, as opp. to the indisposition (ἀσθενία) from which he suffered at the time when they left Syriacus, § 20.—ἠσθῆνυσε— for the force of the aor., cp. ἔβρισε, ἐβασίλευσε, 'came to the throne'.

ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις, κ.τ.λ.] 'as perhaps no one ever yet tended another': οἷος οἶδ' ἀπεισπίστευσε αὐτῶν, (cp. *Lucian* on *Antisth.* *fortasse* ποῖος.) Eur. *Med.* 241, οἷος οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσασαι, πείσασθαι δὲ χρῆσθαι, i.e. 'perhaps I may not persuade him, but I must try': οἷος οἶδ' εἰ] ἔστιται αὐ] πείσασθαι δὲ. Cp. Goodwin § 42.

τὸν μὲν πλείστον, κ.τ.λ.] showing, in connection with τὴν μάστιγαν, that the illness lasted more than a year.

§ 25. τῶν συγγενῶν] 'And in this painful office not one of his relatives thought proper to bear a part; nay, not one of them even came to visit him, with the exception of his mother and sister, who only made matters worse, for they were ill when they came from Troezen, so that they required nursing themselves'. αἰδέσθαι ἑαυτῶν ἄλλ' αὐτ' ἀπέσταντο; ἄλλ' here = 'may', 'what is more': the commoner form would be, αἰδέσθαι, εἰς ὅπως ἑαυτῶν (not only did not), ἄλλ' αὐτ' ἀπέσταντο (but did not even . . .).—ἐπισκεψάμενοι. The Modern Greek for making a visit or call is ἐπισκέπτομαι, a visit ἐπισκέψη, a visiting-place ἐπισκεπτόμενος.

πλέον θάτερον ἐποίησαν] 'made matters worse'. ἄνεμον τὸ κακόν. Soph. Phil. 503, παθεῖν μὲν εἰ παθεῖν δεῖ θέλημα: O. C. 1413, τιποτα γ' ἐν τῇ λύπῃ καὶ τῇ φρονίᾳ χείτερον, that they should issue thus [i.e. happily] or otherwise. Dem. In Androt., § 12, ἢ καὶ πόσιον πρὸ πάλαι γέγονεν ἢ καὶ θνητὸν ἀγαθὸν ἢ θάτερον, ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ φλακῶν. Pind. Pyth. iii. 60, ἄνεμον ἔτασαν, where schol., ἢ κακώτερον, ὡς πρὸς (as contrasted with) τὴν ἀγαθότητα.

οὐκ ἀπέπων οὐδ' ἀπέστην, κ.τ.λ.] 'I did not lose heart, or desert my post'. Cp. Philipp., § 86, p. 137, οὐ μὲν ἀποστατέμεν ἑσπία, I must not desert from my task.—ἐνοσηλείῃ, 'nursed him, with the help of one attendant'. Anaxilus (Middle Comedy) Μάγειρος (Menek. Com. Frag. 501), εἰ σὺ λέγεις; ἐχθρῶν: εὐαερίαι (Melin. εὐαερίαι αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ εὐαερίαις δέμας: 'What! bread fish?' (instead of more solid food):—'what are you going to give your man!') εὐαερίαι, the care of the sick. Plat. Lycurg., 10, (a luxurious life) γέροντα καὶ νεωτέρους καθύπερρον ἡς δεομένην, in need, as it were, of daily nursing.

161 ἐκείνων θαυμάζεν, εἰ μὴ) cp. Ilys. st. κεννί, § 2, πῆλο, p. 240.

§ 26 ὃς ἔμπροσ] 'for he had long been suffering from disease': ἔμπροσ (τῶν), πρὶν γένεσθαι, ἔμπ. φέρον, the bustling heat of Euripides, Soph. Phil. 1378,—ὃς ἔμπροσθεν ἄνεμον φε, the casual use of the relative (Glossary § 65, 4, cp. above § 23): the antecedent is Therasylochus, the subj. of ἄνεμον.

§ 27. ταῖτ' οὐδένα χρόνον διέλιπεν] 'And all this went on without intermission': ἐπέσταν, intrins.: ἀόριστα χρόνα, accus. denoting duration of time, 'out for a moment'. Isocr. Panathen., § 8, ἀόριστα δεκάχροντα χρόνα διέκλιπέναι, 'I have never for a moment ceased to be afflicted'. ἀόριστα is said also of the interval which elapses, Thuc. iii. 74, ἀόριστος καιρός.

οὐδέ γὰρ ἀπὸλθῆν, κ.τ.λ.] 'for I could not even quit him without seeming neglectful,—a thing from which I shrank far more than from the troubles which beset me': i.e. he could not

and are to pain the sick man. — ἢ δυνάμει ἀπέλθεις, short for ἢ [ἢ
εἴτω. i.e. εἰ ἀπελθῶμαι, if I should go away] ἔθεις [supplied κατ'
ἐκκλίσειν from εἴτω εἰ ἦε] δυνάμει δύναιτο. I could not but seem
neglectful. The sentence = ἔθεις καὶ ἀπελθῶμαι. ἢ [ἢ εἰ δὲ καὶ] δυνάμει
δύναιτο. Cp. Thuc. ii, 65, εἴθε... οὐ φεύγοιεν τρεῖς πόνοι, ἢ [ἢ εἰ
δὲ μὴ ταῖς. If you do share them] μὴδὲ ταῖς τρεῖσι δυνάμει.

XIII. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙ. [Epist. v.]—In writing to Philip of Macedonia, who was not then at open war with Athens, Isocrates takes the opportunity of enclosing a letter to the young Alexander. Philip was in Thrace or the Chersonese from May, 342 B.C., to the latter part of 339 B.C.; and, at some time after his departure, appointed Alexander his regent in Macedonia. But, when this letter was written, that arrangement had not yet been made. Alexander, a boy of fourteen, is busy with his studies. It was probably in this very year (342 B.C.) that Alexander began to receive the lessons of Aristotle.

§ 1. πρὸς τὸν πατέρα γράφων] referring, probably, to Epist. ii, of the extant series, in which Isocr. remonstrates with Philip for negligently exposing his life, and urges him to intervene in the affairs of Athens with the same probance which he had just shown (342 B.C.) in constituting the Thessalian tetrarchy: see *Attic Orators*, ii. 250.

τὸν αὐτὸν...τόπον] The place is uncertain. Plut. speaks of Alexander as ἀπελθῶντος εὐρωπὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὰς πραγματικὰς αἰτίαις ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν, when his father went against Byzantium; *Alex.* c. 9. Cp. Schäfer, *Dem.* ii. 416.

διὰ τὸ γῆρας] *actat.* 92.

§ 2. φιλόσοφος] 'head of study': cp. *id.* *Sophist.* § 1, 162 note, p. 293.

τοὺς ἡμεληκότας αὐτῶν] 'who have neglected self-culture': cp. *id.* *id.* § 290, note, p. 306.

συνδιατρίβων — συμβαλλων] 'men by whose society you will not be gained, and whom you can also take into your confidence on affairs without hurt or injury' — *εἰς τὴν ἀδικίαν*, i.e. those men are not such benefactors, *συμβάλλουσιν*, as (acc. to Isocr.) it was then the fashion to call wife, *εὐφροσύνη*, but well-bred men: see *Antiquities*, § 49, note, p. 348. — *συμβαλλῶν*, *μεν. συμβαλλόμενος* (Νίγηρ), laying counsels together, conferring: Plut. *Antiquities*, *Isocr.* 222 b, *ὡς ἔγνωσεν ὅτι αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν συμβαλλόμενον αὐτῶν*, to confer with him. The *modi* is more suitable when those who consult are equals; the *act.* here suggests the prince bringing business before a council over which he presides.

§ 3. τὴν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας] See on *Adv. Sophist.* § 1, and introd. to it, p. 292.

πλεονεκτικῆν] 'advantageous': on the good sense of πλεονεξία see *Antid.* § 281, p. 303.

τοῖς τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶσιν] 'the leaders of a democracy': cp. *Panegy.* § 172, p. 130, οἱ προεστῶτες ἡμῶν.

μείζον . φρονούσιν] Cp. *Antid.* § 43, τοῖς ἀσθέως τρέφασ- μένοισι καὶ μεγαλοφρονεῖν εἰθισμένοις, note, p. 345.

§ 4. τὴν παιδείαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους] 'the discipline of those discourses which we bring to bear on the acts incident to daily life, and which aid us in the discussion of public affairs'. On the ἄγχι παιδεία of Isocr., see *Adv. Sophist.*, introd., p. 292, and *Antid.*, introd., p. 299.

δοξάζεις ἐπιστήσει κρίνειν] Isocr. taught that it was impossible to know (ἐπιστήσειν λέγειν) 'what is to be done or said' (*Antid.* § 271, n., p. 301), in the sense that the precise circumstances of a future situation cannot be foreseen: but that the study of political questions (ἐπιστήσειν περὶ τὰς κοινὰς πραγμᾶτας, *ib.* § 276, p. 119) will form intelligent opinion, δόξα. He held, further, that he who cultivates the art of persuasion will cultivate ἀρετή, moral excellence, as a means to that end, *ib.* § 278. And so here he claims for his παιδεία that, through it, Alexander (1) is already able to form intelligent opinions, δόξα, about the future: (2) that he will know, when the time comes, the principles of government—πολιτείας—himself that he would be at no disadvantage as compared to the pupils of those who profess to impart absolute ἐπιστήμη, *ib.* *Suppl.* § 8, p. 112: (3) that he will be able to distinguish between justice and injustice, merit and demerit—i.e. will be a judge of ἀρετῆ. Cp. *Nicoles* § 15, αὐτὸ δὲ μοναρχαὶ πλεῖστον μὲν γέρονσι τῷ βελτίστῳ, κ.τ.λ.

163 XIV. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΙ. [Epist. iii.]—A letter written to Philip of Macedonia in 338 B.C., some time after the battle of Chaeroneia, when Isocrates had completed his ninety-eighth year. It is thus the latest of all his extant writings.

The genuineness of the Third Isoster has been doubted (as by Fedl, *L. Curtius Hist. Gr.* v. 469): but there seems to be no ground, internal or external, for doubting it, except the difficulty of reconciling it with the tradition that Isocrates completed his life in learning the obituary of Chaeroneia. [Dionys. *De Isocr.* i.; Paus. i. 18. 8; Philostr. i. 17. 4; Lucian (*?*) *Μακεδονία* § 23; (Pini.) *Est. Isocr.* § 14; Anon. *Prog.*] According to the usual account, he was in the palaestra of Hippocrates at Athens when he heard the news of

the fatal defeat. He repeated three verses of Euripides—verses commemorating three aliens who had been conquerors of Greeks, Danaus, Pelops, Cadmus—and four days afterwards, on the burial-day of those who fell at Chaeroneia, he died of voluntary starvation. Undoubtedly Isocrates regretted the struggle between Athens and Philip: but the result of the struggle was that the idea of his life—a Panhellenic war against the barbarian—had been made possible. The conduct of Philip to Athens after Chaeroneia was studiously temperate and conciliatory; there was nothing in it to estrange Isocrates from his ideal leader, who, having struck one necessary blow, was now bent on healing the disorders of Greece. It would be more easy to conceive that Isocrates should have destroyed himself because he saw Athens still resolved to resist, and could not support the anguish of a divided loyalty. But, to my mind, the Letter itself leaves little room for doubting that it was written after the conclusion of the peace between Philip and Athens, and was taken to Philip by Antipater on his return: see § 1, 2. Cp. Schäfer, *Demosth. u. seine Zeit*, III. 25.—*Attic Orators*, II. 31 f.: 255, note 1.

§ 1. διελέχθην καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον] Demades, who had been taken prisoner at Chaeroneia, was sent by Philip to Athens as the bearer of proposals for peace. The Athenian captives were to be restored; Oropus was to be transferred from Thebes to Athens. On the other hand, Athens was required to recognise Philip as the military head of Greece. On receiving this message, the Athenian Eucleia sent an embassy to Philip, who was then at Thebes. Among the envoys were Demades, Phocion and Aeschines. They were hospitably entertained by Philip, and returned to Athens with the message that Philip released the prisoners without ransom, and would presently send, for interment at Athens, the remains of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia.

Antipater, the young Alexander, and probably Alcinachus, were the envoys who carried these replies to Athens. By them the conditions of peace were formally proposed to the Senate and the Eucleia. Demades then drew up a *foedus* by which the treaty—known as the Peace of Demades—was finally ratified. The 'conversation with Antipater', to which Isocr. refers, must have been held on the occasion of this visit. (Cp. Schäfer, *Dem.* III. 19—27.)

μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην] i.e. now that the peace between Athens and Philip has practically assumed the resignation of the latter as the chief of Greece. The Congress at Corinth soon afterwards recognised Philip as ἡγεμῶν (τῆν Ἑλλάδα) καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, Polyb. IX. 33: ἡγεμῶν ἀπείρακτος τετρασέου

τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος στρατεύσας. *Antid.* vii. 9. 5. So *Dem. De Cor.* § 201, ἐγγισσάτω καὶ κἀμοὶ ἕκαστ' Φιλίππου ἀπάντων.

ἐν τῷ λόγῳ] The Φιλίππου—referring esp. to § 81—104, above, pp. 136 ff.

§ 2. κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, 316 B.C., eight years before.

τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γεγεν.] The struggle decided by the victory of Philip at Chaeroneia.

164 τῆς μανίας] *i.e.* their mad strife with each other. *Cp. Philipp.* § 88, p. 138, διὰ τοῖς ἑσπέραις βασιλευσάντων καὶ πιστῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πολέμου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ παύσῃ τῆς μανίας τῆς οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστώσης.

§ 3. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι ταῖς σαις ἐπιθυμίαις] 'I reply [to these questions] that I do not know exactly how it is [*i.e.* whether the project occurred *first* to you or to me], since I had not conferred with you before [*i.e.* before I sent you my *λογος*, the Φιλίππου],—but *think* that you had already made up your mind on the subject, and that I have merely been the advocate of your own impulses'. Disting. the *placet* from the *proct.* of the direct discourse: Isocr. said to them, ὡς εἶδα—καὶ ἐγγισσάτωσαν—ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἐγγισθέναι (= ὅτι ἐγγισσῶν), *i.e.* (οἱ ἐγὼ) δὲ συνειρηκέναι (= ὅτι συνείρηκα).

ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖτων] 'to hold to these same objects': ἐπὶ with the partic. expressing the ground on which he is conceived as taking his stand: whereas ἐπὶ ταῖσιν would suggest rather a number of points or special conditions.

ὡς ἂν γενομένων] ὡς expresses the view present to their minds: they think, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, κ.τ.λ. *Goodwin* § 113, note 10.

§ 4. ἀπειρηκώς] 'broken down'. In *Epist.* vi., 'to the children of Jason' (*Attic Orators* ii. 211), in 309 B.C., Isocr. already speaks of his age—he was then 77—as disqualifying him from undertaking a long journey: καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι πλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ μὴ πρέπειν ἐπιξενεῖσθαι τοῖς τηλικούτοις, § 2.

αἱ μετρούτητες] 'the virtues of moderation': see the *pass.* *Antid.* § 283, note, p. 303.

165 § 5. εἰλωτεύειν] *Cp. Antid.* § 131, καὶ τῶν ἑλκωσθέντων (the Spartans) ἐπιτιμᾶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν πόλει τοῖς ὁμόροις εἰλωτεύειν ἀναγκάζουσι, τῷ δὲ κοινῷ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲν τιμωτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ πρῶτα βασιλευσάντων ἔπεισται τὸν βασιλεῦσιν πλεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλευσάντων ἔπεισται τὸν βασιλεῦσιν πλεῖσθαι (in the Spartan sense, *i.e.* 'dependents') ἄλλαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατεύσας. A comparison of these two passages would suggest the comment that, if the

βαρβαροις was now to be the habits of Greeks, the Greeks had become the *περίοικοι* of Macedon.

πλήν τῶν σοῦ συναγωγῶν.] The Thracians, Illyrians, and other mercenaries or foreign auxiliaries in Philip's armies.

θεόν γενέσθαι.] The clause αἴτιον γὰρ ἔσται λέγειν ἔτι πάλιν θεόν γενέσθαι should clearly be placed (as Dodds saw) after ἔτι ἔσται παντρώπη. It is in fact a comment on ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀλάστον εἶμι βί, c. 2, 3.

[6. νέος ὢν.] Isæus was prob. not much more than 45 years of age when he began the *Ἰσαευτικαὶ*: see introd. to it, p. 308. — τὰ αὐτ. the unity of Greece: τὰ δέ, the war against Persia.

ISAEUS.

ISAEUS: born c. 420 B.C.: died c. 350 B.C. Approximate 166
period of extant work: 390—353 B.C. *Life in Attic Orators*, II.
261—271.

Style. Isæus has a twofold interest. He is the earliest Attic master—not, indeed, of forensic rhetoric—but of strict forensic argument. He also represents the final period of transition in the history of Attic oratory, the transition from the studied 'artificialness' (*τεχνησμός*) of the Lyceian school to the open triumph of that technical mastery (*ἰσχυρὰ*) which reached its summit in Demosthenes. We have seen that the peculiar significance of Isæus lies rather for literary rhetoric than for oratory. With Isæus, we return to the development of practical oratory: and his place in this must be determined, first, by his relation to his professor Lysias, secondly by his relation to Demosthenes.

Isæus closely resembles Lysias in diction (*λέξις*): the qualities of purity, conciseness, clearness, simplicity, vividness (*εὐκαταλογία*) are common to both. In composition (*σύνθεσις*), on the other hand, there is marked difference. Lysias broke through the rigid monotony of the earlier periodic style, replacing it by one which was more flexible and various: yet, though his composition as a whole has ease and variety, his love of antithesis frequently gives too much stiffness and uniformity to the structure of his periods themselves. Isæus is exempt from this excessive love of antithesis: but, on the whole, his composition is distinguished from that of Lysias mainly by the stamp of conscious art. In reading him we have a continual sense of trained and accident skill. The more open and vigorous character of this art, as compared with that

of Lysias, is illustrated by the freedom with which Isaeus employs the animated 'figures of thought' (*ὀρχήματα λέξεως*), especially the rhetorical question (e.g. *or. viii.* § 28, p. 194). This does not deprive Isaeus of ethical perspicacity. Reasoned remonstrance, vigorous contention, just indignation, are powerfully expressed: it is only in the delineation of the ingenuous youth or the plain citizen that he yields to the veiled subtlety of Lysias. In the treatment of subject-matter the contrast gains strength. Lysias is usually content with the simple four-fold partition.—*πρότερον, δεύτερον, τρίτον, ἐπιλείπει*. Isaeus interweaves narrative and proof, managing his complex material with manifold tactics.—*doing everything with art, but nothing by rule*. Lysias seldom attempts more than a rhetorical or sketchy proof: Isaeus elaborates a complete logical proof: as Dionysius says, Lysias speaks *κατὰ δίκην*, but Isaeus, *καὶ κατ' ἀρχήματα* (*Attic Orators*, ii. 289).

'The oratorical power' (*ἀρετή*) 'of Demosthenes', says the same critic, 'took its seeds and beginning (*τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς*, *Ibid.* 20) from Isaeus'. This is true in the limited sense that Demosthenes derived important hints from Isaeus (1) in versatile arrangement of material, (2) in elaboration of systematic proof, (3) more generally, in that art of close and strenuous conflict, the art of grappling with the adversary's case point by point, which the Greek critics mean by *δυσκολλητὴ, τὰ ἀσπόμενα*. The two speeches of Demosthenes against Aphobus (305 B.C.), and the two against Onetor (302 B.C.), were written at the time when their author (*act.* 22 or 23) was probably still under the influence of Isaeus. The two speeches against Onetor—which exhibit the influence in its most mature form—are especially Isaeic in this, that they end, not with an ordinary peroration, but with a keen argument scoldingly thrust home (*Dem. Adv. Onet.* i. §§ 37—39: ii. §§ 10—14). On the other hand these earliest speeches of Demosthenes have a thoroughly original stamp. The link between Isaeus and Demosthenes is chiefly technical, depending on the essential continuity of Attic prose-expression as an art. It is also, in a narrower sense, personal, so far as a vigorous intensity of tone was common to the intellectual character of both. But that is all. The great achievements of Demosthenes are his own: so, too, the masterpieces of Isaeus, in their own kind, bear a distinctive stamp of keen ability and consummate art.—*cf.* *Attic Orators*, ii. 273—310.

On the **Works** of Isaeus generally, *ib.* ii. 311—368. The striking characteristic of the extant twelve speeches is the contrast between *simplicity of subject and versatility of tone*: the form has its affinities at once with *oratio* and with *litera*

style. Of the twelve, the three typical specimens are (1) the fifth, *On the Estate of Diogenes*—Lysian in the graceful and persuasive management of narrative; (2) the eleventh, *On the Estate of Hagnias*—Demosthenic in its unity of impulse and its vigorous mastery of technical resources; (3) the eighth, *On the Estate of Cyris*—distinctively Lysian in its mediation between these types.

It is from these that the following extracts have been taken: viz. I. or. v. *περὶ τοῦ Δικαιογένοῦς κλήρου*, I. §§ 7—24 (narrative); 2. or. xi. *περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου*, §§ 1—19.—III. or. viii. *περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου κλήρου*, §§ 1—42.

I. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ. [Or. v.]

'On the Estate of Diogenes':—Diogenes, son of Menoxenus—whom, for distinction from his grandfather, of the same name, we call Diogenes II.—had four sisters. These, when he died childless, shared among them two-thirds of his estate. The other third went to his first cousin, Diogenes III., son of his uncle Proxenus, in accordance with a will produced by Proxenus, to which the deceased declared Diogenes III. to be his adopted son, and left to one-third of his estate (*ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἐπὶ τρίτῳ μέρει τῆς οὐσίας*, § 6).

Twelve years later (§ 7), Diogenes III. alleged that this first will was invalid. Under a second will, he said, he was left, not to a third only, but to the whole of the estate. He gained his cause.—The sisters of the testator were deprived of their shares, and the whole was transferred to Diogenes III.

Ten years more elapsed (§ 8b). Meanwhile the nephews of the testator had grown up. They now resolved to seek redress for their mothers and themselves.—They began by bringing an action against one Lysias, who had been called by Diogenes III. as a witness to the second will. Lysias was convicted of perjury.

The state of things was now this:—Diogenes III. had himself declared the first will—which gave him one-third—to be invalid. The judges of Lysias had declared the second will—which gave him all—in to be false.—Accordingly, the nephews (with the exception of Menoxenus II., who had deserted their cause) now sued Diogenes III. for the whole estate. One Leachares interposed a protest (*ἀσπασμὸς*) that their cause was inadmissible. They indicted Leachares for perjury. Leachares was certain to be convicted. Diogenes III. therefore made a compromise. He was to keep his original one-third, and leave his adversaries in secure possession of the other two-thirds. Leachares and Menoxenus became his sureties for the performance of this engagement.

Loebdikos is now used (as an ἐγγυσιόχος) to discharge his liability as surety, since his principal Democritus III. has made default. The speaker, son of Polyarchus (§ 5), is one of the nephews of the testator, and is supported by his first-cousin Cephisodotus (§ 2).—*Attic Orators*, II. 349.

The date is probably 390 B.C.—the sea-fight off Oinias mentioned in § 6, 42 being that of 412 B.C. (*Thuc.* VIII. 42), not the more famous battle of 394 B.C. This question has been fully examined in the *Attic Orators*, II. 350 f.

The speaker first defines his case by quoting his own affidavit (ἀπολογία, § 1). He then refers to a executor (διογασφός) of the property left by his uncle, to prove that Democritus III. has not refunded the due amount, and that Loebdikos has therefore not discharged his suretyship (ἐπεὶ ἐγγυσιόχος οὐκ ἀπέχουσε), §§ 1—4. The facts, of which an outline has been given above, are then narrated in the following passage, §§ 7—24.

§ 7. ἰσχυρῆ ἐνεμάχῃ, κ.τ.λ.] 'When they had divided the estate, after taking oaths not to transgress the terms of the agreement, each party remained for twelve years in possession of the share assigned to him'. This refers to the first will (412 B.C.), under which Democritus III., as adopted son of the testator Democritus II., received one third of the estate. The other two thirds were shared between the four sisters of the testator, represented by their respective husbands,—viz. Polyarchus (father of the speaker), Democles, Cephisodorus, Thespiodorus.—ἀπέχουσα: cp. *Lysias Pro Mourtoko*, § 10, p. 59, πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὃ οὕτως ἐνεμάχη.

οὐσῶν δικῶν] 'through the law-courts and': i.e. in the course of the years 412—400 B.C., though there were short periods during which the sitting of the law-courts was suspended by war or internal trouble, yet there were also longer periods during which an action might have been brought. Cp. *Thuc.* VI. 91, where Alcibiades, urging the Spartans to occupy Ionia, predicts that one of the results will be to stop the Athenian revenues from the law-courts (ἔξω καὶ διακοπήσιν ἐπὶ ἀποδοσίαις,—alluding to court-fees, expenses, and to fines or confiscations). The prediction was fulfilled, since, as *Thuc.* VII. 28 says, all the citizens were required for military duty. These interruptions fall within the period referred to here (412—400 B.C.). Cp. [Dion.] *op. xlv*, *In Stephan.* I. § 3 (about 361 B.C.), διὰ τὴν πολέμω καὶ τῆ ἀπὸ νόμων ἀνακτῆσιν καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιπέσειν. καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποδοσίαις ἐκείναις καὶ τοῖς πλάταις [the Social War, 357—355 B.C.].

δυστυχῆσάσης, κ.τ.λ.] 'Athens having suffered disaster [the 167 defeat at Aegospotami, 405 B.C.], followed by the troubles of

faction [στάσεις, the oligarchical movement supported by Sparta, see Lys. *In Agorat.* §§ 6 ff., p. 78], and civil strife' [στάσεις, the struggle which ended in the overthrow of the Tyrants and the restoration of the Democracy, 403 B.C.]. For ἀγῶνας, cp. Isocr. *Epist.* III. § 2, p. 163, τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν γυγασμένων, a euphemism for the struggle ended by the battle of Chaeroneia.

οὔτωσ'—ἡμῖν—τοῦ θεοῦ] οὔτωσ', Dicaeogenes III. : said, the representatives of the four sisters, viz. their sons (the speaker and his first cousins) : τῶν θεῶν, their uncle Dicaeogenes II., the testator.

φάσκων ἐφ' ὄλη, κ. τ. λ.] 'alleging that he had been adopted by our uncle as his sole heir' (and not heir to one-third only, ἐφ' ὄλη, sc. τῆς οὐσίας. § 12, παρῶνται, οὐκ ἐστὶ πᾶσι τῶν ἀδελφῶν. A childless Athenian citizen could, either during his life or by testament, adopt any Athenian citizen as his son and heir. Permission to execute a will is said to have been first given to Athenian citizens by the laws of Solon, but it was expressly restricted to those citizens who had no direct male descendants. The faculty of adoption was the germ of testamentary power, and was intended primarily to meet a case in which the head of a house left behind him, at his decease, no one duly qualified by nearness of blood to offer the sacrifices at the hearth and the grave. In the Hindu system of succession the religious aspect of adoption is still the foremost one: (see the Tagore Law Lectures for 1870, Lect. ix. *On the Rite of Adoption*, pp. 208 f., by Mr Herbert Cowell). The Roman will of Cicero's time was already a true testament. The Athenian διαθήκη belongs to an intermediate stage. While the religious continuity of the family is still nominally the first principle, the main object in practice is to enlarge the childless testator's choice of heirs.—Cp. Maine, *Ancient Law*, ch. vi. on 'The Early History of Testamentary Succession'. *American Quarterly*, II. 315 f.

§ 8. μαινέσθαι τῇ λήξει, κ. τ. λ.] 'we thought that he was mad in bringing such actions.' τῇ λήξει causal dat., = ἐν φλαγγί τὴν δίκην. Cp. Antiph. *De Caed. Her.* § 3, τοῖς ἀληθέσιν, note, p. 399—γυμνασία, σωματεῖον : cp. τὸν σωματεῖον ἀσχετημάτων, § 25. οὐκ ἂν οἴομενοι...δοῦσαι, : οὐκ οἴομενοι ἂν δοῦσαι (= ὅτι δοῦσαι ἂν). For the use of σωματεῖον, said in the sentences, see a consultation or a consultation, see also the explanation from its verb by (e.g.) σφουαί, οἶδα, δοκῶ, φημί : Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. 7. 25, καὶ τὴν ἠδελῶς ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι. Goodwin § 42.

πολλῶν πλείον, κ. τ. λ.] 'though we had say the best of the situation, we were dissatisfied of our conduct—not by the judges, but by Mallos.' πολλῶν πλείον καὶ ἀδικήματα III. 'a far greater

number of just ideas, *συμπεριπέττω* of πάλαι καὶ ἄλλα, ἐκὼ πάλαι καὶ ἄλλα (Ar. *Thesm.* 351), etc.—Schonmann ep. [Dion.] nr. 118. *In Noster*, § 5, τῶ ἐν ἑξαπατητοῦ τῶ ἄλλω τοῖς δικαιοῦς δίκαιον ὀργίζεσθαι, οὐ τοῖς ἑξαπατητέοις.

§ 9. ὁ πατήρ] The speaker's father Polystratus, who had married one (apparently the eldest) of the four sisters of Dicaeogenes II.: § 5.

ἐπελθεῖν ἐπισκήψατο] 'before he had brought the set-aside against those witnesses whom he had indicted for perjury': *ἐπιπέττω*, the witnesses brought by Dicaeogenes III. to prove the validity of the will under which he claimed the whole of the estate.—*ἐπελθεῖν*: ep. § 12, ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς καταμαρτυροῦσιν.—*ἐπισκέψατο*, v. *προδικαστήσατο*, which is often omitted in this passage: ep. § 17, *ἐπισκεψάσθαι δ' ἔπειτα τῶν καταμαρτυροῦσιν καὶ ἐλθεῖν*.

Κηφισοφῶντος] Cephisophon had married one of the four sisters of the testator Dicaeogenes II. His daughter was therefore niece (ἀδελφή) of the latter, first cousin to the speaker, and first cousin once removed to Dicaeogenes III.

τῆς Δημοκ. γυν. γυναῖκα] 'her who had become the wife of Democles, — ἀδελφῆς δὲ, her own brother; whereas Dicaeogenes III. was only first cousin, ἀδελφῆς, of the testator.

Κηφισοδότου] Cephisodotus was present, supporting his first cousin, the speaker, who appeals to him at the beginning of the speech (§ 2) as being able to vouch for the truth of the affidavit (*ἀντωμοσία*).

§ 10. καὶ γὰρ τούτων γε ἀντίδικος] 'For of these (τῶν γε—Cephisodotus, his mother, and her other child or children, as app. to the testator's other sisters and their children) he was at the same time guardian (*ἐπίτροπος*), legal representative (*ἐπίσκοπος*), and legal adversary (*ἀντίδικος*):' *Ar.* *Dicaeogenes* III. was the protector and representative before the law (*ἐπίσκοπος*), as her nearest male relative for this purpose, of the mother of Cephisodotus (since a son could not be the *κύριος* of his mother). He was also guardian, *ἐπίτροπος*, of Cephisodotus, who had a brother or brothers, a sister or sisters, as appears from *ἐπιπέττω* here, *ἀδελφῶν* there below, and *πατρὶς* there *τοῦτον* in § 11. Every *ἐπίτροπος* (curator) of a minor) was also *ἐπίσκοπος* of his ward, but every *κύριος* was not *ἐπίτροπος*. The term *κύριος* denotes esp. the legal control of a citizen over an unmarried woman or a widow, either as her nearest male relative or by delegation from the natural *κύριος*: [Dion.] nr. 118; *In Stobaeo*, n. § 18, *ἐκὼ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑσπέτου* (i.e. if she be neither father, brother, nor paternal grandfather living) *ἐκὼ ἢ ἐπιπέττω* (i.e. if she be an heiress) *τῶν ἀλλοῦν ἕξει τὸν κύριον*.

male kinsman shall marry her), *οὐκ ἂν μὲν ἴ, σὺ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτρέψῃς*—*τοὺς τὸν λόγον εἰσὼς*, but if she be not, then her natural owner may delegate the duty to another. The *εἶσμα* of a married woman was her husband: see Isae. *op. iii. De Pyrrh. Hered.* § 2. The *υἱὸς*, *καὶ τούτων τε* can be defended if *τε* is connected with the *καὶ* before *οὐδὲ σὺν τῷ ἐλαγίστεν ἄνθρωπον*, *ε.κ.κ.*: he was both their guardian, etc., and unkind. But I feel sure that Hebrew's *γ* (better than Schöle's *καὶ*) is right: see *op. cit.* just this emphasis on *τούτων*.

οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος] 'not the smallest fraction of their claim on his kindness or compassion was allowed by him': lit. 'not even in respect to the smallest part of the tie between them (*ἐλαγίστην*—the double tie of kinship and guardian) did they obtain pity'.

ἃ δὲ ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς δίκης] 'and what their maternal uncle [the testator] and their grandfathers [Democritus I., their mother's father, see *Stromata*] had given to them [to Eurymachus and the other child or children], he [Democritus III.] took away on his own authority (*αἰεία*), before the case had been tried'.

110 § 11. *πρίαιμος καὶ κατασκάψας* [For the *αι*, *μα*, *πρίαιμος*, cp. Andoc. *De Pace* § 37, p. 47, *πείσαντες—λαθόντες—τραύσαντες—κατάσαντες*—

τὸν κήπον ἐποίησατο] *Ἰδούσθ* would read *εἰς*: rather transpose it, reading *κῆπ. ἐποίησ. τὸν πρὸς τῇ αἰτοῦ οἰκίᾳ*: or, retaining it here, repeat it before *πρός*.

ἐν ἄσται] in Athens: the art. omitted as usu.: cp. Isocr. *Antid.* § 239, note, p. 307. So below, § 22, *ἔξω τείχους—ἐν Ἡεδίῳ*, note.

καὶ λαβάνων μίσθωσιν] 'And though he was conveying 80 talents (about 8000) in rest from our house's property, he sent the latter's nephew to Corinth in the quality of servant to his brother Harmodius: *ἐν Ἰσραὴλ, γ.κ.* on military service during the Corinthian War, which began in 394 *b.c.* (the date of the speech is 390 *b.c.*). In § 37 there is a reference to the capture of Leontionis, the w. part of Corinth, by the Spartans in 393 *b.c.*—*ἀκόλουθος* here—the Attic hoplite's servant, (usu. *ἐπὶπρότης*, Thuc. iii. 17,) the Spartan *θεράπων*: Thuc. vii. 75, *ἔφερον καὶ οἱ ἐπὶπρῆται καὶ οἱ ἰππῆς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοὶ τὰ εὐφότερα αὐτῶν σιτία ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις, οἱ μὲν ἀπορία ἀκολούθων, οἱ δὲ ἀπιστίᾳ* (distrust of their servants).

ἐμβάδας καὶ τραβάνια] (*embadas* and *trabania*)—The *embada* was a sort of thick shoe (in Xen. *Hipp.* xii. § 10 *ἐμβάτης* is a half-*boot*), worn by people who had much outdoor work to do.—the

ordinary *τριβων* being merely a sandal (see I under the foot; the *τριβων* had an upper leather across the toe; the *σποτα* was a half-sole). Cp. Becker *Charit.* I. c. 11. The *τριβων* was a short mantle of coarse stuff. Dem. or. i. iv. *In Conon.* § 31, 'men who are of a plebeian—*παισιαν*. skin affect the *θηρατων*. who wear coarse cloaks (*τριβωνας*) and single-soled sandals' (*ἀπλᾶς ἐποδόνται*). The Acharnian rustics wear the *τριβων* (Ar. *Ach.* 184), which seems to have been the ordinary dress of poor men. Socrates sometimes alludes to his 'poor cloak' (*τριβων οὔτοςί*, *Protag.* 335 D). Being the ordinary dress of plebeians, there is a proverbial allusion to be regarded, viz. *θηρατων*, as a badge of rustic life. (From my notes on *Thaeriticos Char.* xxii. = xxv. p. 255.) Scheibe reads *τριβωνα* with Cobet *N. Lect.* p. 155; but cp. Lysias or. xxxii. *In Diogitonu*, § 16, — where the question is of similar harshness towards poor relations—*ἐκβαλεῖν τοῖτους ἡξίως θιγατριδοῦς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνοῖσι, ἀνιποδῆτους, οὐ μετὰ ἀκολούθοι, οὐ μετὰ στρωμάτων, οὐ μετὰ ἱματίων* (the ordinary woollen cloak).

§ 12. ὅθεν ἀπέλιπον] = ἐκείθεν ὅπου, 'from the point at which I digressed': i.e. from the end of § 9, when Picaeogenes III. had seized the whole estate. Cp. Plat. *Phaedo* 78 B, ὅθεν ἀπελίπομεν ἀναλάβωμεν αὐθις.

ἐπεξῆει] 'proceeded to prosecute', Attic imperf. of ἐπεξέρχουμαι, as the Att. fut. is ἐπεξίεναι. Cp. § 9, ἐπεξέλθειν.—τοῖσι καταμαρτυρήσ., 'those who had borne false testimony against' [scilicet the speaker and ἐπαισάτους] and against their [Menexenus, their cousin]. cp. § 9.

ὄνπερ... τοῦτον] τοῦτον, not, as usu., 'the defendant here', but emphatic after ὄνπερ πρῶτον, as if *ἀδικεῖα* had not preceded: 'convicted the very first man they brought before the court—Lyeon'.

ποιηθῆναι, κ.τ.λ.] See on § 7.

§ 13. τὸν... πράττοντα] 'who was acting', = ὅς ἐπραττε, in 170 the prosecution of the witnesses.

τί ποιῆσαι; κ.τ.λ.] 'persuades him—to do what? to take for himself such a share of the estate as fell to him, and to throw over us for whom he was acting'. ὃ τι ἐγίγνετο: such a fraction as was due to him (imperf.), on the supposition that two-thirds of the whole estate belonged to the sisters and their children. Cp. § 6, εἰς ἐγίγνετο ποιητός, (under the will) he was to become adopted son, i.e. it directed that he should do so; and § 15. So § 16, ἀύρου γιγνομένου, = ἐπειδὴ ἐγίγνετο, as (by a logical necessity) both the wills now became, now must be, invalid: § 44, ἐκείων ἐγίγνετο, 'were due to them'.

ἀφείναι: 'to withdraw his charges against the witnesses who had not yet been convicted': ἀφείναι, here, not of the jury who acquit the accused, but of the prosecutor who absolves him by allowing the proceedings to drop. Cp. § 1 of this speech, ἀφείκαυε ἀλλήλους τὰς ἐγκλησεις. [Dem.] or. vii. In *Strepia*, i. § 40, ὡς ἀφείρατ ἐκείν τὰς ἐγκλησεις ἀπέναν. Παρρησ. s. v. ἀφείναι contrasts ἀφείναι, 'to let off' an accused person by withdrawing a charge, with ἀπαλλάσσειν, 'to get rid' of an accused by per-suading him to do so: cp. § 28 of this speech, οὐ δύναται ἀπαλλάσσειν τοὺς χρεῖσται, he cannot pay off his creditors.

§ 14. καθηγούμενοι] *Προσώπων* in classical Greek *κατηγούμενοι* is usually to 'show the way', 'act as guide', 'teach': here *Πρόσων* only. *κατὰ δ' αὖτις ἔγχεσται προσώπων*. Halter, *Isac. de dōt. ἔγχεσται*, *Schömann Isac. d. d. dōt. ἔγχεσται*. I believe that *κατηγούμενοι*, though unattested in this sense, is right, = 'inferring', *κατὰ μαθήματα* an *ἐπιμαθητὴς* (*ἐπιμαθητὴς*) cp. Her. iii. 27. πόλλοι κατὰ μαθήματα ἐπιμαθητὴς καὶ πρῶτον χριστοῦ ταῦτα ταῦτα.

κατ' ἀγχιστείαν] 'we claim the whole estate [*ἐκείνου*—*ἐκείνου*] from him on the ground of affinity'—and no longer *κατὰ ἐπίκλησιν*, on the ground of the testament under which they had originally claimed two-thirds. *ἀγχιστεία*, in the legal sense, was a degree of affinity (including, for legal purposes, consanguinity, *συγγένεια*) recognised by the law as constituting a claim to an inheritance in the absence of a special bequest which could legally divert it. To claim an estate *under testamentary disposition* was *ἀμφισβητεῖν κατὰ διαθήκην*, or *κατὰ δόσιν*. (Schömann, *Isac.* p. 250, regards *εἰδοῦναι*, *δόσις* as the general terms for a bequest: *διατίθεσθαι*, *διαθήκη* as terms strictly applicable only when the bequest was at the same time adopted as son by the testator. But in *Isac.* or. i. § 41 the defendants claim *κατὰ διαθήκην*, and it nowhere appears that they had been adopted. I believe rather that *δόσις* denoted the act, and *διαθήκη* the instrument.) To claim on the ground of affinity (in the absence of a will) was *ἀμφισβητεῖν κατ' ἀγχιστείαν*, or *κατὰ γένος*, or. iv. § 15. For the distinction between *ἀγχιστεία* and *συγγένεια*, cp. *Isac.* or. xi. § 17, δ (the relationship of son to mother) *συγγενέστατον μὲν ἦν τῆ φύσει πάντων, ἐν ἑὲ ταῖς ἀγχιστεῖαις ὁμολογουμένως οὐκ ἴστω*: meaning that a mother could not inherit from her son,—although, by Attic law, an inheritance could ascend collaterally, as by an uncle inheriting.

ἀρκεία ἐγκλησέμεν] *Isac.* *ἀρκεία* *ἐγκλησέμεν* (to sue for the whole estate): the perf., because the resolve still exists, since the case has not been finally settled. The argument is briefly this. *Dicaeogenes* III. received one-third of the estate under

the will. He has not that will, and has taken the whole estate under another alleged will. We have shown that this alleged will is false. Therefore there is no will. And therefore the next of kin inherit.

§ 15. ἡ μὲν πάλαι πολλῶ, ἡ δ' ἴσπερον] If πάλαι πολλῶ stood alone, it certainly could not mean 'very long ago': that would be πάλαι πάλαι, as in Isae. or. vi. § 14, οὔτε ἀνέλεστον καὶ ἀπαικτὸν. ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάλαι στενωπὸν (had long been narrow). But when πάλαι and ἴσπερον are connected in the same clause, πάλαι may stand with πάλαι in the sense, 'old long ago' instead of 'very long ago'. Therefore I conclude to adopt the obvious transposition, ἡ μὲν πάλαι, ἡ δ' ἴσπερον πολλῶ.

Πρόξενος] Proxenos, father of Dicaeogenes III., had produced the will under which he was inherited one third of the estate of Dicaeogenes II.: § 6, ἴσπερον ἀπέλαον Ἡρόδοτος. See the stemma.

ἐγίγνωτο] Cp. § 13, note on τί ποιῆσαι : ... ὅ τι ἐγίγνωτο.

171

αὐτήν] redundant after ὅτι: cp. § 19, ἀδικεῖν τούτων note.

§ 16. κείνων γιγνομένων] 'when by inheritance invalid' ἄκυροι ἐγίγνωτο; § 13, note.

κατὰ θεῖαν. κατ' ἀρχιστ.] Cp. § 11, κατ' ἀρχιστῶν, ἰσθίς.

διὰ θε ταῦτα] If it is to be taken, it has a demonstrative force: 'for these reasons, I say': but διὰ δὴ ταῦτα seems needed.

λαχῶν τοῦ κλήρου—ἀντὶμνησθαι] λαχῶν τοῦ κλήρου, sc. κλάσ, 'to claim the estate', to obtain a hearing of one's legal claim: but λαχῶν κλήρου, 'to obtain the estate': § 7, ἐκέκτητο... ἔναστος ἃ ἔλαχε.—ἀντὶμνησθαι, 'when we were about to make our will' (preliminary), in the preliminary proceedings (προδικασίῃ) before the archon.

διαμαρτυρήσῃ μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλήρον] 'asserted a protest (διαμαρτυρία) to the effect that our claim was inadmissible': i.e. that a διαθήκη existed giving it to Dicaeogenes. Cp. Isae. or. vii. § 3, εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἀποδεχομένους τὰς διαμαρτυρίας ἢ τὰς εὐθυδικίας, ἂν μάρτυρας προῖβαλόμην μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλήρον: where a protest barring the claim is contrasted with a direct trial of the claim. Cp. § 6, ἐκάστη τὸ μέρος ἐπεδικέσαστο (sc. τοῦ κλήρου), each claimed the estate in her due share.

§ 17. ἐπισκηψαμένων... εἰρήμ] 'We had said I had taken the action in regard of the estate was executed, and the case of perjury came before the court'. ἐπισκηψαμένων, sc. ψευδομαρτυρῶν: cp. § 9.—λῆξίς, sc. τῆς δίκης, τοῦ κλήρου, for claiming the estate.—διαγράφη: Ar. Nub. 773, αἰμ' ὡς ἦδουαι | δεῖ περτερά-

ἑκπεντακόντα ἀργύρια) 'a suit in which I might have lost five talents is quashed'.

ἔπιθεσών] out of the two votes, one for condemnation, the other for acquittal: cp. *Isae. In dem.* § 37, note, p. 207. Datives unregularly but not illogically, εἰςθεσώων, 'tumbled out' (*Ar. Ach.* 311, τοὺς λίθους...ἐξεράσατε).

ἀ μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν λέγειν] 'as to the sentence which I addressed to the judges and to us, and the penalties which we were entitled to obtain, I hardly know that I need speak' (i.e. you can imagine them). Leochares having been convicted of perjury (ἀπιστία), the jurors would have claimed a fine or penalty up to 500, or disfranchisement (cp. § 19, ἔργασίαν ἕως τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ πρὸςδικαστῶν ἀποστῆσαι since it was a πῶρος νόμος, that is, one in which the amount could not be assessed the penalty).—ἐξεγένετο, with pluperf. force, not, 'was in our power', but, 'had (by the verdict) come into our power'.—διαπράξασθαι, not 'exact', but 'obtain' παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν.

§ 18 μὴ συναριθμῶν ἐσθλ.] 'not to count the votes, but to cancel the conviction'; i.e. when the votes were taken out, there was an evident majority against Leochares; but the jurors consented to refrain from counting the result, and to admit L. to a compromise before sentence was passed. συναριθμῶν ἐσθλ. the number of votes for L. with that against him: συγχέαι, to mix up all the votes in a heap.

ἀφ' ἑστέα μέρη] Dicaeogenes (II.) offered (to me) to resign two-thirds of the estate to the sisters of Dicaeogenes (II.), and to agree that he should place those two-thirds in our hands without litigation': ἀναμφισβήτητα, i.e. he promised that they should not be required ἀμφισβητήων, to bring a law-suit, in order formally to establish their claim. In the sequel, however, they were obliged to do so, since D. had already transferred the ownership to others.

172 καὶ ταῦτα ἠγγυῶτε. ἐσθλ.] 'and in all this Leochares the defendant offered [*imperf.*] to be his surety, and to undertake that he (Dicaeogenes) should fulfil his agreement.—Mnesiptolemus of Plóthēia [a deme of the Aegeid tribe] being his colleague in the suretyship'.—ἠγγυῶτε, not ἐκευῶτε, in Attic, as Scheibe shows, *Isae. pract. crit.* ix.—καὶ ἀπολόγει ποιήσειν: better ἢ ἀπολόγει καὶ ποιήσειν, 'pledged himself that Dicaeogenes would do as he (D.) had agreed'. Cp. § 20, ἠγγυῶτε αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπολόγιστε καὶ ποιήσειν; § 22, οὐ πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ ἢ ἀπολόγιστε [καὶ Reiske] ποιήσειν.

§ 19 ἔργασίαν ἐπὶ νόμῳ] 'when it had come into our power...to disfranchise him': § 17, note. For the accus. absol. cp. *Antiph. Tetr. B. β.* § 7, note, p. 205.

§ 20. καίτοι εἰ μὴ οὐκ οὐδ' ὅ τι] 'If, however, in the face of the judges, were hundred in number, and of the bystanders, he had not offered [*προσέβη*] to become surety, I do not know what he could have done' i.e. there was no other hope for him: he would then and there have been disfranchised. εἰ μὴ ἔγγυος, not ἔγγυος, because the promise had never been fulfilled—*προσέβη*, the normal number of a *δυναστεύμα*,—the 1000 *δυναστεύματα* (inclusive of the removed 1000) being divided into 10 such parts: cp. *Isocr.* *Stoicorum*, § 54, note, p. 349.

§ 21. εἰ γὰρ ἀπέστη μόνον ἀχεν] 'For if (as he allows) 170
he merely withdrew his claim to the two-thirds, but did not covenant to place them in our hands without litigation, what law was he trusting by retaining property of which he already had the equivalent in money? i.e. he had already transferred to others the ownership of the property which he was renouncing. It was his duty to see that we got it without having to go to law [*ἀπομαρτυροῦναι*] with those other persons, from whom he had received the value (*τάξις*) of it. π. ἡμῶντες; i.e. we were in a position to claim a concession, since we had convicted his witness of perjury. But this would have been no concession. Therefore his compact cannot have meant this.

οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὶν ἤττηθῆναι θήμενοι] 'for even before he had been warned in the law-suit [by the conviction of his witness Isachares], the property which we claim had passed from him to the purchasers and mortgagees'. εἰ προέμενον—those who had bought from him outright: π. θήμενοι, 'the mortgagees'—those who lent him money on the security of property which he placed in their hands. Plato, *Legg.* 820 E, κείσθω μέντοι οὐκ ἔτι ἰσχυροὶ ἄλλους ἐκ ἐπιθέτων πωληταίαι, ἅνα ἢ οὐκ ἄλλοις ἡμᾶς ἢ τοῖς θεμένοις ἡμᾶς μηδαμῶς φιλοφρονῆται, 'let these estates—not, however, as pledges which can be redeemed by provisions in other parts of our commonwealth, in case they prove utterly unprofitable—to us who have upon the pledges' (θήμενοι, the mortgagees), 'as to you who have accepted them' (θεμένοις, the mortgagees). So ἐπορίσθαι (opponere) οἰκίαν, to pledge or mortgage a house: ἐπορίσθαι οἰκίαν, to accept the house as security for a loan.

§ 22 ἐκ Πεδῶ] In the Attic plethra (πρ. πῆδος. Thus π. βῶ), from which the party led by Lycurgus were called εἰς ἐκ πῆδος, *plethra* in *plethra*, as opp. to the πῆλαρα led by Megacles and the ἄλλοις—led by Philocletus, *Her.* 1. 52. The att. omitted, as with *Isocr.* *Stoic.* § 11, —ἐξ ἡμεῶν πῆλλος, 'containing 60 plethra'. The πῆλλος was the ordinary Greek unit of land measurement, = 10,000 square feet, nearly = Roman *stater*, or half *impetum*, = *κεκομμεῖσθε*, 'have measured'—cp. § 15, *Κρισηνέσιον*.

ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐξαγομεν] 'And we refrain from ejecting' [*ταῖς προαιδέει καὶ φιλίαις*, *τίμιος τοὺς νόμους* D], Ius transferred the property, 'for we are afraid of incurring penalties at law': *δίκας*, *sc.* *ἐξούλης*, actions for forcible ejection.

καὶ φάσκοντος μὴ βεβαιώσαν] 'For by treating Mision from the ownership of the *ἀγρία* house, at the instance of D., and on his assurance that he would not confirm the seller's title, we incurred a fine of 40 talents—thanks to Democritus, judge'. *μηδὲ μάλιστα*: *i.e.* Democritus promised to show that Mision had bought the *ἀγρία* with a bad title, since his Democritus was not its legal owner when he sold it.

§ 23. ἠγομένοι γὰρ καθιστήσεσθαι ἡμῶν] 'For, believing that he [Mision, D. *καταστήσει*] would not confirm another claim to any part of the property which he had resigned in our favour before the law-court, we insisted on this point [*εὐσχεσίμως*, *πιστῶς*] against Mision *ὅπως οὐκ ἔμελλεν*, offering to suffer what they pleased if D. confirmed M.'s title to the tenement,—never dreaming that he [D.] would violate his suretyship. —*ὅπως οὐκ ἔμελλεν* *sc.* *ἀνὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν* was the fact that sureties had been given to us'. *ἀν βεβαιώσαν*: as in *Thuc.* II. 8 the mss. give *ἀν προσχωρήσαν*, v. 82 *ἀν ὠρελήσαν*, v. 66 *ἀν λυπήσαν*, VIII. 25 *ἀν προσχωρήσαν*, VIII. 71 *ἀν ἠσυχάσαν*. In vi. 96 the corr. *ἀν λυπήσαν* is preferable to the other places Classen (rightly, I think) keeps *ἀν*, with Herbst, instead of omitting it with Stahl. Cp. Goolwin § 41. 4.—*οὐκ ἄν...οἰόμενοι* ... *πράξει*, cp. § 8, note.—*οὐ δὲ ἄλλ' οὐδὲν*: *i.e.* the character of D. himself was so unscrupulous, but we believed that he would not expose his surety to an *ἐγγίης δίκη* (like the present).

§§ 39—47.

174 § 39. οὕτω καὶ πεταῖτα] 'So badly and so little': referring to § 36, *τῇ μὲν φιλῆ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας τέταρτος ἐγένετο*, *τραγωδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυρραχισταῖς ἕστατος*: *i.e.* he won only the fourth prize when he produced a chorus [probably of *αἰληταί*, flute-players] at the great Dionysia,—and was last when he produced a tragic chorus and a chorus of Pyrrhic dancers (perhaps at the *Ἀθήαια*). He had also failed to contribute when *εἰσφοραί*, special war-taxes, were being levied. Once, indeed, he had promised an *ἐπίδοσις* or voluntary subscription, which however he had not paid, and had therefore been 'posted' as a defaulter at the statues of the Twelve Heroes [in the Agora], § 38: *καὶ τοῦτο ἐπέδωκεν, οὐκ εἰσήμεκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αἰσχίστῳ ἐπιγρῆματι* ['with a most disgraceful qualification']—that which follow] *ἐξετέθη αὐτοῦ τοῖκομα ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἐπωρῶντων, ὅτι εἶδε εἰς σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἰποταχόμενοι τῷ δήμῳ εἰσίσειν χρήματα ἐβελοντα οὐκ εἰσήμεκεν*.—*εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, (spent)

see on Isocr. *Its Patrie* § 128, τὰς ἀναθήμασι, p. 336.—*Didaktus*: Isocr. *Aeginet.* § 27, note, p. 356.

ἀναθήματα] 'votive offerings', a general term for gifts (dedications, statues, tripods, etc.) dedicated to a god; ἀνάθημα *καταθέτω*. Her. ii. 182. ἐκ τῶν τελευτήτων, not, 'from their abundance', but, 'from what remained' after those costly *λειτουργίαι* had been discharged.

τρίποδας] A bronze tripod was awarded to a successful choragus, who now dedicated it in the temple of Dionysus. Pausanias says that Nike had presented to the temple a *θήβαια* (tray) on which these tripods were set (*Nike*, 3). In the course of the 4th century B.C. a fashion arose of placing the prize tripod in a small shrine built especially for it, either in the precincts of the temple or in the 'street of the Tripods' (*Isais*, i. 20) on the E. side of the Acropolis. The existing monument of Epistrotus (choragus 395 B.C.) was such a shrine: and the site of another, dedicated in 320 B.C. by the choragus Thersyllus (*Paus.* i. 21), is still marked by a cave on the E. side of the Acropolis. (See my note on *Phocion*, *Clavis*, viii. — xvii. p. 251.) Cp. Plat. *Gorg.* 472 A, Νικίας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἂν οἱ τρίποδες οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἐσπῶτες εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ.

ἐν Πύθῳ] i.e. ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος Πύθῳ ἱερῷ. In May, 1877, the site of the Πύθῳ was identified by the discovery of an inscribed altar-stone on the right bank of the Ilissus, S.W. of the temple of Zeus Olympius. This stone belonged to the altar erected by Ptostratus (grandson of the tyrant), and mentioned by Thuc. (iv. 54) as bearing in letters which *οὐκ ἔτιν ἴσθαι* were 'faint', ἀνδροῖς γράμμασι, the couplet:—

μῆμα τὸδ' ἦς ἀρχῆς Ημισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱὸς
 εἶπετ' Ἀπόλλωνι Πύθῳ ἐν γαίῃ.

§ 42. ἀπαρχὰς τὸ ἱερὸν] 'On the Acropolis, ἄρτιν, [as well as in the Διονυσίῳ and the Πύθῳ] they have dedicated (ἀπαρχὰς) from their abundance, and have adorned the temple (τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Παρθένων) with images (ἰμάλλια) in bronze and stone,—considerable in number, if it be remembered that the *ἄρτιν* were private persons'—ἀπαρχαί, ἀνάθημα. [In Thuc. vi. 20 *ἄρτιν* paid by women to goddesses,] ἴσθαι 'tributes' cp. Her. *Asiat.* 150, where Hermitas speaks of her robes and golden ornaments as ἀπαρχαί, 'offerings' made to her, as a bride, by her father.—πολλοῖς closely with ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίας ἀθήσεως: Thuc. vi. 20, πόλεις...μεγάλας, ...τὸ τε πλῆθος, ὡς ἐν μῆ νῆσφι, πολλὰς τὰς Ἑλληίδας: Soph. *Phil.* 584, ὄρων ἀντιπύσω χρηστὰ γ'. οἱ ἀνὴρ πένης.—ἰμάλλιασι, not = ἀναθήμασι (§ 41), but 'images' or 'statues' of gods, as ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀθέοισιν, portrait-statues of men.

Δικαιογένης] *i.e.* Dicaeogenes I.: see stemma.

ἡ ἐν * Ἀλκίεσι μάχη] Having made a descent on the coast of Attica, the Athenians were defeated by the Corinthians and Epidaurians at Halicis, Ol. 80, 4, 457 B.C.: Thuc. i. 104. (*Attic Orators*, ii. 353.)—Ἀλκίεσι is due to Dobree. The traditional reading is ἡ ἐν Ἐλευσίᾳ μάχη, which has been rejected (1) by Valiner *op. Solon.* 342 to Ol. 80, 4, 457 B.C., when there were hostilities in the Megarid between the Athenians and the Corinthians: (2) by Boeckh to Ol. 80, 4, 445 B.C., when the Lacedaemonians invading Attica under Pausanias, advanced to Eleusis: Thuc. i. 114. But on neither occasion is a battle at Eleusis recorded.

φιλαρχῶν τῆς * Ὀλυθίας ἐν Σπαρτώλῳ] * when commanding the cavalry of his tribe at Sparta in the territory of Olynthus: to Ol. 87, 4, 429 B.C., when the Athenians were defeated by the Chalcidians at Sparta on the Odyntor peninsula: Thuc. ii. 79. Scholias mostly follow Palmer in reading Ὀλυθίας for the vulg. Ὀλυθίου, which Dobree took as derived from Ὀλυθαί (ἡ Τρῳάδα καὶ ἡ Τρῳάδα ἄλλοι Ἄνθ. *Top.* 1934 γ, while Sir W. Jones actually explained it as 'of the instructive school'. Boeckh only Ὀλυθίας or Ὀλυθίου (the latter as the name of a country). In 429 B.C. Sparta did belong to the Boeotians (Hdt. i. c.), but it had now come under the control of Olynthus: cp. Xen. *Hellen.* v. 2, 11 (*ἡ πόλις Ὀλυθία*, ii. 354).

Δικαιογένης] *i.e.* the treasurer, *Θησαυροφ. Π—ἐν Κελλῳ* in 412 B.C., when an Athenian force of less than 20 sail was defeated, with the loss of six ships, by the Lacedaemonian fleet under Antagidas: Thuc. viii. 42. The Paralus was distinguished soon afterwards as being with the Athenian army at Samos: Thuc. viii. 74 (411 B.C.).

§ 43. (ἡ ἀργυροπώσας) 'having converted it (the ἀίμα—the κλήρον, the estate) 'into money, you now bewail your poverty; but on what have you spent the money?' ἔξαργυρος., because he had sold or mortgaged the houses and lands (cp. § 21, οἱ παρὰ τοῦτου πρᾶξιμοὶ καὶ θύμινοι). In Thuc. viii. 81, ἦν δὲ ἡ ἀλυσία καὶ ἡ ἀναία ἐργασθε ἔξαργυροῦσι βουνοῖσι into money. ἔξαργυροῦσαι is a v. l., wh. Classen adopts, following Etym. M. 240, 53, ἔξαργυροῦσαι, ἢ ἔξαργυροῦσαι, ὀνομαζομένη. Hey. xi. 80, ἔξαργυροῦσαι. In Dem. *De Fide* § 8, φ. ἀίματα πωτῆρᾷ ἀίμα (real property). τῶν ἐξαργυροῦσιν, the term is less doubtful.

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθ' ἑποπρόφην] 'But again, neither have you repented it on former hours'. The keeping of burials, esp. for the great contests, was regarded as in some sort a duty

incumbent on the rich, for the credit of the state,—horses being in a special sense at Athens ἀγαθὰ τῆς ἐπιπλοῦτος κλίβης (Aesch. *P. V.* 474). [Dem.] or. κλιτ. Ἰσοκ. *Προσ.* § 11; 'In one thing only can the defendant be proved to have shown public spirit towards you (περιεπιστάμενος δὲ ἑαυτῷ), judges: his soundness takes the form of keeping fine horses' (ἰσχυρότερος ἀγαθῶν ἔστι καὶ ἐπιπλοῦτος). Xen. *Ἱερρατὰ*. i. 12. 'You may win over parents) by explaining (this) to them,—that their sons will be forced to keep horses, if not by you, by their fortune, but that—you will deter them from giving extravagant or mad (μαρῶδες) prices for horses' (note on *Προσφ.* *Εὐκ.* xxxi. vi. p. 197). Cp. *Ἰσοκ.* or. κλιτ. § 15, στειπτεροὶ καὶ ποικίλοις ἐστίεσσι λαμπροὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεικροὶ, καὶ ἐξέστησεν Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Νεμέα, κ.τ.λ.

πλείονος ἀξίον ἢ τριῶν μῶν] about £12. The *επιπλοῦτος* of *Προσφ.* Ἰσοκράτης *Ἰσοκ.* *στέφ.* 23) cost about 12 *μισθία*, or £18; and the same is the value of a horse in [*Ἰσοκ.*] or. γιο. § 10.

οὐδὲ ζεύγος ἐκτήσω. κ.τ.λ.] 'You have never yet up to now as a pair of mules (ἀνάξια τῶν ἄλλων—ἰόνων) to the strength of (21) your large estates and wealth. Now, again, have you reckoned any one from the enemy'. Cp. *Ἰσοκ. De Evphor.* § 20, πᾶσι δὲ Ἰσθμίωνων καὶ τῶν πελοποννησιακῶν ἀσπιδότων, note, p. 253.

§ 44. τὰ ἀναθήματα κλιθεῖσθαι] 'I, c. κληθῆναι, have you daily placed on the *astrolabes* (τῶν παλίων) the votive offerings which Menexenus had caused to be made, and which death prevented him from dedicating, but they are still *hanging* about in the stone cutters' shops'.—πόλις = ἀκρόπολις, *Thuc.* ii. 15, καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτην κατοικίαν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.—κεκόμενος, not merely 'carried', but taken to their proper place.—κλιθεῖσθαι should, I think, be read here: Attic writers seem to use κλιθεῖσθαι in the literal sense, κλιθεῖσθαι in the figurative; cp. *Isocr. Adv. Sophist.* § 20, τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐμάδας κλιθευμένων, note, p. 298.

176 ἐσάντων ἰγίγγυον] '—καὶ ἴσως τοῖς ἱεροῖς, 'some be taken by right': see § 13, note, p. 369. ἀγάλματα in the proper sense, statues of gods as opp. to ἀνδριάντες, cp. § 42.

§ 45. λειτουργίας τριηραρχῶν] On the distinction between the ordinary λειτουργίαι and the τριηραρχία, cp. *Isocr. De Pace*, § 128, note, p. 335.

§ 46. πάλαιον Ὀλένθαι γηροῦσθαι] The Corinthian War (394.—387 B.C.), of which this (390) was the 5th year. Corinthians, as well as the smaller allies, had furnished furnished troops to Athens in the course of the war. If the year 372 B.C. were taken as the date of the speech, the notice might be

referred to the Peloponnesian War of 432—379 B.C.,—when the Athenians were, in a sense, fighting the battle of Athens. The mention of *ἐπισημότητά* then be explained by the fact that, when war was resumed between Athens and Sparta in 374 B.C., Cleon became a centre of hostility. But *καταύρα* and *ταύρα* in § 46 can mean nothing but the Corinthian War; it could not, without strain, be applied to the whole international struggle against Sparta.—See *Attic Orators*, II. 351.

τὸν τύραννον Ἡρόδοτος. Cp. Thuc. I. 20. Ἀρμόδιος γὰρ τὰ πόλιν Ἰππαρχὸν ἀπέβη ἐξ Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτωνος πόρνεον ἕνεκα ἀποβίαις, καὶ οὐκ ἴσταντο οὐκ ἴππας γὰρ πρῶτον βύρατος ὧν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱῶν, Ἰππαρχὸς δὲ καὶ ἑταρὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔσχε αὐτῶν. Herod. (v. 55) does not make this error. Nor need we suppose it here, since τὸν τύραννον implies merely a number of the ruling house; cp. *Andros De Myst.* § 100, κατέσχευε τὸν τύραννον [—τὸν Πεισιστράτην] ἐπὶ Παλλήνῃ.

§ 47. τὴν ἐν Πρωτανίῳ σίτησιν. κ.τ.λ.] Cp. *Andros De Myst.* § 45, note on ἐδείπνα, p. 226.—προεδριῶν, 'places of honour' or 'seats', etc.; ἀνάγκη, ἀναγκαστικὸν ἔκαστον;—Ἀριστογείτων...καὶ Ἀρμόδιος; cp. *Dem. F. L.* § 280, ὑπομεινέτε...τὸν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ τῶν τῶν μέγιστ' ἀγαθῶν ἡμᾶς ἐργασμένων, οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς ἐργασίας...ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἔταξαν καὶ ἐκράσαντο αὐτοῖσι τραπεζῆν καὶ ἔπειτα αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἰσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς...τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δίκην ὑπεσχηθέναι, — τὴν δὲ Ἀγρομένην ἕρπεντα; *Demosthenes In Demosth.* 403. Ἐπισημότης τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου γεγονότων εἰς κατὰ τὸ σὸν πρόσταγμα, was hyperbolical by reason of the fact that *ἐπισημότης* = 'the essential'; cp. *Ag. Eq.* 786, μὴν ἐκγονος εἰ τῶν Ἀρμοδίου τις ἐκείνων;

II. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΝΙΟΥ ΚΛΗΡΟΥ. (9η κ.)—'On 177 the Estate of Hagnias'.—Theopompus, the speaker and defendant, possesses the estate of Hagnias. Half of this estate is claimed from Theopompus on behalf of his nephew, the son of Stratoceles. The form of the prosecution is an *Information for maltreatment* (*εἰσαγγελία κακώσεως*); the son of Stratoceles being considered as an orphan whom his uncle, Theopompus, has wronged. The date is 359 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, II. 354—8.

Theopompus had already, under a legal decision, taken this estate away from Phylomachè II. (see the stemma), daughter of his own second cousin Eubulides II.

The essential points are these:—(1) Theopompus and Hagnias were brothers of *ἀδελφῶν*, first-cousins, and were therefore second-cousins to each other; (2) Eubulides II., father of Phylomachè II., was *first-cousin* of Hagnias.

§§ 1—19.

The *epitaphium* begins by reading the laws which regulate the succession of collateral kinsfolk to an estate: and shows that, by those laws, the son of Stratonice is excluded. There is no reason to suppose that the *epitaphium* is lost. The worthlessness of Isidorus, *καὶ τὸ Ἀποφ(ῶν κλέρος) τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς, κ.τ.λ.* (16. 307), and the third, *καὶ τὸ Ἡμερολόγιον (16. 307)*, begin with similar abruptness.

§ 1, 2. *δὲ τὰ ἐξ' ἀκληρονομίαν*] 'I have read you the laws, because the plaintiff contends that, under the first of them, the son (the son of Stratonice) is entitled to half the estate; but this is untrue. The *Harmonas* was not our brother (you, *Therapontus* himself and the other second-cousins of *Harmonas*, § 10), but the law, speaking of a brother's property, has given the inheritance—

(1) first, to brothers, being sons of the same father, and the children of such brothers: this is the first degree of kinship to the deceased: but failing these,

(2) secondly, the law adds to the succession sisters by the same father, and their children: failing these,

(3) in the third degree (*τρίτῳ γένει*) it gives the preference to first cousins (*ἀδελφῶν*) on the father's side, transferring it to their children (*μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων = μέχρι ἀνεψιαδῶν*).

(4) Failing these also, the law resorts to the direct line (*τὸ τὸ γένος*, the direct lineage on the maternal side, as opp. to collateral kinship on the paternal) and gives the usufruct of the property [*ποιεῖ κυρίου αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ. τῶν χρημάτων*] to the kinsmen of the deceased on the mother's side, under the same rules by which, in the first instance (*ἀρχῆν*), it called the paternal kinsfolk to the inheritance'.

The gist of the whole *epitaphium* is that *Therapontus*, being the son of a first-cousin (*πρῶτον καὶ*) is under *μοστίου* (3), as the *epitaphium* on the paternal side, while his nephews, being the son of a second-cousin, is out of it.

§ 3. *τὰς τὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχιστείας, κ.τ.λ.*] *ἐπιπέταται* (*προσφίσις*) these claims by kinship, and no others': *ἀρχιστεία*, a degree of nearness to the testator such as the law of inheritance recognises, opp. to *συγγένεια*, natural kinship, which may or may not be *ἀρχιστεία*: see or. v. note on § 14, *κατ' ἀρχιστείας*. — *συνομοστέρας*: for the form, cp. I-ocr. *Panegy.* § 163, *ἐρρομοστέρας*, note, p. 311. — *ταύτην*, 'to this effect'.

πρῶτῃ καὶ τῇ ἀρχιστείᾳ καὶ τῇ συγγένειᾳ] *ἐπιπέταται* 178
ἐπιπέταται τὰς τὰς τῇ συγγένειᾳ—ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχιστείᾳ. *ὅσα ἐπὶ*

τῆς συγγενείας. 'outside of the kinship'—outside of that kinship which the law recognizes as constituting ἐγγιστοία.

§ 4. ἀναβιβασάμενος ἐπαναγενώσκων] 'I will therefore call him up here and question him before you, raising the provisions of the law, clause by clause'. ἀναβιβασάμενος, to the βῆμα from which either party in a law-suit spoke, I gives *In Theaet.* § 15, note, p. 275: for the ἐπιβῆται, cp. *Lysis In Protagora* § 24, ἀναβῆται, ὡς μοι καὶ ἐπιβῆται, κ. τ. λ., p. 79. In ὑπαγεργεῖσθε, ἔπειτα leading him up gradually from point to point: cp. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 2. 16, Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπαγεῖν, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τελευταίᾳ λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, ἵνα οὐκ ἀποστῆται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστῆσαντων. ἵνα οὐκ ἀποστῆται, so that the troops who were about to rejoin them.

§ 5. ἀδελφείοῖς ἢ πρὸς πατρίδ] The son of Πισιστάτης (παῖς) was not, of course, any one of those φίλοις. Πισιστάτης, to Πισιστάτης, οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄλλοι οὐκ ἄλλοι.—Stratocles and Hagnias having been sons of ἀνεψιοί, first-cousins.

καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐρεῖς] 'And take care that you do not say!'. Xen. *Cor.* i. 2. 18, ἄπειρε ἄν ἀπολέῃς ποιεῖσθαι. Goodwin § 46. 4.

εἰ ἡμφισβήτε ἂν προσήκει] 'If he were claiming my property [which he is doing], this would [be that] appropriate] be fitting', etc.: but ἂν προσήκειν, 'this would now be [as it is not] fitting'. Cp. Dem. *De Cor.* § 206, εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουσιν λέγειν, ... οὐκ ἐστ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὐκότως ἐπιτιμῆσαι μοι. Goodwin § 54.

179 τῆς ἀγχιστείας τὸ γένος] 'The descent of the relationship', cp. § 2, τρίτῳ γένει. So § 6, τοῦ γένους... μαρτυρίας: § 17, τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς γένος, note.

§ 6. δομῆσθαι ἵνα μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύετο] '(It was his duty to make an affidavit (δωμοσία)..., so that he might have had a better chance of being believed'. The addition of ἂν shows that ἵνα... ἐπιστεύετο is not only a final clause, but also an apodosis with a suppressed protasis: i. e. ἵνα ἐπιστεύετο, ὡς περ ἐπιστεύετο ἂν, εἰ δίδωμεντο. This is very rare: but cp. Plato *Legg.* 959 η, ζῶντι ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὅπως ὅ τι δικαιότατος ὦν καὶ ὀπίωτατος εἴη τε ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀτιμώρητος ἂν κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγίγμετο, = ὅπως ἐγίγμετο, ὡς περ ἂν ἐγίγμετο, εἰ ὄσως εἴη. Goodwin § 41. 3, Note 1.

ἐκείνῳ καταγεῖν τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν] 'to disclose against me on this information'. The εἰσαγγελία being pronounced under an εἰσαγγελία κακώσεως, an information charging him with maltreatment of an orphan, viz. his nephew. This was a special form of the γραφή κακώσεως. Any citizen might lay before the

estate on the father's side. But Theopompus was *deceased* *παρ* only in respect to the *father* of Hagnias. In respect to Hagnias he was not *deceased παρ*, a first-cousin *once removed*, but a second cousin. Theopompus was not really in the *ἀγνοητός* at all: still less, of course, was he *μητρώου*, the son of Stratius. Phylomachè, as daughter of a paternal first-cousin of Hagnias, had a better claim than any living relative. If Phylomachè had died, then the next heir would have been Glaucus, who would have claimed under provision (4) as a brother of the testator by the same mother (though not *ἐκμήτρως*). The division by which Theopompus took the estate from Phylomachè was unjust.

181 ἐγίγνετο] 'devolved': cp. or. v. § 13, note, p. 369.

§ 11. τὸ δὲ γινώσκουσι σκοπεῖον ἐστὶ] 'But what are you to find good that I had an admission—claim of kinship, while there was this boy included, has none? The law itself will show. That the succession includes that which is on the father's side, and continues it to *three* children, is admitted on all hands: but whether, after *one* (the children of first-cousins), the law gives it to *two* children—that is the question'. τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενοῖσιν, viz. the offspring of Stratius and Stratonia, who, like Theopompus, were really second-cousins of Hagnias: see last note.

§ 12. ἀλλὰ ἐπέθεκε] 'but has assigned the inheritance to the kin of the deceased on the mother's side',—under provision (4) of the law cited in §§ 1, 2, where see note.

κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπισημένον] 'in the same manner which was indicated in the first instance', viz., in the case of the kinsfolk *πρὸς πατρός*. Cp. § 2, κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰπερ τοῖς πρὸς πατρός ἐξ ἄρχῃ ἢς ἐδίδοι.—ἐπισημένον, said by way of preliminary definition: see Dem. *In Aristot.* § 53, διόοντος γὰρ τοῦ νόμου σαφῶς οὕτως καὶ λέγοντος ἐφ' οἷς ἐξείναι κτείνειν, οὗτος ἅπαντα παροῦθε ταῦτα, καὶ γέγραφεν, οὐδὲν ὑπειπών, ὅπως ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ, τὴν τιμωρίαν: i.e. though the law specifies some cases (of involuntary homicide) as exempted from the penalty, this man has set down the penalty *without any preliminary reservation* (οὐδὲν ὑπειπών), no matter what the circumstances of the homicide may be. Cp. Dem. *De Cor.* § 60, ταῦτα ἀναυρήσω καὶ τούτων ἐφέξω, τοσούτου ὑπειπών, 'with only this much of preface'.

οἷς δὲ μὴ δὲ καὶ τετελευτησῶς ἢν ἐγώ] 'But even when they to whom, even if I were dead, the law does not grant the inheritance, suppose that the succession is theirs while I live and you are dead, *γινώσκουσι*? Under the will of Stratus took the estate from Phylomachè, § 18]. The mss., μὴδ' εἰ τετελευτησῶσιν ὡσαύτως, ὡς ἐγώ: Scheibe, following Reiske (with the

change of α to ω); $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$: but α should be retained, reading, with Dobree, $\eta\upsilon$ for ω .

§ 13. $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ \{\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma\}$ 'For the boy's father [Stratocles] was related [to Hagnias] only in their degree' ($\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, only in the same degree with those who were common to both, the Theopompus himself and Stratocles: $\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ denoting that $\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ or grade of kinship, just as below § 18 $\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is similarly used. Dobree is not right then, I think, in accounting for $\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ by the disappearance of α in alluding to the children of Stratocles (§ 13): and $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is correct.

$\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$: 'that this man (the speaker on behalf of the boy) should resort to voluntary proceedings, and that, though he did not think fit to contest the case or to bring a rival claim ($\tau\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) when I was going to law for the estate—the proper resort for the possessor of any thing that he had to raise an *actio* proinde—he should now make this boy a pretor for associating me with Hagnias, and bring my civil existence into peril'. The $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ was a deposit made (to be fulfilled or $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$) by one who claimed the whole of an inheritance from another. Thus, $\kappa\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ Theopompus $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ Phylamisios (§ 16), it was necessary for him to make such a deposit, as the estate was already his. If the son of Stratocles had claimed the whole estate from Theopompus, when he was, this would have proceeded by $\tau\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ but, in fact, he claimed only the half, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ($\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$), 'in the boy's name', not as pretor, 'on the boy's behalf' ($\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$). $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$. Better $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota$. Cp. Dem. Adv. Leptin. § 126, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\prime\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \eta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$... $\tau\omicron\ \tau\omega\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\iota\omega\ \delta\omicron\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \tau\omega\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omega\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omega\ \eta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$.— $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\omega\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, because he might incur $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$: § 35, $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Cp. § 6, note.

§ 14. $\tau\omega\ \delta\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\omega\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \tau\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ 'the unquestioned property of the boy', viz. the patrimony left to him by his father Stratocles. Theopompus was guardian, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, of his nephew: see § 27, $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\acute{\epsilon}\ \lambda\acute{\eta}\xi\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omicron\delta\iota\omega\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$: $\omicron\delta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Hence $\delta\iota\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ here. $\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, meaning that the $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ was (as this $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of his client, the boy.

$\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ alluding to the verdict of the court which took the $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ from Phylamisios and gave it to Theopompus: § 18. $\phi\lambda\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, 'after allowing anyone who pleased to dispute it', in reference to the claim put forward by the mother of Hagnias, *ib.*

ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγῶνας παρασκευάζειν] 'set up such law-suits for this property': cp. *Lysias In Agon.* § 12, p. 79, ἐκείνη δὲ μακροτέρου παρασκευάσαντες.—ἐπὶ τούτοις, not strictly 'with a view to', but 'on the ground of', as just before, ἐφ' ἧς κινήσθαι.

§ 15. οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρόν] *in minutissimis gradibus*, 'not in the slightest degree'. Cp. *or. v.* § 10, p. 168, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐχαιστότερον μέρος. But in *Ar. Geom.* 702, ἐκτείνουσι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰετῶδες, 'little by little, gradually': *Xen. An. vii.* 3, 22, ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρόν, *minutim*, 'in little bits'.

μαθήσεσθαι ἀκούσαντας] 'But I think that you will understand the case [*περὶ αὐτῶν περὶ*] still more exactly in the light of further comments [*καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὅρη. ὡς ἐκ τῶν φησὶ ἐμαυτοῦ*], when you have heard the history of my action in claim of the estate' ἵνα καθέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπίδικασίαν ὡς γέγονεν.

ὁ νῦν ἐμὲ εἰσαγγέλλων, κ.τ.λ.] 'who now lays the information against me', the εἰσαγγεῖλια κακώσεται: see on § 6.—παρακαταθήσκειν [πὲρ τοῦ πατρῶς, 'to institute a claim on the boy's behalf']: see on § 13.

153 οὐδὲν δὲ ἄλλο - ἢ ὅτι - οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον προσήκειν] [they abstained from suing to law] 'for no other reason than because they thought that they had no claim to this property'. Cp. § 16, εἴθετοι θεὶ ἔγωγε τῶν ἀγῶνων. I prefer this to Schindke's conjecture, οὐδὲν ἄλλο δ' αὐτῶν κινήσασθαι προσήκειν, 'simply because they thought', etc. Reiske suggests, οὐδὲ [ἢ ἄλλο] οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι [κατὰ γένει αὐτῶν κατὰ ἕκαστον] αὐτῶν δὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν.

§ 16. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν οὗτος, κ.τ.λ.] 'since even the prosecutor would not be suing me now, if I allowed him to plunder the boy's property and did not thwart him': i.e. as on the former occasion the sons of Stratius refrained from litigation, so the son of Stratocles would refrain now, did not this postulator instigate him, out of spite, because I was ἐπιτροπὴ of the boy: protect my ward's property from his designs.

οἱ...πράττοντες] Cp. § 9, τῶν αὐτῇ συμπραττόντων, 'her accomplices', note.

τῷ Στρατίου παιδί] 'whose relationship (to Ηρακλῆς) was properly (because, as sign. to her ἀλλοτριῶν) only the same as that of the son of Stratius'. For τῷ Στρατίου παιδί we must read, either with Schumann, τῷ Στρατιάδῳ παιδί, (the nephew of Τροφίμῳ,) which seems best: or with Diller, τῷ Στρατίου παιδί.—The assertion made here is false: see stemma. Εὐκλείδης, the father of Πηλοκλεῖδῃ, was the ἀπείθευστα of

Hagnias. Stratius, Stratocles and Theopompus were only his second-sons. See on § 10. *πρὸς πατέρα ἢ ἀμφὸς πατρὸς*.

οἱ κύριοι τῆς Ἄ. μητρός; 'the legal representatives of the mother of Hagnias': see on v. § 10, note, p. 367.

ἦσαν οἰοί τε] 'were capable of ἐπιτάλασσαι: cp. Dem. *In Mid.* § 85, *ὅτι τὸ ἢ πρὸς τὸν κτήνη, ἢ ἐπιτάλασσαι, τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποδοτέρας ἀποδοτέρας*. 'he was capable of pressing the arbitrator to return the award given against him as if it had been an award in his favour'. ἀπειλάσει αὐτὸν (Scholbe), without *σε*, would mean merely, 'the kind of men likely to contend', and is unsuitable here. See on viii. § 21, p. 192. *καταίρει αὐτὸν ἢ*, 'I felt inclined to carry him away'.

§ 17. ὁ τι ἀντιγράφονται περὶ τῆς ἀγχ.] 'what plea of kinship they should oppose to mine: ἀντιγγρ., deliberative-adj., vivid for ὁ τι ἀντιγράμματα.—ἀντιγραφέ, the plea put in against his ἐπιδικασία (§ 15) or claim.

ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τολμήσαντες] 'the possessor of the estate (Phylomache, daughter of Eubulides), and those who set forth her claim in kinship, as they misrepresented the matter, were easily convicted by me, then and there, of having unadvisedly framed a statement devoid of truth'. εἰ περὶ αὐτῆς γένος, ἢ. 'the degree of relationship which concerned her', *ἢ*, on which her claim rested: see § 5. τὸ γένος τῆς ἀγχιστείας, note.—*ταρῶ*, at the time. *ἀναίτιον* of her claim, whenever the mother's claim was revived in a new form.—*γράφει*, not—the technical ἀντιγράφωμαι, but simply of a statement in writing (Holmes on). See ἀλλοτὴ γράφει, but αὐτὴ ἀλλοτὴ τι—αὐτὸ ἀπὸ ἀληθείας. Cp. § 18, αὐτῶν οὐκ ἰσχυρὸς τι.

γίνα μὲν. γ.γ.λ.] Since, though her collateral kinship [with her son Hagnias] was the same as my own, (for she was the sister of Stratius,) she was excluded by the law which gives the preference to males, they dropped that plea [of kinship], and, thinking to get the better of me, described her as *mother of the deceased*.—Polemon, father of Hagnias, had married the daughter of his own first cousin. Hence the mother of Hagnias was at the same time the second-cousin of her son. Her claim was, on this score, the same as that of Theopompus: his was better only because males were preferred to females.

συγγινέστατον ἀγχιστείας] See on v. § 13, note, p. 370. 184—*ἢ*, as I granted: see on p. 11, note 6.

§ 18. εἶτα *γράφου ἀνεπιού *πατρός εἶναι... ἐξήλεγξα] 'Next, when she described herself as the daughter of a *Stet-sousis* [and no longer mother of Hagnias], I proved that daughters of *Stet-sousis*, too, were not in the succession [with

a first-cousin's son existed). Thus I established my claim (*etc.* *ἀνακατατίθημι*) before *γὰρ*, *etc.*—*αὐτίκα*: see on *ἐκείνου*, § 13. — Schöbe proposed to read, *γὰρ* *ἔπειτα* *ἀνακατατίθημι* *πρὸς* (*καί*) *πατρὸς* *αὐτοῦ*, *αὐτίκα* *ἀνακατατίθημι* *ἐξ* *ἐκείνου*. But there was no occasion for him to describe himself again as *δεύτερος* *παις*, since that was the quality in which he had claimed from the first.

καὶ *αὐτῶν* *οὐκ* (*ἐσχυσέ* *τι*) 'and of these pleas not one proved valid;—for the possessor of the estate, it availed not that she had already got a verdict against the claimants under the will [(i.e. against *Ὀδύσεον*, § 9); for the other, it availed not that she was the mother of the testator].—*οὐκ* *ἐσχυσέ* *τι* *ἢ* *ἄλλῃθές* *τι*, § 17, note.

ἔμοι *τὴν* *ψήφον* *ἤνεγκαν*] 'gave their vote in my favour'. Cp. Dem. *In Mof.* § 51, *καὶ* *ἔμοι* *ἔπειτα* *τὴν* *ψήφον* *ἔνεκεν*.

§ 19. *ἀντιδικῆσαι* *τῷ* *παιδί* *τοῦ* *ἡμικληρίου*] 'to litigate the moiety of the estate on behalf of the boy'.—*πρὸς* *τῷ* *παιδί*. After *ἀντιδικῆσαι*, the adversary is usually designated by *πρὸς* *τῷ*, not *τῷ* *ἄνδρ.* § 16. *πρὸς* *αὐτῷ* in Dem. *or. xiv.* 445. *ἐπιδικῆσαι*, § 13, *πρὸς* *ἑαυτῷ* *τῷ* *κατά* *κατά* *ἀντιδικῆσαι*, the figurative sense (= 'contend against') explains the dat.

165 III. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΡΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΗΡΟΥ. [Or. viii.] 'On the Estate of Ciron'.—Ciron married his first wife, by whom he had one daughter. This daughter was married, first, to Xanthosides; secondly, to another husband by whom she had two sons, of whom the eldest is the speaker.

After the death of his first wife, Ciron married the sister of the Diocles, and had by her two sons, both of whom died young.

At the death of Ciron, his estate was claimed by his daughter's eldest son. But the son of Ciron's brother, instigated by Diocles, set up a counter-claim on two distinct grounds: 1. That Ciron's grandson is illegitimate; 2. That, supposing him legitimate, a brother's son has a better claim than a daughter's son.

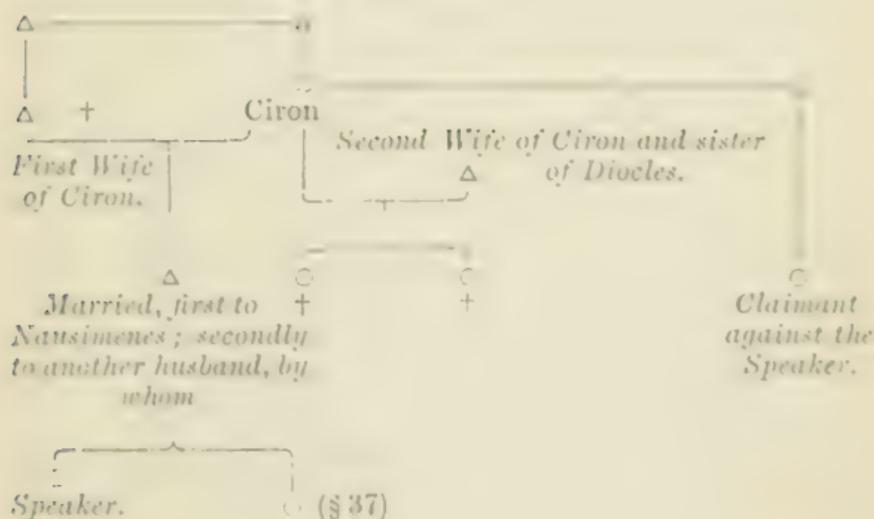
This speech is the defendant's answer.

The only indication of the date is that the speaker and his opponent were born after the death of Cleisthenes, Or. 24. 2. 403 B.C. (§ 43, *μετ'* *Ἐκκλέθην* *γὰρ* *ἄρχοντα* *γενόμενον*). The speech cannot, then, be put before 383 B.C. On the other hand, the speaker's remark of 'after *ἰσχυροτάτου*' *ἢ* *ἄλλῃ* *ἡλικίας*—*ἔτι* *ἄν*, if he was a young man, the date cannot be much below 383, since otherwise it would have been surprising for him to call the judges that he was born after

408. The date is probably about 375 B.C.—*Attic Orators*, II. 327 f.

This speech exhibits the powers of Isæus perhaps at their best, in its combination of the old plainness with the modern force, of artistic narrative with logical proof. It is here given in full, with the exception of four sections at the end (43—46).

STEMMA.



§§ 1—12.

§ 1. ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις] Indignation must necessarily be felt, indeed, in a case where men not only dare to claim the property of others, but also hope by their own assertions to abolish the privileges which the law grants: i.e. not only does the claimant seek to deprive me of property which in fact is mine, but he also misstates the law on the subject. The first clause refers to the claimant's statement that the speaker's mother was not the legitimate daughter of Ciron; the second, to his statement that a brother's son inherits before a daughter's son.

οἰτροῦ] viz. the nephew of Ciron, and Diocles, the brother of Ciron's second wife, who adopted the nephew: cp. § 3.

ὡς οὐκ ὄντας ἢ οὐδὲ γενόμενης] alleging that we are not the sons of his daughter, and that he never had a daughter at all. γενόμενης, gen. absol. to which αὐτῆς belongs, as well as to ὄντας, — οὐδέ, Reiske for the ms., οὔτε.

§ 2. αὐτούς... τούτων] τούτων referring to the same persons as αὐτοῖς: cp. Andoc. *De Myst.* § 64, αὐτοῖς followed by ἐκείτους, p. 41.

τό - τε - πλήθος] *ms.*. τὸ πλῆθος: Baiter and Sauppe. τὸ τε πλῆθος. Scheibe, with Schömann. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος.

ἔχουσι... κρατοῦσι] 'have taken by force, and (still) hold in their grasp'.

§ 3. τὴν μὲν οὖν κρίσιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Now you must not suppose that in this trial my real adversary is the man who has insulted the claim; it is Diocles of Phlya, surnamed Orestes. For it is he who has suborned (παροσκεύσας) the claimant to vex us with these proceedings, because he himself is withholding (ἀπέστρεψε) from us the property which our grandfather bequeathed'. — Isaeus wrote two speeches, now lost, against this man, *κατὰ Διοκλέους ἰβριέως* (perh. in the γένος noticed below, § 41) and *πρὸς Διοκλέα περὶ χωρίου*, *fragm.* VIII. IX. Sauppe *Op. A.* II. 230. — Ορέστης: a nickname for any violent character, borrowed from the robber mentioned by Aristophanes (with an allusion to the *Orestes* of Eurip.), *Acharn.* 1166, *ὄρα κατάλα τὸ αὐτὸ μένος τῆσι κεφαλῇ Ορέστης κειμήλιος*. (*Attic Orators*, II. 328.)

186

§ 4. ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι] 'even as justice prescribes', stronger than δίκαιον ἐστίν: cp. Plat. *Legg.* 630 B, ὥσπερ τὸ τε εὐσεβὲς εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ γὰρ θεῶν (ἡμετέῃ) βελτιώσεως λέγειν, as truth and justice prescribe that we should speak in discussing superhuman excellence: *Lambert* 181 n. ὥσπερ το δίκαιον, as right enjoins.

§ 5. πρὸς παρασκευάς λόγων καὶ μάρτυρας, κ.τ.λ.] 'against fabricated statements and witnesses whose depositions are false', cp. Dem. *Adv. Orest.* I. § 3, *ἴδρα μὲν οὖν, ὃ δέλεος δεικνύται, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς παρασκευάς λόγων καὶ μάρτυρας ἀλλὰ τὰ λυγρὰ μισθιφάρατα ἔργα ἐστίν*. And so, too, the phrase here, *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἐλεεινὸν, ὃ δέλεος, εἰς ἄγωνα καθίστασθαι περὶ τῶν δεικνύτων*, has an echo in Dem. *Adv. Arched.* I. § 2, *ἴδρα μὲν οὖν, ὃ δέλεος δεικνύται, ὅτι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεικνύται καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δεικνύμενος γὰρ ἐλεεινὸν ἐστίν εἰς ἄγωνα καθίστασθαι περὶ τῶν δεικνύτων*. Demosthenes was doubtless aided by the counsel of Isaeus in preparing for the contests with Archedemus and Orestes, though these earliest speeches of Demosthenes have a thoroughly original stamp: see *Attic Orators*, II. 267—269.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσδοκώμενον] 'At the same time, I have strong hopes that you will ratify my just claims, and also that in stating these claims—if in nothing else—my own part will be duly done,—unless some such mischance befall as I apprehend just now' [where 'just' will render γιγνώσκω]: alluding,

apparently, either to an indisposition from which the speaker was suffering, or to some interruption or annoyance which he anticipated from his opponents. In either case, the clause *ἄν μὴ τι σιωπῆς*, &c. &c. is evidently an appeal bespeaking the sympathy of the judges.

βοηθήσαι μοι τὰ δίκαια] *βοηθήσαι μοι τὰ δίκαια βοηθήσαι*, 'to give me your righteous aid', concrete for *βοηθήσεται ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὰ δίκαια* (see *Iss. or. iv. § 4, δίκαια δίκαιον βοηθεῖν μοι τὰ δίκαια*). Cp. *Lysias or. xxxiv. § 10, παρτίσεται ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὰ δίκαια ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδικουμένων βοηθεῖν*, note, p. 242.

§ 6. *λόγων ἀκοῇ καὶ μαρτύρων τοῖς εἰδόσι χρ. μάρτυσιν*] (I will prove this to you), in regard to the events further back, by statements at second-hand, vouched for by those who heard them (*λόγων ἀκοῇ καὶ μαρτύρων*); in regard to events within living memory, by witnesses personally cognizant of the facts (*τοῖς εἰδόσι χρ. μάρτυσιν*): *λόγων ἀκοῇ καὶ μαρτύρων*: III. 'by the hearing of reports (*ἀκοῇ*, *γεν.*) and the hearing (thereof) by witnesses (*μαρτήρ. γεν.*)': i.e. I will bring witnesses who can vouch for *ἀληθ. λόγων*, things which are not, indeed, within their personal knowledge, but which they know from *hearsay*. Cp. *Thuc. i. 73, τὰ πάντα παλαιὰ τι δεῖ λόγων*: *ὡς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ λόγων ἀκούειν* (for which the evidences are rather hearsay reports) *ἢ εἴπειν τῶν ἀκουσθέντων*. So below, § 29, *τὸν γὰρ παλαιὸν (nost.) ἔπειν μαρτυροῦντων παραχρήματα, τῶν δὲ ἐν βίῳ γεγονότων (nost.) τῶν εἰδόμενων ἕκαστα τούτων*.

ἐτι δὲ τεκμηρίοις] 'and, further, by positive proofs': *τεκμηρίοις*, here, logical inferences from established facts, as opp. to *μαρτύρια*, allegations tending to establish facts: cp. *Antiph. De Caed. Her. § 81, note, p. 215*.

ὅθεν οὖν ἤρξαντο διδάσκειν] 'Starting, then, from the point at which they [the claimants] began their account of the matter, [i.e. τὸν γοναθῆν, the history of the bequest,] I will endeavour to give you my version of it'. 187

§ 7. *τὴν ἐμὴν τῆθην*, &c. &c.] The first wife of Ciron was also his first-cousin (*ἀδελφὴ*), and was the grandmother (grandmother of the speaker). — *ἀδελφὴ γοναθῆν*: *ἀδελφὴ* is not, I think, recorded (as in *Iss. or. iii. § 73, τὸν γοναθῆν τὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν ἀδελφῶν ἀδελφῶν*), but *ἄδελφον*, emphatic, in symmetry with *ἀδελφὴ* 'herself the child of his own mother's sister'—a way of marking, on the speaker's part, that he and his brother, the children of the first marriage, had an additional tie with the house of Ciron which was not shared by the connections (such as Diodes) through the second marriage.

μετὰ ἐνιαυτοῦς τέτταρας] *μετὰ τεσσάρων*, which *ἔταρ*

stand, since the words could not mean 'after a life of 30 years'. *Dobson* conj. *πέντακς*, supposing X to have been written by mistake for δ'.

ἐγγινέσθην] 'was born in due course' (*improbi.*): γινέσθαι A, whence Bekker *γίγνεσθαι*.

καὶ ἐκείνην τε ἔτρεφε. κ.τ.λ.] *i.e.* *τρέφει τοὺς υἱοὺς. . . ἐκείνου* α. For the place of τε, cp. *Antiph. Tetr. B. 9. § 1. τοῖμας τε τε ἄλλα*, note, p. 203. — *τιμωρὴν εἶχετ' ἄδικας*: cp. *Lycurg. or. 11. § 29. εἴτ' ἔτιμωρητ' ἀρμάτων εἴτ' ἀδικίας ἔχουσ' εἶδεναι παρ' τούτων*. — *Χολαργεῖ*: of the deme *Χολαργός*.

§ B. σύν ἱματίοις ἐπιδοῦς] 'with a dowry, including (also) clothes or jewels, of 25 minas'. Cp. *Isae. or. 31. § 42. καταλαβὴ τέσσα τελευταῖα εἰσὶναι καὶ τριπερικλάω θρησκυλῆ πέντε ἑκατὸν παρρησίαι*. — ἐπιδοῦς: ἐπί = 'with' the bride: cp. *Lycurg. Prou. Must. § 10*, note, p. 214.

ὁ δὲ πάππος. κ.τ.λ.] 'Our grandfather' [her father, *Οἴων*] 'took her to his home: and, without withdrawing the dowry (large as it was) which he had given on account of the embarrassed circumstances of Nausimachus, bestowed her hand in a second marriage on my father', etc.

§ Θ. ταυτὶ δὴ πάντα (ξηῦρον] 'How, then, is one to place the truth of all these facts beyond dispute, in face of the charges which the claimants are making now? [cp. after so long an interval]. — I sought, and I discovered, a way'. — *αἰτίαι*, the imputations cast on the genuineness of the speaker's descent. For the rhetorical *ἀπολογεῖσθαι*, cp. *or. 30. xi. § 11. p. 181. τῷ δὲ γένεσθαι ταυτὶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ἀγχιγενεῖα, καὶ τὸ δὲ δόξαν γεγονόσιν οὐκ ἦν...; αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος δηλώσει*.

- 186 ἀνάγκη τὴν ἡμῶν μητέρα. κ.τ.λ.] 'The question whether my mother was or was not the daughter of *Οἴων*—the fact that she lived, or did not live, in his house—the question whether he gave a marriage-feast for her once only, or twice—ad this point he wishes to the male and female slaves of his household'. The difference of *ἡμῶν* made by the alternation of *ἡμῶν*—*ἡμῶν* is roughly represented by the alternation of 'question' and 'fact' in such a version as the above. The only practical difference here is that the clause in which *οὐ* is used refers to that point which a member of the household would at once affirm or deny as the most positive matter,—*viz.* whether the *ἡμῶν* or had not been a resident member of the family. See on *Antiph. De Caed. Her. § 14. ἢ μή...ἢ οὐ*, p. 211. Cp. *Dem. Adv. Lept. § 83. οὐχ ὁ νόμος κρίνεται, πότερον ἔστιν ἐπιτήδειος ἢ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς δοκιμάμεσθε, εἴτ' ἐπιτήδειοι πάσχειν ἔστι εὐ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἴτε μή*.

[§ 10. βουλόμενος οὖν, &c.] 'Wishing, then, in addition to the witnesses whom I had already, to procure proof of the facts from depositions made under torture,—in order that you might believe [πείθεσθαι, vivid for πείθειν] my witnesses (αἰεὶ) the more, when this ordeal for their veracity was past and not prospective.—I required the claimants (τῶν κτῶν) to give up their male and female slaves for the question, both on these points, and on all others of which they were cognizant'. He proposed to examine the slaves under torture on the same matters to which the depositions of his witnesses referred. If the slaves confirmed the statements of the witnesses, then the witnesses would come into court with a presumption already established in favour of their truthfulness: whereas, if they had not been tested in this way, the court might always suspect that the evidence of the household, could it be obtained, would contradict them. Cp. Lycurg. *In Leocrat.* § 28, *οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἀποστῆναι ἄλλοις ἀμαρτίας ἔλλα βελανδύων. παρεκλήθηκα γὰρ αὐτοῖς, προσέλασθαι ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπίστευ γυναικῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τούτων κτῶν ἀστῆναι: i.e. 'I think witnesses should pass the ordeal of veracity before, and not after, they depose in court. Now I wanted their attendance [at the ordeal, or examination of the slaves], after drawing up a challenge [πρόκλησις, to surrender slaves] referring to all these points, and claiming to put the defendant's slaves to the question'.*

[§ 12. καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, &c.] 'Both in private and in public matters': ἰδίᾳ, as in *ἀλλοις*, etc.: δημοσίᾳ, as e.g. when the Hermæ were mutilated. This whole passage, from *ἔπειτα αὐτῶν καὶ ἵψα* to *ἵν' εὖ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀπίστευ τούτων* nearly verbatim in *Dem. 10th. Orat.* 1, § 37. Cp. *Isocr.* *or.* xvii. § 54, *ἵνα δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν δημοσίων εὖτε πιστῶν, τούτων δὲ ἀναβήσονται ἀποδοῦναι μαρτυρίας, καὶ μάλιστα αἰεὶ φρονημένους εἶναι καὶ τῶν μὴ γεγονημένων παρασκευάσασθαι, τὰς δὲ βελανδύων ἀμαρτίας ἐπιβουλεύει ἡμεῖς—ἀλλοθὶ λέγουσι, &c.] Cic. *Topica* xx. § 74, *nam et verberibus, tormentis, igni fatigati quæ dicunt, ea videtur veritas ipsa dicere.* It must be remembered that under Greek and Roman law *civitates* were ordinarily protected from torture, and that it is *vulgaris* who pronounced those astounding passages on the usefulness of torture to truth. Cp. *Andoc. De Myst.* § 43, note, p. 226.*

[οἰδίνες πώποτε ἐξηλέγχθησαν] The rhetorical theory of torture—whether anyone believed it or not—was that a person under torture will tell the truth because it is *his interest* to tell the truth: see the *Πρωτοὶ πρὸς Ἀνθίσθου*, xv. § 1, *πιστεύεται ἔστι βάσανος μαρτύρων: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ μάρτυσι συμφέρει πολλάκις ψεύδεται, τοῖς δὲ καταρτίζονται λυσιτελεῖν τὰλοιφὲ λέγων. Α*

good commentary on this assumption will be found in Antiphon *De Caed. Herod.* §§ 31—33,—a passage which deserves to be placed beside this of Isaeus:—The slave, to whom the prosecutors had doubtless promised freedom, and whose release from agony likewise depended upon them, was probably induced to calumniate me on both grounds—in the hope of winning his freedom, and in the desire of deliverance from anguish at the moment. Now I fancy you all know this,—that the party in whose hands the chief conduct of the examination rests *have the examined on their side*, and ready to say anything that will please them: *not in the torturers is the hope of the tortured*, especially if the slandered persons happen not to be present. Had it been I who gave the order to rack the slave as speaking falsely, that very threat would probably have deterred him from bearing false witness against me. As it was, the prosecutors were at once presidents of the inquisition and protectors of their own interest. *So long, therefore, as the slave felt that his prospects in slandering me were hopeful, he was obstinate in the calumny; but when he saw that he was to die, then at last he told the truth, and said that he had been persuaded by the prosecutors to slander me.*

§ 13. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς] = φεύγατε τὴν φεύγα. — ἀμαρτανεῖς — φεύγαται, ἀπειτῆ: 'since we claimed, which he refused, under these circumstances (ῥέως) we shall demand', etc.

§ 14. ἀκοήν] 'what they have heard'. οὐρα, the witnesses who have just given their testimony, are not, I think, the persons who were intimate with Cleon, ἀ ἐχέμεθα τὴν πατρῶν (for they would be said εὐθέως), but ἀ τὰρ τῶν ἀκούσάντων ἀκούσαντες. See on § 6.

τοῖς ἐγγυησαμένοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'those to whom my mother was betrothed and those who were present with them when she was betrothed to them'. τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων = her first husband, Nausimachus, and her second husband, the speaker's father. Both are dead, but the relatives of both (οἱ ἄδελφοὶ πατρῶν) are πτωχοὶ. The formal ἐγγύησις was necessary to the validity of a marriage: see the *εἰσηγ.* [Dem.] *In Stephan.* ii. § 18. ὁ ἐγγυητὴρ ἐπὶ δεξιῶν (sittil) εὐθέως ἀπαγορεύεται εἶναι ἢ πατὴρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτρῳ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρὸς πατρός, ἐκ ταύτης εἶναι παῖδας γυναικίους. The *act.* ἐγγυῶ was said of the relative, or his representative before the law (εἰς τὸν νόμον, σφ. τ. α 10, σ. p. 367), who bestowed the hand of the bride, but the *subj.* ἐγγυῶμαι of the bridegroom: cp. Her. vi. 130, ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν εὐήν... παύσασθαι ἐγγυῶσθαι Μεγακλῆν ἵδου ἵστατε ἡσυχάζετε. So [Dem.] or. LVII. *Adv. Eubul.* § 41, ἐγγυᾶται ὁ πατὴρ τὴν μητέρα τὴν εὐήν.

εἶνας δὲ αἰ τροφομένην. Κίρωσθ] 'And when you have taken

knew that she lived in the family and was the true-born daughter of Ciren?' The answer to this question would naturally be, *οὐδένα καὶ οὐδέ τι θέρπειται*: see § 10. But *these* evidence had been excluded by the refusal of the claimants to give them up for torture: and the speaker turns this to account by saying, 'The present claimants practically (*ἔργῳ*) bear clear testimony that those facts are so, by withholding their slaves from the question'.

§ 15. *ἀ - μαθόντες - γνώσεσθε] The traditional reading is *ἢ γνώσεσθε*. But *ἢ* with fut. indic. is unexampled in classical Greek: see Goodwin § 41. 1. Cp. the note on the text.

παῖδων ὄντων] 'as we were children'. This (Sauppe's) conjecture is at least more prob. than *ἔργῳ ἴδωσιν*. The vulgar, *παῖδων ἴδωσιν*, is unintelligible. *Καίκε*, from the *Almire* *παῖδων ἴδωσιν*, gives *παῖδας ἴδωσιν*. I suspect, however, that the fault lies deeper, and that *ἴδωσιν* referred to the two sons, now dead, borne to Ciren by his second wife (cf. *τ. ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ἐγγράμματος εἶναι θέα*). The general sense would then have been, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἴδωσιν*, [*οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ἔργῳ*] *ἴδωσιν* [*ἔργῳ δὲ*] *παῖδων δὲ* *ἔσονται* *θεωρετρῶσιν*, κ.τ.λ.

εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρόν] The 'Lesser' or 'Rural' Dionysia, the *Vintage Feast*, was kept in Dec.; the *Isotera*, in Jan.; the *Anthesteria* in Feb., and the great Dionysia in March. — *εἰς τὰς ἀγροῦς Διονύσια*, with its rustic sports (chief of which was the *δραχμαρμία*, or dancing on *krasi*, wine-skins inflated and ground, *Polign* ix. 121), was essentially a *family* festival, — hence the point of its mention here: see *Haerpostrat* 148, *εἰς οὐκ ἄλλου Διονύσια Οὐλβία ἰδέσθαι, ἐκ οὗ αἱ γυναικῶν ἐπέθεσαν*, in which members of the same *γῆνη* offered sacrifices together (30 *γῆνη* made a *φάρμακον*, and three *φάρμακον* a *φάλαξ*).

§ 16. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἰδωροῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'and we were his companions at public spectacles [in the Theatre], where he would set us at his side [*παρ' ἑστέα, καὶ παρ' ἐστέω*], and for every festive celebration we came to his house [*παρ' ἑστέω*]' : for *οἴκῳ* — *ἐστέω* — cf. *Lucian*, *De Myster.* § 64, *οἴκῳ*, p. 240. Cf. *Isotera* or. *xiv* § 10, *τοὺς αὐτοὺς γὰρ παῖδας ἔσταν, παρ' ἑστέω ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμεθα ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ οὐτε θεσίαν οὐτε θέσπαιαν* (*πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα*) *οὐδ' ἄλλου θεσπαιαν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν*.

τῷ Διὶ τε θεῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'And when he sacrificed to *Zeus Ktemnos*, — a festival which he kept with oriental reverence, and in which he associated no stranger, slave or free, but did everything by the hands of his own household (*οἴκῳ δὲ ἑστέω*), — we participated in that celebration, assisted in the service of the

also, laid our offerings on it along with his own (εὐσεπείθειμα), and aided in all else: and he used to pray the god to give us health and wealth, as a grandfather would pray'.—Ζεὺς Κρόνιος was one of the group of deities (ἰερότατοι, ἀρχαῖοι ἱερεῖς) who were regarded as protecting the family and its possessions: Harpocr. 179. Κρόνιος Δεὸς ἐν τοῖς ταμίαις (store-rooms) Ἰλαίστα: the Doric name of this Zeus was Ἰάστια, Ross *Index*, III. 52. Small images (εἰματα) of Ζεὺς Κρόνιος were kept in little cases or shrines, which were especially called κλήριον (ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ τοῦ Κρόνιου Δεὸς ἐγκαθίσταται, Aelian. *N. A.* p. 473, with Casaubon's note on Schweigh.).—εὐσεπείθειμα, Scheibe for μά. *πεισεπείθειμα*, a necessary corr., I think. *Πῦρ ἐπιπέθειμα*, cp. Ar. *Nub.* 426. οἷόν τ' ἄν πεπείθει, εἰδ' ἄν κειπέθει, εἰδ' ἐπιπέθειν *Μετακώμ.* Cp. ἐπέθειμα cp. Harpocr. in nota on εἰς Διονύσια, § 15.

§ 17. μόνους ἐκγόνους...καταλειμμένους] His two sons being dead, § 7. Doherty would bracket καταλειμμένους. Schömann compares Lucian *Imag.* 27, τὴ λαοὶ οὐκ ἀναλείπεται.

191 οὗτος παραδοῦναι] οὗτος is Doherty's conjecture. The *μακ.* οὐτός could only mean—'It is his own fault (and not mine) that I cannot produce the slaves in support of those statements'. Cp. § 14 τίνας δὲ δὲ τρισημίτων...ἀγγεῖα τῶν βίβλων, νόμ.

§ 18. αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν δημοτῶν] 'The wives of the demotionen' are the women of the deme to which Ciron belonged. On his daughter's marriage, they chose her as one of the two presidents of the Θεσμοφῶρια, the three days' festival of Δαίμων Θεσμοφῶρια, the Law-giver, which was annually celebrated about the end of Oct. by the women of each Attic deme. It seems to have been customary for a τῶν μακ. on his marriage, to defray the cost of a banquet at the next Θεσμοφῶρια: cp. Isae. or. III. § 80, καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κεκτημένος τὸν τριτάλαντον οἶκον, εἰ ἦν γεγαμηκώς, ἠναγκάζετο ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς γαμετῆς καὶ Θεσμοφῶρια ἐστιᾶν τὰς γυναῖκας [entertain them at the Θεσμοφῶρια.] καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα ἕνα τῶν αἰώνων γαμωγῶν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπὸ γε οὐσίας τηλικαύτης.

γάμου ἐστίασι...τοῖς τε φράτορσι, γαμηλίαν ἐσθῆνηκε] 'gamy + ποσῆθη-feeding' [see forming the basic nouns, as her father did not her daughter his house, § 9]—'wedding a wedding festival for the demotionen'.—γαμηλίαν, sc. *δοῦλε*, Pollux III. 42. ἐστίασι δὲ τοῖς φράτορσι ἐποίει ὁ γαμῶν: a sacrifice, with a banquet, given by the husband on the introduction (ἐσθῆνηκε) of the bride into his *οἶκος*, while the entertainment denoted by γάμου ἐστίασι was of a more private character.

§ 19 τῶν Περθῶν] or Περθῶν of the deme of Περθῶν in

Fithos, belonging to the Cestropid tribe. This Diodes is a distinct person from Cean's brother-in-law, Diodes ὁ Φίλιας of *Phlya*, § 3.

ἐς τοὺς φράτορας ἀσήγαγεν] Cf. Dem. iv. 233A. τίς ἴσκει, ὁ νόμος, ἢ ἡ ἐγγυσησὶς τοῦ Ἀπαγορευτοῦ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν τοῖς φράτορας. This was done on the third day of the Agaturia, called ἀσπυροῖα (the first day being θυροῖα, the *σημεῖον*—the second, ἀσπυροῖα, the *κατήχρησις*); and the ceremony—historically noted as occurring soon after death—was seldom deferred beyond the third or fourth year: Horn. *Iad.* i. § 93. 2. 10. Cf. Ar. *Ismias* 418. οὐ σπύρει δὲ εὖ ἐφ' ἡμῶν φράτορας.

ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς] 'The child of an Aëtic mother, born in wedlock': ἐγγυητῆς, betrothed with the consent of her father or his legal substitute: see note on § 14, ἐγγυησάμενος. Cf. [Dem.] iv. 1711. *Aëtic*. *Ismias*. § 66. ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ φράτορος ἦενος, ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς ἐξ ἀστῆς ἐγγυητῆς αὐτῷ γεγενημένον εἰδώς.

§ 20. καίτοι μὴ οἴσθ' ἂν γνησίαν Κέρωνος] The *ἀν* after *καίτοι* belongs to *ἀποκρίσεις* and *ἀπεκρίσεις*, being repeated after *καίτοι* with *ἀποκρίσεις* and with *ἀπεκρίσεις* it is again retained. In the direct discourse, the form would be: εἰ τοιαύτη τις ἦν, οὐτ' ἂν εἰσηνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίψαντο (*ἀν*)...οὐθ' ἤρουντο ἂν αὐτὴν σινιεροποιεῖν καὶ κυρίαν ἱστοῖον, ἀλλ' ἐτέρα ἂν ἐπέτρεπον,...οὔτε ἂν εἰσεδέχοντο ἀλλὰ κατηγοροῖν καὶ ἐξήλεγον (*ἀν*): when the *ἀποκρίσεις*, which *οὐδέ* refers to present time, refer to a continuous act in past time: "could not have proceeded to discuss", etc.: *Thucydides* § 49. 2. The number of *ἀποκρίσεις* to the *ἀποκρίσεις* leads to the pentate, *ἀν*, being repeated in a different form at the end—*ἀν* ὡς παρὰ τὴν ἐπιθετικῶν, καὶ τ. λ.

νῦν δὲ τῇ περιφρασίᾳ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν] But as it was, owing to the notoriety of the matter [τὸ κατὰ νόμον, his legitimacy] and the fact that so many persons were aware of it, no such objection was raised from any quarter'. τῇ περιφρασίᾳ, *τῇ περιφρασίᾳ*, causal datives: cp. Antiph. *De Caed. Her.* § 3, τοῖς ἀληθέσιν, note, p. 209.

§ 21. κομιζόμενος αὐτὸν] 'to obtain the body, intending that the funeral should take place from my own house—*κομιζόμενος*, as being his proper share; but active *κομιζόμενος* is simply carrying—*ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας* [*ἐκ*, the laying out (*ταφύσειν*)] should take place from, and the *ἀποκρίσεις* to the *ἀποκρίσεις* § 27) set out theories. Cf. *Ismias*, § 23. *Ismias*, *In Epitaph.* § 19, ταῦτα ἔτι εἰδὼς καὶ εὖ ἀδελφαὶ σὺν ἐγγυητῆρι καὶ, note, p. 253.

κομίζεω οἷος ἦν] 'I was disposed to remove the body'. For

the distinction between *ὄσος* and *ὄσος τε* with infin., see above, or. xi. § 16, ἦσαν οἱολ τε, note, p. 387.

§ 22. *συμμεταχειρίζεσθαι κοσμήσαι*] 'help in tending',—*'assist'* (for the *πρόσθετος*). Soph. *Ant.* 1139, *οὐδ' ἐν φιλίαις ἐστὶν ἡ τάλαρ' ἔργα* | *Λοστρὸς δ' ἐλθεῖν* | *ἀλλ' ἐν ἑταίρῳ χεῖρ' ἐφέσθεις τάλαρ*, &c. *Ant.* 903, *τὸ σὸν* | *ἑταῖρος ποικιλλόμενος* | *σοι συμμεταίχεται*. Here *συμμεταχειρίζεσθαι*, refers esp. to the washing of the corpse: Lucian *Περὶ τέρτου*, II, *λατάρτες ὡρῶν γάλαττες καὶ στιβαροὶ πάντες τοῦ ὑγιῶς ὀφθαλμοῦ, πρῶτον ἄρα, λαμπρῶς ἀμφίεσαντες*.

§ 23. *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐωνήσθαι τοὺς λαβόντας*] 'but allowing that he had actually (καὶ) purchased part of the necessaries of the funeral, and had given earnest-money for the rest, Diochis claimed those sums from me; and came to an agreement that he should be reimbursed for his purchases, while, as to the alleged deposits of earnest-money, he was to produce those who had received it'.—*ἀραιῶδες*: a small sum paid in advance as caution-money. Arist. *Polit.* i. II. § 9, *φαρὸν αἰτίας*—*ἀραιῶδες καθάραι τῶν ἐλασσογῶν*—*ἀλλ' ὅσοι καθάραι ἐπ' αἰτίας ἐπιβάλλουσιν*, paid earnest-money all over the country (*καθάραι*) for the hire of the oil-presses,—getting them at a low rent, as no one bid against him,—*εἰσφέρειν*: 'to introduce', 'present' to the speaker the persons who had received the *ἀραιῶδες*: cf. Dem. or. xlii. § 6, *ἀρῶμαι ἐσθλῶν καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν Ἀσκαίων εἰσφέρειν*, and presented I. to me (in proof of transactions between I. and himself).

193 *εἶθις οὖν παρεφθέγγετο*] 'Well, then,—he immediately remarked in a casual way that Ciron had left nothing at all behind him,—though I had not yet touched on the subject of Ciron's property'.—*παρεφθέγγετο*, throws in the observation carelessly, as if it were not the thing uppermost in his thoughts: cf. Hyperides *Περὶ Νικαίου* xlii. *οὐ τὸ πρῶτον θεωρεῖται τῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λεγομένων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δὲ σὺ φου λαμβάνειν ὧν ἕνεκα λέγεις, οὐ λαμβάνων, ὅποτε παραφθέγγοιο ἐν τῷ λόγῳ πολλάς ὡς πλοσίος ἐστιν Εὐζέτιπος*.

§ 24. *σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;*] 'Now who are you?' The *δὲ* marks that the speaker's attention is suddenly turned on the intruder Her. i. 115, *ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησα*.

οὐ μὴ εἶσαι] 'You shall not enter'. The only practical distinction which can be drawn between *οὐ ὅς εἶσαι* and *οὐ εἰσελεύσει* is that *οὐ μὴ εἶσαι* states the negative future fact in a more direct and positive manner. This direct and positive negation, additional to a person or persons, may of course, as here, be equivalent to a prohibition: Ar. *Nob.* 367, *οὐ μὴ γάλαξαι*, 'You shall not part'. On the other hand, unless

the imp. and averted, *οὐ μὲ πορεύεσθαι* (v. 9.) is sometimes merely a request and stronger *οὐ μὲ πορεύεσθαι* / *Assabim. In citta.* § 177. *ταῦτα γὰρ πορεύεσθαι οὐ μὲ ποτε διέλογον πορεύεσθαι.* Eusebius's view that *οὐ μὲ εἶπες* (v. 10.) means 'will you not not-enter?' appears to be decisively negatived by such passages as *Ar. Nub.* 206, *οὐ μὲ ἀναβῆναι ἀπέμ πορεύεσθαι* [v. l. *εὐθύνας—πορεύεσθαι*] *ἔπειτα πρηφάδιστος οὐτος, ἢ ἀλλ' εἰφίμων* [*πᾶσι συμφορήσει*]. Cf. Goodwin § 89.

εἰς τὸ δὲ εἰστικεῖν [that requested me to place the money in his hands early the next morning]. *ἔδωκεν* *ἔπειτα* = 'I requested' or 'solicited'. *ἔδωκεν*, 'I commended', though the distinction cannot always, of course, be sharply drawn. In *Xen. Anab.* vii. I most mos. have the milder *ἔδωκεν* in § 38, and the more peremptory *ἔδωκεν* in § 39—rightly, I think: though G. Saurms adopts in § 39 the v. l. *ἔδωκεν*. On the other hand *ἔδωκεν* is preferable to the vulg. *ἔδωκεν* in such places as *Anab.* ii. 5. 3, iv. 3. 13.

§ 25. *οὐ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν οὐδέν* 'Now it was not Diocles alone who was silent; the present claimant of the estate said nothing to such a purport either [*οὐδὲν τούτων*, nothing implying that I was not the lawful heir]; it is Diocles who has exhorted him to contend': i.e. *οὐδὲν* *ἐκεῖνος* *οὐδὲν* *εἶπεν*, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ κεν ἀποφθεγγόμενος* (*οὐτος ἐπίστα*): the awkwardness arising from the *ματρικυλισμὸς* of *εἶπεν* *οὐδέν*, which leaves *οὐδὲ* with no corresponding negative before it, since *οὐ* belongs only to *εἶπεν*. All would be clear if *οὐδὲ* were *καὶ*, and *εἶπεν* *οὐδέν* were *εἰσηγήσεν*.

κακείνου ἀναλωμάτων] 'And although Diocles [*κακείνου*] refused to receive in payment (*ἀπολαβεῖν*, as § 23, *τὰς ἡγεμασίας τιμὰς ἀπολαβεῖν*) the money which I tendered, and absented next day [when I brought it, *εἰς τὸ* § 24] that he had received it in full from the claimant (*πᾶσι*), yet I was not prevented from attending the funeral, but took part in the ceremony throughout: not that the claimant or Diocles bore the cost, the charges of the burial were defrayed out of the property left by the deceased'. *οὐκ ἔπειτα*: v. l. *εἰ* (*ἀδύνα*) *ἔπειτα* [*εὐθέως*]: *τοῦδε ἀναλίσκοντος* (gen. absol.).

§ 26. *καίτοι καὶ τότε*] 'The claimant too, however, (*καίτοι* if *Διοκλῆς* had remained *μαρτυρῶν*) was bound to repulse me [*ἀπέσει*],—to rebuff me (*ἐκβαλλεῖν*)—to forbid my presence at the funeral'. *ἀπέσει*, to repel *ἀδύνατος*. *ἐκβαλλεῖν*, stronger, to eject from the company of the relatives.

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕμοιον ἦν μοι πρὸς ταῦτα] 'For my attitude towards him was utterly different [*ἕμοιον* his towards me]: i.e. I, claiming to be the grandson and heir, still recognised him

as a nephew of Cleon? but he, in his own theory, was bound to regard me as an impostor. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅμοιον ἦν μοι πρὸς τοῦτον [καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς ἐμέ], is an answer to the possible objection: 'If, as you say, he would in many respects differ from the funeral rites, why did you not exclude him?'—*ἴσως γάρ.*

194 § 27. ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος] 'at the tomb'. Schumann's emend. of ἀμαρτῶν. *Dein. De Cor.* § 208, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος μνήμασι κειμένους.—ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος, like ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου, before the court. But the phrase is strange, and the supposed omitted strange still. If Isaeus is right, it really means the tribute from which the speaker advanced a law-suit, when claiming the inheritance in some proceedings previous to this case. Cp. § 37.—ἀποστερῶν, 'withholding'; cp. § 3.

§ 28. πόθεν δὲ τοῖς μάρτυρας; οὐκ ἐκ τῶν βασάνων, κ.τ.λ.] 'And how is the credibility of witnesses to be tested? How but by statements made under torture?' [by slaves examined on the same points] *cp. § 107. μάρτυρας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μάρτυσιν ἔλεγχον ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ., and notes.*

πόθεν δ' ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς ἔλεγχους, κ.τ.λ.] 'And how are we entitled to disbelieve the statements of the servants? How, but by their shrinking from the ordeal of proof?' [the refusing to permit the examination of their slaves; § 10]

§ 28. 29. πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις ἤδισαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'How could one prove the case more clearly than by offering a proof of this kind,—proof, for the exact part of the story, however evidence (ἀκοή) vouched for by witnesses, and for matters within living memory [i.e., those among men still living] those who know the several facts,—who were cognizant of her living in Cleon's house, being acknowledged as his daughter, having been twice betrothed and twice married, being betrothed, proved that the servants have shrunk from applying the question on all these points, to slaves who knew the whole'. The complexity of this sentence is studied, and the subtlety is famous. The really real point in the speaker's case obviously is that, for the principal facts, he has nothing but ἀκοή, hearsay evidence, by way of proof. He tries to get over this by a persistent assumption that the slaves who had *personal* knowledge of the facts would have confirmed this hearsay evidence if only he could have examined them. By the way of introducing *οὐκ ἔδωκεν* in this sentence he makes it depend on *παρῆλθετε*, suggesting that he had actually *produced* witnesses who had personal knowledge (τοῖς εἰδότες), whereas, at most, he had only *tried* to produce them. Then *ταῦτοις* after *εἰτι δὲ παρῆλθετε* depends on *εἰδότες*, supplied *οὐκ ἔδωκεν* from *οὐκ*

ἐλάττω—Οὐ μόνον § 6, *supra*. For ἀκραιότερον I should prefer μαρτυρόντας.

§ 30. φέρει δὲ, *v. l. d.*]. His first point has now been made—viz. that his mother was the true-born daughter of Cimon. Here he comes to his second point. Briefly it is this. Descent in the direct line (γενεὴ) gives a better claim to succession than collateral kinship (συγγένεια). Descendants (ἕρπον) have a right to inherit before collateral relatives (συγγενεὸν). And therefore a grandson before a nephew.

καὶ νομίζω μὲν ἀπλῶς διδασκόμεν) : Now I suppose that, as a general proposition (ἀπλῶς), it is always as shown to you as to me [καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοῖ] that Cimon's collateral relatives are not nearer φέρει) are not nearer to the legal succession than the legal descendants (οἱ δὲ ἐκείνη γέννηται). Of course they are not; we call the former merely his "kinsfolk", the latter his "issue". Nevertheless, since even under these circumstances the claimants have the legal right to dispute my right, I will press the point more in detail from the laws themselves. ἀπὸ μετὰ τινος φέροντες, kinsmen in the same generation with him, brothers, sisters, or cousins. Dobree's ἄλλως for ἀπλῶς is needless: ἀπλῶς is opp. to ἀκριβέστερον.

§ 31. συνηκῆσαι μὲν αὖ, *v. l.* ἐπὶ δέτερες ἡβήσαν) : could be entitled to marry her [*i. e.* his own niece], but would not be entitled to the property, which would go to their children, when these had come of age': ἐπὶ δέτερες ἡβήσαν, 'had been ἡβήσοι for two years', *i. e.* had completed their 20th year.—ὅποτε ἡβήσαν, not ἡβήθειαν, because the fact is present as definite and past: cp. § 37, ὅποτε ὁ πάππος ἐτελεύτησεν, where τελευτήθειεν would be admissible, but the indie. is used because the speaker is looking back on the historical fact of the decease.

§ 32. ἐκ τούτου περὶ τῆς κακώσεως νόμον) : Now this νόμος, not only from the foregoing consideration, but also from the law which deals with breaches of natural duty'. An ἐπισημασθε κακώσεως might be laid against (1) a son, on behalf of his parents—or, acc. to this passage, his grand-parents: (2) a husband, on behalf of his wife, she being an ἐπίκληρος [the phrase is ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπικληρῆς] (3) a guardian, on behalf of his ward,—as in reference to the estate of Hagnias (or. xi., introd. p. 379). In cases of κακώσεως the accuser could speak ἀνεὶ ἕδατος, without limit of time (Harpoer. 161), and was not liable as the ἐπισημασθε (or ἕως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπονομῆς τοῦ κτήντος) if he failed to gain a fifth of the value. For the term γονεὶς extended to πρόγονοι, cp. Her. i. 91, Κροῖσος δὲ πῆμπτου γονεὸς (*i. e.* of Gyges) τὴν ἀμαρτάνει ἐξέπλησεν.

196 § 33. πρὸς ἕνα δὲ ἐρωτήσω] I will illustrate my meaning by a particular case of collateral kinship,—the nearest,—and will ask you to compare with it the several degrees of blood descent. πρὸς ἕνα, sc. τὸν πατέρα, I will compare (the blood descent) with one—the first, nearest—of collateral kinship (εὐγγεστον, viz. a brother) and will question you, τὸν γόνον καὶ ἑταίρον, on the details of blood descent (γένειαν) as distinguished from εὐγγεστον: i.e. I will first take a daughter, then, descending, a daughter's child, etc. If it appears that even a daughter's son is nearer than a brother, a brother's son is nearer than a brother's son and I, therefore, Cimon's grandson, inherit before his nephew.

§ 34. πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἀνεπίβικον] You all inherit the property of your fathers, grandfathers, or ancestors according to the virtue of a blood descent (γένειαν) which guarantees your possession against dispute: your ἀγαθότητα, legal rightness as right to inherit, is δεσπότερα, not to be contested: that is, no one can, as against blood issue, ἐπιβιβασταὶ τὸ κληροῆμα, claim the estate at law; nor have you to assert your right by an ἐπίβικον. A person who entered an inheritance of an undivided inheritance was said ἐμβατεύειν εἰς τὸν κληρον. Cp. [Dem.] or. xxxiii. § 6.

§ 35. Φλυσίη] Phlyg., of which the κρῆσι τῆς αἰτίας ἀποδείξει a decree of the ἀποκρίται, or distinct s.c. of the Attic Plain seems to have been a group of some kind, with several temples: Paus. i. 31 § 4, iv. 1 § 5.

μισθοφοροῦσαν... εὐρίσκουσαν] 'one house,—which is let,—not the temple of Demeter in Epidaurus,—and its τρεῖς δεκάμνητοι' (ἀποτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, sc. τὴν Σόλωντινὴν τραπεζίαν θεοῦ καὶ Πύθ. Pub. Econ. 67), not of the annual rent, μισθός, but of the sum which the house would fetch if it were sold: and as the value of the other house is represented by τριάων καὶ δέκα μῶν, (about £52,) this seems probable. Cp. Isae. or. xi. § 49, Χαίρῳ... χωρίον κατέλιπεν δὲ πλέον οἶκ ἂν εὔροι τριάκοντα μῶν. Xen. Mem. ii. 5. 5, ὅταν τις οἰκέτην πονηρὸν πωλῆ καὶ ἀποδιδῶται τοῦ εὐρίστος, = τοῦτον δὲ ἂν εὔρω, strictly, 'for that which will bring him gain', i.e. 'for any price the slave will fetch'.

197 ὁμοπαύσι καὶ παιδύτην]. The ὁμοπαύσι was an ordinary domestic slave: τῇ γυναικί... μὴ πρῆσθαι θερίπαιναν, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας τὸ παιδίον τὸ συνακολουθήσον, of the ἀνελεύθερος or mean man, Theophr. Char. xxi. (= xxv. in my ed., where see note, p. 255).—παιδύτην, 'girl', might be merely a synonym for θερίπαινα, as in Lysias or. x. § 11—15, πῶς θερίπαιναν καὶ παιδύτην μισθὸν τὸ δίδωσθαι one and the same person. Schömann, however, would dis-

in such cases both those and those regarding τοῖσδε as one who was exempt from menial work.

ἴσα φανερά ἦν] 'all the real property' (θάλα, ἰσοῦσα, etc., as sup. in notes).—ἴσην including the κτήνη, who are considered as *furniture* of the houses: cp. [Dem.] or. xxxviii. § 7, τὴν οὐσίαν... ἅπασαν χρεὰ κατέλειπον καὶ φανερὰν ἐκέκτητο ποσὴν μὴ, 'left all their fortunes in debts, and had possessed only some small amount of real property'.

§ 36. ἐκείνην μὲν γὰρ ἀσπούησατο εἰς] 'The Dioxios abstained from making another husband for his sister, though she was still capable of bearing children to another partner, but, if she were separated from Ciron, the latter should form the proper husband regarding his own property [i.e. should call for my brother and me as his heirs], but persuaded her to remain with him'. Dioxios is the subject to ἐκείνην and εἴπειθε, but Ciron to βουλεύσατο.

διαφθείραν] = τὰ θύματα. ἄσπονη: cp. διαφθεῖν (ἀσπύειν) Hippocrates *Epidem.* vii. 48, = ἀσποφθείραν: *ib.* iv. 2, 5, ἐξασπύειται. — ἀσποφθεῖται διαφθεῖν, ἀσπύειν, i.e. διαφθεῖται ἀσπύειν 'has been' dying as husband. — As this marriage dissolved, a childless union could be dissolved at the instance of the wife's relatives: cp. Isae. or. iii. § 64, πολλοὶ συνοικοῦντες ἤδη ἀφήρηνται τὰς ἐαυτῶν γυναῖκας.

ἀσπούησατο εἰς] 'adopt as his son'. The ποφθεῖται but § 40, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀσπύειται, of one who has not a will for his own adoption.

§ 37. τὰ τε οὖν χρεὰ δι' αὐτοῦ ποιείσθαι] 'The Dioxios gradually persuaded Ciron to place under his control (ἀσπύειν) all the interest (χρεὰ) that were owing to him, with the interest upon them, and also the real property' (τὰ φανερά).—τὰ τε χρεὰ corresponds with τὰ τε φανερά ('both'... 'and'): the καὶ before τόκοις merely connects it with τὰ χρεὰ, = σὺν τοῖς τόκοις.—δι' αὐτοῦ ποιείσθαι: cp. Isae. or. vi. § 35, ἐσκόποιον ὅπως καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου δι' αὐτῶν εἴσοιτο ἡ οὐσία, 'should be in their hands'. [Dem.] or. xlviii. § 15, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦθ' ἅπαν εἶχεν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, had under his exclusive control. Cp. above § 16, αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίησεν, note.

ὅπαστε ἐπιλεύτηρον] 'when my grandfather had died'. cp. ἐπιλεύτῃσιν ἐπιλεύτῃσιν ἐπιλεύτῃσιν, ἐπιλεύτῃσιν ἐπιλεύτῃσιν ἐπιλεύτῃσιν ἐπιλεύτῃσιν, because the speaking is now looking back on the death as a past event. See § 31, ὅπαστε... ἤδησαν, note.

παρισκίαζε, κ.τ.λ.] Cp. § 3, ὁ τοῦτον παρασκευάσας: § 25, ἐπὶ τοῦτον παρασκευασθεῖς: § 27, τοῦτον πέπεικεν ἀμωρήτην.—

ῥῆσι παλάστῃ, μεταλλάξαι, 'allowing (ῥῆσι) to give him a small fraction if he so wished': he said, μεταλλάξαι, εἰς ταύτην ἔλασιν, 'I'll take what you allot me.'—admitting not even to [be in conversation with] him: cp. Isocr. *Dem.* § 30, κτισσομολογήσειεν, note, p. 292.

108 § 38. καὶ ἐπαθὴ τὸν πάππον] 'And immediately on Ciron's death, having made his arrangements for the funeral, Diocles requested me, indeed, to bring the money;...but then pretended to have received the whole amount from the claimant, and with him his consent to take it from me.—thus falsely telling me as οὐδὲν ἔπαρκεν, in order that the claimant, and not I, should appear to conduct my grandfather's obsequies'.—τὰ ἐντάφια, here = τὰ εἰς τὴν ταφήν, § 23, all requisites for the πρόθεσις and the ἐκφορά.—τὸ ἀργύριον: see § 24.

ἀμφισβητούμενος γυνομίμων] 'As the claimant disputed my possession of that house [ταῖς οὐκ εἰς τὴν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖν] as well as of the other property left by Ciron, and alleged that he had left nothing behind him. I did not think it proper, under such inopportune circumstances, to use force in recovering my grandfather's corpse,—and not being approved of this measure, but I took part in the rites of burial, the charges being defrayed by the property which my grandfather left'. Cp. §§ 21—22: the entreaties of Diocles' sister induced him to refrain from removing the body.—ἀναλαβόντες: for the plur. see Isocr. *Antid.* § 283, note, p. 303.—συνεποιούν: for ποιῶν, of sacred rites, cp. §§ 16, 25.—τῶν ἀναλαβόντων γιγνόντων: the same point as in § 25, οὐχ ὅπως τοῦδε ἀναλίσκοντος, κ.τ.λ.

§ 39. τὴν ἡμέτην ἀπὸ γυναικός] 'I consulted the laws, rather of the second law, and, under his directions, rendered at my own charges the ninth-day offerings to the dead'. Cp. [Dem.] or. xlvi. § 68, ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐτελείηται, ἦλθον ὡς τοῖς ἐξηγητῶν, ἵνα εἶδῃν ὅ τι με χρὴ ποιῶν περὶ τούτων. The office of ἐξηγητῶν was now, undoubtedly in Euripid's times, to preserve the unwritten lore of religious tradition: cp. [Lys.] *In Andoc.* § 10, μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις περὶ αὐτῶν νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγράφοις καθ' ὅς Νέμολπιδαὶ ἐξηγοῦνται. In later times there are references to a written lore in such matters, e.g. a ritual of purification for suppliants, *κεκῶν κἀθαρμοῖς*, Athen. ix. 78.—τὰ ἔνατα, *novendialia*, as τρίτα, Ar. *Lysist.* 613, offerings at the grave on the third day after death: yearly offerings are mentioned in Isoc. or. ii. § 46, ἐναγίζη αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. Herm. *Ant.* iii. § 39.

ἡμεῖς ἀσέβησαι] 'that I might denounce their sacrilegious scheme of theirs': ἰεροσυλίαν, i.e. their usurpation of my right (as sacred lawman) to honour the dead.—ἐκέρπειν: 'Usurp'

INDEX I. GREEK.

The first number refers to the *page*, the second to the *section*: thus 146 § 122 denotes page 146, section 122. For the note on that section, see 146 in the margin of the *Xenos* (p. 333). —)(means, 'as distinguished from.'

- ἄ, 'and as to this,' 146 § 122
 ἄβαστος, of a pure life, 108 § 58
 ἀγαθά, τὰ ἴδια, of lands, 156 § 52
 ἀγάλματα)(ἀνδριάντες, 175 § 42, 176 § 44
 ἀγαπήσεις, *el*, 'you may think yourself lucky, if...,' 67 § 11
 ἀγαπητῶς, 'barely,' 61 § 16
 ἀγαπῶ, *ei* or *ἐάν*, 158 § 20
 ἀγνοηθέντα, τὰ, the oversights made, 138 § 88
 ἰγορά, law-courts in the, 11 § 10
 ἰγορά Ἰπποδαμεία, 35 § 45, 82 § 23
 ἀγχιςτεία, legal sense of, 170 § 14
 ἀγχιςτεία)(συγγένεια, 183 § 17
 ἀγχιςτεῖαι, degrees of affinity, 178 § 3
 ἀγχιςτεῖαν παραλαμβάνειν, 196 § 34
 ἀγών, of war or civil strife, 166 § 7
 ἀγωνιστής, a debater, 114 § 15
 ἀδεια, technical sense of, 31 § 34
 ἀδηφαγεῖν, 15) § 54
 ἀδοκίμαστος (of a ἵππειός), 60 § 13
 αἰρεῖσθαι with infin.)(προαιρεῖσθαι, 81 § 17; to espouse a cause, 145 § 62
 αἵρεσις, narrower and wider senses of, 152 § 38
 αἰρία, 'merit,' 29 § 12
 αἰτίας λέγειν, to bring charges, 187 § 9
 ἀκαμψία, 198 § 38
 ἀκληρωτί, 61 § 16
 ἀκαι, *ai*, the period of youth, 123 § 289, 151 § 37
 ἀκοή λόγων, 186 § 6
 ἀκοήν μαρτυρεῖν, 189 § 14, 194 § 29
 ἀκολασία)(ἕβρις, 2 § 3
 ἀκόλουθος, hoplite's servant, 169 § 11
 ἀκούσιοι αἰτίαι, 3 § 3
 ἀκριβεία, ἡ, the exact truth, 2 § 1

- ἀκριβείαι, αἰ, τῶν νόμων, 152 § 40
 ἀκριβέστερον, with more subtlety, 2 § 2
 ἀκροπόλει, ἐν, of the Parthenon, 175 § 42
 ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, 110 § 1
 ἀληθεῖαι, αἰ = τὰ ἔργα, 121 § 283, 109 § 47
 ἀλιτῆριοι, 6 § 3
 ἀλλὰ γάρ, elliptical, 152 § 40
 ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, 83 § 27
 ἀλλὰ μὴν, 104 § 16
 ἀλλὰ νῦν, 95 § 15
 ἀλλ' οὐδέ, 160 § 25
 ἀλλ' οἶν, 137 § 85
 ἄλλος = 'besides,' 92 § 25, 106 § 22
 ἄμαρτεῖν, miss his desert (i.e. punishment), 7 § 6
 ἀμελεῖν αὐτοῦ, to neglect self-culture, 162 § 2
 ἄμικτος, unsociable, 126 § 300
 ἀμυλλᾶσθαι, οἵτινες δόξουσι, 109 § 50
 ἀμφίθυρος οἰκία, 68 § 15
 ἀμφισβητεῖν, construct. of, 111 § 4; κατὰ διαθέκην or κατὰ δόξιν, 170 § 14
 ἀμφοτέρων, position of, 52 § 8
 ἀμωσγέπως, 78 § 7
 ἄν separated from its verb, 167 § 8
 ἄν with fut. infin., 173 § 23
 ἄν with imperf. or aor. indic., of a repeated act, 149 § 52
 ἄν with aor. infin., referring to the future, when omitted or required, 8 § 2, 76 § 6, 89 § 47
 ἄν with infin., representing ἄν with optat. of direct discourse, 52 § 1, 153 § 43, 173 § 23
 ἄν, omission of, with infin., how explained, 63 § 12
 ἄν with participle, 14 § 19, 39 § 57, 117 § 270, 139 § 92, 162 § 3
 ἄν after ὄσπερ, with ellipse of verb, 25 § 11
 ἄν omitted with infin. after ὄσπερ, of a supposed result, 112 § 9
 ἄν with pres. infin. (= ἄν with imperf. indic.) and with aor. infin. (= ἄν with aor. indic.), in the same sentence, 191 § 20
 ἀνά πέντε καὶ δέκα, 'in groups of ...,' 33 § 38
 ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον, 152 § 38; ἐπὶ ἵππον, 63 § 11
 ἀνάγειν (χρήματα) εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, 147 § 126
 ἀναγκαῖοι) (σιγγενεῖς, 37 § 50
 ἀναγράφειν, to write up in public, 133 § 180, 153 § 41
 ἀναθήματα, votive offerings, 175 § 41; esp. = Ἐρμαῖ, 31 § 34
 ἀναισθήτως διακείσθαι, 112 § 9
 ἀνακαλεῖν, 35 § 45
 Ἄνακειον, 35 § 45
 ἀναμψισβήτητος, 172 § 18
 ἀναπαύεσθαι, to pass the night, 79 § 12
 ἀναπέμπειν, to send up country, 143 § 104
 ἀνάπηρος, 64 § 13
 ἀνάστατος, meanings of, 144 § 57
 ἀνατίθεσθαι, to take up a (waggon) load, 90 § 19
 ἀναφέρειν τι (ἀπολογίαν), to shift a charge on to another, 96 § 17
 ἀναφέεσθαι, to spring up, 116 § 19
 ἀνδραποδιστής, 93 § 10
 ἄνδρες = individuals) (communities, 130 § 169
 ἀνδροφόνος, 92 § 6
 ἀνεπίδικος, 196 § 34
 ἀνευ ἕδατος λέγειν, 195 § 32 (note)

- ἀνέχομαι χώραν πεποροθημένην, 144 § 58
 ἀνθρωπίνοις, 'by a human standard,' 39 § 57
 ἀνταρκεῖν with partic., 151 § 56
 ἀντιγράφεσθαι, 183 § 17
 ἀντιγραφῆ, 97 § 1
 ἀντιδικεῖν, construct. of, 186 § 4
 ἀντιδόσεις, 148 § 128
 ἀνωμοσία, 101 § 13
 ἀνωμάλως ἔχειν, 154 § 44
 ἀνώμοτος, inexactly used, 11 § 12
 ἀπαγορεύειν with partic., 107 § 54
 ἀπαγωγῆ, ἀπάγεσθαι, of arrest, 260, 10 § 9
 ἀπαλλαγίς with ἐκ, 31 § 16
 ἀπαλλάσσειν, to wean from, 154 § 45
 ἀπαρχαί, fig., 'tributes,' 175 § 42
 ἀπείπον, 160 § 25
 ἀπειρηκώς, 162 § 4
 ἀπειναυτισμός, 203
 ἀπίλλων, 96 § 17
 ἀπλῶς, 'on a general view,' 195 § 30
 ἀπογράφειν, to denounce, 31 § 34, 84 § 30
 ἀπογράφεσθαι, to take an inventory, 67 § 8
 ἀποδιδόναι)(ἀποδίδουσαι, 69 § 19
 ἀποδίδουσαι, 77 § 99
 ἀποδύειν)(ἐκδύειν, 93 § 10
 ἀποκαλεῖν, 108 § 57, 111 § 4
 ἀπολαμβάνειν, to receive in payment, 193 § 25
 ἀπολαύειν φιλαρον τι, 159 § 21
 ἀπολείπειν)(καταλείπειν, 84 § 27
 ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν καιρῶν, 165 § 19
 ἀπολογίαν understood with τὴν προτέραν, 12 § 13
 ἀπολύειν τινά τινι, 14 § 20
 ἀπόρητα, actionable libels, 92 § 6
 ἀπορήτω, ἐξελεῖν ἐν (of the Βουλῆ), 35 § 45, ep. 82 § 21
 ἀποστασίον)(ἀπροστασίον δίκαι, 97 § 2 (note)
 ἀποστατέον, 137 § 85
 ἀποφορά, payment by slave to master, 33 § 38
 ἀποχωρῶν (milit.), to detach supports, 61 § 16
 ἀπράγμων, 1 § 1
 ἀπροσοστως ἔχειν, 109 § 49
 ἀρα, 118 § 273
 ἀργυρίδιον, 111 § 4
 ἀριστίνδην ἀπολλύσαι, 44 § 30
 ἀραβῶνα διδόναι τινός, 192 § 23
 ἀρχήν, adverbial, 118 § 272
 ἄστεος, οἱ ἐξ,)(οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, 53 § 2
 ἀστῆς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς, ἐξ, 191 § 19
 ἄστοι)(ἐξνοί, 73 § 35
 ἀστράβη, 63 § 11
 ἄστυ, without art., of Athens, 126 § 299, 169 § 11
 ἀτέλειαι, 176 § 47
 ἀτιμοῦν, to disfranchise, 172 § 19
 ἀτιμοῦν = ἀτιμάζειν, 199 § 41
 αἰλητρίσιον, ἐν, 155 § 48
 αὐτός, of one's own accord, 145 § 63
 ἀτόχευ, 158 § 19
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (midd.), sc. εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, 82 § 23
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (pass.) τὰ ὄπλα, 76 § 95
 ἀφίεσθαι τινά, to drop a prosecution, 170 § 13
 ἀφίστασθαι, to desert one's post, 160 § 25
 ἀφίστασθαι τινος, to resign, 142 § 100, 171 § 18
 βαδίζειν (ἐπ' οἰκίας), of domiciliary visits, 68 § 7
 βάρη, in Ecclesia, 86 § 37

- βάσανος*, torture, as a test of truth, 188 § 12
βασιλεύς, the king of Persia, without art., 138 § 88; with art., 133 § 179
βασιλεύς, the second Archon, 64 § 13
βεβαιῶν τινί τι, to confirm one's title to a property, 173 § 22
βεβιωμένα. τά, one's course of life, 56 § 1
βῆμα, in the ecclesia, 136 § 81; in law-courts, 95 § 15, 97 § 20
βίαια, τά, forcible seizure, 100 § 12
βλασφημίαι, 113 § 11, 145 § 62
βουλεύειν = βουλευτής εἶναι, 58 § 8
βούλημα, βούλομαι, of theory or tendency, 104 § 15
βωμολοχεύεσθαι, 155 § 49
βωμολόχος, 121 § 284

γαμηλίαν εἰσφέρειν, 191 § 18
γάμος ἐστιᾶν, 191 § 18
γεγραμμένα, τά, the terms of a treaty, 46 § 35, 48 § 40
γενῆται, 190 § 15 (note)
γένος)(*συγγένεια*, 195 § 30
γένος, τὸ περὶ τινος λέγειν, 183 § 17
γένος τρίτον, 177 § 2
γεγαυότεροι. οἱ, 7 § 6
γηραιός, rare in Attic prose, 5 § 11
γίγνεσθαι περὶ τι, 134 § 181
γιγνώσκειν to resolve (aor.), 107 § 54
γραφείων, 97 § 2
γνώμην ἔχειν, of one's sensations, 159 § 22
γνώμονες, 91 § 24
γνωρισταί)(*δυνασταί*, 23 § 94
γενεῖς, including *πρόγονοι*, 195 § 32

γράμματα, written laws, 152 § 39
γραμματεῖς, understood with *ἀναγνώσεται*, 85 § 33
γράφεισθαι, to note down, 83 § 24
γυμνάσια, τά, exercises, 154 § 45
γυμνάσιον)(*παλαίστρα*, 3 § 3; fig., a field of oratory, 125 § 295

δ', perhaps changed to *λ'* in MSS., 187 § 7
δανείσματα, sums lent at interest, 197 § 35
δαρικός (στατήρ), 67 § 11
δασμολογεῖν (τινας), 147 § 125
ὄλ instead of *ἀλλά*, 9 § 5
ὄλ in *σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ*; 193 § 24
ὄλ οἶν, 144 § 58
δέδεικται, it has been proved, 128 § 165
δεῖ μοί τι instead of *δεῖ μοί τινος*, 25 § 12

δέκα πέντε, ἑκατὸν πενήντα, 41 § 63
δεκαρχαί, 140 § 95

ἐκαστὸν τῶνδε ἑκατὸν δέκα, 36 § 49
δέω, with infin. (*πολλοῦ δέω ἀρχεῖν*), 142 § 100, 155 § 47
δηλώσαι, to prove, 8 § 3
δηλώσει δέ, 97 § 20
δημαγωγός, of Pericles, 147 § 126
δῆμοι, Attic, 154 § 46
δημόσιον, τό, the treasury, 69 § 19
δημοτεύεσθαι, 97 § 2
δῆμον καταλύσειε γραφή, 32 § 36
διὰ ὧν)(*ἐξ ὧν*, 153 § 42
διὰ ἡμᾶς, ob nos proditos, 41 § 63, cp. 43 § 28
διὰ τινος ποιῆσθαι, to place in one's control, 197 § 37
διὰ ἑαυτοῦ ποιῆν, 190 § 16

- διά, repented (οὐ δι' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἢ διὰ τούτους), 173 § 23
 διαβεβλημένος, of blemished name, 120 § 278
 διαγράφειν δίκα, 171 § 17
 διαιτητής, 92 § 6
 διακίβητος, 180 § 9
 διακίβηται ἀνάνδρως, 134 § 184; εἶ, 119 § 278
 διαλαβεῖν, to apportion, 66 § 7
 διαλείπω, with partic., 175 § 41; intransitive, 161 § 27
 διαμαρτυρεῖν, to enter a protest, μή...εἶναι, 171 § 16
 διάνοια)(νόματα, 'the spirit')('the letter', 92 § 7
 διαπράσσεισθαι, to obtain, 171 § 17
 διασπείρειν (fig.), 143 § 104
 διασύρειν (fig.), 126 § 300
 διατιθέναι ἀπόρως, 79 § 11
 διαφίρεσθαι, to dispute, 96 § 17
 διαφθίρειν, 197 § 36
 διδάκτον, Is Justice? 116 § 21
 διαλάσσεισθαι, to plead in law-suits, 116 § 19; esp. of the prosecutor, opp. to φεύγειν, 66 § 4
 δίκαι, εἰσίν, or οὐκ εἰσίν, 166 § 7
 δίκαια, τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων, 185 § 1
 δίκαιον, ὡσπερ τὸ, 186 § 4
 δικασταὶ κατὰ δῆμους, 100 § 12
 δικαστήρια, for φόρου δίκαι, 10 § 11
 δίκη)(γραφή and εἰσαγγελία, 59 § 12
 δίδόναι τι τῷ χρένῳ, 20 § 86
 διοικεῖν, to administer a trust, 182 § 14
 δίδωσθαι, 179 § 6
 διομολογεῖσθαι, to bargain, 192 § 23
 διομοσάμενοι, 11 § 12
 Διονύσαι, τὰ κατ' ἀγρὸν, 190 § 15
 διορθεῖν, exterminare, 131 § 174
 διαμοσῖαι, 21 § 88, 22 § 90
 δοκιμασθῆναι εἰς ἄνδρας, 151 § 37
 δοκιμασῖαι, cases of scrutiny, 58 § 9
 δόξα)(ἐπιστήμη, of Isocrates, 111 § 3, 162 § 4
 δόξας)(δοκῶν, 139 § 89
 δοξασιτικός, 115 § 17
 δόσιν, κατὰ, ἀμφισβητεῖν, 170 § 14
 δόσις)(διαθήκη, 170 § 14
 δρᾶσαι, redundant after ἀμαρτάνοντες (=failing to execute), 3 § 6
 δρασκάζειν, 96 § 17
 δραχμάς, understood, 197 § 35
 δύνανται ἔχειν, to have an import, 119 § 275
 δυναστεία, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, 146 § 121
 δυναστεύοντες, εἰ, 130 § 170
 δυνάστης, a man of influence, 136 § 81
 δυνατός, able-bodied, 63 § 12
 ἐνοχρεῖς, 'invidious,' 116 § 19, 120 § 281
 ἐβουλόμην (without ἄν), of what one wishes were true, 8 § 1
 ἐβουλόμην ἄν, 70 § 22; where βουλόμην εὐσεμῶν required, 26 § 14
 ἐγγενομένον, accus. absol., 172 § 19
 ἐγγυᾶν, Attic imperf. ἡγγυᾶν, 172 § 18
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι, midd., said of the bridegroom,)(ἐγγυᾶν, of the bride's father, 189 § 14
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι τινα, to give bail for one, 82 § 23
 ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς καθίσταται, 13 § 17
 ἐγένετο)(ἐγένετο, 15 § 22
 ἐγλήματα)(δεκαί, 156 § 51
 ἐγλήματα, 46 § 36, 56 § 3
 ἐγχαρῖ, is (logically) admissible, 18 § 29

- εἰ*, with fut. indic. after *ἐλεεῖν*, 80 § 15
εἰ μὴ διὰ τινά, 'had it not been for him,' 140 § 92
εἴδη, branches of oratory, 115 § 17
εἶδος, πᾶν τὸ, τῶν πίστεων, 120 § 280
εἰκός, as a topic of Rhetoric, 123 § 289
εἰλωτεύειν τι, 165 § 5
εἶναι, pleonastic (τὸ εἶναι), 117 § 270
εἴπερ μαχῆ, 'if you mean to fight,' 93, 94 § 10
εἰργασμένος, as part. perf. midd., 90 § 17
εἰργεῖν ἂν ὁ νόμος εἰργεῖ, 202
εἰς, 'on,' of expenditure, 141 § 96, 174 § 39
εἰς ἕω, 'early next morning,' 193 § 24
εἰσαγγεῖλαι)(*γραφαι*, 148 § 130
εἰσαγγέλλειν, to lay an impeachment, 25 § 12, 32 § 37; with accus. of person impeached, 182 § 15
εἰσιναί, of a law-suit, 171 § 17
εἰσηγεῖσθαι βουλήν, to introduce a plan, 40 § 61; *περί τιος*, 130 § 170
εἰσπέμπειν, conjunct. for *ἐκπέμπειν*, 81 § 19
εἰσποιεῖν ἑαυτῶν, to allege one's own adoption, 199 § 40
εἰσποῦσθαι εἶδος, to adopt, 199 § 10
εἰσφοραί, 70 § 20
εἶτα, 71 § 26
εἴτε... εἴτε μὴ, with fut. indic., 157 § 54
ἐκ τούτων, as the result of, 19 § 84; on these grounds, 98 § 5
ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων (neut.), *μαθᾶναι*, 182 § 15
ἐκ τῶν βασάνων πιστεύεσθαι, 194 § 28
ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν, 117 § 271
ἐκ in *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελέσθαι*, 74 § 36
ἐκ in *ἐξ ἐτοίμου*, 114 § 15
ἐκαστοι, singly, 129 § 166
ἐκβάλλειν τινά, to repudiate, 193 § 26
ἐκβάλλεσθαι, to be thrown overboard, 17 § 38
ἐκβαρβαροῦσθαι, 108 § 47
ἐλεγμοί)(*συγγενεῖς*, 195 § 30
ἐκιδόναι, to publish writings, 137 § 85; to give in marriage, 186 § 8; to give up, 130 § 169, 131 §§ 175 f.; esp. to give up slaves for torture, 188 § 10
ἐκεῖ, οἱ, the dead, 144 § 60
ἐκεῖνοι, a use of by Isaacus, 182 § 13
ἐκεῖνος, referring to a person just indicated by name, or by *αὐτός*, 40 § 60, 41 § 64, 183 § 16
ἐκείως εἰπῶν, 133 § 179
ἐκένειον)(*ἐκένεισα*, 193 § 24
ἐκκαθεύδειν, to bivouac, 79 § 12 (note)
ἐκκηρύττειν, 74 § 35
ἐκκόπτειν, to disconcert (a plot), 198 § 39
ἐκλαυβάνειν, to receive by surrender, correl. of *ἐκδύσσειν*, 142 § 100
ἐκμελετᾶν, 4 § 7
ἐκνήμην, 53 § 3
ἐκτυποῦσθαι, to be rough-hewn, 83 § 115
ἐκφύρειν πόλεμον, 138 § 88
ἐλασσοῦσθαι, to be at a disadvantage, 14 § 19, 120 § 281
ἐλαύνειν ναῖς, 157 § 54
Ἐλαφρόστιχος, a nickname, 81 § 19
ἐλάχιστον μέρος, with negative, 113 § 11
ἐλεγχέν διδόναι (of witnesses), 188 § 10

- ἄλλοι, *ei* (with fut. indic.),
 80 § 15
 ἄλλοιπεῖν, intrans. 'to fail,'
 137 § 85
 ἄβιδες, 169 § 11
 ἀμύειν, to abide by, 116 § 20
 ἀμειρία, 113 § 10, 114 § 14
 ἀμύριον, 109 § 47
 ἀμυρος, 161 § 26
 ἐν μέρει, 128 § 164
 ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις, οἱ, 105 § 18
 ἐν τῇ προφάσει, by means of...,
 79 § 12, 91 § 20
 ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις, in their case,
 71 § 27
 ἐν τοῖς δχλοῖς, before mobs, 105
 § 21
 ἐν φ, in a case where, 86
 § 36
 ἀναπτώσεις, inconsistencies,
 112 § 7, 157 § 54
 ἄνατα, τὰ, 198 § 39
 ἀνδρα, privations, 148 § 128
 ἔνδειξις κακουργίας, etc., 10 § 9,
 208, 260
 ἔνδεκα, οἱ, 94 § 10
 ἔνεκά γέ τούτου, so far as con-
 cerns it, 10 § 8
 ἐνεργάζεσθαι, to engender, 112
 § 6
 ἐνέχυρα, fig. 'pledges,' 47 § 39
 ἐση καὶ νέα, fair-day at Athens,
 99 § 6
 ἐνθένδε, instead of ἐνθάδε, 131
 § 174
 ἐνθνήσκω, for ἐναποθνήσκω, 60
 § 15
 ἐνθυμῖσθαι, with genitive, 135
 § 181
 ἐνθυμηθῆναι) (εἰπεῖν, 130 § 170
 ἐνθυμηματα) (ὄνειματα, 115 § 16
 ἐνταυτοῖ instead of ἐνταῦθα, 8
 § 2
 ἐντάφια προπαρασκευάζεσθαι,
 198 § 38
 ἐντεῦθεν, 'from that point,'
 187 § 6
 ἐξάγειν, to export as a slave,
 93 § 10; to eject a tenant,
 173 § 22
 ἐξαιρεῖν ψήφους, 171 § 17
 ἐξαιρεῖσθαι eis ἐλευθερίαν, 100
 § 12
 ἐξαργυρίζεσθαι, 175 § 43
 ἐξεγγυᾶσθαι (pass.), to be re-
 leased on bail, 100 § 11
 ἐξεργάζεσθαι, to work out, 137
 § 85
 ἐξεστηκέει τῶν πολιτικῶν, 130
 § 171
 ἐξηγητής, of sacred law, 198
 § 39
 ἐξίτηλος, 155 § 47
 ἐξώλειαν ἐπαρᾶσθαι, 67 § 10
 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀρετήν, 116 § 20
 ἐπάγειν (τοὺς ἄρχοντας), 91 § 22
 ἐπάγεσθαι, to induce, 145 § 63
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ (fig.), 84 § 30
 ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, 129 § 165
 ἐπεγγυᾶν, to give security, 96
 § 17
 ἐπειτα, 'in the next resort,'
 72 § 31
 ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τι, to prosecute
 one, 168 § 9
 ἐπεξήναι, Attic. imperf. of the
 above, 169 § 12
 ἐπεργάζεσθαι, to till sacred
 soil, 92 § 24
 ἐπηρεασμός) (ἔβρις, 2 § 3
 (note)
 ἐπὶ ὄλετες ἠβῆσαι, 195 § 31
 ἐπὶ τούτων μένειν, to be constant
 to these aims, 164 § 3
 ἐπὶ τούτου, 'in his time,' 146
 § 123 f.; 'in his case,' 124
 § 292
 ἐπὶ τοῦ *μνήματος, 'at,' 194
 § 27
 ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'on these terms,'
 100 § 11; 'on this basis,'
 182 § 14
 ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦτον διαθεσμῇ: 'if he
 is to die,' 5 § 10
 ἐπὶ τινι καταλείπειν, to leave
 his disposal, 180 § 8

- ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις εἶναι, to be at their mercy, 8 § 3
- ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τινος) (ὑπέρ τινος, 182 § 13
- ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, 'in such cases,' 185 § 1
- ἐπὶ ὅλη (τῆ οὐσία) ποιηθῆναι, as heir to the whole estate, 167 § 7
- ἐπίδειξις, in rhetorical sense, 140 § 93
- ἐπίδειξις γνῶμης, at Olympia, 50 § 2
- ἐπιδιδόναι, to give a dowry, 55 § 10, 187 § 8
- ἐπιδικάσθαι κλήρον, 174 § 40
- ἐπίδικος, 171 § 16, 179 § 7
- ἐπίδοξος, 'expected,' not 'expecting,' 155 § 47
- ἐπιδόσεις λαμβάνειν, to make progress, 109 § 48, 148 § 127
- ἐπίδοσις, a subscription, 174 § 39 (note)
- ἐπιγαμία, 53 § 3
- ἐπίκληρος, fig., of a συμφορά, 64 § 14
- ἐπικουρεῖν, to serve as mercenaries, 129 § 168
- ἐπικουροί, foreign troops, 75 § 94
- ἐπιλαβεῖν τὸ ἔθωρ, 98 § 4
- ἐπιλείπειν, intrans., 'to fail,' 14 § 17
- ἐπιμέλεια, 157 § 55
- ἐπιμεληταί = ἐπιώληται + ἐπιμεν (inspectors of the Attic μοῖαι), 92 § 25
- ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν κακούργων, οἱ, 14 § 17
- ἐπινοεῖν, to form designs, 3 § 6
- ἐπινοεῖν, archaic for the simple ὀνοεῖν, 96 § 17
- ἐπιπλοκή, rhetor. term, 154 § 44 (note)
- ἐπισκήπτεσθαι (ψευδομαρτυρεῖν), 101 § 14, 168 § 9
- ἐπισκοπεῖν, to visit, 160 § 25
- ἐπισταθμες, a Persian official, 127 § 162
- ἐπιστατεῖν, to supervise education, 151 § 37
- ἐπιστέλλειν, to say in a letter, 136 § 81
- ἐπιστήμη) (δόξα, of Isocrates, 111 § 3, 117 § 271, 162 § 4
- ἐπιστῆναι, to come suddenly on one, 128 § 165
- ἐπιστῆναι ἐπὶ διανοίας, 140 § 93
- ἐπιτήδειοι) (οἱ προσήκοιτες, 174 § 40
- ἐπιτηδεύματα, 5 § 10, cp. 109 § 50, 152 § 40
- ἐπιτιθέναι, of laying incense on the altar, 190 § 16 (note)
- ἐπιτίμια, τὰ, τοῦ φόβου, 7 § 4
- ἐπίτιμος) (ἄτιμος, 70 § 21
- ἐπίτροπος, guardian, 168 § 10, 182 § 14
- ἐπιφέρειν, to bring offerings to graves, 145 § 61, 198 § 39
- ἐπώνυμοι, the twelve Attic, 174 § 39 (note)
- ἐρανος, 144 § 57
- ἐργαστήριον, a manufactory, 67 § 8
- ἐρίδες, αἱ, 'eristic' discussion, 110 § 1, 116 § 20, 162 § 3
- Ἐρμαῖ, the images, 31 § 34; name of a street at Athens, 98 § 3
- ἐρρωμεστέως, 128 § 163
- ἐρρωτο ἐργάζεσθαι, was bent on doing, 84 § 31
- Ἐστία Βουλαια, 30 § 15 (note)
- ἑταιρίαι, oligarchical clubs, 74 § 36
- ἑταῖροι, in political sense, 138 § 87
- ἕτερος = κακός, 160 § 25
- εὐήθεια, 130 § 169
- εὐθεδικία, 171 § 16
- εὐκοσμία, 152 § 37
- εὐνοια as a source of persuasiveness, 120 § 279
- εὐνοιας, accus. pl., where εὐνοια is needed, 75 § 93

- εὔρεσις*)(*τάξις*, in Rhetoric, 114 § 12 (note)
εὐρίσκειν τι, to fetch a price, 197 § 35
εὐτραπείλια, Athenian, 125 § 296
εὐτράπελος, 155 § 49
εὐφυνής, 121 § 284
εὐχεσθαι, of an ideal, 148 § 127
εὐχῆς ἄξια (in a like sense), 134 § 182
ἐφέται, their jurisdiction, 11 § 11 (note)
ἐφηβος, 151 § 37
ἐφηγησις, leg. term, 91 § 22
ἐφικνεῖσθαι τινα, to do justice to it, 109 § 49
ἐφρόδια, 60 § 14
ἐφορᾶν, force of, 129 § 168
ἐχθρα, on accuser's part, cited as a proof of his good faith, 65 § 2, cp. 153 § 42
Ζεὺς Κτήσιος, 190 § 16
ἔηρηται, a commission of inquiry, 32 § 36
ζῶν κατορυχθήσομαι, 5 § 10
ἢ = 'or else,' introducing the second alternative, 161 § 27
ἢ δῆσαι ἐπὶ δῖετες, 195 § 31
ἢλιαία, *ἦ*, 95 § 16
ἢλικία, *ἦ νῦν*, 129 § 167
ἢλικίαν ἔχω, with infin., 187 § 8
ἢμικλήριον, 184 § 19
ἢμικλήριον, 111 § 4
ἢξιον, not *ἢξιον ἄν*, 20 § 86
ἢσσον perh. to be inserted, 1 § 2, 55 § 8
ἢσῦχιος, joined with *ἀπράγμων*, 1 § 1
ἢρημένος, 'borrowed,' 59 § 12
θάπτειν ἐξ οἴκτας, 192 § 22
θάτερον = τὸ κακόν, 160 § 25
θανυμάζω ἑμῶν, ὅτι ἐστέ... 52 § 2, 91 § 23
θανυμάζω εἰ μή... 161 § 26
θέμενοι, *οἱ*, the mortgagees)(*οἱ θέντες*, the mortgagers, 173 § 21
Θεοῖνια = τὰ κατ' ἀγρὸν Διονύσια, 190 § 15 (note)
θεραπείαι, 'attentions,' 106 § 22
θεραπεύειν, to court, 143 § 104
θεράπων, 97 § 19
θεσμοθέται, presidents of the ballot for offices, 64 § 13 (n.)
θεωρεῖν, of spectators in the theatre, 190 § 16
θεωρία, a sacred embassy, 134 § 182
θεωρίαί, spectacles, 156 § 53
θητεία)(*δουλεία*, 76 § 98
Θόλος, 35 § 45
ἰδέα, uses of by Isocrates, 107 § 54, 115 § 16
ἰδιῶται, 'private persons')(public men, 74 § 36, 114 § 14; 'strangers')(senators, 82 § 21
ἰέναι εἰς τοὺς μισθωτοὺς, 174 § 39
ἰερά, τὰ κοινά, 133 § 180
ἰερόν, τὸ, of the Parthenon, 175 § 42
ἰνα with imperf. indic. and *ἄν*, 179 § 6; with fut. indic. in final clause, not classical, 190 § 15
ἰππική, riding, 62 § 10
Ἰπποδαμεία ἀγορά, 84 § 28
Ἰσην δυναμὴν ἔχει, ὅστις τε... καὶ ὅστις... 23 § 92
Ἰσον ἦν μοι... μή ἔλθειν, 12 § 13
ἰσοπολιτεία, 53 § 3
ἰσότητες, forms of civic equality, 103 § 15
ἰσχυσε, 'proved valid,' 184 § 18
καδοῖσκαοι, ballot-boxes, 86 § 37

καθ' ἕκαστον ἐρωτᾶν, in detail, 196 § 33
 κατηγορεῖσθαι, to infer, 170 § 14
 καθῆσθαι, as a suppliant, 174 § 39
 καθιπποτροφεῖν, 175 § 43
 καί, emphasizing a verb, 72 § 29, 127 § 160
 καί, emphasizing noun or adjunct. (ὅτι καὶ ἀξιόλογον), 150 § 56
 καί = 'actually,' 22 § 91, 192 § 23
 καί, redundant (οὐ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ), 16 § 23
 καί, to be omitted, 21 § 88
 καὶ μὲν δὴ, 'and further,' 73 § 35
 καί...καί, with verbs, 107 § 54, 117 § 270
 καὶ ταῦτα, 'and that too,' 116 § 20
 καὶ ποῦ τι καί, 9 § 6
 καὶ μῆν, 'further,' 135 § 185
 καὶ εἶτα (κᾱτα), nevertheless, 17 § 27
 καιροί, οἱ, the right moments, 115 § 16
 κακῆγορία, law concerning, 273
 κακοθηεῖαι, 121 § 284
 κακοπαθεῖν, of imprisonment, 8 § 2
 κειουργίας ἐνδειξις, 10 § 9
 κακούργος, Attic sense of, 208
 κακώσεως γραφή, 179 § 7, 195 § 32
 κλινοῦσθαι περὶ τι, 116 § 20
 κλινοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, 136 § 81
 κλλιρεῖσθαι, 144 § 60
 κਾਲῆς γεγομῆς, 152 § 37
 κληλεῖον, 155 § 49
 κατὰ with gen., 'in witness against,' 133 § 180
 κατὰ εἰρήνην, 134 § 182 (note)
 κατὰ μέρος, three meanings of, 182 § 15

καταγέλαστος, 132 § 176
 καταγιγνώσκειν εἰσαγγελίαν, 179 § 6
 καταλέγειν, to levy troops, 135 § 185
 κατάλυσις, ἡ, τοῦ δήμου, 32 § 36
 καταπλήσσειν, to crush one, 190 § 42
 καταποικίλλειν, of oratory, 115 § 16
 κατασκευαί, of public buildings, 109 § 47; private establishments, 156 § 52
 κατάστασις, situation, 156 § 50; state-allowance to ἱππεῖς, 57 § 6
 καταστῆναι, to become settled, 83 § 25
 καταστῆναι τοσούτου τιμῆ, to cost one so much, 29 § 11
 καταχρησθαι, to utilise, 131 § 174
 κατεστάθην (κατέστην), 86 § 31
 κατέχειν, of tutelar gods, 144 § 90
 κατοικοδομεῖν, 199 § 41
 κείσθαι, as perf. pass. of τίθημι, 129 § 168
 κείσθαι ἀπλῶς, of a law, 153 § 41
 κελύμμαι, in midd. sense, 'have recovered,' 173 § 22
 κελύειν (αἰτεῖσθαι, 25 § 11; imperf. and aor. distinguished, 193 § 24
 κίνηνοι, οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἰτούς, 131 § 174
 κίνηνοι, fig., a cast of the die, 55 § 9
 κίνηνος περὶ τοῦ μὴ σωθῆναι (= μὴ οὐ σωθῆναι), 29 § 12
 κληροῦσθαι, to draw lots, 157 § 54
 κληρωτός (αἰρετός, 64 § 13
 κλισίαν, 69 § 18
 κοινά, τὰ, public life, (τὰ ἴδια, 59 § 11

- κοινός, of the Athenian character, 126 § 300
 κοινότης, of the Attic dialect, 125 § 296
 κομᾶ, conject. for τολμᾶ, 61 § 18 (note)
 κομίζειν)(κομίζεσθαι, 192 § 21
 κομίζειν || φέρειν, 176 § 44
 κοσμεῖν, to dress the dead, 192 § 22
 κοσμίως ἀμπέχεσθαι, 62 § 19
 κόσμος)(ἐπιπλα, 69 § 19
 κόσμος, the firmament, 133 § 179
 κρατεῖν, with both gen. and acc., 140 § 92
 κρατεῖν τι, to hold in one's grasp, 185 § 2
 κρίσιν ποιεῖν)(κρίσιν ποιῆσθαι, 86 § 35
 κρίσις, a legal issue, 185 § 2
 κριτής)(δικαστής, 62 § 21
 κριτής)(δοξαστής, 23 § 94
 κτήματα, τὰ Ἑλληνικά, sense of, 109 § 50
 Κτήσιος Ζεὺς, 190 § 16
 κυβεῖν, 122 § 287
 κύβοι, οἱ, dice-playing, 59 § 11
 Κυζικηνός (στατήρ), 67 § 11
 κυλιδεῖσθαι)(καλινδεῖσθαι, 176 § 41
 κυνηγέσια, τὰ, hunting, 154 § 45
 Κυνόσαργες, 40 § 61
 κύριος, legal sense of, 168 § 10
 κωλύει, impers., with adverbial οὐδέν, 111 § 6
 κωλύειν, with simple infin., 193 § 26
 κῶμαι, town-wards (Athens), 155 § 46
 X, perh. an error for δ' in mss., 187 § 7
 λαγχάνειν βασιλείς, to draw the lot to be..., 64 § 13
 λαγχάνειν κλήρου)(λαγχάνειν κλήρον, 171 § 16
 λανθάνειν διτι πέφρακα = πεφρακώς, 140 § 93
 λειτουργίαι, 148 § 128
 λῆξις (δίκης), 167 § 8
 Λίμαις, Διονύσιον τὸ ἐν, 197 § 35
 λογίδια, 116 § 20
 λοιδορεῖσθαι, middl., 136 § 81
 λοιπὸς καταλειμμένος, 190 § 17
 λύεσθαι δούλους, 14 § 20, 123 § 288
 λύεσθαι αἰχμαλώτους, 69 § 20
 λωποδύτης, 93 § 10
 μακρὸν τεῖχος (without art.), as a district, 35 § 45
 μάλα, 'I can assure you,' 13 § 17
 μαῖα, mad discord, 163 § 2
 μεγαλοφρονεῖν οἱ μέγα φρονεῖν, 154 § 43
 μεῖράκιον)(παῖς, 2 § 3
 μὲν...δέ, doubled, 155 § 47
 μέρος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, 168 § 10
 μεσεγγυῶσθαι τι παρά τινι, 111 § 5
 μετὰ τινος φύντες, οἱ, collateral kinsmen, 195 § 30
 μεταστήσασθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας, 82 § 21
 μετοικεῖν)(πολιτεῦεσθαι, 69 § 20, 159 § 23
 μέτοικοι, Polemarch's jurisdiction over, 97 § 2
 μετρίότης, of Attic dialect, 125 § 296
 μετρίότητες, 164 § 4
 μέχρι τούτου ἕως ἂν βούλησθε, 43 § 69
 μὴ with infin., after φάσω, 173 § 22
 μὴ alternating with οὐ in clauses dependent on εἰ, 12 § 14, 188 § 9
 μὴ where μὴ οὐ would be normal, 2 § 3
 μὴ with participle after εἰπερ, 3 § 5

μη irregularly placed (μη ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν), 17 § 28

μη apparently redundant (κίνδυνος περι τοῦ μη σωθῆναι), 29 § 12

μη corrupt, perh. from ἐμῆ, 15 § 21

μη ὅτι... ἀλλ' οὐδέ..., 100 § 12

μηδέν τῶν αὐτῶν = πάντα διάφορα, 113 § 12

μικρὸν διαλέγεσθαι, to speak low, 62 § 19

μισθοῦν)(μισθοῦσθαι, 90 § 17

μισθοφορεῖν, said of a house, 196 § 35

μισθωσις, rent, 169 § 11

μισθωτοί, οἱ, 174 § 39

μνήμα, conject. for βῆμα, 194 § 27

μνήμη)(φήμη, 135 § 185

μολύνεσθαι, to be abused, 136 § 81

μοναρχίας, τὰς, οἱ ἔχοντες, 162 § 3

μόνος = unice, 144 § 57

μορία, 269

μουσική, in the larger sense, 110 § 50

ναυπηγεῖσθαι, midd., 109 § 47

νέμεσθαι, to share an inheritance, 59 § 10, 166 § 7

νέμεσθαι πρὸς τινα, 133 § 179

νέος ἢ παλαιός, 135 § 185

νησιῶται, οἱ, allied with Athens, 176 § 46

νοσηλεύειν, to nurse the sick, 160 § 25

νοθετεῖν)(ἀπειλεῖν, 154 § 46

νοῦν προσέχειν τινί, to watch one, 82 § 20

ὄν with historic present, 86 § 36

ἔκκολεγεῖν, 141 § 96

ζῶν and σὺν in mss. of Antiphon, 23 § 93

ὄ = 'whereas,' 146 § 122

οἰ (dative), 'to oblige him,' 33 § 40

οἰκειότης, 168 § 10

οἰκέυς, 96 § 19

οἶός εἰμι, with infin., 192 § 22

οἶός τέ εἰμι)(οἶός εἰμι, 183 § 16

ὀλιγαρχίαι, αἱ (of 411 and 404 B.C.), 53 § 4

ὁμοῖος, where one of two things compared is understood, 193 § 26

ὁμολογεῖν πρὸς τινα, 197 § 37

ὁμολογίαι, articles of agreement, 149 § 52

ὄνομα)(πρᾶγμα, 121 § 283

ὄνόματι, ἐπὶ τῷ, sense of, 182 § 13

ὄνόματι λέγεσθαι, 80 § 15

ὄπλα, τὰ, the guard-post, 79 § 12

ὄποι, 'and in such a case,' 46 § 36; as relative after πράττειν τοιαῦτα, 28 § 10

ὄπτῆρ, poet. word, 17 § 27

ὄπως, with fut. indic. after διανοεῖσθαι, 53 § 3

ὄπως μὴ ἐρεῖς (take care) that you do not say, 178 § 5

ὄπως μὴ ἔσται, where we should expect ὄπως μὴ ᾗ, 35 § 43

ὄπως ἂν τύχωσι, with partic. understood, 124 § 292

ὀρθόμενος, 'successful,' 9 § 7

ὀρικὸν ζεῖγος, 175 § 43

ὀρκωτής, of a law-court, 26 § 14

ὀρμητήριον, 128 § 162

ὄσιον, 'lawful,' 70 § 24

ὄσοι, with anteced. in dat. omitted (ὀργίζεσθε, ὄσοι ἦλθον), 72 § 30

ὄσω, 'inasmuch as,' 91 § 23 (note)

ὄτι, redundant before a direct quotation, 36 § 48

οὐ δὴ, 'and then it was that'... 30 § 15

οὐ, with χρῆ understood before

- infin. (*χρῆ σκοπεῖν ἀλλ' οὐ μισεῖν*), 61 § 18, 132 § 175
 οὐ to be omitted, 111 § 4
 οὐ, following *εἰ*, 95 § 13, cp. 133 § 178
 οὐ μέλει μοι, 93 § 9
 οὐ μή, with fut. indic. and aor. subj., 193 § 24
 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 104 § 17, 116 § 21, 118 § 275
 οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν, euphemistic, 157 § 54
 οὐ προσῆκον μίσμα, 'gratuitous,' 7 § 3
 οὐκ, *εἰ μὲν...εἰ δέ*, 93 § 8
 οὐκ ἴσον ἐστὶ (λέγειν τε καὶ δρᾶν), 21 § 89
 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις, 160 § 24
 οὐχ ἄπερ (or ὡσπερ), construct. of, 8 § 4
 οὐχ οἷα βέλτεστα, 82 § 23
 οὐχ ὅπως, 'I do not say that,' ...193 § 25
 οὐδέν, conjecturally supplied, 77 § 99
 οὔτως, said of a person not present, but represented, 65 § 3, 75 § 92
 οὔτως and noun without art., when the noun is a predicate, 23 § 93, 47 § 37, 84 § 30, 91 § 23; *αὐτοῦ...τούτων*, referring to same persons (cp. *ἐκείνος*), 185 § 2
 οὔτω, in this off-hand way, 90 § 19
 ὀχλω χρῆσθαι, 136 § 81
 παιδεία, ἡ τῶν λόγων (Isocr.), 124 § 294, 162 § 4
 παιδεύσεις, mental cultivation generally, 110 § 50
 παιδίσκη)(*θεράπαινα*, 197 § 35
 παίδων, *ἐξελεῖν ἐκ*, 123 § 289
 παλαιός, νεός ἢ, 135 § 185
 παλαιστρα)(*γυμνάσιον*, 3 § 3
 πανσέληνος (ἡ), 33 § 38
 πάντα τὰ κακά)(*πάντα κακά*, 73 § 33
 πάντως, 'at any rate,' 66 § 7
 παρά, with accus. denoting position, less precise than with dat., 40 § 62
 παρά αὐτῷ εἶναι, 'at home,' 73 § 33
 παρά γνώμην τούτων = παρά ταῦτα ἃ ἠλπίζον, 2 § 3
 παρά γνώμην with οὐκ ὀλίγω, 29 § 13
 παρά τὸν πόλεμον, 159 § 22
 παρά τινα καθῆσθαι, 190 § 15
 παρά τὸν πόλεμον, in time of war, 106 § 24
 παρά τούτου, owing to him, 149 § 52
 παραγραφῆ, 277
 παρακαταβάλλειν, leg. term, 182 § 13, 182 § 15
 παραλογίζεσθαι, to cheat, 120 § 281
 παράλος, ἡ, 175 § 42
 παραμελεῖν, 145 § 60
 παρανομία, 10 § 8
 παρασκευαί λόγων, 186 § 5
 παρασκευάζειν, of intrigue, 79 § 12, 84 § 28, 90 § 18, 182 § 14, 185 § 3, 197 § 37
 παρασκευασθεῖς, 'suborned,' 193 § 25
 παραφθίγγεσθαι, to say casually, 193 § 23
 παραχρήμα, 23 § 92
 παρέχειν)(*παράγειν*, 82 § 23, 99 § 9
 παρίσταται τινι, it occurs to one, 84 § 28
 παροικεῖν Ἀσίαν, 128 § 162
 παρὼν, acc. absol., 72 § 30
 παρορμίζειν, 83 § 24
 Πεδίον (without art.), the Attic plain, 173 § 22
 Πειραιῶς, ol ἐκ, 52 § 2, 74 § 92
 πεποιημένος, as midd. perf. part., 15 § 21

- περιβεβλησθαι δυνασταν, 134
 § 184
 περιορᾶν ἀποθανόντας (not -θνήσκοντας), 38 § 53
 περιπίπτειν συμφοραῖς, 159 § 21
 περιποιεῖν πόλει ἀσχύνην, 126 § 301
 πικρότητες, 126 § 300
 πιστεῖς, rhetorical proofs, 120 § 280
 πίστις ἀπιστοσύνη, 42 § 67
 πλανώμενος = *temere*, 114 § 15
 πλῆθρον, us a land-measure, 173 § 22
 πλείω καὶ δικαιότερα, compar. of πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια, 167 § 8
 πλεον ἔχειν, 120 § 282
 πλεονεκτικός, in good sense, 162 § 3
 πλεονεξία, do., 119 § 275
 πλημμελεῖν, 124 § 292
 πλὴν τῆς 'Εύχης, 'leaving Fortune aside,' 27 § 15
 πλοῦς γίγνεται, 16 § 24
 ποδοκάκκη, 95 § 16
 ποιεῖν, to compose, 135 § 186; to perform sacred rites, 190 § 16
 ποιεῖν εἰρήνην, ὥστε, 79 § 9
 ποιέσθαι, to adopt, 180 § 8; (pass.) to be adopted, 167 § 7
 ποιέσθαι διὰ τινος, to place in one's control, 197 § 37
 ποιητῆς λόγων, an orator, 115 § 15
 ποιητικὸν πρᾶγμα, 114 § 12
 πολεῖσθαι, 96 § 19
 Πολεμαρχος, jurisdiction of the, 97 § 2
 πόλις = ἀκρόπολις, 176 § 44
 πόλις) ἄστυ, 126 § 299
 πολιτεία, ἡ, a euphemism for the ἀναρχία, 66 § 5
 πολίτης, us said by Lysias of himself, 50 § 3
 πολιτικὰ λόγια of Isocrates, 112 § 9, 116 § 20
 πολλῶ with πάλαι, 170 § 15
 πολὺ λῆαν = λῆαν πολὺ, 109 § 49
 πράγματα, law-suits, 25 § 12
 πραγματεῖαι, legal issues, 117 § 270
 πράττειν ὑπὲρ τινος, to be his confederate, 183 § 16
 πρέμνα, τά, an olive-stump, 90 § 19
 πρέσβεις, 48 § 41
 πρεσβεύειν, to be a plenipotentiary, 48 § 41
 πρεσβεύειν εἰρήνην, 132 § 177
 πρεσβύτης, a plenipotentiary, 48 § 41
 πριάμενος, aor. part., 47 § 37, 168 § 11
 προάγειν, in bad sense, 131 § 174, 146 § 121
 προακείπον, 130 § 170
 προεδραῖαι, 176 § 47
 προεξαμαρτάνειν, 129 § 165
 προεξευρίσκειν, 129 § 167
 προιστώτες, οἱ, τοῦ πλήθους, 162 § 3
 πρόθεσις, of the dead, 192 §§ 21 f. (notes)
 προθεσμία, 90 § 17
 προτεσθαι, to give up, with infin. added, 82 § 23
 προϊστασθαι τῆς ἡλικίας, 123 § 290
 προκαλεῖσθαι, to invite (to a conference), 139 § 91
 προκρίνειν for κρίνειν, with πρωτεύειν, 127 § 302
 προπέτεια, 139 § 90
 προπετῶς, 149 § 52
 πρόρρησις, 10 § 10, 21 § 88
 πρὸς, οἱ πρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν, 144 § 58
 προσάγειν πρὸς τι, to compare with, 196 § 33
 προσάγεσθαι, to conciliate, 106 § 22
 προσγράφειν, to add a new article to a treaty, 48 § 40
 προσήκει, construct. of, 187 § 6

- προσκαλεῖσθαι (leg.), to summon, 97 § 2
 πρόσδοον ἀπογράφεσθαι, 341
 προσομολογεῖν, 110 § 50
 προσπεριβάλλεσθαι τείχη, 109 § 47
 προσποιεῖσθαι, with infin. understood, 84 § 28
 προστάγματα, imposts, 148 § 129
 προστεταγμένον, acc. abs., 4 § 7
 προστιμᾶν, to award an extra penalty, 95 § 16
 προστρόπαιοι, 7 § 4
 προτέραν, τὴν, sc. ἀπολογίαν, 12 § 13
 πρόφασις, 15 § 21
 προχειρίζεσθαι, to elect, 146 § 122
 προωμοσία, 12 § 12
 πριτανέω, αἰτήσεις ἐν, 35 § 45 (note), 176 § 47
 πρωτεύειν, 36 § 50, 127 § 302
 πρώτης, τῆς, τεταγμένος (sc. τάξεως), 60 § 15
 πρῶτον—εἶτα—εἰπειτα—εἰτι, 36 § 50
 πρῶτος, ὁ, τῶν συγγενῶν, the nearest, 196 § 33
 πυρκαῖα, 91 § 24
 πω, μηδὲν πω πλέον, no positive gain, 56 § 3
- ῥαδίως ὑπισχνεῖσθαι, 'rashly,' 115 § 16
 ῥαθυμείν, 110 § 1
 ῥητορεία, 116 § 21
 ῥήτορες, in Ecclesia, 148 § 129
 ῥίπτειν) (ἀποβάλλειν, 93 § 9
- σαλίδιον, 57 § 6
 σαφестέρως and σαφέστερον, 3 § 5
 σηκός, 269, 81 § 19
 σημείον) (τεκμήριον, 18 § 81
 σημείον, τὸ, καθαιρεῖν, when the Senate met, etc., 32 § 36
- σιδηροῦς, fig. sense of, 97 § 20
 σκιραφίον, 122 § 287, 155 § 48
 σοφισταί, οἱ παλαιοί, 121 § 285
 σοφιστής, 292, 111 §§ 5 f.
 στάσιμον (ἀργύριον), standing out at interest, 96 § 18
 στάσις, party-strife, 167 § 7
 στέρεσθαι) (στερεῖσθαι, 159 § 23
 στεφανίτης ἀγών, 127 § 301
 στήλαι, recording treaties, etc., 46 § 34, 132 § 176, 133 § 180
 στοαί, laws posted in, 153 § 41
 στρατιάς, ἐπὶ, 'on service,' 30 § 14
 συγγένεια) (ἀγχιστεία, 183 § 17
 συγκαταλαμβάνειν, 158 § 19
 συκοφάνται, 66 § 5, 123 § 288
 συκοφανταί, 144 § 130
 συλλέγειν φυλήν, 26 § 13
 συμβάλλειν, to confer, 162 § 2
 συμβεβηκός, the 'accident' (of genius), 124 § 201
 συμβόλαια, debts, 76 § 98
 συμβόλαια ἴδια, law-suits, 119 § 276
 συμμεταχειρίζεσθαι, of dressing the dead, 192 § 22
 συμμορταί, 148 § 128
 συμπαράκελεῖσθαι, to stimulate, 117 § 22
 συμποιεῖν (ἑρά), 193 § 25
 συμπράσσειν τινί, of intrigue, 180 § 9
 συμφέρειν, help to bear, 6 § 1
 σὺν ἱματίοις, 'including,' 187 § 5
 συναριθμείν (ψήφους), 171 § 18
 συνασκεῖν τι, to help the practice of..., 117 § 22
 συνδιατρέχειν, 162 § 2
 σύνδικοι, οἱ, 58 § 7
 συνέδρια, public conferences, 105 § 19, 152 § 37
 σινειδέναί τινί, to be his accomplice, 81 § 18

- συνεῖναι*) (*χρῆσθαι*, 36 § 49
συνεισβαίνειν, 19 § 82
συνεκκομίζειν, 158 § 20
συνεπιτιθέσθαι, of sacrifice, 190 § 16
συνήδεσθαι—*συνεθέλειν*, in false symmetry, 4 § 8
συνθάπτειν, to be present at a funeral, 193 § 25
συνιστάειν, to introduce, 192 § 23
συνιέναι, to marry, 195 § 31
συνορᾶν, to see comprehensively, 104 § 17, 145 § 63, 148 § 129
συντείνειν πρὸς τι, 119 § 277
σφαγίων ἄπτεισθαι, 11 § 12
σφέτερος with *αὐτοῦ*, 158 § 20
σφύδρα λέγειν τι, to insist upon it, 27 § 15
σφύδρα joined with *πολύ*, 118 § 272
σχεδόν τι, 198 § 40
σχέτλιος, 'heartless,' 143 § 103; 'intolerable,' 150 § 56
σῶμα, one's civic status, 100 § 12
ταξίάρχοι, 78 § 7
ταῦτα (not *τοῦτο*) *ποιεῖν*, 'to do so,' 67 § 8
τασθήν, *τὰ εἰς τὴν*, 192 § 23
τε, irregularly placed, 1 § 1, 187 § 7
τεκμήρια in Rhetoric, 120 § 280; (*σημεῖα*, 18 § 81; (*μαρτυρίαι*, 187 § 6
τέλος ἔχειν, to achieve a result, 21 § 89
τεραπευολογίαι, 121 § 285
τεταγμένη τέχνη, 113 § 12
τετιωρημένος, midd. pf. part., 4 § 8
τέχναι, treatises on Rhetoric, 116 § 19
τήθη, 187 § 7
τι, conject. for *τό*, 18 § 29
τίθεσθαι, of a legislator, 153 § 40
τίθεσθαι ὄνομα, to establish a term, 94 § 10
τιμητὴ δίκη, 171 § 17 (note)
τιμωρεῖν, 88 § 42; (*τιμωρεῖσθαι*, 7 § 4, 7 § 7
τιμωρεῖσθαι (midd.) *ὑπὲρ τινος*, 46 § 36
τις, understood, 22 § 91
τοιγάροι, 156 § 52
τοίνυν ironical, 44 § 30
τοιούτος followed by *ὅς*, 80 § 13, 141 § 98; by *ὥσπερ ἄν*, 126 § 238
τοσούτος, 21 § 88
τοσούτος followed by *φασὶ γάρ* instead of *ὥστε φάναι*, 45 § 33, ep. 69 § 19
τότε, meaning of *οἱ τότε δικάσται*, 13 § 16
τοῦτο μὲν, not followed by *τοῦτο δέ*, 23 § 94
τρέπεσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετήν, 66 § 5
τριβώνιον, 169 § 11
τριηραρχία) (other *λειτουργίαι*, 176 § 45
τρόπαιον figuratively used, 133 § 180
Τρωϊκά, *τὰ*, 134 § 181
τυραννίς, its characteristics, 104 § 16; identified with *μοναρχία*, 106 § 22
τύρανος, *ὁ* (Hipparchus), 176 § 46
τυρός, *ὁ χλωρός*, the cheese-market, 99 § 6
Τύχη, destiny, 62 § 10
τύχη μία, a single success, 133 § 180
τυχόν, 'perchance,' 130 § 170, 140 § 94
ὑβριεως γραφή, 199 § 41
ὑβρις) (*ἀκολασία* and *ἐπηρεασμός*, 2 § 3
ὑπάγεσθαι, to lure on, 139 § 91
ὑπαίθρῳ, *δικάζειν ἐν*, 11 § 11

- ὑπάλιος, 'responsible,' 9 § 4
 ὑπαρξάντων τούτων, these things having been secured, 140 § 92, 140 § 95
 ὑπάρχει τι, 'it is assured,' 68 § 13
 ὑπάρχων ἐνεργεσίαν, 144 § 57
 ὑπέθετο τοῦτο, 'he assumed this,' 33 § 39
 ὑπειπεῖν, of a preliminary reservation, 181 § 12
 ὑπειρημένον, of preliminary definition, 181 § 12
 ὑπέκειμαι, as perf. pass. of ὑπεκτίθημι, 158 § 18
 ὑπέρ, 'concerning,' = περί, 114 § 12, 126 § 298
 ὑπέρ ὧν, 'in the name of these (sufferings),' 143 § 56
 ὑπηρέται, apparitors, 67 § 10
 ὑπερορία, ἡ, foreign soil, 46 § 36
 ὑπήρχε, 'belonged at first,' 147 § 125
 ὑπογράφειν, to sketch, 137 § 85
 ὑπόθεσις, a theory, 116 § 19; a theme, 119 § 276
 ὑποποιεῖν, to have misgivings, 46 § 35
 ὑποπαρωθεῖν, to set quietly aside, 198 § 38
 ὑποπίπτειν, to suggest itself, 137 § 85
 ὑποφαινεσθαι, 81 § 19
 ὑπερίσας τῶν βαρβάρων, 128 § 164
 ὑψηλεῖσθαι, to trace an outline, 50 § 3

 φανερὰ, τὰ, 'real property,' 197 § 35;)(χρεῖα, 197 § 37
 φάσκω, to say 'yes,' 67 § 8
 φελλεύς, stony ground (τὰ φελλία), 193 § 42 (note)
 φέρεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους, 104 § 16
 φεύγειν, to go into exile, 55 § 11; to be in exile, 76 § 98
 φεύγειν τι, to shirk a point, 73 § 34
 φήμη καὶ μῆμη, 135 § 186
 φήσας, 91 § 22
 φθάνειν, οὐκ ἔφθη καὶ ἐλήφθη, 159 § 22
 φθονεῖν, of righteous jealousy, 147 § 124
 φιλανθρωπία, 69 § 20
 φιλολογία, Athenian, 125 § 297
 φιλόπονος, of Spartans, 150 § 56
 φιλοσοφεῖν τι, to study it, 63 § 10
 φιλοσοφεῖν ὅπως, with fut. indic., 135 § 186
 φιλοσοφία, of Isocrates, 110 § 1, 113 § 11, 116 § 21; joined with σοφία, 117 § 270
 φιλόσοφος, 'studious,' 162 § 2
 φιλοτιμία πλούτου, rivalry in wealth, 50 § 2
 φόνου δίκαι, tried ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, 11 § 11
 φορτικῶς, of ostentation, 157 § 53
 φράτορας, εἰσάγειν εἰς, 191 § 19
 φρατρία, the bride introduced to her husband's, 191 § 18
 φρουραὶ, terms of garrison-duty, 61 § 18
 φηγαὶ καταλθεῖσαι = φηγαῖες καταλθόντες, 146 § 123
 φήλαρχοι, 57 § 6
 φέσει, native power, 113 § 10
 φωνή, ἡ, of the Attic dialect, 125 § 296

 χαλκεία, τὰ, the festival of Hephaestus, 33 § 40 (note)
 χαριέντως, 'pretty well,' 137 § 85
 χειμάζειν (ἐν ῥάξει), to pass the winter in, 157 § 54
 χορηγία, 156 § 53, 175 § 41
 χορηγός, duties of, 25 § 11
 χρεῖα, debts, 197 § 37

- χρηματίζειν)(χρηματίζεσθαι, 66 § 6
 χρηματισμός, money-making, 147 § 126
 χρῆσθαι, to be intimate with, 36 § 49
 χρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει, to indulge it, 152 § 38
 χρῆσθαι δίκη, νόμῳ, to abide by it, 21 § 87
 χρῆσθαι, with cogn. acc. (οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι χρῆσομαι τούτῳ), 159 § 21
 χρῆσμός, fig., an 'oracular' utterance, 130 § 171
 χρόνος, ὁ, one's lifetime, 154 § 46
 χρύσειον γένος ἀνθρώπων (Hesiod), 6 § 2 (note)
 χρυσίδιον, 111 § 4
 χωρίζεσθαι, of dissolving a marriage, 197 § 36

 ψήφον φέρειν τινί, to vote for him, 184 § 18
 ψήφους ἐξαιρεῖν, 171 § 17
 ψυχή, ἡ βουλευσασα, personified, 7 § 7

 ὠθεῖν, to repel advances, 193 § 25
 ὡς with participle, 81 § 20
 ὡς with participle and ἄν, 164 § 3
 ὡς with participle in gen. absol., 185 § 1
 ὡς = (1) ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, (2) ὅτι, 32 § 37
 ὡς omitted by mss. before a superlative, 14 § 18, 25 § 12
 ὥσπερ, as relative to οὕτω, 150 § 55
 ὥσπερ with gen. absol. of aor., pluperf., and pres. participles, = ὥσπερ εἰ with aor., pluperf., and imperf. indic., 133 § 178
 ὥσπερ ἄν with ellipse of verb, 25 § 11, 39 § 57, 69 § 20
 ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον, 185 § 4
 ὥστε, on condition that, 79 § 9
 ὥστε and infin. without ἄν. oblique of optat. with ἄν, 112 § 9
 ὥστε οὐ δύνασθαι, 95 § 15

INDEX II. MATTERS.

- accus. absol. of partic. (*ἀπειρημένον*, etc.), 4 § 7, 172 § 19; and infin. after *προσῆκει*, 186 § 6
- acropolis, Athenian, arms deposited in, 76 § 95; the seat of the treasury, 147 § 126
- adjective, simple, instead of adject. with *ἄν*, 10 § 8, 19 § 82; or partic., position of (*τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην*), 133 § 179; fem., with subst. understood from verb, 12 § 13, 60 § 15; neut. plur., for sing. (*πιστὰ φαίνεται*), 60 § 19
- adverbs, juxtaposition of (*καλῶς, ἐτέρως*), 140 § 93; comparative in *-ον* or *-ως*, 128 § 163, 151 § 36
- Aegospotami, battle of, 78 § 5; alleged treachery at, 74 § 36
- Aenos, on coast of Thrace, 14 § 20
- Aeschines, borrows from Andocides, 231
- Aesop, in Boeotia (391 B.C.), 61 § 16; his aims, 138 § 66
- Alexander = Paris, 135 § 186
- amnesty at Athens, in 403 B.C., 240
- Amorges, revolt of, 43 § 29
- anacoluthon (*ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἤ... ποιηκότες*), 66 § 7; (*ἀκούω ὅτι* ... *γενέσθαι*), 79 § 9; (*πάσχω, ὄς... ἡξίου ἄν*), 91 § 23; (*δεδόνον, εἰ... λαμβάνειν*), 95 § 13; (*ἀπολυόμενος... ἰσμέν*), 5 § 10; *ἄ* (for *ταῦτα* after a parenthesis), 11 § 11; (*νῦν δὲ πιστεύων... ἐγὼ δέ*), 23 § 93
- Andocides, style of, 219; speech on his Return, date of, 220; his *παράνοια*, 28 § 10; his vividness, 28 § 10; historical inaccuracies of, 44 §§ 30 f., 47 § 38
- Antalcidas, Peace of, 95 § 130, 131 § 175, 132 § 177
- antecedent, omitted before *οἶσοι*, 72 § 30
- Antipater, 163 § 1
- Antiphon, style of, 200; old forms of words in mss. of, 23 § 93
- antithesis, false, 20 § 87, 59 § 13, 73 § 32; defective, 30 § 15
- aorist with pluperf. force (*ἔξεγένετο*), 171 § 17; denoting the commencement of a state (*ἡσθένησε, fell ill*), 160 § 21, 184 § 18; partic. so used (*μετασχών, having become a sharer*), 43 § 28, 141 § 97; and imperfect indic. in same sentence, 87 § 41; indic., instead of imperfect,

- with *ἀν*, 73 § 34; infin.)(present infin., 131 § 173; infin., without *ἀν*, referring to the future, 50 § 2, 69 § 19, 78 § 6, 80 § 15; partic.)(pres. part. after *περιορᾶν*, 38 § 53, 144 § 56
- Apaturia, the festival of, 191 § 19
- apodosis, formal, wanting, 39 § 57
- Archelaus king of Macedon, 29 § 11
- Archidamus III. of Sparta, 149 § 52
- archons, the nine, how elected, 61 § 13
- Areiopagus, court of, the Ephialetes, 13 § 15, 299; its forms of procedure, 94 § 11; membership of, 151 § 37
- Arginusae, battle at (406 B.C.), 74 § 36
- Argos, population of, in 403 B.C., 54 § 7
- Aristogeiton and Harmodius, 176 § 47
- Aristotle, inexact citations by, 77 § 100, 135 § 186; and Isocrates on Forensic Rhetoric, 116 § 19
- arrest, summary, by the Eleven, 10 § 9
- Artaxerxes II., and III., 142 § 99
- article with generic word (*ἡ εὐρηνη*, peace), 18 § 81, 76 § 97, 78 § 5, 106 § 24, 119 § 278, 130 § 172; omitted with *τεῖχος*, *ἀστυ*, *πεδῖον*, *πρωταρχος* (of Athens), 169 § 11, 173 § 22, 176 § 47; omitted with *αὐτος* when the noun is part of the predicate (*τιμωρία ἦκει αὐτῆν*), 23 § 93, 46 § 37, 84 § 28, 91 § 23; with relative clause (*τὸν δὲ ἔφη*—*τὸν φάντα*), 99 § 8; as pronoun with prep. (*τοὺς μὲν... παρὰ δὲ τῶν*), 156 § 52; in *ὡσπερ τὸ δίκαιον*, 186 § 4; proposed insertion of, 136 § 81; and neut. accus. in appos. with verbal notion, 55 § 10
- Asia and Europe the two continents, 133 § 179
- asyndeton, at the end of a speech, 77 § 100
- Athenian character, the, 126 § 300; citizenship, birth-test of, 191 § 19; proposal to limit (403 B.C.), 239; policy, stages of, acc. to Isocrates, 147 § 126; exiles in 404 B.C., 75 § 95
- Athens, 'the capital of Greece,' 126 § 299; topography of, 35 § 45; walls of, rebuilt in 479 B.C., 47 § 38; partly demolished in 404 B.C., 47 § 38, 53 § 4, 57 § 4; disasters of, as warnings against oligarchy, 52 § 1; revolutions at, 52 § 1; Lacedaemonian garrison at (404 B.C.), 75 § 94; the home of oratory, 125 § 295; armies of, most successful under single leadership, 106 § 24; ships of, how manned, 157 § 54; democracy of, Isocrates on the, 124 § 293; social life of Periclean, 150 § 56; and Sparta, negotiations between, in 405 B.C., 78 § 5; empire of, its duration, 47 § 38
- Attic dialect, the, 125 § 296
- Attica, ravaged in Peloponnesian War, 55 § 9
- augment, double in compound verb, 128 § 165
- ballot for offices at Athens, 64

- § 13; κλήρος) (αἵρεσις, 152
 § 38, cp. 157 § 55
 banishment for homicide, 203
 betrothal, 189 § 14, 194 § 29
 Bosphorus, Tauric, Satyrusking
 of, 57 § 4
 Brasidas, 149 § 53
 Callibius, 75 § 94
 Carthage, constitution of, 106
 § 24
 cavalry, allies of oligarchy, 78
 § 7
 Cephalus, father of Lysias, 66
 § 4
 Chaeroneia, battle of, 163 § 1,
 163 § 2
 Chalceia, festival of Hephae-
 stus, 33 § 40
 Chios, Pedaritus at, 149 § 53
 choruses at festivals, 25 § 11
 citizenship, Athenian, birth-
 test of, 191 § 19; proposal
 to limit (403 B.C.), 239
 Cilicia, few Greek settlements
 in, before Alexander, 109
 § 49; and Persia, 142 § 102
 Clearchus, death of, 139 § 91,
 141 § 97
 Cleophon, the demagogue, 78
 § 7
 climax, form of, 154 § 44
 Cnidus, battle at, in 412 B.C.,
 175 § 42
 conditional sentence, protasis
 of, restated after long apo-
 dosis, 191 § 20; mixed form
 of (εἰ ἡμεῖς φήσῃμεν... ἂν προσή-
 κοι), 178 § 5; change of con-
 struction in, 141 § 98;
 clauses, one within another,
 68 § 14
 construction, changed by in-
 sertion of new verb, 68 § 15,
 74 § 36
 continents, the two, 133 § 179
 contrasts, verbal, in Antiphon
 (γνωριστά... δ:καστά), 23 § 94
 co-ordination of clauses, where
 one is properly subordinate
 to the other (οὐ δήπου οἱ μὲν
 ἐχθιστοὶ πεποιήκασιν, ... ὑμεῖς
 δὲ προκαταγνώσεσθε), 20 § 85,
 62 § 13, 93 § 8, 150 § 54,
 151 § 37
 Corinth, fighting at in 394 B.C.,
 60 § 15; parties at in 390
 B.C., 45 § 32
 Corinthian War, 169 § 11, 176
 § 46
 country-life in old Attica, 156
 § 52
 courts of law, drawing of lots
 for, 157 § 54; number of
 jurors in, 86 § 35, 172 § 20;
 packed by intrigue, 80 § 12
 Cunaxa, battle of, 139 § 90
 Cynossema, battle of, 29 § 12
 Cyprus, Phoenicians in, 109
 § 47; and Persia, 127 § 161,
 142 § 102
 Cyrus the Younger, death of,
 139 § 90
 dative, causal (μαίνεται τῇ λή-
 ξει), 167 § 8, 192 § 20; in-
 strumental (ἀπιστοὶ γενόμε-
 νοὶ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν), 8 § 2, 9 § 5;
 of circumstance, 109 § 48;
 expressing the motive (οὐ τῷ
 φείγειν ἀν... λέγω), 10 § 8;
 after ἀντιδικεῖν, 184 § 19
 dead, offerings to the, 198 § 39
 debtor, insolvent, enslaved, 76
 § 98
 decarchies, set up by Lysan-
 der, 78 § 5
 Delian Confederacy, the, 47
 § 38
 demagogues, accused of en-
 riching themselves, 147 §
 125
 demes, circuit of made by
 judges, 98 § 3
 demesmen, the ties between,
 60 § 14

- democracy and oligarchy, 52
 §§ 1, 2; monarchy, 106 § 22
- dicasts, lots cast by, 157 § 54
- dice-playing, 122 § 287, 59 § 11
- Dionysia, the Rural, 190 § 15
- Dionysius I. of Syracuse, 106
 § 23, 130 § 169, 136 § 81; em-
 bassy from to Olympia, 237
- Dionysus, theatre of, 33 § 38;
 temple of, 175 § 41
- domiciliary search, 66 § 7; 72
 § 31
- doors of a house (*αὐλειος*, etc.),
 68 § 15
- dowry of a bride, 59 § 10, 70
 § 21
- dress, decorum in, 62 § 19
- earnest-money, 192 § 23
- Egypt, revolts of from Persia,
 127 § 161; invaded by Per-
 sian army, 191 § 18
- Eileithyia, temple of, 174 § 39
- Eleven, the, preside at trial of
κακούργοι, 208, 13 § 17;
 their *εἰθεῖναι*, 96 § 16
- Eleusis, battles at, 175 § 42
- emendations, 15 § 21, 90 § 20,
 94 § 11, 184 § 18
- enmity, as evidence of ac-
 cuser's good faith, 65 § 2,
 cp. 153 § 42
- Enneacrinos, the fountain,
 122 § 287
- Ephialtes, reforms of, 156 § 50
- 'Eristics,' 110 § 1, 116 § 20,
 144 § 3
- Euboea, *ἐπιγαμία* given to by
 Athens, 53 § 3
- exiles, political, 141 § 96
- family festivals and sacrifices,
 190 § 16; gods of the, *ib.*
- final clause combined with
 apodosis (*ὅσα... ἂν ἐπιστεύετο*)
 179 § 6; with construction
 of an object-clause, 34 § 43
- finiteverb, parenthetical clause
 with, instead of participle,
 199 § 42
- Fortune personified as human
 destiny, 63 § 10
- Four Hundred, Revolution of
 the, 29 § 11
- fuller's trade at Athens, 97 § 2
- funeral ceremonies, 69 § 18,
 192 § 22
- future indic. in relat. clause
 after *ἀμλλᾶσθαι*, 109 § 50;
 indic. with *μή* after verbs
 of fearing, 65 § 3; perfect,
 126 § 298; partic. with art.,
 123 § 290
- genitive, objective and sub-
 jective depending on same
 word (*λόγων ἀκοή καὶ μαρ-
 τύρων*), 186 § 6; possessive,
 combined with objective (*ἡ
 ἀσφάλεια ἕνεκα τῆς ἐπιστασι-
 ρᾶς*), 45 § 33; partitive, after
 a comparative adj. (*τὰς μα-
 κροτέρας τῶν ἀναγκαίων*), 63
 § 10; of price, 29 § 11;
 absol. of partic., with *ὡς*,
 after accus. (*ὡς οὐκ ὄντας...
 οὐδὲ γενομένης*), 185 § 1;
 attributive (*ἀλλήλων ταῦτα
 ἴσασι*), 90 § 18; after *θαν-
 μάξω*, 52 § 2; with *εἶναι*, to
 be on the side of, 148 § 129;
 after *ἀλιτήριος*, 37 § 51; after
παρὰ γνώμην, 2 § 3
- golden age, the, 6 § 2
- Greece, condition of in 395
 b.c., 138 § 87; in 380 b.c.,
 129 § 167, 130 § 172
- Greek)(barbarian, 124 § 293
- Gylippus, 150 § 53
- Haliartus, 59 § 13
- Halicis in Argolis, 175 § 42
- Harmodius and Aristogeiton,
 176 § 47
- Heatomnus, dynast of Caria,
 127 § 162

- Heliada, composition of, 157 § 54
 Hephaesteion, the, 33 § 40
 Heracles, founder of Olympic festival, 49 § 1
 Hermae, street of the, 98 § 3
 heroes, tutel. of Plataea, 144 § 60
 Hestia Boulaia, 30 § 15, 35 § 44
 Hipparchus, 176 § 46
 hired labour, 174 § 39
 Homeric debates of the gods, 110 § 2
 homicide, accidental, Greek view of, 202, 6 § 3; trials for, held in open air, 11 § 11; antiquity of Attic laws for, 12 § 14, 13 § 15; silence enjoined on the, 70 § 24; his presence defiled a temple, 77 § 99
 horses, the keeping of, 175 § 43
 house, doors of a Greek, 68 § 15
 household gods, 190 § 16
 hunting, 154 § 45
 iambic metre in Greek prose, 130 § 170
 Idrieus, prince of Caria, 143 § 103
 imperfect = our pluperf., 41 § 64; of logical inference (*ἐγγίγνετο*), 170 § 13, 176 § 44; referring to a previous admission (*ἦν*), 183 § 17; of what is proposed or offered, 16 §§ 23 f., 71 § 27, 171 § 17, 172 § 20; of endeavour (*ἀπάλλυε*), 34 § 41; of due sequence (*ἐγγιγνέσθην*, 'were born in due course'), 187 § 7; with *ἄν*, referring to past or present, 17 § 26; of a repeated act, 192 § 20; without *ἄν* (*ἐβουλόμην*, of what one wishes were true), 8 § 1, 20 § 86; (*εἶδει, ἦν δξίον*), 122 § 287; with *εἰ*, referring to past time, 86 § 36, 91 § 20
 imprisonment, a disgrace which estranges friends, 14 § 18
 indicative of imperf. and pluperf., not usually changed to optat. in orat. obliqua, 65 § 2; aor., used when a fact not yet accomplished is assumed as past (*ὁπότε ἤβησαν*), 145 § 31, 197 § 37
 infinitive active after *πρότεμαι* (*ἀγειν*), 82 § 23; in orat. obliq., following a clause with *δοι*, 155 § 47; of present or imperf., 33 § 40; of imperf., 34 § 41; understood with *ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον*, 69 § 17; expressing the terms of a treaty (*ἦν ἡ εἰρήνη κατασκάψαι...*), 80 § 14
 inheritance, Attic law of, 177 § 1
 interpolations, 81 § 19, 89 § 48, 84 §§ 31 f., 92 § 7
 Ionia, Persian conquest of, 128 § 164; burning of temples in, 134 § 182
 Isaeus, style of, 321; traces of sophistry in, 180 § 10, 189 § 14
 Isocrates, style of, 281; forensic speeches of, 310; relations of to *ἐπιδειξίς*, 287; an historical error in, 144 § 57; abstained from public life, 130 § 171
 Italy, conquests of Dionysius I. in, 130 § 169
 jurors, of an Attic law-court, as representing the Demos, 42 § 66; choice of by lot, 157 § 54

- 'justice cannot be taught,' 116 § 21
- Kidnapping**, 93 § 10
- knights, allowance made to by Athenian state, 57 § 6
- Laconia**, invaded by Epameinondas, 150 § 56
- lacunae in mss., 19 § 83, 53 § 3, 57 § 4, 87 § 40
- Laurium, mines at, 33 § 38
- laws cannot provide for all contingencies, 92 § 7; insufficient to produce good morals, 152 § 39; set up on the walls of porticoes, 153 § 41; of Solon, 95 § 15
- Lenacum, the, 33 § 38
- Leuctra, battle of, 150 § 56
- 'Liberty,' the cry raised against Athens and Sparta, 143 § 104
- Limnae at Athens, 197 § 35
- Lycia and Persia, 127 § 161
- Lysander and Agesilaus, 138 § 87
- Lysias, style of, 235; and Xenophon, *ἐν Πλωταίῳ*, 79 § 11; his accuracy vindicated, 81 § 17
- Macedon**, the timber-market of Greece, 29 § 11
- 'malefactor' (*κακοῦργος*), meaning of at Athens, 208
- Mantineia, population of in 403 B.C., 54 § 7
- markets, names of (*ὁ τυρός, τὰ λάχανα*, etc.), 99 § 6
- marriages, dissolved by consent, 197 § 36; hindered by the Thirty Tyrants, 70 § 21
- Mausolus and Artemisia, 143 § 103
- Melos, 159 § 21
- mercenary troops (400—350 B.C.), 141 § 96
- Messenian wars, 151 § 57
- metaphors of Antiphon, 202, 5 § 10
- Methymna, a town of Lesbos, 208, 15 § 21
- metre, accidental, in prose, 130 § 170
- middle sense of passive perfect, 4 § 8, 15 § 21
- monarchy, Greek pleas for, 283; examples of for Isocrates, 106 § 23
- mortgage, 173 § 21
- motion, suggested by *ἐνταυθοῖ, ὅποι*, 8 § 2
- Munychia, altar at, 83 § 24; theatre at, 85 § 32
- Mytilene, massacre at in 427 B.C., 22 § 91
- 'Mysteries, on the,' as the title of Andoc. or. I., 223
- negatives, peculiar combination of, 193 § 25
- Nile, passage of at Pelusium, 142 § 101
- numbers confused in mss. (*X* for *δ'*), 187 § 7
- oath, a solemn form of, 67 § 10; taken in a temple, 33 § 40; mode of ratifying, 139 § 91; of accuser and witnesses in *φόνου δίκαι*, 12 § 12
- Odeum of Pericles, 33 § 38
- oligarchical plots at Athens, in 405 B.C., 74 § 36
- oligarchies, at Athens, of 411 and 404 B.C., 146 § 123
- oligarchy and democracy) (monarchy, 103 § 15; and cavalry, 78 § 7
- olives in Attica, 269
- Olympia, recitations at, 237
- Olympic festival, foundation and idea of, 49 § 1
- Olynthus, territory of, 49 § 42;

- allied with Athens, 176 § 46
- optative of indefinite frequency, 98 § 3; future, 31 § 42, 155 § 47, 159 § 22; oblique of subjunct., with *ἄν*, 28 § 10; indicat., 33 § 40; present in oratio obliqua, possible ambiguity of, 65 § 2, 67 § 8, 78 § 7; aor. with *ἄν*, where some desire the aor. indic. with *ἄν*, 73 § 34; alternating with indic. in oratio obliqua (*ἐξήλεγξα ὅτι εἰσηγήσατο καὶ οὐ γένοιτο*), 40 § 61
- oratio obliqua, 33 § 40, 112 § 39
- oxymoron (*πίστις ἀπιστοτάτη*), 152 § 67
- Palladion, court of the, 202
- Panegyricus*, the, time spent on by Isocr., 137 § 84
- Paralos, the trireme, 175 § 42
- parenthetical clause with finite verb, instead of partic., 199 § 42
- paronomasia (*τειχῶν...τροφῆν*), 46 § 36; (*παρεῖναι...παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι*), 73 § 33; (*φήμην...μνήμην*), 135 § 186; (*εὐφυσίς...δυστυχίς*), 155 § 49; (*χορεύοντας...χειμαζοντας*), 157 § 54
- Paros, politics at, 158 § 18
- Parthenon, the treasury of Athens, 147 § 126; votive offerings in, 175 § 42
- participle expressing the leading idea (*χρὴ δρῶντα ζῆν*, we must act if we would live), 43 § 29, 45 § 34, 71 § 26; concessive (*δρῶν*, though I act), 17 § 27, 30 § 15, 158 § 20; conditional (*δρῶν*, if I act), 41 § 65, 129 § 166; causal (*δρῶν*, because I act), 129 § 166, 135 § 185; probably lost in mss., 7 § 6
- participles, series of, the last belonging more closely to the verb (*προκαλεσάμενος...καὶ ὑπισχνόμενος...ὑπαγαγόμενος καὶ δοῦς...συνλαβόντες ἀπέκτεινε*), 139 § 91; asyndeton of two, the latter belonging more closely to the verb (*ἀποτραπόμενοι συνλαβόντες ἐβασάνισον*), 18 § 29
- passive perfect in middle sense, 4 § 8, 90 § 17, 125 § 297
- paupers, state-relief for at Athens, 247
- Peace of Nicias, 44 § 31
- Pedaritus, 149 § 53
- perfect, marking a complete and lasting result, 46 § 36, 93 § 9, 106 § 22, 151 § 36, 160 § 23, 170 § 14; and pluperf. in oratio obliqua, 164 § 3; partic. of a result which remains)(aor. part., 132 § 175, cp. 142 § 100
- Pericles, his probity, 142 § 126
- Persia, state of in 346 B.C., 142 § 101; the monarchy of, 106 § 23; the king of, a Zeus on earth, 133 § 179
- person, 3rd plur., followed by 2nd plur. (*ἔσοι διέφυγον...ἦλθετε*), 76 § 97; (*κατεψίθει*) prob. to be read, 77 § 100
- Philinus, speech of Antiphon against, 25 § 12
- Philip of Macedon and Athens, 163 § 1
- Phlya, an Attic deme, 196 § 35
- Phoenicia ravaged by Evagoras, 127 § 161; and Persia, 142 § 102
- Phoenicians in Cyprus, 109 § 47

- Phorbas, a Rhodian hero, 41 § 62
- Phrynichus, died in 411 B.C., 10 § 9
- Plain, the Attic, 173 § 22
- Plataea, memorials at, 144 § 58
- Plataeans intermarried with Athenians, 143 § 56
- Plato, references of Isocr. to, 110 § 1, 121 § 285
- plural of abstract nouns (ἀληθείαι), 121 § 283, 198 § 38; partic. instead of sing. relative clauses (δύο τρόποι οἱ καὶ προτρέποντες καὶ παύοντες, = ὧν ὁ μὲν προτρέπει ὁ δὲ παύει), 154 § 46
- Plutarch on the Hermae affair, 33 § 38 (note)
- poetical words in the older prose, 7 § 4, 17 § 27
- Polemarch, jurisdiction of the, 97 § 2
- politics, abstention from, how viewed at Athens, 62 § 21
- positive evolved from negative (ἔδει from οὐχ οἶόν τε), 161 § 27; (οὐ μόνος ἐκείνος εἶπεν οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὗτος (sc. εἶπεν)), 193 § 25
- predicate, 76 § 97, 129 § 166
- present, *historic*, followed by optat. in dependent clause (ἰρωτῶσιν ὄπη βαδίζοιμεν), 67 § 12; *historic*, with *vñ* (as it was), 86 § 36; in tentative sense (πράσσονται, are trying to effect), 9 § 7; *infin.*, representing an imperf. indic., 74 § 36; after *ἐλπὶς*, 51 § 7; partic. with art.=relative and imperf. (τὰ τότε λεγόμενα=ἃ τότε ἐλέγετο), 82 § 21, 139 § 91, 150 § 56
- prison, scenes in, 36 § 48, 87 § 39
- pronoun, redundant after relative, 170 § 15
- pronouns, sequence of (ἐκείνος, οὗτος, after αὐτός), 40 § 60, 185 § 2
- protasis re-stated after long apodosis, 191 § 20
- Prytaneion, maintenance at the, 35 § 45, 176 § 47
- Pythian Apollo, temple of, 175 § 41
- question, rhetorical, 170 § 13, 194 § 28
- ransoming slaves, 14 § 20; prisoners of war, 69 § 20
- relative, causal use of, 159 § 21; (ὅστις) with fut. ind. after ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, 109 § 50
- repetition, by orators, of their own passages, 137 § 84; defended, 140 § 93
- rhetoric, early writers on, 116 § 19
- sacrifice, family gatherings at, 190 § 16; thwarted by the presence of the guilty, 19 § 82
- Satyrus, king of Bosphorus, 57 § 4
- self-government, moral, 123 § 290
- Senate-house, hearth of the, 30 § 15, 35 § 44
- ships, Athenian, how manned, 157 § 54
- Sicily and Dionysius I., 130 § 169; Athenian interference in, 44 § 30
- signs of divine favour to voyagers, 18 § 81
- silence kept by and towards homicides, 70 § 24
- singular subject with plural verb, 5 § 10

- singular verb with plural subject, 67 § 12
- Scamandrius, decree passed in his archonship, 35 § 43
- slaves, profits from labour of, 33 § 38
- Socratic sects, references of Isocr. to, 110 § 1, 111 § 4
- Solon's laws, 95 § 15
- 'sophists,' how understood by Isocr., 292, 300, 113 § 11; as used by Lysias, 36 § 3
- Sparta, a group of unwall'd villages, 51 § 7 (note); prestige of in Greece, 149 § 52; the military exercises of, 126 § 298; the kings of, 106 § 24; and Athens, Thirty Years' Truce between, 47 § 38
- Spartolus in Chalcidice, 175 § 42
- speaking low, a mark of *σωφροσύνη*, 62 § 19
- stater, the Cyzicene and the Attic, 67 § 11
- subjunctive, deliberative, 37 § 51, 183 § 17
- sureties, the giving of three, 13 § 17 (note)
- symmetry, rhetorical form, against the sense (*συνήδονος—συνεχόντων*), 4 § 8
- Syria ravaged by Evagoras, 127 § 161
- Talthybius, his *μήνεις*, 19 § 82 (note)
- Ten Thousand, Retreat of the, 139 § 90, 140 § 95
- Tetralogies of Antiphon, 292; not primarily models of form, 5 § 10
- Tharaulis, the, 95 § 11
- Phoen., policy of in Persian Wars, 144 § 79
- Theophrastus, *Characteres* of, abridged, 29 § 11
- Theramenes, envoy to Sparta in 404 B.C., 79 § 10
- Thesmophoria, the, 191 § 18
- Thessalian horsemanship, 126 § 298
- Thirty Years' Truce, the, 47 § 38
- Thracians, sell their children as slaves, 14 § 20
- Thrasylbulus (ὁ Στρασιαίς), 60 § 15, 75 § 92
- Thucydides and Antiphon, 201
- timber, export of from Macedonia, 29 § 11
- tombs, offerings at, 145 § 61
- torture praised as eliciting truth, 188 § 12; of Athenian citizens, forbidden by a *ψήφισμα*, 34 § 43, 83 § 27
- transposition required in text, 165 § 5, 169 § 11
- tribes, judges appointed by the Attic, 98 § 3
- tribute of Athenian allies, 147 § 125
- trierarchy) (ordinary *λειτουργία*, 176 § 45
- tripod dedicated by successful choregus, 175 § 41
- Troezen, 159 § 21
- 'tyranny,' in the Greek sense, 104 § 16 (note)
- Tyrants, the Thirty, 52 § 2; spoliations by, 54 § 5; their policy, 57 § 5; supported by Spartan garrison, 75 § 94; disarm the citizens, 76 § 95; forms of a trial before, 86 § 37; executions by order of, 87 § 38, 89 § 46; overthrow of, 249
- Tyre taken by Evagoras, 127 § 161
- verb, finite, parenthetical clause with, instead of participle, 199 § 42; insertion of a new, changing the

- construction, 68 § 15, 74 § 36
 'vivid' construction, the (*αι ἐρεῖ* for *αι λίζο.*), 37 § 53; (*ῖ* for *εῖη*), 66 § 7; (*παιδενθῶσιν* for *παιδενθεῖεν*), 152 § 40; (*πιστεῖητε* for *πιστεύοιτε*), 188 § 10
 voice, a low, as a mark of *σώφροσύνη*, 66 § 19
 walls of Athens, rebuilt in 479 n.c., 47 § 38; partly demolished in 404 n.c., 47 § 38, 53 § 4, 57 § 4
 witnesses, test for veracity of, 188 § 10
 women, an honour paid by to a bride, 191 § 18
 youth, apology for by a speaker in the Ecclesia, 62 § 20

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