LYCURGUS
The Speech against Leocrates
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EDITED BY

A. PETRIE, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, NATAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE (UNIVERSITY OF S. AFRICA); FORMERLY LECTURER IN GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN; SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922
PREFACE

THE Leocrates of Lycurgus has remained, in England, in comparative obscurity, not having attracted an editor since John Taylor¹ edited it at Cambridge, along with the Midias of Demosthenes, in 1743. Yet the speech is by no means without its merits. It forms, in many ways, an excellent introduction to Attic oratory for younger students. It is easier than Demosthenes, and there is no complex political situation to expound: the issue is simple and direct. And it has a greater variety of interest than either Demosthenes or Lysias. Its very fault of diffuseness, from the purely forensic standpoint, becomes, from an educative point of view, its great virtue. Lycurgus' excursions into ancient history, legend, and the poets, provide, in Livy's phrase, so many deverticula amoena where the student finds refreshment with instruction.

The text of the present edition will be found to adhere, in the main, to that of Blass, whose critical commentary I have supplemented with those of Scheibe, Rehdantz and Thalheim. I have not hesitated, however, to depart from Blass where the concessions which he makes to considerations of hiatus—an unusually precarious guide in the case of Lycurgus—or of the numeri, to which he assigns such considerable weight, are in conflict with the

¹ 1704-1766. Fellow of St John's, and successively Librarian (1731-4) and Registrar (1734-51) of the University.—Sandys, H.C.S., vol. ii. p. 414.
clear testimony of the mss. While I have not aimed at producing a critical edition, in the strict sense of the term, a considerable amount of attention has been devoted to textual points throughout. These have been noticed, wherever it could be done conveniently, in the body of the notes: passages requiring somewhat fuller discussion have been collected in a separate appendix.

With regard to the notes, my first and greatest obligation is to the elaborate edition of Rehdantz (Leipzig, 1876), of which any subsequent editor of Lycurgus is bound to take account. I have also had before me the brief but useful notes of E. Sofer (Leipzig and Berlin, 1905). Among the older editions, I have inspected Dobson's *Attic Orators* (vol. iv), Baiter and Sauppe, and the acute commentary of van den Es.

For the material of the *Introduction*, in addition to the relevant portions of Blass and Rehdantz, I have consulted works of general reference such as Gilbert's *Antiquities*, Jebb's *Attic Orators*, Prof. E. A. Gardner's *Ancient Athens*, Bury's *History of Greece*, and the Cambridge *Companion*. I have been able to make use of Prof. J. F. Dobson's *The Greek Orators* for matters connected with Lycurgus' style, and I am indebted to Mr Wyse's introduction to his monumental edition of Isaeus for information regarding the manuscript tradition for the minor orators.

I have had the advantage of discussing several points with my friends and former class-fellows, Mr W. M. Calder, Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester, and Mr J. Fraser, now Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; and
with a former Cambridge teacher, Mr L. Whibley, Fellow of Pembroke College, to all of whom I here wish to make acknowledgment. Prof. Calder has further kindly undertaken the revision of the proof-sheets, while my obligations to the readers of the University Press may be taken for granted. To Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and recently Vice-Chancellor of the University, I owe a special word of thanks for much kindness and encouragement. For the statements contained in the book, I alone, of course, am responsible.

A. P.

Natal University College,
Christmas, 1921
ERRATUM

p. 152, l. 7 from bottom. For Branchidae read Didyma.
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ό δὲ Δυκούργειος (sc. λόγος) ἐστι διαπαντὸς αὐξητικὸς καὶ
dιηρμένος καὶ σεμνὸς, καὶ ὅλως κατηγορικὸς, καὶ φιλαλήθης καὶ
παρρησιαστικὸς· οὐ μὴν ἀστεῖος οὐδὲ ἡδὺς, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖος.
τούτου χρὴ ζηλοῦν μάλιστα τὰς δεινώσεις.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Veterum Censura, v. 3.

πολὺ δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρὸν ἔχει χωρὶς ἐπιμελείας...χρῄται
dὲ πολλαῖς πολλάκις καὶ ταῖς παρεκβάσεσιν, ἐπὶ μῦθους καὶ
ἰστορίας καὶ ποιήματα φερόμενοι.

Hermogenes, De Formis Oratoriis, B. ii.

τὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων διδάσκειν ῥᾳδίαν ύμῖν
τὴν κρίσιν καθίστησι.

Lycurgus, Contra Leocratem, 124.
INTRODUCTION

(i) LYCURGUS: HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, was born at Athens about the year 390 B.C., being thus a few years older than Demosthenes. He belonged to the noble family of the Eteobutadae, which traced its descent from the hero Butes, brother of Erechtheus, and in which the priesthoods

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1 Our chief authorities are the Life in The Lives of the Ten Orators, attributed to Plutarch, and the decree of the orator Stratocles in connexion with Lycurgus appended thereto. A fragment of this decree (archonship of Anaxicrates, 307/6—C. I. A. ii. 240) is extant, and confirms, as far as it goes, the version of Pseudo-Plutarch: the stone was probably more concise, on the whole, though the surviving fragment does not positively justify this assumption. The decree in Ps.-Plut. was most likely derived from Caecilius of Calacte (a rhetorician of the time of Augustus), who in his turn was probably dependent on a copy made by Heliodorus (fl. c. 160 B.C.). A Life of Lycurgus was written by Philiscus of Miletus (a pupil of Isocrates), and afterwards by the above-mentioned Caecilius, from the latter of whom a great part of the Ps.-Plutarchic Life appears to have been derived. [A commentary on the Ps.-Plut. Life was written by M. H. E. Meier (in Kiessling’s ed. of the fragments of Lycurgus, 1847): the decree of Stratocles has been elucidated by C. Curtius, Philologus, xxiv. 83 sqq.]

2 Argt. to Dem. Against Aristogiton (Libanius). Some place his birth as early as 396 B.C., or twelve years before the accepted date of the birth of Demosthenes.
of Poseidon Erechtheus and of Athena Polias were hereditary offices. Of his father nothing is known except his name; his grandfather, also a Lycurgus, had been among the victims of the Thirty. The records of the family were rich in public honours, in life and in death, and Lycurgus was thus marked out, alike by inherited character and ancestral tradition, for a distinguished career.

The public service of Lycurgus is associated with the period in the history of Athens immediately following the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C., which made Philip of Macedon controller of the destinies of Greece. Demosthenes, the great orator, had been the heart and soul of the Athenian resistance to 'the Macedonian barbarian,' and Lycurgus had exerted his influence in the same direction. How far, if at all, he used his oratory for political purposes, we do not know. We hear of him accompanying Demosthenes on an embassy to the Peloponnesian, in 343 B.C., to stir up opposition to Philip; and he had at any rate made himself sufficiently prominent among the anti-Macedonian party to be one of those whose surrender was demanded by Alexander after the subjugation of Thebes, 335 B.C. Fortunately for Athens, the demand was refused; or rather Alexander allowed himself to be placated through the intervention of Demades, whose Macedonian sympathies were well known, and the demand was withdrawn.

Philip's treatment of Athens after Chaeronea was so unexpectedly lenient as to confirm, to some extent, the genuineness of the friendly feeling which he had always professed towards her, and to disprove the

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1 The Greek of Ps.-Plut. (Vit. § 1) is ambiguous, but Lycurgus, avus, is evidently intended.
2 Dem. Phil. III. § 72 (acc. to some MSS.)
INTRODUCTION

sinister motives attributed to him by ultra-patriots like Demosthenes. Philip undertook to restore the Athenian prisoners without ransom and not to march into Attica. Oropus was to belong to Athens, the Thracian Chersonese to Macedonia. Athens was to dissolve what remained of her confederacy, and become a member of the new Hellenic league of which Macedonia was to be the head. Whatever Philip’s motives may have been in granting such generous terms to the city which had been such a persistent obstacle to Macedonian expansion—and the fact that Athens could still offer considerable resistance by sea may have weighed with him, apart from any natural feelings of clemency—the Athenians undoubtedly had reason to congratulate themselves on the result.

Philip was murdered in 336 B.C., and for the next thirteen years the eyes of the Greek world were fixed upon his all-conquering son pursuing his dazzling conquests in the East. Beside these, the ordinary domestic matters of the individual Greek states, however much notice they might have attracted in the old order of things, were almost, and naturally, without significance. We are permitted to see, however, that once again Athens showed remarkable powers of recovery, and that in the interval between the fall of Thebes and the death of Alexander she did much to rehabilitate her resources which had been sorely taxed by the long war with Philip. There was little enthusiasm, it is true, on the part of Athens for the Macedonian hegemony, but neither was it expedient to break with the northern power, as even the more irreconcilable of the anti-Macedonians saw: it was clearly her policy to set her house in order, with a view to bettering her position when the favourable
moment arrived\(^1\). Her revenues had to be nursed, her navy strengthened, and her self-respect as a great power restored. The success she achieved in all these directions was largely due to the energy and whole-hearted enthusiasm of Lycurgus.

At Athens, in the Demosthenic period, the question of finance was naturally of the first importance; and ‘finance,’ for an Athenian statesman, had come to mean, above all things, the administration of the so-called ‘Theoric Fund.’ This fund, the avowed purpose of which, as its name implies, was the providing of ‘spectacle-money,’ had developed from the practice, by whomsoever introduced—it has been attributed to Pericles, who had to find means of competing with the private wealth of Cimon\(^2\)—of furnishing the poorer citizens with the price of their theatre ticket. It was a practice which, once begun, rapidly outran, as might be expected, the limits which we may believe its author proposed for it. At all events, by the middle of the fourth century B.C., we find that the entire surplus revenues of the state, after the expenses of administration have been provided for, are declared to be ‘theoric,’ and the Theoric Fund is administered by a specially elected board (\(\omega \epsilon \tau \theta \varepsilon \omega \rho \iota \kappa \omicron \nu \omicron \), who, according to Aeschines, though it suits his purpose to

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1 She stood aloof from the anti-Macedonian movement in the Peloponnese, which was crushed by Antipater in 331 (or 330) B.C. (battle of Megalopolis).

2 Plut. \textit{Vit. Per.} \textit{IX.} ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ’ ἑκείνου (sc. τοῦ Περικλέους) φασὶ τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι...καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικὸς καὶ δικαστικὸς λήμμασιν...συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος. The principle was extended (some think, instituted) by Cleophon, who introduced the \(δ\omicron\omega \beta\omicron\ell\ion{
}{}ια\), or ‘two-obol payment,’ and later by Agyrrhius.
exaggerate their powers when he makes the statement, 'had in their hands practically the entire administration of the city.' The Theoric Board, as we know it, was probably instituted under the regime of Eubulus—the greatest name in Athenian fourth century finance before Lycurgus—and held office from one Panathenaea to the following.

But the principle involved in the Theoric Fund, if it answered well enough in time of peace, could hardly do otherwise than make for inefficiency when a special military effort required to be put forth. This is the lesson conveyed by much of Athens' small achievement in her fourth century foreign policy. In spite of this, however, any proposal to divert the Fund to military purposes was certain to raise a storm of opposition, and indeed appears to have entailed very serious danger to its mover, even if we do not go the length of accepting Libanius' statement that the death penalty for such a proposal was prescribed by law. The test case brought by Apollodorus about the year 350 B.C. had ended in his conviction for having introduced an illegal measure. Demosthenes himself, while cautiously hinting at the expediency of applying the Fund to war purposes, definitely declines to make a formal proposal. Not until 339/8 did Demosthenes see his dream realised:

1 Aeschin. Cies. § 25 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειρουημένοι... σχεδόν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.
2 Argt. to Dem. Ol. I.: νόμον ἑθεντο περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τούτων χρημάτων, βάναυσον ἀπειλοῦντα τῷ γράφαντι μετατεθηναί τε ταύτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχαῖαν τάξιν καὶ γενέσθαι στρατιωτικά. The law, acc. to Schol. on Dem. I. 1, was introduced by Eubulus himself after the prosecution of Apollodorus.
3 [Dem.] C. Neaeram § 5.
4 Dem. Ol. I. § 19 τί οὖν; ἄν τίς εἴποι, σὺ γράφεις ταύτ' εῖναι στρατιωτικά; μὰ Δῖ' οὐκ ἔγωγε.
emboldened by the passing of his naval reforms, he now proposed that the theoric monies should be applied to military purposes, and he must have regarded his success as one of the triumphs of his policy.

Eubulus had been at the head of Athenian finance—presumably as President of the Theoric Board—for some fifteen years, 354–339: in 338 he was replaced by a nominee of the war party, which had now come into power, in the person of Lycurgus. The reform of Demosthenes in respect of the theoric monies was probably responsible for a radical change in the financial administration, and for the creation of a new finance official, or at any rate an official with a new title—the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν—whom we now hear of for the first time. Lycurgus, however, is called by the Pseudo-Plutarch ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου—‘steward of the public revenue,’ ‘Chancellor of the Exchequer’—a title which, while no doubt sufficiently representing his position, is probably not official.

1 Philoch. fr. 135 τὰ δὲ χρήματ’ ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ’ εἶναι στρατιωτικά, Δημοσθένους γράψαντο (archonship of Lysimachides, 339/3).

2 What definite office, or offices, Lycurgus held during his ‘politico-financial ascendency’ is largely a matter of conjecture. From other language of Ps.-Plut. Vit. § 3 πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων, Hyper. fr. 121 (Blass) ταχθείς ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησι τῶν χρημάτων, Diod. xvi. 88 δῶδεκα ἐτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοίκησα, it has been suggested that his office was ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει, which probably did not exist so early, the first ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει mentioned in inscr. being Lycurgus’ own son Habron (not before 307 B.C.). Again, from Ps.-Plut. Vit. § 5 ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χειροτονηθεῖς (cf. the Rogatio Stratoclis appended, 852 c), it has been inferred that
In the capacity so described Lycurgus acted for a period of twelve years, from 338 to 326. His appointment apparently ran ‘from Panathenaea to Panathenaea’, so that his administration included three such terms of office, in the first (338–334) and the third (330–326) of which Lycurgus administered in his own name; in the second (334–330), under the name of a deputy, who was probably his own son Habron, this device being necessitated by legal restrictions on the length of tenure of the office by the same individual. The Lycurgus was ἀρχηγός ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, an official whom we do not meet with in inscrr. before the third cent., and who must almost certainly have been mentioned by Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. 61. The words αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου (Rog. Strat. 852 B) are too vague to allow of any certain inference. It may be that Lycurgus held special commissions for the execution of some of his duties. If he did hold a definite office, it was most likely that of ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, or president of οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρίκων, who still existed, though no doubt with diminished powers. Cf. Gilbert, Const. Antiqq. pp. 245 sqq. and notes.

1 As in the case of οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρίκων and the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

2 [Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 3 ταμίας ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας...τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰρεθεὶς αὐτὸς, ἐπείτα τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραφήμενος τινα αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διοίκησιν, διὰ τὸ φθάσαι νόμων εἰσενεγκεῖν, μὴ πλεῖω ε' ἐτῶν διοικείν τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα. I have followed Blass in understanding μὴ πλεῖω ε’ ἐτῶν to mean ‘not for two successive penteterides,’ and not ‘for not more than five years,’ absolutely. On the second interpretation, Lycurgus would have administered by deputy in both his second and third terms. Blass further holds that C.I.A. p. 834b i, ii proves that Lycurgus acted in his own name in his third penteterid as well: his vicarious administration would therefore apply to his second (334–330). His son Habron had a distinguished public career ([Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 33), being ταμίας τῶν στρ. in 306/5, and also ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησί (C.I.A. p. 167), which
powers which his appointment conferred on him, whether they exceeded or not those of the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν—and the latter, we know, were of a much more minute and far-reaching nature than the title of the office would imply—must have been such as to place in his hands the control of the whole financial administration, though he was no doubt associated with the Council and specific financial bodies (the ἀποδεκταὶ, πωληταῖ, etc.) in carrying out the details of his office.

Under the direction of Lycurgus Athenian finance took a new lease of life. Boeckh calls him 'almost the only real financier that antiquity produced.' He is credited with having doubled the annual revenue, raising it from 600 to 1200 talents. would lend colour to the assumption that he acted for his father. The author of the law referred to would appear, from the context, to have been Lycurgus himself, but this is hardly likely (cf. Meier, p. xvi.). The time-limit appears to have been already in force in the time of Eubulus.

2 Staatsk. I. 569.
3 [Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 30 τὸ μέγιστον χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδου τῇ πόλει κατέστησε, προτέρον ἐξήκουσα προσιόντων. [ἐξήκουσα is incredibly low, and ἐξακοσίων (Reiske) is generally accepted: τετρακοσίων καὶ ἐξηκουστα (cf. [Dem.] Phil. IV. § 38) Meursius]. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the entire revenues, acc. to Xen. Anab. VII. I. 27, amounted to 'quite 1000 talents' (οὐ μείον χιλιων ταλάντων). Of this total, 460 were tribute [Pericles (Thuc. II. 13), however, makes the tribute yield 600 t. 'on an average,' 431 B.C.]: the other receipts, therefore, amounted to about 540 t. After the doubling of the tribute in 425 B.C., when, acc. to Andocides (III. 9), it produced more than 1200 t., we still get a rough total of 600 t. for the ordinary revenue, if we assume some exaggeration in Aristophanes' estimate of the total revenue as 2000 t. (Vesp. 656 sqq., 422 B.C.).
The total of 18,900 talents\(^1\), which is said to have passed through his hands during his twelve years' tenure of office, would give an even considerably greater average annual revenue of 1575 tal. His character for integrity is shown by the fact that he was entrusted by private individuals with sums amounting to 650 tal. Pausanias states that Lycurgus 'put into the public treasury 6500 talents more than Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, got together\(^2\).' These figures, even with

These figures, of course, refer to a date a century earlier than Lycurgus' administration. From Ps.-Plut.'s statement (supposing \(\varepsilon\varkappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\omicron\nu\) to be right), it might be inferred that the ordinary revenue had remained more or less constant, but it must be remembered that the value of money had fallen considerably in the interval. Gilbert (p. 358) points out that, if this be taken into account, the figures with which Lycurgus is credited are not so much at variance with those of the fifth cent. as at first sight appears, and adds that, even under the rule of Demetrius of Phalerum, the revenues still amounted to 1200 t. per annum.

\(^1\) There is some discrepancy between the figures of the Life and those of the decree of Stratocles in Ps.-Plut.:

(i) [Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 3 ταμίαις \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\gamma\nu\varepsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\cdot\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu\) \(\mu\delta\) (14,000) \(\delta\) \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\tau\nu\varepsilon\) \(\mu\nu\chi\nu\) (18,650), ib. § 7 πιστευσάμενος δὲ \(\varepsilon\nu\) παρακαταθήκη Παρὰ τῶν \(\iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\) σν' (250) \(\tau\alpha\λα\nu\tau\alpha\) \(\varepsilon\varphi\gamma\nu\lambda\alpha\xi\).

(ii) Rog. Strat. ap. [Plut.] 852 Β διανείμαις \(\varepsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\delta\omicron\ η\ς\ κοινής\ προσοδόν \(\mu\omicron\omicron\ια\ καὶ \(\partial\omicron\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\chi\lambda\ια\ καὶ \(\varepsilon\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\ια\ τάλαντα, πολλά\ δὲ τῶν \(\iota\delta\iota\omega\τ\omicron\omicron\omicron\ διὰ \(\pi\ι\ς\τε\ς\ λα\beta\δ\omicron\omicron\omicron\). τὰ \(\pi\an\tau\τα \(\varepsilon\kappa\α\kappa\ο\ς\ια\ πεντή-\kο\nu\tau\alpha\ τάλαντα.

Rehdantz (p. 7, n. 29) plausibly remarks that it almost looks as if the first estimate of Ps.-Plut., viz. 14,000 t., represents the round product of 12 \(\times\) 1200; while the second (18,650) may have arisen from an accidental combination of the inscriptional \(\mu\omicron\omicron\ια\ καὶ \(\partial\omicron\kappa\alpha\kapp\chi\lambda\ια\ with \(\varepsilon\kappa\α\kappa\ο\ς\ια \(\pi\εν\tη-\kο\nu\tau\alpha\ (the\ latter\ being\ the\ amount\ of\ private\ deposits),\ or\ from\ the\ subtraction\ of\ 250\ (the\ amount\ of\ private\ money\ given\ in\ the\ Life)\ from\ the\ 18,900\ t.\ of\ the\ inscr.

\(^2\) Nothing can be deduced, from Pausanias' statement
the reservations that must be made for comparative purposes, are surprising, and speak of no ordinary financial genius.

The healthy state of the Athenian revenues was reflected in notable improvements connected with the fleet and its housing. Lycurgus put in commission no fewer than 400 triremes, some of which were overhauled and others built from the keel. Ship-sheds which had long been planned, and work on which had been interrupted from time to time by the pressing military exigencies of the moment, were now completed. Now, too, was finished the famous σκευοθήκη or arsenal, which was begun in 347 under the administration of Eubulus. It was designed to be a storehouse for the rigging belonging to the ships at Zea, the largest of the naval harbours. The architect was Philo, who later built the great portico of the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis, and the specifications for the building have been pre-

(i. 29. 16), as to the comparative annual revenues for Lycurgus and Pericles, as we do not know either the amount of the total contribution which Pausanias postulates for the one or the other, or the terminus a quo which he contemplates for Pericles' administration. Assuming, however, that Pausanias makes Lycurgus' total contribution 18,900 t., we shall then have 18,900—6500 = 12,400 t. as the amount 'got together' by Pericles. Taking twelve years of Pericles' administration, we would get an average annual revenue of, say, 1030 t., which agrees fairly well with Xenophon's estimate of 'quite 1000 talents' (see note 3, p. xviii).

1 See n. 3, p. xviii.
2 The normal strength of the fleet was 300 triremes: Xen. Anab. vii. 1. 27, Ar. Ach. 544/5.
3 The galley-slips numbered 372, and were distributed as follows: Munychia 82, Zea 196, Cantharus 94.
4 Cf. Aeschin. Cies. § 25 oι ἐπὶ τὸ δεωρικόν κεχειροτονη-μένοι...νεώριον καὶ σκευοθηκην φικοδόμουν.
served to us in an inscription. ‘Its length was to be 400 feet, its breadth 55...The roof was of tiles, supported on wooden beams and rafters...The whole was divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of columns; and the aisles were to be provided with every convenience for storing ships’ gear....The evident intention was that the building should constantly remain open to public inspection, and that all storage room should be arranged so that its contents were easily visible from the central nave. Even ventilation is provided for in the specification.’ At the same time the military needs of the state were not neglected, and a plentiful supply of arms and weapons was stored in the acropolis.

Hardly less important than the naval improvements of Lycurgus, whose post ‘practically included the functions of a minister of public works,’ were the building enterprises which he carried through: it seemed as though the age of Pericles had been revived for Athens. He rebuilt and planted the Lycean gymnasium, where Aristotle taught his ‘peripatetic’ disciples, and provided it with a palaestra. On the left bank of the Ilissus, he constructed the Panathenaic Stadium, originally, we may believe, laid out by Pisistratus, and destined to be embellished at a later date with the marble seats of Herodes Atticus. Most notable of all, however, was the reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysus, which Lycurgus carried out as President. The remains of the theatre buildings as they are today—notably the marble thrones composing the lowest row of seats, and perhaps the tiers of seats which rise

1 Dittenberger, Syll. 852.
INTRODUCTION

above them—are to a large extent the remains of the
Restoration
of Dionysiac
Theatre

restored theatre of Lycurgus. 'From the
age of Pericles to that of Hadrian there
was probably no other man who left so
lasting an impression [as Lycurgus] upon Athenian
architecture.'

'The two chief monuments of the Lycurgean epoch—
the Panathenaic Stadion and the theatre of Dionysus—
were, it must always be remembered, reli-
gious, not secular, buildings.' The personal
piety of Lycurgus was reflected in the
solicitous concern for the worship of the gods which
marked his administration. Religious festivals which
had fallen into desuetude were revived on a more
splendid scale. 'He provided for the state gold and
silver vessels for use in the processions, and all-gold
Victories.' More interesting for us and eminently
characteristic of the man was the reverence shown

1 For a discussion of how far the extant stage-buildings
(apart from acknowledged later alterations) are the work
of Lycurgus' time, see Prof. E. A. Gardner, Ancient Athens,
c. x. As against Prof. Dörpfeld, who 'regards the whole
of the earliest extant scena, foundation, stylobate, and
columns alike, as belonging to one time, and that the time
of Lycurgus,' he lays stress on the fact that Lycurgus 'only
finished what others had begun' (cf. [Plut.] Vit. § 6 τὸ ἐν
Διονύσου θέατρον ἐπιστατῶν ἑπετέλεσεν, Rog. Strat. 852 C
ἡμίεργα παραλαβόν...τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν ἐξηργάσατο καὶ ἑπετέλεσεν), and thinks that there is 'no insuperable
difficulty in assigning the main plan of the extant buildings
to about the same time as the later temple of Dionysus
[near the theatre]—perhaps as early as 420 B.C. 'If this be
the case,' he adds, 'then we have actually some remains of
the stage on which the plays of Sophocles, and Euripides,
and Aristophanes were first produced.'

2 E. A. Gardner, op. cit., p. 399.
4 [Plut.] Vit. § 8, Paus. i. 29. 16.
for the great tragedians—Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Lycurgus proposed that bronze statues of them should be set up in the theatre\textsuperscript{1}, and caused authorised texts of their plays to be prepared and deposited in the public archives, so as to serve as a check on the alterations and interpolations of actors which even at this early date had begun to disfigure them. The official copy of Lycurgus, who thus rendered a service to scholarship, afterwards passed into the library of Alexandria.

But Lycurgus found scope for his energy in other directions which harmonized with his whole character and with the family traditions under which he had been born and educated. His aristocratic extraction, lofty patriotism, and fervently religious ideals combined to make him a sort of censor morum, who ‘conceived it as his mission to raise the standard of public and private life\textsuperscript{2}.’ He was an Aristides and a Cato in one. ‘He charged himself,’ says his biographer, ‘with the guardianship of the city and the arrest of malefactors\textsuperscript{3},’ and doubtless made for himself as many enemies as others have done who have undertaken a similar rôle. By enacting sumptuary laws, and prosecuting relentlessly those whom he conceived to fail in the sacred duty of patriotism, he won for himself the reputation of a second Draco: it was said of him that ‘he drew his laws against evil-doers with a pen dipped not in ink, but in death\textsuperscript{4}.’ Diodorus characterizes him

\textsuperscript{1} The proposal was opposed by Philinus, a contemporary orator.
\textsuperscript{2} J. F. Dobson, The Greek Orators, p. 272.
\textsuperscript{3} [Plut.] \textit{Vit.} § 10.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.} οὖ μέλανος, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ χρίοντα τῶν κάλαμον κατὰ τῶν πονηρῶν. The credit of the famous \textit{mor} appears to belong to Demades, who said of Draco \& πάντα ἀμαρτό, οὖ δὲ μέλανος τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν, Plut. \textit{Vit. Sol.} 17.
as ‘a very bitter prosecutor,’ and quotes in his support a vigorous extract from Lycurgus’ speech against Lysicles, who had been a general at Chaeronea. Almost all his prosecutions were successful.

Lycurgus enforced his reforms by the severe simplicity of his own private life. Like Socrates, though better off than he, he wore the same dress summer and winter, and shoes only when the weather required them. His reputation for rectitude was such that ‘the fact that Lycurgus said so was thought to be a help to a defendant in the law-courts.’

The qualities which made the name of Lycurgus feared as much as respected—his outspokenness and unbending integrity—did not fail to meet with recognition from his countrymen, who could at least appreciate what they were too often reluctant to imitate. ‘He was repeatedly crowned by the people and awarded statues.’ These honours, we may believe, had not fallen to him unchallenged, but, like Demosthenes in competition with Cephalus, he could boast that, though often prosecuted, he had never been convicted. We are told that he caused a list of all the monies he had disbursed to be inscribed on a pillar and set up in front of the palaestra.

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1 Diod. xvi. 88 οὗτος γὰρ (sc. ο μυκόρρηγος) τῶν τότε ῥητόρων μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα...πικρότατος ἦν κατηγορός, γροῖς δ’ ἀν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀξίαν καὶ πικρίαν ἐν οἷς τοῦ Δυσικλέους κατηγοροῦν λέγει.
2 [Plut.] Vit. § 13. Cf. also the compliments paid him by Hyper. Eux. § 12 (col. 9) and by Demosthenes in Rutilius Lupus, De Fig. 2. § 4.
3 He was παρρησιασθῆς διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν [Plut.] Vit. § 26.
4 Ib. § 40.
5 Dem. De Cor. § 251.
6 [Plut.] Vit. § 31 καὶ μηδένα ἀγώνα ἀλούς, καίτοι πολλῶν κατηγορησάντων.
which he himself had built, for public inspection, and that no one was able to convict him of peculation.1

His last recorded act, if we may trust his biographer, was in keeping with the fearlessness which had characterized his life. At the point of death he had himself carried to the Metroum and the Council-chamber to render an account of his administration; and after dissipating the charges brought against him by his only accuser—Menesaechmous, who had been one of his victims—he was conveyed back to his house and expired, 324 B.C.2

Like several of his ancestors, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his tomb was 'opposite Athena Paeonia, in the garden of Melantherius the philosopher.'

After his death, his old enemy Menesaechmous, who had succeeded him in his office, accused him of having left a deficit. The sons were made answerable for the father's alleged shortcomings, and, being unable to pay, were thrown into prison. Demosthenes, then in exile, honoured the memory of his former political supporter by interceding for his children. The letter of Demosthenes may be spurious; but we know that a pupil of Theophrastus, named Democles, as well as the orator Hyperides, pleaded their cause, with the result that they were set at liberty.

1 *Ib.* § 50.

2 This is the generally accepted date (after Suidas), and is supported by the action recorded of Demosthenes in regard to his children; some give 322 B.C., the year which witnessed the deaths of Demosthenes himself; and of Aristotle.

3 [Plut.] *Vit.* § 29. Cf. Paus. i. 29. 16, who saw it in the (outer) Ceramicus, on the way to the Academy.


5 A fragment of Hyperides' speech has been preserved (*fr. 121* Blass), which may be quoted as summing up
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Some seventeen years after his death, a decree conferring honours on Lycurgus was passed on the motion of the orator Stratocles. By this decree, which, as has been mentioned, is one of our chief authorities for the administration of Lycurgus, it was provided that a bronze statue of him should be erected in the Ceramicus\(^1\), and that the right of maintenance at the state expense should belong, in perpetuity, to the eldest of his descendants\(^2\).

The decree of Stratocles was apparently appealed to by Lycurgus' son, Lycophron, in claiming that honour on the death, without issue, of his elder brothers, Habron and Lycurgus.

(ii) THE SPEECH AGAINST LEOCRATES

Fifteen speeches passed current in antiquity under the name of Lycurgus, almost all of which, as far as our knowledge goes, date from between the battle of Chaeronea and his death\(^3\). The titles of some of them

Lycurgus' life and work: τίνα φήσουσιν οἱ παριώντες αὐτοῦ τῶν τάφων; οὗτος ἐβίω μὲν σωφρόνως, ταχθεὶς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων εὑρε πόρους, ἠκοδόμησε δὲ τὸ θέατρον, τὰ νεώρα, τριήρεις ἐποίησατο, λιμένας· τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἴτιμωσε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐδήσεν αὐτοῖ.  

\(^1\) I.e. in the inner Ceramicus (Agora), at its southern end, where the statue was seen by Pausanias (i. 8. 2): ἐνταύθα Λ. τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Λυκόφρονος. A fragment of the base has been discovered, C. I. A. iv. 1363\(^b\): ΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣΒΟ[ντάδης].

\(^2\) The statement of Ps.-Plut. (Vit. § 41) that Lycurgus himself received this honour by virtue of the same decree (i.e., the decree of S.), must be a blunder. Cf. Meier and Blass, ad loc.

\(^3\) [Plut.] Vit. § 39 φέρονται δὲ τοῦ ρήτορος λόγοι πεντεκαΐδεκα. The list of Suidas gives either fifteen or fourteen, according as the title ἀπολογία πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν
have obvious reference to matters connected with
his administration (e.g. \( \text{περὶ τῆς διουκήσεως, περὶ τῆς ιερείας (?), περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης (?)} \));
the title of one at least is obscure (\( \piρδοσ τὰς μαντείας \)); eight out of the fifteen speeches are
concerned with the prosecution of individuals on
various charges. He was associated with Demosthenes
in the prosecution of Aristogiton; he appeared against
Hyperides in the cases of Euxenippus and Lycophron;
and he spoke against the orator Demades. The prose-
cution of Lysicles, one of the generals at Chaeronea,
has been already referred to\(^1\). The impeachments of
Autolycus\(^2\) and Leocrates had this much in common,
that they were both concerned with matters arising
out of the panic which the news of Chaeronea produced
at Athens. Only the speech against Leocrates has
been preserved to us entire: of the others we have only
inconsiderable fragments\(^3\).

The case against Leocrates turned on the fact that
he had fled from Athens at the news of the defeat at
Chaeronea, and sailed to Rhodes. After
some stay there, he betook himself to
Megara, where he engaged in trade for
some five or six years. Thereafter he returned to
Athens, expecting, presumably, that his desertion
would have been forgotten in the interval; but Lycurgus
impeached him for treason (\( \epsilonἰσαγγελία προδοσίας \)).

Such, in brief, were the circumstances; but one or
two points call for somewhat closer attention. Rehdantz
(among others) raises the question, When exactly did

\( Δημάδην \) \( ύπερ τῶν εὐθυνῶν \) is taken to represent two
speeches or one. Cf. Blass, \( \text{App. ad Lyc.}, \) p. xlII.
\(^1\) \( \text{Supra}, \) p. xxiv. \(^2\) C. \( \text{Leocr. } \)§ 53.
\(^3\) These, along with fragments of Lycurgus' laws and
decrees, have been collected by Blass in his edition of the
Leocrates.

P. L.
Leocrates' desertion take place? and under what law was he chargeable? Autolycus, says Lycurgus, was condemned because, though he remained himself, he was responsible for having removed his wife and sons to a place of safety. Following upon this, apparently, the people passed a decree pronouncing absconders generally to be amenable to the charge of treason. Lycurgus, however, makes no use of this decree against Leocrates, presumably because the latter's flight had taken place previous to its passing. Autolycus himself had been condemned on the strength of a decree passed immediately on receipt of the news of Chaeronea, directing that the women and children should be brought inside the walls, and empowering the generals to take such measures as they thought fit for the defence of the city. By this same decree, presumably, Leocrates stood or fell. Did his flight take place before, or after, it was passed? It was obviously in the interest of the prosecutor to establish, as clearly as possible, that the decree was operative before Leocrates absconded; it was equally in his interest, on the other hand, if this was not the case, not to condescend too precisely on the time relation, but to contrive to create a presumption that a positive enactment had been transgressed. That Leocrates had really the better of the argument in this matter may be deduced from the circumstance that it is this second line that the orator takes. He dexterously first draws attention to the resolutions adopted at the first Assembly after the battle, and then proceeds: Λεωκράτης δὲ τούτων οὐδενὸς φροντίσας, συσκευασάμενος ἄ εἶχε χρήματα...ἀκέτο φεύγων, thus establishing, by implication, the connexion which he desired, but which

1 C. Leocr. § 53.  
2 Ibid.  
3 Ib. § 16 (decree of Hyperides).  
4 § 17.
we have reason to suppose the facts did not justify, between the decree and Leocrates' flight.

But while Lycurgus is thus at pains to correlate Leocrates' action with a positive measure forbidding it, and indeed appears to have felt that such a correlation was essential to his success, from the point of view of the jury, we cannot doubt that, from his own and higher point of view, the existence of an express legal enactment which he could appeal to was entirely a secondary consideration. It was enough that Leocrates had failed in patriotism—that 'being a man he had not rendered to his country the price of his nurture'—and failure in patriotism constituted, in the eyes of his accuser, the greatest crime of which a citizen could be capable.

And here it may be remarked that, to our ideas, Leocrates' offence was nothing worse than cowardice—the term, indeed, which Lycurgus' biographer applies to it—and Aeschines, who refers to the prosecution of Leocrates, speaks of his sailing to Rhodes ὀτί τὸν φόβον ἀνάνδρως ἤνεγκε, 'because he endured not the panic like a man.' But to Lycurgus it was the grossest treason: his whole speech is directed to showing that it was so to be regarded, and deserved to be visited with the appropriate penalties. And further, it must be remembered that the Assembly, before which Lycurgus' εἰσαγγελία was brought, must have decided that he had a vera causa in prosecuting for treason.

1 § 53 ἀνήρ ὤν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι.
2 [Plut.] Vit. § 45 ὃ ὑ' εὐθύνας (sc. ἐγράψατο s. εἶλε) Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ Δεωκράτην καὶ Αὐτολυκοῦ δειλίας.
3 C. Ctes. § 252.
4 So Rehdantz, Einl. § 13. An εἰσαγγελία might be brought either before the Council or the Assembly: the subsequent procedure, in either case, was practically the same, if the penalty involved exceeded the competence of the Council (see notes to § 1 of the speech): cf. Gilbert, pp. 305–6.
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The case was heard, in the ordinary course of things, before a Heliastic court, consisting probably of 1000 dicasts\(^1\), in the summer of 330 B.C., shortly before the final trial of strength between Aeschines and Demosthenes\(^2\). The speech of Lycurgus has been well described as 'a solemn and earnest protest on behalf of public spirit. There is not a trace of personal feeling, there is no attempt to disparage the man's private life. But the tone throughout is that of a lofty and inexorable indignation\(^3\).'

Leocrates was acquitted by a single vote\(^4\), and Lycurgus had to be content with a moral triumph. Considering, however, that the defendant had much in his favour—that that time must have dulled the memory of his offence, that he was not without influential advocates\(^5\), and that the trial took place at a time 'when the common temper of the city was with the accused'—the result was 'a remark-

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1 Strictly 1001, to prevent a tie in the voting; cf. Arist. \(\text{A\theta. Pol. 53. 3, Dem. xxiv. 9 and Schol. dia t\(\alpha\)\(\gamma\)\(\iota\)\(\omicron\)\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(\chi\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)\(\omicron\)\(\acute{\iota}\)\(\omicron\)\(\delta\) e\(\omicron\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\sigma\)\(\sigma\)\(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(\theta\)\(\eta\)\(\acute{\iota}\)\(\omicron\)\(\delta\)\(i\)\(k\)\(a\)\(s\)\(t\)\(a\)\(s\)\(s\), k.t.l.

2 The determination of the date of the trial is naturally bound up with the duration of Leocrates' sojourn abroad. Lycurgus makes him stay at Megara, § 21 πλείω ἃ πέντε ἐτη, § 56 πέντε ἐτη, § 145 πλείω πέντ' ἢ ἔε ἐτη. Also § 58 ἔε ἐτη συνεχῶς ἀποδημήσας presumably refers to Megara only. Taking these figures in conjunction with § 45 ὁγδὸν ἐτεὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν προσαγορεύων, we must assume that Leocrates stayed for about two years at Rhodes, i.e. he was abroad eight years all told. The language of Aeschines (Ctes. § 252) ἐτερος δ' ἐκπλεύσας ἰδιώτης εἰς 'Ῥόδον...πρώην πτορ' ('only the other day') εἰσηγγέλθη k.t.l., would seem to fix the speech to the earlier part of 330 B.C.


4 Aeschin. C. Ctes. § 252...καὶ ἵσα αἰ ψῆφοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἀν ἣ ἀπέθανεν.

5 § 139.
able testimony to the character and to the eloquence of the accuser."

(iii) ANALYSIS

No very precise analysis of the speech, according to the recognised divisions, can be attempted. We can distinguish, it is true, the regular introduction (προοίμιον); narrative (διήγησις), and epilogue (ἐπίλογος); but in the third department of proof (πίστις), Lycurgus allows himself a wide latitude. Still even here we can follow him with some certainty, till the main refutation of the adversary's arguments (λύσις τῶν κεφαλαίων) concludes at § 74: thereafter follows a congeries of appeals to, and examples from, ancient history, the poets, etc., which it is almost impossible to reduce to order, until we come to the epilogue (§§ 149, 150).

Introduction. I pray the gods that I may be a worthy prosecutor (§§ 1–2); the rôle of public prosecutor is unpopular, but I must undertake it: I am not actuated by any personal spite (§§ 3–6); the case before you is unique in the history of crime, and you must give a righteous verdict, with the example of the Areopagus before you. Your decision will be talked of among the Greeks (§§ 7–15).

Narrative. Leocrates' flight to Rhodes, and evidence therefor (§§ 16–20); his migration to Megara, and

1 Jebb, Attic Orators, ii. p. 381.
2 Cf. A. G. Becker in Dobson, Attic Orators, vol. iv., where, in reference to technical arrangement, he remarks: 'non semel factum est, ut optimus quisque orator, artis praecopta relinquens, suum sibi eligeret ordinem, quod imprimis conspicuum est in Demosthene...quae artificia Lycurgus vel ignoravit vel contempsit. et in hac gravissima Leocratis accusatione judicum animos ad suam sententiam pertrahere speravit vi veritatis, sensu recti, et orationis gravitate.'
residence there. Evidence (§§ 21-24); his removal of his family sacra from their native soil, and export of corn to Leucas (§§ 25-27).

Argument. The fairness of my procedure is seen in my challenge to the defendant to surrender his slaves, which he declined. He stands self-condemned (§§ 28-36).

Elaboration of the narrative: the pitiable plight of Athens after Chaeronea (§§ 37-45); praise of the men who fell in the battle there (§§ 46-51); acquittal is impossible in the face of precedents (§§ 52-54).

Anticipation of adversary's arguments: (a) that he sailed as a merchant (§§ 55-58); (b) that he held no position of trust (§§ 59-62); (c) that the results described could not have depended upon his single action (§§ 63-67); (d) that departure from the city does not necessarily constitute desertion, as witness the case of our ancestors before Salamis (§§ 68-74).

Appeals to ancestral usage, ancient history, etc.:
The attitude of our ancestors to such cases shown by the sanctity they attached to oaths (§§ 75-82). Their love of country shown by the self-sacrifice of Codrus (§§ 83-89). Leocrates will quote the fact of his standing his trial as a proof of his innocence, but as a matter of fact he has been brought here by Providence: remember Callistratus (§§ 90-93). The gods reward piety—'the Place of the Pious' (§§ 94-97). Patriotism inculcated by the poets—Euripides' Erechtheus, Homer and Tyrtaeus: the spirit of their poetry displayed at Marathon and Thermopylae (§§ 98-110). Severity of our ancestors towards traitors—Phrynichus, Hipparchus, absconders to Decelea, the man who died at Salamis: decree of Demophantus (§§ 111-127). Salutary example of Sparta (§§ 128-130). Leocrates was false even to the natural instincts of the brute creation (§§ 131-134). His advocates are equally culpable. His own father would have condemned him. They should
not presume to secure the acquittal of the guilty on the strength of their own public services (§§135–140). It is a pity your wives and children could not be present in court at a case like this: Leocrates is no ordinary offender (§§ 141–145). He is guilty of the most heinous crimes: it rests with you to punish him (§§ 146–148).

Epilogue. I have done my duty: remember that the land, its trees and its harbours, appeal to you; and pass an exemplary sentence (§§ 149–150).

(iv) LYCURGUS AS AN ORATOR

Lycurgus is reputed to have been a pupil of Isocrates¹: he was certainly familiar with the great master’s works. A training in the epideictic school was not the best preparation for one who needed oratory only for practical purposes; but the influence of the master was sufficiently strong to make the style of the pupil Isocratic at the base. Occasional sentences²—and even paragraphs³—of the Leocrates are cast in an unmistakably Isocratic mould.

¹ [Plut.] Vit. § 2, where it is also stated that he first studied philosophy as a pupil of Plato.

² Cf. § 3 ἐβουλήμην δ’ ἄν... ὡσπερ ὡφελιμῶν ἐστί... οὕτω κ.τ.λ., with Isocr. viii. (De Pace) § 36 ἡβουλήμην δ’ ἄν, ὡσπερ προσήκον ἐστιν... οὕτω κ.τ.λ. and xv. (Antid.) § II4; § 7 with Isocr. vii. (Areopag.) § 43; § 48 τοιαύτας δὲ γνώμαις χρησάμενοι κ.τ.λ., with Isocr. iv. (Paneg.) § 92, and vi. (Archid.) § 100; § 70 μόνοι δ’ ἀμφοτέρων περιγεγόνασι... ὡς ἐκατέρων προσῆκε, with Isocr. iv. (Paneg.) § 72 ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες ὡς ἐκατέρων προσῆκεν; and § 136 εἰ τις ἄρ’ ἐστιν αὐθεσις κ.τ.λ., with Isocr. ix. (Evag.) § 2, xiv. (Plataic.) § 61, xix. (Aeginet.) § 42.

³ Cf. the whole passage §§ 46–51, which is ‘nothing but a condensed funeral speech on those who died at Chaeronea’ (J. F. Dobson, The Greek Orators, p. 278), and contains, as might be expected, numerous echoes of Isocrates.
To the epideictic style are also to be referred the use of abstracts in the plural\(^1\), of pairs of synonyms\(^2\), and such phrases as τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων (for τὰ κοινὰ ἀδικήματα), τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων, etc.\(^3\) A noticeable feature is the use of prepositions for the simple (mostly subjective) genitive, in such expressions as τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμια, ἡ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βοήθεια, ἡ ύπέρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρία, etc.\(^4\)

'His vocabulary and his metaphors,' says Jevons\(^5\), 'are poetical to an extent which would have been more intelligible in the immaturity of Attic oratory than it is at its close.' This is true, within limits. His metaphors certainly are striking, and his bold personifications, in particular, would have offended the taste of more fastidious stylists\(^6\). But his vocabulary can hardly be said to be poetical in the sense that it contains a great, or even a considerable, number of words which would not be admitted in good prose\(^7\).

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1 Cf. § 18 εὐτυχίας, §§ 20, 139 χάριτες, §§ 37, 43 φόβου, § 48 εὐνοιας, § 78 ἀδικίας, § 126 τιμωρίας.
2 Cf. § 3 (also § 150) διαφυλάττει καὶ διασφάζει, § 91 τοῦ ἀκλεοῦς καὶ ἀδοξοῦθανάτων, § 141 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντες καὶ ὀρφανοῦν.
3 Cf. §§ 6, 48, 102, 104, etc.
4 Cf. §§ 4, 9, 15, 26, 79, 97, etc.
5 Greek Literature\(^4\), p. 447.
6 Cf. § 17, 'he pitied not the harbours of the city...he felt no shame before the walls of his country' (also § 21); § 25, 'he required the sacred things to share his exile'; § 43, 'the country was contributing its trees, the dead their tombs, and the temples their arms'; § 50, 'their lives are their country's crown of glory'; § 61, 'it is death for a city to be laid desolate'; § 150, 'the country and its trees supplicate you: the harbours implore you.'
7 The only individual words of a poetic cast which I have been able to discover (excluding the language of the oaths at §§ 77, 81) are: §§ 4, 8, 65 ἐπιτίμιον, §§ 7, 62, 110 αἰών.
In the matter of hiatus, Lycurgus is very inconsistent. In some cases he has obviously been at pains to avoid it by a slight disturbance of the natural order of the words; in others, the little care which would have avoided it has not been exercised; and, generally speaking, open positions, at which Isocrates would have shuddered, are frequent. Attention has been drawn to his lack of skill, or of care, in the connecting of his clauses, and to clumsiness in the building up of his sentences. The καίτως, which is his favourite instrument for introducing his premises, recurs with somewhat monotonous regularity.

All this amounts to saying that, judged by Isocratic, or even less exacting, standards, Lycurgus is inartistic.

(used also by Isocr.), § 82 εὐκλεια, § 99 λόγοv (perhaps a quotation), § 130 φιλοψυχείν (quoted also from Dem. and Lysias); and the phrase ἐπὶ γάρ ἐστιν ὧν ἐγέρεται (quoted also from Hyper. v. col. 22).

1 Cf. § 7 ὁὐ μικρὸν τί μέρος συνέχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως, οὕτως ἐπὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον (where συνέχει | οὗτος is avoided), § 58 Ἀξίων ἐστίν οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πράξιν ὧργίζεσθαι ταύτην (ὁργίζεσθαι | αὐτῷ), § 83 τούτο γάρ ἐστὶν μέγιστον ἢ πόλις ὧμῶν ἀγάθον (ἐστὶ | ἡ), etc.

2 Cf. e.g. § 20 πολλοί ἐπείσθησαν τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ ἀμνημονεῖν κ.τ.λ., where πολλοί τῶν μ. ἐπείσθησαν might have been said.

3 δοὺς οὐκομενος φωνην φωνημεν συνηκροιν (Plut. De Glor. Athen. c. 8).

4 Cf. e.g. § 52 τούς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φονικά ἀδικήματα ὁσιώτατα δικάζοντας, § 65 οὗτος τῶν μὲν μεγάλα ἱεροσυνήφαντα ἀπέκτεινον, τῶν δὲ μικρὰ εὐαντού τιμωρίᾳ ἐκόλαξον, § 113 τὰ γε ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἀνορύζαι καὶ ἐξορίσαι ἐξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, § 117, etc.

5 J. F. Dobson, The Greek Orators, p. 277. He notices the successive γὰρ's in §§ 49-50 (to which § 98 might be added), and the accumulation of participles (five) in § 93.

6 Cf. §§ 37, 39, 44, 52 sq., 74 sq., 77, etc.
INTRODUCTION

The ancient critics justly complained of the inelegance and harshness of his diction. The truth seems to be that Lycurgus cared too much about what he said to care a great deal about how he said it. While he inevitably reproduced some characteristic features of his master's style, he did not ‘swallow Isocrates whole,’ as Demosthenes was said to have done Isaeus. What artistic skill he did attain appears to have been the result of hard work. ‘Not being well gifted,’ says his biographer, ‘for extempore speaking, he practised night and day; on his couch there was only a sheep-skin and a pillow that he might be easily awakened to his task.’ We may even suspect that, in his heart, Lycurgus despised the artifices of rhetoric; he was content with a tolerable standard of technical proficiency and relied on the vis veritatis to do the rest.

In addition to the influence of Isocrates, however, Lycurgus' oratory was moulded by other influences which are to be referred rather to the character of the man himself. By birth, education and family tradition, Lycurgus had almost a greater affinity with the elder Athens than with his own, and this affinity reacted on his style. In several ways he claims kin, more than any of the other orators, with Antiphon. In dignity, in a certain aristocratic aloofness, and deep religious feeling, he furnishes striking points of coincidence with the earlier orator, to whose antithetical style he now and again appears to revert. ‘Engrafted on the smooth luxuriance of Isocrates, we find once more the archaic, somewhat

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1 Dionysius, Vett. Cens. v. 3 οὐ μὴν ἀστεῖος οὐδὲ ἰδὺς, ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαῖος; Hermogenes, περὶ ἱδ., B. II πολὺ δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφόδρων ἔχει χωρίς ἐπιμέλειας.
2 By the orator Pytheas (Dionysius, Isaeus, c. 4).
3 [Plut.] Vit. § 24.
rigid stateliness of Antiphon ... The combination of these manners, the Isocratic and the archaic, has an effect which is not harmonious—Lycurgus lacked the force to fuse them. In regard to evolution of style, Lycurgus is thus the child of two distinct epochs.

In the handling of his case Lycurgus, to our ideas, sins gravely against relevancy and a proper sense of proportion. Yet he lectures the jury on the very subject of irrelevant pleading. He undertakes to keep to the point in his own case, and at the end of the speech gives himself credit for having done so. And his claim must be allowed, in so far as the absence of any personal abuse of his opponent is concerned: there is no trace of the offensive personalities that mark the passages of arms between Aeschines and Demosthenes. But he has rather an odd conception of what is relevant to the establishing of his case. After he has done so, to all intents and purposes, he proceeds to accumulate instances of treason and its punishment, or of patriotism and its reward, which, so far as they have a bearing on the case at all, serve simply to point the moral: 'Leocrates is a traitor and must be punished.' As he himself puts it: 'Instruction by means of numerous examples will make your decision easy.'

Armed with this doctrine, Lycurgus ranges over a wide field for his illustrations. The half-apology with which he introduces some of these betrays some uneasiness in his own mind about their appropriateness; but Lycurgus is an educator as well as an orator—'it will be fitting for all the younger men to hear them.'

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1 Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. II. 377.  2 §§ II sqq.  3 § I49.  4 He has practically proved his case by § 36.  5 § I24.  6 Cf. §§ 95, 98.  7 § 95 εἰ γὰρ καὶ μοθωδέστερον ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρμόσει καὶ νῦν ἀπασὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκοῦσαι.
and herein his 'instruction by examples' finds its justification.  

A considerable portion of the speech may fairly be described as a eulogy of the Athens of an earlier day. Lycurgus' excursions into ancient history provide some rather startling details, which, while not enhancing the general reputation of the orators for historical accuracy, must be set down, in this case, as interesting and venial slips of memory where there is no intention to falsify. The atmosphere of religion which pervades the speech, and in particular the doctrine which he expounds, more than once, touching the divine punishment of sin, reveal a quality of mind which, as already remarked, has much in common with Antiphan, and even with Aeschylus. The extent, indeed, of his moral and religious affinities with the older poet-moralists is attested—in addition to the more practical ways in which he sought to honour them—by his intimate acquaintance with their works and the length at which he quotes them. Aeschines, it is true, indulges in quotation, and Demosthenes retaliates in kind: both, however, show regard for relevancy and proportion. But Lycurgus, 'like a bath-man,' deluges his hearers with fifty-five lines of Euripides, and not content with that, inflicts upon them, after another six lines of Homer,  

1 For his didactic tone, cf. § 4 τρία γάρ ἐστι τὰ μέγιστα, ἀ διαφυλάττει...τὴν δημοκρατίαν,  
§ 10 δύο γάρ ἐστι τὰ παι- 
δεύοντα τοὺς νέους: also §§ 6, 64, 79.  
2 E.g. § 70 (Eteonicus Spartan commander at Salamis),  
3 Cf. §§ 79, 91–93.  
4 Cf. p. xxiii, supra.  
5 Plato, Rep. i. 344 d (of Thrasymachus) ὡς περ βαλα- 
νεύς...καταντλήσας...ἄθρόνοι καὶ πολύν τὸν λόγον.
thirty-two lines of Tyrtaeus. Only the most long-suffering jury, one would imagine, would have tolerated such liberties, unless indeed the gratification of their *amour propre* as Athenians may be supposed to have been a reasonable off-set to utter boredom. To Lycurgus himself, of course, the question of the relevancy, or otherwise, of it all never occurred: it has all, to him, a vital bearing on the issue: he is in deadly earnest all the time, and communicates something of his white heat to his hearers.

But though Lycurgus' *laudatio temporis acti* may have been, quite incidentally, pleasing enough to the judges, he would never have stooped to flatter them. Like a good aristocrat, he confesses to an admiration for Sparta, and adduces from there examples of 'law and order' which we may suspect were not entirely congenial to his audience. He addresses to the jury some home truths with regard to the irrelevant pleading which they countenance, and takes occasion, as a speaker who was concerned with securing a verdict at all costs would hardly have done, to eulogise the court of the Areopagus, which, however venerable and venerated even by the Athenians of his own day, was anything but a democratic institution.

Lycurgus' own character, as has been well observed, is the best comment on his oratory. The ancient critics, while justly noting his faults—the harshness of his diction, his tendency to repeat himself, and his 'penchant for legend, tales and poetry'—allowed him the qualities of dignity and impressiveness, and recognised his passion

1 § 128 καὶ μὴ μοι ἄχθεσθητε...εἰ πολλάκις μέμνημαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων.
2 §§ 12, 52.  
4 Hermogenes, *περὶ ἱδεῶν*, B. II.
for truth and outspokenness. Dio Chrysostom credits him with ‘a certain simplicity and nobility of manner,’ and Dionysius lays his finger on what is perhaps his outstanding quality when he says: τούτων χρῆ ζηλοῦν μάλιστα τὰς δεινόσεις. By δεινόσις was meant ‘the power to bring out the enormity of a wrong,’ and the full import of the term cannot be better conveyed than in the words of another great literary critic, Quintilian: ‘in hoc eloquentiae vis est ut iudicem non in id tantum compellat, in quod ipsa rei natura ducetur, sed aut qui non est, aut maiorem quam est, faciat adfectum. haec est illa, quae dinosis vocatur, rebus indignis asperis invidiosis addens vim oratio.’ As examples of this may be quoted Lycurgus’ description of the flight of Leocrates (§ 17), or his powerful picture of the plight of Athens after Chaeronea (§§ 39 sqq.).

(v) SOURCES OF THE TEXT

The manuscript tradition for Lycurgus is substantially the same as for the rest of the minor orators. The chief ms. is the Codex Crippsianus, denoted by the letter A, in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Burneianus 95), and dated to the thirteenth century A.D. It derives its name from John Marten Cripps, who was associated with Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822, Jesus College, Cambridge) in travels in the east about the beginning of the nineteenth century; and it was obtained from the famous monastery of Batopedion.

1 Dionysius, Vett. Cens. v. 3 διηρμένος...σεμνός...φιλαλήθης...παρρησιαστικός.
2 VI. 2. 24.
3 An exhaustive description of A will be found in the introduction to Wyse’s Isaeus, to which I am indebted for the brief account of it given here.
on Mount Athos. Ultimately it came into the possession of Charles Burney, on whose death in 1817 it passed into the British Museum. The ms. is on vellum, in folio (ff. 170), and contains, in order, Andocides, Isaenus, Dinarchus, Antiphon, Lycurgus, Gorgias (Helen and Palamedes), Alcidamas (Ulysses), Lesbonax, Herodes. It has been corrected both by the scribe himself (A₁), and by at least one later hand (A²), which latter, once believed to stop at a point in Antiphon, can be detected (acc. to Thalheim) in §§ 70–86 of Lycurgus. 'The Codex Crippsianus is an inferior ms., remarkable neither for age nor integrity, but infected with nearly all the vices to which mss. are liable¹,' one of the chief being the omission of small single words. It was collated by F. Osann for his edition of Lycurgus published at Jena in 1821, and subsequently by Bekker and Dobson for their respective editions of the Attic orators, 1822–3 and 1828. More recently, the ms. has been examined by (among others) Jernstedt, Blass and Thalheim.

It has now been proved that B = Laurentianus (also obtained from Batopedion, by Janus Lascaris, French Ambassador at Venice, 1503–9), L = Marcianus, M = Brit. Mus. Burneianus 96, P = Ambrosianus, Z = Vratislaviensis (Breslau Public Library), all of the fifteenth century, are derived from A. The dependence of B on A, first argued by Thalheim, was confirmed by Jernstedt, Blass and Buermann: B was shown by H. Reutzel to be the source of LMZ: M was copied from L, Z from M, and M was very probably the source of P. LMP were all written at Florence about the end of the fifteenth century. L 'still possesses a certain historical interest as the source of the Aldine edition of 1513, which repeats all its lacunae and many of its peculiar readings².'

INTRODUCTION

The only other ms. of equal authority to A is the Codex Oxoniensis N = Bodleianus Misc. 208, of the end of the fourteenth century, which, however, is not complete for Lycurgus, containing only §§ 1–34. 4 προδοσίας and §§ 98. 4 τὸν Ποσειδώνος—147. 5 ἐγκαταλειπτὼν. N, and A descend from a common archetype, which Blass (but probably without justification) describes as ‘multis locis sive correctum sive varia lectione auctum¹.’ N has also been corrected (but to a lesser extent than A), both by the first hand (N¹) and by a later conjectural critic of some learning (N²). The readings of N agree in the main with those of A¹, as against A pr. N and A¹ may therefore be regarded, on the whole, as preserving the text of the archetype, but A¹ is not always trustworthy. N has been collated both by Blass and by Thalheim.

¹ Praef. ad Lycurgum, p. iv.
² Wyse, op. cit. p. xxxvi.
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Μετά τὰ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ δείνα ψήφισμα ποιεῖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, ὡστε μήτε τινὰ ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε μὴν ἐκθέσθαι παῖδας καὶ γυναίκας. Δεωκράτης οὖν τις ἐξελθὼν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐν Ὑδώρ καὶ πάλιν ἐν Μεγάροις, ἤλθεν ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ παρρησιαζο-μένου αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν ποιεῖται ὁ Λυκούργος αὐτοῦ ὡς προδότου. Ἡ δὲ στάσις ὅρος ἀντονομάξων ὁμοlogyeι γὰρ καὶ ὁ Δεωκράτης ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μέντοι προδι-δόναι. ἄλλοι στοχασμὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ἐξελθεῖν ὁμολογουμένου, ἀμφιβαλλομένης δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως, ποῖα γνώμη ἔξηλθεν, εἰτ' ἐπὶ προδοσία ἐἐτ' ἐπὶ ἐμπορία. ἄλλοι δὲ ἀντίστασιν: λέγει γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ ἐμπορία. ἐοικε δὲ ἡ τοῦ λόγου ὑπόθεσις τῇ τοῦ κατὰ Αὐτολύκου.

Δικαιαίων, ὁ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ εὐσεβὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν την ἀρχὴν τῆς κατηγορίας Δεωκράτους τοῦ κρινομένου ποιήσωμαι. εὐχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθήνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡρῴοι 
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰδρυμένοις, εἰ μὲν εἰσήγγειλα Δεωκράτη δικαίως καὶ κρίνω τὸν προδότ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς νεὼς καὶ τὰ ἐδη καὶ τὰ 
τεμένη καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας τὰς 
ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων παραδεδομένας, ἐμὲ 2 
μὲν ἄξιον ἐν τῇ τήμερον ἡμέρα τῶν Δεωκράτους 

P.L. 1
άδικημάτων κατήγορον ποιήσαι, δ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, ὡμᾶς δ' ὡς ὑπὲρ πατέρων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ἱερῶν βουλευομένους, καὶ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῇ ψήφῳ τοὺν προδότην ἀπάντων τούτων, ἀπαραίτητοις δικαστάς καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον γενέσθαι τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικάυτα παρανομοῦσι· εἰ δὲ μήτε τὸν προδότα τὴν πατρίδα μήτε τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰς τουτούς τὸν ἀγώνα καθίστημι, σωθήναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν καὶ υφ' ὑμῶν τῶν δικαστῶν.

3 Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ ὁφέλμόν 2 ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει εἶναι τοὺς κρίνοντας εἰς ταῦτα τοὺς παρανομοῦντας, οὕτω καὶ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπειληφθαί· νῦν δὲ περιέστηκεν εἰς τούτο, ὡστε τὸν ἓδει κινδυνεύοντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεχθανόμενον οὐ φιλόπολιν, ἀλλὰ φιλοπράγμονα δοκεῖν εἶναι, οὗ δικαίως οὐδὲ συμ-

4 φερόντως τῇ πόλει. τρὶα γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ μέγιστα, ἃ διαφυλάττει καὶ διασφάζει τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως εὐδαιμονίαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τῶν νόμων τάξις, δεύτερον δ' ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ψήφος, τρίτον δ' ἡ τούτως τάδικήματα παραδιδοῦσα κρίσις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος πέφυκε προλέγειν ἃ μὴ δεῖ πράστειν, ὃ δὲ κατήγορος μηνύειν τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτιμίωσις καθεστῶτας, ὃ δὲ δικαστής κολάζειν τοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀποδειχθέντας αὐτῷ, ὡστ' οὖθ' ὃ νόμος οὖθ' ἡ τῶν
δικαστῶν ψῆφος ἄνευ τοῦ παραδώσοντος αὐτοῦς τοὺς ἄδικούντας ἵσχύει. Ἡγὼ δ’, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, 5 εἴδως Δεσμος τὴν ψηφίσαν μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνους, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολίτας, προδεδωκότα δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν δύναμιν, ἀπασὶ δὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένοις ἔνοχον ὑντα, ταύτην τὴν εἰσαγγελλαν ἑποίησάμην, οὕτε δὲ ἐχθραν ὑμέριαν οὕτε διὰ φιλονεκίαν οὕδ’ ἤτυν- ούν τοῦτον τὸν ἁγάνα προελόμενος, ἀλλ’ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίσας τοῦτον περιοραν εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐμβάλλοντα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἱερῶν μετέχοντα, τῆς τε πατρίδος ὅνειδος καὶ πάντων ὑμῶν γεγενημένον. πολίτου γάρ ἔστι δικαίου, μὴ διὰ τὰς ἱδίας ἐχθρὰς 6 εἰς τὰς κοινὰς κρίσεις καθιστάναι τοὺς τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν ἄδικούντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τι παρανομούντας ἱδίους ἐχθροὺς εἶναι νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἁδικημάτων κοινὰς καὶ τὰς προφά- σεις ἔχειν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφορᾶς.

3 Ἡ ἀπάντας μὲν οὖν χρή νομίζειν μεγάλους εἶναι 7 τοὺς δημοσίους ἁγώνας, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν μέλλετε τὴν ψήφον φέρειν. ὅταν μὲν γάρ τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς δικάζῃ, τοῦτο μόνον ἐπανορθοῦτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξειν κωλύετε, καθ’ ὅσον ἂν τὸ ψήφισμα μέλλῃ βλάπτειν τὴν πόλιν· ὁ δὲ νῦν ἐνεστηκὼς ἁγὼν οὐ μικρόν τι μέρος συνέχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὖδ’ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀείμιμηστὸν καταλείψει τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις

I—2
8 τὴν κρίσιν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ γεγενημένον ἀδίκημα καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος, ὡστε μήτε κατηγορίαν [μήτε τιμωρίαν] ἐνδέχεσθαι εὐ- 
ρεῖν ἄξιαν μήτ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὅρισθαι τιμωρίαν 
[ἄξιαν] τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. τί γὰρ χρῆ παθεῖν τὸν 
ἐκλιπόντα μὲν τὴν πατρίδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντα δὲ 
toῖς πατρῴοις ἑροῖς, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τὰς τῶν 
προγόνων θήκας, ἀπασαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑποχείριον 
toῖς πολεμίως παραδόντα; τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγιστον 
καὶ ἐσχατον τῶν τιμημάτων, θάνατος, ἀναγκαῖον 
mὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμιον, ἐλαττὸν δὲ τῶν 
9 Δεωκράτους ἀδικημάτων καθέστηκε. παρεῖσθαι 
dὲ τὴν ύπέρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρίαν συμβέβηκεν, 
ὁ ἄνδρες, οὐ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν τῶν τότε νοµοθετοῦντων, 
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις γεγενη- 
σθαι τοιοῦτον μηδέν, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς μέλλονσιν ἐπι- 
δοξον εἶναι γενήσεθαι. διὸ καὶ μάλιστ', ὁ ἄνδρες, 
δεὶ ύμᾶς γενέσθαι μὴ μόνων τοῦ νῦν ἀδικήματος 
δικαστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοµοθέτας. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ τῶν 
ἀδικημάτων νόμος τοῖς διώρικε, πάντων τούτων κανόν 
χρωμένους κολάζειν τοὺς παρανομοῦντας· ὅσα δὲ 
μὴ σφόδρα περιείληθεν, ἐνι ὑνόματι προσαγορεύ- 
σας, μείζω δὲ τούτων τοῖς ἡδικηκέν, ἀπασι δ' ὅμοιος 
ἐνοχὸς ἐστιν, ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν κατα- 
10 λείπεσθαι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπυγνωμένοις. εὐ δ' 
ἔστε, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τούτων νῦν κολάζετε 
κατεψηφισμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νεοτέρους ἀπαντας 
ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψετε. δύο γὰρ ἐστι τὰ παιδεύ-
οντα τους νέους, ἡ τε τῶν ἀδικοῦντων τιμωρία, καὶ ἡ τοῖς ἄνδρασι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς διδομένη δωρεά· πρὸς ἐκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον φεύγουσι, τῆς δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιθυμοῦσι. 4 διὸ δεῖ, ὃ ἄνδρες, προσέχειν τούτῳ τῷ ἁγώνι, καὶ μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τοῦ δικαίου.

Ποιήσομαι δὲ κἂν τὴν κατηγορίαν δικαίαν, ιι ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον φεύγουσι, τῆς δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιθυμοῦσι. 4 διὸ δεῖ, ὃ ἄνδρες, προσέχειν τούτῳ τῷ ἁγώνι, καὶ μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τοῦ δικαίου.
καὶ ὑμῖν εὐφροσύνην (τῆς) ψῆφου ἑνεγκεῖν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνευ τοῦ (τουούτου) λόγου, μὴ δικαίως δεδιδαγμένους δικαίαν θέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον.

14 Δεὶ δ', ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, μηδὲ ταύτα λαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι 5 οὐχ ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγιον περὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱδιωτῶν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄγιοτος ἀνθρώπου τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδοκεῖτ' ἂν ἡ καλὸς ἢ καὶ φαύλως ἐψηφίσθαι. περὶ δὲ τούτου ὦ τι ἂν βουλεύσῃς, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐσται λόγος, οἱ ἵσασι τὰ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔργα ἐναντιώτατα τοῖς τούτῳ διαπεπραγμένους ὀντα. ἑπιφανὴς γὰρ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκπλουν τὸν εἰς Ὥμον καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἢν ἐποιήσατο καθ' ὑμῶν πρὸς τε τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ὥμον καὶ τῶν 15 ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημούσιν ἐκεῖ, οἱ πάσαι τὴν οἰκουμένην περιπλέουσιν δι' ἐργασίαν ἀπήγγελλον ἄμα περὶ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Δεωκράτους ἡκηκόεσαν. ὡστε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιητέου ἐστὶν ὅρθῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. εὐ γὰρ ἱστε, ὦ Ἀθηναίοι, ὦ τῷ πλείστον διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, τῷ πρὸς τε τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ὁσίως καὶ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοτήμως ἕχειν, τούτου πλείστον ἁμέλειν δόξαι' ἂν, εἰ τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ὁτὸς διαφύγων τιμωρίαν.

16 Δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναίοι, ἀκούσαι μου τῆς 6 κατηγορίας διὰ τέλους, καὶ μὴ ἄχθεσθαι, εἰάν ἀρξώμαι ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ πόλει τότε συμβάντων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτίοις ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ δι' οὐς ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν
κατά λεωκράτους

μεμνήσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Γεγενημένης γὰρ τῆς ἐν Χαίρωνεία μάχης καὶ συνδραμόντων ἀπάντων ὕμων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος, παίδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰ τείχη κατακομβεῖν, τούς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τάπτειν εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οἰκούντων Ἀθηναίων, καθ’ ὁ τί ἄν αὐτῶις δοκῇ. Δεωκράτης 17 δὲ τούτων οὐδενὸς φροντίσας, συσκευασάμενος ἀ εἶχε χρήματα, μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τῶν λέμβων κατεκόμισε, τῆς νεῶς ἥδη περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξορμοῦσης, καὶ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς ἔταιρας Εἰρηνίδος κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἀκτὴν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τὴν ναῦν προσέπλευσε καὶ ἀχέτο θεύγων, οὕτε τοῖς λιμένας τῆς πόλεως ἔλεων, εὖ ὑπὸ ἀνήγετο, οὕτε τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅν τὴν φυλακὴν ἔρημον τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος κατέλευπεν· οὐδὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δίων τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς σωτείρας ἀφορῶν καὶ προδίδουσ ἐφοβήθη, οὐς αὐτίκα σώσοντας ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐπικαλέσεται. καταχθεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ὁρόδου, ὡσπερ 18 τῇ πατρίδι μεγάλας εὐτυχίας εὐαγγελιζόμενος, ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς τὸ μέν ἀστυ τῆς πόλεως ἑαλωκὸς καταλίποι, τὸν δὲ Πειραιάζα πολυροκούμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος διασωθεῖς ἦκοι· καὶ ὅλη ἡσχύνθη τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἀτυχίαν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν προσαγορεύσας. οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα ταῦτ’ ἐπίστευσαν οἱ Ὁρόδου, ὡστε τριήρεις πληρώσαντες τὰ πλοῖα κατῆγον, καὶ τῶν
8

"Δυκούργου"

ἐμπόρων καὶ τῶν ναυκλήρων οἱ παρασκευασμένοι δείρω πλείον αὐτοῦ τὸν σῖτον ἐξείλουσκαὶ τὰλλα
19 χρήματα διὰ τοῦτον. Καὶ ὅτι ταύτη ἄληθὴ λέγει, ἀναγνώστατι ύμῖν τὰς μαρτυρίας ἀπάντων, πρῶ-
του μὲν τὰς τῶν γειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦτῳ κατοικοῦντων, οἱ τούτοι ἱσασίν ἐν τῷ πο-
λέμῳ φυγόντα καὶ ἐκπλεύσαντα Ἀθήνηθεν, ἐπειτα τῶν παραγενομένων εἰς 'Ρόδον, ὅτε Δεωκράτης
ταύτ' ἀπήγγελλε, μετά δὲ ταύτα τὴν Φυρκίνου μαρτυρίαν, ὅν καὶ ύμῶν (ἳσασίν) οἱ πολλοὶ κατη-
γοροῦντα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοῦτον, ὡς καὶ μεγάλα βεβλαφῶς εἰς τὴν πεντηκοστὴν, μετέχων αὐτῆς.

20 Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς μάρτυρας βραχέα 7
βοῦλομαι διαλεξθῆναι ύμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὡς
ἀνδρεῖς, οὔτε τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρινομένων,
οὔτε τὰς δεῖσεις τῶν ἐξαιτομένων, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς
ἐπιστασθε, ὅτι χρημάτων ἔνεκα καὶ χάριτος πολλοὶ
ἐπείσθησαν τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ ἀμυνομενὶ ἢ μή
ἐλθεῖν ἢ ἐτέραν πρόφασιν εὑρεῖν. ἁξίουτε οὖν
touς μάρτυρας ἀναβαίνεις καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν, μηδὲ
περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τὰς χάριτας ύμῶν καὶ
tης πόλεως, ἀλλὰ ἀποδιδόναι τῇ πατρίδι τάληθῇ
καὶ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν ταῦτην,
μηδὲ μιμεῖσθαι Δεωκράτην, ἢ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐξομόσασθαι. ἐὰν δὲ μηδετέρον
tουτὸν ποιῶσιν, ὑπὲρ ύμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ
tης δημοκρατίας κλητεύσομεν αὐτοὺς. Δέγε τὰς
μαρτυρίας.
8 Μετὰ ταύτα τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἐπειδὴ χρόνος 21 ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφικνεῖτο Ἀθήνηθεν πλοῖα εἴς τὴν Ῥώδου καὶ φανερὸν ἦν ὃτι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐγεγόνει περὶ τὴν πόλιν, φοβηθεὶς ἐκπλεῖ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώδου καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Μέγαρα· καὶ φίκει ἐν Μεγάροις πλεῖο ἢ πέντε ἐτη προστάτην ἔχων Μεγαρέα, οὐδὲ τὰ ὀρια τῆς χώρας αἰσχυνόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν γειτόνων τῆς ἐκθρεψάσις αὐτόν πατρίδοις μετοικῶν. καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεγνώκει ἄλιθον 22 φυγήν, ὡστε μεταπεμφάμενος ἑντεύθεν Ἀμύνταν τὸν τὴν ἄδελφην ἔχοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν καὶ τὸν φίλον Ἀντυγένην Ἐυπεταιόνα, καὶ δεηθεὶς τοῦ κηδεστοῦ πρίασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τάνδράποδα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντου, κατὸ τοῦτου προσέταξε τοὺς τε χρήστας ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἔρανους διενεγκείν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι. διοικήσας δὲ ταύτα πάντα ὁ 23 Ἀμύντας, αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀποδίδοται τάνδράποδα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα μνὸν Τιμοχάρει Ἀχαρνεῖ τῷ τῆς νεωτέραν ἔχοντι τούτου ἄδελφην· ἀργύριον δὲ οὐκ ἔχων δοῦναι ὁ Τιμοχάρης, συνήθηκας ποιησάμενος καὶ θέμενος παρὰ Λυσικλεί, μίαν μνᾶν τόκον ἐφερε τῷ Ἀμύντα. ἦνα δὲ μὴ λόγον οἴσθε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰδήτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀναγνώστεται καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τὰς μαρτυρίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ἐκεῖνον ἅν αὐτὸν παρειχόμενην ὑμῖν δ' ὑμῖν καλῶ τοὺς συνειδότας. Καὶ μοι λέγε
ταύτην τήν μαρτυρίαν, ὃς ἐπρίατο παρὰ Δεωκράτους ἐν Μεγάροις τὰ ἀνδράποδα Ἀμύντας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ

24 Ἀκούσατε δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀπέλαβε τετταράκοντα μνᾶς παρ᾽ Ἀμύντου Φιλόμηλος Χολαργεὺς καὶ Μενέλαος ὁ πρεσβεύσας ὡς βασιλέα.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ

Δαβὲ δὲ μοι καὶ τὴν Τιμοχάρους τοῦ πριαμένου τὰνδράποδα παρ᾽ Ἀμύντου πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα μνῶν, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΑΙ

25 Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόσατε, ὃ ἄνδρες· ἄξιον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐφ᾽ ὦς μέλλω λέγειν ἀγανακτήσαι καὶ μισήσαι τούτοι Δεωκράτην. οὐ γὰρ ἑξήρκεσε τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ χρῆματα μόνον ὑπεκθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῷα, ὁ τοῖς ὑμετέροις νομίμως καὶ πατρίοις ἔθεσιν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ ἱδρυσάμενοι, ταῦτα μετεπέμψατο εἰς Μέγαρα καὶ ἑξῆγαγεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, οὔδὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν πατρῴων ἱερῶν φοβηθεῖς, ότι ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ κινήσας συμφεύγειν αὐτῷ, ἐκλιπόντα τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἥν κατείχεν, ἦξίσωσε, καὶ ἱδρύσθαι ἐπὶ ξένης καὶ ἀλλοτρίας, καὶ εἶναι θυνεία τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις τοῖς 26 κατὰ τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν εἰθισμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν
πατέρες ὑμῶν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ὡς τὴν χώραν εἰληχυίᾳ ὁμώνυμον αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα προσνηγόρευον Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε τις τὴν θέου τὴν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῇ πόλιν μὴ ἐγκαταλύπτωσι. Δεσκράτης δ' οὔτε νομίμων οὔτε πατρίων οὐθ' ἱερῶν φροντίσας τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγώγησαν ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν ἐποίησε. καὶ οὔκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὴν πόλιν ἀδικήσας, ἀλλ' οἰκῶν ἐν Μεγάροις, οἷς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξεκομίσατο χρήμασιν ἀφορμῇ χρόμενος, ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Δευκάδα ἐσυνήγη καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Κόρινθον. καίτοι, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ περὶ τούτων οἱ 27 ὑμέτεροι νόμοι τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας ὀρίζουσιν, ἐάν τὰς Ἀθηναίοις ἄλλοσε ποιεῖ διηγήση ἡ ὡς ὑμᾶς. ἐπείτα τὸν προδότα μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, συνηγήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, μὴ φροντίσαντα δὲ μήτε ἱερῶν μήτε πατρίδος μήτε νόμων, τούτων ἔχοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφῳ οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ ταῖς παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιήσετε; πάντων ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων ῥάθυμοται ἐσεσθε, καὶ ἡκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς ὁργιζόμενοι.

9 Καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὁ ἄνδρες, ἐμοῦ θεωρήσατε, ὡς 28 δικαίως τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιούμενον περὶ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τηλικοῦτων ἀδικημάτων εἰκάζοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειάν εἰδότας ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μὴ δώσοντας ἐλεγχον μάρτυρεῖν, ἀλλὰ δεδωκότας. προϊκαλεσάμην γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρόκλησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπάντων γράψας
καὶ ἀξιῶν βασανίζειν τοὺς τούτου ὦκετας, ἢ ἀκοῦσαι ἀξιόν ἔστιν. Καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτην.

ΠΡΟΚΑΛΗΣΙΣ

29 Ἀκούστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῆς προκλήσεως. ἀμα τοῖνοι ταύτῃν Δεωκράτης οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κατεμαρτύρει αὐτοῖς, ὅτι προδότης τῆς πατρίδος ἔστιν· ὦ γὰρ τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων ἔλεγχον φυγὼν ὀμολογηκέν ἀλήθη εἶναι τὰ εἰσηγγελμένα. τὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων πολὺ δοκεῖ δικαιότατον καὶ δημοτικώτατον εἶναι, ὅταν ὦκεται ἡ θεράπαιναι συνειδὸς ἄ δει, τούτους ἔλεγχειν καὶ βασανίζειν, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς λόγοις πιστεύειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων κοινῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ συμφέροντων τῇ πόλει; ἐγὼ τοῖς τοσοῦτον ἀφέστηκα τοῦ ἀδίκως τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν κατὰ Δεωκράτους ποιήσασθαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἐν τοῖς Δεωκράτους οἰκέταις καὶ θεραπαίναις βασανισθεῖσι τῶν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι, οὔτοι δὲ διὰ τὸ συνειδέναι ἑαυτῷ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐφυγε. καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πολὺ θάττου ὁ Δεωκράτους οἰκέται καὶ θεράπαιναι τῶν γενομένων ἄν τι ἡρμηνεύσαν ἢ τὰ μὴ οὖντα τοῦ αὐτῶν δεσπότου κατεψεύσαντο. χωρίς τούτων τούτων Δεωκράτης ἱο ἀναβοήσεται αὐτίκα ὧς ἴδιωτης ὁν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ συκοφάντου δεινότητος ἀναρρα-ξόμενος· ἐγὼ δ' ἤγομαι πάντας ὕμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι
τῶν μὲν δείνῳ καὶ συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντων ἑργον ἐστὶν ἀμα τοῦτο προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ξητεῖν·
tὰ χωρία ταύτα, ἐν οἷς τοὺς παραλογισμοὺς κατὰ
tῶν ἄγωνιζομένων ποιήσουσιν, τῶν δὲ δικαίως
τὰς κρίσεις ἑνισταμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς
ἀράις ἀκριβῶς ἀποδεικνύντων τάναντια φαίνεσθαι
tούτοις ποιοῦντας, ὁστερ ἡμεῖς. οὔτωσι δὲ δια-
λογίζεσθε περὶ τούτων παρ᾽ υμῖν αὐτοῖς. τίνας
ἀδύνατον ἦν τῇ δεινότητι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς
tαῖς τοῦ λόγου παραγαγεῖν; κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς
βάσαις ὁμοίωσιν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ πάντων
tῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμελλον φράσειν οἱ οἰκέται καὶ
αἱ θεραπεῖαι. ἀλλὰ τούτους Δεωκράτης παρα-
δοῦναι ἔφυγε, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους, ἀλλὰ
αὐτοῦ ὄντας. τίνας δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς
λόγοις ψυχαγωγηθῆσαι καὶ τὴν υγρότητα αὐτῶν
tοῦ ἡθους τοῖς δακρύοις εἰς ἐλεον προαγαγέσθαι;
tοὺς δικαστάς. ἐνταῦθα Δεωκράτης ὁ προδότης
tῆς πατρίδος ἑλήλυθεν, οὕδεν ἔτερον ἡ φοβοῦμενος,
μὴ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας οὐ τε ἐξελέγχοντες τῷ ἑργῷ
καὶ ὁ εξελέγχομενος γένηται. τί γὰρ ἐδει προ-
φάσεων ἡ λόγων ἡ σκηψεως; ἀπλοῦν τὸ δίκαιον,
ῥάδιον τὸ ἀληθῆς, βραχὺς ὁ ἐλεγχὸς. εἰ μὲν ὦμο-
λογεῖ τὰ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ ἀληθῇ καὶ ὁσιά εἶναι,
tί οὐ τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας τυγχάνει; εἰ δὲ
μὴ φησὶ ταύτα ἀληθῆ εἶναι, τί οὐ παραδέδωκε
τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰς θεραπεῖαις; προσήκει γὰρ
τὸν ὑπὲρ προδοσίας κινδυνεύοντα καὶ παραδιδόναι
35 Βασανίζειν καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀκριβεστάτων ἐλέγχων. ἂλλ’ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπραξεν, ἀλλὰ κατα-
μεμαρτυρηκὼς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι προδότης ἐστὶ τῆς πα-
τρίδος καί τῶν ἱερῶν καί τῶν νόμων, ἀξιώσει ύμᾶς
ἐναντία ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὀμολογίαις καὶ μαρτυρίαις
ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ πῶς δίκαιόν ἐστι τὸν τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν τῆς ἄπολογίας αὐτοῦ εξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι τὰ δίκαια περιηγημένον,
tούτων ἐὰναὶ ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμολογου-
μένων ἀδικημάτων ἐξαπατήσει;

36 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προκλήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἀδι-
κήματος, ὅτι ὀμολογούμενόν ἐστίν, ἰκανῶς ύμᾶς
ηγοῦμαι, ὁ ἄνδρες, μεμαθηκέναι· ἐν οἷς δὲ καὶ ὢν II
καὶ ἡλίκοις κινδύνοις τὴν πόλιν ὑσαν Δεωκράτης
προδέδωκεν, ἀναμνήσει ύμᾶς βούλομαι. Καὶ μοι
λαβὴ τὸ ψηφίσμα, γραμματεῖ, τὸ Τπερείδου, καὶ
ἀναγίγνωσκε.

37 Ἀκοῦσε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τὴν
βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους καταβαίνειν εἰς Πειραιᾶ
χρηματισοῦσαν περὶ φυλακῆς τοῦ Πειραιᾶς εἰ τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς ἔδοξε, καὶ πράττειν διεσκευασμένην ὅ τι ἂν
δοκῇ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρον εἶναι. καίτοι, ὁ ἄνδρες,
ei οἱ ἀφειμένοι τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἔνεκα τοῦ βου-
λεύσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἰν τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
τάξει διέτριβον, ἀρ’ ύμῖν δοκοῦσι μικροὶ καὶ οἱ
38 τυχόντες φόβοι τότε τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν; εἰν
οις Δεωκράτης ούτος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδρᾶς ἤχετο, καὶ τὰ χρῆματα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐξεκόμισε, καὶ (τὰ) ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῴα μετεπέμψατο, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον προδοσίας ἤλθεν, ὡστε κατὰ τὴν τούτον προάστειν ἐρημοῦ μὲν (ἄν) ἦσαν οἱ ναοί, ἐρημοὶ δ' αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν τείχων, ἐξελέειπτο δ' ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα. κατοί κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς 39 χρόνους, ὁ ἄνδρας, τίς οὐκ ἄν τὴν πόλιν ἠλέησεν, οὐ μόνον πολίτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένος ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε χρόνοις ἐπιδεδημηκὼς; τὸς δ' ἦν οὔτως ἡ μισόδη- μος τοῦ ἡ μισαθήναιος, ὡστε ἐδυνήθη ἂν ἀτακτὸν αὐτὸν ὑπομείναι ἰδεῖν; ἥνικα ἡ μὲν ἥττα καὶ τὸ γεγονός πάθος τῷ (στρατῷ) προσήγγειλός, ὅρθη δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τοὺς συμβεβηκόσιν, αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντ' ἐτή γεγονόσι καθειστήκεσαν, ὅραν δ' ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν 40 τῶν θυρῶν γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας, περιφόβους κατε- πτηχυίας καὶ πυνθανομένας εἰ ζῶσιν, τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἄνδρός, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ πατρός, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν, ἀναξίως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὀραμένας, τῶν δ' ἄνδρῶν τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειρηκότας καὶ ταῖς ἥλικίαις πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τοῦ στρατευέσθαι ἀφειμένους ἰδεῖν ἦν καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν τὸτ' ἐπὶ γῆρως ὁδὸ περιφερειμένους, διπλὰ θαλαμὰ ἐμπεπορτημένους; πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δεινῶν 41 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυνομένου καὶ πάντων τῶν πολι- τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἡτυχηκότων, μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἠληγῆσε καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς,
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ηνίχ' ὤραν ἢν τὸν δῆμον ἴησισάμενον τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐλευθέρους, τοὺς δὲ ἕξενοι 'Αθηναῖοι, τοὺς δ' ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους· ὅσ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῷ 42 αὐτόχθων εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθερος ἐσεμνύνετο. τοσαύτη δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκέχρητο μεταβολῇ, ώστε πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἀγαπᾶν, εὰν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀσφαλῶς δύνηται (δια)κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πολλῆς χάρας τῶν βαρβάρων ἔπαρχειν, τότε δὲ πρὸς Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ τὸν δὴμον δὲν πρῶτον Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἄσιαν κατοικοῦντες "Ελλήνες βοηθῶν ἐπεκαλοῦντο, τούτον ἔδει τότ' ἐξ' Ἀνδροῦ καὶ Κέω καὶ Τροζήνος καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ μετα- 43 πέμψασθαι. ώστε, δ' ἄνδρες, τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φόβοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις κινδύνοις καὶ τοσαύτης αἰσχύνῃ ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μὴτε (τά) ὅπλα θέμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, μὴτε τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἀλλὰ φυγόντα καὶ προδόντα τὴν τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίαν, τὸς ἄν ἡ δικαστής φιλόπολις καὶ εὐσεβεῖν βουλόμενος ψήφῳ ἀπολύσειν, ἡ ῥήτωρ κληθεῖς τῷ προδότῃ τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσει; τὸν οὓδε συμπενθῆσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς τολμήσαντα, οὗδὲ συμβεβλημένον οὐδὲν εἴς τὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίαν, ὅθ' ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβαλλετο, οἳ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θῆκας, οἳ δὲ
νεφ τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ τοι κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνους τοὺς χρόνους 44
οὐκ ἔστιν ἡτὶς ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν
τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν· ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν
τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκεύης, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων,
οἱ δὲ τῆς χαρακώσεως· οὕτες δ᾿ ἦν ἁργὸς τῶν
ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐφ᾿ ὁν οὔδενος τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
παρέσχε τάξαι Δεωκράτης. ὃν εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνα-
45
μυθισθέντας τὸν μηδὲ συνενεγκείν μηδ᾿ ἔπτε ἐκφορὰν
ἔλθειν ἀξιώσαντα τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ
tοῦ δήμου σωτηρίας ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τελευτησάντων
θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μέρος ἀτάφων
ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γεγενημένων· ὃν οὕτος οὔδὲ
tὰς θήκας παριῶν ἤσχυνθη, ὅγδῳ ἔτει τὴν πατρίδα
αὐτῶν προσαγορεύον.

12 Περὶ ὅν, ᾧ ἄνδρες, μικρῷ πλείῳ βούλομαι 46
διελθεῖν, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι δέομαι καὶ μὴ νομί-
ζειν ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους (λόγους) τῶν
dημοσίων ἀγώνων· αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν
εὐλογίαι τὸν ἐλεγχον σαφῆ κατὰ τῶν τάναντα
ἐπιτηδεύοντων ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ δίκαιον τὸν
ἐπαινοῦν, δό μόνος ἀθλον τῶν κινδύνων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ἐστί, τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὴν
κοινὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν
ἀνήλωσαν, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις καὶ κοινοῖς ἀγώσι
τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραλείπειν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τοὺς 47
πολεμίους ἀπῆνυσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Βουστίας
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας μαχοῦμενοι,
οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι τὰς ἐπιτίδας τῆς σωτηρίας

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έχοντες, οὔτε τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν προέμενοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀσφαλεστέραν φυλακὴν εἶναι νομίζοντες τῶν λιθίων περιβόλων, τὴν δὲ θρέψασαν αὐτοὺς ἀσχυνόμενοι 48 περιορὰν πορθομένην, εἰκὸτως· ὥσπερ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς φύσει γεννήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ποιητοὺς τῶν πατέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔχουσιν ἀπαντεῖς ταῖς εὐνοίαις, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὰς χώρας τὰς μὴ φύσει προσηκούσας, ἀλλὰ ὑστερον ἐπικτήτους γενομένας καταδείστερον διάκεινται. τοιαύταις δὲ γνώμαις χρησάμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσιν εξ ἱσού τῶν κινδύνων μετασχόντες, οὐχ ὁμοίως τῆς τύχης ἐκοινώνησαν· τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐ ξώντες ἀπολαύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντες τὴν δόξαν καταλελοίπασιν, οὐχ ἤττηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες ἐνθαπερ 49 ἐτάχθησαν ύπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμύνοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δὲ, ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθανον, ἃ γὰρ ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐστίν, ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀρετή, ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα τοῖς τελευτήσασιν ὑπάρχει. ἐπείτα δ' οὐδ' οίον τ' ἐστίν εἰπεῖν ἡττήσθαι τοὺς ταῖς διανοιαῖς μὴ πτήξαντας τὸν τῶν ἐπιόντων φόβου. μόνοις γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καλῶς ἀποδηνύσκοντας οὐδ' ἀν εἰς ἡττήσθαι δικαίως φήσει· τὴν γὰρ δουλείαν φεύγοντες εὐκλεᾶθ' ἰδέαν 50 αἴρονται. ἐδήλωσε δ' ἡ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετή. μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων τὴν τῆς Ἔλλαδος ἐλευθερίαν ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν σώμασιν εἴχον. ἀμα
γαρ οὖτοι τε τὸν βίον μετήλλαξαν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς δουλείαν μετέπεσεν· συνετάφη γαρ τοῖς τούτων σώμασιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ᾿Ελλήνων ἐλευθερία. ὦθεν καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἰδία πολεμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας προκινδυνεύοντες. ὅστε, ὥς ἄνδρες, οὐκ ᾧ ἀνικροῦν ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιτεθέντες, ἐπίστασθε, ὅ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, μόνοι τῶν ᾿Ελλήνων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τιμῶν· εὐρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλήτας ἀνακειμένους, παρ' ὕμῖν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας. καὶ τοιούτοις μὲν ἄνδρας οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς ᾿Ελλάδος ὀλίγους εὑρεῖν ῥάδιον, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγώνας νεικικότας εὐπτετῶς πολλαχόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονότας ἰδεῖν. ὕστερ τοῖνυν τοῖς εὐεργέταις μεγίστας τιμᾶς ἀπονέμετε, οὕτω δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς τὴν πατρίδα κατασχύνοντας καὶ προδιδόντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωρίαις κολάζειν.

13 Σκέψασθε δ', ὥς ἄνδρες, οτι οὖδ' ἐν ὕμῖν ἐστὶν 52 ἀποψηφίσασθαι Δεωκράτους τούτου, τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦσι. τὸ γὰρ ἀδίκημα τούτο κεκριμένον ἐστὶ καὶ κατεγνωσμένον. η μὲν γὰρ ἐν ῾Αρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῇ (καὶ μηδές μοι θορυβής' ταύτην γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνω μεγίστην τότε γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν) τοὺς φυγόντας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐγκατα- λυόντας τότε τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβόντα ἀπέκτεινε.
καίτοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, μὴ νομίζετε τοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φωνικὰ ἀδικήματα ὁσιώτατα δικάζοντας αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐὰς τινα τῶν πολιτῶν τοιούτῳ τι παρανομῆσαι. 53 ἀλλὰ μὴν Ἀυτολύκου γε ὡμείς κατεψηφίσασθε, μείναντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ἔχοντος δ' αἰτίαν τοὺς νιέις καὶ τὴν γυναίκα ὑπεκθέσθαι, καὶ ἐτιμωρήσασθε. καίτοι εἰ τὸν τοὺς ἀχρήστους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπεκθέσθαι αἰτίαν ἔχοντα ἐτιμωρήσασθε, τί δὲι πάσχειν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ὑν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι; ἔτι δὲ ὁ δήμος, δεινὸν ἥγησάμενος εἰναι τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο ἐνόχοις εἰναι τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοὺς φεύγοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνον, ἄξιοις εἰναι νομίζων τῆς 54 ἐσχάτης τιμωρίας. ἐ δῇ κατέγνωσται μὲν παρὰ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ, κατεψήφισται δ' ύφ' ὑμῶν τῶν δικάζειν λαχόντων, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς μεγίστης ἀξίᾳ εἰναι τιμωρίας, τούτους ὡμείς ἐναντία ψηφίσεις; πάντων ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων ἐσεσθε ἀγνωμονεύσατοι, καὶ ἐλαχίστους ἔξετε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας. 55 ὑσ μὲν οὖν ἐνοχὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς εἰσηγγελμένοις ἑ ἀπασίν, ὃ ἄνδρες, Δεοκράτης, φανερὸν ἐστιν πυρβάνομαι δ' αὐτῶν ἐπιχειρήσειν ύμᾶς ἐξαπατῶν λέγοντα, ὥς ἐμπροσ ἐξέπλευσε καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἑργασίαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Ὁρόδουν. ἐὰν οὖν ταύτα λέγῃ, ἐνθυμεῖσθ' ὃ ράδιος λήψεσθ' αὐτῶν ψευδόμενον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἐμβαίνουσιν οἱ κατ' ἐμπορίαν
κατὰ λεωκρατοὺς 21

πλέοντες, ἀλλ' εἰσω τοῦ λιμένος, ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν
φίλων ὅρωμενοι καὶ ἀποστελλόμενοι· ἔπειτα οὐ
μετὰ τῆς ἔταρας καὶ τῶν θεραπαῖνῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος
μετὰ παιδὸς τοῦ διακονοῦντος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις 56
τὸ προσήκειν ἐν Μεγάροις τὸν Ἀθηναίον ἐμπορον
πέντε ἑτῆ κατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρίδα μετα-
κομίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε πωλεῖν, εἰ
μὴ κατεγνώκει τε αὐτοῦ προδεδωκέναι τῇ πατρίδα
καὶ μεγάλα πάντας ἡδικηκέναι;  ὅ καὶ πάντων
γένοιτ' ἀν ἀτοπώτατον, εἰ περὶ δὲν αὐτὸς προσεδόκα
τεῦξεσθαι τιμωρίας, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς ἀπολύσατε κύριοι
γενόμενοι τῆς ψήφου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἡγοῦ-
μαι δεῖν ἀποδέχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπολογίαν. πῶς 57
γὰρ οὐ δεινον τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἐμπορίαν ἀποδημοῦντας
σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως βοήθειαν, τούτων
dὲ μόνων ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς καὶ κατ' ἐργασίαν
ἐκπλεῖν, ἡνίκα οὔδ' ἂν εἰς προσκτῆσασθαι οὐδὲν
ἀν ἐξήτησεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μόνων διαφυ-
lάξαι; ἠδέως δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ πυθοῦμην, τίν' ἐμπορίαν
ἐσάγων χρησιμώτερος ἐγένετο ἂν τῇ πόλει τοῦ
παρασχεῖν τὸ σῶμα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ
tοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχόμενος.
ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὅρῳ τηλικαύτην οὐσαν βοήθειαν.
ἀξιῶν δ' ἐστίν οὐ μόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν πράξειν ὅργι-
ζεσθαι ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τούτον
φανερῶς γὰρ ψεύδεσθαι τετόλμηκεν. οὔτε γὰρ
πρότερον οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς
ἐργασίας, ἀλλ' ἐκέκτητο χαλκοτύπους, οὔτε τότ'
εκπλεύσας οὐδὲν εἰσῆγαγεν ἐκ Μεγάρων, ἐξ ἐτή συνεχῶς ἀποδημήσας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ (τῆς) πεντηκοστῆς μετέχουν ἐτύγχανεν, ἦν οὐκ ἂν καταλιπῶν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἀπεδήμει, ὡστ' ἂν μὲν τι περὶ τούτων λέγῃ, οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἑπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ νομίζω.

59 Ἡξεὶ δ' ἵσως ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τῶν λόγων φερόμενος, ἵνα αὐτῷ συμβεβουλεύκασι τινὲς τῶν συνηγόρων, ὡς οὐκ ἔνοχός ἐστι τῇ προδοσίᾳ. οὔτε γὰρ νεωρίων κύριος οὔτε πυλῶν οὔτε στρατοπέδων οὔθ' ὅλως τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐδενός. ἐγὼ δ' ἠγούμαι τοὺς μὲν τούτων κυρίους μέρος ἂν τι προδοῦναι τῆς ὑμετέρας δυνάμεως, τουτοί δ' ὀλὴν ἐκδοτον ποιήσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν τοὺς ξόντας μόνον ἀδικοῦσι προδίδόντες, οὔτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ὑπὸ τῶν πατρίων νομίμων ἀποστερῶν. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνων προδοθείσαι οἰκείοι ἂν συνέβαινε δούλην οὕσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὅν δὲ τρόπον οὔτος ἕξελιπεν, ἀοἰκητον ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δ' ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν τὰς πόλεις μεταβολῆς τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παντάπασι γενέσθαι ἀναστάτοις καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐλπίδων στερηθῆναι. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ζωντι μὲν ἐλπίς ἐκ τοῦ κακῶς πρᾶξαι μεταπεσεῖν, τελευτήσαντι δὲ συναναιρεῖται πάντα δι' ὅν ἂν τις εὐδαιμονίσειεν, οὔτω καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις συμβαίνει πέρας ἔχειν τὴν 61 ἄτυχίαν, ὅταν ἀναστατοῖ γένωνται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, πόλεως ἐστὶ θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι. τεκμηρίου δὲ μέγιστον ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ
πόλις τὸ μὲν παλαιόν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων κατε-
δουλώθη, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, (ὁτε) 
καὶ ὑπὸ Δακεδαίμονίων τὰ τείχη καθηρέθη· καὶ 
ἐκ τούτων ὅμως ἀμφοτέρων ἡλευθερώθημεν καὶ 
tῆς 
tῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίας ἦξιώθημεν προστάται 
γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὖχ ὅσαι πῶποτ' ἀνάστατοι γεγό-
νασι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπεῖν 
ἐστὶ, τὴν Τροίαν τίς οὐκ ἁκήκοεν, ὅτι μεγίστη 
γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων καὶ πᾶσης ἐπάρξασα 
tῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς ἀπάξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, 
tὸν αἴῶνα ἀοίκητος ἐστὶ; τοῦτο δὲ Μεσσήνην 
πεντακοσίοις ἐτεσίν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων 
ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν;

16 Ἡσως οὖν τῶν συνηγόρων αὐτῷ τολμήσει τις 63 
eἰπεῖν, μικρὸν τὸ πράγμα ποιῶν, ὡς οὔδεν ἄν 
παρ' ἐνα ἀνθρωπον ἐγένετο τούτων· καὶ οὐκ ἀι-
σχύνονται τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν ποιούμενοι πρὸς 
ὑμᾶς, ἐφ' ἢ δικαίως ἄν ἀποθάνοιεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 
ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὸν ἐκλιπεῖν, τοῦτο 
συγχωρήσαντες υμᾶς ἐάτωσαν διαγνώναι περὶ τοῦ 
μεγέθους· εἰ δ' ὅλως μηδὲν τούτων πεποίηκεν, οὐ 
μανία δὴ που τοῦτο λέγειν, ὡς οὔδεν ἄν ἐγένετο 
παρὰ τούτων; ἡγοῦμαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες; τοῦ-64 
ναντίον τούτως, παρὰ τούτων εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν 
σωτηρίαν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἰδιαν 
ἐκάστον μοιραν φυλαττομένη· ὅταν οὖν ταῦτην 
ἐφ' ἐνὸς τις παρίδη, λέληθεν ἐαυτὸν ἐφ' ἀπάντων 
tοῦτο πεποίηκώς. καὶ τοι τράδιον ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες,
πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων νομοθετῶν διανοίας ἀπο-
65 βλέψαντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐρεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὔ
tὸ μὲν ἔκατον τάλαντα κλέψαντι θάνατον ἔταξαν,
tὸ δὲ δέκα δραχμὰς ἐλαττον ἐπιτίμησον· οὔδὲ τὸν
μὲν μεγάλα ἱεροῦλῆσαντα ἀπέκτεινον, τὸν δὲ
μικρὰ ἐλάττον τιμωρία ἐκόλαξον· οὔδὲ τὸν μὲν
οἰκέτην ἀποκτείναντα ἀργυρίῳ ἐξημίσον, τὸν δὲ
ἐλεύθερον ἐἵργον τῶν νομίμων· ἀλλ` ὁμοίως ἐπὶ
πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἔλαχιστοις παρανομήμασι θάνατον
66 ὤρισαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον
ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἀπέβλεπτε τὸν γεγενημένου πράγ-
ματος, οὔδ` ἐντεύθεν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἄμαρτημάτων
ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλ` αὐτὸ ἐσκόπουν τοῦτο, εἰ πέφυκε
τὸ ἀδίκημα τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείον ἔλθον μέγα βλάστειν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἄλλως πως περὶ
tούτου ἐξετάζειν. φέρε γὰρ, ὃ ἄνδρες, εἰ τις ἑνα
νόμον εἰς τὸ Μητρόδον ἔλθων ἐξαλείψειειν, εἰτ`
ἀπολογοῦτο ὅσ οὐδὲν παρὰ τούτον τῇ πόλει ἐστίν,
ἀρ` οὐκ ἂν ἀπεκτείνατ' αὐτῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι
dικαίως, εὐπερ ἐμέλλετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σόξειν.
67 τὸν αὐτὸν τοίνυν τρόπον κολαστέον ἐστὶ τούτον, εἰ
μέλλετε τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας βελτίως ποιῆσειν·
καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λογιεῖσθε, εἰ εἰς ἐστὶ μόνος ἀνθρωπος,
ἀλλ` εἰς τὸ πράγμα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἤγοιμαι τὸ μὴ
pολλοὺς τοιούτους γενέσθαι ἡμέτερον εὕτυχημα
εἶναι, τούτον μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο μείζονος τιμωρίας
ἀξιον εἶναι τυχεῖν, ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
οὐ κοινὴν, ἀλλ` ἴδιαν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξήτησεν.
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

17 Ἀγανακτῶ δὲ μάλιστα, ὃ ἀνδρεῖ, ἐπειδὰν ἀκοῦ- 68
σώ τῶν μετὰ τούτον τινὸς λέγοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἦστι
τούτο προδιδόναι, εἰ τις ὥρατο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοι ποθ’ ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλι-
πώντες, ὅτε πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐπολέμουν, εἰς Σαλαμῖνα
dιέβησαν. καὶ οὕτως ἦστιν ἀνότος ἡ παντάπασιν
ὑμῶν καταπεφρονηκὼς, ὡστε τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν
ἔργων πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρότιον συμβαλεῖν ἂξιῶσε. ποῦ 69
γὰρ οὐ περιβόητος ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ
γέγονε; τύσ δ’ οὕτως ἡ φθονερός ἦστιν ἡ παντά-
πασιν ἀφιλότιμος, ὃς ὦς ἄν εὐξαιτο τῶν ἐκείνων
πεπραγμένων μετασχεῖν; οὐ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξε-
λιποῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετῆλλαξαν, πρὸς τὸν
ἐπιύντα κίνδυνον κάλως βουλευσάμενοι. Ἐτεο- 70
νικος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ
Κορίνθιος καὶ τὸ Αἰγινητῶν ναυτικὸν ὕπο νύκτα
tὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμελλον πορίζεσθαι· ἐγκα-
tαλειπόμενοι δ’ οἱ πρόγονοι ὕπο πάντων τῶν
Ἐλλήνων, βία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥλευθέρωσαν,
ἀναγκάσαντες ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μεθ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς
βαρβάρους ναυμαχεῖν. μόνοι δ’ ἀμφοτέρων περι-
γεγόνασι, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων,
ὡς ἐκατέρων προσήκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐνεργετοῦντες,
tους δὲ μαχόμενοι νικώντες. ἀρὰ γ’, ὃμοιο τῷ
φεύγοντι τὴν πατρίδα τεττάρων ἡμερῶν πλοῦν εἰς
Ῥόδον; ἡ πον ταχέως ἂν ἡμέρχετο τὶς ἐκείνων τὶ
tῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν κατέ-
λευσαν τὸν κατασχύνοντα τὴν αὐτῶν ἄριστειαν.
οὗτω γοῦν ἐφίλουν τὴν πατρίδα πάντες, ὡστε τὸν παρὰ Ἑρέξου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀλέξανδρον, φίλον ὄντα αὐτοῖς πρότερον, ὅτι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ ἦτησε, μικροῦ δεῖν κατέλευσαν. ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοῦ λόγου τιμωρίαν ἤξιον λαμβάνειν, ἢ ποῦ τὸν ἔργῳ παραδόντα τὴν πόλιν ὑποχείριον τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ 72 μεγάλαις ἀν ξημίαις ἐκόλασαν. τοιγαροῦν τοιαύταις χρώμενοι γνώμαις ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἄγεμόνες κατέστησαν, Φοινίκην δὲ καὶ Κιλικίαν ἐπόρθησαν, ἄπε Εὐρυμέδοντι δὲ καὶ πε- ξομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἐνίκησαν, ἐκατόν δὲ τρήρεις τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, ἀπασαν δὲ τὴν 'Ασίαν κακῶς ποιοῦντες περι- 73 ἐπλευσαν. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης, οὐ τὸ ἐν Σαλαμῖν τρόπαιον ἀγαπήσαντες [ἐστησαν], ἀλλ' ὄρους τοὺς βαρβάρους πήξαντες τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς 'Ελλάδος, καὶ τούτους κωλύσαντες ὑπερβαίνειν, συνθῆκας ἐποιήσαντο, μακρῷ μὲν πλοίῳ μὴ πλεῖν ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Φασηλίδος, τοὺς δ' 'Ελλήνας αὐτούμωσι εἰναι, μὴ μόνον τοὺς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν 74 κατοικοῦντας. καίτοι οἴεσθ' ἄν, εἰ τῇ Δεωκράτους διανοίᾳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἐφυγον, τούτων ἄν τι γενέσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, ἢ ταύτην ἄν ἔτι τὴν χώραν κατοικεῖν ύμᾶς; χρῆ τοῖς, ὥς ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπανεῖτε καὶ τιμᾶτε, οὔτω καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς μισεῖν τε καὶ κολάζειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Δεωκράτην, ὃς οὔτε ἐδείσεν οὔτε ὑσχύνθη ύμᾶς.
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18. Καίτοι ύμεῖς τίνα τρόπον νεομάκατε περὶ τοῦ- 75
tων, καὶ πῶς ἔχετε ταῖς διανοίασι, θεωρήσατε.
ἀξίων γὰρ ὄμως καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας διελθεῖν: ἐγκώμιον γὰρ ἦν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἰσὶ τῆς πόλεως
οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι καὶ τὰ ἐθῆ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα
κατασκευασάντων, οἷς ἂν προσέχητε, τὰ δίκαια
ποιῆσετε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σεμνοὶ καὶ ἂξιοι
τῆς πόλεως δόξητ', εἴναι. ύμῖν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅρκος, 76
ὅν ὁμόνουσι πάντες οἱ πολίται, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ
ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφώσι καὶ ἔφηβοι
γένονται, μήτε τὰ ἱερὰ ὅπλα κατασκυλυνοὶ μήτε
tὴν τάξειν λείψειν, ἀμυνεῖν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ
ἀμείνω παραδώσειν. ὅν εἰ μὲν ὁμόμοκε Δεω-
κράτης, φανερῶς ἑπιώρκηκεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον ύμᾶς
ἡδίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἥσέβηκεν· εἰ δὲ
μὴ ὁμόμοκεν, εὐθὺς δὴλος ἐστὶ παρασκευασάμενος
(ὡς) οὐδὲν ποιῆσον τῶν δεόντων, ἀνθ' ὅν δικαίως
ἀν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ ύμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν
τιμωρήσαισθε. Βούλομαι δ' ύμᾶς ἀκούσαι τοῦ
ὅρκου. Δέγη, γραμματεῖ. 77

ὉΡΚΟΣ

Οὐ κατασκυλυῖν ὅπλα τὰ ἱερὰ, οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τὸν
παραστάτην ὅτω ἂν στοιχῆσω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν
καὶ ὑπὲρ δούλων, καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν· τὴν πατρίδα
de οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω ὅσης ἂν
παραδέξωμαι. καὶ εὐηκοῆς τῶν ἅει κραίνωντων, καὶ τοῖς
θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις πείσομαι καὶ οὐστίνας ἂν ἄλλους
tὸ πλήθος ἰδρύσηται ὁμοφρόνως· καὶ ᾧ τὰς ἀναρή τοὺς
θεσμοὺς ἢ μὴ πείθηται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψῃ, ἀμυνὼ δὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πάντων. καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρία τιμήσω. ἑστορεθεὶς θεοὶ τούτων, Ἀγαννός, Ἐννάλιος Ἀρης, Ζεὺς, Θαλλόω, Αὐξώ, Ὑγεμόνη.)

Καλὸς γ', ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ ὁσίος ὁ ὄρκος. παρὰ τοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντᾷ πεποίηκε Δεσκρατής. καὶ τοὺς πῶς ἄν ἀνθρώπως γένοιτο ἀνοσιότερος ἢ μᾶλλον προδότης τῆς πατρίδος; τίνα ἕ ἄν τρόπον ὀπλα κατασχύνει τις μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ λαβεῖν μὴ θέλοι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι; πῶς ὦ, καὶ τὸν παραστάτην καὶ τὴν τάξιν λέοντεν ὁ μηδὲ 78 τάξαι τὸ σώμα παρασχῶν; ποῦ, ὦ ὑπὲρ ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἡμυνεν ἄν ὁ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὑπομείνας; τίνι ὦ, ἄν τὴν πατρίδα παρέδωκε μείζονα — προδοσία; τὸ γὰρ τοῦτον μέρος ἐκλελειμμένη τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριος ἔστιν. εἰτα τοῦτον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἐνοχον ὑντα; τίνας οὖν τιμωρήσεσθε; τοὺς ἐν τῷ τούτων ἡμαρτηκότας; ράδιον ἔσται παρ' υμῖν ἄρα μεγάλα ἀδικεῖν, εἰ φανεῖσθε ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μᾶλλον ὄργι-ζόμενοι.

79 Καὶ μὴν, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ τοῦθ', υμᾶς δὲι μαθεῖν, 19 ὅτι τὸ συνέχον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ὄρκος ἐστί. τρία γὰρ ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πολιτεία συνεστηκεν, ὁ ἄρχων, ὁ δικαστής, ὁ ἱδιώτης. τοῦτων τοῖνυν ἐκαστὸς ταύτην πίστιν διδώσων, εἰκότως τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πολλοὶ ἢδη ἔξαπατήσαντες καὶ δια- λαθόντες οὐ μόνον τῶν παρόντων κινδύνων ἀπε-
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

λύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀλλον χρόνον ἀθεὶοι τῶν ἀδικημάτων τούτων εἰσὶ· τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὐτ’ ἀν ἐπιορκήσας τις λάθοι, οὐτ’ ἀν ἐκφύγοι τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ αὐτός, οἱ παῖδες γε καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπαν τὸ τού ἐπιορκήσαντος μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιπίπτει. διότερ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικα-80 σταί, ταύτην πίστιν ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Πλαταίας πάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες, ὃτ’ ἐμελλον παραταξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἑξέρξου δύναμιν, οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὔροντες, ἄλλα μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ’ ὦμῖν εἰθυσμένον ὄρκον. διὸ ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἄκονται καὶ γὰρ παλαιῶν ὄντων τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων ὄμως ὡς ἱχνος ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἴδείν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν. Καὶ μοι ἀναγίγνωσκε αὐτὸν.

ΟΡΚΟΣ

Οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζήν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδ’ 81 ἐγκαταλείψω τούς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἄποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μᾶχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαντάς θάψω. καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τῶν μὲν μαχεσαμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεως οὐδεμίαν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσω. καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπόμηνμα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἑάσω καταλεῖπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.

Οὔτω τούνν, ὡς ἄνδρες, σφόδρα ενέμειναν ἐν 82 τούτω πάντες, ὡστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐ-
νοιαν μεθ' έαυτών ἁςχον βοηθόν, καὶ πάντων (τῶν) Ἐλλήνων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν γενομένων πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, μάλιστα ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν εὐδοκίμησεν. 

δ καὶ πάντων ἂν εἴη δεινότατον, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ύμῶν ἀποθνῄσκειν τολμᾶν ὡστε μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀδοξεῖν, ύμᾶς δὲ μὴ κολάξειν τοὺς κατασχύναντας αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ περιορᾶν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων συνειλεγμένην εὐκλειαν, ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν πονηρίαν καταλυμένην.

83 Καίτω, ὦ ἀνδρές, μόνοις ύμῖν τῶν Ἐλλήνων 20 

οὐκ ἐστίν οὔδὲν τούτων περιδεῖν. Βούλομαι δὲ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ύμῖν διελθεῖν, οἷς παραδειγματικοὶ χρώμενοι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βέλτιον βουλεύσεσθε. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχει μεγίστον ἡ πόλις ύμῶν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι τῶν καλῶν ἑργῶν παράδειγμα τοῖς Ἔλλησι γέγονεν. ὅσον γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ πασῶν ἐστίν ἀρχαίοτᾶτη, τοσούτων οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἁρετῇ

84 διεννύχασιν. ἐπὶ Κόδρου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος Πελοποννησίων γενομένης ἀφορίας κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδοξεὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους ἐξαναστήσαντας κατανεμοῦσαν τὴν χώραν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλαντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπηράτων, εἰ λήψονται τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀνελόντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν αἰρῆσον, ἀν μὴ τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Κόδρου ἀποκτείνωσιν, ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ 85 τὰς Ἀθήνας. Κλεόμαντις δὲ τῶν Δελφῶν τις, πυ-
θόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, δι᾽ ἀπορρήτων ἔξηγγειλε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὕτως οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ὡς οὔκε καὶ τοὺς ἐξώθεν ἄνθρωπους εὖνους ἔχοντες διετέλουν. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, τὶ ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι ὡμῶν, ἄνδρες δικασταί; οὐ καταλιπόντες τὴν χώραν ὡσπερ Δεοκράτης ψήχοντο, οὐδὲ ἐκδοτον τὴν θρεψαμένην καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοὺς πολέμιοις παρέδοσαν, ἀλλ’ ὀλγοῦ ὄντες κατακλησθέντες ἐπολυρκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὡς ἄνδρες, γενναίοι οἰ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ὡστε προηροῦντο ἀποθυησκεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἡ ξόντες ἐτέραν μεταλλάξαι τινὰ χώραν. φασίν γοῦν τὸν Κόδρον παραγγείλαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, προσέχειν ὅταν τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, λαβόντα πτωχικήν στολήν ὅπως ἂν ἀπατήσῃ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα φρύγανα συλλέγειν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, προσελθόντων δ’ αὐτῷ δυνὸν ἄνθρων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πυνθανομένων, τὸν ἐτερον αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναι τῷ δρεπάνῳ προσπεσόντα τῶν 87 δὲ περιλελειμμένων, παροξυνθέντα τῷ Κόδρῳ καὶ νομίσαντα πτωχὸν εἶναι, σπασάμενον τὸ ξύφος ἀποκτείναι τὸν Κόδρον. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες ἡξίουν δοῦναι τὸν βασιλέα θάψαι, λέγοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπασαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίοι τούτον μὲν ἀπέδοσαν, γνόντες δ’ ὡς οὐκέτι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν
χώραν κατασχεῖν ἀπεχώρησαν. τῷ δὲ Κλεομάντει τῷ Δελφῷ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐν πρωτανείῳ ἅδιον σίτησιν ἔδοσαν. ἀρά γ' ὅμοιοις ἐφίλουν τὴν πατρίδα Δεωκράτει οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, οἳ γε προηροῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἔξαπατώντες ἀποδηνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν μονότατοι ἐπώνυμοι τῆς χώρας εἰσίν, ἱσοθέων τιμῶν τετυχηκότες, εἰκότως· ὑπὲρ ἦς γὰρ οὔτω σφόδρα ἐσπούδαζον, δικαίως ταύτης καὶ τεθνεῶτες ἐκληρονόμουν. ἄλλα Δεωκράτης οὔτε ξών οὔτε τεθνεῶς δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς μετάσχοι, μονότατος (δ') ἀν προσηκόντως ἐξορισθῇ τῆς χώρας, ἢν ἐγκαταλιπών τοὺς πολεμίους ψχετο· οὔδὲ γὰρ καλὸν τὴν αὐτὴν καλύπτειν τοὺς τῇ ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας καὶ τὸν κάκιστον πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

90 Καὶ τοιοὶ γ' ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅ καὶ νῦν ὅσως 21 ἑρεί πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὑπέμεινε τὸν ἁγώνα τοῦτον συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ τοιοῦτον τῷ διαπεραγμένῳ· ὠσπέρ οὐ πάντας καὶ τοὺς κλέπτοντας καὶ ἱεροσυλοῦντας τούτῳ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ χρωμένους. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ πράγματος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, ὡς οὐ πεποιήκασιν, ἄλλα τῆς ἀναιδείας ἢν ἐχοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ λέγειν, ἄλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἐξέπλευσεν οὔδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκατέλειπεν οὐδ' ἐν Μεγάροις κατάκησε· ταύτα ἐστὶ τεκμήρια τοῦ πράγματος, ἐπεὶ γε τὸ ἐλθεῖν τοῦτον, οἷμαι θεόν τινα αὐτοῦν.
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀγαγεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἵν’ ἐπειδή τοῦν εὐκλεά κλίνοντο ἐφυγε, τοῦ ἀκλεοὺς καὶ ἀδόξου θανάτου τύχοι, καὶ οὐς προὔδωκε, τούτοις ὑπο-χείριον αὐτὸν καταστήσειν. ἐτέρωθι μὲν γὰρ ἄτυχών οὔτω δῆλον, εἰ διὰ ταῦτα δίκην δίδωσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ παρ’ οἷς προὔδωκεν φανερὸν ἔστιν, ὅτι τῶν αὐτοῦ παρανομημάτων ὑπέχει ταύτῃ τὴν τιμωρίαν. οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν, ἢ 92 τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν παράγουσι· καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς ποιητῶν ὀσπέρ χρησμοὺς γράφαντες τοῖς ἐπιγγεγομένοις τάδε τὰ ἰαμβεία καταλιπεῖν·

διὰν γὰρ ὀργή δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινά, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἔξαφαρείται φρενῶν τῶν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χείρα τρέπει γνώμην, ἵν’ εἰδῆ μηδὲν ὁν ἁμαρτάνει.

22 τίς γὰρ οὐ μέμυνται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν 93 νεωτέρων οὐκ ἀκήκοε Καλλίστρατον, οὐθάνατον ἢ πόλις κατέγνω, τούτοις φυγόντα, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀκούσαντα, ὅτι ἄν ἔλθῃ Ἀθηναῖε τεῦξεται τῶν νόμων, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἔπι τῶν βωμῶν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καταφυγόντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθανόντα; δικαίως· τὸ γὰρ τῶν νόμων τὸς ἡδικηκόσι τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ἐστίν. ο δὲ θεὸς ὀρθῶς ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἡδικημένοις κολά-σαι τὸν αἰτίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἄν εἴη, εἰ ταῦτα σημεῖα τοῖς εὐσεβεσί καὶ τοῖς κακοῦργοις φαίνοιτο.
94 Ἡγούμενοι δ' ἔγωγες, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πάσας μὲν τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις ἐπισκοπεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐσέβειαν, εἰκότως: παρ' ὃν γὰρ τὴν ἁρχῆν τοῦ ζῆν εἰλήφαμεν καὶ πλείστα ἀγαθὰ πεποίηθαμεν, εἰς τούτους μὴ ὅτι ἀμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ εὐεργετοῦντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον καταναλῶσαι μέγιστον ἁσβημά
95 ἔστι. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν Σικελίᾳ (εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθώ-23 δέστερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρµόσει καὶ νῦν ἀπασὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκοῦσαι) ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης ρύσακα πυρὸς γενέσθαι: τοῦτον δὲ ρεῖν φασιν ἐπὶ (τε) τὴν ἄλλην χώραν, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς πόλιν τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικοµένων. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀλλοὺς ὀρµήσαι πρὸς φυγὴν, τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν ξητοῦντας, ἐναδὲ τινὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ὀρῶντα τὸν πατέρα πρεσβύτερον οὖνα καὶ οὐχὶ δυνάμενον ἄποχῳρεῖν ἀλλὰ
96 ἐγκαταλαμβανόµενον, ἀράµενον φέρειν. φορτίον δ' οἶµαι προσγενοµένου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκατελήφθη. θεοὶ δὴ καὶ ἄξιον θεωρῆσαι τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐμενῶς ἔχει. λέγεται γὰρ κύκλῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον περιφρέσσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ σωθῆναι τούτους μόνους, ἀφ' ὅν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἔτι καὶ νῦν προσαγορεύεσθαι τῶν εὐσέβων χώρον·
τοὺς δὲ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιησαµένους καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς ἐγκαταλιπόντας ἀπαντας
97 ἀπολέσθαι. ὡστε καὶ ὑµᾶς δεῖν τὴν παρὰ (τῶν) θεῶν ἑχούτας μαρτυρίαν ὁµογνωµόνως τούτου κο-
κάζειν, τὸν ἀπασι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ἐνοχὸν οὖντα κατὰ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μέρος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θεοὺς τὰς πατρίδιας τιμᾶς ἀπεστέρησε, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγκατέλυπτε, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκότας τῶν νομίμων οὐκ εἴσασε τυχεῖν.

Καίτοι σκέψασθε, ὃ ἄνδρες· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστή- 98 σομαί τῶν παλαιῶν· ἐφ’ οἷς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦντες ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο, ταῦτα δικαῖως ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ἀποδέχοισθε. φασὶ γὰρ Εὐμολπὸν τὸν Ποσει- δῶνος καὶ Χίώνης μετὰ Θραύσον ἐλθεῖν τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνονσι βασιλεύοντα Ἔρεχθεα, γυναῖκα ἔχουτα. Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα. μεγά- 99 λου δὲ στρατοπέδου μέλλοντος αὐτοῖς εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰς Δελφοὺς ὅπως ἡρῶτα τὸν θεοῦ, τὶ ποιῶν ἀν νύκην λάβοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. χρησαντος δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν θυγατέρα εἰ 99
θύσει πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλλὴν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐκ- τήσεων τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ πιθὸν αἰματι-99
τοῦτ’ ἐπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρατευομένους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἔζεβαλε. διὸ καὶ δικαῖως ἃν τις Εὐριπίδην ἑο-99
παυνέσειεν, ὅτι τὰ τ’ ἄλλ’ ὃν ἄγαθος ποιητὴς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προείλετο ποιῆσαι, ἢγούμενος κάλλιστον ἄν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις παράδειγμα τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις, πρὸς ὃς ἀποβλέποντας καὶ ἰθεωρουντας συνεβίζεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ τὴν πατρίδα φίλειν. ἄξιον δ’, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, καὶ τῶν ἱλμβείων ἀκούσαι, ὁ πεποίηκεν λέγουσαν τὴν

3—2
μητέρα τῆς παιδός. ὃψεσθε γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ γενναίότητα ἄξιαν καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα.

ΡΗΣΙΣ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

τὰς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται, ἡδιον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οὐ δὲ δρῶσι μὲν, χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον (λέγω)· ἐγὼ δὲ δόσω τὴν ἐμὴν παίδα κτανεῖν.

λογίζομαι δὲ πολλά· πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν οὐκ ἀν τίν' ἄλλην τῇσδε βελτίων λάβοιν· ή πρῶτα μὲν λεως οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ' ἐφυμεν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεσοῦν ὁμοίαις διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι. 5 ὅστις δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεος οἰκήσῃ πόλιν, ἄρμοι πονηρῶς ὅστερ ἐν ξύλῳ παγεῖς, λόγῳ πολιτῆς ἔστι, τοῖς δ' ἔργοιςιν οὐ. ἐπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἐκατὶ τίκτομεν, ὃς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ὑψώμεθα. 10 πόλεως δ' ἀπάσης τοῦνομ' ἐν, πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν ναίουσι· τούτους πῶς διαφθείραι με χρή, ἔξον προπάντων μίαν ὑπερ δοῦναι βανείν; εἶπερ γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ οἶδα καὶ τουλάσσονος τὸ μεῖξον, οὐνοὶ οἶκος οὐ πλεῖον σθένει 15 πταίσας ἀπάσης πόλεως, οὐδ' ἵσοιν φέρει. εἰ δ' ἤν ἐν οἰκοὶς ἀντὶ θηλεῖων στάχυς
άρσην, πόλιν δὲ πολεμίᾳ κατείχε χλόξ, 
οὐκ ἀν νῦν ἐξέπεμπον εἰς μάχην δορὸς, 
θάνατον προταρβοῦσ'; ἀλλ' ἐμοι' ἔστω τέκνα, 25
{ἀ} καὶ μάχοιτο καὶ μετ' ἀνδράσιν πρέποι, 
μὴ σχήματ' ἄλλως ἐν πόλει πεφυκότα.
τὰ μητέρων δὲ δάκρυ' ὅταν πέμπῃ τέκνα, 
πολλοὺς ἔθηλυν' εἰς μάχην ὀρμωμένους.
μισῶ γυναῖκας αἵτινες πρὸ τοῦ καλοῦ̇ν 30
ξῆν παίδας ἐλοντ' ἥ παρῆνεσαν κακά. 
καὶ μὴν θανόντες γ' ἐν μάχῃ πολλῶν μέτα 
tύμβου τε κοινῶν ἐλαχιον εὐκλείαν τ' ἵσην·
τή μὴ δὲ παίδι στέφανος εἰς μιὰ μόνῃ 
πόλεως θανούση τῆσδ' ὑπερ δοθήσεται. 35
καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν καὶ σὲ δύο θ' ὀμοσπόρῳ 
σώσει· τὶ τούτων οὐχὶ δέξασθαι καλὸν; 
τὴν οὔκ ἐμὴν πλῆν (ἥ) φύσει δῶσο κόρῃ 
θύσαι πρὸ γαίας. εἰ γὰρ αἱρεθήσεται 
πόλις, τὶ παίδων τῶν ἔμων μέτεστι μοι; 40
οὐκοῦν ἀπαντά τούν γ' ἐμοὶ σωθήσεται· 
ἀξιοῦσιν ἄλλοι, τὴν' ἐγὼ σῶσω πόλιν.
ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ {τὸ} πλείστον ἐν κοινῷ μέρος, 
οὐκ ἔσθ' ἐκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἄνηρ, 
προγόνων παλαιὰ θέσμυ' {ὁς}τις ἐκβαλεί. 45
οὐδ' ἀντ' ἐλαᾶς χρυσέας τε Γοργόνος 
τριαναν ὅρθην στᾶσαν ἐν πόλεως βάθροις 
Εὐμολπος οὐδὲ Θρῆξ ἀναστέψει λεώς 
στεφάνοις, Παλλᾶς δ' οὐδαμοῦ τιμήσεται.
χρῆσθ', ὡ πολίται, τοῖς ἐμοῖς λοχεύμασιν, 50
Ταῦτα, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐπαίδευεν. 25
φύσει γὰρ οὐσίων φιλοτέκνων πασῶν τῶν γυναι-
κῶν, ταῦτην ἐποίησε τὴν πατρίδα μᾶλλον τῶν
παΐδων φιλοῦσαν, ἐνδεικνύμενος οίτι εἴπερ αἱ γυ-
ναῖκες τοῦτο τολμήσουσι ποιεῖν, τοὺς γ' ἀνδρας
ἀνυπέρβλητον τινα δει τὴν εὔνοιαν ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος ἔχειν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν αὐτὴν ἐγκατα-
λιπόντας, μὴδὲ κατασχύνειν πρὸς ἀπαντάς τοὺς
"Ελληνας, ὥσπερ Δεωκράτης.

Βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου παρασχέ- 26
σθαι ἐπών. οὔτω γὰρ υπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες
σπουδαίοι εἶναι ποιητὴν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ'
ἐκάστην πεντετερίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνον τῶν
ἀλλῶν ποιητῶν ραψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν
ποιοῦμενοι πρὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνας, διὸ τὰ κάλλιστα
tῶν ἔργων προηροῦντο, εἰκότος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι
dιὰ τὴν συντομίαν ὧν διδάσκουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτά-
tουσιν ἃ δεὶ ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ μομοῦμενοι
tῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον, τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων
ἐκλεξάμενοι, μετὰ λόγον καὶ ἀποδείξεως τοὺς ἄν-
θροπους συμπείθουσιν. "Εκτωρ γὰρ τοῖς Τρώσι
παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τάδ' εἴρηκεν.

σῶζομεθε, νυκάτ'. ἀντὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς μᾶς
οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὅπως υἱῶν ἐγὼ οὐ σώσῳ πόλιν.
ὥς πατρίς, εἴθε πάντες οἱ ναλουσὶ σε
οὕτω φιλοίειν ὡς ἐγὼ· καὶ βραδιώς
οἰκοίμεν ἂν σε, κούδεν ἂν πάσχοις κακῶν.
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

άλλα μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νησί διαμπερές. δς δὲ κεν ὤμεων βλήμενος ἥ τυπεις θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη, τεθνάτω. οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν. ἀλλ' ἀλοχός τε σόν καὶ νῆπια τέκνα, καὶ κλήρος καὶ οἶκος ἀκήρατος, εἰ κεν Ἄχαιοι οἶχωνται σὺν νησὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

27 Τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκούοντες, ὁ ἄνδρες, οἱ πρὸ-104 γονοι ύμῶν, καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα τῶν ἐργῶν ξηλοῦντες, οὕτως ἐσχον πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὅστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος, ἀλλ' καὶ πάσης ᾧ Ἐλλάδος ὡς κοινῆς ἤθελον ἀποθησκεῖν. οἱ γοῦν ἐν Μαραθῶνι παραταξάμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς 'Ἀσίας στόλον ἐκράτησαν, τοῖς ἱδίοις κινδύνοις κοινῆς ἄδειαν ἀπασί τοῖς "Ελληνικτῶ-μενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ μέγα φρονοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτης ἄξια πράττειν, τῶν μὲν 'Ελλήνων προστάτας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων δεσπότας ἑαυτοὺς καθιστάντες· οὐ γὰρ λόγῳ τῆν ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευον,

28 ἀλλ' ἐργῷ πάσιν ἐπεδείκνυντο. τουγαροῦν οὕτως 105 ἦσαν ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἱδίᾳ οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, ὡστε τοῖς ἀνδρειστάτοις Ἀκαδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε χρόνοις πολε-μοῦσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός, παρ' ἤμων ἠγεμόνα λαβεῖν καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. καὶ τοις εἰ τῶν ὦφ 'Ἡρακλέους γεγενημένου, οὐ ἄει βασιλεύουσιν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, τοὺς παρ' ἤμων ἠγεμόνας ἀμείνουσ᾽ ὁ θεὸς ἐκρίνε, πῶς οὐκ ἄνυ-
106 πέρβλητον χρή τήν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν νομίζειν; τίς γάρ οὐκ οίδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεθ᾽ οὗ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τούς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς. κατέληπτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑλεγείᾳ ποίησας, ὅν ἀκούοντες παίδευονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν· καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχουτες, περὶ τούτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν, ἡστὲ νόμων ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεστρατευμένοι ὤσι, καλεῖν ἔπι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἄπαντας, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἄν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἔθελεν ἀποθυσκεῖν. χρήσιμον δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἀκούσαι τῶν ἑλεγείων, ἦν ἐπίστησθε οἷα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκήμουν παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις.

tεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐμὶ προμάχουσι πεσόντα ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθὸν, περὶ ἦ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον. ἦν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προλιπόντα πόλιν καὶ πίονας ἄγρους πτωχεύειν πάντων ἐστὶ ἀνιηρότατον, πλαξόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ γέροντὶ 5 παισί τε σὺν μικροῖς κουριδίῃ τ᾽ ἀλόχῳ. ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετέσσεται, οὕς κεν ίκηται χρημοσύνη τ᾽ εἴκου καὶ στυγερῆ πενή, αἰσχύνει δὲ γένους, κατὰ δ᾽ ἄγλαδον εἴδος ἐλέγχει, πᾶσα δ᾽ ἀτιμὶ καὶ κακότης ἐπεται.
κατὰ δεωκρατούς

εἰ δ' οὗτος ἀνδρός τοι ἀλώμενον οὐδεμί' ὅρη
gίγνεται οὗδ' αἰδός, οὗτ' ὀπίσω γένεος,
θυμὸ γῆς περὶ τῆς μαχώμεθα, καὶ περὶ παίδων
θυμίσκωμεν ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.
ω νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοις μένοντες, 15
μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχρῆς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβοι,
ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἄνδράςι μαρνάμενοι·
tοὺς δὲ παλαιότερους, ὅν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
μὴ καταλείπουντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιοῦσ.

20 αἰσχρόν γὰρ δὴ τούτο, μετὰ προμάχουσι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαί πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
ἡ δὲ λευκὸν ἐχοντα κάρη πολιοῦ τε γένειον,
θυμὸν ἀποτυγίοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κοινή,
aἰματόεντ' αἰδοία φίλης' ἐν χερσίν ἐχοντα
(αἰσχρὰ τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσθόν ἰδεῖν)
καὶ χρῶα γυμνωθέντα. νέοισι δὲ πάντ', ἐπέοικεν,
οφρ' ἐρατής ἡβῆς ἀγλαὸν ἄνθως ἐχῆ.
ἀνδράσι μὲν θητῶς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν
ξωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχουσι πεσῶν.

30 ἀλλὰ τις εὐ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις
στηριχθεῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, χείλος ὀδουσί δακών.

Καλὰ γ', ὃ ἄνδρες, καὶ χρῆσιμα τοῖς βουλομένοις 108
προσέχειν. οὗτοι τοίνυν εἰχὸν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οἱ
tούτων ἀκούοντες, ὅστε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
περὶ τῆς ἤγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν, εἰκότως· τὰ γὰρ
κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀμφοτέροις ἦν κατειργα-
σμένα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, οἳ πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν, καὶ καταφανῇ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλῆθους περιγυγνομένην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι, ταῖς μὲν τύχαις οὐχ ὀμοίως ἑχρῆσαντο, τῇ δ' ἀνδρείᾳ πολὺ πάντων διήνεγκαν.

109 τοιγαροῦν ἐκατέρως ἐπιτύμβια μαρτύρια ἑστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἐκείνους μὲν·

ὁ ξεῖν', ἀγγειολυ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις,

toῖς δ' ὑμετέροις προγόνοις·

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναίοι Μαραθώνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

110 Τάντα, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι καλὰ καὶ 29
toῖς πράξασιν ἔπαινος καὶ τῇ πόλει δόξα ἀείμνη-
stos. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Δεωκράτης πεποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν τῇ ἐξ ἀπαντος τοῦ αἰώνοις συνηθροισμένην τῇ πόλει δόξαν κατήσχυνεν. καὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνητε, δόξετε πᾶσι τοῖς Ἐλλησι καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων μυσεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης ἀποστερήσετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας μεγάλα βλάψετε. οἱ γὰρ ἐκείνους μή θαυμάζοντες τοῦτον πειράσονται μι-

μεῖσθαι, νομίζοντες ἐκεῖνα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς
κατα λεωκρατοὺς

εὐδοκιμεῖν, παρ' ὑμῖν δ' ἀναίδειαν καὶ προδοσίαν καὶ δείλιαν κεκρίσθαι κάλλιστον.

30 Ἐι (δὲ) μὴ δύνασθε υπ' ἐμοὶ διδαχθῆναι, διὸ τρόπον δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἔχειν, σκέψασθε ἐκείνους τίνα τρόπον ἐλάμβανον παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν· ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων ἦπισταντο ἑπιτηδεύειν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πονηρὰ προηροῦντο κολάζειν. ἐκείνου γὰρ, ὁ ἄνδρες, θεωρήσατε ὡς ὀργίζοντο τοῖς προδόταις καὶ κοινοὺς ἐξθροὺς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. Φρυνίχον γὰρ ἀποσφαγέντος νύκτωρ παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰσίνως ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδόρου καὶ Ὁρασυβοῦλου, καὶ τούτων ληφθέντων καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτηρίον ἀποτεθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φρυνίχου φίλων, αἱσθόμενος ὁ δήμος τὸ γεγονός τοὺς τε εἰρχθέντας ἡξήγαγε καὶ βασάνων γενομένων ἀνέκρινε, καὶ ἕξτοι τὸ πράγμα ἐθε, τὸν μὲν Φρύνιχον προδόντα τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν ἀδίκως εἰρχθέντας· καὶ ψηφίζεται ὁ δήμος Κριτίου εἰπόντος, τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας, κἂν δόξῃ προδότης ὁν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τεθάφθαι, τὰ γε ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἀνορύξαι καὶ ἐξορίσαι ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅπως ἢ μὴ κένται ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μηδὲ τὰ ὅστα τοῦ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προδιδόντος. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἦν ἀπολογώνται τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ἦν ἄλω ὁ τεθυνκός, ἐνόχους εἶναι καὶ τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις· οὕτως οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν τοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγκαταλείπουσιν
ψηφίσμα

115 Ἀκούστε, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος. ἐπειτα ἐκείνοι μὲν τὰ τοῦ προδότου ὡστὰ ἀνορύζαντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐξώρισαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολογομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Ἀλεξικλέα ἀπέκτειναν καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταφήναι ἐπέτρεψαν, ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ προδέδωκός την πόλιν ξών καὶ ὑποχείριον ἔχοντες τῇ ψήφῳ.

116 ἀτιμώρητον ἐάστε; καὶ τοσούτον γ' ἐσεσθε τῶν προγόνων χείρους, ὥσον ἐκείνοι μὲν τοὺς λόγῳ μόνον τῷ προδότῃ βοηθήσαντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωρίαις μετήλθον, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν ἔργο καὶ οὐ λόγῳ τὸν δῆμον ἐγκατάλυτον ὡς οὔδὲν ἀδικοῦντα ἀφήσετε; μὴ δήτα, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς δικασταί· ὧντε γὰρ ὅσιον ὑμῖν οὔτε πάτριον, ἀναξίως ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ψηφίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν τι τοιούτων γεγονὸς ἦν ψηφίσμα, εἶχεν ἄν τις εἰπεῖν ὡς δ' ὅργην μᾶλλον ἤ δ' ἀλήθειαν ἐποιήσαντο· ὅταν δὲ παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως εἰληφότες ὡς τῇν αὐτήν τιμωρίαν, πῶς οὐκ εὕδηλον ὅτι φύσει πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπολέμουν; Ἰππαρχοὶ γὰρ
τον Χάρμον, ούχ υπομείναντα τὴν περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔρημον τὸν ἀγώνα ἐάσαντα, θαυμάτῳ τούτου ξημιώσαντες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ σῶμα ὄμηρον, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθελόντες καὶ συγχωνεύσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες στήλην, ἐψηφίσαντο εἰς ταύτην ἀναγράφειν τοὺς ἀληθηρίους καὶ τοὺς προδότας· καί αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραψαι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλοι δὲ προδόται. Καὶ μοι λαβὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψῆφισμα, καθ’ ὁ ἦ 118 εἰκών τοῦ Ἰππαρχοῦ τοῦ προδότου ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθηρέθη, ἐπειτα τῆς στήλης τὸ ψηφογραμμα, καί τοὺς ὑπερον προσαναγραφέντας προδότας εἰς ταύτην τὴν στήλην, καὶ ἀναγίγνωσκε, γραμματευ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗΛΗΣ

Τὶ δοκοῦσιν ύμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες; ἀρά γ’ ὁμοίως 119 ύμῖν περὶ τῶν ἀδικοῦντων γυνώσκειν, καὶ οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔδύναντο υποχείριον τοῦ προδότου λαβεῖν, τὸ μυθεῖν τοῦ προδότου ἀνελόντες ταῖς ἐνδεχομέναις τιμωρίαις εκόλασαν; οὐχ ὅπως τὸν χαλκοῦν ἀνδριάντα συγχωνεύσειαν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις παράδειγμα εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὡς εἰχον πρὸς τοὺς προδότας καταλίποιεν.

Δαβὲ δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἑτέρον ψῆφισμα (τὸ) 120 περὶ τῶν εἰς Δεκέλειαν μεταστάντων, ὅτε ὁ δὴμος ὑπὸ Δακεδαίμονίων ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ὅπως εἰδὼσιν ὅτι περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὁμοίαι καὶ
άκολουθος ἄλληλας τὰς τιμώριας ἐποιοῦντο. ἀναγίγνωσκε, γραμματεύ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

121 Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μεταστάντων εἰς Δεκέλειαν κατέγρωσαν, καὶ ἐκφύσαντο, εἰώ τις αὐτῶν ἐπανιω ἀλίσκηται, ἀπαγαγεῖν Ἀθηναίων τὸν Βουλόμενον πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, παραλαβόντας δὲ παραδοῦναι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅρυγματος. ἑπείτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ μεταστάντας οὔτως ἐκόλαξον, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φυγόντα εἰς Ῥόδου καὶ προδόντα τὸν δήμον οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε; πῶς οὖν δόξετε ἀπόγονοι εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν ἄνδρῶν;

122 Ἀξιόν τοῖνυν ἀκούσαι καὶ ἔτοι τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τελευτήσαντος γενομένου ψηφίσματος, ἵνα ἡ Βουλή, ὅτι λόγῳ μόνον ἐνεχείρησε προδίδοναι τὴν πόλιν, περιελομένη τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοχειρὶ ἀπέκτενεν. γενναῖον δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἄξιον τῶν ύμετέρων προγόνων, δικαίως εὐγενεῖς γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς ψυχὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἅδικοῦντων τιμώριας ἐκέκτηντο.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

123 Τί οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες; ἀρα γ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Βουλομένων μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς προγόνους πάτριον εἶναι Δεωκρά-
κατὰ δεωκράτους

τὴν μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι; ὅποτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἀνά
στατον τὴν πόλιν οὐσαν λόγῳ μόνον προδίδοντα
οὕτως ἀπέκτειναν, τί ύμᾶς προσήκει τοῦ ἔργῳ καὶ
οὐ λόγῳ τὴν οἰκουμένῃ ἐκλιπόντα ποιῆσαι; ἀρ
οὐχ ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἑκείνους τῇ τιμωρίᾳ; καὶ ὅτι
ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
σωτηρίας ἀποστερεῖν οὕτως ἐκόλασαν, τί ύμᾶς
προσήκει τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμου τὴν σωτηρίαν
προδόντα ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἑκείνοι
τοὺς αἰτίους οὕτως ἐτιμωροῦντο, τί ύμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος προσήκει ποιεῖν;

Ἰκανὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τῶν προγόνων 124
γρῶναι διάνοιαν, ὡς εἰχον πρὸς τοὺς παρανομοῦν-
tας εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι βούλομαι τῆς
στήλης ἀκούσαι ύμᾶς τῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ περὶ
tῶν προδοτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου καταλυόντων·
tὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων διδάσκειν
ῥαδίαν ύμῖν τὴν κρίσιν καθίστησι. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς
τριάκοντα οἱ πατέρες ύμῶν, πεπονθότες ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν, οὐδὲις πῶς ποτὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡξίωσε,
καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατεληλυθότες, ἀπάσας
τὰς ὅδους τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐνέφραξαν, πεπειρα-
μένοι καὶ εἰδότες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους
tῶν τοῦ δήμου προδιδόντων. ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ καὶ 125
ὦμοσαν, ἡνὶ τις τυραννίδι ἐπιτιθῆται ἢ τὴν πόλιν
προδίδῳ ἢ τοῦ δήμου καταλύῃ, τὸν αἰσθανόμενον
καθαρὸν εἶναι ἀποκτείναντα, καὶ κρείττον ἐδοξεῖν
αὐτοῖς τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐχοντας τεθνάναι μᾶλλον
Ταύτα, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἐγραψαν εἰς τὴν στήλην, καὶ ταύτην ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἰμέραν συνιούσι καὶ βουλευο-μένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοιού-τους ἔχειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἂν τις αὐλδήται μόνον μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς τούτων τι ποιεῖν, ἀποκτείνειν συνώμοσαν, εἰκότως· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀδικη-μάτων ὑστέρας δεὶ τετάχθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, προ-δοσίας δὲ καὶ δήμου καταλύσεως προτέρας. εἰ γὰρ προῆστεθε τούτων τὸν καίρον, ἐν ὃ μέλλουσιν ἐκείνου κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος φαύλον τι πράττειν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν μετὰ ταύτα δίκην παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀδικούντων λαβείν· κρείττοις γὰρ ἦδη γίγνονται τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων τιμωρίας.

Ἐνθυμεῖσθε τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες, τῆς προνοιας ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν ἄξιως, καὶ μὴ ἐπιλαυθά-νεσθε ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ, οὕνεκα ἄνδρῶν ἐκγόνοι ἐστε, ἀλλὰ παρακελεύσατε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὁμοία ἐκείνοις καὶ ἀκόλουθα ἐν τῇ τίμερον ἰμέρᾳ ἐγκυσμένου ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐξῆτε. ὑπομνήματα δ’ ἔχετε καὶ παραδείγματα τῆς ἐκείνων τιμωρίας τά ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων ψηφίσμασιν ὀρισμένα.
διομομόκατε δ' εν τῷ ψηφίσματι τῷ Δημοφάντου, κτείνειν τὸν τὴν πατρίδα προδιδόντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ψήφῳ. μὴ γὰρ οἴσιθε τῶν μὲν οὐσίων, ὅσ ἂν οἱ πρόγονοι καταλίπωσι, κληρονόμοι εἶναι, τῶν δ' ὀρκῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἢν δόντες οἱ πατέρες ύμῶν ὄμηρον τοῖς θεοῖς τῆς κοινῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς πόλεως μετείχον, ταύτης δὲ μὴ κληρονομεῖν.

32 Οὐ μόνον τούνν η ἡ πόλις ύμῶν οὕτως ἔσχε 128 πρὸς τοὺς προδιδόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δακεδαίμονι. καὶ μὴ μοι ἀχθεσθὴτε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, εἰ πολλάκις μέμνημαι τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων· καλὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκ πόλεως εὐνομουμένης περὶ τῶν δικαίων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν, (ἵν' ἀσφαλέστερον ἐκαστὸς ύμῶν τὴν δικαίαν καὶ τὴν εὐορκον ψῆφον θῆται. Παυσανίαν γὰρ τὸν βασιλεὰ αὐτῶν προδιδόντα τῷ Πέρσῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαβόντες, ἐπειδὴ ἔφθασε καταφυγὸν εἰς τὸ τής Χαλκιοίκου ἱερόν, τὴν θύραν ἀποκοδομήσαντες καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀποσκευάσαντες καὶ κύκλῳ περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθον πρὶν ἢ τῷ λιμῷ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίσημον ἐποίησαν τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι 129 οὐδ' αἳ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρία τοῖς προδόταις βοηθοῦσιν, εἰκότως· οὔτεν γὰρ πρότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ περὶ τούς θεοὺς ἀσεβοῦσι, τῶν πατρίων νομίμων αὐτοὺς ἀποστεροῦντες. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἐκεί γεγενημένων τεκμηρίων ἔστιν δ' μέλλω λέγειν· νόμον γὰρ ἔθεντο περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν μὴ ἑθελόντων ὑπὲρ
τής πατρίδος κινδυνεύειν, διαρρήδην λέγοντα ἀποθυσκευεῖν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τιμωρίαν τάξαντες, εἰς δὲ μάλιστα φοβοῦμενοι τυγχάνουσι, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν ὑπεύθυνον ἔποιησαν κινδύνῳ μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης. ἦν δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ λόγον ἀναπόδεικτον εἰρήκα, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ ἀληθείας παραδείγματα, φέρε αὕτως τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ

130 Ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὴ, ὡς καλὸς ὁ νόμος, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ σύμφορος οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος ἵσχυρός ἄν ἀναγκάσει τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν τής γὰρ ὅρων θανάτῳ ζημιοῦμενον τὸν προδότην, ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκλείψει τὴν πατρίδα; ἢ τῆς παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως φιλοπυρήσει, εἰδὼς ὑποκειμένην αὐτῷ (ταύτην) τιμωρίαν; οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀλλὰν δεῖ ζημίαν εἶναι τῆς δειλίας ἢ θάνατον: εἰδότες γὰρ ὅτι δυοῖν κινδύνοις ὑποκειμένου ἀναγκαίον ἐσται θατέρου μετασχεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰρῆσονται τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας.

131 Τοσούτῳ δὲ ἄν δικαιότερον οὕτως ἀποθάνοι τῶν ἑκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φευγόντων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦκοουσιν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ταύτης μαχοῦμενοι ἢ κοινή μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συνατυχόσωτες, οὕτως δὲ ἑκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐφυγεν, ἰδίᾳ τὴν σωτη-
κατὰ Δεωκράτους 51

ρίαν ποριζόμενοσ, οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ᾑδίας ἑστίας ἀμύ-νεσθαι τολμήσας, ἀλλὰ μόνος οὗτος τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεία καὶ ἀναγκαῖα προδέδωκεν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ξύροις μέγιστα καὶ σπουδαιότατα διεἰληπται. τὰ γοῦν πετεινὰ α 132 μάλιστα πέφυκε πρὸς τάχος, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν νεοτιᾶς ἑθέλοντα ἀποθυμῆσκειν ὁθεν καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκασιν·

οὐδ’ ἀγρία γὰρ ὅρνις, ἴν πλάσῃ δόμον, ἀλλὰν νεοσσοὺς ἥξιωσεν ἐντεκεῖν.

34 ἀλλὰ Δεωκράτης τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκε δείλα, ὡστε τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγκατέλιπε. τονγαροῦν οὐδεμία πόλις αὐτῶν εἰσασε παρ’ αὐτῆ 133 μετοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἡλαυνεν, εἰκότως· οὶ μὲν γὰρ φόνον φεύγοντες εἰς ἐτέρας πόλιν μεταστάντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔχθροις τοὺς ὑπο-δεξαμένους, τοῦτον δὲ τῖς ἄν ὑποδέξατο πόλις; ὡς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος οὐκ ἐβοήθησε, ταχὺ γ’ ἄν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κίνδυνον τῶν ὑπομείνειε. κακοὶ γὰρ καὶ πολύται καὶ ξένοι καὶ ἰδία φίλοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, οἱ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μεθέξουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἀξιόσουσι. καίτοι 134 τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν ἄδικομενῶν μισούμενον καὶ ἐξελαυνόμενον, τί δεὶ παθεῖν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν τῶν τὰ δεινότατα πεπονθότων; ἄρ’ οὐ τῆς ἐσχάτης τιμω-ρίας τυγχάνειν; καὶ μή, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν τῶποτε
προδοτῶν δικαιότατ' ἂν Δεωκράτης, εἰ τις μείζων εὖ τιμωρίᾳ θανάτου, ταύτην ὑπόσχοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι προδόται, μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖν ὅταν ληφθῶσι, τιμωρίαν ὑπέχουσιν· οὕτος δὲ μόνος διαπεπραγμένος ὑπερ ἐπεχείρησε, τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαταλιπὼν κρίνεται.

135 Θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ τῶν συνηγορεῖν αὐτῷ μελλόν—35 των, διὰ τὸ ποτε τούτων ἀξιωσουσιν ἀποφυγεῖν. πότερον διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι δικαίως οὐκ ἂν χάριτος τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι χρῆσθαι τούτῳ τολμῶσι. πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι Δεωκράτην, ἄδηλον ἦν ὁποῖοι τινες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, νῦν δὲ πᾶσι φανερὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἥθεσι χρώμενοι τὴν πρὸς τούτον φιλίαν διαφυλάττουσιν, ὡστε πολὺ πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἀπολογητέον ἢ τούτου παρ' ἕμοιν ἔξαιτητέον.

136 Ὡγούμαι δ' ἔγγυε καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ τῶν τετελευτηκότα, εἰ τις ἀρ' ἐστιν αἰσθησις τοῖς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν εὐθάδε γιγνομένων, ἀπάντων ἄν χαλεπώτατον γενέσθαι δικαστὴν, οὐ τὴν χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἐκδοτον κατέλιπε τοῖς πολεμίωις ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διῶς (τοῦ) σωτηρος ἰεροσυλήσαι καὶ αἰκίσασθαι, καὶ ἢν ἐκείνος ἐστησε μνημείου τῆς αὐτοῦ μετρίοτητος, ταύτην αὐτὸς ἐπονείδιστον ἐποίησε· τοιοῦ-137 τοῦ γὰρ υἱοῦ πατήρ προσαγορεύεται. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ μοι προσεληλύθασιν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐρωτῶντες, διὰ τὰ οὐκ ἐνέγραψα τούτο εἰς τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν,
προδεδωκέναι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν τοῦ πατρός, τὴν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνακειμένην. ἐγὼ δ', ὁ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἡγνύομαι τοῦτο τάδικημα ἄξιον (ὁν) τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγούμην δεῖν περὶ προδοσίας τούτων κρίνων ὄνομα Διὸς σωτῆρος ἐπιγράψαι πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν.

Ἐκπέπληγμαι δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς μήτε γένει 138 μήτε φιλία μηδὲν προσήκουσί, μισθοῦ δὲ συναποξειουμένους ἄδει τοῖς κρινομένοις, εἰ λειήθασιν ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐσχάτης ὀργῆς δικαίως ἃν τυγχάνοντες. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄδικησάντων ἀπολογεῖσθαι τεκμηρίον ἐστιν ὡς καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀν μετάσχοιεν. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ὑμῶν γεγενηθαι δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας.

Καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς 139 παρακρούσασθαι ξητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἥδη ταῖς αὐτῶν λητουργίαις ἐξαίτεισθαι τοὺς κρινομένους ἄξιωσουσιν· ἐφ' οἷς ἐγώ οἰκε καὶ μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῶ. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἵδιον οἶκον αὐτὰς περιποιησάμενοι, κοινὰς χάριτας ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τις ἵπποτρόφηκεν ὡς κεχορήγηκε λαμπρῶς ἡ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν τοιούτων τι δεδαπάνηκεν, ἁξίος ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαύτης χάριτος (ἐπὶ τούτωι γὰρ αὐτὸς μόνοις στεφανοῦται, τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ὄφελον), ἀλλ' εἰ τις τετριηράρχηκε λαμπρῶς ὡς τείχη τῇ πατρίδι περιέβαλεν ἡ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων συνεντύρησε· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ κοινῶς 140
ὑπὲρ ύμῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐπιτεθεὶκότων, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν μόνον τῶν δεδαπανηκότων. ἡγούμαι δ’ ἔγογγε οὐδέν οὔτω μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργετη-κέναι, ὡστ’ ἐξαιρετοὶ ἄξιοί λαμβάνειν χάριν τὴν κατὰ τῶν προδιδόντων τιμωρίαν, οὐδ’ οὔτως ἀνόητον ἄστε φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τούτῳ δὲ βοηθεῖν δς αὐτοῦ πρώτων τὰς φιλοτιμίας ἥφανισεν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία μὴ ταύτα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τούτωι ἐστὶ συμφέροντα.

141 'Εχρῆν μὲν οὖν, ὁ ἀνδρες, εἰ καὶ περὶ οὔδενος 36 ἀλλου νόμιμον ἐστὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας παρα-καθισαμένους ἐαυτοῖς τοὺς δικαστὰς δικάζειν, ἀλλ’ οὖν γε περὶ προδοσίας κρίνοντας οὔτως ὅσιον εἶναι τούτω ράττειν, ὅπως ὅποιοι τοῦ κινδύνου μετείχον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς οὖνε καὶ ὅρῳμενοι καὶ ἀναμμηνήςκοντες ὅτι τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐλέου ὅκη λύσθησαν, πικροτέρας τὰς γνώσεις κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικοῦντος παρεσκεύαζον. ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὐ νόμιμον οὐδ’ εἰθυσμένον ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαῖον ύμᾶς ύπερ ἐκείνων δικάζειν, τιμωρησάμενοι γοῦν Δεωκράτη καὶ ἀποκτείναντες αὐτὸν, ἀπαγγείλατε τοῖς ύμετέ-ροις αὐτῶν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν, ὅτι ὑποχείριον λαβόντες τῶν προδότην αὐτῶν ἐτιμωρήσασθε. 142 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν καὶ σχέτλιον, ὅταν νομίζῃ δειν. Δεωκράτης ἵσον ἔχειν ὁ φυγὼν ἐν τῇ τῶν μει-νάντων πόλει, καὶ ὁ μὴ κινδυνεύσας ἐν τῇ τῶν παραταξαμένων, καὶ ὁ μὴ διαφυλάξας ἐν τῇ τῶν
σωσάντων, ἀλλ' ἥκη ἵερῶν θυσιῶν ἀγορᾶς νόμων πολιτείας μεθέξων, ὕπερ δὲν τοὺς μὴ καταλυθήναι χίλιοι τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν καὶ δημοσία αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις ἐθαμαν· ὅν οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ ἑλεγεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῖς μνημείοις ἐπανιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠδέσθη, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀναίδως ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν πενθησάντων τὰς ἑκείνων συμφορὰς ἤγειται δεῖν ἀναστρέφεσθαι. καὶ αὐτίκα μάλ' ὑμᾶς ἄξιόσει ἀκούειν ἀυτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐρωτᾶτε αὐτὸν ποίοις; οὐς ἐγκαταλιπὼν φίχετο. καὶ έὰςαι αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς τεῖχεσι τῆς πατρίδος· ποίοις; ἃ μόνος τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ συνδιεφύλαξε. καὶ ἐπικαλέσεται τοὺς θεοὺς σώσοντας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων· τίνας; οὐχ δὲν τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἔδη καὶ τὰ τεμένη προφείκε; καὶ δεησεται καὶ ἰκετεύσει ἐλεήσαι αὐτοῦ· τίνω· οὐχ οἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔραμον εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε; Ὑπόδους ἰκετεύνετο· τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τῇ ἑκείνων πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι ἐνώμισεν εἰναι. Ποία δ' ἡλικία δικαῖως ἀν τούτου ἑλεήσειε; πότερον ἡ τῶν πρεσβύτερων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γηροτροφηθήναι, οὕτ έν ἐλευθέρῳ (τῷ) ἐδάφει τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῖς ταφῆναι τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος παρέδωκεν. ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν νεωτέρων; καὶ τίς ἀναμνησθεῖς τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἑαυτῷ συμπαραταξαμένων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχόντων, σώσειε τὸν τὰς ἑκείνων
θήκας προδεδωκότα, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας τελευτησάντων παράνοιαι καταγγοιν, τὸν δ' ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν πατρίδα ὡς εὐ φρονοῦντα ἀθίδουν ἀφείς; ἔξουσίαν ἃρα δώσετε τῷ Βουλομένῳ, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τὸν δῆμον καὶ ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν. οὔ γὰρ μόνον γίνον οἱ φεύγοντες κατέρχονται, ὅταν ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυγὴν αὐτὸς ἕαυτοι καταγγοιν καὶ οἰκήσας ἐν Μεγάροις ἐπὶ προστάτου πλείω πέντε ἤ ἔξη ἐτη, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀναστρέφηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μηλόβοτον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνείναι φανερὰ τῇ ψήφῳ καταψηφισάμενος, οὗτος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ σύνοικος ὑμῶν γίγνεται.

146 Βούλομαι δ' ἐτί βραχέα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν κατα- 37 βὴναι, καὶ τὸ ψηφισμα τοῦ δῆμου παρασχόμενος, δ' περὶ εὐσεβείας ἐποιήσατο· χρήσιμον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι τῇ ψήφῳ φέρειν. Καὶ μοι λέγει αὐτὸ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

Ἑγὼ τοῖς μηνύω τὸν ἀφανίζοντα ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους ὄντας κολάσαι, ὑμέτερον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρησάσθαι Δεωκράτῃν. τὰ γὰρ ἄδικήματα, ἔως μὲν ἃν ἣ ἄκριτα, παρὰ τοῖς πράξασιν ἐστιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρίσις γένηται, παρὰ τοῖς μὴ δικαίως ἐπεξελθοῦσιν. εὐ δ' ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν κρύβοιην ψηφιζόμενος ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν φανερὰ ποιῆσει τὴν 147 αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἢγοῦμαι δ', ὦ ἄνδρες,
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ  57

... ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ δεινοτάτων ἀδικημάτων μίαν ὑμᾶς ψήφου ἐν τῇ τήμερον ἥμερα φέρειν, οἷς ἀπασιν ἐνοχον ὡντα Δεωκράτην ἐστιν ἰδειν, προδοσίας μὲν ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαταλιπτὼν τοῖς πολεμίωσ ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε, δήμου δὲ καταλύσεως ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνον, ἀσεβείας δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς νεῶς κατασκάπτεσθαι τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γέγονεν αὐτίος, τοκέων δὲ κακώσεως τὰ μνημεῖα αὐτῶν ἀφανίζων καὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποστερῶν, λιποταξίου δὲ καὶ ἀστρατείας οὐ παρασχὼν τὸ σῶμα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἔπειτα τοῦτον τις 148 ἀποψηφιεῖται καὶ συγγνώμην ἔξει τῶν κατὰ προάρεσιν ἀδικημάτων; καὶ τὸς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀνόητος, ὡστε τοῦτον σφόζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν προέσθαι τοῖς ἐγκαταλιπτείν βουλομένοις, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεήσας αὐτὸς ἀνηλέητος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολέσθαι προαιρήσεται, καὶ τῷ προδότη τῆς πατρίδος χάριν θέμενος ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίᾳ;

'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθῶν καὶ τοῖς 149 ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποδέδωκα τὸν ἁγῶνα ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον τοῦτον βίον διαβαλῶν, οὔτ' ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος οὐδὲν κατηγορήσας· ὑμῶν δὲ ἐκαστὸν χρὴ νομίζειν τὸν Δεωκράτους ἀποψηφιζόμενον θάνατον τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀνδραποδισμὸν καταψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν καδίσκοιν κειμένοιν τὸν μὲν προδοσίας, τὸν δὲ
σωτηρίας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ψήφους φέρεσθαι τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως τῆς πατρίδος, τὰς δὲ ὑπὲρ 150 ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐδαιμονίας. ἐὰν μὲν Δεωκράτην ἀπολύσητε, προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ψηφιεῖσθε· ἐὰν δὲ τούτον ἀποκτείνῃ, διαφυλάττειν καὶ σφύξειν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παρακελεύσεσθε. νομίζοντες οὖν, ὡ 'Αθηναίοι, ἰκετεύειν ὡμῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ δέντρα, δεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας (καὶ) τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιόν δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, παράδειγμα ποιῆσατε Δεωκράτη, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν κατηγορημένων, ὅτι οὐ πλέον ἰσχύει παρ' χνῖν ἔλεος οὐδὲ δάκρυα τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίας.
NOTES

ARGUMENT

tà ἐν X. δεινᾷ] 'The disaster at Chaeronea,' 338 B.C.
ψήφισμα ποιεῖν for ποιεῖσθαι, in this phrase (though the active is also used in classical Greek in similar cases, where it is not always easily distinguishable in sense from the middle), is to be set down here as a trace of late Greek (cf. ἐν infra).

ὡστε] For ὡστε introducing the substance of the ψήφισμα (a classical usage), cf. e.g. Thuc. v. 17 ψηφισμένων...ὡστε καταλέσθαι, etc.

ἐκθέσθαι] i.q. ὑπεκθέσθαι, which is technical in this sense: cf. infra §§ 25, 53.

ἐν 'Ρόδῳ] The use of the prep. to express 'motion to' (cf. Paus. vii. 4. 3 διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ) is late: so also in c. abl. in late Latin: missus est in exilio, etc.

παρρησιαζόμενων] The expression is probably inspired by § 5 of the speech (τοῦτον περιφέρεις ἐν τῇ Ἀγορᾷ ἐμβαθῶντα), and the context would almost suggest that, if L. had kept quiet, Lycurgus would have left him alone.

ἡ δὲ στάσις ὁρὸς ἀντωνομάζων] στάσις (status s. constitutio causae) is the determination of the point at issue; ὁρὸς (a subdivision of στάσις—status definitivus) is used of a case in which a fact is admitted, and the question is how it is to be defined (ἀντωνομάζων: controversia nominis)—in L.'s case, departure or desertion?

στοχασμὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης] στοχ. ἀπὸ γνώμης, status conjecturalis ex sententia, signifies a case where, there being no doubt about the deed or the doer, the intention of the doer at the moment of the deed is to be determined (πολὰ γνώμη ἐξῆλθεν, ἐτε...ἐτε).

ἀντιστάσις] ἀντιστάσις is a subdivision of the status qualitatis,
in which the defendant, while admitting that his action was wrong, places against it some counterbalancing advantage (\textit{antistrophas}, \textit{compensatio}, \textit{comparatio}).

[For the explanation of the technical terms, I am indebted to Wyse on Isaeus, I and II, after Volkmann's \textit{Rhetorik}, pp. 70 sqq.]

\textit{υπόθεσις} ‘subject.’

\textit{Αντολύκων} See infra § 53 n.

c. 1. §§ 1, 2. I pray the gods and heroes to make me a worthy prosecutor of Leocrates, and you exemplary judges, as my impeachment is just.

§ 1. \textit{δίκαιαν...εὐσφήνη} these two adjectives, emphatic alike from their position and their predicative force, may be said to strike the key-note of the speech: ‘Justice and Piety...shall characterize the prosecution,’ etc.—\textit{Αθηναῖοι}: this, and not the more usual \textit{ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀ.}, appears to be the regular formula in Lycurgus. [Blass <\textit{ἀνδρες}> everywhere.]

\textit{τὴν ἀρχήν...ποιήσομαι} more stately than \textit{ἀρξωμαι}. \textit{ποιεῖσθαι} with a noun is a common periphrasis for the simple verb: cf. \textit{πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι=πλεῖν, λήθην π. =λανθάνεσθαι, καταφυγῆν π. = καταφέσθεν}, etc. Cf. infra §§ 5, 11, etc.

\textit{εὐχομαι...τὴν Αθηνᾶ} Athena is given prominence as the tutelary goddess of Athens (cf. infra § 26). Only Demosthenes, besides Lycurgus, prefaces a speech with a prayer to the gods, and that only once—in his \textit{De Corona}, delivered shortly after the prosecution of Leocrates.

\textit{τοῖς ἡρωσι...[δρυμένωι]}‘the heroes whose statues stand throughout our city and country.’ The ‘heroes’ may be described as inferior local deities, patrons of tribes, guilds, etc. The \textit{ἡρως ἐπώνυμος}, at Athens, were the heroes after whom the \textit{φυλαί} were named. Founders of a race or city (\textit{ἀρχηγέται, κτισται}) were worshipped under this name, having small temples or chapels (\textit{ἡρῴα}) dedicated to them by the state, but always distinct from the \textit{national} gods (\textit{θεοί}), with whom, however, they are regularly coupled. Cf. Thuc. IV. 87 \textit{μάρτυρας μὲν θεοὺς καὶ ἡρώας τοὺς}
éγχωρλος ποιήσομαι, Dem. De Cor. § 184 [ΨΗΦ.] εὐξαμένους... τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἡρωι ποῖς καὶ κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελέα Δ.] At Athens, the εἰσαγγελεία was a state prosecution or impeachment, applicable, acc. to the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός quoted by Hyperides, Eux. §§ 7, 8, to three main offences: (a) treason against the democracy; (b) betrayal of a town or any military or naval force; (c) corrupt misleading of the people by an orator. The case of Leocrates would fall under (a).

But it is certain that the list of Hyper. is not exhaustive; and we must at any rate distinguish from ‘political’ denunciations (1) εἰσαγγελείαι κακώσεως (maltreatment of parents, heiresses, etc.), laid before the First Archon; (2) εἰσ. διαιτητῶν (against unjust arbitrators). A political εἰσαγγελεία was usually brought before the Council (εἰσαγγέλλειν τινά τῇ βουλῇ, εἰς τὴν βουλήν), sometimes before the Assembly at the meeting in each Prytany which was known as ἥ κυρλα (εἰσ. τινά εἰς τὸν δήμον, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ). In the former case, the Council might hand the matter over to an ordinary jury court, if it was considered too serious for the maximum penalty (a fine of 500 drachmae) which the Council was competent to inflict (cf. Ar. Vesp. 590, [Dem.] XLVII. § 43); the Assembly might do the same, or it might undertake the trial itself, as in the historic case of the generals after Arginusae, Xen. Hell. I. 7. 9.

κρίνω] ‘put on his trial’: Dem. De Cor. § 15 κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοὶ, κρίνει δὲ τοντωλ.

νέως...[δη...[τεμένη] ‘temples’...‘shrines’...‘sanctuaries,’ but English has no sufficiently distinctive equivalents for the Greek terms: (a) νέως is ‘the inmost part of a temple, in which the image of the god was placed, like σηκός, ἄντον, the sense of λειτυν being more general’ (L.S.); (b) ἔδος, which signifies primarily ‘a seated statue,’ means either ‘temple-statue’ or ‘temple’ (Timaei lex. ἔδος· τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν); (c) τέμενος is the space of land ‘cut off’ (τέμνω) from common uses and dedicated to a god (cf. templum): in it stood the ‘temple’ proper or shrine.
τάς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις θυσίας] ‘the sacrifices prescribed by the laws,’ especially the laws of Solon. Cf. infra § 4 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτιμοῖς, § 34 τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας.

§ 2. ἐν τῇ τήμερον ἡμέρᾳ.] The phrase is more stately than the simple τήμερον. ‘The Latin hodiernus dies and the German ‘der heutige Tag’ exactly correspond’ (Shilleto, Dem. De Falsa Leg. § 339 n.).

ὑπό] ‘at the mercy of’; so infra § 27.

τοιαῦτα...τηλικαυτά] ‘such...so great’: talia...tanta. The adjs. are often coupled. So also τοσοῦτος and τηλικοῦτος, where the distinction is between number and size, the adjs. being frequently further defined by the addition, respectively, of τὸ πλῆθος (τῶν ἄρματων) and τὸ μέγεθος: cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 136 τοσούτας τὸ πλῆθος πόλεως καὶ τηλικαυτάς τὸ μέγεθος δύναμις. Antid. § 257.

c. 2. §§ 3–6. The prosecutor on behalf of the state has come, undeservedly, to be regarded as a busybody rather than as a patriot. The truth is, the accuser constitutes, with the law and the judge, the third great pillar of the public weal. I am not actuated by any personal spite against Leocrates, except in so far as public offenders should justly be reckoned private enemies.

§ 3. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.] ‘I could have wished that the presence among us of persons who prosecute offenders were conceived of by the multitude as an arrangement as humane as it is beneficial to the state.’—For the general structure of the sentence, a favourite one with the orators, cf. e.g. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. init.; Isaev, or. x. init.; Isocr. Antid. § 114, De Pace § 36. In such cases, ἐβουλόμην ἂν (as here and in the two Isocr. passages quoted) is the common idiom = vellem, expressing what someone wishes were now true (but which is not true): Goodwin, M. T. § 426. ἐβουλόμην alone, however, occurs occasionally with no appreciable difference of meaning, as in the first two passages quoted: also in Aeschin. Ctes. § 2 and Ar. Ran. 866 ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε. Editors would change the μὲν which follows ἐβουλόμην in these exx. to ἂν for the sake of uniformity, but without good reason: ἐβουλόμην was no doubt helped by the
analogy of ἐδει, ἔχρην, etc.: cf. Wyse's n. on Isaeus, l.c.—τοὺς κρίνοντας: the pres. ptep. indicates a standing class = accusatores, as Cicero says Pro S. Roscio Amer. 20 accusatores multos esse in civitate utile est.—ταύτη: stronger and more pointed than αὐτή, and in Lycurgus' manner: cf. infra § 117 τοιχαντες στήνην... eis ταύτην ἀναγράφειν, § 126.—αὐτό = τὸ εἶναι τοὺς κρίνοντας.—υπελήφθαι: the perf. infin. denotes the permanent attitude: Goodwin, M.T. § 110.

νῦν δὲ περιεσπηκεν...ὡστε] 'as it is, matters have come to such a pass, that' etc.

τὸν ἱδίᾳ κινδυνεύοντα] the 'personal risk' consisted in the fact that the prosecutor, in a public action, was himself liable to a fine of 1000 drachmae in case he failed to obtain one-fifth of the judges' votes. Cf. infra § 7 τοὺς δημοσίους διώκως n.

ὡστε...οὐ...δοκεῖν] Examples of ὡστε οὐ with infin. may be grouped under two main heads:

(a) in oratio obliqua (or after a verb of thinking or hearing), where the consecutive clause represents an indic. with οὐ in the or. recta, e.g. Xen. Hell. vi. 2. 6 ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὡστε οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν (recta: εἰς τοῦτο...ἠλθον ὡστε οὐκ ἥθελον), Dem. De Cor. § 283 ἦ τοσοῦτον ὤπνον καὶ λήθην (sc. ἤγει) ἀπαντας ἔχειν, ὡστε οὐ μεμηθάαι (where, omitting ἤγει, we have ἀπαντες ἔχουσιν, ὡστε οὐ μεμηθνται—note that the infin. in these cases corresponds to the tense of the recta). So also Aeschin. Ctes. § 96; Lysias, or. x. § 15; Dem. F.L. §§ 167, 351;

(b) where the negative belongs to a single word: cf. Isocr. De Pace § 107 οὗτω κακῶς προφύτησαι τῶν πραγμάτων ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοῖς (=δλγοῖς) ἔτεσιν υστερον...ἐπιπολάσαι. So Isaeus, ix. § 17. Goodwin, §§ 594 sqq.—The example in the text cannot very well be assigned to either, and should probably be explained, along with some others where, as here, ὡστε with a finite verb would be equally appropriate, as arising from a mixture of the constructions ὡστε οὐ δοκεῖ and ὡστε μὴ δοκεῖν, 'this occasional confusion' being 'made easier by familiarity with ὡστε οὐ c. infin. in indirect discourse.' Goodwin, § 599. See also Shilleto's ed.
of Dem. *De Falsa Legatione*, App. B. The *ν...ουδὲ* in the last clause requires no explanation, this clause being virtually equivalent to ὁπερ *οὐ δικαίων ἔστων οὐδὲ συμφέρον κ.τ.λ.


η τούτωι...κρίσις] The *κρίσις* (‘prosecution’), which would logically come second in order, bulks largest in the speaker’s mind and is placed third and last: it acquires additional emphasis as being also the last word of the sentence.—τάδικήματα

is almost concrete = τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.

...νόμος πέφυκε προλέγειν] ‘The essential function of the law is to prescribe,’ etc. πέφυκα, of that for which a thing is fitted or disposed ‘by nature’ (φύσις), either in an active or a passive sense: cf. Thuc. III. 45 πεφύκασι δ᾽ ἄπαντες...ἀμαρτάνειν (‘humanum est errare’), 11. 64 πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἑλασθοῦσαί τινι...κατηγορούσιν.

τοὺς ἐνόχοις...ἐπιτιμῶις] ‘those who have rendered themselves liable to the penalties prescribed by the laws.’—ἐνοχὸς (= ἐνεχόμενος) usually (a) c. dat., as here, ‘subject to,’ occasionally c. gen., e.g. ἐν. βιαίων, λιποταξίου (where either δίκη, γραφὴ are to be supplied, or the genitive is the ordinary gen. with *verba accusandi*); (b) absol. = ‘guilty,’ Antiph. *Tetr.* Γ. α. § 1 μήτε τοὺς ἐν. ἀφέντας μήτε τοὺς καθαρούς εἰς ἄγωνα καθιστάντας, *De Chor.* § 17 ἀποφαίνω δὲι τού ἐνοχὸς εἰμι. But the meaning of (a) naturally shades off into (b).—Distinguish ἐπιτιμία = ‘penalties,’ the word in the text, which is ‘of poetical cast, like many which the older prose writers used’ [Jebb, *A.O.* (Selections), p. 207: Soph. *El.* 1382 τάπιτιμία τῆς δυσσεβείας] from ἐπιτιμία, ‘enjoyment of civil rights’)(ἀτιμία.—ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων: sc. ὃ νόμος and ὁ καθήγορος.

NOTES

§ 5. ἀπασι...τοῖς γεγραμμένοις] ‘all the articles of the indictment’ (capita accusationis): cf. Dem. De Cor. § 56 τὴν αὐτήν...ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν.

ἐλεγγελλάν ἐπιησάμην] Cf. supra § 1 τὴν ἀρχὴν...ποιησάμενοι. φιλονεκίαν] The meaning of the word required here is the usual unfavourable one of ‘love of strife,’ ‘contentiousness’: cf. Dem. De Cor. § 141 εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἡ φ. ἰδιὰς ἐνεκ’ αὐτίαν ἐπάγω: for the use of the word in the good sense, cf. Plat. Legg. 834 c ἐστω τούτων...κατὰ νόμον ἀμιλλά τε καὶ φ., Xen. Anab. iv. 8. 27 πολλῆς φ. ἐγνευτο (quoted by L.S. s.v. φιλονεκία).—The orthography of the word (φιλονεκία v. φιλονεκία), and whether we should distinguish two separate words, φιλονεκία = ‘love of victory’ and φιλονεκία = ‘love of strife,’ are old subjects of dispute. The two words are constantly interchanged in MSS. Sandys on Isocr. Ad Dem. § 31 s.v. φιλονικος remarks: ‘Derived from φιλος and νικη,’ and quotes in his support Arist. Rhet. ii. 12. 6, which is the locus classicus for the νικη derivation. He adds that φιλονικος (Plat. Protag. 336 e, etc.) is really a separate word, derived from νεκος. Adam, however, on Protag. l.c. (reading φιλονικος) contends that ‘the word comes from φιλο- and νικη, not from φιλο- and νεκος (in which case the form would be φιλονεκης: cf. φιλοκερδης, φιλοκυθης, but φιλότιμος, φιλόδοξος, φιλόθηρος and the like), and adds that ‘Schanz declares himself, after a full discussion, for φιλονικος.’

εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλοντα...μετέχοντα] The speaker implies that the accused, by his conduct, was legally ‘debarred from the market-place and the public rites’ (ἐλργεσθαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τῶν ἱερῶν): cf. infra § 65 εἰργον τῶν νομίμων.—ἐμβάλλειν and μετέχειν are technical: the former suggests boldness and confidence: cf. Aeschin. i. § 164 ἐπείτα ἐμβάλλεις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν, Dem. c. Timocr. § 103 κἀν τις ἀλώς κακῶσεως...εἰς τὴν ἀγ. ἐμβάλλῃ. For μετέχειν (the opp. of εἰργεσθαι), cf. infra § 142 ἀλλ’ ἦκη ἱερῶν δυσὶν ἀγοράς...μεθέτων.

πατρίδος ὤνειδος] ‘a reproach to his country’: cf. Soph. O.C. 984 αὐτῆς ὤνειδος παῖδας ἐξέφυσε μοι. With the whole
passage may be compared the forcible fragment of Lycurgus' speech *Against Lysicles* (Blass 77): τομαὶς ἡν...καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ἐμβάλλειν, ὑπὸμνημα γεγονὼς αἰσχύνης καὶ ονείδους τῇ πατρίδι.

§ 6. *πολίτων γάρ ἐστι δικαίου, μὴ κ.τ.λ.*] Some editors see in this a side-thrust at Aeschines, whose prosecution of Cresiphon (Demosthenes was the real object of attack) was pending at the time when the speech against Leocrates was delivered; but the allusion to Aeschines seems less certain than that to Demosthenes, *infra* § 139.

κοινὰς i.e. affecting the state, 'public.'

καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κ.τ.λ.] 'and that public offences [τῶν ἀδικ.—partitive gen.] involve [ἐχεῖν] also public grounds of quarrel with them [sc. τῶν παρανομοῦντας].' For the sentiment and language, cf. Dem. *Mid.* § 225 δεὶ τούτων τοῦτοι βοσθεῖν ὀμοίως ὠσπερ ἂν αὐτῷ τις ἀδικοῦμενυ, καὶ τὰ τῶν νόμων ἀδικήματα κοινὰ νομίζειν.—ἐχεῖν, 'involve,' 'carry with them,' as often: Isocr. *Philip.* § 68 τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐργῶν φθόνον ἐχεῖ καὶ δυσμένειαν καὶ πολλὰς βλασφημίας.—προφάσεις: not necessarily 'pretexts' (i.e. false causes), but often, as here, 'grounds,' 'occasions.' For a discussion of the significance of the word as used by Thuc., who couples it with *αἱρα* (III. 13 τοιαῦτα ἔχουντες προφάσεις καὶ αἱρας), see Cornford, *Thuc. Mythist.*, pp. 56–9.

c. 3. §§ 7–10. The enormity of Leocrates' offence makes the case before you unique among state prosecutions. I am at a loss how to characterize my charge, and the laws provide no adequate penalty. Death, the extreme penalty of the laws, is not sufficient. The failure to devise a punishment suitable to L.'s crimes is due, not to the indolence of former legislators, but to the circumstance that no case of equal heinousness was on record nor was expected to occur in future. And so in this case you must be not merely judges, but legislators. Your decision will be an example to posterity, and will also have a wholesome influence on the youth, whose character is moulded by two factors: (a) the punishment meted out to transgressors, (b) the prizes awarded to virtue.
§ 7. μὲν...μάλιστα δε] 'cum...tum maxime.'—μεγάλοις: 'im-
portant.'

tους δημοσίους ἁγώνας] ἁγώνες δημόσιοι, δίκαι δημόσιαι, or
more specially γραφαί, were 'public' actions, which might be in-
stituted by any one in possession of his full civic rights (ἐπίτιμοι),
in name of the state)(ἁγώνες ἰδίοι, δίκαι ἰδίαι, or simply δίκαι,
'private' suits, in which the plaintiff was the person whose rights
were immediately affected. The εἰσαγγελία was a special form of
γραφή.

Public actions, with the exception of such εἰσαγγελίαι as were
decided in the Council or the Assembly (see note on § 1 supra),
were tried before a jury court; private suits were often brought
before arbitrators (διαυγηταί), a practice which aimed at securing
a compromise which should be acceptable to both parties, with-
out the necessity of facing a trial in court. In a public action, the
prosecutor, as a rule, did not benefit pecuniarily by the conviction
of the accused; and if he either dropped proceedings before the
trial or failed to obtain one-fifth of the judges' votes at the trial,
he incurred a fine of 1000 drachmae (τὰς χιλιὰς ὀφλεῖν): cf. supra
§ 3 τὸν ἱδία κυνδυνεύοντα n. In nearly all private suits the object
in dispute or the damages went to the plaintiff, who similarly in
certain cases was penalized for non-success by having to pay to
his successful opponent one obol for every drachma of the sum
at issue, i.e. one-sixth of the whole (ἡ ἐπωβελία).

ὑπὲρ οὗ] The use of ὑπὲρ as an equivalent for πεπλ is character-
istic of Lyc.'s Greek (cf. infra § 9 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωριῶν,
§ 147 ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων...ἀδικημάτων...ψήφον φέρειν), and is
fairly frequent also in Lysias and Demosthenes.

τὴν ψήφον φέρειν] suffragium ferre, 'give your vote.'

οταν μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'For whenever you give judgment in
indictments for unconstitutional proposals, you merely rectify
a detail and prohibit the operation of a particular measure
in so far as it is calculated to injure the state; whereas the
present case has a far-reaching constitutional significance and is
of no transient interest: on the contrary, it affects your country
as a whole, and the verdict you pronounce will be bequeathed to, and held in everlasting remembrance by, your posterity for all succeeding time.'—*tás tôn parapōmōn graφās:* at Athens, the *γραφή parapōmōn* was a safeguard against hasty or inconsistent legislation. A new legislative proposal, after certain formalities had been observed, was first discussed by the Council who, if they approved of it, submitted it as a *προβούλευμα* for ratification by the Assembly: if so ratified, it became properly *ψήφωσμα* or 'decree.' Such a psephism might be intended merely to serve a temporary purpose, or to become a permanent part of the constitution, i.e. a *νόμος*; in which latter case it was referred for consideration to the court of the *νομοθέται,* a committee of dicasts appointed for the purpose. The measure, if pronounced upon favourably by the *νομοθέται,* was then registered as a law. At any time between the date of its passing the Council, however, and the expiration of a year after its becoming *νόμος* (if it were raised to this status), it was competent for any citizen to prosecute the proposer of such a measure on the ground of its being in conflict with an existing law, or perhaps even on the general ground of inexpediency. Notice of such intention to prosecute was given by a *υπωμοσία* or affidavit, which had the effect of suspending all further action in respect of the contemplated measure till the suit should be decided. If the proposer thought fit to withdraw his measure in the face of the threatened attack, he was said *eán (tôn νόμον) en υπωμοσία:* if he decided to contest the point, the matter proceeded in due course to trial, in the ordinary way, before a jury court, on whose verdict the subsequent fate of the measure depended.—*δικάζετε:* *δικάζεων = 'sit in judgment on')(*δικάζεσθαι = 'go to law.'—*τούτω μόνον κ.τ.λ.:* lit. 'you merely correct this point and prohibit this action (i.e. prevent the new proposal from becoming operative), in so far as,' etc. *τούτω* and *ταύτην τήν πράξιν* both look forward to, and are defined by, the clause *καθ’ δισον...βλάπτειν τήν πόλιν.*—*δ...ένεστηκὼς ἄγων:* 'the action which has now begun,' 'the present case': cf. *Dem. c. Androt. § 24* ὥν ἐνεστηκὼς ἄγων ἐστι παρα-
NOTES

§ 9] νόμων, Ep. apud Dem. De Cor. § 157 τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς.—συνέχει: 'embraces,' 'concerns.'—τῶν τῆς πόλεως: 'the interests of the state.'—κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος: in sempiternum (opp. to ἐπ’ ὀλιγον χρόνον): rather a rare use of the prep., but paralleled by Dem. c. Androt. § 72 κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου. αἰῶν is poetic and suitable to Lyc.'s δείνωσις: it occurs other three times in the speech (infra §§ 62, 106, 110), and, among the other orators, only in Isocrates.

§ 8. ὡστε μήτε κατηγοροῦν κ.τ.λ.] See Crit. App. (τῶν) μὴ βοηθήσαντα] 'a man who did not defend': generic. τοὺς πατρίδος ἱεροῖς Cf. infra § 25 τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρίδα n. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγιστον κ.τ.λ.] 'For the greatest and most extreme penalty, death, though a punishment that the laws require us to be content with, is yet inadequate to L.'s offences': a common complaint with the orators: cf. Lysias, xxviii. § 1 ὡστε οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ δύνασθαι Ἐργοκλῆς...πολλάκις ἀποθανῶν δοῦναι δίκην ἄξιαν.—μὲν...ἔει: 'though...yet,' often so best rendered, like sicut...ita in Latin.—καθεστῆκε: a stronger εστὶ: so supra § 4 τοὺς ἐνόχους...καθεστῶτας.

§ 9. παρέεσθαι] Emphatic by position and introducing the main thought of the paragraph, with which may be compared Lysias, or. xxxi. § 27 οὐ γὰρ οἴεται υμᾶς γνῶσεσθαι οὕτι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ αὐτήματος οὐδεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγράφη νόμος. τίς γὰρ ἄν τοτε ήρητωρ ἐνεβυμήθη ἡ νομοθέτης ήλπίσεων ('expected') ἀμαρτή-σεσθαι τινα τῶν πολιτῶν θεασάτην ἀμαρτίαν;

τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρίαν] 'punishment for such offences': cf. supra § 7 ὑπὲρ οὗ ν., Soph. Ant. 932 κλαύματα βραδυτὴρος ὑπέρ, 'tears for (= on account of) tardiness.'

τῶν τότε νομοθετοῦτων] 'of previous legislators,' we should say: τότε refers to the period in the speaker's mind when the main code of laws was framed.

μὴ...ἐπίδοξον εἶναι γενήσεσθαι] 'nor was it expected to occur in the future': ἐπίδοξος has regularly this passive signification: cf. Aeschin. Cites. § 165 ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλώναι (sc. Μεγάλη πόλις), 'was expected to be captured,' Isocr. Areop. § 48 τοὺς
επιδίδουσιν ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, ‘those on whose part an offence was apprehended’ (Jebb). Cf. the passive use of προσδοκάν, Dem. F.L. § 170 τῶν ἄλλων...προσδοκωμένων ἀφεθήσεσθαι, ‘when it was expected that the others would be released.’

μὴ μόνον...δικαστάς...νομοθέτας] ‘you must show yourselves not merely judges in the case of the present offence, but legislators as well,’ i.e. your decision in a case not adequately covered by the existing laws (as explained in the next sentence) will set up a precedent which will be virtually equivalent to a law (νόμος).

For an exact commentary on this passage, cf. Lysias, or. xiv. § 4 εἰκὸς τοῖνυν ἔστιν, ὃς ἄνδρες δικασταὶ...πρῶτον περὶ τοῦτων νυνὶ δικάζωντας μὴ μόνον δικαστάς ἄλλα καὶ νομοθέτας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, εὖ εἰδότας δὴτ, ὅπως ἢν ὑμεῖς νυνὶ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώτε, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἢ τόλις αὐτοῖς χρήσεται. Conversely, we have or. xv. § 9 μεµνῆσαί τιν χρῆ δὴτ ὅν νομοθετήσοντες περὶ αὐτῶν ἤκετε, ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ψηφιούμενοι.—νομοθέτας: here, and in the Lysias passages quoted, in the general sense of ‘legislators,’ ‘law-makers’: technically, the νομοθέται, at Athens, were a select committee of the jurors (δικασταῖ) for the year, appointed normally at the third κυρλα ἐκκλησία in each year, and charged both with the revision of existing laws and the scrutiny and ratification of new ones: cf. n. on γράφῃ παρανόμων, supra § 7. The dicasts in this capacity were thus the ultimate source of Athenian legislation.

ὅσα μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] ‘For in the case of such offences as are clearly defined by a particular law, it is easy to employ this as your standard and punish transgressors; but in the case of such as are not expressly specified by the law, through its including them in a single designation, and when a person has committed greater enormities than these and is chargeable with them all alike, your verdict must necessarily be bequeathed to posterity as an example.’—τοῦτῳ κανόνι: ‘this as your standard’ (predicative). κανὼν, (a) in the literal sense, the carpenter’s or mason’s rule (Lat. amussis), (b) met., ‘rule,’ ‘standard.’ (Lat. norma, régula). Both uses are illustrated in Aeschin. Ctes. §§ 199, 200
§ 10.

The editors compare the didactic and moralising tone of Aeschines, *Cles.* § 246 ἐὰν γὰρ ἔστι...τοὺς νέους, and *supra* § 4, *infra* § 79.

'...τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διδομένη δωρεὰ' *the bounties awarded to good men': these would include ἀτέλεια, exemption from some or all
of the state burdens (λητουργια); οἰκησις εν προτανειφ, public maintenance in the state-hall, etc.

πρὸς ἐκάτερον...ἀποβλέποντες] 'with an eye on each of these,' i.e. having regard to the terrors of the one and the encouragement of the other. ἀποβλέπειν is regularly so used of a pattern or authority which sanctions or influences one's conduct: els interchanges with πρὸς as the accompanying preposition.

προσέχειν τούτω τῷ ἀγώνι] 'give your attention to the case before you': τῶν νοῶν, which often accompanies προσέχειν, is frequently omitted, as here, and at Her. ix. 33, Thuc. i. 15, etc.

τοῦ δίκαλον] 'than justice': this is gen. of τὸ δίκαλον (neut. adj. with article=abstract noun), and depends upon the comp. in περὶ πλεονεκεισασθαι.

c. 4. §§11-13. Unlike the great bulk of the prosecutors who appear before you, I shall confine myself strictly to the matter at issue. It is outrageous to conduct a prosecution unjustly, and still ask you to give a just verdict. For this state of things you yourselves are to blame, in spite of the example of the court of Areopagus. You should insist on relevancy and so secure the best interests of prosecutors, defendants, and judges alike.

§ 11. ποιησομαι δὲ κάγω] 'I, too, on my part, shall conduct the prosecution fairly': δικαλων echoes τοῦ δικαλον of the previous clause. For ποιησομαι...τὴν κατηγοριάν, cf. supra § 1 τὴν ἀρχὴν...ποιησομαι n.

ξεω τοῦ πράγματος] 'extraneous to the point at issue,' extra causam dicere (Cicero). πρᾶγμα=res de qua agitur, is very frequent in this phrase in the orators.

τῶν εἰς ύμᾶς εἰσιόντων] regularly, of the parties to a suit, 'those who appear before you in court.' So οἱ παριόντες, of the speakers in the Assembly.

πάντων ἀτοπ. ποιοῦσιν] 'do the most absurd thing imaginable': πάντων is neut.

ἡ γὰρ συμβουλεύουσιν κ.τ.λ.] 'either they offer you advice on public affairs, or they connect their accusations and misrepresentations with anything rather than the matter on which you are
going to vote': cf. Lysias, Pro Mil. [or. ix] §1 ἡ τόδε μὲν (sc. διὶ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος προσήκει λέγειν) ἐπὶ στανταί (sc. οἱ ἀντίδικοι), ἡγούμενοι δὲ λῆσειν περὶ παντὸς πλείω λόγον ἡ τοῦ προσήκουτος πουόντα;—The frequent complaints in the orators about irrelevant pleading in the courts no doubt point to a real abuse in the judicial system of Athens; but the precepts of the orators in this matter were better than their own practice. The very character of the dicasteries, composed as they were of average citizens with no special legal knowledge, must have been such as to encourage irrelevant argument and enable it to achieve its ends. ‘We can have no better evidence as to the working of the popular courts than the speeches by which the pleaders hoped to influence the decisions of the judges....The judges heard each party interpreting the law in its own sense; but they had themselves no knowledge of the law, and therefore, however impartial they sought to be, their decision was unduly influenced by the dexterity of an eloquent pleader, and affected by considerations which had nothing to do with the matter at issue.’ Bury, History of Greece (1900), p. 350.—συμβουλεύωνυ, absol. ‘give advice’: συμβουλεύειν τιν, σ. τιν = suadere aliqui, s. aliquid aliqui; συμβουλεύεσθαι τιν = consulere aliquem. Cf. Her. ii. 107 τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γνωκῇ...τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσαι, κ.τ.λ.—πάντα: accusative of the ‘extent’ or ‘compass’ of the action of the verb: Madvig, § 27.—ἡ περὶ οὗ = ἡ ἕκειν περὶ ὁδ. γνώμην ἀποφήγνασθαι] ‘declare one’s opinion’: γνώμην without the article in this phrase is the regular idiom: see exx. from Dem. cited by Sandys on First Philippic, §1.

§ 12. ὑμᾶς μὲν ἀξιοῦν...αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ] ‘while they ask you...they themselves should not’: cf. supra § 8 n.—The speaker in Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 89 reminds the court that a wrong prosecution is less serious than a wrong judgment’: οὐκ ἵναν ἐστὶ τὸν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαιατὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνώναι.

ὑμεῖς] emphatic, ‘you yourselves.’

τὴν γὰρ ἔξουσιαν ταύτην] Cf. Dem. De Cor. § 138 ἀλλὰ
καλ τάυτα κάλλιστον ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ. [§ 12] 'and that although you possess the noblest example among the Greeks in the council of the Areopagus, which so far excels other courts that it is acknowledged even by those whom it convicts to conduct its trials fairly.'

καλ τάυτα κάλλιστον τῶν 'Ε. π.: i.e. 'a nobler example than any others of the Greeks possess;' a common idiomatic use of the superlative: cf. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 17 ἔδέθη...παρανομώτατα ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, 'in a far more unconstitutional way than ever man was.'—τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ συνεδριόν: the venerable Council of Areopagus (otherwise styled ἦ βουλή ἦ ἔξ Ἀρείου πάγου, ἦ ἔξ Ἀριστουργοῦ πατρίδος, ἦ ἔν Ἀ. π. β., ἦ ἐν Ἀ. π. β., or simply Ἀρείου πάγος), the mythical origin of which (Aesch. Eum., Dem. contra Aristocr. § 66, Paus. I. 28. 5) points, at any rate, to its extreme antiquity, was now, as indeed it had been for more than a century past (since the reforms of Ephialtes, c. 462 b.c.), but a shadow of its former self, in respect of the large and undefined powers which it had originally exercised. These included (a) a general supervision of all magistrates and law-courts, (b) a general guardianship of the laws, (c) a general control of education and censorship of public morals, (d) power to assume dictatorial authority in grave public emergencies, as in the stress of the Persian wars (e.g. before Salamis, Plut. Themist. 10). These indefinite powers were almost entirely abolished by the reforms of Ephialtes, and transferred either to the Council of Five Hundred, the Assembly, or the popular law-courts. But the Areopagus still retained one of its traditional definite powers—jurisdiction in certain criminal cases—willful homicide, poisoning, and arson: cf. the emphatic language of Dem. C. Aristocr. § 66 τούτο μόνον τὸ δικαστήριον οὐχὶ τύραννος, οὐκ ἀλιγαρχία, οὐ δημοκρατία τὰς φοινικὰς δίκας ἀφελέσθαι τετόλμηκεν.

But while the Areopagus had thus been shorn of its political
significance, its time-honoured associations as the guardian of religion and morals secured for it a considerable amount of prestige and explain the extreme respect with which the court is mentioned down to the latest orators. For the justice of its judgments, as asserted in this passage, cf. Dem. i.c. ἐντανθοὶ μόνον οὐδεὶς πῶτορ' οὔτε φεύγων ἀλοὺς οὔτε διώκων ἡπτηθέλεις ἐξή-
λεγέζεν ὡς ἄδικως ἐδικάσθη τὰ κρίθεντα.—παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀμολο-
γεῖσαί: sc. αὐτὸ (i.e. τὸ ἐν Ἁ. π. συνέδριον) as subject of ὀμο-
λογεῖσαί, which is used personally (τὸ...συνέδριον ὀμολογεῖται
1. 9. 1 ὀμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων, Ἰδ. 20 ὁμολ. πρὸς πάντων.
—τοῖς ἀλισκομένοις: 'those who are convicted': the frequent legal
sense of the vb., often with the gen. of the charge (κλοπῆς, ἀσε-
βελας, etc.).

§ 13. πρὸς δ...ἀποβλέποντας] ὑ: sc. τὸ ἐν Ἁ. π. συν.—ἀπο-
βλέποντας: cf. supra § 10 n.

ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς...λέγοντιν] For this absolute use of ἐπιτρέπειν
с. dat. = 'give way to,' 'indulge,' cf. Her. 11. 120 ἄδικέοντι τῷ
ἀδελφῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, Plat. Euthyph. 5 e.—ἐξω τοῦ πράγματος: cf.
supra § 11. Rehdantz aptly cites Lucian, Anach. 19 in connexion
with the traditional strictness of the Areopagus: ἐστ' ὃν μὲν περὶ
tοῦ πράγματος λέγοντιν, ἀνέχεται ἡ βουλή [the Areopagus] καθ'
ἤσυχαν ἀκοῦσα: ἢν δὲ τίς ἢ φροίμα ἐπη πρὸ τοῦ λόγου...ἠ ὅκτον
ἡ δεινώσων ἐξωθέν ἐπάγη τῷ πράγματι, παρεξήθων ὁ κήρυξ κατεσιώ-
πησεν εὐθὺς, οὐκ ἐὼν ληφεὶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.

οὔτω γὰρ ἐσταὶ κ.τ.λ.] 'For by this means cases will be
conducted so as to shield defendants from false accusations,
prosecutors will have least chance of bringing vexatious charges,
and you will be in a position to give your vote in a way
most in keeping with your oath.'—The mixture of subjects to
ἐσταί (subst. followed by two infs.) is due to ἐσταί passing over
into the meaning of ἐξέσταί with the infs.—συκοφαντεῖν:
regularly, in the orators, of malicious or vexatious prosecution,
as Lysias says, or. xxv. § 3 τοιτῶν (sc. τῶν συκοφαντῶν) ἔργον ἐστὶ
καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας εἰς αἰτιαν καθίσταται, often with the
added implication that the object is personal gain. There seems no justification for the meaning ‘inform’ or ‘informer,’ as pointed out by L.S. s.v. συκοφάντης.—εὖορκοστάτην: a clause in the dicas-
tic oath ran: ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὅμως ἀμφότερον.

ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] ‘For it is impossible for you, without such a speech (i.e. such as I have described, a speech which keeps to the point), and unless you have been rightly in-
structed, to pass a right verdict.’—μὴ δικαλώς δεδιδαγμένος is

explanatory of ἀνευ τοῦ <τοιοῦτον> λόγου: the two might almost be combined into ‘unless you have been properly instructed by a proper speech.’ [<τοιοῦτον> is due to Nicolai: see Crit. App.]

§ 14. δει...μηδὲ ταῦτα λαθεῖν ύμᾶς] A common formula of

transition to a new point: ταῦτα (τοῦτο) [like ἐκεῖνο, illud] is


οὐχ ὅμως] ‘the case of L. is quite different from,’ etc.: a very

common liiotes with this adj.

περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώτος κ.τ.λ.] ‘Were it a case of an individual

who was unknown to the Greeks, the reputation of the verdict

passed by you, be it good or be it bad, would be confined to

your own community’: the protasis of the sentence is contained in the prepositional clause, which is = el ἀγνὼς ὑμῶν αὐθ. τοῖς ‘E.,

‘if the individual was unknown’ (but he is not): Goodwin, M. T.

§ 472. For the thought, cf. Lysias, In Alcib. 1. [or. xiv]. § 12

ἐὰν μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦ ἀγνώτας κολάξητε, οὐδεὶς ἐσται τῶν ἄλλων

βελτίων: οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰσεῖναι τὰ ὑπ’ ὑμῶν καταχρησθέντα: ἐὰν δὲ

tούς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων τιμωρήσθε, πάντες πεῦ-

σονται, or. vi. § 6, Gorgias, Palam. § 36.

ἐσται λόγος] ‘will be talked about.’

οἱ ἰσαρι…όντα] See Crit. App.—τοῖς τούτῳ διαπεπραγμένοις:
‘the defendant’s conduct’: so τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπολεμημένα, ‘my political acts, career’: Madvig, § 38. g.

ἐπιφανής] ‘a marked man,’ ‘notorious.’

τὴν ἀπαγγέλλαν...καθ’ ὑμῶν] ‘the report...about you,’ not necessarily ‘against you,’ ‘to your detriment,’ though, in point of fact, L.’s report was so: cf. Arist. Pol. v. 7. ι ι τούτο εἶπηται κατὰ πασῶν τῶν πολιτεῶν (de omnibus civitatibus).

πρὸς τε τὴν πόλιν...τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν] the first, of the official announcement to the Rhodian authorities; the second, of information conveyed conversationally.

τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ] ‘the merchants who were in town at the time’: ἐπιδημεῖν (a) ‘to be or live at home’(ἀπο- δημεῖν, ‘to be away from home’; (b) of foreigners, as here, ‘to come to a city,’ ‘stay at’ a place: cf. Lysias c. Eratosth. § 35 ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, Dem. 1357. 17 ἐπιδ. εἰς Μέγαρα (with ‘pregnant’ prep.).

§ 15. πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην] ‘the whole inhabited (Greek) world’: Dem. De Cor. § 48 ελλανομένων καὶ ὅρμεν...πᾶς’ ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. In Roman times, the phrase was similarly used of the Roman world. [At Her. II. 32 οἶνοι τὰ πρῶτα διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης, also IV. 110 ἀποβάναι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αὐτῶν διὰ Αμαζόνων ὡδοπόρων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, the expression is used in the narrower sense of ‘the inhabited country’ as opp. to ‘desert’: the citation of the latter passage by L.S. s.v. οἰκουμένη (= ‘the inhabited world’) is therefore hardly accurate.]

δ’ ἔργασ[λαν] ‘in pursuit of their calling,’ lit. ‘for the purpose of trade’: of this use of διὰ τοῦ ὄρος = ‘for the sake of,’ ‘in order to,’ four exx. are quoted from Thuc.: II. 89 διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν, suae gloriae causa, IV. 40 διὰ ἀχθηδόνα, ‘in order to vex,’ Ibid. 102 διὰ τὸ περιέχειν (τὴν πόλιν) (?), v. 53. διὰ τοῦ θύματος τῆς ἐσπραξίν.

& Δ. ἥκηκόσεσαν] ‘what they had heard from L.’: for the simple gen. of source, cf. Plat. Apol. 17Β ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀκούσατεν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, Soph. El. 424 τοιαύτα τοῦ παρόντος...ἐκλύν. So also πυθάνομαι, Ar. Av. 1120.
πρὸς τὸν θεόυ...γονεῖς...πατρίδα) The speaker has probably in his mind concrete historical examples: we may compare generally the compliments of the banished Oedipus in Soph. O.C. 260 εὶ τὰς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας | εἶναι, 1006 εἰ τίνι γ' θεοὺς ἐπισταταί | τιμᾶτ' σεβίζειν, ἣδε τοῦθ᾽ ὑπερφέρει, 1125 ἐπεί τό γ' εὐσέβεις | μόνοις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εὐρον ἀνθρώπων ἐγώ | καὶ τούπιεικὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ ψευδοστομεῖν, etc.; Isocr. Paneg. passim; Dem. Ol. iii. § 26.—γονεῖς: so the MSS. here, and also infra §§ 96, 97, but γονέας infra § 94: Blass (with Es) changes everywhere to γονέας.—

τὴν παρ᾽ ύμῶν...τιμωρίαν: "the substitution of the more closely defining preposition for the simple case made steady progress" (Rehd., App. 2, p. 127): cf. infra § 26 τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὑποθείαν, §§ 82, 97, 123, 129.

c. 8. §§ 16–19. I must begin with a brief recital of the circumstances of the case. After Chaeronea, the people passed a decree, directing the women and children to be conveyed into the city, and the generals to provide for the defence of Athens, as they should see fit. But Leocrates, with a supreme contempt for these regulations, and in utter heartlessness, packed up his belongings and sailed away to Rhodes, where he noised abroad the discomfiture of his native city. The Rhodians believed his tale, and stopped shipments of corn and other supplies for Athens—all which I can prove by witnesses.

§ 16. διὰ τέλους] 'throughout,' 'to the end,' a common idiom both in poetry and prose, the root idea being the 'between' (cf. διατελεῖν) that extends right to the end. Sometimes the idea of 'time' is prominent; sometimes rather that of ' thoroughness,' 'completeness,' as Soph. Ai. 685 διὰ τέλους...εὐχὸν τελείωσαι τοῦμον ὅπερ κέαρ, 'pray that my desires may be fulfilled in all fulness' (Jebb): cf. Wunder ad loc.: 'Lobeckius, διὰ τέλους, inquit, ab Hippocrate semper pro διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου dicit affirmat Galenus...sed Sophocles hoc loco pro τελεώς posuit, ut Aesch. Prom. 275 (ὡς μάθητε διὰ τέλους τὸ πᾶν).' But the two ideas often seem to merge into one.

τοῖς αἵτιοι...καὶ δι' οὕς] The persons intended in each case
are identical; but the const. is varied by the substitution of a relative clause for a second adj. or a ptcp. (τοῖς αὐτρίοις καὶ ἀναγκάζονι μὲ π. τ. μ.): cf. Dem, De Cor. § 35 τινες ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τοῦτον λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες καὶ δι’ οὗ ἀπαντ’ ἀπώλετο, F. L. § 132 τὸν ἀπάντην τῶν κακῶν αὐτίον καὶ δὲ εἰλήφατ...τοῦτον ἀφείναι.

γάρ] narrativum (introducing the story): do not translate.

ἐξηφίσατο...κατακομβεῖν] ‘passed a resolution...that they should be brought in,’ is the Eng. idiom, but Gk. in these cases prefers the infin. active (or middle), the subject being understood: cf. e.g. Dem. c. Timocr. § 11 ψήφισμα εἶπεν...’Αριστοφῶν ἐλέοθαι ζητήσας, ‘that commissioners should be appointed.’ The proposer of the decree was Hyperides: cf. infra §§ 36, 37.

tοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς κ.τ.λ.] ‘and that the generals should appoint to the duties of the defence Athenians and others resident at Athens, as they should see fit.’—φυλακάς (acc. plur. of φυλακή), ‘defence duties’ rather than ‘defence forces,’ ‘garrisons,’ though the word is capable of the concrete meaning (cf. custodia): cf. Thuc. VII. 17 ἡ ἐν τῷ Ναυτάκτῳ φυλακῇ (of a squadron of ships), followed immediately by τὴν φ. ποιούμενον (abstract); also III. 114.—τῶν Ἀθηναίων, with τάττειν: partitive gen.—καθ’ ὧ τι...δοκῇ: the usual language where ‘discretionary powers’ are concerned: cf. the familiar παρέδωσαν σφᾶς αὐτοῦ...χρήσθαι ὧ τι ἄν βούλωνται. The phrase looks like a quotation from the actual decree.

§ 17. Α. δὲ τοῦτων κ.τ.λ.] For a similar dereliction of duty, described in similar language, cf. Lysias, xxxi. §§ 8 sqq. (of Philo after Aegospotami) τὰ ἐναντία ἀπασί τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ἐποίησεν...συνεκασάμενος γάρ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς τὴν υπεροπλάν ἐξῆκεν κ.τ.λ.

μετὰ τῶν ὦκετῶν] with κατεκόμισε, ‘with the help of his slaves’: they do not embark with him.

λέμβον...νεῶς] The λέμβος is the small ‘cock-boat’ (τὸ μικρὸν πλοϊάριον, τὸ ἐφόλκιον Hesych.), which L. used to convey his belongings to the larger ναῦς which was ‘already lying off the shore.’ This arrangement would be dictated either by the un-
desirability of bringing his vessel close in, and so attracting notice, or by the impracticability of doing so, as his point of departure is ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς and not εἶσω τοῦ λιμένος, ‘inside the (regular) harbour,’ infra § 55. ἡ ἀκτὴ meant specifically the southern peninsula of the Piraus: ἐπιβαλαττόντως τις μοῖρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Harpocr.

μετὰ τῆς ἐταλφασ] unimportant, but ‘showing the man’ (Rehd. ad loc.).

διὰ τῆς πυλιδος] ‘through the postern gate’: the walls of Athens, as of other cities, included a number of such ‘posterns,’ as distinct from the main gates (πύλαι): it would be clear to Lycurgus’ hearers, from his narrative, which particular one he meant. So at Torone some of Brasidas’ troops are admitted κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα (Thuc. iv. i. i), Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 8 (of Eleusis).

φυτεο φεύγων] the impf. ptcp. (instead of aorist) with φυτεο suits the highly descriptive passage, and agrees with the impfs. ἀνήγετο...κατελείπεν following.

tὰ τεῖχη...αισχυνώμενος] ‘feeling shame before the walls of his native city’: so infra § 45 οὐδὲ τὰς θήκας παριῶν ἤσχυνθη. The whole passage is a good example of δείνωσις.

διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔρημον...κατελείπεν] ‘which, for his part, he was leaving defenceless,’ another way of expressing ἀ ἔρημα φυλακῆς...κατελείπεν, perhaps with a suggestion of the legal use of the adj., ‘let it go by default.’—τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος: ‘for his part,’ quantum in eo erat. It is interesting to note Lycurgus’ variety of phrase:—(a) here, and infra § 144, τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος, (b) § 97 κατὰ τὸ ἕαυτον μέρος, (c) §§ 26, 147 τὸ καθ’ ἕαυτον, (d) § 78 τὸ τοῦτον μέρος, (e) § 45 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μέρος. Es, among others, lays it down that the three forms recognized by the classicists are (a) τὸ ἐκεῖνον μέρος, (b) τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ, (c) τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν, and would make variants such as τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος, κατὰ τὸ ἕαυτον μέρος, etc. (which he regards as the work of copyists) conform to one or other of the types, by the omission of the prep. or of μέρος, as the case may be. This method, however, does not take sufficient account of the elasticity and
constant change of language; and Rehdantz, in an exhaustive note (App. 2, pp. 128–9), suggests, with more reason, that Lycurgus (like Dinarchus), either for variety or expressiveness, strengthened the more general τὸ κατὰ by the addition of the more definite μέρος.

Δ. τοῦ σωτῆρος... Α. τῆς σωτείρας] The attributes are emphatic and are intended by the speaker to be in telling contrast with L.'s conduct: he could not trust the gods who save to save him.—σωτήρ...σωτείρα, of 'protecting' gods and goddesses respectively, but the masc. form is coupled also with fem. nouns; cf. Aesch. Agam. 664 τόχη σωτήρ, S.C.T. 826 (conj. Dindorf), Soph. O.T. 81.

ἀφορῶν καὶ προδίδοισ'] 'as he viewed from afar [the acropolis, etc.], which he was forsaking,' we should probably say, instead of the co-ordinate const. in the Gk. Rehd. remarks that the order in which the various objects are mentioned (λιμένας, τείχη, etc.) corresponds with that in which they would present themselves to the view of L. as he put out to sea: the last three [Acropolis, Temple of Z. Soter (in the Piraeus), Temple of A. Soteira (near the sea, in the deme Corydallus)] he would 'behold from afar' (ἀφορῶν).

σώσοντας] σώσοντας echoes, of course, τοῦ σωτῆρος...τῆς σωτείρας, and is a somewhat harsh extension of the final use of the future ptcp.: 'to save him.' Cf. infra § 143 ἐπικαλέσται τῶν θεῶν σώσοντας αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.

§ 18. ὁσπερ...εὐαγγελιζόμενος] 'as though he were bringing glad tidings of great good fortune for his country': τῇ πατρίδι depends upon εὐνυχλας. Cf. Ar. Eq. 643 λόγους ἀγαθοὺς εὐαγγελισθαι, Dem. De Cor. § 323 τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος, 'offering my congratulations.'

τὸ ἀστυ τῆς πόλεως] 'the city proper,' πόλεως being a partitive gen. and πόλις including both the ἀστυ or 'upper city' and the Piraeus. The distinction τὸ ἀστυ (ὁ Πειραιεύς is familiar: cf. οἱ εἰς ἄστεοι) (οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, of the parties in the time of the Thirty.
"αλωκός...πολιορκούμενον" 'captured'...'in a state of blockade.' 
Καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Lysias xxxi. § 17 (of Philo) ἐπερευ...οἷς τὰ ύμετρα δυστυχήματα εὐτυχήματα ἐγενόντει, Dem. 
De Cor. § 323 (of Aeschines).

ὁστε τριήρεις πληρώσαντες...κατῆγον] 'that they manned triremes and proceeded to bring merchantmen into port': note the tenses, for which see Goodwin, §§ 36, 143.—κατάγεν τὰ πλοῖα was said of forcing vessels to land (naves vi coactas abducre, quo velimus, Es), either for the purpose of discharging part of their cargo or of extorting dues. This practice on the part of Philip in respect of Athenian corn-ships from the Propontis was a standing grievance against him at Athens, to which we find reference in Dem. (cf. De Cor. § 73). Cf. also Dem. De Pace § 25 καὶ Βυζαντιὸς (sc. ἐώμεν) κατάγεν τὰ πλοῖα, De Chers. § 9 Διωπελθῆς ἀδικεῖ κατάγων τὰ πλοῖα, Adv. Polyel. [or. I.] § 17 Βυζαντίοι...κατάγουσι τὰ π. καὶ ἀναγάζουσι τὸν σῖτον ἐξαιρέσθαι. The alleged conduct of the Rhodians on this occasion, resting, as it did, on the supposed impotence of Athens to prevent it, would no doubt be expected by the speaker to raise considerable invidia on the part of his hearers against L. [Jebb in his rendering of this passage (Attic Orators, vol. II. p. 378) gives: 'that they told off crews for their triremes, and set about launching the vessels,' apparently identifying τριήρεις and τὰ πλοῖα, and taking κατῆγον as καθελικον. This is clearly wrong.]

αὐτοῦ τὸν σῖτον ἔξελοντο...διὰ τοῦτον] 'discharged their corn and other cargo on the spot (αὑτοῦ—adv.), all through L.,' i.e. either they were compelled to do so (cf. previous note), or they did so voluntarily on the assumption (presuming L.'s tale to be true) that they would be unable to make the Piraeus.—διὰ τοῦτον: note the emphatic position of these words, which would be preceded by a slight pause on the part of the speaker.

§ 19. καὶ ὅτι παῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω] 'and in proof of the truth of my statement': for this initial use of ὅτι, 'to prove that,' 'as evidence that,' looking forward to, but not depending directly
upon, a following predicate (here ἀναγνώσται...τὰς μαρτυρίας), see the elaborate excursus of Rehd., App. 2, pp. 129-133.

ἀναγνώσται] sc. ὁ γραμματεύς, 'the clerk of court.'

Φυρκίνου] probably the farmer-in-chief of the πεντηκοστή: see note below.

δν...κατηγορούντα ἐν τῷ δὴμῳ τούτῳ] 'whom most of you know as the accuser of L. before the Assembly': the pres. ptcp. expresses the standing relation, being equivalent to κατηγοροῦν ὄντα or γεγενημένων, in which case κατηγορεῖν = 'to be (have been) some one's prosecutor,' may be compared with ἀδίκειν, 'to be guilty,' τίκτειν, 'be the mother of' (Eur. Ion 1560 ἢδε τίκτει σε): Goodwin, § 27.

ὡς καλ μεγάλα...μετέχουν αὐτῆς] 'on the charge that he had also seriously damaged the 2 per cent. tax, in which he had an interest.'—The πεντηκοστή, at Athens, was a duty of one-fiftieth or 2 per cent. on all imports and exports, imported corn, manufactured commodities, etc. These duties were collected by the πεντηκοστολόγοι (Böckh, Publ. Econ. Ath., pp. 314 sqq.). From an important passage of Andocides, De Myst. §§ 133, 134, it appears that it was customary for a company to lease the tax: at the head of such company was a chief farmer (ἀρχώνης), by whose name it was called. The lease was sold to the highest bidder by the πωληται near the White Poplar (ἡ λεύκη), and is mentioned by Andoc. l.c. as twice realizing 30 talents and once 36 talents. A member of such a company was said μετέχεων τῆς π. (Andoc. l.c. Ἀγώριος γὰρ οὐτοί...ἀρχώνης ἐγένετο τῆς π.... καὶ ἐπιλατὸ τριάκοντα ταλάντων, μετέχον δ' αὐτῶ οὖτοι πάντες κ.τ.λ.). L. had evidently been a member of such a company of farmers as is here described. The 'damage' to the tax would result from his action in holding up, by his alarming news, merchantmen bound for Athens, as described in the previous paragraph.—καλ μεγάλα: καλ, 'also,' 'further,' i.e. in addition to the fact of his desertion, which Lyc. is specially concerned with, though it may also be taken as intensive in force = 'very seriously.'—For the text, see Crit. App.
c. 7. § 20. You are familiar with the various influences which are brought to bear on witnesses to prevent them doing their duty. Request them, therefore, either to give their evidence without fear or favour, or else excuse themselves in the prescribed form.

§ 20. ἀναβαίνειν] Said of a witness who at the trial 'mounts the tribune' (βημα) to acknowledge his evidence as put in at the ἀνάκρισις or preliminary investigation before the archon: see note on ἡ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ...ἐξομόσασθαι infra.

τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρίσιμων] 'the tricks of defendants': παρασκευή is so used constantly by the orators of corrupt practices in getting up or conducting a case: cf. Lysias, xlviii. § i i οὐκ ἄξιον ὑμᾶν τῆς τούτων παρασκευής ἡττᾶσθαι, Isaeus, viii. § 5 παρασκευὰς λόγων, 'fabricated statements,' Dem. xxx. § 3, Aeschin. Ctes. § i, etc. So also παρασκευάζειν and παρασκευάζοντας: Lysias c. Agorat. [or. xiii] § 12 δικαστηρίων παρασκευάζοντας, 'having packed a court for his trial,' Dem. xxix. § 28 μάρτυρισιν ψυχεῖς παρεσκευᾶσθαι, etc.

τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἐξ.] 'the entreaties of those who seek to beg them off': cf. Aeschin. Ctes. § i τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορᾶν δεήσεις, Dem. F.L. § 1 αἱ τῶν παρακλητῶν (advocatorum) δεήσεις.—For ἔξαιτεσθαι, exorare, cf. infra § 139, Lysias, xiv. § 20 ἐὰν μὲν τίνες τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῶν ἔξαιτώνται, Dem. Mid. § 99, etc.

χρημάτων...χάριτος] 'for a fee or as a favour,' i.e. from a desire to oblige. So τὰς χάριτας below. For the various shades of meaning of which χάρις is susceptible, see L.S. s.v.

ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως] gens. of comparison after περὶ πλεονος ποιεῖσθαι, not with τὰς χάριτας: this would be made clear in speaking by a short pause after χάριτας.

ἀποδιδόναι] reddere, 'duly render.'

tάξιν] 'duty,' 'rôle,' a favourite word with Dem. in this sense: 'De Cor. § 138 τὴν ὑπὲρ υμῶν τάξιν, Ibid. § 173 τὴν τῆς εὐνοιας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔπιτον.

ἡ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ...ἐξομόσασθαι] 'or else to take the oath of disclaimer with their hands on the sacrifice.'—All depositions
relative to a case, at Athens, were required to be put in at the preliminary investigation (ἀνάκρισις), and no fresh evidence could be admitted at the actual trial. A person, however, who refused to appear as a witness at the ἀνάκρισις might be required by either of the parties to attend in court on the day of hearing, when he might be called upon to mount the platform (ἀναβαλνεῖν) and either depose to the truth of a written statement drawn up by the litigant and read out by the clerk, or swear that he had no knowledge of the facts as set forth in the document. In case of his refusal to obey, he was liable to a fine of 1000 drachmae. (See Wyse on Isaeus, or. ix. 18. 8, 9.)—A witness who in such cases affirmed his ignorance on oath was said εξωμοσταὶ: Dem. XLV. § 60 ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἡ ἐξομόσασθαι, and his disclaimer was ἐξωμοσταί: Dem. xxix. § 20 μαρτυρεῖν ἡ ἐξομνύειν, F.L. § 176, Isaeus, l.c. The middle, as appears from these exx., is regular in this sense, but the active also occurs: Dem. xxix. § 20 μαρτυρεῖν ἡ ἐξομνύειν, F.L. § 176, where ἐξομνύουσιν immediately follows ἐξήμωσθαι. [Distinguish from this use ἐξομόσασθαι προσβελαν, eivare legationem, 'to decline an embassy on a sworn plea that one has not the means, health, etc. to perform it,' Dem. F.L. §§ 122, 172, and ἐξομνύειν, 'to put in such a plea on behalf of another;' Ibid. § 124 ἐξῷμοσεν ἅρρωστεῖν τουτον.—λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ: a solemn formality accompanying the oath, such as is described e.g. in Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 12 ἀπτομένους τῶν σφαγίων καταμαρτυρεῖν, 'with hand laid upon the sacrifice' (Jebb), Dem. c. Aristocr. §§ 67, 68 (of the accuser before the Areopagus) διομεῖται...στὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τομῶν κάπρου καὶ κριῶν καὶ ταύρου, XLIII. § 14.

κλητεύσωμεν αὐτούς] In respect of the preliminaries to the actual trial, κλητεύειν is said (a) of summoning in the presence of κλητῆρες, i.e. witnesses to the proper service of the summons, Dem. De Cor. § 150 τὸς ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; (b) to act as κλητήρ. In what sense is it said (as here) of recalcitrant witnesses at the actual trial (see previous note)? It seems to be generally understood as ‘to formally summon to depose,’ in other words, to require a witness μαρτυρεῖν ἡ ἐξομόσασθαι. But in the present
passage, and also in [Dem.] LIX. 28 ἀναγκάσω μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξήμωνησαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ κλητεύσομεν αὐτῶν, κλητεύειν is clearly said of witnesses who refuse to do either. The definitions of κλητεύειν in this connexion, and its precise relation to ἐκκλητεύειν, are unfortunately not clear enough to remove all doubt about the procedure. Pollux (8. 37) says: τὸν δ’ οὐ βουλόμενον μαρτυρεῖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἀνάγκη τοῦ μαρτυρεῖν προστιθέντες· ἐδει δὲ αὐτῶν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξημώνησαι ώς οὐκ εἰδείη ἢ μὴ παρεῖη ἢ χιλιας ἀποτίνειν. κλητεύεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἦστι τὸ καλείσθαι εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἐκκλητεύεσθαι δὲ τὸ δίκην ὄφειλεν ἐπί τῷ τὰς χιλιας καταβαλεῖν. Harpocr.: λέγεται δὲ κλητεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκκλητεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν μαρτυρίων, ὅταν μὴ ὑπακούσωσιν πρὸς τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, καὶ ἦστιν ἐπιτίμων κατ’ αὐτῶν δραχμαί χιλια, ὥσ 'Ισαῖος ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Πύθωνος ἀποστάσιον. From Aeschin. i. 47 it would appear that ἐκκλητεύεσθαι was equivalent to τὸ χιλιας ἀποτίνειν (ἐὰν δὲ προαιρήται ἐκκλητευθῆαι, προαιρήσεται χιλιας δραχμᾶς ἀποτίναι τῷ δημοσίῳ). If then we are justified in inferring from Harpocr. that κλητεύειν and ἐκκλητεύειν were said indifferently of the same thing, κλητεύομεν here will mean: 'we shall set in motion against them the recognized machinery for punishing contumacy,' i.e. compel them to pay the prescribed fine of 1000 drachmae. Otherwise it seems necessary to read ἐκκλητεύομεν, with Dobree. [So, in substance, van Es, who says: testes κλητεύονται, i.e. citantur ad testimonium dicendum aut eierandum...cum Lycurgus autem indices oraverat testes iubere dicere aut eierare, nihil reliquum erat, si horum neutrum facerent, nisi eos ἐκκλητεύειν, quare omnino probanda est Dobraei emendatio ἐκκλητεύομεν.]

c. 8. §§ 21–27. When the falsity of his tale was exposed, Leocrates in alarm quitted Rhodes for Megara, and lived there for more than five years under a Megarian patron. How completely he had condemned himself to perpetual exile is shown by the arrangements he made for the disposal of his property and slaves at Athens, for which I shall produce evidence. Worst of all, however, he transported the sacred things of his country
from their consecrated soil and made them to share his exile. All this he aggravated by engaging in the export of corn to foreign places, an act forbidden an Athenian under the most severe penalties. Will you not then condemn him?

§ 21. ἐγένετο...ἀφικνεῖτο] 'when an interval had elapsed... and vessels were keeping arriving': note the tenses.

φοβηθεῖς] 'taking fright': Goodwin, § 55.

προστάτην ἔχων Μεγαρέα] 'with a Megarian as his patron': the practice at Athens whereby a resident alien (μέτοικος) was required to choose a citizen as his προστάτης (cf. patronus), who represented him in the courts and otherwise looked after his interests, appears to have been customary in other states. The μέτοικος was technically said νέμεων προστάτην (whence Es would read νέμων here, but τρ. ἔχειον was also said, Rehd., p. 134): his state was also described as ἐπὶ προστάτου οἰκεῖον: cf. infra § 145, Lysias, XXXI. § 9 ἐν 'ἀρωπῷ μετοίκιον κατατιθέειται ἐπὶ τρ. φίλει.

αἰσχυνόμενος] Cf. supra § 17 οὕτω τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος αἰσχυνόμενοι.

ἐν γειτόνων...μετοικῶν] 'living as a stranger next door to the country that brought him up': ἐν γειτόνων, sc. χώρα or οἶκος, but the phrase, like ἐκ γειτόνων, which some read here, has come to be virtually equivalent to τέλας or πλησιον. Cf. Luc. Philops. 25.


ἐντεῦθεν] in relation to L., from Megara; in relation to the speaker, from Athens. ἐντεῦθεν might mean either, the first being the more likely.

tὸν...ἐχοντα] 'him who had to wife,' a common idiomatic meaning of ἔχω: cf. Thuc. ii. 29 Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω...οδ. ἐξε ἐκ τῆς ἅδελφην Σιτάλκης.

tῶν φίλων] partitive gen.
缓彼祭亚]‘of Xypete,’ a deme of the tribe Cecropis, W. of Athens.

τοῦ κηθετοῦ] ‘his brother-in-law’: the word means ‘a connexion by marriage’ (Lat. affinis) and takes its colour from the context.

ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντου] ‘he sold them for a talent’: πωλεῖν, ‘have for sale’)(ἀποδόσθαι, ‘sell.’

ἀπὸ τοῦτο ‘from’ or ‘with’ this money, sc. ταλάντου.

προσέταξε...όφειλόμενα] The const. is: προσέταξεν (ἀντὶ) ἀποδόθαι τὰ δό. τοῖς χρήσταις, ‘commissioned him to pay his creditors what was owing to them.’

τοὺς ἐράνους διενεγκεῖν] ‘to pay off his loans,’ i. q. διαλύσασθαι (L.S. s.v. διαφέρω).—ἐρανος seems capable of the following meanings: (a) ‘a meal to which each contributes his share,’ ‘a pic-nic’ (cena collaticia), opp. to εἰλαξίνη, Od. I. 226; (b) ‘a subscription,’ for whatever purpose, and especially (c) ‘a contribution’ made by friends to assist a person in difficulties, ‘a friendly loan’ (Antiph. Tetr. A. B. §9 ἐρανον παρὰ τῶν φίλων συλλέξας), which was, however, recoverable at law (Wyse, Isaeus XI. 43): this seems to be the meaning here; (d) figuratively, a ‘contribution’ or ‘offering’ to a cause: Thuc. II. 43 κάλλιστον... ἐρανον αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι, ‘lavishing on the city the tribute of their lives’ (Jebb); (e) a ‘society’ or ‘club’ for social purposes or for mutual relief: such associations gradually acquired a political character and influence, somewhat like the Roman sodalicia and collegia.

τὸ λοιπὸν] ‘the balance.’

§ 23. Ἀχαρνεῖ] ‘of Acharnae,’ one of the best-known Attic demes.

ἀργύριον δὲ...δοῦναι] ‘not being able to pay cash.’

συνθήκας...Λυσικεία] ‘having arranged a bond and deposited it with L.,’ who presumably was a banker (πραγειά): cf. [Dem.] or. XLVIII. §11 'Ἀνδροκλείδην Ἀχαρνέα, παρ' φί κατεθέμεθα τὰς συνθήκας.

μιαν μνάν τόκον ἐφερεν] ‘he paid A. one mina as interest’:
this, if calculated in the ordinary way as so much per mina per month, works out at 2½ per cent. per month or 34½ per cent. per annum, which strikes us as an extraordinarily high rate, especially in a transaction between relatives. The text is generally suspected, and Mätzner’s (Rehd.) ἡμιμναῖον for μιᾶν μνᾶν seems most attractive: ἡμιμναῖος (‘half-mina’) τόκος would accordingly represent about 17 per cent. Other suggestions are: μιᾶν δραχμὴν ἀνὰ μνᾶν Meier, δραχμὴν τῆς μνᾶς Es, μιᾶν τῆς μνᾶς? Blass. [Common rates of interest among the Greeks were 12 p.c. and 18 p.c. per annum (ἐπὶ δραχμῆ, ἐπ’ ἐννέα ὄβολοῖς, respectively, on the per mina per month basis), and the former was considered low].


ἀναγνώσται] Cf. supra § 19 n.

παρειχόμεν] sc. μάρτυρα, as a witness.—ὑμῖν = ἐπειδῇ περ τέθνηκε.—ὑμῖν: ethic dative, or dative of the person interested in the action, common in calling upon witnesses or asking for documents to be read: cf. the familiar καὶ Μυλ λέγε (λαβέ, ἀνάγνωστ) τὴν μαρτυρίαν, and infra § 114 λαβέ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ ψῆφισμα, etc.—καλῶ: future.

§ 24. ἀπέλαβε] ‘duly received,’ of payment to which a person is entitled, as ἀποθονᾶι is ‘duly pay’ (cf. supra § 20 n.): Xen. Anab. VII. 7. 14 ἀπολ. τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν, Isaeus, ν. § 40 οὐκ ἀπέλαβον α ἐδάνεισαν.

Φιλόμηλος...Μενελαος] two of L.’s creditors.—Χολαργεύς: ‘of Cholargus,’ a deme of the Acamantid tribe.—ὁ πρεσβευόμεν ὦς βασιλέα: the occasion of the embassy is uncertain: some refer to Dem. Phil. III. § 71 ἐκπέμπτωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ...ὡς βασιλέα λέγω κ.τ.λ., but this is merely a recommendation.

τὴν Τ.] sc. μαρτυρίαν.

§ 25. ἀγανακτήσαι...μισῆσαι] ‘to get indignant’...‘to conceive a hatred of’; for the force of the aorists, cf. Goodwin, § 55.—τοῦτοι Δ.: οὕτοι usually follows its subst., but sometimes precedes it, as here.
οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε...μόνον ὑπεκθο.] ‘he was not content...merely with removing,’ etc.: Baiter and Sauppe point out that even where μόνον precedes ἄρκει (ἐξάρκει), it is to be joined with the infin. rather than with the impers. verb (Rehd., App. 2, p. 134).—

ὑπεκθέσθαι: technical of removal from the ‘danger zone’ in the case of hostile invasion: cf. infra § 53 ἔχοντος δ’ αἰτίαν τοὺς νεῖς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπεκθέσθαι) (ὑπεκκείσθαι, to be so removed: Her. VIII. 41 ὃς δὲ σφὶ πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, etc.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ...[ἱδρυσάμενοι] ‘but even the sacred things of his family, which, in accordance with your settled practice and hereditary usage, his forefathers bequeathed to him as a permanent trust’ (ἱδρυσάμενοι, lit. ‘having established,’ ‘set up,’ with the intention that they should remain there in perpetuity—that they should not be ‘moved’ from their place (κινήσας infra).—ἱερὰ (with μετεπέμψατο and ἐξύγγαγεν) must mean something concrete, ‘sacred images’: cf. supra § 20 λαβώντας τὰ ἱερά.—πατρῴα...πατριοὶ: the adjs. are usually distinguished as ‘belonging to’ or ‘derived from’ one’s father) (one’s fathers: πατερνὸς) (πατριός, v. L.S. s.v. πατρίος; and the distinction seems applicable here, where τὰ πατρῷα has reference to L.’s own family) (τοῖς πατριοῖς, ‘ancestral,’ ‘hereditary,’ in a general sense. But it is doubtful whether any of the canons which have been laid down regarding πατρῷος, πάτριος, πατρικὸς is of universal application: the first two especially are sometimes hard to separate. Bekker, Anec. I. p. 297 (quoted by Sandys on Isocr. Ad Dem. § 2) lays it down: πατρῷα λέγονσιν οἱ ἰθορεῖς χρήματα καὶ κτήματα καὶ τόπους, πάτρια δὲ τὰ ἐθνη καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς ἐορτάς, πατρικῶν δὲ φιλον ἢ ἐχθρῶν.

μετεπέμψατο εἰς Μ.] ‘sent for them (and had them brought) to Μ.’: a ‘pregnant’ const.

οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμῶν...φοβηθεῖς] “not dreading even the appellation of ‘family images,’” i.e. the sanctity implied in their very name: τῶν πατρῷῶν ἱερῶν is a gen. defining ἐπωνυμῶν.—

ὁτι introduces the motive for his fear: ‘in that,’ etc.

κινήσας] The verb is specially said of ‘removing from its
place,' 'tampering with,' anything sacred: cf. Her. vi. 134 (of Miltiades at Paros) ὑπερθορόντα δὲ λέων ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον...ἐλτε κυνήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων ἐλτε κ.τ.λ., Thuc. iv. 98 (of the Athenians using the sacred water at Delium), ii. 24 (of applying a special reserve of money to other than the original purpose).

ιδρύσθαι] Bekker (Blass, Thalh.), for ιδρύσασθαι of the mss. (Rehd.), brings the three infinitives into line (all passive), though ιδρύσασθαι is quite defensible.—ἐπὶ ξένης: sc. γῆς, 'on foreign soil.'

ὁθνεία τῇ χώρᾳ κ.τ.λ.] 'alien to the country and to the rites sanctioned by custom in the Megarian community.' ὁθνείως, rather a rare word) (οἰκεῖος: cf. Harpocr. s.v. ὦσαι εὖ τῷ κατὰ Στρατοκλέους [or. iv. 18] ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄλλοτρου ὡς καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν α' Νόμων, Plat. Protag. 316 c τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συνουσίας καὶ οἰκεῖων καὶ ὁθνείων, Ἱέρ. ν. 470 B τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον καὶ αὐγγενές, τὸ δὲ ἄλλοτριον καὶ ὁθνεῖον.

§ 26. τῇ Ἀθηναί] depending upon ὦμὼνυμον following. For the reading, see Crit. App.

ὡς τὴν χώραν ἐλληχυκῇ] 'on the ground of her having received the country as her portion': λαγχάνω is thus used, esp. in the perf., of the tutelary deity of a place: cf. Her. vii. 53 θεοῦ τοῦ Περσίδα γῆν λεκχχασί, Plat. Tith. 23 D ἡ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἔλαχε (of Athena). Here, and in other passages relating to Athena, there may also be a suggestion of the traditional contest between the goddess and Poseidon for the possession of the Acropolis (Her. viii. 55).

ὁμώνυμον] From another point of view, A. was the 'eponymous' goddess of Athens: cf. the 'eponymous heroes' and supra § 1 τοῦ ἡρώου...ιδρυμένοις n.

ἐγκαταλιπωσα] The 'vivid' subj. is especially appropriate here, of a purpose that was to hold good for all time: Goodwin, § 318.

τὸ καθ' ἓντον] Cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος n.

ἐξαγῶγιμον ὑμῖν...ἐποίησε] 'made the very help of heaven one of your articles of export': ὅμων, which it is difficult to give
force to in translating, may be described either as an ethic dat. or as a dativus incommodi.—τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν β.: cf. supra § 15 τὴν παρ' ύμῶν...τιμωριαν n.

tοσαντα καλ τηλωντα] cf. supra § 2 n.

ἀφορμῇ] 'as his working capital': cf. Dem. Pro Phorm. [or. xxxvi] § 11 εἰ ἦν ίδια τις ἀφορμῇ τουτῷ πρὸς τῇ τραπέζῃ, 'any private capital at the bank.'

Κλεοπάτρας] Sister of Alexander the Great, and wife of Alexander of Epirus, who was also her maternal uncle. It was at her marriage that Philip was murdered (336 B.C.). During the absence of her husband on his campaigns in Italy, she apparently acted as regent.

Δευκάδα] Leucas was an island (since the time of the Cypselids, c. 625 B.C.), originally a peninsula, off Acarnania in N.W. Greece (now S. Maura).

§ 27. τούτων] neut., and referring to the clause ἐὰν τις...ὡς ὑμᾶς. τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωριᾶς...σιτηνηγησῇ] As Athens, acc. to Böckh, Public Economy of Athens, p. 81, was dependent upon sea-borne corn to the extent of at least a third of her consumption, it was natural not only that the exportation of corn from Attica should be forbidden, but that stringent supervision should be exercised over the sale and distribution of what was imported. This was managed by a board of fifteen σιτοφόλακες, five of whom seem to have been charged with the duty of keeping a register of the imports of corn at the Piraeus (Dem. Lept. § 32 ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν σιτοφ. ἀπογραφῆς): cf. also Ibid. § 31 πλειστῷ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρῶπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκησθι σίτῳ χρῶμεθα (where it is remarked that half the amount came from the coasts of the Pontus), De Cor. § 87. Rehdantz remarks that jurists must decide whether these corn-laws, the breach of which was subject to the special process known as φάσις, held good for L. at Megara.

ἐπειτα] 'then,' 'after all this,' characteristically (cf. etra) introducing a question at the end of an argument which is thought to make the answer self-evident: cf. infra §§ 115, 121, 148.

ὑπὸ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ] cf. supra § 2.
NOTES

§ 28. [\(\text{dp}'\)] \(\text{dp}'\) denotes 'subjective consequence' (Madvig, § 257. c): 'it follows that,' 'well then.'

C. 9. §§ 28–30. To show you the fairness of my procedure, I challenged the defendant to allow his slaves to be tortured—one of the fairest and most reliable means of ascertaining the truth in a case of this kind. Leocrates, however, convicted by his own conscience, declined the challenge, and stands self-condemned by his refusal.

§ 28. kal τοάτα δέ...ἐμοῦ] 'and this action too on my part,' etc.: for kal...δέ used for emphasis and enclosing, as here, the emphatic word, cf. Dem. Ol. III. § 15 kal πράξαι δέ δυνήσεσθε, 'and you will be able to act too,' Phil. III. § 70 εγώ νη Δ' ἐρώ, kal γράψω δέ, 'and, what is more, I'll move': Madvig, § 229. a, 'kal being both and and also, the Greek was obliged to have recourse to δέ to express and also....In Attic, the word that has the emphasis comes between.'—τοάτα: here prospective, referring to the account of the challenge which follows. (so often ἐκεῖνο).—ἐμοῦ, with τοάτα: this use of the gen. = 'in me (you, etc.),' 'on my (your, etc.) part,' is very idiomatic of something that one praises, blames or wonders at on the part of another: cf. Thuc. i. 84 το βραδῦ, δ μεμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, Plat. Αρισ. 17A μάλιστα αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν κατηγόρων) ἐν ἔθαύμασα, Ιδι. 17 B τούτῳ μοι ἐδοξεν αὐτῶν ἀνασκυνθητον εὐνα. Sometimes the pronominal subject or object is replaced by a sentence, as in Xen. Mem. i. 1. 12 kal πρῶτον μὲν Σωκράτης αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν τὰ μετέωρα ἐρευνώντων) ἐσκόπει, πτερά ποτε νομίσαντες κ.τ.λ., 'the first thing he considered in (about) them was, whether' etc.

kal τούς μάρτυρας κ.τ.λ.] 'and that the witnesses should submit to a test of veracity before, and not after, they give their evidence in court. Now I made them (αὐτῶς, 'the opposite side') a challenge, in writing, referring to all these points, and claiming to put the defendant's slaves to the torture.'—The evidence of slaves under torture was considered to be (or rather, perhaps, was made out to be—see infra) of great value in Greek law-courts; and it was customary for a litigant to challenge the
other side to allow his slaves to be tortured, or to offer his own slaves. Such challenge was made in the presence of witnesses, and frequently in writing (γράφας). The challenger was said προκαλεσθαι εἰς βάσανον; to accept the challenge was δέχεσθαι τὴν πρόκλησιν, τὴν βάσανον; to decline it was φεύγειν τὴν π., τὴν β., τὸν Ελεγχον; to offer one’s slaves for torture, δίδοναι, παραδίδοναι, εἰς β.; to call for the other’s slaves, ἔξαίτειν; to comply with the demand, ἐκδίδοναι; to have slaves so given up, παραλαμβάνειν. When the speaker says that ‘the witnesses should submit to a test of veracity before, and not after, giving evidence,’ he means that they should come into court with their evidence supported by that of slaves previously obtained under torture. In that case they might be regarded as having already passed the test of veracity (δεδωκότας): otherwise such test would be merely prospective (δῶσοντας)—in the shape of a possible trial for perjury (ψευδομαρτυριῶν). For a close parallel to the whole passage, cf. Isaeus, VIII. § 10 Βουλόμενος οὖν πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχοντι μάρτυσιν Ἐλεγχον ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν [the facts in dispute], ἢν μᾶλλον αὐτῶς [the witnesses] πιστεύτηκε μὴ μελλοντι δώσειν Ἐλεγχον ἀλλ’ ἤδη δεδωκόσι περὶ ὧν μαρτυροῦσι, τούτους [my opponents] ἧσουν ἐκδόθην τάς θεραπείας καὶ τῶν οἰκέτας περὶ τε τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀπάντων οὐσα τυχαίνουσι συνειδὼτες, and the whole section §§ 10–13 of Isaeus with §§ 28–30 of Lycurgus.—προφυλασάμην...πρόκλησιν: πρόκλησιν is an internal acc. with προφυλάξαι, though partly also with γράφας: cf. [Dem.] ΛΙΠ. § 22 περὶ τῆς προκλήσεως...ἀν οὖτοι τ’ ἐμὲ προφυλάξαμεν καὶ ἐγὼ τούτους.—ἀυτοῦς, which in its context would most naturally be referred to τοῦ ἐμάρτυρα προκαλεσθαι is not said of witnesses), must mean generally ‘the defence,’ ‘the opposite side’ (L. and his slaves—Rehd., Sofer). [Dobree’s αὐτὸν, which is attractive and would seem to mend matters, is difficult with τοῦτον following.]

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§ 29. ἀκοῦτε] The pres. is so used, in reference to a document, decree, etc. which has just been read, with the force of a perf., as we too may say, 'Gentlemen, you hear (have heard) the evidence': so infra §§ 37, 115, 121.

ἀμα...οὐκ ἐδέχετο...καὶ κατεμάρτυρε] lit. 'no sooner did L. decline... than he bore witness against himself,' i.e. by declining... he bore witness, etc.: cum noluit, se damnavit. Cf. infra § 50, Isocr. Paneg. § 119 ἀμα γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστεροῦμεθα καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀρχὴ τῶν κακὼν ἐγέρνετο, 'the loss of our ἀρχὴ ('dominion') was the ἀρχὴ ('beginning') of troubles for the Greeks.'

ὁ γὰρ...ἐλέγχον φυγῶν κ.τ.λ.] 'for he who has declined the test afforded by the examination of his accomplices has admitted the truth of the articles of impeachment': ἐλέγχον φεύγεων is technical in this connexion: cf. supra § 28 n., Antiph. De Chor. § 27 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμοὶ προκαλουμένου οὖτοι ἦσαν οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν ἐλέγχων, Dem. Adv. Ἄρηδ. [or. xxix] § 5 ἐπιδείξα...πεφυγοῦτα τούτων τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτους ἐλέγχους.—τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων: see Crit. App.

δημοτικάτατον] rather a hard word to translate: the root idea is no doubt 'most in keeping with the spirit of democracy,' which to the Athenian was the ideal government: δημοτικός: χαλρων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, says schol. on Aeschin. 'Ctes. § 169. Thuc. (VI. 28) (of Alcibiades) speaks of τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ...οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομάζειν, 'his general contempt for the law, so opposed to the spirit of democracy' (Dale), and Dem. (De Cor. § 6) describes Solon as εἶναι σὺν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικὸς, where Drake suggests 'a friend of the democracy,' 'a lover of equality.'

ὅταν οἰκεῖαι ἢ θεράπαιναι...πιστεύειν] συνείδώσαν α. δει, sc. εἰδέναι, 'are in possession of the requisite knowledge' (for establishing the facts in dispute).—ἐλέγχειν καὶ βασανίζειν: hendiadys, 'to examine them by torture.'—τοῖς ἔργοις...τοῖς λόγοις: a somewhat harsh extension of the familiar λόγῳ...ἔργῳ antithesis, τοῖς ἔργοις again referring to the evidence of slaves as
something that has been established 'by deeds' (i.e. by the physical test of torture), whereas that of free witnesses is substantiated only 'by words' (τοὺς λόγους).—For similar commonplaces on the value of torture, cf. esp. Isaeus, viii. § 12 (already referred to), where the speaker asserts that, while free witnesses have been known to give false evidence, τῶν δὲ βασινυσθέντων οὐδὲνες πώποτε ἔξηλεγχευσάν ώς οὐκ ἄληθή <τὰ> ἐκ τῶν βασάνων εἰπώντες, Dem. xxx. § 37 (practically a repetition of the Isaeus passage), Isocr. Trapez. § 54. Against these appraisements of the orators must be set the following practical considerations:—

(a) The evidence of a slave so obtained was not necessarily good, as the slave, in such circumstances, unless unusually obstinate and unless the fear of what might happen to himself afterwards at the hands of his master outweighed the physical pain of the moment, would give the answers which he saw his torturers desired (cf. the instructive passage in Antiph. De Caed. Herod. §§ 31, 32); (b) the cases where we hear of the torture being actually applied are negligible compared with the challenges: this would seem to argue a mistrust, on the part of Athenian juries, of evidence obtained by the rack; (c) slaves could not be tortured except with their owner's consent and on the conditions which he chose to prescribe, a circumstance which no doubt suggested to a litigant as his proper cue the formulating of such conditions as would almost certainly be refused, and then quoting such refusal as an a priori weakening of his opponent's case at the actual trial. We may therefore conclude that 'challenges were not serious attempts to reach a settlement, but were designed to influence the dicasts. The aim of a challenger was to construct such a proposal as would be refused, in order to be able to denounce his opponent in court for concealing the truth from fear of revelations; the opponent sought to turn the tables by an inconvenient counter-challenge, and both sides recited to the judges commonplaces on the use of torture as an instrument to elicit truth.' (Wyse, Companion to Greek Studies, § 421.)
§ 30. τοσοῦτον ἀφέστηκα τοῦ...ποιήσασθαι, ὃσον] ‘tantum abest, ut faciam, ut’ (Sofer).

τοίς ἵδιοῖς κυνόνους] ‘at my own personal risk,’ because the challenger, apparently, had to indemnify the owner of the slaves for any injury they might sustain through the torture: cf. [Dem.] LIX. 124 ἥθελον...εἶ τι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων βλαφθείναι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποτίνεν ὅ τι βλαφθείναι.

ἐν τοίς...οἰκέταις...τῶν ἐλεγχον γενόσθαι] ‘that the test (i.e. the means of discovering the truth) should consist in (should be furnished by) the torture of L.’s slaves’: they were to be the instruments by which the truth was to be ascertained: for this use of ἐν, cf. [Dem.] XLVII. § 16 έθέλεις ἐν τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν ἐλεγχον γέγενασθαι, XLIX. 55 ἥξιον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν δέρματι τὸν ἐλεγχον διδόναι. So more generally Thuc. vii. 11 ἡ πραξάντα...ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς λατε, 'ye know...by letters,' etc.—τοίς...βασανοθείς: the slaves, though of different genders, are grouped together in the masc. as a single idea: cf. τοστοὺς of the preceding section.

διδ τὸ συνειδέναι ἐαυτῷ] practically ‘because of his guilty conscience’: usually συνείδα has a supplementary participle either in nom. or dat.: Plat. Ἀρ. 21 θ. σ. ἐμαυτῷ σοφός ὦν, Ἱβ. 22 c οὐδέν ἐπισταμένως, or an acc.: Ar. Θεσμ. 477 σύνωθ' ἐμαυτῷ πολλά δεινά, Dem. 1472. 16 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὔνους ἐμαυτῷ σ.

ἐφυγε] sc. τὴν βάσανον or τὸν ἐλεγχον, as above.

τῶν γενομένων...κατεψεύσαντο] ‘would far more readily have denied some of the facts than invented a false tale to the prejudice of their own master,’ and so he should have had all the less reason for refusing the challenge. The slaves would be deterred from the latter course by the damage it would do to their prospects of freedom: cf. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. §§ 31, 32.

c. 10. §§ 31–35. Leocrates will exclaim that he is an amateur who is being swept off his feet by the cleverness of the professional speaker; yet with strange inconsistency he has elected to come before a court which is liable to be influenced by the

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tricks of rhetoric rather than give up his slaves, who would have been proof against such devices. His reason can only be that he is afraid lest the convicters and the convicted be forthcoming from the same house. If he admits the truth of the indictment, he must be punished; if he denies it, why does he refuse to surrender his slaves? His rejection of a fair offer is tantamount to a confession of guilt.

§ 31. χωρίς τούνν τούτων] “now ‘apart from’ or ‘besides’ all this”: cf. infra § 56.

Δ. ἀναβοήσεται κ.τ.λ. ‘L. will be immediately crying out that he is a mere layman, and that he is being swept off his feet by the cleverness of the professional speaker and vexatious prosecutor.’—ιδιώτης: here, as often, of one who has no professional knowledge, ‘a layman’ as we say)(ῥήτωρ, a ‘professional’ speaker: cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 11 τῶν λόγων τοῖς υπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχοντι καὶ λαοὶ ἀπηκριβωμένους, ‘speeches which are too highly elaborated and beyond the range of ordinary hearers,’ Thuc. ii. 48 καὶ λατρῶς καὶ ἰδιώτης, vi. 72 ἰδιώτας, ὡς εἰπεῖν, χειροτέχναι ἀνταγωνισμένους (of the Syracusan seamen as opp. to the Athenians).—τοῦ ρήτορος: the article marks the class—‘the professional speaker’—and the word has perhaps the slightly unfavourable sense which is attached to it at the three places where it occurs in Thuc. (III. 40, vi. 29, VIII. 1), and freq. in Isocr., e.g. Panath. § 12, De Pace § 129, though in these passages the reference is mainly to the regular speakers in the Assembly.—συκοφάντου: cf. supra § 13 n.—δευνότητος: esp. of ‘cleverness’ in an orator, ‘rhetorical skill’: Thuc. III. 37 δευνότητι καὶ εὐνέσεως ἀγῶνι ἑπαρμένους, Dem. De Cor. §§ 242, 277, Isocr. Ad Dem. § 4 τὴν δ. τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ‘oratorical power.’—ἀναρρατόμενος: the vb. occurs several times in Dem. [Mid. §§ 120, 124; [Dem.] Phil. IV. § 18] in the sense of being ‘carried off by force’ (before a magistrate, to prison, etc., rapi in ius), and it may possibly partake of this meaning here: probably, however, the sense is more general, ‘that he is being annihilated’: cf. Aeschin. Cles. § 133 (of Thebes) ἐκ μέσης τῆς
'Ελλάδος ἀνήρπασται, ‘has been extirpated,’ ‘blotted out,’ de medio sublata.

συκοφαντεῖν] Cf. supra § 13 καὶ τῶις διώκουσιν ἡκιστα συκο-
φαντεῖν n.

ἄμα...προαίρεσθαι καὶ ἕκτειν] ‘in choosing this rôle (i.e. that
of the συκοφάντης), to seek,’ etc.

χωρία] in the rhetorical sense, ‘themes,’ ‘topics,’ i.e. τόποι, Lat. loci, somewhat as at Thuc. i. 97 τῶις πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπασων
ἐκλυτες τοῦτο ἢν τὸ χωρίον, ‘this subject,’ ‘department.’

ἐν οἷς...ποιήσονται] final, ‘in which they can practise.’

παραλογισμοῦς: ‘false reasonings,’ ‘quibbles,’ divided by Aristot
le into ol παρὰ τῶν λέξων (verbal) and ol εξω τῆς λεξος
(material): Soph. Elench. 4. 9 sqq.

τῶν...τάς κρίσεις ἐνυπαμένων] Cf. Dem. De Cor. § 4 ὁ τοιου-
τόν ἄγων ἐνυπαμένος, and, passively, ὁ νῦν ἐνυπαμένων ἄγων,
supra § 7.

ταῖς ἀπαίσ] ‘the curses,’ such as the herald recited against
traitors and corrupt advisers before sittings of the Assembly:
cf. Dem. F.L. §§ 70, 201, etc.

τοὺτοις] neuter, acc. to Rehd., but the masc. (sc. τοῖς δεινωὶ
cal συκοφ. ἐπιχειροῦσι) is certainly defensible.

ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς] sc. ποιοῦμεν.

§ 32. παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς] apud vosmet ipsos: indicantis.

τίνας ἄδυνατον ἢν] The impf. is probably potential in force:
‘whom would it have been impossible?,’ ‘who might have been
expected to be proof against being misled?’ Goodwin, § 416.

ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ λόγου] ‘the tricks of speech’
cf. supra § 20 τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρινομένων n., Dem. Mid.
§ 191 ἐσω καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ’ ἑρεῖ, ὡς ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρασκευασμένα
πάντα λέγω νῦν.

κατὰ φύσιν] with ἐμελλόν φράσειν, ‘they would naturally have
told the truth.’

παραδοθεῖν ἐφύγει] ‘shrank from surrendering’: cf. Antiph. i.
§ 13 ἐφευγὼν τῶν πραξθέντων τὴν σαφῆνειν πυθόθαι, Plat.
Apol. 26 A συγγενέσθαι...καὶ διδάξατι ἐφύγεις: with μή, Soph.

7—2
Ant. 263 ἐφευγε μὴ εἰλίναι, 'denied knowledge of the deed.'—
akal ταύτα οὐκ ἄλλατρίους: 'and that although they were not
another's': concessive. Cf. supra §12 kal ταύτα κάλλιστον
ἐχουντες...παράδειγμα.

§ 10 αὐτῶς ταῖς εὐφυμιαίς καὶ ταῖς συμμετρίαις ψυχαγωγοῦσι τοὺς
Leoch. [or. XLIV] § 63 ταῖς κολακείαις οἱ πλείστοι ψυχαγωγοῦ-
μενοι...ποιητοὺς ὑεῖς ποιοῦνται. In a rather different application,
rhetoric is defined by Plato (Phaedr. 261 a, 271 c) as a
ψυχαγωγία, 'a winning of men's souls,' 'persuasion.'

τὴν ύγρότητα...τοῦ ἰδίου] 'their pliability of temper': so
also ὑγ. ἑξεως, Plut. 2. 68ο. For ὕγρος in the metaph. sense=
mollis, facilis, cf. Plut. Mar. 28. 1 ὕγρος τις ἐναὶ βουλήμενος καὶ
δημοτικὸς, Sull. 30. 5 πρὸς οὐκοῦν ὕγρος, Peric. 5. 3 τὸ Κλιμωνος
ὕγρον, 'his good humour,' 'complaisance.'

εἰς ἐλεον προαγάγεσθαι] So Her. II. 121. 24 ἐς γελωτα
προαγάγεσθαι, 'to move to laughter.'

ἐνταύθα] with ἐλήλυθεν, 'here,' 'to this court,' εἰς τῶν δικαστάς.
For ἐνταύθα used where motion is implied, cf. Her. v. 72 οὐ
θεμιτὸν παρίειν ἐνταύθα, Aesch. Pers. 450 ἐνταύθα πέμπει,
Plat. Theaet. 187 ν ἐνταύθα προελήλυθας.

οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἣ] an unusual variant for the commoner οὐδὲν
ἀλλο ἣ, from which it does not appear to differ in meaning:
'simply and solely because he feared.' Lyc. seems to affect
variations of the οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἣ idiom: cf. infra § 92 οὐδὲν πρότερον
ποιοῦσιν ἣ, § 129 οὐδὲν πρότερον ἄδικοῦσιν ἣ, which the editors
usually emend.

ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας] sc. from his own.
οἱ ἐξελέγχοντες τῷ ἐργῷ] sc. οἱ οἰκέται.

προφάσεων ... λόγων ... σκήψεως] 'pretexts...pleas...excuses.'
For προφασις, cf. supra §6 η. The first and the third are
conjoined by Dem.: F.L. §100 σκήψεις καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεῖ;
Mid. § 41 ποια πρόφασις, τίς ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ μετρα σκήψις φανείται
τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; The combination of the three, as Rehd.
NOTES

§ 35]  remarks, is probably intended to lead up to the triple-headed asyndeton immediately following.

άπλοῦν τὸ δίκαιον, κ.τ.λ.] The asyndeton belongs to the elevated style, and its ‘gnomic’ character (γνώμη, ‘maxim,’ sententia) imparts a touch of θέσις (ἡθικὸν ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον, indicates the character of the speaker) (Rehd. ad loc.). We may compare generally the famous passage of Eur. Phoen. ll. 469 sqq.

άπλοῦς ὁ μύθος θῆς ἀληθείας ἐφι,
καὶ ποικίλων δεὶ τάνδιξ’ ἐρμηνευμάτων.

and Cicero, De Off. i. 13 quod verum est, idem simplex est.

§ 34. δοσια] stronger than δίκαιον: Lyc. applies the standard of fas, he is not content merely with ius.

τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωριάς] cf. supra § 4 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτιμίοις.

προσήκει] a general statement: προσήκειν (Blass) would refer to the particular case of L.

τὸν ύπέρ πρ. κυνινεύοντα] ‘a man who is on his trial for treason’: κυνινεύω here of the peril connected with a judicial sentence, cf. periculum, O.E. danger.—For ύπέρ προδοσίας, cf. supra § 7 ύπέρ οὐ...μέλλετε τὴν ψήφον φέρειν n.

παραδίδοναι] sc. τοῖς οἰκέταις as obj.—βασανίζειν: ‘to be tortured’: Goodwin, § 770.

§ 35. καταμεμαρτυρηκός] concessive.

καὶ πῶς] introducing an objection, with a suggestion of incredulity or absurdity: cf. Soph. O.T. 1019 καὶ πῶς ὁ φώς ἐξ ἱσοῦ τῷ μηδένις;

τὸν τὴν ἐξουσίαν...περιηγημένον] ‘a man who has robbed himself of the privilege of defence by declining a fair offer, as well as by many other means’: cf. Dem. F.L. § 220 καὶ μύνον οὐ τὴν ‘Ἀττικὴν ύμῶν περιήγημαι, ‘have all but robbed you of Α.’—τοῦτον: for the resumptive pronoun, rather a favourite const. with Lyc., cf. infra §§ 46, 82, 93, etc.—ὑπέρ: cf. supra §§ 7, 9.

c. 11. §§ 36–45. The desertion of Leocrates was aggravated by the pitiable plight of Athens after Chaeronea—Athens, once
the arbitress of Greece, 'now none so poor to do her reverence.'
But the defendant shirked personal service at a crisis when even
the dead might be said to be contributing to the defence of the
city: did not even help to bury the men who fell at Chaeronea.
Who then would acquit him?
§ 36. μεν οὖν [μεν οὖν (like μεν δή, and often μεν alone, cf.
Thuc. vii. ad fin. ταῦτα μεν τα περὶ Σικελίαν γενόμενα) indicates
that a definite stage in the argument has been concluded, and
that fresh ground is to be broken. The speaker assumes the
fact of L.'s offence to have been established: he now proceeds,
with a good deal of ἀδέξης (‘amplification’) and δείησις
(‘rhetorical heightening’), and by numerous digressions (παρεκ-
βάσεις) covering a wide field (ancient history, ancestral usage,
legend, the poets, Sparta, etc.), to emphasise the seriousness of
the offence and to marshal an array of precedents for its condign
punishment.

οτί ομολογούμενον ἐστιν] lit. 'that it is an admitted thing':
stronger than ομολογεῖται.

μεμαθηκέναι] 'that you have been instructed': μανθάω acts
as pass. of διδάσκω.

ἐν οἷς δὲ καρποῖς...οὐσαν...προδεδωκέν] 'I wish to remind
you) of the gravity of the crisis and the magnitude of the perils
which beset the city when L. deserted it': the stress, as often,
falls on the ptcp., which is impf. in tense. The trans. offered
does not fully represent προδεδωκέν, which combines both past
and present elements: ἐν οἷς καρποῖς ἡ πόλις ἤν (a) ὅτε Λ. προδ-
δωκέ, (ὁ) ὡς προδότης ἐστίν.

λαβὲ...ἀναγγέλωσκε] 'λαβὲ statim et celeriter peragendum, ἀνα-
γγέλωσκε aliquid temporis postulat,' Schoemann (Isaeus, p. 236).

'Υπερείδου] Hyperides, 'the Sheridan of Athens' (Jebb),
was a contemporary of Lycurgus and Demosthenes, and a
vigorous supporter of the latter's anti-Macedonian policy both
before and after Chaeronea. After the death of Alexander, he
was closely concerned with the so-called Lamian War, and
pronounced the funeral oration (of which considerable fragments
survive) on the general Leosthenes and the Athenians who fell with him. When Antipater (after the battle of Crannon) demanded the surrender of the leaders of the war party, Hyperides fled, but was captured and put to death, 322 B.C. Six of his speeches (including the Funeral Speech above mentioned), mostly in fragments (that For Euxenippus entire and that Against Athenogenes nearly so), have been discovered among Egyptian papyri at various times from 1847 onwards.

§ 37. ἀκούετε cf. supra § 29 ἀκούετε... τῆς προκλήσεως π.

τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ π.] the language is official, and also distinctive: ‘the council of the 500’ (ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἢ ἑτ᾽ Ἀρελον πάγον, supra § 12. A still fuller designation was ἡ β. οἱ π. οἱ λαχώντες τῷ κνάμῳ. For the apposition, cf. Lysias c. Agorat. § 35 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν διαχρισοί, etc.

καταβαίνειν] i.e. from ἡ ἄνω πόλις (ἀστυ): cf. supra § 18 τὸ ἀστυ τῆς πόλεως π.

χρηματισοῦσαν] ‘to consult about,’ agere, a technical word of official bodies, ἐκκλησία, πρυτάνεις, στρατηγοῖ, etc.) (χρηματισοῦσαν, ‘transact business to one’s profit,’ ‘make money.’

πράττειν... ὁ τι ἡν δοκῇ] ‘take such measures...as should be deemed advantageous,’ etc.: the editors compare with this (no doubt a quotation from the actual ἑφύρωμα), the terms of the Roman senatus consultum ultimum, ‘videant consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.’—διεσκευασμένην: ἠτοιμασμένην Hesych., habitu militari, practically = ἐν τοῖς δίπλοις: Aeschines indeed combines the two (Cles. § 140) ἐν τοῖς δίπλοις διεσκευασμένοι.

οἱ ἀφεμένοι τοῦ στρ.] Senators, and probably other officials, were excused from military service during their term of office.

μικρὸι καὶ οἱ τυχόντες] ‘slight or ordinary’ is our idiom: for the Gk. usage, cf. χθές καὶ πρόγνη, ‘yesterday or the day before,’ Plat. Apol. 23 ὰπὸ λίγου ἡξία καὶ οὐδὲνος, ‘worth little or nothing.’—For οἱ τυχόντες, ‘ordinary,’ ‘such as may happen to any one,’ cf. infra § 62 ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων, Aeschin. Cles. § 250 οὗ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἄλλᾳ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων κ.τ.λ.

§ 38. ἐν οἷς] sc. φόβους, ‘Yet it was then,’ we should say.
ἐξεκόμισε...μετεπέμψατο] ‘fetched out’ (with his own hands)...
‘had them brought.’ — <τά> ἵππα τά πατρωά, cf. supra § 25 n.
κατὰ τήν τούτου προαιρεσῖν] ‘if L. had had his way,’ lit.
‘according to his deliberate purpose’: ἦ προαιρεσὶς is the
characteristic of moral action in Aristotle’s Ethics.

νασ[] so the MSS. here, but oi νεώ, τοὺς νεός elsewhere (cf.
supra §§ 1, 25; infra §§ 43, 143, 147): cf. the interchange of
γονεῖς and γονέας, supra § 15 n. The more archaic form heightens
the effect of a passage marked by δείνοις: see also Crit. App.

ἐρημοὶ δ’ αἱ φ. τῶν τεῖχῶν] ‘the walls would have been left
defenceless’ we may render, but the Gk. really is, ‘the defence
(or rather ‘defence forces’) of the walls would have been left
unprovided for’: cf. supra § 16 τάτιν εἰς τάς φυλακὰς τῶν Ἀθη-

ναλῶν n.

ἐξελευπτό] The plupf. denotes the state resulting from L.’s
action: ‘would have been abandoned’ (and so remained).

§ 39. τίς οὔκ ἡν...ἐπιδειδημηκὼς] For ἐπιδημεῖν, cf. supra
§ 14 τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ n. For the sentiment, cf.
[Lysias] Ἐπίταφ. § 40 (of Athens before Salamis) τίς οὔκ ἂν ἑτῶν
ἡλέησεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κυνδύνου; ἦ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἀν ἐδάκρυσεν;

ἐδυνήθη ἢν...ὑπομείναι] Const. ὅστις ἐδυνήθη ἂν ὑπομεῖναι ἴδειν
αὐτὸν ἄτακτον (ὀντα). The expression is no doubt redundant, but
the text is probably sound: Blass (with Corais) reads ὅστις ἂν ἂτ. αὐτὸν ὑπέμεινε ἴδειν.

τῷ <στρατῷ>] with τὸ γεγονός πάθος. For the arrangement
of the words, probably due to a desire to avoid the cacophony

ὁρθῇ δ’ ἦν...ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβ.] ‘and the city—was in a state of
tension in view of what had happened’: for ὁρθῇ = σπε or μετὰ
erecta, cf. Isocr. Philip. § 70 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσαν ὁρθὴν οὖσαν (of
hope), De Big. § 7 ὁρθῆς τῆς πόλεως γενομένης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
αἵτων (of alarm): so Livy, 1. 25 erecti suspensique in minime
gratum spectaculum animo incenduntur.
Technically, the age for military service at Athens extended from 18–60, the first two years (18–20) of which period were spent in service in Attica: from 20–50 a citizen was liable to service outside it. Men above 50 would be a last line of reserves, charged with the defence of the walls in cases of extreme emergency.

§ 40. ὃραν δ’ ἤν licuit videre, ‘one might have seen.’

περιφόρους κατεπτηχυλασ κ.τ.λ.] ‘crouching in terror and asking, Is he alive?—one for a husband,’ etc.: the edd. compare Hom. II. vi. 237 “Εκτωρ δ’ ὡς Σκαῖας τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν Ἱκανεν, ἃμφ’ ἄρα μν Ἱπὼν ἀλοχοὶ θέον Ἰδὲ θυγατρεῖ εἰρήμεναι παῖδάς τε κασιγνήτους τε ἔτας τε | καὶ πόσιας, and Livy, xxii. 7. 7 (of Rome after Trasimene) matronae vagae per vias, quae repente clades allata guæve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percutientur, etc.

ὁρωμένας] This, the mss. reading, seems pointed enough, because it was unusual for Athenian women to be seen in public; esp. in such a plight: among the substitutes suggested are ὅδυρομένας Orelli, ὅρωμένας? Scheibe, ὅρωμένας Rehdantz.

ταῖς ἡλικίαις] a defining dative, cf. majores natu. αἱ ἡλικίαι signified the years embraced by the ‘military age’ at Athens (Harpocr.). [ταῖς ἡλικίαις is due to Suidas (Sch., Bl., Thalh.) and goes well with τοῖς σώμασιν: τὰς ἡλικίας codd. (Rehd.).]

ἐπὶ γῆρως ὅδῳ περιφθ.] ‘hurrying about helplessly, on the threshold that leads from age to death’ (Jebb).—ἐπὶ γῆρας ὅδῳ is a Homeric phrase (II. xxii. 60, xxiv. 487, Od. xv. 348), which is variously interpreted as ‘on the path of old age’ (οὐδὲς = ὅδος, so Leaf on II. xxiv. 487), ‘on the threshold of old age,’ i.e. either (a) ‘at the beginning’ or (b) ‘at the end’ of old age (cf. schol. on II. xxii. 60: ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γῆρως ἔξοδῳ, ἐπὶ τῷ τέρματι, Eustath. ὑπεξίων καὶ πρὸς τῷ θανάτῳ ὅν), which last is undoubtedly the meaning here, as we say ‘with one foot in the grave.’—περιφθειρομένους: cf. Isocr. Ερ. IX. § 10 ἐν ὑάκεσι περιφθειρομένας δι’ ἐνδειαν τῶν ἀναγκαῖων.

διπλὰ θαμάτια [i.e. τὰ θαμάτια] ἐμπεπορπημένους] ‘with their
cloaks pinned about them double’ (predicative adj.). — The ἱμάτια, which was the loose outer garment worn above the χιτών or tunic, was ordinarily held together by the pressure of the arms (esp. the left upper arm) against the body; but it might also be fastened on one shoulder by a fibula (πόρπη) — the method of wearing which we might expect in old age. The pinning of it double, and the consequent shortening of it, would permit a freer use of the limbs (cf. succinctus). [From an interesting passage of Polyaeans, Strategemata, iv. 14, it would seem that the expression was used contemptuously of poor, or poorly equipped, fighters. The passage runs: ‘Polysperchon, when the Peloponnesians were guarding the frontiers, encouraged his men thus. Donning an Arcadian cap (πίλον) and pinning a cloak about him double (τριβωμα διπλοῦν ἐμπορπησάμενος) and taking a stick in his hand, he said: ‘Fellow-soldiers, this is what the men who are going to fight us are like.’ Then discarding these things and assuming his full armour, he said: ‘But those who are going to fight them are like this....’ Whereupon the soldiers asked him to lead them to battle without delay.’] — θαλματὰ ἐμπετ.: for the acc. indüendi et exuendi, cf. Her. VII. 77 Μιλός...εἰματα ἐν-πεπορπέατο.

§ 41. τολλῶν δὲ...γυνομένων...ἡτυχηκότων] concessive.


§ 11 ὅτε Τηρελῆς ἔγραψε, τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἀτυχημάτων... 
γενομένων...εἶναι τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους. The ‘enfranchising of the disfranchised,’ like the other measures, showed the gravity of the crisis: two other such occasions, at least, in Athenian history are cited by Andocides, De Myst. § 107 (before Marathon), § 80 (after Aegospotami).

ὁς] emphatic, ‘that people which.’

αὐτόξθων] The special boast of the Athenians: no eulogy of Athens is complete without the word: cf. the Eur. frag. quoted infra § 100, also Thuc. I. 2 τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν...ἀνθρωποι ὕκουν οἱ αὐτοῖς ἄδι, Ibid. 6; Isocr. Panath. § 124, Paneg. § 24, etc. So also παλαίχθων, Aeschin. Ctes. § 190 (epigram).
NOTES

§ 42. ἐκέχρητο] 'had experienced,' of good or ill fortune: cf. utor.

ωστε πρότερον μὲν...ἐν δὲ τοῖς] 'that whereas she had formerly...she was now content,' etc. So also infra § 115, etc.

αὐτῶν] referring to the collective πόλεισ preceding. [αὐτῆς standing where it would is almost ruled out of court.]

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδιᾶς] Philip, acc. to Dem. De Chers. § 39, was ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, 'the very ground on which it stood': cf. also xxvi. § 11 (quoted above) καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐδαφῶν εἰς κίνδυνον μέγιστον κατακεκλειμένης.

Δ. καὶ Π....βοηθῶν ἐπεκαλοῦντο] The language is no doubt general: specific occasions on which Athenian help was either asked or received were the traditional summoning of Tyrtaeus (cf. infra § 106) during the Second Messenian War, the Helot revolt of 464 B.C. (expedition of Cimon), and the latter part of the Theban hegemony (campaign of Mantinea, 362 B.C.).—οἱ τῆν Ἀσίαν...'Ελληνες: after the Persian invasions, when Athens took the Asiatic Greeks under her protection, and gradually built up the Confederacy of Delos.

tοῦτον ἔδει] For the redundant pronoun, enforcing a preceding subst. (τὸν δῆμον), 'which is separated by a parenthetical clause from the rest of the sentence' (Madvig, § 100. e.), cf. supra § 35 n., infra §§ 46, 82, 93.—Note that the ωστε const., which at first sight would appear to be continued in τὸν δῆμον κ.τ.λ., is replaced by a finite clause: τοῦτον ἔδει τὸ τ' is due to Reiske (Bl., Sofer): οὗτος ἔδειτο τῶν codd. (Sch., Rehd., Thalh.).

ἐξ"Ανδρὸν καὶ Κέω κ.τ.λ.] The comparative insignificance of the places cited would emphasise the necessity which led to their being called upon. Andros and Ceos were islands of the Cyclades, Troezen (Attic, Trozen) and Epidaurus towns of Argolis.

§ 43. τοιοῦτοι...τηλικοῦτοι] Cf. supra § 2 n.

μήτε...μήτε] generic: 'a man who neither...nor.' For the form of the sentence and the negatives, cf. e.g. [Dem.] or. XLII. § 30 ἐπείτα...τὸν οὔτω καταφανῶς ἐν ἄπασιν ἀδίκως πεποιημένον τὴν
άποφασιν, καὶ μῆτε τῶν νόμων φροντίσαντα...μῆτε τῶν ἱδίων ὁμολογῶν...τοῦτον δικαίως ψηφιείςθε πεποιηθοῖ τὴν ἀπόφασιν;

<τὰ> ὀπλα θέμευον] 'look up arms' is the Eng. equivalent of the phrase here: for its various meanings, see L.S. s.v. ἀκόημ, A. ii. 10. The article is rightly supplied in view of the almost universal practice of Greek authors in respect of this phrase: cf. e.g. Her. ix. 52, Thuc. iv. 44, Lysias, or. xxxi. § 14 ὄντι ἐν τῷ Πειραίει ὄντι ἐν τῷ ἀστει ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα (of Philo).


φιλότοπος καὶ εὐσεβεῖν β.] a moral and religious, not a judicial, point of view, as Rehd. well remarks.

κληθεῖς] i.e. as συνήγαγος: 'what advocate would hold a brief for him?' would be our equivalent: cf. Aeschin. ii. 14 ἐκάλεσεν αὐτῷ συνῆγαγον τὸν Δημοσθένην, and the still commoner παρακαλεῖν.

tὸν...τολμήσαντα] Note that the const. is carried on as though ὑ βῆτωρ...βοηθῆσαι did not intervene. The explanation no doubt is that the main emphasis of the question falls upon ἀπολύσειν, the influence of which overrides the following clause and makes it practically a parenthesis.—τὸν οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ: 'the man who did not even...no, nor yet,' a particular case: contrast τὸν μὴ...μὴ above. For οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ, which marks a stronger opposition than οὐτὲ...οὐτὲ, the second negation being usually the stronger of the two ('not even...no, nor yet'), see L.S. s.v. οὐδὲ, A. iii.—τολμήσαντα: 'had the grace to': τολμᾶν is regularly used (cf. ἔτλην in poetry) of overcoming some strong natural inclination towards a course of action opposed to that indicated by the accompanying infin.: Lat. sustineo.
δ' η μεν χώρα] see Crit. App.—τὰ δενδρα...τὰς θήκας...τὰ ὀπλα.—The first would be used for palisades (τῆς χαρακτόσεως below), though in ordinary times the olive trees (of which the speaker is probably thinking) were protected by law; the second for the walls (τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς), as Thuc. i. 93 speaks of gravestones being freely used for the hastily built wall of Themistocles; the third would be 'dedications' (ἄναθήματα), which would be used only under great pressure.

§ 44. οὐκ ἐπτίν ήτις i.q. οὐδεμα. For a discussion of this idiom, see Rehd., App. 2, pp. 137-8.

τειχῶν...τάφρων...χαρακτόσεως] Cf. last note on previous §. "ἐφ' ὁν οὐδενός] ‘in none of which departments': ἐπὶ c. gen. is said of that which one is 'engaged in' or 'set over,' frequent in the designation of officials: cf. ol ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, 'charges d'affaires,' ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, etc. Cf. infra § 58 ἔγενετο ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας.

τὸ σῶμα...παρέσχε τάξαι] 'offered himself for personal service': cf. supra § 43 n.—Δεσφράτης: note the bitter emphasis, conveyed more fully by (no doubt) a short pause before the word in speaking, which falls upon the name by its position at the end.

§ 45. τὸν μηδὲ συνενεγκεῖν...ἀξιόσαντα] 'a man who did not deign so much as to help in collecting the bodies, or even to attend the funeral, of those who,' etc. The first of the two infins. depending upon ἀξιόσαντα seems most naturally to refer, like the second, to 'the men who died at Ch.' In that case, συνενεγκεῖν Ζ [or Ξων—LP (Rehd.)] would have reference (as Rehd. suggests) to the work of bringing the urns together in the market-place, from which the public procession would take place to the Ceramicus (ἐπ’ ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν). συμφέρεων and ἐκφέρεων thus denote two distinct moments in the process of burial, whereas Dobree’s (Bl., Sof.) συνεξενεγκεῖν (which is attractive in the light of Thuc. II. 34 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἡ...ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ο βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων) coincides with ἐπ’ ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν (Rehd., App. 1, p. 108).—See Crit. App.

ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο...γεγενημένων] This would be one of the
speaker's strong cards, when we remember that the burying of those who fell in battle was a most sacred duty to a Greek, and that neglect of it was viewed with peculiar abhorrence: cf. generally Thuc. ii. 34, Xen. Hell. i. 7, Soph. Ant.—For τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μέρος, cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἦν.

ἀν ὁμοιὸς...προσαγορεύων] 'whose very tombs the defendant passed by with never a qualm, when he greeted their country eight years afterwards.' Cf. infra § 142 ἀν ὁμοιὸς οὐδὲ τὰ ἐλεγεία...ἐπανών...ἡδέσθην.—ὁγδῶφ ἔτει: a piece of internal evidence (assuming L. to have been impeached immediately, or shortly, after his return) for the date of the speech (330 B.C.).


c. 12. §§ 46—51. The praises of brave men are a condemnation of men of the opposite character, and should not be neglected at public trials. The heroes of Chaeronea, trusting in their valour rather than in walls of stone, laid down their lives for the freedom of Greece: they were victorious in death and their glory survives them. Those men carried the liberty of Greece in their persons: the liberty of Greece is buried with their bodies. You alone among the Greeks, Athenians, know how to honour the brave, as witness the statues you erect to brave generals and slayers of tyrants rather than to victorious athletes. The signal honours you pay to public benefactors should imply equally signal penalties for public traitors.

[The section summarised above is 'nothing but a condensed funeral speech on those who died at Chaeronea,' the relevancy of which, such as it is, serves merely 'to point the contrast between the patriot and the traitor' (J. F. Dobson, The Greek Orators, p. 278).]

§ 46. περὶ ἃν] sc. τῶν ἐν Χ. τελευτησάντων.

μικρὸν πλεῖω...διελθεῖν] 'I wish to speak at a little greater length.'

ἄλλοτριος εἶναι...ἀγώνων] 'that such topics (as I am going to deal with) are alien to public trials.'—For ἄλλοτριος c. gen.,
§ 47. **NOTES**

alienus ab, cf. Lysias, xxxi. ad fin. επιγευματα...πάσης δημοκρατίας ἀλλότρια, 'practices...alien to every democratic principle.'

—τούς τοιούτους <λόγους> looks forward generally to the 'eulogies' following: τοιούτοι will then be, as sometimes, prospective in force: cf. Thuc. iv. 58 τοιούτους λόγους εἶπεν, 'spoke as follows.'—τῶν δημοσίων ἀγώνων: cf. supra § 7 τῶν δημοσίων ἀγώνας n.—For the text, see Crit. App.

αἱ γὰρ εὐλογιαὶ...ποιοῦσιν] 'for the eulogies of (i.e. 'bestowed upon': obj. gen.) brave men constitute a clear condemnation of those who practise the opposite principles': lit. 'make the ground of conviction (ελεγχον) clear against (κατὰ) them.'


τούτον] resuming and reinforcing τὸν ἐπαινοῦν: cf. supra § 42 τὸν δήμον...τούτον ἔδει n.

ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι] The connexion of thought is: 'as they gave their lives for the safety of the state...so their praise should not be neglected at trials affecting the state.' The state aspect of the matter is strengthened by the addition of δημοσίων to κοινῶν, the latter of which in itself would be a sufficient balance to κοινῷ preceding.

§ 47. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρλοῖς τῆς B.] i.e. at Chaeronea: Thuc. iv. 76 ἐστι δὲ ἡ Χαερώνεια ἔσχατον τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς τῇ Φανότιδι τῆς Φωκίδος. μαχούμενοι] fut. ptcp., 'to fight.'

κακῶς ποιεῖν προέμενοι] terram devastandam relinquentes (Sofer). Cf. supra § 43 τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξιν, etc.


τῶν λιθίων περιβόλων] We may compare the language of Demosthenes in vindicating his policy, De Cor. § 299 οὐ λίθος ἐτελείσα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἑγώ, also Nicias' address to his army at Syracuse, Thuc. vii. 77 ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ τόλμη, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί, and Soph. O. T. 56, 57 ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν
ofe πύργος ofe nauς | ἐρημός ἄνδρῶν. The earliest occurrence of the sentiment in Gk. is perhaps Alcaeus, fr. 23 ἄνδρες πόλης πύργος ἀρείου.

τὴν δὲ θρέψασαν] sc. γὴν or χώραν. Infra § 85 we have τὴν θρέψαμενην without any apparent difference of meaning.

eἰκότως] 'and rightly so,' 'and with good reason,' regularly (nine times) so used by Lyc. at the end of its clause (as occasionally by Isocr., Dem., and Aeschin., once by Lysias, not by Antiphon and Andocides: Rehd., App. 2, pp. 138–9), with γὰρ immediately introducing the supporting argument.

§ 48. ὠσπερ γὰρ...διάκεινται] 'For just as people universally (ἄπαντες) do not entertain feelings of equal affection towards natural and towards adopted fathers, so they lie looser (are less well disposed) to countries to which they do not belong by birth but which they acquire later.' The sentiment was no doubt (as Rehd. and Sofer remark) a commonplace of the rhetorical schools, and appropriated especially in praise of Athenian 'autochthony.' Cf. Isocr. Panath. § 125 καὶ στέργοντας αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν χώραν) ὁμολογεῖ ὠσπερ οἱ βέλτιστοι τούς πατέρας καὶ τὰς μητέρας τὰς αὐτῶν, [Dem.] xl. § 47.—τῶν πατέρων: partitive gen.—ταῖς εὐνολαῖς: 'feelings of affection,' if we are to press the plural) ('benevolences,' in the concrete sense, of presents offered to Athenian commanders by subject states, Dem. De Chers. § 25. Lyc. has a partiality for the plural of abstract nouns: cf. supra § 6 τὰς ἐχθρὰς, § 18 εὐνυχίας, § 20 τὰς χάριτας, infra § 64 τὰς διανολας, § 140 τὰς φιλοτιμίας, etc.—ἐπικτήτους: lit. 'acquired besides' or 'in addition,' as of land added to one's hereditary property, Plat. Legg. 924 Α; ἐπικτ. φίλου, 'newly acquired') (ἀρχαῖοι, Xen. Ages. i. 36; τὰ ἐπικτ.)(τὰ φύσει δυνα, Plat. Rep. 618 δ. Our 'adopted country' is the idea here, and we may correlate the terms as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>πατήρ</th>
<th>χώρα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>φύσει γεννήσας: ποιητός</td>
<td>φύσει προσήκουσα: ἐπικτήτος</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In plain language, they were less fortunate than brave. — *tois ἄριστοις ἀνδράσιν:* with ἐξ ἵσου, but partly also with μετασχόντες (μετέχειν τινὸς τινι, 'to share a thing with another'). — This and the two following paragraphs are fair specimens, in form and substance, of the commonplaces in praise of the dead which were the stock-in-trade of the rhetorical schools and were highly elaborated by 'epideictic orators' (the oratory of 'display'), even though they did not rise to the heights of their master in this field, Gorgias of Leontini (in Sicily, born c. 485 B.C., visited Athens on an embassy, 427), with whose dead 'though they died, loving sorrow died not with them, but immortal in bodies bodiless it lives though they live not': *τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ σωναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἐν ἀσωμάτων σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων* (from a fragment of Gorgias' *Epitaphius*). Reference may be made generally to the Funeral Speeches of [Lysias] and Hyperides. The closest parallel to Lyc. here is perhaps Isocr. *Paneg.* § 92 (of the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae) ἵσας δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις παρασχόντες οὐχ ὅμοιας ἔχρησαν ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικώντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέέπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡττηθησαν· οὔδείς γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἥξιωσεν).

*τῆς...ἀρετῆς* 'the fruits of their valour.'

*ἀμύνοντες* unusual for *ἀμυνόμενοι*, though the active is quoted also from Plat. *Legg.* 692 D ἀμ. ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Polyb. vi. 6. 8 ἀμ. πρὸ τῶν τῶν.

*§ 49.* *εἰ δὲ δεῖ...νικώντες ἀπέθανον* 'and if I may use an expression which is highly paradoxical indeed, but nevertheless true, those men were victorious in death': *εἰ δεῖ is apologetic in tone, cf. Isocr. *Nīcοc.* § 26 *εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ τῶν ἀρχαῖων εἰπεῖν,* 'if I may be allowed to quote examples from antiquity,' Dem. *Ol.* II. § 28 *εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν δυντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπεῖν,* 'if one may say a word of truth about the generals as well.'

*ἀ γὰρ ἄθλα* see Crit. App.—*ἄθλα*, honourable prizes of war (*λήμματα*, personal and selfish gains: the two are con-

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trasted by Dem. Ol. 11. § 28.—ἀρετή: ‘reputation for valour’
(ἀρετή: ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐδοξία Harpocrat.). Cf. Hyper. Epitaph. § 41
μεμνήσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἦς καταλελοίπασι.

οὐδ’ οἶνον τ’ ἔστιν...ηττῆσθαι] Cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 92, quoted
supra § 48.

τοὺς...μὴ πτηξαντας...φόβον] ‘men who did not quail in
spirit under the terror of their assailants.’ L.S. s.v. πτήσσων say
that ‘in the strange passage ταῖς διανολαις μὴ πτηξαντες φόβον
[giving reference], φόβον must be taken as a cognate acc.’ [like
φόβον φοβείσθαι, φ. δεδοκέναι, φ. ταρβείν, in which case τῶν
ἐπίνυτων will be objective gen., ‘the fear which they felt of their
assailants’]. This, if possible, is certainly somewhat strained;
and the syntax of the passage is simplified by taking τῶν ἐπίνυτων
as subjective, ‘the fear which their assailants inspired’: cf. the
use of φόβος with preps. denoting the source of the fear, φ. ἀπὸ
τινος, ἐκ τινος, as infra § 130 ὁ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος, and
Xen. Anab. 1. 2. 18 Κύρος δ’ ἡσθη τῶν ἐκ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἐς τοὺς
βάρβαρους φόβον ἵδιων. In the latter case, φόβον is an ordinary
external acc., as in πτῆσεων ἀπειλάς, Aesch. P.V. 175, which
Rehd. also quotes in the same sense (App. 2, p. 139); but his
interpretation of τῶν ἐπίνυτων as = ‘the future’ seems, in this
context, improbable: cf. infra § 57 τοὺς ἐπίνυτας ἄμυνασθαι.


οὐδ’ ἄν εἰς] οὐδὲ εἰς (which is never elided unless a particle, as
often, intervenes) is a more emphatic οὐδεὶς, ‘no one whatever.’

φεύγοντες] ‘in seeking to shun’: Goodwin, M.T. § 25.

§ 50. ἐδηλωσε] ‘was proof of’ the truth of my statements,
rather than = δῆλη ἦν, though the latter is possible [and approved
by Rehd.].

ἀμα γὰρ οὖτοι...μετέπεσεν] ‘for no sooner did these men die
than the fortunes of Greece changed to slavery’: the two events
were coincident. For ἀμα...καὶ = simul ac (except that the latter
is never separated, the former always), combining two clauses in
what is virtually a cause and effect relationship, cf. supra § 29
§ 51]  

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αμα τοινων...οὐκ ἐδέχετο, καὶ κατεμαρτύρει π.—τὸν βίον μεταλλάσσειν, 'to exchange life' (for death), with the notion of 'quitting' it, hence 'to die': so also μεταλλ. χώραν, 'to go to another country,' cf. infra § 86.—τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος: practically = 'Greece.'—εἰς δουλείαν μετέπεσεν: μεταπίπτειν generally, as here, in deturius, but also in melius: cf. infra § 60 εὐκ τοῦ κακῶς πράξαι μεταπίπτειν.

συνετάφη γάρ...ἐλευθερία] Cf. the famous sentence, [Lysias], Epitaph. § 60 ὥστ' ἄξιον ᾗν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν κειρασθαί τῷ Ἑλλάδι...ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τῷ τούτων ἀρετῇ (of those who fell in the Corinthian War, 394 B.C.), and with the whole passage [Dem.] LX. § 23.

ϕανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν...πολεμοῦντες] 'they made it clear to all that they were not warring,' etc.: φ. ἐποίησαν is constructed with a ptcp. like ϕανεροὶ ἴσαν (ἐγένοντο) πολεμοῦντες, or ἐδήλωσαν πολεμοῦντες. Cf. Her. VI. 21 δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεόθεντες, Thuc. III. 64 δῆλον ἐποίησατε...μόνοι οὐ μηδέσαντες.

οὐκ <ἀν> αἰτωχυνθεὶν...ψυχᾶς] 'I would not be abashed at declaring that those men's lives are a crown of glory to their country': for στέφανος in the met. sense, decus, cf. Her. IV. 88 (of Mandrocles) αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιδεῖ, Σαμίωι δὲ κόδος, Hyper. Epitaph. § 19 τὴν εὐδοξίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἰδιον στέφανον τῷ πατρίδι περιέθηκαν.

§ 51. καὶ δι' ἃ οὐκ ἀλόγως κ.τ.λ.] 'and why they showed reason in the exercise of their valour is, that you, Athenians, alone among the Greeks know how to honour brave men': according to this interpretation, which makes ἐπιστασθε...τιμᾶν the cause and not the effect of ἐπετήδευον ('because they showed reason...you know how to, etc.'), δι' ἃ is to be taken as looking forward to, and in apposition with, ἐπιστασθε...τιμᾶν, as though we had: δι' ἃ οὐκ ἀλόγως...ἐπετήδευον, ταῦτ' ἑστίν, ὅτι ἐπιστασθε κ.τ.λ. For the position of δι' ἃ at the beginning of the sentence, Rehd. cites the somewhat similar use of ὅθεν in Lys. XII. § 43, Isaetus, VI. § 8, etc. But the text is suspect: see Crit. App.—For the claim made by the speaker, we may compare Dem. Lept. 8—2
§ 141 πρώτον μὲν μόνοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοὺς τελευτήσασι δημοσία ποιεῖτε λόγους ἐπιταφίους, ἐν οἷς κοιμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. καλτοὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιτήθευσα καθούντων ἀρετῆς.

ἀνακειμένους] ‘set up,’ i.e. statues of them. ἀνακείσθαι in this connexion acts as pass. of ἱστάναι: ἱστάναι τινὰ χαλκοῦν (χαλκοῦς ἀνακείσθαι: cf. Theocr. x. 33 χρόσει άνακείμεθα. In Dem. F.L. § 251 we have both the person and the statue as subject: ἐφ' τὸν Σόλων' ἀνακείσθαι...καλτοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον...φάσ' ἀνακείσθαι Σαλαμίνω.

ταρ' ύμίν...στρατηγοὺς] After Solon, and Harmodius and Aristogiton (see infra), the only generals so honoured, as far as we know, were Conon, Iphicrates, and Timotheus (Rehd. ad loc.).

τοὺς τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείναντας] Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew Hipparchus, son of the tyrant Pisistratus (Thuc. i. 20, vi. 54–57), and were consecrated for all time in the Athenian mind as the doyens of tyrannicides: their descendants were voted special privileges: cf. Dem. Lept. passim, F.L. § 280; Andoc. De Myst. § 98 [ΝΟΜΟΣ]; infra § 87 ἐν πρυτανείῳ...ολην ἔδοσαν n.—τὸν τύραννον: the speaker implies that the týranwos was a phenomenon that was well known or might be taken for granted in the past history of most Greek cities.

καὶ τοιούτους μὲν...εὑρεῖν ῥαδίουν] ‘of such men it would not be easy to find a few even from the whole of Greece’: the form of the clause might lead us to expect οὗτ' ἐξ ἀπάσης...πολλούς, but ὀλίγος is to be taken in a positive sense.

τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγώνα] lit. ‘games in which the prize is a wreath (στέφανος),’ esp. the four great athletic festivals of Greece, the winners at which were considered to confer great honour on their native cities and received high honours from them: cf. generally the Odes of Pindar, and Dem. Lept. § 141 εἶτα μεγίστας διδοτ' ἐκ πάντως τοῦ χρόνου ἄρεας τοῖς τοῖς γυμνικοῖς νικῶσιν ἀγώνας τοὺς στεφανίτας.

πολλαχθέν] with γεγονότα.—Polle (N. Jahrb. f. Philol.,
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1869, quoted by Rehd., App. 2, p. 140) states that, up to the year 330 B.C., we have knowledge of as many as 104 statues of Olympic victors in the whole of Greece; at Athens of one at most, and that not absolutely certain. Lyc.'s disparaging reference to the athletic games here may have been inspired by the circumstance that Athens, two years before the date of this speech, had been temporarily debarred from participation in the Olympic games owing to quarrels with Elis. Euripides, before Lyc.'s time, had had some severe things to say about athletes, cf. fr. 284 (Dind.).

eúeryétais] the word is technical of state benefactors, and occurs frequently in inscr.

µeýlóstas] without article, absol. 'very great.' [<τὰς> μεγ., however, which would balance τὰὶς ἐσχάταις τιμωρλαίς, is read by Reiske and Heinrich.]

δικαίον] Blass's δίκαιον is attractive, but δίκαιον without ἐστὶ seems easier than δίκαιον without ἐστὲ.

§ 52. ou̓̄d' én ὑμᾶν ἐστιν] 'it is not even in your power,' 'it does not even rest with you': cf. Dem. De Cor. § 193 ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τοῦτον τέλος ἤν, οὐκ ἔμοι. [ἔφ' ὑμᾶν τι βασιλείαν καί πόλιν καὶ ποιήσασθαι, κεκρισθαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα πάλαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως οἶκοθεν.]

κεκριμένον ἐστὶ καὶ κατεγνωσμένον] 'has been tried and has had sentence passed on it,' long ago: there is a standing verdict against it. The perf. ptcps. passive with the subst. verb are forcible and emphasise the abiding result: Goodwin, M.T. § 45. Cf. [Dem.] c. Aristogit. I. § 2 ὑπολαμβάνω τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν... ἔβους ἑνεκα...δεῖν ποιήσασθαι, κεκρισθαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα πάλαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως οἶκοθεν.

µηδεῖς µοι θορυβῆσῃ] a common appeal in the orators, 'let no one interrupt me,' i.e. with expressions of disapproval (Lat.
acclamare, in Ciceronian usage): the vb., however, is also used of applause: cf. Isocr. Panath. §264 οὐκ ἐθορύβησαν, δ' ποιεῖν εἴωθασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς χαριέντως διελεγμένοις, Ibid. §233 λόγος τεθορυβημένος, ‘a loudly-applauded speech’ (cf. acclamare post-Aug.). Lyc. here evidently desires to correct what may have been a prevalent notion among his hearers, that the action of the Areopagus which he is about to mention was an unwarranted and anti-democratic usurpation of power: cf. the similar case of Cicero in the matter of the Catilinarian conspirators.

ταύτην] sc. τὴν ἐν 'Α. π. βουλῆν, rather than a case of ‘predicative attraction’ of the pronoun.

tοτε] i.e. immediately after Chaeronea. For the dictatorial powers exercised by the Areopagus in grave public crises, cf. Plut. Themist. §10 (before Salamis), Lysias, c. Eratosth. §69 (after Aegospotami), Dem. De Cor. §134 (intervention in the case of the traitor Antiphon), also supra §12 n.

λαβοῦσα] i.q. συλλαβοῦσα [Naber (Bl.)]: cf. infra §112 καὶ τούτων ληφθέντων.

φωνικά ἀδικήματα] the special sphere of the Areopagus under the full democracy: cf. supra §12 n.

ὁσιώτατα] is of course adv., with δικάζωντας.

§53. ἀλλὰ μὴν 'Α. γε οἷς] ἀλλὰ μὴν, verum enimvero, ‘alleging what is not disputed’ (L.S. s.v. μὴν, 3), introduces a fresh and emphatic point.—Αὐτολύκου and οἷς are both emphatic: Α.)(other offenders: οἷς, the Heliaea)(ἡ ἐν 'Α. π. βουλή. Lyc. tactfully says nothing of his having been himself the prosecutor of A., who was an Areopagite (Harpocr. s.v. Αὐτόλυκος, quoting the present passage): cf. also the Argument to the speech, ad fin. A. has been supposed to be the person alluded to (in conjunction with Leocrates) by Aeschin. Ctes. §252, but the account of him given there does not tally with the present passage: ἐγένετο τις...ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης, δὲ ἐκπλεῖν εἰς Σάμου ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερῶν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς 'Α. πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ έξημιώθη.

μεῖναντος μὲν αὐτοῦ...ἐχοντος δ' αἰτίαν] 'who, though he
remained himself...was charged with having,' etc. For aiqlan ɛxɛiν c. infin.=crimen habere, cf. infra § 125 τοῦς τὴν αἴτλαν ἔχοντας, Ar. Vesp. 506 αἴτλαν ἵνω ταύτα δραν ἔννοιμοτις ὄν. But Plat. Gorg. 503 B δὲ ὠντινα αἴτλαν ἔχονσιν Ἀθηναίοι βελτίως γεγονέναι, ‘are reputed, ‘are credited with.’—For υπεκθέσθαι, cf. supra § 25 τὰ χρήματα...ὑπεκθέσθαι n.

τὸ δὲ πάσχειν] sc. ἐκεῖνον as subject.

οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ π.] ‘failed in duly rendering to his country the price of his nurture,’ to which his country, as ἡ ἡθέψασα (§§ 21, 47, 85), was morally entitled, even as aged parents were legally entitled γηροτροφηθήναι (infra § 144). Cf. [Lys.], Epitaph. § 70 τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεία ἀποδόντες, Lys. c. Anidoc. § 49 ποία τροφεία ἀνταποδοτεῖς; So also τρ. ἐκτίνευ, Plat. Rep. 520 b.—For ἀποδόνειν = reddere, cf. supra § 20.

τὸ γιγνόμενον] ‘what was happening,’ ‘the state of things,’ as revealed by the case of A. and those condemned by the Areopagus.

ἐψηφίζων] on the motion of Hyperides: supra § 36.

ἐνόχοις...τῇ προδοσίᾳ] ‘amenable to the charge of treason’: cf. supra § 4 τοῦς ἐνόχοις τοῖς...ἐπιτιμίους n.

τοὺς φεύγοντας] ‘those who sought to shirk’: cf. supra § 49 τὴν δουλελαν φεύγοντες n.

§ 54. δὴ] igitur, concluding and summing up.

παρὰ τῷ...συνεδρίῳ] παρὰ c. dat. indicantis: cf. Her. III. 160 παρὰ Δαρείῳ κρίτῃ, παρ’ ἐμοὶ=me iudice, etc. So also παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ immediately following, for which cf. supra § 12 παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὁμολ. τοῖς ἀλησκομένοις n.

τῶν δικαίων λαχώντων] ‘the duly appointed judges.’ The designation is common of officers or official bodies appointed by lot (λαγχάνω): cf. Her. vi. 109 ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχών Ἀθηναίοιν πολεμαρχεῖεν, οἱ λαχώντες βουλεύειν, etc.: cf. supra § 37 τὴν βουλὴν τοῦς πεντακοσίους n. The dicasts were chosen by lot from the body of the citizens who were over 30 years of age and in possession of their full civic rights (ἐπιτιμιοι), Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. c. 63.
referring formally to α (‘offences which’), but in substance to the content of the three preceding clauses, and so = ‘these decisions.’

cf. supra § 27 πάντων ἀρ άνθρώπων ῥαθυμότατοι ἔσεσθε π. ἀγνωμονέστατοι] ‘most unconscionable.’

ἔλαχοστος ἔξετε...κινδυνεύοντας] ‘and shall find very few who will be disposed to run risks on your behalf’: cf. Antiph. Tetr. Α. γ. ad fin. ἐλάσσονος μὲν τοὺς ἐπιμονεύοντας καταστήσετε, πλεούς δὲ τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιτηδεύοντας, Dem. Lep. § 166 οὐκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν ἑθελησόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδυνεύων.

c. 14. §§ 55–58. Leocrates is clearly guilty on all the counts of the indictment; but perhaps he will plead that he sailed to Rhodes as an ordinary merchant. To this I reply, that merchants do not embark stealthily, but in open harbour. Again, what object had a merchant in sojourning five years in Megara, unless he was conscious of having deeply wronged his country? But even admitting his plea, I would ask him, (a) why he started on a voyage then, when all other merchants were hastening home to their country’s defence, (b) what possible import could have been more useful than personal service at that crisis? As a matter of fact, Leocrates was never a merchant at all, but an owner of coppersmiths. His interest in the fiftieth, moreover, disproves his statement.

§ 55. τοῖς ἔσο. ἀπασώ] cf. supra § 5 ἀπασι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐνοχον ὑντα.

πυθάνομαι] a formula of προκατάληψις, anteoccupatio, ‘anticipation of an adversary’s arguments,’ with a view to weakening or defeating them. πυθάνομαι introduces the first of a series of such ‘anticipations,’ e.g. infra §§ 59, 63, 68, 90.

ἐμπρόσι] ‘as a merchant.’ [<ὁτι> ὡς ἐμπρ. Es.]

κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἔργασιν] ‘on this business,’ a use of the prep. as old as Homer: Od. III. 72 ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν (‘on a trading enterprise’) ἢ μακρίδιος ἀλάλησθε; cf. infra § 57, but δι’ ἐργασιν, supra § 15.

ὁ] ‘how,’ ‘by what means.’ [ὡς Bk., Bl.]
πρῶτον μὲν...ἐπείτα] ‘in the first place’...‘in the second place,’ ‘then again’: the ἐπείτα may, or may not (as here), have a δὲ answering the preceding μὲν: cf. Thuc. i. 33 πρῶτον μὲν δὲν ἀδικουμένου...ἐπείτα περὶ τῶν μεγάλων κ.τ.λ.

ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς κατὰ τὴν πυλῆν;] cf. supra § 17.

ὀρώμενοι καὶ ἀποστελλόμενοι] ‘being seen off,’ in popular language; but ὁρ is emphatic, ‘in full view of all their friends,’ as contrasted with the furtive flight of L.

μετὰ τῆς ἐταλράς] cf. supra § 17.

μόνος] sc. ἐμβαίνει ὁ ἐμπορός. [μόνος, which the Aldine (Bl.) corrects to μόνοι, seems somewhat harsh after ol κατ’ ἐμ. πλέοντες, but the change to the sing. serves all the better to point the contrast to L. Also τῆς ἐταλράς...παίδος τοῦ διακ. are difficult with μόνοι.]

§ 56. τὸν Ἄ. ἐμπορον] Acc. to this reading [Bk., Bl.; τὸν Ἄ. ὃς ἐμπ. codd. (Rehd., Thalh.)], τὸν Ἄ. seems best taken as attributive, the article adding a touch of sarcasm: ‘our Athenian merchant.’

ἐν Μ....τὰ ἱερὰ...τὴν οἰκλαν] cf. supra §§ 21–25.

πωλεῖν [‘advertise for sale’](ἀποδοθαὶ ταλάντων: supra § 22. καταγνώκει τε αὐτοῦ προδικώκεναι] ‘had pronounced himself guilty of having betrayed’: cf. Lys. xx. § 6 καταγνώντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄδικείν with Andoc. De Myst. § 3 καταγνώντες αὐτῶν ἄδικλαν.—καταγνώκει τε...καὶ: on the principle that τε...καὶ should connect corresponding elements, we might have expected πρὸς τε τὴν π. καὶ κ.τ.λ. But exceptions are frequent: cf. in consecutive chaps. of Thuc. (iv. 9, 10), ἀσπίδας τε φαῖλας καὶ ἑλεύναις and ἥν ἐβελώμεν τε μείναι καὶ μῆ...καταπροδοῦναι.

δ καὶ πάντων...εἰ] ‘and so it would be the most absurd thing imaginable, if’ etc. For this use of the neut. relative, referring generally to what has preceded and explained more particularly by a clause which follows, introduced often by εἰ (as here), see Madvig, § 195. α., and esp. Rehd. (App. 2, pp. 141–3), who distinguishes three separate uses, (a) δι, (b) δ δὲ, (c) δ καὶ. The first, he contends, is retrospective in force; the second, pro-
spective; the third, half retrospective, half prospective: see the numerous exx. quoted by him, _l.c._ We may compare the somewhat similar use of _quod_ in Latin, in adjurations: Virg. _Aen._ II. 141 _quod te per superos...oro_, vi. 363; and for the present passage _infra_ §82 θαλ πάντων ἄν εἴη δεινότατον, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους κ.τ.λ.

_ἀπολύσατε_ with _ταῦτα_, must have the meaning of ‘dismissing,’ ‘quashing’ a charge, in which sense _ἀπολύσαθαι_ is very frequently said of a defendant, cf. _dilhere_: _ἀπολύσαθαι τὴν αἰτίαν, τὰ κατηγορημένα_, etc. The use of _ἀπολύσω_ in the present passage is illustrated by Hyper. _Eux._ §38 (ἐλεγγυέλα)_...ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατηγόρου τρόπων τινὰ ἀπολέλυμένη. But there is no doubt a suggestion of ‘if you should acquit him on these charges.’

κύριοι γενόμενοι τῆς ψήφου ‘now that the verdict rests with you,’ somewhat like _supra_ §2 ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ψήφου. For κύριος, cf. _infra_ §59 ὡστε γὰρ νεωρίων κύριοι _n._

_χωρις δὲ τούτων_ cf. _supra_ §31.

§57. _τοὺς μὲν...τούτων δὲ_ The regular _paratactic_ (co-ordinate) arrangement in Greek, where we use the _hypotactic_ (subordinate): cf. _supra_ §§8, 42, notes.

ἐν τοῖς τότε καρπῶις καὶ κατ’ ἐργασίαν] _καλ_, which at first sight might seem to go intensively with _κατ’ ἐργ. ἐκπλεῖν_, ‘should actually leave on a trading voyage,’ is probably rightly taken as simply connecting _ἐν...καρπῶις_ and _κατ’ ἐργασίαν_, at the same time throwing considerable emphasis on the latter: L.’s crime consisted in (a) sailing (at all) at such a time—and (b) on a trading voyage (of all things), _i.e._ with a view to private gain, this aspect of his _ἐργασία_ being made more explicit by _ήρικα...προσκήσασθαι κ.τ.λ._ We may compare generally the charge against Andocides in _Lys._ vi. §49 ἐπιστάμενος ἐν πολλῷ σάλῳ καὶ κυνόνυ τὴν πόλιν γενομένην, ναυκληρῶν οὐκ ἐτόλησεν...οῖτον εἰσάγων ὕφελήσαι τὴν πατρίδα. ἀλλὰ μετοικοῦ μὲν καὶ _ξένοι_...ὕφελου τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντες.

οὖδ’ ἄν εἰς...ἄν ἐξήτησεν] _For oὐδ’ ἄν εἰς_, cf. _supra_ §49 _n._—For the repeated _ἄν_, which is especially common when a negative
or interrogative opens the sentence, see Goodwin, *M. T.* §§ 223 ff. —προσκτήσασθαι: ‘acquire in addition’ (πρός).—τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ‘what they had.’

ήδεως δ’ ἄν αὐτὸν πυθολύμην κ.τ.λ.] ‘I should like to ask him, by importing what merchandise he could have served the state better than by submitting himself for enrolment in the ranks.’ This rendering, it may be said, suggests rather ἡ παρασχὼν as the natural Greek: τοῦ παρασχεῖν, on the other hand, suggests that the question should be, ‘What merchandise that he could have imported would have been more useful than personal service?’ There is thus probably a mixture of the constructions τίν’ ἐμπ. εἰσάγων χρησιμώτερος ἐγένετο ἄν ἡ παρασχὼν and τίν’ ἐμπ. εἰσ. ἡδύνατο χρησιμοτέραν τοῦ παρασχεῖν: in other words, the comparison of two actions is confused with the comparison of two things.


§ 58. αὑτῷ] The unusual position of the unemphatic αὑτῷ is probably due to a desire partly to avoid the hiatus αὑτῷ ὁργεθεθαί, partly to make the antithesis διὰ τὴν πράξειν ταῦτην...διὰ τῶν λόγων τοῦτον more strongly marked: cf. Rehd., *ad loc.*, who quotes *Dem. Lept.* § 33 οὐ μῶνον ὑμῖν Ἰκανὸν σίτον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ., *Ib.* § 7ο διῆπερ οὐ μῶνον αὑτῷ τὴν ἀτελείαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα...ἐστησαν.


ἐγένετο ἐπί...ἐργασίας] ‘he was engaged in this business’: cf. *supra* § 44 ἐφ’ ἄν οὐδενὸς ν.
εκέκτητο χαλκοτύπους] 'he was a master smith,' i.e. owned a number of slaves who were so employed, as Lysias and his brother owned a shield factory, Demosthenes' father a cutlery factory, etc. The verb is almost technical in this sense.—
χαλκοτύπος probably signifies a 'smith' generally, cf. χαλκεύς (χαλκέας (sc. καλόυσι) τοὺς τὸν σίδηρον ἐργαζομένους, Arist. Poet. 25. 14), though the two are distinguished in Xen. Hell. III. 4. 17 oī te χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς (v. L.S. s.v. χαλκοτύπος).

ἀποδημήσαι] concessive, 'though he was away.'

ην οὐκ ἄν καταλιπὼν...ἀπεδήμευ] The impf. in the apodosis denotes the action as extending over a considerable time (in the past): 'he would not have abandoned it (act) and engaged in trade abroad': ἀπεδήμησε would have referred rather to the act cf his departure: cf. generally Goodwin, §410.

ἄν μὲν τι] The μὲν here is probably not 'isolated' (cf. supra §5 6γώ μὲν οὐδεμιᾶν ὁρῶ n.), but is balanced by the δὲ of the next paragraph.

λέγῃ] conative, 'attempts to say.'

οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέψειν] = ὑμᾶς οὖδ' ἐπιτρέψειν, 'I think you will simply not allow him': the subj. is inserted between οὐδὲ and ἐπιτρέψειν, which last the negative really qualifies: cf. Soph. Ant. 280 παῦσαι, πρὶν ὀργῆς καὶ με μετωπά λέγων, 'ere thou dost utterly fill me with wrath,' where καὶμὲ (C. and A.) is pointless: see Jebb ad loc.

c. 15. §§59–62. He will perhaps advance a plea suggested to him by some of his counsel—that he is not amenable to the charge of treason because he had no specific duty assigned him. If he had not, this only makes his case worse: he betrayed the whole state and not merely one department of it. Treachery on the part of particular officials would have meant, at worst, the enslavement of the state, from which it might have recovered; Leocrates' desertion involved its desolation, and there is no
recovery from that. For proof of my statement, I have only to refer you to the history of Athens, Troy, and Messene.

§ 59. ἡξει δ'[τωσ...φερόμενος] ‘But perhaps he will come in his impetuous course to the plea which,’ etc. Both φέρων and φερόμενος are thus used idiomatically along with another verb of motion, and seem to convey the notion of haste and recklessness. The const. occurs at least four times in Aeschin. Ctes. : § 89 Καλλιάς ὁ Χαλκίδεὺς...πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῷ φύσιν, ‘returned headlong to his old practices’ (of bad faith), § 82 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ‘speedily gave such an evil turn to events’: so also §§ 90, 146 (φέρων in both cases): Goodwin, M.T. § 837. A more literal use of the ptcp. can be seen (I think) in such as Her. viii. 91 φερόμενοι ἐστίπτον ἐς τοὺς Αλγινῆτας, ‘fell upon them at full speed,’ Ibid. 87 φέρονσα ἐνέβαλε μὴ φιλή (of Artemisia at Salamis).

διν αὐτῷ συμβεβ.] cf. supra § 11 ἦ γὰρ συμβουλεύοντον...περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων τη.

τῶν συνηγόρων] These were not professional advocates, in our sense, but (usually) personal friends of the parties in a case, who were allowed to speak on either side after the case had been opened by the parties themselves. Athenian theory presumed that every citizen was capable of conducting his own prosecution or defence. Some would distinguish συνήγορος = plaintiff’s counsel)(σύνδικος =defendant’s, but both terms seem to have come to be of general application (cf. Drake on Dem. De Cor. § 134).

τῇ προδοσίᾳ] ‘the charge of treason.’

οὕτω γὰρ νεωρίων κύριοι] sc. ἦν (the mood and tense of the recta: the speaker imagines L. to say ‘I was not responsible,’ οὖ κύριοι ἦν), ‘for he was not in charge either of arsenals,’ etc.—κύριος, of that of which one has the disposing or control: cf. Dem. F.L. § 183 εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις οὔ τρυπήρου οὔδὲ τόπων οὔδ’ ὀπλιτῶν οὔδ’ ἀκροτόλεων κύριοι...ἀλλὰ λόγων καὶ χρόνων.—The enumeration νεωρίων...πυλῶν...στρατοπέδων has specific reference to the scope of the νόμος εἰςαγγελτικός (supra § 1 n.): cf. Poll.
8. 52 ἐγένειτο εἰσαγγελία...κατὰ τῶν προδήτων φρουρίων ἡ στρατιάν ἡ ναῦς, and the Lysias passage quoted hereunder.

οὐθ' ὀλὼς...οὐδένος] ‘nor in short of any state department whatever’: ὀλὼς marks a climax, as often, nec denique, neque omnino: cf. Dem. Mid. §101 οὐθ’ ἔλεαν οὐθ’ ὀλὼς ἀνθρωπον ἡγούμενος.


tοὺς πετελευτηκότας] I have followed Herw. (Bl.) in omitting καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ λεπά, which the MSS. give after πετελευτηκότας.

tῶν πατρίων νομίμων ἀποστερῶν] ‘by robbing them of their ancestral rites’: cf. Thuc. III. 58 (the Plataeans are speaking) οὐσ...ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμώμεν...ἐσθῆμαι τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις. [πατρίων Schoem. (Rehd.): πατρίων codd.: cf. supra §25 n.]

§60. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνων κ.τ.λ.] ‘Moreover, had the city been betrayed by them (τῶν τίνων κυριῶν—‘heads of departments’), the result would have been that, though enslaved, it would still be inhabited; but in the way that L. abandoned it, it would have been made desolate’: the protasis of the sentence is contained in προδοθεῦσαν—εἰ προδόθη, a supposed past act: συνεβαίνειν ἂν represents the abiding result of the act in the present, si urbis prodita esset, tamen incoleretur: cf. Goodwin, §§410, 411. So οἰκείσθαι=‘would still be inhabited’ (present state): ἀοικητὸν ἂν γενέσθαι=‘would have been desolated’ (act). For οἰκείσθαι, cf. [Dem.] c. Aristog. 1. [or. xxv] §26 εἰ ταῦτα ποιώμεν, ἐστι’ ἐτὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκείσθαι;—δὲ τρόπον: the modal accusative is generally preferred to the dative by Greek prose writers in these phrases with τρόπον (τοῦτον τῶν τρόπων, τίνα τρόπων; τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων, etc.), though τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ in
Andoc. De Myst. § 41, De Pace § 20, De Redit. § 18 ὅτι θεὶν τρῆσψ, and always μηδέν τρῆσψ. (Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. l.c.)

tυχείν...eἰκός ἐστιν...στερηθήναι] For the aor. infins. with εἰκός (where we might expect the fut.), cf. Thuc. iv. 24 ἢλπιζον...ῥάδιον χειρώσασθαι, Xen. Hell. v. 4. 7 ἦπείλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι, and other exx. quoted by Goodwin, M. T. § 136. But the use of the aorist in these and similar cases is sufficiently explained by the cardinal idea of an act done once for all as opp. to a continuous process.—ἀναστάτους: ἀνάστατος, of towns and countries, ‘depopulated,’ ‘destroyed,’ ‘laid waste’: of a population, ‘homeless’: cf. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 79 ἐπείδον τὴν ἑαυτὸν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην, Her. 1. 76 Συριους...ἀναστάτους ἐπολησε, etc. [ἀναστάτους Reiske (Bl.): ἀνάστατον codd., which some editors retain, agrees with πόλιν understood.]

καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιθέων] ‘even of ordinary hopes,’ i.e. hopes that are common to all men alike.

ἐπιθέω...μεταπεσεῖν] For aor. infin. with ἐπιθέω, cf. τυχείν...εἰκός ἐστιν and note above: for μεταπεσεῖν in melius, cf. supra § 50 n.

οὔτω καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις κ.τ.λ.] ‘so too it is true of cities that their misfortune reaches its climax when they become desolate’: i.e. there is no longer so much as a chance of δυστυχία changing to εὐτυχία. For πέρας εἰχεῖν, of a limit which may not be passed, cf. Lysias c. Eratosuth. § 88 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ...τελευτήσαντες τὸν βίον πέρας ἔχουσι τῆς τῶν ἔχοντων (subj. gen.) τιμωρίας, Isocr. Paneg. § 5, Philop. § 141, Dem. Lept. § 91.

§ 61. εἷς γὰρ δεῖ] cf. supra § 49 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἰτείν, ἄλθησε δὲ, n.

πόλεως ἐστὶ θάνατος...γενέσθαι] ‘it is death for a city to be laid waste’: for ἀνάστατον in acc. agreeing with the implied subject of the infin. (ἀυτὴν, τὴν πόλιν), cf. Goodwin, M. T. § 744.

τεκμηρίου δὲ μέγιστον] sc. ἐστίν, which seems to be regularly omitted in this formula.
ημῶν γὰρ] γὰρ introduces, as regularly, the matter of the τεκμηρίου: do not translate.

tὸ μὲν παλαιὸν...τὸ δ’ ὑστερὸν] 'of old'... 'later': accusatives, like τὸ πρῶτον, τοῦνατίδον, etc.

ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων] Pisistratus and his sons, especially Hippias, who between them ruled Athens for fifty years, 560-510 B.C.

ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα] The Thirty were installed in the summer of 404, and held office till May, 403 B.C.


ἐκ τούτων...ἀμφιτέρων] neuter, 'from both of these plights.'

The liberation from the first was effected by the Alcmaeonids, headed by Cleisthenes, who procured the help of Sparta; from the second, also, through the intervention of Sparta, following on the defeat of the Thirty and their adherents by the exiles under Thrasybulus (May, 403 B.C.).

τῆς τῶν 'Ε. εἰδαμονίας] The term εἰδαμονία, which Dem. (Mid. § 143) and Isocr. (Paneg. § 103) had used of the Greece of the fifth cent. B.C., was hardly applicable (as Rehd. observes ad loc.) to the Greece of the fourth, even though the speaker may have had in view the period following the victory of Cnidus (394), and the building up of the Second Athenian Confederacy. Nothing is to be gained, however, by substituting ἕλευθερας or ἔγεμονία (Es), as neither the one nor the other holds good for both centuries.

§ 62. ἄλλῳ οὐχ ὅσαι...γεγόνασι] 'But not so with such as have become desolate': sc. as predicate something like τοῦτο πεπόνθαι, 'have had this (fortunate) experience,' out of the general sense of the preceding argument. Hyper. takes an opposite view to that of Lyc.: or. ii. [In Philip.] § 8 πόλεις δὲ πολλαὶ ἀρδην ἀναπεθεῖαι πάλιν ἱσχύουσιν.

τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ] 'on the one hand...' 'on the other,' a common formula in introducing examples: frequent in Herodotus.

eἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπεῖν ἐστι] 'though I may be quoting somewhat ancient history,' lit. 'even if (as I grant) it is rather ancient to mention' (παλ. goes with εἰπεῖν: Goodwin, M.T.)
NOTES

62) cf. infra §95 ei γὰρ καὶ μυθωδέστερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἀρµόδει κ.τ.λ.—For the distinction between ei καὶ and καὶ ei, the former allowing, but minimising, the affirmation of the condition, the latter rather asserting its improbability, see L.S. s.v. καὶ, B. ii. 3; Madvig, §194. d.

τήν Τρόλαν] a good example of ‘anticipation,’ but due also to its balancing Μεσσήνην, which naturally comes first in the participial clause to which the const. changes. Cf. Xen. Anab. I. 8. 21 (Κῦρος) ἦδει αὐτὸν (sc. βασιλέα) δὴ μέσον ἐχοι τὸν Περαικοῦ στρατεύματος, ‘knew that the king held,’ etc. So in Latin, nosti Marcellum, quam tardus sit: Madvig, §191.

πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς Ἀ.] ‘after acquiring dominion over the whole of Asia’: a rhetorical exaggeration, designed to heighten the merit of the Greek achievement: cf. Isocr. Panath. §83 (of Agamemnon) λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς μιαν πόλιν πολεμήσας, ἔργῳ δὲ... πρὸς ἀπαντασ τοὺς τῆν Ἀσίάν κατοικοῦντας κ.τ.λ.

τὸν αἰῶνα ἀοικητός ἐστι] ‘is uninhabited for all time,’ i.e. has been (since the time of its sack) and will so remain.—τὸν αἰῶνα, in semipiternum, is noteworthy for the omission of πᾶς (ἀπασ, σύμπας) which accompanies αἰῶν in the sense of ‘time without end’ e.g. in Isocr. (I. 1 ὁ πᾶς αἰῶν, VI. 109 πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα, IV. 46 ἄπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, VIII. 34 τὸν σύμπαντος αἰ.) and Plato, Tim. 38c πάντα αἰ. (δὲ αἰῶνος in Trag.): so also Lyc. himself, supra §7, infra §§106, 110.

τοῦτο δὲ Μεσσήνην...Συνοικισθείσαν] ‘and how, on the other hand, Messene, five hundred years later, was restored by a casual population,’ which may pass as a rendering, but the Greek requires some explanation.—Messene, the later capital of Messenia (which name is not used by Homer), in W. Peloponnesus, was founded in 369 b.c. by Epaminondas, the Theban general and statesman, who gathered together for the purpose the dispersed remnants of the Messenian exiles, the inveterate enemies of Sparta. The citadel of the new town was the historic Mt. Ithome, and the town itself was formed by ‘synoecising’ (i.e. combining into one for political purposes) the neighbouring

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districts, the effect of which was to make Messene the Messenian state, as Athens was to Attica (cf. Thuc. III. 2 ㊙ενοκέκουσι τήν Δέσβον ἐς τήν Μυτιλήνην). The speaker's contention is that the 'synoecism' was effected so easily (ἐκ τῶν τ. ἄνθ.) because Messenia had never become ἀνάστατος, the inhabitants who had survived the early traditional wars with Sparta and any remnant that remained after the settlement by the Athenians at Naupactus in 459 B.C. remaining on the land in the condition of Helots, so that Messenia ψέκειτο δούλη ὄσια.—πεντακοσίως ἔτεσιν ὕστερον: 500 years after—the fall of Troy? or the Spartan conquest of Messenia? If the first, the fall of Troy is much too late; if the second (which we presume is what Lyc. intends), the conquest of Messenia is much too early, even if we suppose him to be reckoning from the 'First Messenian War,' the central date of which is placed c. 725 B.C., whereas Lyc. would bring it forward to about 870 B.C. Dinarchus, who speaks of 400 years (I. 73 Μεσσήνην πετρακοσιωτὼ ἔτει κατῴκισαν), apparently reckons from the first war; Ephorus, with whom Pausanias practically agrees, gives 300 years; Plutarch (Apophth. Epam. 23) and Aelian, only 230 years. The last four authorities evidently refer the conquest of Messenia to the 'Second Messenian War,' with which tradition connected the names of Aristomenes and Tyrtaeus (for the latter, see more particularly infra § 106 n.), and which may accordingly be dated to c. 640 B.C.—ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἄνθ.: ἐκ is hardly to be explained as a somewhat rare equivalent of ὑπὸ with a passive verb, but has reference rather to the composition of the inhabitants (cf. constare ex): cf. Xen. Symp. 8. 32 στράτευμα ἐξ ἐραστῶν, 'composed of lovers.'—τῶν τυχόντων: cf. supra § 37 μικρὸι καὶ οἱ τυχόντες φόβοι n.

c. 16. §§ 63-67. Perhaps some of his advocates will have the face to plead that none of the results I have foreshadowed could have depended on the action of a single individual. But the safety of the state depends upon each individual doing his particular duty: 'he that offends in one point is guilty of all.' The truth of this principle is attested by the spirit of ancient legislators, who in
assigning penalties did not discriminate between greater and lesser offences, but had regard to the principle underlying them. You would not tolerate the erasing of a single law on the ground that it made no difference to the state. In the same way, you cannot consider Leocrates apart from the rest of the citizens: you must have regard not to the individual, but to the principle.


... μικρὸν τὸ πράγμα ποιῶν] seeking to represent the matter as trivial?) μικρὸν ποιούμενος, regarding it as trivial, in the subjective sense. The distinction seems good here, though not perhaps universally: cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 59 οὐ γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐπολήσαν (of the Athenian protection of the Heraclidae), which seems equally subjective in sense with παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι Id. Philop. § 79, or ἐγι σμικρῷ ποιεῖσθαι Soph. Phil. 498. With the present passage, cf. Isocr. XX. § 5 ἅσωσ ὁν ἄρχεται ἐπιχειρήσει μικρῶν ποιεῖν τό πράγμα, διασφάρω τὴν κατηγορίαν κ.τ.λ.

... ὃσ οὕδεν ἄν παρ' ἑν... ἐγένετο τούτων] that none of those calamities could have been brought about by the action of a single individual: for παρὰ c. acc. of that which turns the scale, and on which the result critically depends’ (Madvig, § 75), cf. Dem. Phil. III. § 2 οὔ παρ' ἐν οὕδε δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα ἀφύκται, Isocr. Archid. § 52 ὕπτο πάντων ἄν ωμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, Dinarch. I. § 72. The use of the prep. in this sense with persons appears to be somewhat rare and late, v. Rehd., App. 2, p. 144.

τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν ἐκλιπείν] The strictly correct order in a case of this kind appears to be τὴν πατρίδα (obj.) ἐκλιπείν αὐτῶν (subj.): Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. § 16, where he quotes as a type Antiph. v. 39 ἐγὼ δέ φησι ταῦτα οὐ λέγεω αὐτῶν, and adds ‘and so the prose writers passim.’ But the precise relationship of the accs. is usually easily determined from the context.

tοῦτο... τοῦ μεγέθους] ‘the point of fact’... ‘its importance.’——
The usual form of the imper. from the Macedonian period,\textsuperscript{132} Rehd. In inscr. not before 300 B.C. [\textit{éównov Es} (Blass).]\textsuperscript{63}

\textit{el δ' ὠλως μηδέν} ‘but if they roundly assert his innocence,’ we might say: for ὠλως, cf. \textit{supra} § 59 οὖθ' ὠλως τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐδενὸς \textit{n}.

\textbf{§ 64. \textit{τούτοις} personal, sc. \textit{τοῖς συνηγόροις αὐτῷ}.} \textit{παρὰ τοῦτον ἐναὶ...τήν σωτηρίαν} ‘that the very safety of the state depended on him’ for \textit{παρά}, cf. previous §: \textit{ἐναῖ} is imperf. infin. The main antithesis is between \textit{οὐδέν} of the preceding sentence and \textit{τῇ πόλει τήν σωτηρίαν}.

\textit{ἡ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεῖται κ.τ.λ.} ‘For the life of the state depends upon the protection afforded it by each man doing his particular part; and so whenever a man neglects his duty (ταύτην = τὴν ἰδιαν μοιραν) in one point, he unwittingly neglects it in all’ (τούτῳ παπουηκῶς = παρεωρακώς). For the sentiment, cf. Isocr. \textit{Nícos}. § 48 μηδένος διλγυρεῖτε μηδὲ καταφρονεῖτε τῶν προστεταγμένων, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὃς οὐ παρὰ τοῦτ’ ἐγτίν, ἀλλ' ὡς παρ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς τὸ σύμπαν ἔξον, οὐτω σπουδάζετε περὶ αὐτῶν, i.e. ‘neglect no duty, however trivial, \textit{under the impression that nothing depends upon it}, but perform your duties with zeal, remembering that, as the parts are, so will the whole be good or bad.’—ἐφ' ἐνὸς...ἐφ' ἀπάντων: ἐπὶ = ‘in the case’ or ‘matter’ of: cf. Dem. \textit{Mid.} § 38 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτον μόνον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πάντων φανεῖται προηγημένος μ' ὑβρίσεων, \textit{Ibid.} § 44.

\textit{τῶν ἀρχαῖων νομοθετῶν} Esp. Draco and Solon, to one or other of whom, especially the latter, the Athenians were inclined to attribute the bulk of their ancient statutes: cf. Aeschin. \textit{Cies}. § 175 ὁ γὰρ Σόλων ὁ ταλαιὸς νομοθέτης, Dem. \textit{De Cor.} § 6 οἱ νόμοι...οὕς ὁ τιθέλει ἐξ ἀρχής Σόλων, κ.τ.λ. ‘Draco’s laws were specially called \textit{θεσμοὶ}, as distinguished from Solon’s \textit{νόμοι’} (Pape, quoted by Hickie, Andoc. \textit{De Myst.} § 81 τέως δὲ χρήσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς. But Solon himself spoke of his laws as \textit{θεσμοὶ}: v. Sandys on Arist. \textit{Ἀθ. Πολ.} c. 4 \textit{init.})—\textit{νομοθετῶν...ἀποβλέψαντας}: cf. \textit{supra} §§ 9, 10, respectively.

\textbf{§ 65. \textit{ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ κ.τ.λ.}} The code of Draco especially was
proverbial for its severity: Demades the orator said of him δι’ αἵματος, οὐ διὰ μέλανος τοὺς νόμους ἐγραψεν, ‘wrote his laws not in ink but in blood’ (Plut. Sol. 17). It probably got this character as a whole from the severity of the punishment meted out to certain minor offences: we know only that part of it which dealt with murder and homicide. Cf. with the whole §, Dem. c. Timocr. §§ 113 sqq., Mid. §§ 44 sqq.—Note that the force of οὐ extends to the second clause τῷ δὲ δέκα κ.τ.λ. as well: so also the οὕτως’s following.

τῷ μὲν ἐκατόν...τῷ δὲ δέκα δραχμᾶς] Cf. Dem. c. Timocr. § 114 (of Solon) καὶ εἰ τίς γ’ ἐκ Δυκείου...ἐμάτιον ἢ ληκύθιον ἢ ἄλλο τι φαντάτωκν, ἢ εἰ τῶν σκευῶν τι τῶν ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων ὑφέλοιτο ἢ ἐκ τῶν λιμένων, ύπέρ δέκα δραχμάς, καὶ τούτων θάνατον ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι τὴν ςημιὰν.—ἐπιτίμιον, ‘penalty’: cf. supra § 4 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτιμίως n., and Aeschin. Cles. § 175 ὁ Σόλων...ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίως ἑδοῦ δεῖν ἐνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστράτευτον καὶ τὸν λειοπότα τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸν δειλὸν ὑμοίως.

tὸν μεγάλα ἱεροπυλήσαντα] ‘a man who had committed great sacrilege’: Madvig, § 27.

τιμωρία ἐκόλαξον...ἀμισαν] For τιμωρεῖσθαι(κολαξεῖν, see infra §§ 123, 146, nn.—Note the impfs. ἀπέκτεινον, ἐκόλαξον, ἐξημίων, ‘nor was it their practice to,’ etc.) ἔταξαν, ὀμισαν, of the fixing of the penalty as a definite legislative act.

οὕτω τὸν μὲν οἰκέτην...εἰργον τῶν νομίμων] ‘nor did they impose a money fine on him who had killed a slave, while they excluded him who had killed a freeman from the public rites’: οἰκέτην is obj. of ἀποκτείναντα, which is to be supplied after τὸν δὲ ἐλεύθερον.—εἰργον τῶν νομίμων: cf. Antiph. De Chor. § 36 δὲ γὰρ νόμων οὕτως ἔχει, ἐπειδὰν τις ἀπογραφὴ φόνου ἄκη, εἰργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων, Dem. Lept. § 158 ὁ Δράκων...γράφων...εἰργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον σπονδῆν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς. Cf. also supra § 5 εἰς τὴν ἄγοραν ἐμβάλλοντα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἱερῶν μετέχοντα n., infra § 142.

ἀλλ’ ὑμοίως ἐπὶ τᾶσι...τὴν ςημαίν] ‘but for all offences alike, even the smallest, they defined death as the penalty.’—For ἐπὶ
c. dat. ‘in the case of,’ cf. the common νόμον τιθέναι ἐπὶ τινι, ‘to make a law in the case of a person’ (for or against him): so νόμος κεῖται ἐπὶ τινι.—καλ τοῖς ἐλ.: the καλ is intensive=eliam: rather different is the ‘corrective’ use of the conj. in e.g. Dem. De Cor. § 12 μεγάλας καλ τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωριάς, ‘great, or rather the greatest.’—θάνατον: so regularly, without the article, in similar phrases (θάνατον τάττειν, ἐπιτιθέναι, γράφειν, etc.) where it stands in predicative apposition to τὴν ζημιάν, ‘the (legal) penalty,’ which latter, however, is often anarthrous: cf. Thuc. iii. 44 θάνατον ζημιάν προθείου, and other exx. cited by Rehd., App. 2, p. 145.

§ 66. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἱδίον κ.τ.λ.] ‘For they did not severally have an eye to the individual aspect of the deed that had been done, nor did they gauge the enormity of a crime by that standard (ἐνεργεῖν=ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδίου τοῦ γ. π.): what they considered rather was just this, whether the particular offence was calculated, if it acquired a wider scope, to inflict serious injury on the community’: τὸ ἱδίον represents what we may term the material aspect of the crime (e.g. whether it was a sacrilege or a petty theft, etc.), as opposed to the moral aspect and the motive behind it. For ἀπέβλεψε, cf. supra § 10 πρὸς ἐκάτερον...ἀποβλέπουσας. —ἐλάμβανον: ‘judged,’ ‘estimated’: cf. Thuc. ii. 42 τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωριῶν ποθειστέραν λαβόντες, ‘holding it more dear to them,’ iii. 20 (of the Plataean besieged) τὴν ξυμμετρησαν τῶν κλιμάκων οὕτως ἔλαβον, Lys. X. § 13 έλ οὕτω τούς νόμους λαμβάνεις.—ἐλ πέφυκε: the tense of the recta: they asked themselves ἀρα πέφυκε, ‘is the crime calculated?’ etc.: for πέφυκε, cf. supra § 4 ὁ νόμος πεφ. προλέγειν. —ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἔλθον: conditional, ‘if it went to greater lengths,’ ‘by acquiring a wider scope.’

καὶ γὰρ ἀτοπον...ἐξετάζειν] ‘and indeed it would be absurd to review this matter on any other principle’: τοῦτον refers to the general thought of the previous sentence, i.e. the proper method of appraising crimes. For ἐξετάζειν περὶ, cf. Isaeus iv. § 2 περὶ τῆς...ἐπιγραφῆς ἄξιων ἐστὶν ἐξετάσαι, lb. § 11.
φέρε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘For supposing, gentlemen, a person were to enter the Metroum and erase one law, and then plead that its erasure made no difference to the state—would you not have condemned him to death? Yes, and rightly, to my mind, if you were to guarantee the preservation of the rest’ (τοὺς ἄλλους sc. νόμους).—For φέρε ‘before a question which usually serves to refute another,’ v. L.S. s.v. φέρω, ix. 3 and reff.—τὸ Μητρῷον: the Metroum, the temple of Cybele, mother of the gods, stood in the marketplace near the council chamber (βουλευτήριον): it was the work of Phidias, and in it the state archives were kept: cf. Dem. F.L. § 129 ἐν τοῖς καυνίσι τοῖς υμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρῷῳ, Aeschin. Ctes. § 187, etc.—εἰ...ἐξαλείψειεν...ἀπολογούτο...οὐκ ἀν ἀπεκτείνατε; We have here a mixed conditional sentence, which is quite easy to make conform to type by reading ἐξαλείψειν...ἀπολογεῖτο (Dobree) or ἀποκτείνατο’ (Es). But there is no reason for suspecting the text, the indic. in the apodosis being explained by a sudden change in the point of view of the speaker, who concludes as though he had put (more vividly) a supposed case in the past (indic.) rather than one of remote future contingency (opt.): Goodwin, M.T. § 508. ἐξαλείψειεν, of the act)(ἀπολογούτο, of the attempt (conative), ‘should seek to put forward the plea.’—εἰτα: so regularly (without καὶ) in conditional clauses, ‘marking continuation and further consequence’ (Madvig, § 185, R. 6): cf. Dem. Ol. 1. § 12 εἰ δὲ προσόμεθα τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰτ’ Ὀλυμπον ἐκεῖνος καταστρέφεται.—οὐδὲν παρὰ τούτων: cf. supra §§ 63, 64.—ἔγῳ μὲν οἴμαι δικαίως: sc. ὕμνας ἀν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν. For μὲν, cf. supra § 57 ἔγῳ μὲν οὐδεμιάν ὁρῶ n.—ἐπερ, ‘that is to say, if,’ etc., assuming the fact of the condition: Madvig, § 194.—ἐμέλλετε...σφέν, but just immediately μέλλετε...ποιήσειν: acc. to the usual rule, μέλλω is constructed (a) mostly with fut. infin., (b) less frequently with pres. infin., (c) more rarely still with aor. infin. The precise difference of meaning between (a) and (b) is difficult to define, and (c) has been emended practically out of existence by the editors (following, apparently, the lead of some
of the older grammarians, esp. Phrynichus, who condemned this const.) in prose passages; but certain places in the poets (e.g. Aesch. P. V. 625, Eur. Or. 292, Med. 393) refuse to yield to treatment. The governing consideration in the constructions of μέλλω is no doubt (as with verbs of hoping, cf. supra § 60 n.) the nature of the action contemplated—whether a definite act (aor.) or a continuous process (pres.): the fut. may represent either.

§ 67. τὸν αὐτὸν...τρόπον] Cf. supra § 60 δὲ τρόπον ὁτός ἐξελίσσετον

κολαστέων ἔστι τοῦτον] Note that this (the gerund) const. of the verbal is commoner in Gk. than the personal or gerundive (κολαστέως ἔστιν ὁτός): contrast the Latin usage in the case of verbs that take an object acc. So infra § 135 τοῦτον...ἔξαιτητέον.

ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ πράγμα] sc. λογιέσθη, ‘but you will have an eye to the fact,’ and the principle which it involves. εἰς τὸ πρ. seems capable of being joined with λογιέσθη on the analogy of λέγειν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα, κατηγορεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ π. (cf. Dem. LVII. § 7, Antiph. vi. § 9, etc.) and other exx. cited by Rehd., App. 2, ad loc. The text, however, has been freely emended: see Crit. App.

τὸ μη̄ πολλοὺς...ημέτερον εὐτύχημα εἶναι] ‘that it is a piece of good fortune for us not to have had many such (citizens),’ i.e. such as L.: the clause τὸ μη̄...γενέσθαι is subj. of ημέτερον...εἶναι.

μόνος τῶν ἄλλων] Rather a curious, but frequent, expression (cf. infra § 102 μονοῦ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν) for the more logical μόνος τῶν πάντων (cf. supra § 50, infra § 131). Infra § 143 we have μόνος τῶν πολιτῶν simply.

c. 17. §§ 68–74. But I am most indignant of all at the plea that Leocrates’ departure did not constitute desertion: did not our forefathers abandon the city and cross over to Salamis in the war with Xerxes? As if the two cases had anything in common! Who would not envy the record of those ‘deserters’—who forced on the fight at Salamis and saved the rest of the Greeks in spite of themselves, and nearly stoned to death Alexander, Xerxes’
envoy? who championed Greece for ninety years, won by sea and land at the Eurymedon, fixed limits for the barbarian, and gave the Greeks of Asia autonomy? Where in all this do we trace the spirit of Leocrates?

§ 68. ὅσ οὔτι ἐστὶ τοῦτο...ἐν τις ὕχετο] ‘that departure from the city does not constitute desertion,’ is our idiom: for the form of the sentence, cf. Lysias c. Andoc. § 41 οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο λέειν ἐστιν τὰ συγκελμένα, εἰ Ἀνδοκίδης...διδωσι δίκην, c. Theomnest. § 6.—ὑχετο must be translated as a plupf. (cf. Goodwin, § 37), as its action must be referred strictly to the case of L., ‘that departure from the city (on that occasion—after Chaeronea) cannot be construed as treason.’

ὁσε πρὸς Ξ., ἐπολέμουν...διέβησαν] 480 B.C. Cf. Her. viii. 41, Isocr. Paneg. § 96, etc.

ἐστίν...καταπεφρονηκώς] The periphrastic perf. ‘expresses more fully the continuance of the result of the action of the perfect to the present time’: Goodwin, § 45.

ὁσε τὸ κάλλιστον...ἡξἰσε] For a similar perversion of a noble historical episode, cf. Lys. In Alcib. I [or. xiv] §§ 32, 33 τολμᾷ γὰρ λέειν ὡς Ἄλκιβιάδης οὐδὲν δεινὸν εἶργασαι...καὶ γὰρ ύμᾶς φεύγοντας Φυλῆς καταλαβεῖν καὶ δένδρα τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβαλεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσαντας οὐκ ὄνειδος τοῖς παισὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆν...κτήσασθαι.—ἡξἰσε: ‘has presumed’: Goodwin, § 58.

§ 69. τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξαν] Cf. supra § 50 τὸν βιον μετῆλλαξαν ς.

§ 70. Ἐτεόνικος μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] For the preliminaries to Salamis, cf. generally Her. viii. cc. 49–82, and esp. cc. 56, 70, 74 for the attitude of the Peloponnesians: also Isocr. Paneg. § 93 ἄθωμος γὰρ ἀπαντῶν τῶν συμμάχων, διακειμένων, καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατείχιστων τῶν Ἰοθμῶν καὶ ἵπτοντων ἰδίων αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν, κ.τ.λ. Note, however, that in Herod.’s account (a) the Lacedaemonian commander, who was also commander of the confederate fleet, is Eurybiadas, not Eteonicus. Lyc. is apparently thinking of the Spartan general of the latter name who
appears towards the close of the Peloponnesian War, and in the Corinthian War, and is mentioned several times by Xen. (Hell. i. 6, ii. 1, v. 1); (b) the Aeginetans support the Athenians and Megarians in urging the expediency of fighting at Salamis (c. 74). The Peloponnesian scheme of falling back on the Isthmus would of course have meant the sacrifice of Aegina. The part which Lyc. makes them play here (as Rehd. well remarks, App. 3, p. 170) would no doubt appear quite plausible to his hearers in view of the traditional enmity between Athens and Aegina, which was bitterly intensified by the subsequent expulsion of the Aeginetans from their island about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.).—τὸ Ἀ. ναυτικόν: Aegina was represented by a contingent of thirty ships at Salamis, Her. viii. 46.—αὐτοῖς...πορίζεσθαι: for the fulness of expression, cf. Isocr. Nicoc. § 37 αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσαντο τὰς ἡδονάς, infra § 141 παρακαθισαμένους ἕαυτοις.

ἐγκαταλεπόμενοι] ‘finding themselves threatened with abandonment’: cf. infra § 95 ἐγκαταλαμβάνομεν, ‘like to be caught’: Goodwin, § 25.

βλα...ἥλευθρωσαν] ceteros quoque etiam invitōs liberaverunt: βλα, ‘in spite of themselves,’ here without the gen. which often accompanies it: Thuc. i. 43 βλα ἡμῶν, Soph. Ant. 79 βλα πολιτῶν.

ἀναγκάσαντες] The ‘compulsion,’ according to the well-known story, came from Themistocles, who sent Sicinnus to Xerxes with a message that the Greeks intended to sail away in the night. Xerxes thereupon proceeded to block up the straits to prevent their escape (Aesch. Pers. 353 sgg., Her. viii. 75, 76). Cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 97 ἡναγκάσθησαν (sc. οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι) μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, but he assigns prudential motives: κατασχυνθέντες τὰν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων), καὶ νομισάντες προδιαθεράντων τῶν ἥμετέρων οὐδ' αὐτοὶ σωθήσεσθαι.

ὡς ἐκατέρων προσήκει] sc. περιγενέσθαι. Cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 72 ἀμφωτέρων (sc. τῶν πολεμῶν...τῶν συμμάχων) κρατήσαντες ὡς ἐκατέρων προσήκεν.
§ 71. η ποιν ταχέως κ.τ.λ.] ‘One of those men, I suppose, would readily have brooked such conduct (as L.’s), instead of stoning to death the man who sought to sully their valour’: the slight inconsistency (‘one...their’) in the rendering offered may be said to reflect the change of subject in ἠφανέχετο της...κατέλευσαν.—ἡ ποιν, sane, opinor, scilicet, of ironical conjecture: see further below.—ταχέως: cf. the corresponding use of σχολή, lit. ‘at one’s leisure,’ which comes to have the meaning ‘scarcely,’ ‘hardly’: freq. in Plato.—τοιούτον: this is the regular form of the neut. in Homer, and the best MSS. of Plato give τοιούτον, τηλικοῦτον, τοσοῦτον, ταύτῳ, rarely the -o forms: Meyer, Griech. Gr. 3 p. 519.—ἄλλ’ οὔκ ἂν κατέλευσαν: the οὔκ is not redundant or contradictory, as may appear at first sight, if we remember that the whole sentence is under the influence of ἡ ποιν and that the Greeks said ἄλλ’ οὔ where we say more naturally ‘and not’: the sense therefore is, ‘I suppose they would have tolerated it...and not have stoned (or, instead of stoning) to death.’—τὸν κατασχύνοντα: conative: cf. supra § 53 τοὺς φεύγοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνου n.
\textit{γοῦν} \textit{γοῦν} indicates the transition from conjecture to historical fact: ‘they would have stoned L.: at all events they stoned A.’

\textit{τὸν παρὰ \textit{Ε. προσβεντὴν 'Α.]} Alexander of Macedon, son of Amyntas I, had been obliged to submit to Persia as early as the expedition of Mardonius in 492 B.C., and accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece in 480 B.C. On the latter occasion, he dissuaded the Greeks from attempting to defend the pass of Tempe (Her. vii. 173), and Herodotus makes him appear again at Plataea to warn the Athenians of Mardonius’ intention to attack on the morrow (ix. 44, 45). He is described by Herod. as \textit{πρόξεινος καὶ εὐεργήτης (viii. 136)} and again as \textit{πρόξεινος τὸ καλὸς φίλος (sc. τὸν 'Αθηναῖον)} (Ibid. 143). The only mission that we hear of his having undertaken to Athens is that described by Herod. \textit{viii. 136 ff.}, in the interval between Salamis and Plataea, when he came as the immediate representative of Mardonius, not ‘to demand earth and water,’ but as the bearer of most honourable terms for Athens on condition of her accepting the status of a free ally of Persia. The offer was rejected, but we hear nothing of Alexander being ‘almost stoned to death’—a treatment indeed which would be strangely inconsistent with the uniformly friendly relations between Athens and the Macedonian king to which other sources testify. Herodotus, however, goes on to relate (ix. 4, 5) the episode of the stoning of \textit{Lycidas} (cf. \textit{infra} § 122) for proposing that a similar offer of Mardonius, conveyed this time by one Murychides, should be accepted; and we can hardly help concluding that Lycurgus has simply confused Alexander’s mission with the Lycidas incident. (Cf. Macan, \textit{Herod.} Bks. vii–ix, vol. ii, p. 41.)—\textit{γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ: ‘earth and water,’ the Persian tokens of submission.}—\textit{μικρὸν δεῖν: infin. absol., ‘almost’: Goodwin, § 779.}

\textit{εἰποῦ δὲ...ἡ ποὺ κ.τ.λ.} ‘When therefore they thought fit to exact vengeance for mere words, they would have refrained, I imagine, from visiting with severe penalties a man who had in deed given over their city to the mercy of their enemies’: for this type of sentence, in which \textit{εἰποῦ} (in a causal sense) introduces
a case just established, or not disputed, with ἡ ποὺ introducing an à fortiori argument based upon it (‘much more’ or ‘much less,’ as the sense requires), cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 86 ὅπου οὕν ἀγράφω νῦν ὕπκ ἔκατι χρήσασθαι, ἡ ποὺ ἀγράφω γε ψηφίσματι παντάπασιν οὐ δεὶ χρήσασθαι, Ib. § 90, Isocr. De Pace § 24, etc. The main clause with ἡ ποὺ appears in such cases either as a statement or as a question (both sarcastic), and some passages (like the present one) seem capable of being taken as either. [Rehd. and Thalh. place a point of interrogation after ἐκόλασαν: I follow Mätzner (Sch., Bl.) in omitting it.]—τοῦ λόγου...ἐργῷ: a somewhat forced example of the favourite antithesis. τοῦ λόγου refers more specifically to A.’s message: A. offended only in words, L. in deeds.—οὐ μεγάλαις...ἐκόλασαν: οὐ by position belongs to μεγάλαις perhaps rather than to ἐκόλασαν, but the sense is the same: ‘I presume they would have visited with light (οὐ μεγάλαις) penalties’...‘I presume they would have refrained-from-visiting (οὐκ ἐκόλασαν) with heavy penalties.’

§ 72. ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτη] ἐβδομήκοντα [to which Taylor (Bl.) corrected ἐνευ. of the mss., and which Lyc. may really have written, for numerals are notoriously liable to confusion] would certainly agree better with the figures of other writers; but there is nothing intrinsically improbable in ἐνενήκοντα, for Lyc., whom we have already detected in an error of 200 years in regard to Messene (supra § 62 n.), might quite well be 20 years out in his reckoning here. The terminus ad quem of the first Athenian empire was no doubt Aegospotami (405 B.C.): the terminus a quo seems to have been less certain. [Lysias] (II. § 55) speaks of 70 years; Isocr. Paneg. § 106, 70 years, Panath. § 56, 65 years; Dem. Phil. III. § 23, 73 years. If we take in conjunction with Dem. l.c., [Dem.] De Syntax. (or. XIX) § 26 πέντε μὲν καὶ τεττάρακον τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξαν ἐκόντων ἑκείνωι (sc. οἱ πρόγονοι), where ἐκόντων means ‘up to the Peloponnesian War,’ 432–431 B.C., Dem.’s 73 years will be as nearly as possible 477–405 B.C., giving as the (usually accepted) terminus a quo the capture of Sestus.
Perhaps a rhetorical exaggeration of the victory gained by the Athenians off Salamis in Cyprus over a combined Phoenician and Cilician fleet, after raising the siege of Citium, in the course of which Cimon had died (c. 449 B.C.): Thuc. I. 112 Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος... ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοινίξι καὶ Κλείξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἁμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ’ οἷκον. The objection that this victory was some 18 years later than that at the Eurymedon, and would naturally have been referred to after and not before the latter, need not be regarded as serious in an orator whose strong point is not historical accuracy (see notes on the two preceding §§), and who at best is summing up in a few graphic touches the main features of Graeco-Asiatic relations over an extended period.

ἐπ’ Εὔρυμέδοντι] ‘at the Eurymedon,’ a river in Pamphylia, where the Greeks under Cimon won a brilliant double victory by sea and land over the Persian fleet and army (c. 467): Thuc. I. 100; Diod. xi. 60–62; Plut. Vit. Cim. 12, 13.

ἐκατόν δὲ τριήρεις...καθο enim] Thuc. l.c. καὶ εἴλλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέβαλαν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακολᾶς, which seems to mean, as we say, ‘they took or destroyed 200 in all.’ Plut. Cim. 12 ad fin. makes them capture 200. If Lycurgus’ figures are to be pressed, we may suppose (a) that he is giving the number of vessels captured at the Eurymedon, as opp. to those destroyed (cf. Diod. xi. 60 and inscr. ibid. 62, which, however, may not be relevant); (b) that he is confusing the victory at the Eurymedon with a later victory (itself a confusion with that won at Salamis, supra?) off Cyprus, attributed to Cimon by Diod. and Plut., in which the former (xii. 3) makes him capture ‘100 vessels with their crews’; (c) that he is not referring to the immediate results of the Eurymedon victory at all, but to the results of operations extending over a considerable period.

§ 73. τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης] ‘to crown their victory,’ an expression roughly in apposition with the thought of the sentence,
like πάν τοῦναυτιῶν, etc.: cf. infra § 92 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, κ.τ.λ.: Madvig, § 19, R. 3, § 31, c.


ὀρους τοῖς βαρβάροις πῆλαντες κ.τ.λ.] ‘having fixed for the barbarian bounds which were to guarantee the freedom of Greece, and forbidden him to overstep these, they made a covenant that he should not sail with a ship of war inside the Cyanean islands and Phaselis.’—This ‘bridling of the barbarian’ is a favourite topic with the Greek orators, and with the present passage should be compared the substantially similar statements and language of Isocr. Paneg. § 118, Areop. § 80, Panath. § 59; Dem. F.L. § 273; Plut. Vit. Cim. 13; Diod. XII. 4. All the passages cited agree with Lycurgus in respect of the sea-limit prescribed, except that Dem. and Plut. substitute ‘the Chelidonian islands’ [S.W. of Phaselis] for Phaselis; the land-limit (which Lycurgus omits) is specified by Isocr. (Areop., Panath., ll.cc.) as ‘this side the river Halys’ (ἐντὸς Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ), by Dem. and Plut., ll.cc., as ‘within a day’s ride of the sea,’ and by Diod., l.c., as ‘within a three days’ march of the sea.’ The last-mentioned further makes ‘the independence of all the Greek cities in Asia’ one of the articles subscribed to by the Persian.

From a comparison of Lycurgus and the other authorities quoted, it further appears that Lycurgus, Plutarch and Diodorus expressly, and Isocrates and Demosthenes presumably, connect this circumscription of Persian power with the victory at the Eurymedon: sometimes it is represented as an ipso facto result of that victory (Isocr. Paneg. § 118, Areop. § 80), but Isocr. at another place (Paneg. § 120), and Dem., Plut. and Diod., ll.cc., as Lycurgus here, speak of a definite ‘peace’ (εἰρήνη) or ‘convention’ (συνθήκαι) concluded between Athens and Persia. Dem., Plut. and Diod. all name Callias as the Athenian ambassador to Persia, though the first two are sharply at variance as to the treatment accorded him on his return (Dem. l.c. Κάλλιαν τὸν Ἰππονίκου...ἀτι δῶρα λαβεῖν ἐδοξε προσέβεσαι, μικρὸν ἀπέκτειναν, Plut. l.c. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν εἰρήνης διὰ ταύτα τοὺς Ἀθηνανοὺς
further mentions that a copy of the convention was to be found 'in the collection of Craterus' (flor. c. 250 B.C.—ἐν τοῖς ψηφισμασίων καὶ συνήγαγε Κρατέρος), but Theopompus (historian and pupil of Isocr.) maintained that the convention was a fabrication. (See Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. §§ 118, 120.)

The whole subject of the so-called 'Peace of Callias' (or Cimon), which is now generally dated (by those who accept it) to c. 448 B.C., or some twenty years later than the victory at the Eurymedon, is evidently wrapt in an obscurity of long standing, and modern historians are divided in opinion as to its historicity. We may perhaps safely assume that a definite understanding resulting in peace was come to between Athens and Persia about the date mentioned, but that the conditions subscribed to by the latter were in course of time much exaggerated by Athenian vanity, which required, at a later date, a plausible off-set to the discreditable Peace of Antalcidas (386 B.C.). In particular, the limit prescribed for the operations of the Persian land forces (the river Halys) is ridiculous, and the Great King 'certainly did not stoop to the humiliation of formally acknowledging the independence of the Greek cities of Asia.' Bury, H.G. (1900), p. 360. See also Grote, H.G. (1904), vol. iv. pp. 422-8; Holm, H.G. vol. ii. pp. 176-8.—μακρό πλοίο: 'i.q. navis longa, the long and narrow ship-of-war)(στρογγύλη ναῦς, ὀλκάς, γαῦλος, navis oneraria, the rounded and roomy merchant-vehicle' (Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. § 118, s.vv. μακρὸν πλοῖον).—Κυανέων ...

...Φασηλίδος: the Cyanean islands (or rocks—otherwise the Symplegades) were situated at the entrance to the Euxine (Black Sea): Phaselis was a sea-coast town of Lycia, standing on a headland overlooking the Pamphylian gulf. 'The light sailing-boat called the phaselus is supposed to have been invented there, and was commonly represented on the coins of the place.' Sandys, l.c. [The dictt., however, derive from φάσηλος, phaselus, = 'kidney-bean,' from the likeness of the ship in question to a bean-pod.]
NOTES

§ 74. οἶεσθ' ἄν...τούτων ἄν τι γενέσθαι] 'ἄν is sometimes used twice, or even three times, with the same verb...to make the conditional force felt through the whole, especially when the connexion is broken by intermediate clauses': Goodwin, § 223.

γενέσθαι...κατοικεῖν] 'would have been achieved'...'would still be inhabiting.'—ὑμᾶς is necessary to distinguish the subject of κατοικεῖν from that of γενέσθαι, and is also intended to balance the ὑμᾶς which follows ᾑσχύνθη as obj. below.

c. 18. §§ 75–78. Your attitude towards such cases as Leocrates' is attested by your ancient laws and by the oath which all the citizens swear when they come to man's estate. If Leocrates took that oath, he has palpably perjured himself; if he did not, he has manifestly made up his mind to shirk his duty from the first. The oath you shall now hear. Leocrates has flouted every clause of it. Will you reserve your vengeance for those who have violated but one clause, and so put a premium upon great crimes?

§ 75. τίνα τρόπον νεομίκατε] 'what your standing attitude is to cases like these,' lit. 'what manner you have adopted (made customary),'—περὶ τούτων: τούτων may be either masc. referring to τοὺς κακοὺς of the previous sentence, or neut. referring to L.'s actions, the latter being the more probable.

πῶς ἔχετε ταῖς διανοαῖς] Cf. supra § 48 οἶχ ὁμολογεῖς ἔχουσιν... ταῖς εὐνοιαῖς ὑπ' ἀνελθεῖν...

ὄμως καλπερ πρὸς εἰδότας διελθεῖν] i.e. καλπερ πρὸς εἰδότας, ὄμως διελθεῖν. For the position of ὄμως close to the protasis, though really belonging to the verb of the apodosis, cf. Thuc. VIII. 93 οἱ τεταρκόδωι...ὄμως καὶ τεθορυβηκένων ἔνελεγοντο= καλπερ τεθορυβηκένων, ὄμως ξ., and other exx. quoted by L. S. s.v. ὅμως, II.—πρὸς εἰδότας διελθεῖν: so Thuc. II. 36 μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσουν.

ταύτα] i.e. the laws and similar institutions.

οἷς ἄν προσέχητε] cf. supra § 10 προσέχειν τούτῳ τῷ ἄγῳν ὑπ'.

§ 76. ἐπειδὰν...ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἐφηβοὶ γένωνται] 'whenever they are enrolled in the public register and rank as ἐφηβοί.'—
The institution of ἑφηβεῖα at Athens comes into prominence in the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. and appears to have been an elaboration of a system of training for the Athenian youth, mainly military in character, which was in vogue as early, at least, as the time of Thucydides. On attaining the age of 18, the youth passed a scrutiny (δοκιμασία) and was enrolled in the register of his deme (τὸ λεξιαρχικὸν γραμματείον). For the next two years he ranked as an ἑφηβὸς and underwent a course of training at the public expense, under the supervision of a chief officer (κοσμητὴς) who was assisted by ten σωφρονισταὶ. For the first year the ephebi were charged with police duty at Munychia and along the coast; in the second year, after receiving a shield and spear from the state, they patrolled the frontiers or garrisoned the forts (cf. the older περιπολοῦ). On the occasion of receiving his arms, or perhaps when he entered upon his course of discipline, the ephebus took an oath of loyalty to his country at the temple of Aglaurus (see infra). The ephebi of each tribe messed together, somewhat after the Spartan manner, and there was a uniform ephebic dress, consisting of a dark mantle and a broad-brimmed hat. Much of our information regarding the 'epheby' is derived from a body of 'ephebic' inscriptions, the earliest dating from c. 334 B.C., embodying lists of ephebi or complimentary decrees respecting them. In the course of the third and following cents. B.C. the military and gymnastic training was supplemented, and to some extent replaced, by courses in philosophy, rhetoric and science, and the whole system corresponded more or less to a modern university education. See Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ. c. 42, with Sandys' notes; A. Dumont, L'Éphébie attique; P. Girard in Darem. and Sag. 111. pp. 621 ff. (1891).

tὰ ἱερὰ ὀπλα] i.e. the shield and spear given by the state.—καταισχυνεῖν, etc.: the fut. insfs. refer of course to ὄρκος, δὲ ὄμνυονοι πάντες ὁλ πολίται, the substance of which they embody.

δὲν ἐλ μὲν ὀμωμοκε] an artificial dilemma: the speaker does not doubt that L., as a matter of fact, took the oath in his time.
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§ 77]  he has plainly made up his mind to evade his duty from the first.'—For παρασκευάζεσθαι, of deliberate intention, cf. Dem. Lest. § 143 εἰ τις μεγάλας τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τάτται, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς γ’ ἀδικείν παρα
ceskéudóthai δόξαι.—<ὡς> οὐδὲν ποιήσων: see Crit. App.—
ἀνθ’ ἄν: i.q. ὡστε, 'wherefore,' drawing the inference from the argument preceding.

§ 77. <ΟΡΚΟΣ> The 'ephebic' oath which follows is preserved in Poll. viii. 105, Stobae. Floril. xliii. 48.

τὸν παραστάτην ὅτι ἂν στοιχήσω] 'the comrade by whose side I shall be ranged' in battle: παραστάτης is one's conrade-
on-the-flank, as προστάτης is one's front-rank-man, and ἐπιστάτης one's rear-rank-man: Arist. Eth. Nic. v. 2. 5 εἶ ἐγκατέλυκε τὸν παραστάτην, ἑτί δειλαν (sc. γίνεται ἢ ἑπαναφόρα, 'the act is referred to cowardice'), Soph. Ant. 671.—στοιχήσω: of arrange-
ment in 'rows' or 'ranks' (στοῖχοι).

ἱερὸν...ὅσιν] sacra et profana: Thuc. ii. 52 (of the plague-
stricken Athenians) ἐς δλιγώριαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ιερῶν καὶ ὅσιών ὁμολώς, etc.

ἀρείω] 'better' (犨AR, ἀρο, ὁρραίσκω) is the comp. corre-
sponding roughly to ἄρσως: epic and tragic, rare in prose.—
ὁς ἂν π.: = τοσαύτης ὅσην ἂν π.

εὐηκοῆσι τῶν ἄει κραίνοντων] εὐηκοῆσι = dicto audiens ero: 
apparently a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, though εὐήκοος is found, and
δυνῆκοος and δυνηκοῖν in later Gk.—τῶν ἄει κραίνοντων: 'the 
rulers for the time being': the verb is poetical. [I have adopted 
κραίνοντων (Blass) for κραίνοντων of the MSS.]

τοῖς θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἰδρυμένοις] 'the established ordinances':
θεσμὸς was a word of more archaic and solemn flavour than νόμος: cf. supra § 64 τῶν ἄρχαιων νομοθετῶν π.

ομοφρόνως] with πείσομαι.

ἄναρῇ] conative, 'seek to subvert,' de medio tollere.

οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω] Cf. supra § 13 n.

ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια] Cf. supra § 25 τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρίδα π.

Ἡστορεῖς θεοῖ] 'as witness the gods,' etc. ἱστωρ occurs twice in
Homer (II. xviii. 501 ἐπὶ ἰστορι πείραρ ἐλέσθαι, xxiii. 486 ἰστορα δ’ Ἀτρείδην Ἀγαμέμνων θεόμεν ἀμφω), clearly in the sense of ‘judge,’ ‘umpire.’ θεόν πάντας ἰστορας ποιεύμενος is quoted from an oath in Hippocrates (L.S. s.v.). The word no doubt comes from the rt. μίδ (seen in εἶδον, ὄιδα, etc.), as is shown by the first Homeric example and also by the occurrence of ἡμιτομεια (= ‘arbitrators’) in inscr.

"Αγλαύρος] It was ‘in the temple of Aglaurus’ that the ἐφήβοι took the oath: cf. Dem. F.L. § 303 τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὥρκον. Herod. (viii. 53) makes the Persians scale the Acropolis at the point where this shrine was situated (on the north side, near the cave of Pan), and describes Aglaurus as the daughter of Cecrops (κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκρους θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου). She and her two sisters, Pandrosos and Herse, were charged by Athena (according to the legend) with the keeping of the chest in which was the child Erichthonius: Aglaurus and Herse, who proved false to their trust, were driven mad and threw themselves from the rocks of the Acropolis (Paus. i. 18; Eur. Ion, 270 sqq.). Another legend, however, preserved in Ulpian (quoted by Shilleto on Dem. F.L. l.c.) connected the shrine with the self-immolation of ‘Aglaurus’ on behalf of the state; and the occasion, further, was represented as the war of Erechtheus and Eumolpus (infra §§ 98, 99). ‘Aglaurus’ was thus apparently identified with the daughter whom the oracle required Erechtheus to sacrifice, but whom Lycurgus does not name (τὴν θυγατέρα εἰ θύσει, § 99). Ulpian says simply ἐὰν τις ἀνέλῃ ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, but he follows immediately with ἡ τοιούτῳ Ἀγραυλὸς ἐκούσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς βάπτατον. ἔρριψε γὰρ ἐαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους—which last statement looks like a return to Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops. He concludes: εἰτα ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ πολέμου, ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως, και ἐκεῖσε ὄμνυν (‘went there to take the oath’) οἱ ἐφήβοι μελλόντες εξείναι εἰς πόλεμον. On the whole, the statement of Ulpian seems to point to a very general confusion between Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, and (a namesake?) the
daughter of Erechtheus and Praxithea, who sacrificed herself for her country. What seems to be certain is that Aglaurus (as well as Pandrosos and Herse) was originally a title of Athena herself, and we may suppose that the legends connected with ‘Aglaurus,’ which probably have reference to an ancient human sacrifice, were only evolved long after the goddess and these titles had parted company. Aglaurus (Agraulus), in fact, to adapt Prof. Bury’s dictum on Lycurgus (the Spartan lawgiver), ‘was not a woman; she was only a goddess.’

"Εὐνάλιος "Δρης] These words probably denote one deity, not two; for ‘Εὐνάλιος is an epithet of Ares in his special character as war-god (Hom. Ι. xvii. 210 "Δρης δεινός εὐνάλιος), or occurs absol. as his name (Io. xx. 69 ἄντα δ᾽ ‘Εὐναλίοιο θεὰ γλαυκώτις Αθήνη: cf. Soph. Αἰ. 179, Eur. Andr. 1016), while the two are distinguished by Ar. Pax 457 and later writers. The names are used of one deity in an oath on an Arcadian inscr. published in 1906. There was a shrine of Enyalius in Salamis, founded by Solon to commemorate the recovery of the island from the Megarians. (See Jebb on Αἰ. l.c. and App.)

Θαλλω, Αὔξω, 'Ἡγεμόνη] ‘Growth,’ ‘Increase,’ ‘Guidance’: the first, one of the Horae; the second and third, two of the Charites (Graces).

καλὸς γ᾽...δ ὀρκος] ‘An honourable and holy oath!’ we may say, though the adjs. are, of course, predicative.

τίνα δ᾽ ἄν τρόπον] Cf. supra § 60 ἄν δὲ τρόπον ἦ.

§ 78. ποῦ] ‘how?’, perhaps, rather than ‘where?’, as frequently: cf. Soph. Ο. Τ. 390 ποῦ σὺ μάντις έἰ σαφῆς; Dem. וצג. § 58 ποῦ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν ταῦτα;

τίνα δ᾽ ἄν...παρέδωκε μείζωνα—προδοσία;] ‘to whom would he have handed over his country in an enhanced condition—by treason?’: the question has specific reference to the fourth clause of the oath above quoted (τὴν πατρίδα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω), which the orator does not systematically pursue further, but rounds off with the sarcastic προδοσία; which paves the way for the concluding τὸ γὰρ...ὑποχελρίδος ἐστίν. It seems an open ques-
tion whether τίνες should be taken as neut. ('by what?'), in app. with προδοσίᾳ (so Sofer), or personally ('to whom?'): the latter is favoured, I think, by τοῖς πολεμίους following, and has perhaps some support from Lys. xiii. § 62 οἱ στρατηγῆσαντες υμῖν πολ-λάκις μεῖξο τὴν πόλιν τοῖς διαδεχομένοις στρατηγοῖς παρεδίδοσαν (so Rehd., ad loc.).

τὸ γὰρ τούτου μέρος] Cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος ἡ.

ὑπ. ἐστὶν] The vivid present represents the state of things that might have resulted from L.'s desertion as actually existing.

εἶτα] Cf. supra § 27 ἐπειτα τὸν προδόντα...οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε; ἡ. τίνας οὖν τιμωρήσεσθε;] 'whom then will you punish?'

ἀρα] 'one must conclude': cf. supra § 27 ἡ.

μεγάλα ἀδικεῖν] 'to commit great offences': Madvig, § 27.

eἰ φανερῶθε...ὅργυξόμενοι] 'if you shall show that you keep your anger rather for small offences': μᾶλλον perhaps with ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς, ἡτοίους de parvis, rather than with ὅργυξόμενοι, magis irati, though the sense is practically the same.

c. 19. §§ 79–82. Let me remind you that it is an oath that keeps the democracy together. The constitution consists of three elements—magistrate, judge, private individual—and all three give this pledge, the breaking of which exposes them to the wrath of the gods even if they escape punishment at the hands of men. The oath taken by the Greeks at Plataea, modelled on that which is customary among you, is instructive as an indication of the spirit which inspired it. This oath they scrupulously observed. It would be outrageous to allow the glory of Athens, won by your ancestors at such cost, to be tarnished by such conduct as the defendant's.

§ 79. καὶ μὴν] introducing a new argument, as regularly in the orators: in tragedy, to mark the entrance of a new character on the stage.

καὶ τοῦθ'] so often κάκεινο (cf. illud), referring to, and explained by, the δῆθε clause following: cf. supra § 14 ἡ.

For the didactic tone, cf. supra § 4 τρία γάρ ἐστι τὰ μέγιστα, κ.τ.λ., § 10 δύο γάρ ἐστι τὰ παρετύπντα τοὺς νέους, κ.τ.λ.

The term here means simply 'one who takes no part in public affairs,' 'private individual': as such it is contrasted with βασιλεὺς, ἥρων, στρατηγὸς, δικαστὴς, πολιτευόμενος (v. L.S. s.v. 11). Rather different is the meaning at supra § 31 ἀναβοηθεταί αὐτικα ὡς ἰδιώτης ὁ, where the contrast is with 'the professional speaker': see note.

'Tαυτην πίστιν διδωσιν 'gives this as a pledge') (ταυτην τὴν πίστιν = 'this pledge.' 'If there is anything in Greek [prose] more certain than another, it is that τοῦτο πράγμα, minus the article, for this affair, is a solecism of the grossest kind' (Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. § 39, where he enumerates the uses of ὁδὸς in which the article may be omitted, and cites as parallels to the passage in the text, Aeschin. Fals. Leg. § 40 ἐξηγηθην τοῦτον λαβὼν, 'him as an instructor,' Isocr. De Pace, § 4 ταυτην τέχνην ἐξ, 'I have this as my business' (τὴν τέχνην Blass), Xen. Oecon. XI. 14 περιπατώ τοῦτον χρώμαι, 'this as a constitutional exercise').

ἐκότως τοὺς μὲν γάρ] cf. supra § 47 n.

πολλοὶ ἡδη...ἀπελύθησαν, ἄλλα καὶ κ.τ.λ.] 'many before now...have not only escaped (i.e. it often happens that people not only escape)...but actually go unpunished for such crimes for the rest of their lives': the aorist is here seen in the stage of transition from the ordinary to the gnomic use, a circumstance which makes it more easily coupled with the present (ἀἐθὼλ εἰσὶ), though the present also denotes the state of impunity as opposed to the act of escape (ἀπελυθῆσαν). Cf. Thuc. II. 89 πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ἡδη ἐπεσεν ὑπ’ ἐλασοῦν, i.e. 'it often happens that great armaments are overthrown by small,' and Goodwin, M. T. §§ 155-157.—τὸν ἄλλου χρόνον: 'for all future time.'—τῶν ἀδικημάτων: i.e. from the consequences of them, 'unpunished for' them.

εἶ ὁι ἀυτῶς, οἱ παῖδες γε κ.τ.λ.] The classic example is perhaps Glaucus, the Lacedaemonian, who repudiated a deposit: Her. vi. 86 Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ὑστη οὐδεμᾶ νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου: ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόρρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης.
NOTES

§ 79

Cf. Lys. vi. § 20 οὗτε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παραχρῆμα κολάξει (ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπίνη δίκη) Πολλαχθέν δὲ ἔχω τεκμαιρόμενοι εἰκάζειν, ὁρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων ἣς ἐδεικτότας χρόνῳ δεδοκότας δίκην, καὶ τοῦτο ἔκεινων διὰ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀμαρτήματα, Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. c. 38 (§ 90).—For περιπτώτει, agreeing with the nearer subject, cf. Madvig, § 2. d. R. 1: [Xen.] Rep. Ath. i. 2 'Ἀθήνησι καὶ οἱ πένητες καὶ οἱ δήμοι πλέον ἔχει...τῶν πλουσίων.

§ 80. ταύτην πίστιν ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς 'took' or 'bound themselves by' this pledge (strictly 'this as a pledge': cf. ταύτην πίστιν δίδοσιν in previous § and n.), i.e. by an oath, ὅρκος, with which πίστις here is evidently interchangeable, although the two appear to be distinguished in Arist. Rhet. i. 14. 5 οὗτον ὅρκους δεξιὰς πίστεις κ.τ.λ. διδόναι πίστιν (ὅρκον) is usually said of 'tendering an assurance (oath),' i.e. offering to swear to another party, and δέχεσθαι or λαμβάνειν πίστιν (ὅρκον) of 'accepting such a tender from another': Xen. Cyr. vii. i. 44 π. διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, 'to exchange assurances.' When the oath is 'proposed' or 'administered' to oneself, δούναι αὐτῷ πίστιν becomes practically = ὅρκον ὄμοσα, 'to swear an oath.'

οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν...εἰδισμένον ὅρκον] The 'customary oath' is apparently the 'ephthic' oath: (supra § 77), though the 'Plataean' oath quoted does not resemble it very closely.—The historicity of the oath here recorded by Lycurgus as having been taken by the confederate Greeks before Plataea has been generally doubted, both on intrinsic grounds and especially in view of the silence of Herodotus on the subject. Isocrates (Paneg. § 156) attributes to the Ionians (after the capture of Miletus, 494 B.C., and the burning by the Persians of the temple of Apollo at Branchidae?) an imprecation, closely parallel to the 'Plataean' oath of Lycurgus, upon those who should seek to restore the burnt shrines; but here again Herodotus and the historians are silent. It may well be, however, that the loyal Greeks resolved not to rebuild the burnt temples—a resolution, indeed, which is quoted by Pausanias (x. 35. 2) as accounting for the ruinous condition of certain notable temples in his own day.
Finally, Theopompus denounced the ‘Plataean’ oath as an Athenian fabrication. Herodotus, however, does record (VII. 132) a solemn oath taken by the Greeks before Thermopylae to the effect that ‘they would tithe, for the benefit of the god at Delphi, such as, being Greeks, uncompelled submitted to the Persian,’ and we may reasonably suppose that the more elaborate formula of Lycurgus, which is repeated elsewhere (e.g. Diod. xi. 29), is ‘a mere subsequent development of the short and sensible resolution’ mentioned by Herod. l.c. See Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. l.c.; Macan’s Herodotus, vii–ix, vol. ii., pp. 40, 41.

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c. 20. §§ 83–89. You of all the Greeks cannot afford to over-
look such offences, because your city has always been an ensample
of good works to others. Your ancient kings, like Codrus, elected
to die on behalf of their country, and they have found in it
honourable graves. But Leocrates has no lot nor part therein,
either in life or in death.

§ 83. οἷς παραδείγματα] 'which as examples': παράδ. is pre-
dicative. Cf. Dem. F. L. § 276 οὐ τολύν τὰ παλαί ἀν τοῖς ἐγκ
μονον εἶπεν καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν παραδείγματων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν
παρακαλέσαι.

ἀρχαίοτατη] For Athens' claim to antiquity, cf. §§ 41, 100,
and notes.

§ 84. ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος] Codrus, son of Melanthus,
was the last king of Athens, according to the popular tradition,
which added that the kingship was abolished because no one was
thought worthy to succeed him—'a curious reversal of the usual
causes of such a revolution' (Bury, H. G. (1900), p. 169). He is
most probably a fictitious character, and the exploits attributed
to him are mainly of late origin. Lyc.'s account here of the
circumstances in which he met his death—his disguise and his
encounter with enemy soldiers—agrees in the main with that of
later authorities: peculiar to Lyc. are (1) the famine, as the motive
of the Dorian invasion; (2) the communication of the oracle to
the Athenians by Cleomantis. According to other accounts, the
oracle was unknown to the Athenians, but Codrus got wind of it.
For the literature of the subject, see further Rehd., App. 3, p. 167.

Πελοποννησοί ... ἔδοξε ... ἐξαναστήσαντας κατανεμασθαί]
The change of the participle in a case of this kind to agreement
with the accusative subject of the infinitive may be said to be the
rule rather than the exception: cf. Thuc. 1. 53 ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς...
ἐμβιβάσαντας...προσπέμψαι, iv. 2 εἶπον δὲ τούτοις...παραπλέοντας
...ἐπιμεληθήναι, Andoc. De Myst. § 9 ύμῶν δέομαι...ἀκροασμένοις
...ψηφίζεσθαι, Ibid. § 37, Dem. F. L. ad fin., ύμων συμφέρει
...τιμωρησαμένους παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι.—Πελοποννησοί: partly
with γενομένης ἀφοριάς, partly with ἔδοξε.—γενομένης ἀφορίας
NOTES

§ 85

(ἀ-priv., φέρω): 'on the occasion of a famine in their country.'— ἐξαναστήσαντας: ἐξανιστήμι (lit. 'make to rise') is said of the wholesale removal of a population: Her. i. 171 τοὺς Κάρας... Δωμεῖες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἐξαναστήσαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, ii. 171 ἐξαναστάσας πᾶσας Πελοποννήσου υπὸ Δωμεῖων, Soph. Αντ. 297 τὸ δ' (sc. ὁ ἄγνωρος) ἀνδρας ἐξανιστήσαν δήμων. Cf. ἀνάστατος, and supra § 60 n.

ἀποστειλαντες...ἐπηρώτων] The absol. use of ἀποστελλω (cf. πέμπω) is exactly the Eng. 'sent and asked.'—ἐπηρώτων: the verb is technical of consulting an oracle, as ἀνελεῖν (infra) is of the answer: cf. Thuc. i. 25, etc.—εἰ λήψονται: their question was ληψόμεθα; 'shall we take?': both mood and tense are preserved in the indirect question in historic sequence: cf. Dem. F. L. § 122 ἐβουλεύοντο...τίν' αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν (direct: τίνα καταλείψουμεν); Goodwin, § 669. 2.

ἀνελόντος...τοῦ θεοῦ] 'on the god answering them, that,' etc.: v. L. S. s.v. ἀναπέρω, III, and cf. Thuc. i. 25 ὁ δὲ (sc. θεός) αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖ παραδοθοῦναι κ.τ.λ.—ἐστράτευοι: 'set about their expedition,' perhaps, if we press the tense.


οὕτως...εὗνοις ἑχοντες διετέλουν] 'to such an extent, it would appear, did they continue to enjoy the good-will even of foreigners': though οὕτως, ταύτα, is frequently separated from its adj. (cf. οὕτως ἦσαν...γενναίοι a few lines below), the distance between οὕτως and εὕνων here suggests that each should be given a separate force: the distinction, it is true, is rather fine, but may be represented perhaps as that between usque adeo etiam externis sui studiosis utebantur and tam studiosis...utebantur.—τοὺς ἐξωθεῖν ἀνθρώπους, 'foreigners': cf. the characteristic οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, 'the people in the city,' etc.

τὴν θρέψαμένην] sc. γῆν or πατρίδα. But supra § 47 τὴν θρέψασαν αὐτοῦς π.

Διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν π.] 'staunchly stood by their country': so
also L.S. s.v. διακαρτερέω. [I cannot agree with Rehd. that els τὴν π. is to be joined with κατακλησθέντες, if ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ is kept: see Crit. App.]

§ 86. ἔτεραν μεταλλάξασι...χώραν] Cf. supra § 50 τὸν βλοῦν μετῆλλαξαν·

γοῦν] introducing, as often, an actual illustration of a general statement: cf. §§ 71, 95.

προσέχειν ὅταν τελευτήσῃ τὸν βλοῦν] 'to have regard to the moment of his death,' i.e. in relation to the oracle: for προσέχειν, cf. supra § 10 π.

κατὰ τὰς πῦλας ὑποδύντα] There are difficulties about taking these words in the sense which at first sight they seem to require, viz. 'slipping out by the gate,' a statement which (leaving out of account the equation ὑποδύναι = 'slip out' (from), in the absence of an accompanying gen. as at Od. vi. 127 θάμνων ὑπεδύσετο, xx. 53 κακῶν ὑποδύσεαι) must be said to convey a somewhat superfluous piece of information. Nor does ὑπεκδύντα, Ernesti and Schulz (Bl., Sofer), apparently in the sense of ὑπεξελθόντα, mend matters, for ὑπεκδύναι is properly said of 'stealing unobserved from a place of concealment' (cf. Her. i. 10); but even admitting that the word can mean, absolutely, 'to make one's way out secretly or unobserved,' this does not go well with κατὰ τὰς πῦλας—the last place where one might expect to do so. Rehdantz, in the face of these difficulties, 'sees only the possibility of taking κατὰ τὰς πῦλας with συλλέγειν,' and Sofer, reading ὑπεκδύντα, takes κατὰ τὰς π. both with the ptcp. and with συλλέγειν. Rehd. further explains ὑποδύντα as 'stooping so as to conceal his kingly stature,' which I greatly doubt: he would have to stoop to gather his wood, if for nothing else, and in any case we should expect this to be expressed not by ὑποδύναι but by κύπτω (or ἐγκύπτω—cf. Thuc. iv. 4). Madvig, who corrects to κάτα, thereby making τὰς πῦλας the direct obj. of ὑποδύντα, makes the words bear the only sense which seems possible in the Greek, viz. 'slipping under,' 'taking cover in' the gate, which I do not understand.
With the text as it stands, and taking ὑποδύοντα in the sense which (I think) most naturally suggests itself, viz. ‘going into’ or ‘under’ something, for cover or shelter (Lat. *subire*), I understand Lycurgus to say that Codrus ‘donning a beggar’s garb and secreting himself opposite the gate [till the opportune moment came, as presently explained], set to gathering wood before the city,’ and I picture the whole episode thus: Codrus [making his way out of the town—it may have been by the gate] concealed himself in a position from which he could watch for the approach of enemy soldiers: the whole narrative, indeed, assumes that he was expecting them. It was essential to his project that he should himself be the first to encounter them, so as to anticipate any information they might gather as to his personal appearance or his whereabouts—information which they would presumably be very eager to obtain. Immediately he saw what he was looking for, he left his place of concealment, made a feint at wood-gathering, and indeed did what he could to put himself in the way of the soldiers and pick a quarrel with them without raising any suspicions in them as to his identity or his purpose. For further discussion of the passage, see Crit. App.

συλλέγειν ‘set to gathering’: impf. infin.: Goodwin, § 119.

ἀποκτεῖναι τῷ δρεπάνῳ προσπεσόντα] τῷ δρεπάνῳ is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἀποκτ., and προσπ.—προσπεσόντα, for which Blass reads παλασντα out of Suidas’ πλήξαντα, seems well enough supported by Dem. *Liv.* 8 Φανοστράτῳ προσπίπτει, ‘falls upon (attacks) P.,’ and other passages.

§ 87. τῶ Κόδρῳ...τὸν Κόδρον] Blass brackets the first, Taylor the second; but probably both should stand (as Rehd. points out, App. 1, *ad loc.): (a) τῶ Κόδρῳ is necessary to show that τὸν δὲ περιλεί. is a subject, not a second object corresponding to τὸν ἔτερον preceding; (b) τὸν Κόδρον serves to bring out more sharply the whole point of the narrative.

σασάμενον] The middle seems more frequent than act. in this sense, but Eur. *Or.* 1194 ἔφωσ σπάσαντα, *I. T.* 322 φάσγανον σπάσας χερὶ.
NOTES

[§ 87]


ἡ πόλις...ἐδοσαν] for the plural vb. with collective subject, cf. infra § 142 ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαι, Thuc. i. 20 'Ἀθηναίων τὸ πλήθος Ἰππαρχον οἴοντα...τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν.

αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις] The article is regularly omitted in this formula.

ἐν πρυτανείῳ...σύτησιν ἐδοσαν] 'granted them perpetual maintenance in the state-hall,' a signal honour at Athens. Besides the πρυτάνεις (the fifty representatives of the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα, v. L.S. s.v. πρύτανις), who had meals provided for them originally in the πρυτανείον, but later in the θόλος or 'Round Room' (for the two buildings are to be carefully distinguished, though their uses seem to have been largely similar), a number of other persons were so entertained for special reasons, whom Pollux (IX. 40) classifies as (1) ambassadors, (2) citizens or others who had done good service to the state (οἱ διὰ πρᾶξιν τίνα συνήσεως ἄξιωθέντες), (3) those who had been granted perpetual maintenance (εἰ τις ἐκ τιμῆς ἀείσιτος ἤν), such as the children of Aristides (Plut. Arist. 27) and the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Dem. Lept. passim, F. L. §§ 280, 330, etc.


ἐπώνυμοι τῆς χώρας] 'have their names associated with the country,' 'have given their names' to it, as the ἡρωες ἐπώνυμοι were the heroes after whom the Athenian tribes were named: cf. supra § 1 τοῖς ἡρώοι τοῖς...ἱδρυμένοις π.

ἰσοθέους τιμῶν τευχηκότες] Cf. Dem. F. L. § 280 οὗς (sc. public benefactors) νόμῳ διὰ τῶν εὐεργεσίας ἂς ὑπηρέτων εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς λειτοί ἐπὶ ταῖς θυγασίως σπουδῶν...κουσινοῦσα πεπολήσθε, καὶ ἄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτ' ἐξ τοῦ τοῖς ἡρωει καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

ὑπὲρ ἦς...ἐπισύνδεσθαι] There is an obvious temptation to insert <τεθνέωτες> somewhere here, to balance τεθνέωτες, and give
more force to oüte ζών oüte τεθνεόμενος immediately following: Lobeck (Es) would place it after γάρ, Halm after ἐσπούδαζον.

ἐκληρονόμουν] 'they received a portion in it,' as of an inheritance: cf. infra § 127, Isocr. Ad Demon. § 2 πρέπει γάρ τοὺς παῖδας ὦσπερ τῆς ὀφειλας οὕτω καὶ τῆς φιλιας τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομεῖν.

§ 89. ἐξορισθεὶς τῆς χώρας] ἐξοριζεῖν, 'to send beyond the borders,' 'banish,' Lat. exterminare: so also ὑπεροπλίζειν. Cf. infra § 113 ἐξόρισειν ἔχω τῆς Ἀρτικῆς.

οὐδὲ γάρ καλόν] neque enim decet.

τὴν αὐτήν] sc. χώραν or γῆν.

cc. 21-23. §§ 90-97. He will perhaps tell you that he would never have stood his trial had he been conscious of guilt—a proof appealed to by every thief and perpetrator of sacrilege; but it is a proof, not of their innocence, but of their effrontery. Let him rather disprove the facts of his voyage and of his residence at Megara. The circumstance of his coming here to answer for his deeds among those whom he wronged is the work of Providence.

'Quem Iuppiter volt perdere, dementat prius.'

You will remember how divine vengeance overtook Callistratus. The gods survey all human actions, especially such as relate to parents, the dead, and piety towards themselves. 'The Place of the Pious' in Sicily has a useful lesson. Leocrates has sinned against all three—gods, parents, and the dead.

§ 90. ὦσ νοκ αὖ ποτε ὑπέμεινε...συνειδῶς] 'that he would never have faced this trial, had he been conscious,' etc.: συνειδῶς = el σωνήδει. Cf. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 93 εὖ δ' ἵστα ὅτι νοκ ἀὖ ποτ' ἔλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ τι ξυνήδειν ἐμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον.

ὡσπερ οὗ πάντας...χρωμένους] For this acc. absol. of a personal verb, common with ὦσ or ὡσπερ, cf. Plat. Protag. 342 c βραχελας ἀναβολας φοροῦσιν, ὡς δὴ τούτοις κρατοῦντας τῶν 'Ελλήνων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, Dem. F. L. § 189 ταύτα γὰρ τραγῳδεὶ περιων, ὡσπερ οὖχι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τούτων δοῦντα προδωτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας: Madvig, § 182, Goodwin, § 853.—καὶ τοὺς κλέπτοντας...εἰροσυλουῦντας: καὶ is intensive = etiam, and two
distinct classes are denoted by the ptcps. though they are served by one article: quasi vero universi, et (etiam) qui fures qui sacri-

legi sint, etc.

toû prágmatos] The ‘anticipated’ gen. is no doubt meant to give a pointed balance to tês ánauedelas.

tekmērōw...σημεῖον] ‘proof’...‘evidence.’ The locus classicus for these terms is Arist. Rhet. 1. 2. 16 ff., where he says: τῶν δὲ σημείων...τῷ μὲν ἀναγκαίον τεκμήριον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνώνυμον ἐστι κατὰ τὴν διαφοράν. ἀναγκαία μὲν οὖν λέγω ἡξ ὅν γίνεται συλλογισμός, ‘of signs...that which is necessary is a demonstration, that which is not necessary has no distinctive name. By “necessary” signs, I mean the propositions of which a syllogism is composed.’ From this it appears that to Arist. σημεῖον is ‘proof’ in general (whether fallible or not), and the genus σημεῖον is divided into two species, τεκμήριον and σημεῖον, of which the first is a ‘demonstrative’ or ‘certain’ proof, and the second a ‘sign’ or ‘probable argument.’ Another definition is found in Antiphon, frag. xxii. 72 (Blass): σημεῖον καὶ τεκμήριον διαφέρει. ’Α. ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (‘handbook of rhetoric’) τὰ μὲν παραχώμενα σημεῖα πίστωσθαι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα τεκμήριοι, ‘where σημεῖα = indications furnished by facts, τεκμήρια = grounds of conjecture: and so Andoc. De Pace § 2 περὶ τῶν μελλόντων’ (Jebb on Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 81). But cf. Plato, Laches 195 E τὰ σημεῖα...τῶν ἐσομένων.

On the whole it seems doubtful whether the use of the terms by Greek writers accords strictly with either definition, though the Aristotelian distinction will generally apply. The words occur frequently in close connexion, as here: cf. Isocr. Ad Demon. § 2 τεκμήριον μὲν τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνολας, σημεῖον δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἰππόδικον συνθηδελας, Dem. Lept. § 140 ὅτι παντάπασι φυσεως κακίας σημείων ἐστιν ὁ φθόνος...τεκμήρια δ’ ἥλικα τοῦτον θεωρήσατε.

§ 91. toû prágmatos] ‘the fact’ (at issue), ‘the matter in hand’: cf. supra § 11 ἡξιο τοῦ πράγματος λέγων ἡ.

ἐπεῖ γε τὸ ἐλθεῖν τοῦτον] ‘since, as to his coming here,’ etc.: the articular infin. here and elsewhere corresponds to the acc. of respect or limitation (Goodwin, § 795), but the present case differs
from others in so far as the simple infin. could not be substituted, as it might be e.g. at Soph. _Ant._ 79 τὸ δὲ | βία πολιτῶν δρὰν ἕφυν ἀμήχανος, _O. T._ 1417, Thuc. II. 53 ἃ προσταλαίπωρεῖν...οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν.

οἷμαι θεὸν τινα...τιμωρ[α]ν] 'I fancy some god brought him expressly for punishment': a common sentiment in the orators: cf. Lys. _C. Andoc._ § 27 <τοσαύτην γὰρ ὅ> θεὸς λήθην ἔδωκεν, ὥστε εἰς τοὺς ἥδικημένους αὐτοὺς ἐπεθύμησεν ἀφικέσθαι, _Ibid._ § 32 παραδέδωκεν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν χρῆσθαι δ᾽ τι ἄν βούλησθε, οὐ τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν πιστεύων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δαίμονιον τινὸς ἁγίμενος ἀνάγκης, _Andoc._ _De Myst._ § 137, Dem. _c._ _Timocr._ § 121.

ἐτέρωθι μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχῶν κ.τ.λ.] 'for had misfortune overtaken him elsewhere, it would not have been clear whether it was for this (the crime of desertion) that he was being punished': the tense of ἀτυχῶν suggests that the sentence should run either ei... ἡτύχει, οὐκ ἄν δῆλον ἦν, or ei...ἀτυχοῖη, οὐκ ἄν...εἶ (Goodwin, § 472): the first, which represents a condition contrary to the existing facts (as emphasised in the following clause ἐνταῦθα δὲ κ.τ.λ.), is the more probable, though it must be observed that the normal form of the condition is somewhat obscured by its presentation as a vivid present.—σύπω: here probably a strengthened form of the negative (L.S. _s.v._ 2), though the temporal sense is admissible ('something would still have been wanting to prove,' etc.).—δῆλον: sc. ἔστι [δῆλος Frohb. (Es, Bl.)].

ἐνταῦθα δὲ] sc. ἀτυχῶν.

αὐτοῦ] Blass reads αὐτοῦ (adv.), 'his offences committed here, but αὐτοῦ, 'his very own,' is quite forcible.

ταύτην τὴν τιμωρ[α]ν] 'this punishment': the retention of the article is supported by τοῦ ἄκλεος...θανάτου above: Bekker (Es) would omit τὴν, Blass ταύτην.

§ 92. οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ...παράγουσι] 'for the very first thing the gods do is to warp the understanding of wicked men,' a characteristic Greek doctrine which may be briefly formulated thus: the man who is wealthy or powerful overmuch excites the jealousy (ἐθῆν) of the gods: he waxes wanton and commits an act of insolence (ὑβρίς):
the gods visit him with a blinding influence (ἤτη—ἀδω) which leads him on till the cup of his iniquity is full and he commits the error which causes his own destruction. ἤτη—the influence which 'perverts the understanding'—is related to ἅβρις as child to parent: Aesch. Pers. 821 ἅβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦρ' ἐκάρπτωσε στάχνω | ἤτης, 'insolence when it hath conceived bringeth forth blindness of heart,' as we might say in the language of St James, 1. 15. The doctrine here outlined is expounded both by Greek prose writers and poets: the whole career of Xerxes in Herodotus is intended by the historian as a vindication of it, and a similar claim is made by some for the plan of Thucydides' history. For the poets, see more particularly next note.—οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν: certain of the editors (Bk., Bl.) inevitably bracket ποιοῦσιν, but Lyc. appears to affect variations of these idiomatic expressions: cf. infra § 129 οὐδὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἥ, and supra § 33 οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἡ φοβοῦμενος ἡ.

τῶν ἄρχαλων τίνες ποιητῶν] The four lines quoted here are of uncertain authorship (trag. adesp. fr. 240), but their form and substance may be illustrated from Homer, Theognis, Aeschylus and Sophocles, the last two of whom would probably have been voted τῶν ἄρχαλων by a man of Lycurgus' temperament: II. xix. 137 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην, καὶ μεῦ φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς, Theognis 403 σπέσσαι ἄνηρ, κέρδοις διζήμενος, ὅν τινα δαίμων | πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίν παράγει, | καὶ οἱ ἔθεκε δοκεῖν, καὶ μὲν ἣ κακά, ταῦτ' ἄγαθ' εἶναι, | εὔμαρέως, ἢ δ' ἢν ἢ χρήσιμα, ταύτα κακά, Soph. Ant. 621 σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κλείνων ἐποσ πέφανται, τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθιόν τῶδ' ἐμμὲν ὅτῳ φρένας θεός ἀγεὶ πρός ἀτάν. The schol. on this last quotes two lines by an unknown poet, ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἄνδρὶ παρόμυγκακά, | τὸν νοὸν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον, ἦ βουλεύεται, which Jebb (Soph. Ant. l.c. and App.) thinks were probably the original of the Latin, 'quem Iuppiter volt perdere, dementat prius,' itself a line of uncertain origin, as far as the wording goes, though close parallels are furnished from various sources, the most familiar being perhaps Publilius Syrus' 'stultum facit fortuna quem voluit perdere.'
NOTES

§ 93

For χρησμούς, cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 171 (the leading statesmen of Greece should have offered counsel about an expedition against Persia: even if they had failed) ἀλλ' οὖν τοὺς γε λόγους ὦσπερ χρησμούς εἰς τὸν ἐπιώτα ἀρόνων ἄν κατέλυτον, where Sandys renders 'solemn, oracular utterances,' quoting the present passage and Aeschin. Ctes. § 136 οἷμαι ὑμῖν δόξεων οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσίοδον εἶναι ἄλλα χρησμοῦ ('solemn warning') εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν.

βλάπτῃ] Cf. Od. xiv. 178 τὸν δὲ τις ἄθανάτων βλάψῃ φρένας, etc. "ἀγα (ἀώ), as the heaven-sent influence that leads men to sin, is properly 'hurt done to the mind.' Milton, Samson 1676 'Among them he a spirit of phrenzy sent, Who hurt their minds. Cf. βλαψάρων, φρενοβλαβής." (Jebb on Soph. Ant. 622 ff.)

τοὺτ' αὐτῷ πρῶτον] acc. in apposition to the sentence, like πάν τοῦναντιόν, etc.: cf. supra § 73 τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης ν.

ἐξαφανεῖται φρενῶν τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν] 'taketh utterly from out his breast his good understanding.' The most instructive parallel to this passage is perhaps Soph. Ant. 1090 (ἴνα γνῶ τρέφειν) τὸν νοῦν τ' ἄμελων τῶν φρενῶν ἤ νῦν φέρει, where Jebb points out that τὸν νοῦν τῶν φρενῶν must be taken together as = 'his mind within his breast,' if ἤ is to be retained. After quoting Il. xviii. 419 τῆς ἐν μὲν ὄνος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, 'there is understanding in their breasts,' xxii. 475 ἐς φρένα διμός ἀγέρπη, 'the soul returned to her breast,' he adds: 'The word φρῆν being thus associated with the physical seat of thought and feeling, ὁ νοῦς τῶν φρενῶν was a possible phrase.'

τρέπεται] sc. αὐτῶν, 'him.'

γνώμην] 'judgment,' 'purpose,' the practical manifestation of the νοῦς, as they may perhaps be distinguished when in juxtaposition. Cf. Lysias c. Anapoc. § 22 καλτοῦ πῶς οὗ θεῶν τίς τὴν τοῦτον γνώμην διεφθείρειν;

c. 22. § 93. τῶν πρεσβύτερων...τῶν νεωτέρων] These are of course partitive gens. with τίς, though it is curious that the verb adjacent to each is a verb which takes its object in the gen. Note the chiastic arrangement.
**KaXXhrrpaTov**] This Callistratus, son of Calllicrates, of Aphidna, was a prominent statesman and orator at Athens in the second quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. He was closely identified with the upbuilding of the Second Athenian Confederacy, and his policy generally was marked by a conciliatory attitude towards Sparta and opposition to the aggrandisement of Thebes. As an orator, his speech on the affair of Oropus (366 B.C.) is said to have excited the admiration of Demosthenes and to have given him his first impulse towards oratory. In 361 B.C. the Athenians, in a fit of exasperation at a sudden raid on the Piraeus by Alexander of Pherae, condemned Callistratus to death, whereupon he fled from Athens to Methone, on the Thermaic Gulf. Some years later he ventured to return without authority, and was seized and put to death.

**τοῦτον φυγόντα**] For the resumptive τοῦτον, cf. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2. 20 Κλέαρχος Τολμίδην 'Ηλείον, δν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ’ ἑαυτῷ...τοῦτον ἀνείπειν ἐκέλευσε: cf. *supra* § 42, Madvig § 100. c. [Sofer, however, explains τοῦτον as=τὸν βάνατον, which seems less likely.]

**τερειαται τῶν νόμων**] ‘he would have fair treatment by the laws’: cf. [Dem.] or. xliv. § 3 ἀγαπώντες, ἃν τις ἡμᾶς ἐὰν τῶν νόμων τυγχάνειν, *Ibid.* § 28, etc. The ambiguous phrase would be interpreted by C. as the opp. of τῶν νόμων εἴργεσθαι: cf. *supra* § 65.

**τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν**] The ‘altar of the twelve gods’ stood in the new Agora, having been placed there by the younger Pisistratus, son of Hippias, as the central point from which distances were to be measured (cf. the *miliarium aureum* at Rome): Her. ii. 7, Thuc. vi. 54. It seems to have been a recognised asylum: cf. Her. vi. 108.

**τὸ γὰρ τῶν νόμων...τιμωρίας ἐστίν**] ‘for to meet with the laws, for the guilty, is to meet with punishment’: with the reading in the text, τυχεῖν goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with τῶν νόμων and τιμωρίας, i.e. τὸ τῶν νόμων τυχεῖν τοῖς ἡδ. ἐστὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τιμωρίας. Note that τιμωρίας τυχεῖν is itself an ambiguous phrase: (a) ‘to
obtain vengeance' (Thuc. ii. 74, Xen. Cyr. iv. 6. 7); (b) 'to suffer punishment' (Plat. Gorg. 472 D). [For this reason, Bursian's (Bl.) τιμωπλας, which I have adopted, seems preferable to τιμωπλα of the mss.]

ο δέ γε θεός...κολάσαι τὸν αἷτιον] 'yes, but the god too was right in allowing the injured to punish the guilty': the connexion of thought is, 'the state rightly put C. to death. Yes, but the god too rightly allowed it to do so.' The combination δέ γε appears to have two main uses: (i) as a simple adversative, 'on the other hand,' 'on the contrary': Plat. Protag. 334 άλλη ἕγωγε πολλά οὕτω καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν ἀνωφελῆ ἔστιν, καὶ σιτία καὶ κοτά...τὰ δὲ γε ὑφέλαμα...τὰ δὲ βουσίν μόνον, τὰ δὲ κυσίν. τὰ δὲ γε τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν, δεῦροι δὲ, Dem. Mid. § 27 φευγόντως μὲν γὰρ...ἔστι...τὸν οὐκ ὄνθο' ὦς ἔδει γενέσθαι λέγειν, δικαστῶν δὲ γε σωφρόνων τούτων τε μὴ προσέχειν κ.τ.λ., (2) to cap a previous statement with a fresh detail which illustrates or amplifies or corrects it: hence frequent in retorts: Dem. F.L. § 279 (quoting a ψήφισμα) 'καὶ ἡλέγχθησαν τινες αὐτῶν εἰν τῇ βουλῇ οὐ τάληθη ἀπαγγέλλοντες.' οὗτοι δὲ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 'and so were these too,' etc., Soph. Ai. 1142 ἡδὴ ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρα...1150 εὖφ δὲ γ' ἄνδρ' ὅπωτα, 'yes, and I too have seen one,' Eur. Ion 1329, 1330 προγόνους δάμαρτες δυσμενεῖς ἀεὶ ποτε. ἡμεῖς δὲ μητρναίσ γε πάσχοντες κακῶς, 'yes, and we stepsons to our stepdames too,' which last is quoted by Shilleto on Dem. F.L. § 90.—ἀπέδωκε...κολάσαι τὸν αἷτιον: lit. 'granted it (as their due) to the injured to punish the guilty,' not 'delivered up the guilty to punish,' i.e. to be punished, as supra § 87. ἡξίον δόοιν τῶν βασιλέων θάγατον. Cf. Dem. c. Aristocr. § 56 τοὺς ἐξῆρᾳ ποιοῖντας...κολάζειν ἀπέδωκεν ὁ νόμος, 'the law empowers you.'

δεινὸν γὰρ ἄν εἶναι, ἢ...φαίνοντο] 'for it would be strange if the same signs were shown to the righteous and to evildoers,' i.e. if the same interpretation of divine signs was necessary in each case. σημεῖα, which, in respect of syntax, is perhaps predicative, 'the same things as signs,' is here 'signs from the gods,' in which oracular responses would be included: cf. Antiph. De Caed.
Herod. § 81 χρῆ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὅμελοι...τεκμηριμένους ἡφισθοῦν, Soph. O.C. 94.—For the reading, see Crit. App.

§ 94. ἐγωῦ'] 'I for my part': equidem existimo.

τοὺς γονέας...τοὺς τετελευτηκότας...άυτοὺς] Lyc. goes on to deal with piety towards the first only, whence Hirschig (Thalh.) brackets καὶ τοὺς τετελ...πρὸς αὐτοὺς. As Rehd. observes, however, he has already dealt, to some extent, with the second at supra § 45, and with the third at supra §§ 25, 76 sqq., and elects to elaborate the first here.

μὴ ὅτι ἁμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.] 'it is a monstrous impiety, I will not say to sin against them, but even to decline to lavish our own lives in benefiting them': non modo (non)...sed ne... quidem.—τὸν αὐτὸν βιόν, i.q. τὸν ἡμέτερον αὐτῶν β.

c. 23. § 95. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν Σ.] For γοῦν, cf. supra § 86 φασὶ γοῦν τὸν Κόδρον n.—The account of 'the Place of the Pious' here given by Lyc. appears to be the earliest version of a story which had a great vogue in the ancient world, and which, while agreeing in substance with Lyc., differs somewhat in detail, in respect that (a) two brothers carry off their aged parents (i.e. another brother carries the mother); (b) the names of the brothers are given mostly as Anapius and Amphinomus, but also as Philonomus and Callias, and differently in different writers. See Rehd., App. 3, p. 166.

ei γὰρ καὶ μυθωδέστερον ἔστιν] It will be, on that account, ἐς ἀκρόασιν εἰσερπέστερον (Thuc. 1. 22). For ei καὶ, cf. supra § 62 ei καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπέιν ἔστι n.


καὶ νῦν] 'even at this time of day': cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 28 καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, δως αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἡθήναι προσηκεί. [καὶ νῦν Frohb. (Bl., Rehd.) for καὶ υμῖν of the MSS., which does not seem satisfactory as υμῖν...τοῖς νεωτέροις must presumably include the judges, whom the description does not suit.]

δύακα πυρός] the regular phrase for 'an eruption,' or more strictly perhaps 'the stream of lava' from a volcano: cf. Thuc.
III. 116 ἔρρην δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τότῳ ὁ βαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττῆς (where the article seems to imply that it was a familiar occurrence).

δεῖν] impf. infin.

ἐπὶ <τε>...καὶ δὴ καὶ <τε> is inserted by Baiter (Es, Bl.): καὶ δὴ καὶ introduces an emphatic additional detail: cf. Her. i. 36 (of Solon) ἐστὶ θυμωμένον ἀπεικέτω...καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐστὶ Σάρδις.


πρεσβύτερον οὖντα καὶ] Es (Bl.) brackets καὶ so as to bring πρεσβ. οὖντα into direct causal connexion with οὐχὶ δυνάμενον ἀποχ., but unnecessarily: the difference is merely that between 'You are old, and can’t escape’ and ‘You can’t escape owing to your age.’

ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενον] ‘like to be caught’ in the stream (ἐν): cf. supra § 70 ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οἱ πράγματοι ἕπο τῶν πάντων τῶν Ἕλληνων.

§ 96. φορτίον...προσγενομένου] ‘by the addition of this load’: φορτίον is perhaps suggested by ἀράμενον just preceding, as φορτίον ἀρασθαί seems to have been said proverbially of ‘taking a heavy burden upon oneself,’ [Dem.] xi. § 14 ὅν παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον (sc. τὸν Φιλιππον) μείζον φορτίον ἕ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀράμενον (vulg.: αἱρόμενον S), ‘bitten off more than he can chew,’ to use a colloquialism.

τὸ θεῖον] anticipation: ‘how kind Providence is to good men.’


ἀφ’ ὅν...προσαγορεύεσθαι] i.q. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τὸ χ. προσαγ. The relative clause is simply an additional detail in the story as reported, and the infin. const. is continued accordingly. The same thing is exemplified in’ Latin; but Greek goes to greater lengths than Latin in extending the acc. and infin. const. to subordinate clauses.

γονεῖς] For the form, here and also in next §, cf. supra § 15 n.

§ 97. ὡστε καὶ ύπας δεῖν] The occurrence of ‘ὡστε intro-
ductory' with the infin. (instead of ὡστε δέι, which latter the mss. give, with the exception of AB) seems to be due, in this case at least, to the indirect form of the preceding paragraph throwing its influence over this as well: the speaker, in fact, forgets for the moment that he has finished his story. Cf. Plat. Apol. 22 E (after a stop) ὡστε με ἐμαυτὸν ἀνερωτάν (=ὡστε ἀνηρωτῶν, 'I began to question myself').

τὴν παρὰ <τῶν> θεῶν...μάρτυριν[ν] Cf. supra § 15 τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν...τιμωρίαν n.

κατὰ τὸ ἐμαυτὸν μέρος] Cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος n.

cc. 24–29. §§ 98–110. The action of Erechtheus on the occasion of the invasion of Eumolpus is a proof of the spirit of his age, and Euripides is to be commended for making it the theme of a noble drama. Listen to the speech which he has put into the mouth of Praxithea. If women set their country before their children, how much more is expected of men? I should like also to quote you some verses of Homer, whom your fathers singled out for special honour. Hear Hector's exhortation. The influence of such verses on your ancestors is reflected in their heroic conduct at Marathon and elsewhere. Their reputation for valour is attested by the fact that even the Lacedaemonians sought from them a general in the person of Tyrtaeus, under whom they conquered their enemies and whose elegies are still recited on the field of battle. The Spartans who faced the barbarian at Thermopylae owned his sway, as may be seen from the epigrams composed in their honour. Your condemnation of Leocrates is due to the fair fame of your forefathers.

§ 98. οὐ γὰρ ἀποστήσομαι τῶν παλαιῶν] 'for I won't depart from ancient history,' i.e. from seeking examples from it: cf. Dem. Lept. § 139 οὖθ' ἐκεῖνον γ' ἀποστάτεσθαι τοῦ λόγου, Isocr. De Pace § 81 οὐ μὴν ἀποστήσομαι παντάπασιν ὤν διενοθήνη.—τῶν παλαιῶν is probably neut. (so Rehd. and Sofer), cf. supra § 83 βούλομαι μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν...διελθεῖν, in spite of ἐκεῖνοι following; but ἐκεῖνοι certainly makes the case for masc. arguable: cf. the similar doubt supra § 31 τὰναντλα φαλνεσθαι τούτοις ποιούτασ n.
ἔφ' οἷς γὰρ ἐκείνοι...ἀποδέχοισθε] 'for it is only right that you should consent to hear what they made it their glory to do': cf. Dem. De Cor. § 160 ἀλοχρόν ἠστιν...εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἐργά τὼν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόλεων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

γὰρ] narrativum, introducing the story: ‘Well, it is recorded that,’ etc.

Εὐμολπος τῶν Π. καὶ X.] ‘E., son of P. and Chione,’ the daughter of Boreas. According to the story, the Eleusinians, who were at war with Athens, called Eumolpus to their assistance. He came with a numerous band of Thracians, but he was slain by Erechtheus. Eumolpus was regarded as the founder of the Eleusinian mysteries, and as the first priest of Demeter and Dionysus. He was succeeded in the priestly office by his son Ceryx, and his family, the Eumolpidae, continued till the latest times the priests of Demeter at Eleusis (v. Class. Dict.). Acc. to Preller, ‘the historical kernel’ of the Eleusinian war ‘is the fusion of the Eleusinian rites with the Attic, of Eleusis with Athens.’ Isocr. Panath. § 193 connects the coming of Eumolpus with the vindication of the claims of Poseidon to be the founder of Athens as against Athena: Ὑράκες μὲν γὰρ μὲν Ἐν. τοῦ Ποσ. εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, δο ἡμιφανήξησεν Ἐρεχθεί τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδώ πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν, Paneg. § 68 (cf. Eur. frag. infra, ll. 46-49).

τῆς χώρας...ἀμφισβ.] For the const., cf. Isocr. Panath. l.c., Dem. xxxix. § 19 τῆς ἁρχῆς ἡμφεσθήτει, ἦν ὑμεῖς ἑπ' ἐξειροτονήσατε.

'Ἐρεχθέα] This Erechtheus was the son of Pandion by Zeuxippe, and grandson of Erechtheus (Erichthonius), son of Hephaestus and Atthis (or Gaia) (v. Class. Dict.). The family of the Eteobutadai, to which Lycurgus belonged, traced their descent from his brother Butes.

Κηφισοῦ] no doubt the god of the river of the same name. Class. Dict. makes Praxithea ‘daughter of Phrasimus and Diogenia.’

§ 99. αὐτοῖς] dative of ‘interest’ or of ‘the person affected by
the action,' and referring here either to the Athenians generally, or to E. and P. as representing them.—μελλοντος...εισβάλλειν: cf. supra § 66 ἐμὲλλετε...σφέειν ὃ.

τῶν] poetic for ἔλθὼν N, probably betrays as its origin another place of the play from which the ἰήσως following is quoted: els Δ. τῶν might be the end of an actual iambic trimeter.

τι ποιῶν ἀν νίκην λάβοι] 'what he must do to obtain victory.'

χρήσαντος...τοῦ θεοῦ] Cf. supra § 84 ἀνελόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ.

τὴν θυγατέρα] The emphatic position of these words lays stress on the hardness of the demand.

πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν τῷ στρ.] priusquam duo exercitus congregarentur. But v. Class. Dict. s. Erechtheus ii: 'In the war between the Eleusinians and Athenians, Eumolpus was slain; whereupon Poseidon demanded the sacrifice of one of the daughters of Erechtheus' (contrast τὴν θυγατέρα above, and see further note on δόν θ' ὁμοσπόρῳ in 1. 36 of the iambics, infra).

ὁ δὲ] The prose uses of δὲ in apodosis are succinctly set forth by Abbott and Matheson on Dem. De Chers. § 3, after Buttmann, Excurs. xii ad Dem. Mid. To the exx. quoted by A. and M., l.c., may be added Isocr. Areopag. §§ 47, 63, Adv. Callim. § 58, De Pace § 55; Dem. De Cor. § 126, c. Aristocr. § 126, all of which are worth careful study. Also Andoc. De Myst. §§ 27, 149, on which last Hickie observes that 'this usage [δὲ in apod.] is mostly found in sentences beginning with a participle, or with a hypothetical clause, or with such conjunctions as ὅτε, ἐπειδή, ὅταν, ὅπως, ἠώς, etc.' In the present case, the force of δὲ is best described as resumptive, ὃ δὲ at once reinforcing the αὐτῷ at the opening of the sentence and taking up the thread after the intervening parenthesis: 'upon the god answering him that, if he sacrificed his daughter...he would overcome...he then, I say, obeyed,' etc.

§ 100. ὅτι τὰ τ' ἄλλ' ἄν...καὶ τοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] Note that in this const., where we have τὰ τὲ ἄλλα with a ptcp. followed by καὶ with a finite verb, τὰ τὲ ἄλλα belongs entirely to the ptcp.
clause and not at all to the finite verb: so here ‘in that, besides being a good poet in other respects, he also elected,’ etc. Cf. Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. § 17, where he quotes the present passage, and corrects Shilleto on Dem. F. L. § 139, where φιλανθρωπευθήμενος belongs entirely to its own clause, and not at all to that of προφυνεν. [τά τ’ ἄλλ’ ἦν Bekk. (Bl., Es.).]

τόυτον τόν μύθον προειλετο ποιήσαι] ‘he elected to dramatise this story’: ποιεῖν of artistic production, esp. in poetry (cf. ποιητής, Eng. maker, mäkyr), Plat. Phaedo 61 β ἐποίησα μύθους τοὺς Αἰσώπου, ‘put them into verse.’—μύθος, in the technical language of Aristotle, = ‘plot,’ Poet. 6. 6, where it is defined as μὴσις τῆς πράξεως, ‘representation of the action.’

πρὸς ὡς ἀποβλέποντας...φιλεῖν] ‘by regarding and contemplating which they should become habituated in their souls to a love of their country.’—πρὸς ὡς...συνεβλέπονται: the infin. is final in force—ὡσεὶ πρὸς ταυτάς κ.τ.λ., quae intuentes ac contemplantes assuescerent, and τὸ τῆς π. φιλεῖν is to be taken as an ‘acc. of the inner object,’ defining the scope of συνεβλέπονται, ‘to become habituated in the matter of patriotism,’ somewhat like Soph. Ant. 1105 καρδίας ἔξισταμαι τὸ δρᾶν, ‘I withdraw from my resolution—in the matter of doing,’ and other exx. quoted by Goodwin, § 791.

ἀ πεποληκε λέγονσαν] ‘which he has put into the mouth’ of the mother, lit. ‘represented her as saying’: cf. σύρα τούτων τῶν μύθων προειλετο ποιήσαι π., Aeschin. Clès. § 231 εἰ τῖς τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν...ποιησειέν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τὸν Θερσίθην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στεφανουμένου.

ἀξίαν...τού γενόσθαι K. θυγατέρα] Cf. Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, II. 1:

A woman well-reputed—Cato’s daughter.
Think you I am no stronger than my sex,
Being so father’d and so husbanded?’

ΡΗΣΙΣ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ] The iambics quoted are from Euripides’ Erechtheus, Dindorf P. S. G. fr. 362.—ῥήσις was the technical term for the messenger’s speech describing the
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catastrophe in a tragedy: the ἰδίον of Eur. in particular appear to have been favourite pieces for recitation: cf. Ar. Nub. 1371, Vesp. 580, Ran. 151, etc. So, in prose, ‘a long story’: Plat. Phaedr. 268 c ἐπὶ σπικρόν πράγματος ῥήσεις παμμῆκεις ποιεῖν, Rep. 605 D μακρὰν ῥήσον ἀποτείνοντα, ‘spinning a long tale.’—The practice of quoting the poets in speeches appears to have been introduced by Aeschines, whom Dem. meets with counter quotation, but as though under provocation and in self-defence: cf. Aeschin. I. §§ 128 sq., 144 sq., II. § 158, III. §§ 135, 184; Dem. xviii. § 267, xix. §§ 243 sqq. In the last quoted speech (De Fals. Leg.) Dem. quotes 16 lines from Soph. Ant. and some 40 lines from Solon’s Elegies. Both Aeschin. and Dem., however, may be said to have kept quotation within bounds, whether as regards amount or relevancy: Lycurgus offends against both with this great block of 55 iambics, which he follows up with 32 lines of Tyrtaeus. (Cf. J. F. Dobson, The Greek Orators, p. 281.)

1, 2. τὰς χάριτας ὀστὶς...ῃδίον For χάριτας...χαρίζεται, cf. Isocr. Ad Dem. § 31 χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαρίζομενος, Dem. De Cor. § 239 εἰτα κενᾶς χαρίζει χάριτας συκοφαντῶν ἐμὲ.—ἐδίον: sc. ἐστὶ. The neut. adj. is really in agreement with the thought of the previous line, as though the const. were τὸ χάριτας εὐγ. χαρίζεσθαι ἐδίον κ.τ.λ., but the substitution of the relative clause for the articular infin. (or εἰ τὶς) is thoroughly Euripidean: cf. Hel. 271 καὶ τοῦτο μεῖξον...κακόν, ὀστὶς...κέκτηται, Ib. 941 παῖσι γὰρ κλέος τόδε...�数ς κ.τ.λ., I. T. 606, Phoen. 509, Med. 220, etc. So also Thuc. II. 44, 62; III. 45 πολλὰς εὑρθέλας ὀστὶς οὐτεῖν κ.τ.λ., ‘it is great folly to imagine,’ etc.

2, 3. οὐ δὲ δρόσοι μὲν, χρόνῳ δὲ δρόσοι] ‘bis dat qui cito dat’ is the idea. [For the completion of 1. 3 I have adopted Meineke’s <λέγω>, which word may have somehow disappeared before the ἐγώ following. See Crit. App.]


6. λάβοιν] So Dind. (Sch., Rehd.) = λάβομεν, on the strength
of two or three supposed such forms of 1st pers. opt. in trag. (τρέφων, ἀμάρτον, ἔχων). The sense will then be 'I can win no other city,' etc. But λαβεῖν of the mss. (Bl., Thalh.) gives quite a good point with ὰδίσω: 'I am prepared to give my daughter, and I reckon that there is no other city more worthy to receive her.'

7, 8. ἣ πρώτα μὲν λεῖς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς...αὐτόχθονες] Note that this πρώτα μὲν has no ἐπείτα (δὲ) answering it.—λεῖς is scanned as one syllable (synizesis).—οὐκ ἐπακτὸς...αὐτόχθονες: for the topic, which is a well-worn one both with poets and orators, cf. supra § 41 ὁ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτόχθων εἶναι...ἐσεμνύνετο ν.; also Isocr. Paneg. § 24 ταύτην γὰρ οἷκοίμεν οὐκ ἐτέρους ἐκβαλώντες...οὐ' εκ πολλῶν ἔθνων μιγάδες συλλεγέντες...αὐτόχθονες δυντες κ.τ.λ., a passage which recurs with little variation in [Lys.] Epitaph. § 17.

8–10. αἱ δ' ἀλλ' πόλεις...εἰσαγώγυμοι] 'whereas other cities have been settled as though by the odds of draughts and are imported, one from this, one from that,' i.e. the populations of other cities are as fluctuating and uncertain as though they were determined by the shifting positions in a game of draughts (πεσσολ), and owe their existence to 'importation,' i.e. colonisation from other cities (as opp. to αὐτόχθονες). The general meaning is clear, but the details of the simile cannot be pressed owing to our insufficient knowledge of the rules governing the game of πεσσολ, and its connection with dice (κόβοι), which may have determined the position of the πεσσολ on the board. Plutarch, indeed (Mor. 604 D), quotes l. 9 as πεσσὼν ὄμοις διαφορθείσαι βολαίς, which seems to mean 'tossed to and fro (ultro citro iactatae) as by casts of the dice;' though διαφορείν has usually the stronger sense of 'harry,' 'plunder': cf. Her. III. 53, Dem. XLV. § 64. Also in l. 10 he gives ἄγωγυμοι (contra metrum).—πεσσὼν ὄμ. διαφ. ἐκτισμ. = διαφοραὶ ὀ. ταῖς πεσσῶν διαφ.: compendious comparison.—εἰσαγώγυμοι: practically = ἐπακτοί, the idea of 'permissibility' suitable to the termination of the adj. (as in εἰσαγώγυμοσ δίκη) being here quiescent: so τὰ εἰσαγ. = 'imports.'
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11-13. ὅστις δ' ἀπ' ἀλλης κ.τ.λ. 'but whoso leaves a city to settle in another, he, like a bad fastening fitted in wood, is a citizen in word only, and not in deed.'—For πόλεος metri causa, cf. Aesch. S.C.T. 218, Supp. 345; Soph. Ant. 162; Eur. Or. 897, El. 412, Ion 595, which acc. to Jebb on Soph. l.c. exhaust the instances of this particular form in the trimeters of the three tragedians.—οἰκήσῃ Meineke (Bl., Sof.: φκησεν Dobree) seems distinctly preferable to οἰκλξει of the mss. (Sch., Rehd., Thalh.), which latter would naturally refer to the founder of a city; but the idea is of a new-comer who does not fit into the body of the community he has joined. For the omission of ἀν with the conj., cf. Soph. O. T. 1231, O.C. 395, El. 771, etc.—ἀρμός: here, as παγεῖς shows, a 'fastening' in the concrete sense, 'a peg,' 'bolt,' as Eur. Med. 1315 ἐκλύθη ἄρμον, 'undo the fastenings' of the doors; otherwise, 'a chink,' 'aperture' between two things which are joined together: Soph. Ant. 1216 ἄρμον χύματος λιθοσκαθῆ, 'the opening made by wrenching away the stones.'—λόγῳ...τοῖς δ' ἐργοισίν: for omission of the article with one member, and variation of the number, in this phrase, cf. Soph. O.C. 782 λόγῳ μὲν ἐσθλά, τοῖς δ' ἐργοισιν κακά.

14. ἐκατι] Doric and tragic form of ἐκήτῳ ἐνεκα.

15. θεῶν...τῇ ῥυώμεθα] θεῶν is one syllable by synizesis: cf. supra l. 7 λεώς.—τῇ ῥυώμεθα: for the lengthening of the short vowel in arsi before ρ, due to the strong pronunciation of the letter initially (v. L.S. s. llt. III), cf. Soph. O.T. 847 τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἣδη τοῦργον εἰς ἑμὲ ρέτον.

16. πόλεως δ' ᾑπάσης...πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν] The first part of the line is a purely formal antithesis to the main thought, 'there are many dwellers in the city.'—νῦν: tragic acc. form, here = αὐτήν.

18. προπάντων μιὰν ὑπὲρ δοῦναι θανεῖν] προπάντων (Meineke, for πρὸ πάντων) here depends upon ὑπὲρ (as the accentuation of the prep. shows: ὑπερδοῦναι mss.): others writing ὑπὲρ δ. θ. make ὑπὲρ...θανεῖν a case of ὑμεσὶς = ὑπερθανεῖν, on which compound προπάντων then depends: cf. Eur. Phoen. 998 ψυχὴν τε δῶσω τῷ δοῖρ' ὑπερθανεῖν χθονὸς.
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19, 20. εἰπερ γάρ ἀριθμὸν...τὸ μεῖζον] 'for if I understand number, and what is greater than the less': εἰπερ...ἀριθμὸν οἶδα was probably a proverbial expression: v. L.S. s.v. ἀριθμὸς.

20, 21. οὐνός οἶκος...οὐδ' ισον φέρει] 'the misadventure of one house outweigheth not that of the whole city, nay, nor doth it count as equal.'—οὐνός (Emper. et vulg.) = ὁ ἐνός, 'the (house) of one man.'—σθένει (στένει Blass) = δύναται, in the sense of 'equivalence': Lat. valere.—πταλωσ, conditional, 'if it come to grief': supply πταλώσῃς with ἀπάσης πόλεος.—πόλεος: cf. supra l. 11 n.—ισον φέρει: cf. the Homeric ἰσοφαρίζειω.

22, 23. εἰ δ' ἦν ἐν οἶκοις...ἀρσην] 'now had I in my house male offspring in place of female,' sons instead of daughters: θηλείων is used as a subst. The form of the protasis implies 'but I have not a son' (Goodwin, § 410): Class. Dict., however, makes P. the mother of 'Cecrops, Pandorus, Metion, Orneus, Procris, Creusa, Chthonia and Orithyia.'

24, 25. οὐκ ἦν νῦν ἐξεπεμπὼν...προταρβόος'] 'would I shrink from sending him (them) forth...for that I blenched at death?' Some would make this a statement by giving the negative to προταρβόος', 'I would send...without blenching,' but this seems less likely.

25–27. ἀλλ' ἐμοίν' ἐστώ τέκνα...πεφυκότα] 'nay, mine be children [ἐστω G. Herm. (Turr., Thalh.): εἰς Ald. (Bl.): ἐστιν Rehd.: ἐστι codd.] who should both fight and be illustrious among men, and not be mere figures in the state.'—μάχουτο and πρέποι are best taken as optatives of 'assimilation,' common after an optative expressing a wish in the main clause: see Goodwin, § 531 and exx. there, also §§ 558 ff.—πρέποι: cf. Hom. Od. VIII. 172 μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένουσιν.—σχῆματ' ἀλλως: σχῆμα, of the appearance as opp. to the reality: cf. Eur. Frag. 25 γέροντες οὐδὲν ἐσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅχλον | καὶ σχῆμα', 'nothing but number and a mere outside' (L.S.); we may compare the somewhat similar use of ἀριθμὸς, Eur. Troad. 476 οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν, and Horace's nos numerus sumus.

28, 29. τὰ μητέρων δὲ...όρμωμένους] 'but whene'er a mother's
tears escort her sons: they unman many as they set forth to the fray': πέμπειν here of 'escorting' perhaps rather than 'sending' (cf. πομπή, πομπαῖος).—θηλυν': gnomic.

30. πρό] 'before,' i.e. 'in preference to' honour (τοῦ καλὸν).

31. εἴλοντ' ἢ] The MSS. give εἴλοντο καὶ, for which none of the numerous remedies proposed seems satisfying palaeographically: εἴλοντ' ἢ (Matthiae) at least cuts the knot.

32-35. καὶ μὴν θανόντες γε...δοθήσεται] καὶ μὴν introduces, as regularly, a new line of thought, which is this: 'other mothers' sons by dying in battle win a common grave and glory which is (but) equal (i.e. no greater than that of their fellows), for they share it with many (πολλῶν μέτα): my daughter by dying for the state will win a crown of glory which none shall divide with her': for στέφανοι, cf. supra § 50 στέφανον τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι τὰς ἐκεῖνον ψυχὰς ν.—εἰς μᾶ μόνη: the juxtaposition of these words emphasises the oneness of the sacrifice and the oneness of the reward.

36. δύο θ' ὀμοσπόρῳ] This most naturally means, in Eur.'s context, 'and her two sisters,' for P. has just implied (ll. 22, 23) that she has no son, while ἀντὶ θηλεῖν (supra 1. 22) and παιδῶν τῶν ἐμῶν (infra 1. 40) imply that she has more than one daughter. Lycurgus' language at § 99 supra, τὴν θυγατέρα εἰς θύσει, would suggest that the maiden to be sacrificed was certainly an only daughter, if not an only child. It seems less likely that the words mean 'and thy two sisters' [i.e. the two sisters of Erechtheus (v. Class. Dict.), who is presumably being addressed], though this would square better with Lycurgus, l.c.

38. τὴν οὐκ ἐμὴν πλήν <ἡ> φύσει] 'who is not mine except by nature,' i.e. except so far as the natural claim of parentage goes: the claim of the state is prior. [<ἡ> Wagner (Sch., Thalh.): <τῇγ>] Sauppe (Bl.): <ἐν> Rehd.: alii alia.]

39. θύσαι] Cf. supra §§ 43, 87, etc.

αἱρεθήσεται] 'shall be taken,' for which ἀλώσεται would be normal in prose: ἤφεθην regularly = 'was chosen.'

41, 42. οὐκοῦν ἄπαντα...πόλιν] 'And so shall all be saved,
so far as lies in me: others shall rule, but I shall save, this city: both lines, however, have been much emended: see Crit. App.—\( \tau \circ \nu \upsilon \gamma ^{'} \ \epsilon \mu \omicron \omicron \circ \lambda \varepsilon i \) \( = \tau \circ \delta \ \epsilon \upsilon \gamma ^{'} \ \epsilon \mu \omicron \omicron \circ, \ \text{quantum \ in \ me \ est,} \ 'as \ far \ as \ it \ rests \ with \ me.'

43-45. \( \epsilon \kappa \epsilon i \nu o \ \delta ^{'} \ \sigma \omicron \ldots \epsilon \kappa \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon i \] 'then again—a matter which toucheth most closely the public weal—no man that lives shall, with my soul's consent, set at naught the ancient ordinances of our sires.'—\( \epsilon \kappa \epsilon i \nu o \) is an absol. acc. (cf. \( \tau \circ \nu \tau o \ \mu \epsilon \nu \ldots \tau \circ \nu \tau o \ \delta \epsilon, \ \text{etc.} \) which looks forward to and is in apposition with the main statement \( \circ \nu \kappa \ \varepsilon \sigma \theta ^{'} \ldots \delta \circ \tau i s \ \epsilon \kappa \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon i. \) \( = \nu \tau o \ \pi \lambda \epsilon \iota \sigma \tau o n \ldots \mu \epsilon \rho o s \: \text{lit.} \ 'of which the part in the common weal is the greatest': \( \mu \epsilon \rho o s \) is said of 'the part assigned to' or 'played by' one in anything: cf. \( \epsilon \nu \ \mu \epsilon \rho e i \) (\( \tau \nu \nu \delta \sigma \) \( \pi \nu \iota \epsilon \iota \sigma \tau a i, \ \epsilon \nu \ \circ \nu \delta \nu \epsilon \nu \circ \epsilon i \ \epsilon \nu \iota a i, \ \epsilon \nu \ \mu \epsilon \rho e i, \ 'to be of no consequence.'—\( \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota \rho i p: \) this, which is Bothe's [Rehd., Sofer: \( \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota p \) Valck. (Thalh.)] correction, I have adopted with some diffidence for \( \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota p \) of the mss. (Turr., Sch., Bl.), which gives the opposite sense to that which is required, and which Rehd. declines to defend on the 'mixture of two constructions' theory, which is the usual solvent in such cases: cf. the well-known crux at the opening of the Antigone (I. 4) \( \circ \nu \delta \nu \epsilon \nu \ \gamma \circ \rho \ o \sigma \tau \ \alpha \lambda \gamma e i \nu \circ \nu \ \circ \nu \tau \ ' \ \dot{\alpha} \tau \nu s \ \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota p, \) which has been variously treated (see C. and A. and Jebb, \textit{ad loc.}) so as to obtain a positive meaning.—\( \theta \varepsilon \sigma m i : = \nu \delta \omega \mu \iota \alpha \, \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \alpha i a, \ \text{Hesych.}: \) cf. Aesch. \textit{Eum.} 491, Soph. \textit{Ai.} 713.—\( \epsilon \kappa \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon i: \ '\text{annul,} \ ' \text{set at naught': cf. Soph. \textit{O.T.} 849 \( \kappa \circ \nu \kappa \ \dot{\epsilon} \sigma t \nu \ \alpha \nu \iota \circ \ \tau \circ \nu \tau o \ \gamma^{' } \) (sc. \( \tau o \ \dot{\epsilon} \rho o s \) \( \epsilon \kappa \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon i \nu \ \pi \alpha \lambda i v, \ \text{O.C.} \ 631 \ \tau i s \ \dot{\delta} \eta \iota \ ' \ \dot{a} \nu \ \alpha \nu \delta \rho o s \ \epsilon \nu \mu \epsilon \nu e i a i a n \ \epsilon \kappa \beta \alpha \lambda o i \ | \ \tau \circ \iota \omega \delta \iota; \)

46. \( \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota \ ' \ \epsilon \lambda \lambda a s \ \chi r \nu \sigma \epsilon \alpha s \ \tau e \ \Gamma . \) \) The olive tree and the Gorgon (for which latter see L.S. or Class. Dict.) were the distinctive emblems of Athena, as the trident (\( \tau \rho \lambda \nu \nu a i a \)) was of Poseidon. It has been suggested that the poet is here thinking of the gilded Gorgon’s head on the south wall of the Acropolis (Paus. I. 21. 3).—\( \dot{\alpha} \nu \iota \ ' \ \epsilon \lambda \lambda a s, \) which is Dobree's correction of \( \dot{\alpha} \nu \ \tau e \nu \lambda e i a s, \) is truly a \( \textit{palmaris \ emendatio.} \)

47. \( \epsilon \nu \ \pi \lambda \lambda e o s \ \beta \dot{\alpha} \theta r o i s \) 'in the heart of the city,' \( \text{in \ sinu \ urbis,} \) is perhaps our equivalent.

P.L.
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48. Ὄρπες] subst. used as adj. with λεως, cf. Eur. I. T. 341 Ἑλληνος ἐκ γῆς, and the somewhat similar Romula gens, etc. in Latin.

49. Παλλᾶς δ' οὖδαμον τιμήσεται] Note that the οὖδ' of l. 46 extends to this clause as well.


51. αὐτι...ψυχῆς μᾶς] ‘at the price of a single life.’

54. καὶ πάθωσ] i.e. ‘(in that case) we should both,’ etc. For the sentiment, Rehd. cites Eur. Phoen. 1017 κακῶν ἃν αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων | πειρώμεναι τὸ λοιπὸν εὗτοιοίεν ἃν.

C. 26. § 101. ταύτα] obj. of the thing taught after ἐπαιδεύειν, with which (as also with ἐποιήσει following) supply Ὁ Εὐριπίδης as subject.

ἐποιήσε] ‘he has represented’: cf. supra § 100 ἀ πεποίηκε λέγοσαν ὃ.

tοὺς γ' ἄνδρας...ἕχειν] (if women can bring themselves to behave so) ‘men ought to entertain a quite insurpassable affection for their country,’ insuperabilem quandam erga patriam pietatem: ἀνυπέρβ. is of course predicative.

πρός] ‘before,’ ‘in the eyes of’: cf. infra § 109 μαρτύρια...ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθὴ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας.

ὡσπέρ Λ.] sc. πεποίηκε generally, or an appropriate tense from the two infs. preceding. The final position of the name gives the same bitter emphasis as supra § 44 n.

C. 26. § 102. καὶ τῶν Ὁ. παρασχέωθαι ἐπών] ‘to quote you also some of H.’s poetry,’ as inculcating patriotic principles: cf. παρέξεωθαι μάρτυρα, τεκμήριον, etc.—ἐπών: of epic poetry par excellence, cf. Her. II. 117 Ὄμηρος μὲν ὑμῖν, καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἑπεα, χαίρετω, Thuc. I. 3, etc.: the gen. is partitive.

οὕτω γὰρ ὑπελαβον...σπουδαίον] For the separation of οὕτω from the adj. which it qualifies, cf. supra § 85 οὕτως...εὗνος ἐχωντες διετέλουν ὃ.—For the value of the Homeric poems from
the military point of view, which is the one specially intended by Lycurgus, we may compare the well-known passage of the *Frogs* (ll. 1034–6), where Aristophanes credits ‘the divine Homer’ with having taught τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὑπλίσεις ἄνδρῶν, and Isocr. Paneg. § 159 οἷμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀ. ποίησιν μείζων λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τούτο βουλη-θήναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιήσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄλοισ καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούσαμεν τῶν ἐπῶν...καὶ ξηλώντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσμένων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμώμεθα. Against such passages may be placed the polemic of Plato (*Rep.* 598 b—601 b), where, denying that the poet writes with knowledge, he asks (600 a), ἀλλὰ δὴ τις πολέμως ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀρχόντος ἦ ξυμβουλεύ- νοντος εὐ πολεμηθένς μνημονεύται; It does not appear, however, that Plato’s attack did much to shake the position of Homer in the eyes of those who regarded him ‘as at once a universal genius and the educator of the whole of Greece’ (cf. Ibid. 606 e). ‘The poems of Homer were thought to contain, by precept and example, everything calculated to awaken national spirit and to instruct a man how to be καλὸς κάγαθος’ (Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. l.c.).

ὡστε νόμον ἔθεντο...ραψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπη] that they passed a law that he alone among the poets should have his poems recited at each quinquennial celebration of the Panathenaea.’ Jebb (Introd. to Homer, p. 77) opines that the ‘law’ here mentioned by L. was probably as old as 600–500 b.c., limits which would point to, or admit of, a Pisistratean origin for the ordinance: see infra.—καθ’ ἐκάστην πεντετετρίδα τῶν Π.: ‘at each quinquennial celebration of the Panathenaea,’ acc. to the Greek mode of reckoning: the reference is to ‘the Great Panathenaea,’ II, τὰ μεγάλα, held once every four years, in the third year of each Olympiad)(II. τὰ μικρά, τὰ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν, a lesser celebration held annually. A feature of the former, at least, was the procession to the Acropolis, in which was carried the robe, woven by Athenian maidens, for presentation to the statue of Athena in the
Erechtheum, a ceremony which was represented on the frieze of the Parthenon. Athletic and musical contests (including the recitation of epic poems) also formed part of the festival; and it was with a view to regulating such recitations that the famous traditional 'recension' of the Homeric poems was carried out by Pisistratus—an achievement which a man of Lycurgus' temperament would doubtless have 'counted unto him for righteousness.'

—πενταετρίδα: so Dobree (Bl., Sofer) for πενταετρίδα, acc. to Moeris' canon πενταετρίς. 'Ἀττικῶς, πενταετρίς. 'Ἐλληνικῶς.—

μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν: cf. supra § 67 μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν n.—ραψοδείσαι τὰ ἐπίθη: 'that his poems should be recited.'

For ραψοδεῖν, ραψοδία, ραψόδος in connexion with epic poetry, see L.S. s.vv. and Jebb, Introd. to Homer, pp. 76, 77, where he says, inter alia: 'The public recitations of the Homeric poems by 'rhapsodes' can be traced back to about 600 B.C., and was doubtless in use from a considerably earlier time...It was further provided [by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus] that the competing rhapsodes at the Panathenaea should recite consecutive parts of Homer, instead of choosing their passages at random.'

The restriction here mentioned would seem to touch what, pace the explanations of ραψόδος given by Jebb, l.c., and others, must have been of the essence of the art of the 'rhapsode,' viz. that out of his knowledge of the Homeric poems as a whole he could 'stitch together' such 'cantos' as he would deem most suitable to his particular audience.—For the contemptuous use of ραψοδεῖν (often accompanied by περλειμ, suggestive of the 'wandering minstrel,' as Plat. Rep. x. 600 D Ὅμηρον...𐄀' Πελαδόν ραψοδεῖν ἄν περιοῦντας εἶνω;) cf. Dem. xiv. § 12 οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ραψοδήσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιοῦντες, 'will simply deliver a homily.'

ἐπιδείξειν ποιούμενοι] = ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, 'by way of demonstrating': cf. supra § 1 τὴν ὀρχήν...ποιήσομαι n.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι κ.τ.λ.] 'for the laws, by reason of their conciseness, do not teach but enjoin what is one's duty, whereas the poets by giving a picture of human life and selecting for their purpose the noblest actions help to influence men by reason
and demonstration.'—μυθομενοι in its application to the function of the poet as ‘holding up the mirror’ to human life is reminiscent of the more technical use of μυθισθαι and μυθησις in Plato and Aristotle, for whom the fine arts generally, including poetry, music, painting and sculpture, are species of ‘mimetic’: cf. Arist. *Poet. passim*, Plat. *Rep.* 392 c (with Adam’s note); Butcher, *Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* 4, c. ii. With the language of L. here we may compare Isocr. *Ad Nicoc.* § 43 σημείον (that the majority prefer τὰ χαριστάτα to τὰ χρησιμωτάτα) δ’ αὖ τις ποιήσαι τῷ Ἡσίωδος καὶ Θεογνίδος καὶ Фωκυνδού ποίησιν· καὶ γὰρ τούτοις φανέροι μὲν ἄριστοις γεγενησθαι συμβουλοὺς τῷ βλεφαρίζοντος ἀνθρώπων.—εἰκλεξάμενοι, ‘choosing for themselves,’ i.e. for their special purpose.—συμπελθοῦσιν: perhaps not so much ‘join in influencing’ as ‘add their influence to other influences’ in admonishing men.

§ 103. γὰρ] ‘for instance.’

ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ’ κ.τ.λ.] *Il.* xv. 494–499, with some variations: διαμπερὲς for ἀλλὰς, νήπια τέκνα for παιδές ὀπλισσω, καὶ κλήρος καὶ οἶκος for καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλήρος. Quotations like this are notoriously fertile in variae lectiones.—For ἀλλὰ, cf. infra § 107. 15 n.

βλήμενος ἢ τυπεῖς] The first properly of a *missile*, the second of a *weapon in the hand*, cf. *Il.* xi. 191 ἢ δοντι τυπεῖς ἢ βλήμενος ἤφω, but the distinction cannot always be pressed in Homeric usage.

κλήρος] “Evidently the right to join in the periodical division of the commonland by lot among members of the community. This is reserved to a man’s family after his death. Trans. ‘allotment.’” (Leaf and Bayfield *ad loc.*)

**c. 27. § 104. οὖτως ἐσχὸν πρὸς ἄρετήν]** But *infra* § 108 οὖτω τολυνυ ἐηχον πρὸς ἄδρειαν οἵ τοῦτων ἀκούντες. If the distinction between the tenses is to be pressed, the aor. will describe the *active result* of their hearing: “got such a ‘bent’ or ‘impulse’ towards valour” *(their habitual attitude (ἐηχον)).* Goodwin, §§ 55–57.

ēn Μαραθῶν: the prep. in this phrase is now generally expelled by editors, in accordance, seemingly, with the best Greek usage, which makes Μαραθῶν a locative; but Cobet's 'nemo unquam veterum ēn M. dixit' is too sweeping, in the face both of the mss. and of inscr. (v. Rehd., App. i, ad loc.). Cf. Her. vi. iii–ii, Aeschin. Ctes. § 181, etc. On the other hand, ēn Σαλαμῖνι appears to be the regular expression, though the Aeschin. passage just cited for ēn M. curiously enough gives τῇ Σαλαμῖνι παμαχία (with τῇ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα as an inevitable variant), and Dem. F. L. § 312 shows οἱ Μαραθῶν καὶ Σαλαμῖν (κἀν Herwerden).

tοῦ ἐκ ἀπάσης τῆς 'Α. στόλον] An armament 'drawn from the whole of Asia' need not necessarily have been large, though this is no doubt the implication. Her. (ix. 27) makes the Athenians boast of having conquered forty-six nations. The actual strength of the Persian fighting force at Marathon, which Her. does not specify and which was grossly exaggerated by later historians, can hardly have exceeded 50,000 to 60,000 men: see some figures in Holm, History of Greece, vol. ii, p. 25, n. 6.

tὸν μὲν Ἡ. προστάτας, τῶν δὲ δ. δεσπότας...λόγῳ...ἤργῳ] A thoroughly Isocratean passage: note the favourite antithesis (λόγῳ...ἤργῳ), the exact balancing of clauses (παράσωσις), and the assonance (προστάτας...δεσπότας) (παρασωσίς).

ἐπεδεκυνντο] praef se ferebant.

c. 28. § 105. οὕτως ἦσαν...σπουδαῖοι] cf. supra §§ 85, 102 nn.

eν τοῖς ἐξμεροσθε χρόνοις] These words (as Dr Verrall points out in his essay on Tyrtaeus, see note infra) are ambiguous: (a) taking them with πολέμουσιν and ἄνειλεν, we shall render: 'when the martial L. had in former times a war with the M.,' (b) taking them as attributive (= τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ξυ. χ. Λ. ἄνδρο.) we have: 'when the L., who were in former times first in martial qualities, had a war with the M.' Here, as in many other places, one would give much to know exactly how they were taken by the writer of them.

πολέμουσι πρὸς Μ.[] This was the 'Second Messenian War,'
which is now dated to about the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. (traditional date 685–668): cf. supra § 62 τοῦτο δε Μεσσήνην
πεντακοσίων ἑτεσών ὑστερον...συνοκισθείςαν; n. [See note on
Tyrtaeus, infra.]

άνειλεν ὁ θεὸς] Cf. supra § 84 ἀνελόντος αὐτῶς τοῦ θεοῦ n.
λαβεῖν...νικήσειν] The first infin. represents a command, the
second a statement: ‘the god answered that they should take...
and thus they would conquer.’

τοῖν ἀφ’ Ἡ. γεγ.] The two royal houses of the Agids and
Eurypontids at Sparta both traced their descent back to Heracles.

οὗ ἀῤῥ βασιλεύουσιν] ἀῤῥ refers here rather to the ancient and
unbroken line of the Spartan kings than = ‘from time to time.’
For the const. τοῦ...οὗ βασιλεύουσιν, cf. Xen. Hell. v. 4. 19 τῷ
δύο στρατηγῷ, οὗ (but συνηπιστάζην following).

§ 106. Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἐλαβοῦ For Tyrtaeus, see Class.
Dict. His Athenian origin, in spite of the general consensus of
the authorities on this point, seems open to doubt: Bury [H. G.
(1900), p. 128] opines that he was ‘claimed’ by the Athenians
at a later date, and that the story of the oracle was forthcoming
in this connexion. The fragments of his poems have been
collected by Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci.

[Dr A. W. Verrall makes §§ 102–109 of the speech the basis of
two essays [reprinted from the C. R. in his Collected Studies
(Bayfield and Duff)], in which he claims to establish, on the
evidence of Lycurgus, (a) that Tyrtaeus flourished between the
Persian and Peloponnesian wars, (b) that the Messenian war
with which he was connected was the war of the 5th cent.,
c. 464 B.C., (c) that the poetry which passes current under his
name cannot possibly belong to such an early date as is usually
assigned to it. While I have been much impressed by Dr Verrall’s
arguments, I have not had the courage to break with the received
account of Tyrtaeus’ antiquity; and I may add that, wherever
the Messenian wars have been in question, I have assumed their
historicity and quoted the recognised chronology. In this latter
connexion, Dr Verrall remarks: ‘All...are now agreed...that
about these primeval conflicts between the Spartans and Messenians the ancients had no solid information, except what they might rightly or wrongly infer from the poems of Tyrtaeus... The 'first war' and the 'second,' with their dates and episodes, were among the many events of remote antiquity about which the historians of the decadence [Strabo, Diodorus, Pausanias, Athenaeus, Justin] were so much better informed than their authorities." With regard to this pronouncement, it is worth while noting that Lycurgus himself [a first-class (for Dr V.) and an early (comparatively speaking) authority on the point], at another place (§ 62) which does not come within the purview of Dr Verrall's essay, alludes (if we understand him rightly) to an early conquest of Messenia (achieved presumably in a 'primeval conflict') as a matter of universal acceptation, and that not merely as an event of historical inference but as a substantive historical fact, to which he can, and does, assign a date. Whether that date is intrinsically right is another matter: the point is that Lycurgus, in condescending upon it, evidently assumes, with just as much confidence as he does in the case of Tyrtaeus' association (by assumption) with the Messenian war of the 5th cent., that he is speaking of something which is perfectly familiar to his hearers. This, of course, does not touch the question of Tyrtaeus' connexion with one or other of the M. wars; but we are justified (I think) in inferring that, already in the time of Lycurgus, the 'primeval conflicts' between the Spartans and Messenians were so far accepted as historical as to have had some system of chronology worked out for them. We can only speculate as to what information Lycurgus possessed regarding them (other than the chronological glimpse he gives us at the place quoted), and whether, or how far, such information was, as a matter of fact, derived from the poems of Tyrtaeus.]

τὴν περὶ τῶν νέων ἐπ. συνετάξαντο] 'organised the (well-known) system of supervision for their youth': the Spartan ἀγωγή, or public education (for which see any standard history of Greece), was an elaborate system, the aim of which was to turn
out good soldiers. This, like the bulk of Spartan institutions, would be more naturally attributed, we may suspect, by the Spartans themselves to their great reformer, 'Lycurgus.'

*elš ápantia tón a lýva*] Cf. *supra* § 7 katá pantoς tóv a lývov, § 62 tón a lýva áolkptós ēst i n.

kateλitpe...éleγeia pouišas] With the martial elegies of T., and their effect on the course of the Messenian war, we may compare what is recorded of Solon in the matter of the recovery of Salamis (c. 570 B.C.): Dem. *F.L.* § 252 tón idiôn kíndunon úpobels ('staking his personal safety') éleγeia pouišas ēde, kai tìn méν χώraν <άν> éswose τῇ πόλει, τήν δ' úpáρχουσαν αἰσχύνην áπήλλαξεν.—pouišas: 'which he had composed': cf. Dem. *l.c.*

§ 107. περὶ τοῦς ἀλλοὺς...λόγον ἐχοντες] cum ceterorum poetarum nullam rationem habeant: so Plat. *Tim.* 87 c λόγον ἐχειν περὶ τινος, and the commoner λόγον τινὸς ποιεῖται, ἐν οὔδεν λόγῳ ποιεῖται (esp. in Herod.).

ἐσπουδάκασιν...ἐθεντο] The perf. denotes their standing attitude, 'they exhibit such a regard for him': the aor. represents the passing of the law as a past act.

δαν...ἐξεστρατευμένοι ὄσι] 'whenever they have taken the field' is perhaps the nearest English, though it does not quite give the force of the Gk. composite tense. So Andoc. *De Myst.* § 45 Bouwtoλ δὲ πεποπομένοι τὰ πράγματα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρλοις ἦσαν ἐξεστρατευμένοι. [ἐξεστ. ὅσι Es (Bl., Sofer): ἐκστρατευνομένοι els i codd.: ἐκστ. ὅσι A. G. Becker (Sch., Rehd., Thalh.): ἐκστ. ἰώσι Heinr. (Turr.).]

καλείν] 'should be summoned': cf. *supra* § 16 ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος...κατακομβίζειν n.

πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐθέλειν ἀποθ.] Examples of πρὸ = ὑπέρ, 'in defence of,' seem to be quoted mainly from Homer and Herod.: rare in the orators.—ἐθέλειν ἀποθ.: 'ἐθέλω seems especially used of the alacrity and determination of a soldier': Graves on Thuc. IV. 10. 2 ἦν ἐθέλωμεν τε μεναί κ.τ.λ., where he quotes from Brasidas' address before the battle of Amphipolis (Thuc. V. 9. 6):
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καὶ νομίσατε ἐλναί τοῦ καλῶς πολέμειν τὸ ἑθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι.

οἷα ποιοῦντες...παρ᾽ ἑκένοις] 'by what sort of poetry people won credit at Sparta.' The sense given to ποιοῦντες (cf. supra § 100: so also Rehd. and Sofer) accords best, perhaps, with the context; but the ptcp. might also (I think) refer to the conduct which the poem inculcates) (the conduct of L., 'by what sort of deeds.'—The subject of εὐδοκίμων is indef., 'people,' homines, on.

2. ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθὸν] predicative, perhaps, 'like a brave man,' the subject of τεθνάμεναι being indefinite.

περὶ οὗ πατρὶ[δι] 'for his country': περὶ with the dat. of the thing for which one fights is frequent in Hom. and occurs occasionally in prose: Plat. Protag. 314 Α περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβερνεῖν (though the idea here is rather different). Thuc. vi. 34 περὶ τῆς Σικελίας ἐστιν ὁ ἄγων, which the MSS. give, is corrected by the editors to περὶ τῆς Σικελίας.—ἡ is of course dat. sing. fem. of the possessive δέ, ἧ, ὅν, and = τῆς έαυτοῦ. So in next line ἶν ὥον αὐτὸν = suam ipsius: Soph. O. Τ. 1248 τοῖς οἴσων αὐτοῦ.

4. ἀνιπρότατον] The second syllable of this word is short also in Theognis (πόλλ'/ ἀνηρα παθὼν): in Hom. and Soph. always ἀνι- (cf. ἀνίαω): see L.S. s.v.

6. κουριδή[π] ι' ἀλόχυ] a common Homeric phrase, 'his wedded (lawful) wife') (a concubine, παλλάκη, παλλακίς.

7. τούσι...οὐς κεῖν ἵκηται] iis...quoscumque adierit: τοὺς is demonstrative and antecedent of: οὐς.—ἰκνέομαι regularly with bare acc. in Hom. ("Ολυμπον, Τροίην, δήμον, etc.), unless indeed the verb here has the meaning of 'supplicate' (=ικετέω), which is quite possible, but the literal sense goes well with πλαξίμενον above.

9. κατὰ δὲ ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει] 'and sadly belieth his goodly mien': ἐλέγχω in the Homeric sense of 'disgrace,' 'put to shame' (cf. κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, 'base reproaches to your name,' L.S.). —κατὰ...ἐλέγχει may be taken as a tmesis = κατελέγχει (Hes. Ὀρ. 712 σὲ δὲ μὴ τι νῦν κατελέγχετω εἶδος), but it must be
remembered that in epic the preps. are in the transitional stage from adverbs, and that their use must be considered accordingly.

10. ἀτιμή...ἐπεται] For the quantity of the penult. of ἀτιμή, cf. Od. xiii. 142 προσβύτατον καὶ ἀριστον ἀτιμήσων ἰάλλειν.—ἐπεται, ‘attends upon’: II. iv. 415 τούτῳ...κύδος ἀμ’ ἐπεται: so also ἀη, τιμή.—For the sing. predicate with a composite subject, which is felt as making up a single idea, cf. Luc. Dial. Mort. 6. η Μοῖρα καὶ Ἡ Φύσις διῆταξεν: so Livy ix. i. 4 tum sponsio et pax repudietur, Ps. lxxxiv. 2 ‘my heart and my flesh crieth out.’

11, 12. εἰ δ’...οὔδεμι’ ὡρη...γένεος] ‘as then there is no regard nor respect for a man who is a wanderer, nor for his race after him.’—With the reading in the text, construe: εἰ δ’ (οὔτε) ἀνδρός...οὔρ’ ὁπλῶν γένεος γλυκεται οὔδεμι μηρ’ οὔ’ αἰδώς, the suppression of the first οὔτε being paralleled by e.g. Aesch. Agam. 532 Πάρσ γὰρ οὔτε συντελῆς πόλεις κ.τ.λ. See Crit. App.—εἰ οὔ c. indic. in Hom. is so comparatively frequent (Il. xv. 162, xx. 129, xxiv. 296; Od. ii. 274, xii. 382) as to suggest that οὗ was originally normal in protases c. indic. and was afterwards displaced by μη through the use of the latter with the other moods (Monro, H. G.2, p. 289). As a matter of fact, however, the present passage would stand quite well in Attic, which admits οὗ after εἰ when the latter is virtually = ἐπελ, ‘since,’ quoniam, quandoquidem, as it clearly is here where the substance of the preceding lines is asserted as an established truth. Cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 33 εἰ δὲ οὔδεν ημὰρτηταὶ μοι, ‘but since I have committed no offence,’ Dem. c. Androt. § 18 εἰ δ’ οὗκ ἔξεστι, ‘but seeing that it is not permissible,’ c. Timocr. § 53, etc. (See App. C to Cope’s Rhetoric of Aristotle, vol. i (Sandys), and, generally, Goodwin, §§ 384–387.)—ὡρη, ‘regard,’ ‘consideration’ (Att. ὧρα): Her. i. 4 μηδεμίαν ὡρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισῶν (sc. τῶν γυνακών), Soph. O. C. 386, Trach. 57.

13. θυμῷ] ‘with spirit,’ ‘courageously’: so often in Hom. ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου, and cf. θυμὸς and τὸ θυμοειδὲς, ‘the spirited principle,’ in Plato’s psychology.
14. ἰψεϊν] two syllables (synizesis).—μηκέτι is due to the imperatival force of the hortatory subj., the clause being ἄρνησκωμεν μηδὲ φειδώμεθα.

15. ὁ νέος, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε] Some think (with Heinrich) that a new fragment begins here.—ἀλλὰ hortativum is freq. in Hom. with an imper. or subj.: cf. the quotation supra § 103 ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε ἐπὶ νυσι διαμπερές. The usage no doubt arose after a preceding imperative, which came to be suppressed: ‘do not do this, but,’ etc.

16. φόβοι] in the Homeric sense, practically = φυγῇς preceding.

17. ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν] ‘your heart within your breast,’ φρένες being conceived as the physical seat of the θυμός, as often in Hom., θυμός ἐνι στήθεσι, ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός, etc. Cf. supra § 92 ἔξαφαιρεται φρενῶν ἃ τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἃ.

20. τοῦς γεραῖοὺς] For the short penult., cf. the Aristophanic ὀμοὶ δειλαῖοι at the end of a trimeter, though δειλαῖοι is also quoted from Soph. and Eur. (not in trimeters), see L.S. s.v. The reason was a change in the division of syllables (το-οντος for το-οντος), after which the η disappeared as at the beginning of words. Thus we have οἶος, τοίοντος scanned with a short first syllable; ποεῖν alongside of ποεῖν; νὸς written almost uniformly for νὸς in the 4th cent. b.c., though νὸς is still scanned as long (Giles, Comp. Phil.2, § 122. 6).

21. αἰσχρόν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] The ten lines which follow are practically an expansion of Hom. II. xxii. 71-76:

νέφ ἔ τε πάντι ἐπέοικεν
ἀρηκταμένω, δεδαίγμενῳ ὄξει χαλκῷ,
κεϊσθαι· πάντα ἔ τε καλὰ ἑφνντι πέρ, ὃ τι φανήγ.
ἀλλ᾽ ὥ τε δὴ πολίν τε κάρη πολίν τε γένειον
αἰδῶ τ᾽ ἐισχύνων κύνες κταμένου γέροντος,
τοῦτο δὴ ὄκτιστον πέλεται δειλοίσι βροτοίσιν.

24. κοινῇ] In Hom. the penult. is short in the quadrisyllabic κοινῇ, long in the trisyllabic forms: in Attic we have -i in dactylic and anapaestic rhythms, but -i in iambics (L.S. s.v.).
26. νεμεσητὸν ἵδειν] ‘that moveth indignation to behold’: in Hom. νεμεσητὸν (always in this form, except at II. xi. 649, quoted below) is ‘that which stirs righteous indignation’: II. iii. 410 κεῖσε δ’ ἐγὼν οὐκ ἐμι—νεμεσητὸν δὲ κεῖν εἶη, ‘twere enough to make one wroth,’ and twice at least (II. ix. 523, Od. xxi. 59—in both cases urging the acceptance of an offer), πρὶν δ’ οὖν τι νεμεσητὸν κεχολώθαι, ‘ere that, ’tis no blame to thee (i.e. no one can feel ignendant) that thou should’st be wroth.’ At II. xi. 649 we have the word applied to a person, αἴδοιος νεμεσητὸς δ με προήκε πνεύσθαι, where the force seems to be active, ‘an austere man,’ one whose character it is to be angry at wrong (cf. ἐπιευκτός, ‘yielding,’ cautus, gratus): otherwise ‘one to be regarded with awe’ (so L.S., but νέμεσις is not found in the sense of ‘fear’: v. Monro on II. l.c.). [One can only speculate as to what account the writer of this line—to whom the question no doubt never occurred—would have given of its syntax. I have read it as: αἰσχρὰ τά γ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς (ἐστι) καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἵδειν, lit. ‘these things are unseemly to the eyes, and a thing that moveth indignation to behold’ (ἵδειν epexegetic infin.). But it is possible (I imagine) to take αἰσχρὰ (=αἰσχρῶν) and νεμεσητὸν both with ἵδειν, and construe: αἰσχρὰ καὶ νεμέσητὸν ἐστίν ἵδειν τά γ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς, where τά γ’ is object and ὀφθ. ἵδειν go together.]

27. χρῶν γυμνωθέντα] ‘with his body stripped naked’: χρῶν (χρῶς) is acc. of ‘respect’ or ‘of the part affected,’ with γυμνωθέντα. νέοιοι] ‘a youth’: the plural is used in a general sense: we have sings. following.


29. θητός ἵδειν] conspiciendus, ‘an object of admiration.’

30. κάλὸς] the ἄ is regular in epic (cf. l. 1): at Theocr. vi. 19 we have τά μὴ κάλα κάλα πέφανται.

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32. στηριχθέλι επὶ γῆς ‘firm planted on earth’: II. xxI. 241 (of Achilles’ combat with Scamander) οὐδὲ πόδεσαν | εἰσε στηριχθέλις ξασθαι, ‘he could not get a firm footing.’

χελλαος ὅδους δακῶν] a mark of stern determination: the Homeric ὅδαξ ἐν χελλασι φόντεσ, which occurs thrice in Od. (I. 381, xviii. 410, xx. 268), describing, in every instance, the effect of a speech by Telemachus on the suitors, is more specially the sign of smothered rage. So Eur. Bacch. 621 χελλασιν ὅδους ὅδων ὅδωτας (of Pentheus’ rage against the supposed Dionysus).

§ 108. προσέχειν] absol., cf. supra § 10, etc.

εἰχον πρός ἀνδρεάν] cf. supra § 104 οὕτως ἔσχον πρὸς ἀρετὴν π.  

τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν] ‘set foot in A.’: so even ἐμβαῦν and ἐπεμβαῦν (Soph. O.C. 400, 924), probably through the influence of ἐπιμβαῦν, or the gen. may be felt as a partitive.

καταφανὴ ἐποιήσαν] For the sentiment, cf. Plato Menex. 240 D διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενήμενοι, ὅτι...πάν πλήθος καὶ πᾶς πλοῦτος ἀρετὴ ὑπελείπει.

ταῖς μάν τὐχαις...ἐχρήσαντο] Cf. supra § 48 οὐχ ὤμοιος τῆς τύχης ἐκοινώνησαν.

§ 109. ἐκατέροις ἐπιτύμβια] I have adopted Rehdantz’s suggestion for the MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄριοι τοῦ βιοῦ, which (as Es points out) cannot well be taken as a metaphor = in vitae terminis, while the attempt to see a geographical reference in τοῦ βιοῦ is discounted by the circumstance that the locale of the inscr. is different. Wurm, followed by Blass, reads ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρίοις, ‘on their barrows,’ on the strength of Harpocration’s ἡρία. Λ. ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἀβτολόκουν. ἡρία εἰσὶν ὡς τάφοι, but this leaves τοῦ βιοῦ unaccounted for.

πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς "Ε.] πρὸς in this and similar cases seems to combine the meanings of (a) ‘publicly,’ ‘openly,’ (b) ‘with reference to,’ of the person judging: cf. supra § 101 κατασχύνειν πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς "Ελληνας.

ἐκεῖνοις μέν] ‘for them,’ i.e. in the case of the L.: the dat. is possessive.
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"ξείν", ἀγγείλων κ.τ.λ.] Her. vii. 228:

"ξείν", ἀγγέλλειν Δακεδαμονίοις ὅτι τῆς κελευθερίας τοῖς κελέους ἰέμασι πειθόμενοι.

This 'sublime distich' (Simon. 92) was the work of Simonides of Ceos (c. 560-470 B.C.), 'the unsurpassed master of commemorative epigram' (Macan on Her. l.c.). The form in which it is given by Lycurgus (as also by Diod. and Strabo—Strabo also has "ξείν", ἀπάγγειλον) is inferior to the Herodotean, and was apparently that followed by Cicero in his Latin version, Tusc. Disp. i. 42:

dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

"Ελλήνων προμαχούντες κ.τ.λ.] The epigram is also by Simonides (Simon. 93)—χρυσοφόρων: gold, in one form or another, is the inevitable epithet of the oriental, suggesting wealth and luxury.—ἐστῶρες: 'laid low': cf. Thuc. vi. 18 ἑνα Πελοπόννησῳ στορέσαμεν τὸ φρόνημα.

c. 29. § 110. ἄλλ' οὖν ὅ Δ. πεποίηκεν] sc. ἢξείν ἐστιν ἐπαίλνυ, or something similar out of the preceding sentence.

τὴν εῖς ἀπαντός...δόξαν] 'the accumulated glory of the state from time immemorial.'

δοξεί] 'you will be thought to,' 'will have the reputation.'

θαυμάζοντες] 'admire,' 'reverence': for a strong use of the word, cf. Xen. Hell. i. 6. 11 (Callicratidas is speaking of Persian support) δελεξομεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὧτι καὶ ἀνεύ τοῦ ἐκείνου θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοῦς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι, 'even without worshipping them.'

τοῖς παλαιοῖς] So Taylor (Bl., Sofer) for τοῖς πολεμίοις, which does not seem to give good point: τοῖς πολλοῖς s. προγόνοις Rehd.

κεκρισθαί κάλλιστον] 'are adjudged (the) most honourable (thing)’: the perf. infin. denotes the settled attitude: cf. supra § 3 ὑπεληφθαί, etc.—κάλλιστον: cf. Madvig, § 1 b, R. 3.

cc. 30, 31. §§ iii-127. The way in which your forefathers dealt with traitors is shown by the case (a) of Phrynichus and his would-be defenders, (b) Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, (c) the
deserters to Decelea, (d) the man who died at Salamis: yet Leocrates' crime surpasses these in its enormity. These examples should suffice to prove the temper of our ancestors in this regard, but I should like to remind you of the decree passed by them after the Thirty, proclaiming 'killing no murder' in the case even of prospective traitors—and rightly so, for treason is a case where the punishment must anticipate the committal of the act. The psephism of Demophantus, moreover, binds you to punish the traitor by every means in your power. You should not claim to inherit the properties bequeathed you by your ancestors while disclaiming all part in the pledges whereby they safeguarded the public welfare.

c. 30. § 111. ἔχειν] probably intrans., ἕν τρόπον being then = ὑπὸς, 'what your attitude should be.'

εἰκένοις τίνα τρόπον ἔλ.] for the 'anticipation,' cf. supra § 62 τὴν Τρολάν τὸς ὁδὸν ἀκήκως, n. and reff. Contrast ἐκείνοι...θεωρήσατε ὡς ὥργιζοντο just below.—For the severer methods of the Athens of a previous age, cf. Dem. F.L. § 272 τὸτε μὲν οὗτῳ σεμνὸν ἦν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κολάξεϊν τοὺς τὰ τοιάτα ποιοῦντας (persons like Arthmius of Zelea, a tool of Xerxes, who distributed Persian gold in Greece) ἐντιμοῦν, ἵπτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἥξιοῦτο στάσεως τὸ τὸ ἄριστείον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα ἄδικοντων τιμωρίας [i.e. the στήλη with the decree of execration against A. was placed in a conspicuous position close by the great statue (ἄριστείον) of the goddess]. νῦν δὲ γέλως, ἄδεια, ἀλοχύνη, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄγαν ταῦτην ἐξουσίαν αὐχάτεστε νῦν ὑμεῖς, Phil. III. § 43.

τὴν τιμωρίαν] the 'due' or 'appropriate' punishment.

tā kala tōn ἔργων] a favourite const. with Lycurgus: cf. supra §§ 6, 48, 102, 110, infra § 133, etc.

ἐνόμιζον] sc. αὐτῶς.

§ 112. Φρυνίχου...ἀποσφαγέντος...ὑπὸ Ἀ. καὶ Θ.] The Phrynichus mentioned was one of the commanders of the Athenian fleet at Samos and was closely identified with the revolution of the Four Hundred at Athens in 411. He was assassinated on his return from an unsuccessful mission to Sparta in the interests of
the extreme oligarchical party, but accounts differ as to the circumstances of his death and the identity of his murderers. Thucydides (viii. 92) says that P. πληγεῖσ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς εξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθοῦσα καὶ οὗ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρήμα, and adds that the man who actually struck the blow escaped, but that his accomplice, an Argive, was taken and put to the torture. Plutarch (Alcib. 25) calls the assassin Hermon, obviously from a confusion with Ἐρμών τις τῶν περιπόλων mentioned further on in the chap. of Thuc. quoted. The names in Lycurgus agree with those given by Lysias c. Agorat. § 71, Thrasybulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara: they fell in with P. as he was taking a walk (βαδίζοντι): T. aimed the blow. We possess the text of a decree, proposed by Erasinides (Hicks and Hill2, 74), conferring honours on Thrasybulus, and the mention of 'Apollodorus of Megara,' in Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ [or. vii] § 4, as receiving a grant of land, is presumably connected with his share in P.'s death. Hicks on the decree quoted reconciles Lycurgus' νόκτωρ with Thuc.'s ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθοῦσα by holding that the latter expression is to be understood of the place, not the time, of the deed; but it is doubtful whether the idea of time can be divorced from the Gk. phrase. From a rider attached to Erasinides' decree, we know that the claim of Apollodorus (cf. also Lysias c. Agorat. l.c.) was challenged, and on the whole it seems likely, as Arnold says, that 'some zealous friends of the democracy laid claim to a merit with which really they had no concern.' (See Tucker on Thuc. viii. l.c.)—παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἶλούσις: 'by the fountain in the osier-beds,' presumably within the confines of the marketplace: there being no doubt several κρήναι, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἶλούσις is added for purposes of identification.

ληφθέντων] i.q. συλληφθέντων: cf. supra § 52 λαβοῦσα ἀπεκτεινέ.

ἐξήγαγε] liberavit, 'set them free.'

ἀνέκριν] 'held an inquiry into the matter': cf. ἀνάκρισις, the preliminary investigation of a case before the archon.

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[§ 112]

[ητῶν] here of a judicial, frequently of a philosophical, inquiry.

προδιδόντα] 'was scheming to betray': conative impf., but possibly = προδότην ὄντα, 'that he was guilty of treason' to the state: cf. ἀδικεῖν. Goodwin, § 27.

§ 113. Κριτίου εἰπόντος] 'on the motion of Critias,' who was afterwards chief of 'the Thirty.'

tὸν μὲν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας] 'that the dead should be tried for treason': for the active infin., cf. supra § 16 ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δήμος...κατακομβίζειν ὑ.

κἂν δόξῃ] si visus sit.

προδότης ὄν...τεθάφθαι] Cf. Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 22 νόμος ἐστὶν...ἐάν τις τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ...κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἃν καταγγείλῃ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, κ.τ.λ.

τά γε ὀντὰ] γε [Jacob (Bl., Sof.) for τε] implies that the exhumation of the bones was the next best thing after the unjustifiable burial.

ἐξορίσαι εἰς τῆς 'Α.] Cf. supra § 89 μονότατος δ' ἄν...ἐξορισθεὶ τῆς χώρας ὑ., Hyper. Lycoph. [or. 1] ad fin.

κένται] this form is quoted also from Plat. Soph. 257c and Xen. Oec. 8. 19. [L. S. quote διακέπασθε from Isocr. Antid. § 278, but the reference should be to § 259.]

τοῦ...προδιδόντος] the same possibilities as in προδιδόντα, supra § 112.

§ 114. ἀπολογοῦνται] conative, 'seek to defend.'

ἐνόχουσ...ἐπιτυμιόν] Cf. supra § 4 τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς...ἐπιτυμιόν ὑ.

τὸν διασώζοντα] 'he that would save' the traitor: Goodwin, § 25.

ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων] This const. seems rarer than the simple gen. with ἀπαλλάττειν.

λαβὲ δ' αὑτοῖς] αὑτοῖς is a 'dativus commodi,' or 'of the person interested in the action,' esp. common, as here, in calling for documents: cf. supra § 23 n.

§ 115. τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος] The demonstrative is usually
omitted in cases like this: see the exx. collected by Rehd., App. 2, p. 155.

επειτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν...ὑμεῖς δ']. For επειτα, cf. supra § 27, and for μὲν...δέ, supra § 42 nn.

'Ἀρισταρχῶν καὶ Ἀλεξικλέα] Both of these belonged, like Phrynichus, to the extreme oligarchical party and figure in Thuc.'s account of the revolution of 411 (Thuc. viii. 90–98). The former is described by Thuc. as ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίον τῷ δήμῳ, and when the oligarchs were compelled to flee the city, he made himself notorious by betraying the fort of Oenoe on the Boeotian frontier to the enemy (Thuc. vii. 98; Xen. Hell. i. 7. 28). From the latter passage we infer that he had been tried and put to death some time prior to 406 B.C., presumably on the strength of his previous career generally and not on the specific charge assigned by Lycurgus.

αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα] 'the actual person' of the traitor) (τὰ τοῦ προ- δότου ὀστὰ.

ὑποχειριον...τῇ ψήφῳ] Cf. supra §§ 2, 27, 91.

§ 116. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν...ὑμεῖς δέ] Cf. supra § 42 n.

taῖς ἑσχάταις...μετήλθον] 'visited with the most severe penalties': μετέρχομαι in this sense (cf. διώκειν, φεύγειν, ἀλίσκεσθαι) suggests the primitive 'avenger of blood': cf. Antiph. 1. § 10 ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως μετέρχομαι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρός, Plat. Protag. 322 A Προμηθεία...κλοπὴς δικὴ μετήλθεν.

ὦς οὐδὲν ἄδικούντα] 'as if he were entirely guiltless,' i.q. ὦς οὐδὲν ἄδικον ὄντα: Goodwin, § 27.

μὴ δῆτα] sc. τοῦτο ποιήσητε, but the imper. is idiomatically omitted in the Greek.


καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν κ.τ.λ.] 'now had there been (only) one such decree on record, it might have been argued that they passed it in a temper rather than from real conviction': γεγονὸς ἦν ψ. represents the passive of ψ. ποιεῖσθαι, and lays rather more stress than ἐγεγονεὶ would have done on the state as opp. to the act: 'were in existence,' 'were on record.'—δι’ ἀλήθειαν is explained
by ἕπος εἰ just below, the contrast being between the haste of anger (δὲ ὀργή) and their real or settled conviction as to the gravity of the offences.

ὅταν δὲ παρὰ πάντων...τιμωρίαν] cum tamen de omnibus pariter eandem poenam sumpserint: ὅταν has the causal sense which frequently attaches to ὅταν and ὅπως, quoniam, quando, quandoquidem: cf. Soph. O.T. 918 ὅτι οὖν παρανοοῦσιν ὁδὲν ἐστὶ πλέον ποιῶ, Ant. 170.

§ 117. "Ἱππαρχὸς...τὸν Χάρμου] This Hipparchus, acc. to Androton ἀπ. Harpocr., was a relation of the Pisistratids, and was the first victim of the ordinance of ostracism, 487 B.C.: cf. Plut. Nic. II πρῶτος δὲ (ἐξωστρακιάθη) Ἱππαρχὸς ὁ Χολαργεύς, συγγενὴς τις ὁνὶ τοῦ τυράννου. Lycurgus is apparently our only authority for the additional detail concerning him in this passage. [The MSS. give τὸν Τιμάρχου, which some editors correct to Χάρμου, following Harpocr.: Ἱππ. ὁ Χάρμου, ὃς φησιν Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δεωκράτους. Others correct Harpocr. from the MSS.; but the Hipparchus intended is no doubt one and the same.]

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ] i.e. before the Assembly, acting as a law-court (Heliaea).

ἐρήμος τὸν ἄγωνα ἔσαντα] 'having left the case undefended,' 'having let it go by default': so ἔρημων (sc. δίκην) κατηγορεῖν, ἐλείν, ὀφλεῖν, 'be accuser in,' 'win,' 'lose,' an undefended suit.

tοῦτον] For the resumptive pronoun, cf. supra §§ 82, 93, etc.

ἐπειδή...οὐκ ἐλαβον...ὁμηρον] 'since they could not lay hands on his person to answer for his guilt': rather an odd use of ὁμηρός, but the sense is clear.

ἐξ ἀκροτόλεως] The article is frequently omitted with this and similar nouns (cf. πόλις, ἄγορα) which are at once common and proper.

συγχωνεύσαντες] 'having melted it down': cf. Dem. c. Androt. § 70 φήσας δ' ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων...συγχωνεύσειν ἐπείσεν.

ποιήσαντες στήλην] The person who had his name so inscribed was στήλητης: cf. Isocr. De Big. § 9 ἐλαύνειν ἀπὸν ἐξ
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§ 119]

\[\alphaπ\acute{a}σς \ θ\acute{e}s \ 'Ελλ\~{a}δος \ καλ \ στη\lambda\iota\iota\nu \ αναγρά\phiε\upsilon, \ Dem. Phil. III. \ S\acute{e} 45 \ ετιμωρο\upsilon\nu\nu \ ο\upsilon\varsigma \ α\upsilon\thetaο\upsilon\nu\nu \ ω\acute{a}τε \ καλ \ στη\lambda\iota\iota\nu \ πο\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon.\]

to\upsilon\upsilon \ \alpha\acute{l}. \ καλ \ to\upsilon\upsilon \ \pi\upsilon\rho.\] ‘sinners and traitors,’ as a class: cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 51 \(\alpha\upsilon\gammaρα\phi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\varsigma\) \(\epsilon\upsilon \ στη\lambda\iota\iota\nu\ \\omega\upsilon\tau\varsigma\) \(\\alpha\upsilon\gammaρα\phi\epsilon\upsilon\nu\), cf. supra §§ 16, 113, nn.

\(\kappa\alpha\lambda \ \\alpha\ell\lambda\iota\iota \ \delta\ \pi\rho\rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\) [‘and other traitors as well’]: cf. supra § 28 n.

§ 118. λαβε...\(\alpha\upsilon\gammaρ\lambda\iota\iota\nu\omega\kappa\eta\kappa\epsilon\) Cf. supra § 36 n.

\(\kappa\alpha\theta\)’ [‘in pursuance of which.’

υ\(\pi\o\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\)] strictly correct as being \textit{on the base} of the \(\sigma\tau\lambda\eta\), but we must be content with ‘inscription.’

to\upsilon\upsilon \ \upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\nu\nu \ \pi\rho\rho\sigma\alpha\nu\gammaρα\phi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\) [‘those who had their names added \(\pi\rho\rho\upsilon\)–later.”

§ 119. τι \(\delta\o\kappa\omega\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\) \(\upsilon\mu\iota\iota\nu\)] ‘what think ye of them?’: sc. perhaps \(\gamma\gamma\nu\rho\upsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\nu\) out of the following question, but the expression is idiomatic, and is not to be explained simply by the omission of a verb: cf. Aesch. Ag. 935 τι \(\delta\)’ \(\\alpha\nu \ \delta\o\kappa\epsilon\iota \ \sigma\iota\iota \ \Pi\rho\lambda\mu\omicron\omicron\), \(\epsilon\iota \ \tau\alpha\delta\) \(\\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\); Plat. Phaedr. 234c τι \(\sigma\iota \ \sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon \ \delta\ \lambda\gamma\nu\omicron\); \(\omicron\chi \ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\nu\nu\omega\ldots\) \(\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\).

\(\delta\mu\omicron\o\upsilon\upsilon \ \upsilon\mu\iota\iota\nu\)] \(\upsilon\mu\iota\iota\nu\) depends upon \(\delta\mu\omicron\o\upsilon\upsilon\).

καλ \ \o\upsilon\kappa\] For the structure of the sentence, cf. supra §§ 70, 71 \(\delta\rho\alpha \ \gamma\iota \ \delta\mu\omicron\o\upsilon \ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.,\) and notes there. Here we have καλ \ \o\upsilon\kappa for the commoner \(\alpha\lambda\lambda\) \(\o\upsilon\kappa\) in such cases, and ‘instead of’ (as at \(\ell.\iota).\) is again the best equivalent: ‘do they appear to you to have held the same views as you with regard to the guilty, instead of pulling down and punishing (as they actually did)?’ etc.: or make a new sentence and say, ‘Did they not rather pull down?’ etc.—καλ \ \το \ \sigma\o\mu\alpha\: ‘the actual person’: the statue was the next best thing.—

υ\(\pi\o\x\e\i\r\i\o\nu\) closely with λαβε\iota, ‘get it into their power.’—το\upsilon \ \pi\rho\rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon \ \pi\rho\rho\delta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon: Es deletes the first, Blass the second, but Lyc. loves to ring the changes on this word (v. Rehd. \(\ad loc.\)) and probably both are genuine.—ταις \ \(\epsilon\nu\delta\e\x\o\m\e\nu\epsilon\iota\nu\upsilon\nu\ \tau\i\mu\omicron\o\rho\i\lambda\upsilon\),

\(\omicron\chi \ \delta\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\)] The particles here have each a separate force, the negative referring to the general idea of the preceding clause,
and giving a formal antithesis to ἀλλ᾽ ἦνα: ‘their object was not (simply) to melt the statue, but to leave an example,’ etc. For sentiment and structure, cf. Dem. Phil. iii. § 41, where after γράμματα τῶν προγόνων...ἀκείνου κατέθεντ’ εἰς στήλην χαλκήν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν (referring to the στήλη of Arthmius, supra § i11 n.) some mss. give οὖχ ἦν’ αὐτοῖς ἥ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνει τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντ’ ἐφόδουν), ἀλλ᾽ ἦν’ ὑμεῖς ἐχθῆ ὑπομνήματα...ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδάζειν προσήκει.

§ 120. αὐτοῖς] Cf. supra §§ 23, 114 nn.

tο ἢτερον ψήφισμα] Of this decree nothing further seems to be known.

περὶ τῶν εἰς Δ. μεταστάντων] ‘concerning absconders to Decelea.’ Decelea, which lay due north of Athens on the road to Oropus, was seized and fortified by the Peloponnesians in 413 B.C. (the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian War), from which time forward it was a great source of annoyance to Athens as a convenient rendezvous for deserters (cf. the name ὁ Δεκελείκος πόλεμος which is sometimes applied to the latter part of the war). Another cause of distress was that Athenian corn-supplies, formerly conveyed overland via Decelea, had now to be carried round Sunium, which was a slow and expensive business (cf. Thuc. vii. 28; Cornford, Thuc. Mythist. p. 33), so that in this respect, as in others, Athens ‘was blockaded by the L.’ (cf. Thuc. i.c. ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλει εἶναι φροβρίον κατέστη).

ὅτι περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν...ἔποιούντο] ‘that the penalties which our ancestors prescribed for traitors were uniform and mutually consistent.’

§ 121. τοῦτον τοῦ ψηφίσματος] Cf. supra § 115 n.

ἐπανών ἀλλόκηται] ‘should be caught returning’ to Athens: the ptcp. of that in which a person is detected is common with this verb, cf. Plat. Ἀριστ. 29 C ἦν δὲ ἀλὼς ἐτι τοῦτο πράττων, Her. i. 112, 209, etc.

ἀπαγαγεῖν...πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας] ‘it should be open to any Athenian to bring them before the thesmothetae’: ἀπάγειν was technically said of ‘summarily arresting’ (cf. ἀπαγωγῆ) a person,
whom it was perhaps necessary to take in the act (έπ' αὐτοφώρῳ) to make this procedure legitimate (see the argument in Lysias, C. Agorat. §§ 85-87). ἀπαγωγή was allowed (1) against 'male-factors' (κακοθραυστευομένοι) in the technical application of the term, e.g. thieves (κλέπται), clothes-stealers (ἀσποδοταί), etc.; (2) against persons labouring under any kind of disfranchisement (ἀτιμία), if detected exercising the rights from which the law excluded them; (3) against persons banished either for homicide or political crimes, if they unlawfully returned (κατιέναι) to the country. The Eleven (οἱ ἐνδεκα) had jurisdiction in cases (1) and (2); the Thesmothetae (the six junior archons acting as a college) in (3), as here.—τὸν βουλόμενον: the regular phrase of a privilege which any one may claim: cf. the familiar ἔκειναι τῷ β., etc.—παράλαβόντας: sc. τούς θερμόθετας.—τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, 'the officer in charge of the pit,' the official style of the executioner at the βάραθρον (outside the Piraic Gate, on the western boundary of the city), into which condemned criminals were thrown: so also ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρύγματι.

[επετα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν...ὑμεῖς δὲ] Cf. supra § 115 n.

ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ χώρᾳ] Decelea, after all, was on Attic soil.

εἰς Ρόδον] These words are bracketed here by several editors (as also supra §§ 55, 70), on the ground that the fact of L.'s flight, not its destination, is the important thing: but if Rhodes, as we have reason to suppose, was in bad odour at Athens at the time, the mention of it would create all the greater invidia against L.

§ 122. περὶ τοῦ ἐν Σ. τελευτήσαντος] The reference is apparently to the story related by Herodotus (IX. 5), who calls the traitor Lycidas, and places the incident after the battle of Salamis, when Mardonius was making offers to the Athenians: cf. supra § 71 nn. Demosthenes, however (De Cor. § 204), followed by Cicero (De Off. III. 11), gives the name as Cyrsilus, and places the incident before the battle, when the Athenians were considering the question of embarking. We can hardly doubt that all three accounts refer to one and the same incident; but whether Herod. or Dem. is correct with the name (which Lyc. does not
mention), only the inscr. (as Rehd. observes, App. 3, ad loc.) can decide.

περιελομένη τοὺς στεφάνους] ‘taking off their crowns,’ which they would be wearing as the badge of their office as βουλευταί: crowns were worn also by archons, priests, and by orators in the assembly: cf. Dem. Mid. § 17 τῶν ἐστεφανωμένων ἄρχοντα, [Dem.] xxvi. § 5 ὅταν ἀποχειροτονηθοῦσι τίνες τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄρχαις, παραχρήμα πέπαυνται ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιήγηνται, ‘have their crowns taken away from them.’ The verb is specially applicable to anything that ‘encloses’ or ‘fits all round’ (τείχος, στέφανος, δακτύλος).

εὐγενεῖς γὰρ...ἐκέκτητον] ‘for they were distinguished not only for nobleness of soul but also for the nobleness of the vengeance which they meted out to transgressors’ is perhaps the most we can make of the slightly zeugmatic Greek. [εὐγενεῖς Dobree (Sch., Bl.): εὐγενεῖς Rehd.: συγγενεῖς codd. (Thalh.).]

§ 123. τί οὖν;] We may supply δοκεῖτε or ὑμῖν δοκεῖ from the next clause, but τί οὖν is idiomatic (cf. supra § 119 init. n.), like quid? quid tandem? in Latin.

βουλομένοις] ‘if you wish.’

μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι] N (Bl., Sofer) has μὴ οὐκ ἄποκ. The question, converted into a statement, is equivalent to oὐ πάτριῳ ἔστι Λ. μὴ οὐκ ἀποκτεῖναι, which may be sound Greek, as far as the form goes, but it does not admit of being stated in the positive form πάτριῳ ἔστι Λ. μὴ ἄποκ., which is contrary to the speaker’s contention.

ὄπότε] causal, like the two ὅτε’s following, cf. Lat. quando = quoniam: cf. Thuc. ii. 60 ὥποτε οὖν πολὺς μὲν τὰς ἱδίας ξυμφορᾶς ὅλα τε φέρειν, εἰς δ’ ἐκκατοσ τὰς ἐκεῖνης ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρῆ πάντας ἀμώνειν αὐτῇ; Dem. Ol. 1 init. ὥτε τολμὸν τοῦθ’ οὖτως ἔχει, etc. Cf. supra § 116 ὅταν...εἰληφότες ὅσι ν.

τὴν οἰκουμένην] sc. πόλιν, ‘the inhabited city,’ ‘the city while still inhabited’) (ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν, through the Persian occupation.

toὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας...ἀποστερεῖν] The reference is to ol εἰς Δ. μεταστάντες, supra §§ 120 sq.—For τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
σωτηρας, cf. supra § 15 τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν...τιμωριαν n.—[The want of an object to ἀποστείειν, though not perhaps absolutely necessary to the sense, has been felt by most editors: Reiske supplied ἐαυτὸς after ἐπὶς, Herwerden τὴν πατρίδα, Blass τὴν πόλιν after σωτηρας.]

ἐκόλασαν...ἔτιμωροῦντο] κολάζειν of the correction of the offender, τιμωρεῖσθαι of the satisfaction of the offended: Arist. Rhet. 1. 10. 17.

§ 124. καὶ ταῦτα] i.e. what I have said already.

γνώναι] i.q. ἰκανὰ ὥστε ὑμᾶς γνώναι, 'sufficient to enable you to judge of,' etc.

τῆς στήλης] short for the inscription upon it.

τὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν...καθιστήσει] 'for instruction by (with the help of) numerous examples will enable you to decide with ease.'

μετὰ γὰρ τοῦς τριάκοντα] γὰρ narrativum: omit in trans.—‘The Thirty’ were installed by the intervention of Lysander, and ruled Athens from Sept. to May, 404-3. Critias and Theramenes were two of the best known members of this body.—Lycurgus appears to be in error in placing the decree of Demophantus, of which he goes on to speak, ‘after the Thirty,’ as the evidence of the decree itself (cf. Rehd., App. 3, p. 184 n.) dates it to July or August, 410, i.e. ‘after the Four Hundred.’ Some suppose that the decree was re-enacted after the downfall of the Thirty, and that the preamble of the original was introduced in the revived measure; but it is as likely as not that the substitution of ‘the Thirty’ for ‘the Four Hundred’ is simply another of the historical slips which we have already noticed in the course of the speech (cf. supra §§ 62, 70 sq.).

οἷα οὐδέσ...ἡξίωσε] sc. παθεῖν αὐτοῦς.—ἡξίωσε, ‘thought it right’: the speaker means that the oppression of the Thirty was not fully endorsed even by Athens’ declared enemies, e.g. Sparta and Thebes. [ἡξίωσε is expelled by Dobr. (Sch., Es), but without good reason: ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχειν, ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, which Sch. and Frohbb. respectively substitute for it, give statements which are untrue in point of fact.]
The verb is technical of the return of exiles. The democrats were led by Thrasybulus, who made Phyle his headquarters: from here he descended and seized the Piraeus: Critias was killed at the battle of Munychia. The democracy was restored c. Sept. 403.

άπάσας τάς οδούς...ἐνέφραζαν κ.τ.λ.] ‘blocked up all the avenues to crime, having experience and knowledge of the first moves and methods of attack of those who plan to betray the democracy.’—ἄδευκημάτων: here specially of political offences.—τάς οδοὺς...ἐνέφραζαν: cf. Isocr. Areop. § 40 ἐμφράγματα γὰρ αὐτῶν [a community with a multiplicity of laws] ποιούμενοι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πολλοῖς τίθεσθαι τούς νόμους ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ‘in seeking to raise barriers against crime, they are compelled,’ etc.; Aeschin. Ctes. § 223 ὄτω δὲ ταῖς αἵλαις ἐνέφραζας τὰς κατὰ σαντὸν τιμωρίας, ‘barred the penalties against yourself by (counter) charges.’—τὰς ἀρχάς, ‘the first occasions,’ what they start from, somewhat akin to ἀφορμή: τὰς ἐφόδους, ‘ways of approach,’ ‘methods of attack’: the word suggests grassari.—τῶν προδιδόντων: cf. supra § 112 προδιδόντα τὴν πόλιν υ.

§ 125. ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ καὶ ὄμοσαν] The decree of Demophantus, referred to specifically infra § 127. It is quoted in full by Andoc. De Myst. §§ 96–98, and also mentioned by Dem. Lept. § 159. The relevant portion of it, for comparison with Lycurgus here and at § 127, runs as follows: ὅ δὲ ὅρκος ἐστω ὅδε κτενῶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ τῇ ἐμαντοῦ χειρὶ, ἄν δυνατὸς ὦ, ὅτι καταλύσῃ τὴν ἡμοκρατίαν τὴν Ἀθηναίου...καὶ ἕαν τίς τυραννεῖν ἐπαναστῇ ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκαταστήσῃ, καὶ ἕαν τίς ἂλλος ἀποκτείνῃ, διότι αὐτὸν νομὶ ἐναι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαμόνων, ὡς πολέμων κτειναντα τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ἑὰν τὶς τυραννὶδι ἐπιτυθῆται] ‘if any one should attempt a tyranny,’ i.e. attempt to establish one: cf. Aeschin. Ctes. § 235 οὐδεὶς πῶς τοτε ἐπέθετο τῇ τοῦ δῆμου καταλύσει, ‘attempted the overthrow,’ Lysias, or. vi. § 19 ναυκηρία ἐπιθέμενος τὴν βάλλανταν ἐπλει, ‘took to shipmastering.’—προδιδὼ...καταλύνη: conative.
τὸν αἰσθανόμενον...ἀποκτείναντα] 'whoever detected them should be guiltless of their blood,' lit. 'if he killed him.' With τὸν αἰσθανόμενον cf. the common ὁ βουλόμενος, and supra § 121.

καὶ κρείττον ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς...δουλεύειν] 'and they thought it better that those lying under such an imputation should be put to death than that they themselves should have the attempt actually made upon them and be reduced to slavery': the const. in the second half of the sentence is quite normal and must be distinguished from supra § 84 Πελοποννησίως...ἐδοξε...ἐξαναστήσαντας κατανεμασθαί, where ἐδοξε = visum est, 'they resolved.'—πειραθέντας I understand as passive (cf. Thuc. vi. 54 πειραθεὶς ὁ Ἀρμιδίος υπὸ Τίππάρχον), which seems slightly more probable than middle (so Rehd., sc. αὐτῶν), in the absence of an accompanying gen.

ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὖτως κ.τ.λ.] 'for they considered that the citizens should simply live in such a way as that no one should so much as incur the suspicion of such crimes.' For the sentiment, cf. Isocr. Areop. § 42 (of the Athenians of an earlier time) ταύτα διανοηθέντες οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐσκόπουν, δι' ὅτι κολάσουσι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ἀλλ' έξ ὧν παρασκευάσουσι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἄξιον ζημιὰς ἐξαιρετάνειν.—ἀρχὴν, lit. 'to start with,' and so 'at all,' omnino, mostly in negative sentences and preceding the negative, as Soph. Ant. 92 ἀρχὴν δὲ θηράν οὐ πρέπει τάμηχανα, 'a hopeless quest should not be made at all.' Also τὴν ἀρχήν, as Dem. c. Aristocr. § 93 τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ γράφειν, 'he need never have proposed at all,' Her. iv. 25, Isocr. Antid. § 272.

§ 126. τοῖς...συνιούσι καὶ βουλευομένοις] 'those who meet in council': βουλευόσηθαί, 'deliberate' (βουλεύειν, 'be a member of the boule,' but also = βουλευόσηθαί.

ὡς δὲι] with ὑπόμνημα, 'a reminder of how you ought,' etc. ὡς = quemadmodum is less common than ὡς or ὅτι τρέφον.

καὶ διὰ τούτο...συνάμισσαν] ἄν τις αἴσθηται explains διὰ τούτου: they made the mere detection of the intent a ground for taking extreme measures.—μόνον goes with μέλλοντας.—ἀποκτείνειν: Cobet (Bl.) changes to ἀποκτείνειν, but (as Rehd. rightly observes
ad loc.) the whole stress falls on the *act*, not on the *time*. The decree itself, as quoted by Andoc. (ed. Hickie), has ὑμᾶςαὶ... ἀποκτέλευν. Curiously enough the provision on which Lyc., whose language reads like a quotation, lays so much stress, is not found in the decree as given by Andocides: see *supra* § 125 n.

τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.] 'for in the case of other offences the penalties should be imposed after the deed, but in the case of treason and subversion of the democracy, before.' For good commentaries on this passage, cf. [Dem.] c. *Aristogr.* Β. § 4 διὸ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ὅ Σόλων τοῖς μὲν ἱδιωταῖς ἐποίησε βραδελας, ταῖς δ' ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ταχελας, ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον [i.e. ύστερον τοῦ ἄδικηματος] τὸ δίκαιον λαβεῖν, τοῖς δ' ὁδ' ἐνέναι περιμεῖναι: τὸ γὰρ τιμωρησόμενον οὐχ ὑπέσται τῆς πολιτείας καταλυθῆσις, 'there will be no means of vengeance left once the constitution is subverted,' and Sallust, *Cat.* c. 52 (Cato’s speech *ad init.*), which almost reads like an imitation of the Greek: 'nam cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt: hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia implores: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis.'

παρ' αὐτῶν ἄδικούντων] (to obtain satisfaction) 'from them for the crime': ἄδικούντων is predicative.

κρείττους...γλενοντα...τιμωρίας] 'for they are already beyond the reach of punishment at the hands of the injured': for κρεῖττων in this sense, cf. Thuc. III. 84 ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φώσις...ἐδήλωσεν ἀκραθής μὲν ὄργῆς ὀδία, κρεῖττων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, 'superior to considerations of right,' Arist. *Pol.* ν. 12. 8 φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας = ὃς παιδευθηναι ἄδικως (immediately following): v. L.S. s.v. κρεῖττων, III.

c. 31. § 127. τῆς προνοίας...τῶν ἐργῶν] 'this foresight [which your ancestors displayed] and their practice.'

ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ *in suffragio ferendo*, 'in giving your vote.'


τῆς ἐκείνων τιμωρίας] 'of how they inflicted punishment.'

διομωμόκατε...τῷ ψ. τῷ Δ.] διομωμόκατε: 'you have solemnly sworn,' perhaps: the precise force of this compound is not always
easy to determine.—τῷ ψ. τοῦ Δ.: cf. supra § 125.—κτείνειν: κτείνειν Cob. (Bl.): cf. supra § 126 ἀποκτείνειν συνώμοσαν n.

καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ κ.τ.λ.] For the formula, cf. the extract from the decree quoted supra § 125, Aeschin. Ctes. § 109 (of the oath of the Amphictyons against the men of Crisa) ὄρκον ὀμοσαν ...βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ...καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει, Ib. § 120.

μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε...κληρονόμοι εἶναι] 'do not think to be inheritors of the properties...while you disclaim all portion in the oaths, etc.:' oίεσθε here is virtually ἀξίωτε.

ταύτης δὲ μὴ κ.] For the resumptive δὲ, cf. supra § 99 ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ πιθόμενος τοῦτ' ἐπραξὲ n.—κληρονομεῖν: cf. supra § 88 δικαίως ταύτης (sc. τῆς χώρας) καὶ τεθνεῶτες ἐκληρονόμουν.

c. 32. §§ 128–130. The Lacedaemonians, whom you will pardon me for quoting once again, showed the same spirit as your ancestors in their treatment of the traitor Pausanias, and in the law which they passed respecting defaulters in their country's defence. This law I shall read to you. Where death is the penalty for cowardice, men will rather face the danger of battle than condemnation by their fellow-countrymen.

§ 128. μὴ μοι ἄχθεσθητε] Α προδοθήκεως for what he suspects may be unpleasant to his hearers: cf. supra § 52 καὶ μηδεὶς μοι ἥρωμηση. Praise of the institutions of another Greek state, which was expressly forbidden at Sparta, was presumably not encouraged elsewhere.

ἐκ πόλεως εὐνομομένης] Sparta, with all her faults, was constantly quoted by Athenian statesmen and orators as the model, among cities, of εὐνομία, which, acc. to Aristotle (Pol. iv. 8. 6), comprehended 'good laws well obeyed.' Ευνομία, 'Law and Order,' was the title of a poem by Tyrtaeus. Cf. Thuc. i. 18 ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων...ἐκ παλαιότατον καὶ εὐνομῆθη καὶ δελ ἀπαράνευτος ἦν, Plat. Crito 52 E (the Laws to Socrates) σὺ δὲ οὕτε Λακεδαίμονα προηροῦ οὕτε Κρήτην, ὅς δὴ ἐκάστοτε φύς εὐνομεώτατα, where Adam remarks: 'What Socrates most admired in Crete and Sparta was their implicit obedience to the law:
they formed the best possible illustration of his principle—τὸ δίκαιον ἐστὶν τὸ νόμιμον.' Also Prot. 342 a ff., Rep. VIII. 544 c, Xen. Mem. III. 5. 15 and IV. 4. 15. 'Few sights are stranger than Plato and Xenophon turning their eyes away from their own free country to regard with admiration the constitution of Sparta....It attracted them because the old order survived there—the citizen absolutely submissive to the authority of the state, and not looking beyond it....Accordingly they saw in Sparta the image of what a state should be; just because it was relatively free from that individualism which they were themselves actively promoting by their speculations in political philosophy.' Bury, H.G. (1900), pp. 581-2.

ἀρφαλέστερον] 'with the more certainty.'

τὴν δικαίαν...τὴν εὔορκον] The force of the article with the adjs. depends on the fact that the 'vote,' in the abstract sense, must be for one or other of two things—acquittal or condemnation—the latter being of course, for Lycurgus, ἡ δικαία καὶ ἡ εὔορκος ψήφος.

Παυσανίαν γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα] The victor of Plataea (479 B.C.), and leader of the confederate Greek fleet against Persia, till the allies disgusted by his conduct transferred the leadership to Athens and incidentally launched her on her imperial career. For his fortunes subsequent to Plataea, see Thuc. I. 94-134. The designation 'king' is not quite accurate, as P. simply succeeded his father Cleombrotus in the guardianship of his cousin Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, for whom he acted as regent from 479 till his death (c. 471) (Her. IX. 10); but it makes him all the more effective an example for Lycurgus of the punishment of treason in high places. The account of his death here agrees in the main with that of Thuc. (I. 134): later historians (Nepos, Diodorus, Polyaenus) introduce the inevitable sensational detail about his own mother, who is called Theano, bringing the first stone to wall him up.

τῆς Χαλκιοίκου] sc. θεᾶς, 'the goddess of the Brazen House,' an epithet of Athena Poliouchos at Sparta, of which various
explanations are given: either (a) the temple was made of bronze (so apparently Paus. 10. 5. 5), or (b) it contained a bronze image of the goddess (so app. Paus. 3. 17. 3), or (c), as Frazer thinks probable (Pausanias, vol. III. c. xvii. p. 345), 'the building was merely lined with bronze plates, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae.'

\[\text{άποικοδομήσαντες...ἀποσκευάσαντες} \] 'walled up the door'...

'pulled off the roof': Thuc. l.c. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφείλον καὶ τὰς θύρας...ἀποφυσίσαν, προσκαθεζόμενοι τε ἔξοπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ.

\[\text{περιστρατοπεδέσαντες} \] the act. form of the verb appears to belong to late writers, e.g. Polybius and Plutarch.

\[\text{πρὶν ᾗ} \] an 'Ionism' which was abjured by many Atticists: \[\text{πρὶν} \] Es (Bl.). But see Kühner II. 455.

\[\text{τῷ λιμῷ} \] hunger, as a form of death (τῷ).

\[\text{§ 129. πᾶσιν ἐπισημον ἐποίησαν...ὅτι} \] 'made his punishment a signal proof to all the world, that' etc. [Editors have found difficulty in this const., and either delete τὴν τιμωρίαν with Morus (Sch., Es), or change to τῷ τιμωρίᾳ Morus (Thalh., Sofer). Rehd. defends the text, quoting Ar. Thesm. 684 πᾶσιν ἐμφανὴς ὅραν ἔσται...ὅτι τὰ παράνομα θεὸς ἀποτινεται, Plat. Crito 44 D αὐτὰ δὲ δῆλα τὰ παρόντα νυνὶ, ὅτι οἶοι τ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ κ.τ.λ., Rep. 1. 348 E.]

\[\text{αἱ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίαι} \] Cf. supra §§ 15, 123, etc.

\[\text{ἀδικοῦσιν} \] is bracketed, as might be expected, by some of the editors (Bk., Bl.), but it seems to be Lyc.'s manner to make these idiomatic ellipses more explicit: cf. supra §§ 33, 92, and notes.

\[\text{τῶν ἐκεί γεγενημένων} \] 'of Spartan practice.' [Bl. brackets γεγ.]

\[\text{διαρρήσην λέγοντα ἀποθνήσκειν} \] 'expressly prescribing death as the penalty.'

\[\text{εἶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο...τυγχάνουσι} \] 'fixing as the due penalty precisely the thing of which they stand most in dread,' i.e. death: they prevent cowardice in facing death by making death the
punishment for avoiding it. With τυχάνουσα supply as subject of μὴ ἐθέλοντες...κινδυνεύειν. Of the two els's, which both seem genuine, the first seems to be used as we say 'to fix something at so-and-so': the second may be illustrated from Soph. O.T. 980 σὺ δ' εἰς τὰ μετρῶσ μὴ φοβοῦ νυμφεύματα. [Hoffmann, followed by Sofer, omits the first els, which simplifies the const.]

καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν...αἰσχύνης] lit. 'and made a safe return from battle answerable to danger along with disgrace,' i.e. 'subject to' or 'dependent upon' a degrading trial. The meaning is: if a man comes out of battle unscathed, he must be prepared to answer the question 'why?,' should it be raised, by submitting to a trial which will fasten disgrace upon him if he fails to make good his defence. In this sense his safety may be said to be ὑπεύθυνος, 'subject to,' 'dependent upon' such a trial, inasmuch as the trial decides whether it has been honourably won. For κινδύνος in the judicial sense (Lat. periculum, O.E. danger), cf. τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους (sc. κινδύνον) in the next §, supra § 34 τὸν ὑπὲρ προδοσίας κινδυνεύοντα, and Lysias ix. § 7 τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν κινδύνον ὑποστάντες, i.e. the prospect of being called to account before a court.

ἀναπόδεικτον] a late word, occurring first in Lyc., 'a tale unsupported by proof': cf. supra § 23 ἵνα δὲ μὴ λόγον οἴσαθε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἴδητε τὴν ἄληθειαν.

ἀυτοῖς] Cf. supra §§ 23, 114, etc.

§ 130. ο...παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος] metus, quem inicintent cives (Sofer). Cf. supra §§ 15, 49 nn.

φιλοψυχίσει] a word of poetic complexion: cf. the frag. of Tyrtaeus, l. 18 (supra § 107).

ὑποκειμένην] 'is reserved for them': cf. [Dem.] xxxiv. § 19 τιμωρία ὑπόκειται τοῖς τὰ ψευδὴ μαρτυροῦσι. [Corais (Es) would change to ἐπικειμένην, on the analogy of ἕμμαθα ἐπιτιθέναι (cf. Thuc. ii. 24, iii. 70), but unnecessarily.]

<ταύτην> τιμωρλαίν] 'this as a punishment': cf. supra § 79 ταύτην πίστων δίδωσιν n. [<ταύτην> is due to Scheibe (Es, Bl., Sof.): Rehd. (Thalh.) keeping αὐτῷ τιμωρλαίν (with the mss.}
§ 131. \(\text{ποριζόμενοι}\) 'seeking to secure.'

\(\text{άλλα μόνος ὀφτός κ.τ.λ.}\) 'but L. alone of all men has proved false even to the proper and necessary instincts of nature, which are distinguished even by the unreasoning animals as the greatest and weightiest': \(\text{ολκεία, what specially or peculiarly appertains to one, Lat. \text{pròprios: \'ánagkaía, ‘necessary,’ whether in the physical or (as here) in the moral sense: cf. Dem. c. \text{Steph. A. [or. XLV]}\}$53 ov γὰρ τοὺς γεγραμμένους νόμους ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρωπος}

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except Z) arranges: \(\text{αὐτῷ τιμωρίαν—οὐδεμίαν γὰρ...δειλα—θάνατον; deleting ή.}\]

\(\text{δύοι κινδύνοι ὑποκειμένοιν\)} 'of two dangers which are proposed to them,' slightly different in sense from \(\text{ὑποκειμένην above.}\)

\(\text{τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους...τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους\)} \text{sc. κινδύνοι, but with a slight difference of meaning, the first being what one might call the physical (the judicial, danger: see previous §.}\)

For the sentiment, cf. Isocr. \(\text{Paneg. § 77 δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκοντιν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπο-θνηγκεῖν, Aeschin. Ctes. § 175 εἰσίν (sc. φύσεως γραφαί). τίνος ἔνεκά; ἐν' ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ξημιᾶς φοβοῦμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄμελων ἀγωνισθῆ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχῃ.}\)

So Polybius (vi. 37), speaking of Roman discipline, says ‘it sometimes happens that men confront certain death at their stations, because, from the fear of the punishment awaiting them at home, they refuse to quit their post.’

\(\text{cc. 33–34. §§ 131–134. The conduct of Leocrates is more reprehensible than that of ordinary deserters in the field in that he fled his country without even attempting to defend his own hearth, thus betraying the natural instincts displayed even by the unreasoning animals. In the eyes of the outside world, he is in a worse case than homicides: the man who abandons his own country in the hour of need will not readily lift a finger on behalf of the country of others. More than any other traitor, Leocrates deserves even a severer penalty than death. Other traitors are punished when their crime is only in contemplation: in L.'s case it was a fait accompli.}\)
The brutes’ (man, whose distinguishing characteristic is λόγος (rational speech), Arist. Pol. 1. 2. To λόγον δὲ μῦνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων. In modern Greek, curiously enough, ἄλογον is ‘a horse.’—διεληληπταί, of the standing attitude, ‘have been’ and so ‘are (as a permanent characteristic) defined’: with this, τοῖς ζῴοις is the so-called ‘dative of the agent,’ which is very closely akin to the possessive dative.

§ 132. τὰ γοῦν πετεινά] is acc. of the object after ἔστιν ἱδεῖν, ‘one may see’: cf. supra § 80 ὅμως ὡς ζῴοις ἔστιν...ἱδεῖν τὴν ἐκείνων ἄρετήν.

ἄ μᾶλλον πέφυκε πρὸς τάξος] ‘which are best adapted by nature for swiftness,’ and so might be expected to offer the less resistance.—For the text, see Crit. App.

οὐδ’ ἀγρία γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] The source of the lines is unknown, and Es and Rehd. bracket them as an importation by a later copyist.—ὤρνις: so several times in Trag.: cf. Soph. Ant. 1021 οὐδ’ ὄρνις εὐσήμων ἀπορροβῆδει βοάς, but ὄρνις in Ar. and normally in Attic: v. Jebb on Soph. l.c. and L.S. s.v.—ηξίωσεν: ‘deigns,’ ‘expects’: gnomic.


§ 133. ἡλαυνεῖν] supply as subject πάσας ἐκάστην out of οὐδεμία (as frequently): cf. Soph. Ant. 263 κοῦδεις ἐναργῆς, ἄλλ’ ἐφευγε (sc. ἐκαστος) μὴ εἰδέναι, Dem. Lepet. § 74 μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, ἄλλ’ ἄν ἄληθες ἦ σκοπεῖτω.—ἐλάσε, of the act of permission: ἡλαυνεῖν, of their attitude towards him.

οἱ...φόνου φεύγοντες] here, perhaps, in the literal application of the phrase, ‘those who flee (their country) for murder,’ i.e. anticipate their sentence by going into voluntary exile, as the murderer had the option of doing.

οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔχθροις τοὺς ὑποδ.] ‘do not find those who shelter them hostile to them.’

ταχῦ γ’ ἂν] ‘would be in a hurry, I suppose, to’ etc.: ironical.
Cf. the idiomatic σχολη γε, 'at one's leisure,' and so 'scarcely,' 'hardly': freq. in apodosis, Plat. Rep. 610e, etc.

μεθέξουσιν] 'are ready to share.'

ἀξιώσουσι] sc. αὐτήν, i.e. τὴν πόλιν.

§ 134. τῶν πώποτε προδοτῶν] 'of the traitors of all (previous) time': cf. supra § 58 n. [Es would change to προδοτῶν on the ground that πώποτε is most frequently joined with a ptcp., but oi πώποτε occurs absol., and τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων is quoted from Xen. Hell. v. 4. 1.]

εἰ τις μελζὼν εἶ η τιμωρία] The form of the protasis regards the invention of a more severe penalty than death as remotely possible: εἰ τις μελζὼν ἡν would have denied it. Goodwin, § 410ff.

μελλοντες ἀδικεῖν] 'though their crime is only prospective') (διαπεπραγμένος ὅπερ ἐπεχειρησε. ὅταν ληφθῶσι] See Crit. App.

ὅπερ ἐπεχειρησε] sc. διαπράττεσθαι, but not necessarily, as ἐπεχειρεῖν is found with an object acc.: cf. Plat. Crit. 45c οὐδὲ δικαίων μοι δοκεῖς ἐπεχειρεῖν τράγμα, Phileb. 57b.

τὴν πόλιν ἔγκαταλιπτὼν] these words are partly explanatory of ὅπερ, partly predicative with κρίνεται: 'is on his trial for having deserted.'

c. 35. §§ 135–140. I wonder what plea the speakers on his behalf can possibly put forward for his acquittal: if their friendship with him, they virtually confess their sympathy with his conduct. His dead father, I imagine, whose statue he abandoned to the enemy, would rise up in judgment against him. In this connexion Leocrates may be said to have outraged Zeus Soter, whose name might fairly have been added to the indictment. As to the paid advocates for the defence, remember that these deserve your severest resentment, for their defence of L. is a proof that they would readily share his actions. Some of them will even go the length of seeking to beg him off on the strength of their own public services; but you must discriminate between services which tend merely to the glorification of the individual
and those which benefit the state as a whole. No public service is so great as to be entitled to be rewarded with the acquittal of traitors.

§ 135. θαυμάζω...τῶν...μελλόντων, διὰ τί] θαυμάζω is frequent in the orators c. gen. of the person, followed by a clause introduced by a relative or ei, denoting the point in the person's conduct which occasions the surprise (so θαυμάζειν τί τινος, to wonder at something in a person); cf. Antiph. or. 1. § 5 θαυμάζω...τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἣντινά ποτε γυνώμην ἔχων ἀντίδικος καθέστηκε πρὸς εμέ, Dem. C. Timocr. § 66 θαυμάζω δ' αὐτοῦ τί ποτε καλ τολμήσει λέγειν, Isocr. Paneg. § 170 θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστεύοντων...εἰ...ήγονται, etc.: also supra § 28 καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐμοὶ ἑυρήσατε ἦν.

χρήσθαι] uti, 'associate with.'

πρὶν...πρᾶξαι...ἀδηλον ἦν] As far as the form of the sentence goes, we might have had πρὶν...ἐπράξει Λ., ἀδηλον ἦν (= οὖ δήλον ἦν...πρὶν ἐπράξε): the effect of this would have been to lay stress on the action of L. as the turning-point in people's estimation of his friends' character. But the prominent idea is simply the different estimate of their character then and now, L.'s action being indicated merely as the dividing line between the two: in other words, the idea of before (πρὶν πρᾶξαι) is more prominent than that of until (πρὶν ἐπράξε). Goodwin, M. T. § 628.

ὁποῖοι τινες δώτες ἐτύχχανον] we should say simply 'their real character was uncertain': the Greek is reminiscent of Plato's phraseology.

τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσι χρώμενοι] 'because they are men of like manners.'

πολὺ πρότερον...ἤ] The fusion of the ideas 'before' and 'rather,' which πρότερον exemplifies, is seen in our 'sooner,' 'they would sooner die than surrender.' πρότερον, in form and usage, is in fact the exact counterpart of Eng. rather, i.e. rath-er, 'sooner.'

§ 136. αὐτῶ] ‘I fancy he would find his dead father his severest judge’: cf. Isocr. Aeginet. § 44 οἴμαι γὰρ ἄν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν πατέρα) πάντων γενέσθαι τοῦτον χαλέπωτατον δικαστήν.

ei τις ἄρ’ ἔστιν αἰσθήσις...γιγνομένων] ‘if indeed the departed [τοῖς ἐκεί] have any consciousness of what passes on earth [τῶν ἐνθάδε γεγέν.]’: this or a practically identical phrase occurs three times in Isocrates (Evag. § 2, Plat. § 61, Aeginet. § 42), but it is perhaps to be regarded here simply as a speculative commonplace with regard to the dead rather than as a trace of Isocratean study on the part of Lycurgus. For a close parallel in Latin, cf. Servius ap. Cic. Ad Fam. iv. 5. 6 quod si qui etiam inferis sensus est, on which Tyrrell remarks, ‘a sad if....The words used do not seem to suggest that S. himself believed that consciousness would survive death.’ (Cicero in his Letters, p. 288.) This observation, mutatis mutandis, may fairly be applied to the Greek, which seems equally sceptical in tone. [In Homer, the spirit (ψυχή) of the dead man, in Hades, is a mere ‘wraith’ (εἴδωλον) of his living self (αὐτός), wherein ‘there is no heart at all’ (II. XXIII. 103). Socrates, in a famous passage of the Apology (40 c), opines that death is either the end of all sensation or a migration of the soul from the present sphere into another,’ and holds that either of these is good. In Arist. Eth. Nic. iii. 9. 1115* 26, on the other hand, it is maintained that death is most formidable just because it does end all (φοβερῶτατον δ’ ὁ θάνατος: πέρας γὰρ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτι τῷ τεθνεότι δοκεῖ οὗτ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐτὲ κακὸν εἶναι, which is quoted by Adam on Apol. l.c.]

οὗ τὴν χαλκῆν εἰκόνα] the statue was evidently one of L.’s father himself, dedicated by himself (cf. ἤν ἐκεῖνος ἔστησε κ.τ.λ.): of the circumstances of the dedication we have no knowledge.— ἐκδοτον κατέλιπε: cf. supra § 85.

ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διώς] sc. νεῖφ or ἱερ. — ἱεροσυλήσαι...ἐἰκόσασθαι: cf. supra § 43 τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, etc.

αὐτῶσ] αὐτῶσ may be sound, but ὁδὸσ (Reiske) is tempting with ἐκεῖνος preceding.

tοιούτου γὰρ νίον...προσαγορεύεται] lit. ‘for he is called the
father of such a son,' i.e. the character of the son reflects upon the father: people will say, *tel fils, tel père.*

§ 137. διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἐνέγραψα τοῦτο...προδεδωκέναι] 'why I did not insert this in the impeachment, "betrayal of his father's statue": προδεδωκέναι (sc. αὐτῶν as subject)...πατρὸς (or perhaps to ἀνακειμένην) is probably intended to read as an extract from the indictment as it might have been: for the infin. in specifying the charge, cf. the mock indictment in Ar. *Vesp.* 894:—ἐγγά-ψατο | κύων Κυδαθηναιεύς Δάβητ' Διξωνέα, | τὸν τυρὸν ἄδικεῖν ὧτι μόνος καθήσθεν | τὸν Σικελικὸν.—ἀνακειμένην: cf. supra § 51 ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους ἂν.

ἀξιον <ὅν>] <ὅν> Bekker (Blass).

ἐπιγράψαι] 'to add the name of Z. S. to the bill of indictment,' as a sort of *subscriber* to the charge: the verb was used of attaching one’s name to a decree, etc. as its official mover or supporter: cf. Aeschin. *Cles.* § 159 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὖσ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα έλατε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικεί τοῦτο προσετάπτετε, Plut. *Dem.* 21 τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὖχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων έκαστον ἐπέγραφεν. The addition of the name of Ζεὺς Σωτῆρ would have been a good omen for the accused. [*ἐγγράψαι* Es, ἐγγ. els Cobet.]

§ 138. ἐκπέπληγμα δὲ...ἐπὶ τοῖς...εὶ λελήθασιν] 'but I am astounded most of all to think that you fail to perceive that those who are in no way connected...but who habitually assist...deserve to meet with,' etc.: the 'anticipatory' structure of the sentence is very characteristic Greek, but requires some recasting in English.—τοῖς μήτε γένει μήτε φιλία...μισθόυ δὲ συναιτ.: 'The private advocate was forbidden to take money. Hence he usually begins by defining the personal interest [kinship, friendship, hatred of the opposite side] which has led him to appear. In the next century [the 4th], at least, the law was not strictly observed; private advocacy was often paid; and it is not rash to suppose that this practice was as old as the frequency of litigation.'—Jebb, *Attic Orators*, vol. i, p. cxxviii, quoting the Lycurgus passage. He adds that 'the real error
both of Greece and of Rome...lay in their refusal to recognise advocacy as a profession.'

άδικησάντων] So Bekker (Es, Bl.) for αδικημάτων of the mss.

τοῖς τοιούτοις] dat. of agent with τῶν πεπραγ., but partly,

perhaps, with μετάσχοιεν as well: cf. supra § 48 n. For the

sentiment, we may cf. Lysias, C. Eratosth. § 41 ἐθαύμασα τής τόλμης

τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν (men like E.), πληρ ὦταν ἐνθυμηθὼ ὅτι

tῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν αὐτούς τε πάντα κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοιού-

tους ἐπαινεῖν. [τοῖς τοιούτοις Bl. (Sofer): o1 τοιοῦτοι codd.]

οῦ γάρ δει κ.τ.λ.] 'for they should not acquire their skill

[γεγενήσασαί] in opposing you, but in championing you and the

laws,' etc. δεινός here, as often, of rhetorical 'cleverness' or

'skill': cf. the familiar δεινός λέγειν. The word has usually the

added connotation of 'over-cleverness,' 'uncanniness,' and is

freq. in the orators in a quasi-disparaging sense: cf. Lysias,

C. Theomnest. [or. x] § 9 περὶ τούτο γὰρ δεινός εἶ, 'you are a past-

master at this business,' Plat. Euthyrh. 3 c 'Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ...οὖ

σφόδρα μέλει, ἄν τινα δεινὸν οὕτως εἶναι, 'clever above his

fellows,' 'out of the ordinary.'—For the reading, see Crit. App.

§ 139. οὐκέτι...ηδη] logical, 'are not content with seeking to

mislead you...but will actually go the length of expecting,' etc.

tαῖς αὐτῶν λητουργίαις] 'on the strength of the public services

which they themselves have performed.' At Athens, λητουργίαι

were certain state burdens which the richer citizens discharged

at their own expense. They may be classified as (a) 'recurrent'

or 'ordinary' (ἐγκύκλιοι), such as the χορηγία, γυμνασιαρχία,

ἐστίασις, (b) 'periodic' at longer intervals, such as the θεωρίας

or sacred embassies to the great festivals, (c) 'extraordinary' or

required at uncertain times: of these the most important was

the τριπαρχία. The χορηγία and the τριπαρχία are noticed

more in detail below: for the others mentioned, see L.S. s.vn.—

ἐξαιτεῖσθαι: cf. supra § 20 τὰς δεότεις τῶν εξαιτουμένων ἦ.—

ἐφ' οἷς: ois is most probably masc.: cf. supra § 138 init. εκπέ-

πληγμαί...ἐπὶ τοῖς...προσήκουσι.—καὶ μᾶλλος, vel maxime.

eis γάρ τὸν ἱδιον οἶκον κ.τ.λ.] 'for after compassing them [the
λητουργιαί] for (the glorification of) their own private families, they demand of you public favours,’ i.e. concessions in matters affecting the interests of the state: cf. καταχαρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, ‘give judgment by private interest,’ Plat. Apol. 35c.

[πποτρόφηκεν] (so Es for ἔποτερ- of the MSS.): Anglicè, ‘has been a patron of the turf.’ The keeping of race-horses was in ancient, as in modern, times a mark of wealth: cf. Isocr. De Big. § 33 ἵπποποτροφεῖν ἐπιχειρῆσας, δ τῶν εὐδαιμονεστάτων (‘the wealthiest’) ἔργον ἐστὶ, Dem. De Cor. § 320 καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποποτρόφος, ‘a grand gentleman’ (Drake). So Herodotus (vi. 35) describes Miltiades, son of Cypselus, as being ὀλίγης τεθριπποτρόφου, ‘of a family that kept a four-horse chariot for racing,’ and Thuc. (vi. 15) speaks of Alcibiades, as being ἄρωμα τεθριπποτρόφον, ‘of a family which kept a four-horse chariot.’

κεχορηγηκε] ‘has performed the office of choregos,’ who defrayed the cost of providing, training and dressing a chorus for the dramatic festivals at Athens: the χορηγοὶ were nominated from the φυλαι in turn, but the burden might be imposed (after the Peloponnesian War) on two persons jointly (cf. τριηραρχία). The χορηγία was perhaps the chief, and the most spectacular, of the λητουργιαί (see above), and afforded an opportunity for the display of munificence.—δεδαπάνηκεν: ‘has defrayed the expense of.’

αὐτὸς μόνος...τοὺς ἀλλοὺς οὐδὲν ὄφελῶν] But the victors themselves claimed, perhaps with some reason, that the state benefited by their reflected glory: cf. Alcibiades’ defence of himself in Thuc. vi. 16 ὃν γὰρ πέρι ἐπιβοήτος εἶμι, τοῖς μὲν προγόνοις μου καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξαν φέρει ταῦτα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ ὄφελιαν. οἱ γὰρ Ἑλληνες καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν μελζὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδυμάσαν τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἥδη πρότερον ἐπιζητοποιηθεὶς αὐτὴν καταπετελεμῆθαι, διότι ἄρματα μὲν ἐπτὰ καθήκα κ.τ.λ., ‘entered seven teams for the chariot race.’...καὶ δειὰ αὖ ἐν τῷ πόλει χορηγίας ἡ ἄλλῳ τῷ λαμπρόνομαι, τοῖς μὲν ἁστοῖς
§ 139]  NOTES

φθορεῖται φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς έξενους καὶ αὐτῷ ἱσχύς φαίνεται, Lysias, or. xix. § 63 (the defendant is quoting his father’s services) ὁσα γὰρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπεθύμησεν ἀναλίσκειν, πάντα φανήσεται ουαναύτα δὴν καὶ τῇ πόλει τιμὴ ἔμελλεν ἔσσεθαί. αὐτίκα (‘for instance’) δὲ ἐπενέε, οὐ μόνον ἐποὺς ἐκτήσατο λαμπροὺς ἄλλα καὶ ἀδητάς, οἷς ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέα, ὡστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι καὶ αὐτῶν στεφανωθῆναι. The glory shed on their native cities by the winners at the great games is the burden of Pindar’s odes.

τετραμάρχης] The function of the τριήραρχος was the fitting out of a trireme, of which the state supplied the hull (and usually the oars and rigging), and keeping the ship in repair for a year, during which period the τριήραρχος was also responsible for the command of the vessel, though not necessarily in his own person. The triarchy was the most important of the extraordinary λητουργίαι (see note supra). Originally the burden was imposed on one person, after 405 B.C. on two, after 358 (?) on the triarchic symmories (συμμορίαι). These were the 1200 richest citizens, divided into twenty ‘symmories’ or boards of sixty members each; and each ‘symmory’ was sub-divided into so many groups (συντέλειαι), which might consist of as many as fifteen or sixteen members each, and which were each charged with the duty of providing a ship. This arrangement bore hard on the poorer members of such a group, who contributed individually the same amount as a wealthier colleague (Dem. De Symm. or. xiv). About 340 B.C. this abuse was removed by a reform of Demosthenes which made the amount payable by each member proportional to his taxable property: a single wealthy citizen might thus be required to provide two ships by himself, instead of bearing, as previously, only the sixteenth part of the cost of one (Dem. De Cor. §§ 102–108).

§ 140. τῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων] 'of those who have made a voluntary contribution': ἐπιδεδόναι was said of contributing a 'benevolence' towards state necessities: the 'benevolence' was ἐπίδοσις, 'a giving over and above.'

τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν δεδαπ.] Cf. Antiph. Tetr. A. γ. § 8 al δ' εἰσφοραλ καὶ χωρηγίαν εὐθαμονίας ἱκανόν σημεῖόν ἐστι, where εὐθαμονία = 'wealth': cf. note on ἰπποτρόφηκεν, supra § 139.

ὡστ' ἐξαλρετον ἀξιοίν λαμβάνειν...τιμωρίαν] 'as to claim to win the remission of punishment for traitors as a special favour': so we must translate the somewhat pregnant Greek, τὴν κατὰ τῶν προδιδόντων τιμωρίαν being equivalent to τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν προδιδόντως, 'the non-punishment of traitors.' We may compare Aeschin. Ctes. § 196 οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ...ἐξαιτοῦνται τὰς γραφὰς τῶν παρανόμων, 'try to obtain the rejection of suits for παράνομα as a personal favour.'—ἐξαλρετος, of something 'picked out' from the number, Lat. eximius, and so 'special,' 'peculiar': Lysias, or. x. § 3 τούτω μῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαλρετῶν ἐστι καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν παρὰ τῶν νόμων, 'he alone has the special privilege,' Dem. c. Aristocr. § 181 Καρδιανὼν πόλιν, ἢν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐξαλρετον αὐτῷ γέγραφεν, 'has defined as his special prerogative.'

ἀνόητον] sc. εἶναι.

ὡστε φιλοτιμεῖσθαι...ἡφάνισεν] 'as that, while ambitious for the honour of the state, he should seek to succour the defendant, by whom he was the very first to have his ambitions effaced': there would be no question of being ambitious for the honour of the state, when L., so far as in him lay, would have ruined the state itself.

el μὴ νῦ ΝΔα κ.τ.λ.] 'unless, save the mark, it be the case that the interests of these men [the would-be defenders of L.] and their country are not identical': el μὴ introduces here an ironical hypothesis, like nisi forte in Latin, the second μὴ adheres closely to ταύτα: nisi forte istis et patriae non eadem conveniunt.

c. 36. §§ 141-145. I could wish that an exception to the customary rule which forbids the presence of your wives and children
in court were made in a case like this, so that the victims of Leocrates' treason might whet you against the traitor. As their representatives you must pass sentence upon their betrayer. It is intolerable that Leocrates should have the assurance to claim equal treatment in the city which he deserted, under the very eyes of those who have mourned the heroes of Chaeronea—heroes whose fate has never cost him a pang. To what can he appeal? Laws, walls, gods, temples, citizens—he has betrayed them all! Both old and young will unite to pass sentence upon him. Surely you cannot by the same vote convict of madness the men who died for freedom, and pronounce Leocrates the traitor to be of sound mind! Leocrates' return is not that of an ordinary exile—it is that of a man who would have turned Attica into a sheep-walk.

§ 141. ἔξρην [For the potential impf. indic. without ὡν (cf. ἐδει, προσήκειν, etc.), implying a denial of the action of the infin. ['it ought to be lawful for you'...(but it is not)], see Goodwin, §§ 415 ff.

ἐλ καὶ περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου] οὐδενὸς for μηδενὸς, which we should have expected, is difficult (cf. two exx. taken at random from Lysias: or. xix. § 1 ἐλ καὶ μὴ δεινὸς πέφυκα, XXXII. § 11 ἐλ καὶ πρότερον μὴ εἴθωσαι), and I do not find this particular passage dealt with by any of the authorities on Gk. syntax I have been able to consult. The explanation of οὐδενὸς here must be sought (I think) in the positive quality of the concession introduced by ἐλ καὶ: 'although ('as is well known,' 'which is a notorious fact') it is customary in no other case.' Cf. supra § 62 n.

παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας παρακαθισμένους...δικάζειν] 'to let their wives and children sit by them in court': for the combination of middle with reflexive pronoun, cf. supra § 70 τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον πορίζοσθαι. —It was of course quite usual for defendants, for the opposite purpose to that indicated by the speaker here, to bring their wives and children into court: the technical word for this was παραστήσασθαι (Lys. xx. § 35, Aeschin. Ctes. § 154, Dem. Mid. § 187), or ἀναβιβάζεσθαι (Andoc. De Myst. § 148, Isocr. Antid. § 321, Plat. Απολ. 34 c, etc.).
This combination is frequent in introducing an apodosis which constitutes an exception to, or a qualification of a concession contained in a protasis either expressed or implied: the word on which the emphasis falls is normally enclosed between ἀλλ’ οὖν and γε: cf. Isocr. *Philip.* § 85 καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἔλλιπω τι...ἀλλ’ οὖν ὑπογράψεως γ’ οἶμαι κ.τ.λ., ‘yet at least I think I can trace,’ etc., Dem. *Phil.* iii. § 30 καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γ’ ἵστε, δτὶ δ’ ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Δακεδαμονίων ἢ υφ’ ἡμῶν ἐπασχον οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ’ ὄντων τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἰδικώντο, ‘it was at any rate genuine sons of Hellas who wronged them’ (as opp. to Philip, who is a ‘barbarian’). The combination undivided (as here) is much more rare, but in Isocr. xx. § 14 we have: ἐπείδη δ’ οὖν οἶδ’ ἢ στίν αἰσθέται (since it is impossible to detect wicked men before being injured by them)...ἀλλ’ οὖν γ’ ἐπείδαν γνωρίσθωσι, προσήκει...μισείν τοὺς τοιούτους κ.τ.λ. [Es (Bl.) changes to ἀλλ’ οὖν περὶ προδοσίας γε.] ὄντως] resuming (as often) the content of a preceding ptcp. (here περὶ προδοσίας κρίνοντας).

τούτῳ πράττειν] i.e. τοὺς δικαστὰς δικάζειν π. καὶ γ. παρακαθισαμένους.

ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς ὄντες καὶ ὁρώμενοι] ὁρώμενον, if genuine, must be felt to be more definite than ἐν ὄφθ. ὄντες, but the expression is admittedly redundant. [Blass (with Es) brackets καὶ ὁρώμενοι.]

τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ πάσιν ἐλέου] ‘the universal attribute of pity.’

πικροτέρας τὰς γνώσεις...παρεσκεύαζον] ‘that (ὅπως) they might have rendered your findings against the culprit more severe’: γνώσεις, of a judicial inquiry, Lat. cognitio: Dem. *De Cor.* § 224 τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις.—ὅπως...παρεσκεύαζον: lit. ‘in order that they might (now) be rendering’: a secondary tense of the indic. is so used with ἵνα and ὅπως in final clauses depending upon a postulate which can no longer be fulfilled: cf. Plat. *Protag.* 335 c ἀλλὰ σὲ ἐξήν ἡμῖν αὐχωρεῖν, ἵνα συνουσία ἐγγενετο, ‘you ought to have given way to us, so that our conference might (now) be proceeding’ (but you did not give way, so it is not proceeding): Goodwin, § 333. [παρεσκεύαζον Es (Bl.): παρα-
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σκενάζωσιν codd. The latter, if more unusual after ἔχρην, is defensible on the supposition that the speaker vividly transfers the purpose from the sphere of unreality to that of actuality.]

ἀναγκαίον] sc. ἐστιν.

τὸν προδότην αὐτῶν] ‘the man who betrayed them.’

§ 142. ὅταν νομιζῇ] causal, cum putet; a variant for εἰ νομίζῃ
or τὸ νομίζειν δείν Αἰσχράτη: cf. supra §§ 116, 123 nn.

ὁ μὴ κινδυνεύοντας] ‘a man who shunned the peril’; generic.

Cf. supra §§ 27, 43.

ἡκό] Steph. (Bl.): ἡκεῖ codd.

ἱερῶν θυσίων ἀγορᾶς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. everything from which a person in his position was held εἴργεσθαι: cf. Antiph. De Chor. § 4 νόμῳ εἴργεσθαι πόλεως ιερῶν ἀγώνων θυσίων, supra § 65 εἴργον τῶν νομίμων n. [θυσίων Tayl. (Sch., Bl., Thalh.): ὀσίων Reiske (Bk., Rehd.): οὐσίων codd.]

ὑπὲρ ὅν τοῦ μὴ καταλθήσας] These words may be construed as follows: ὑπὲρ ὅν, ‘on behalf of which,’ τοῦ μὴ κ., ‘so that they should not be abolished’—a perfectly natural and normal construction. I cannot persuade myself, however, that τοῦ μὴ καταλθήσας is independent of ὑπὲρ; in other words, that the writer of these words did not feel them to be the exact equivalent, in syntax as well as in meaning, of the rendering which occurs most naturally to us, viz. ‘in defence of the non-abolition of which,’ or (which is the same thing) ‘to prevent the abolition of which,’ this final use of ὑπὲρ with the infin. being easily paralleled from Aeschin. Ctes. § 1 τὰς δεξίες αἷς κέχρηνται τινὲς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ τὰ σωφρῆνῃ μὴ γλυκεσθαι εἰ τῇ πόλει (= ἔνα μὴ γλυκηταί), Dem. De Cor. § 204: Goodwin, § 802. The obvious objection to this interpretation, viz. that it postulates the possibility of writing τὸ μὴ καταλθήσας τῶν νόμων for ‘the non-abolition of the laws,’ is discounted (I think) by the presence of the relative, which must come early in the clause. Thus while ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτα καταλθήσας is quite easy, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἃ κ. is impossible, with the result that the relative is displaced and brought close to the preposition, where it appears, as was almost inevitable, in the
genitive. This I believe to be the true explanation of the construction. [I had written this note before discovering that Rehd. (App. 2 ad loc.) takes substantially the same view. He opines that this const. was a mannerism of Apollodorus, 'a peculiarly artistic stylist,' who was also a political partisan of Demosthenes and Lycurgus. The examples, however, which Rehd. cites from Dem., viz. XLV. 34, [Dem.] LIX. 112, i14, are, to my mind, less convincing, for the trajectory of ὑπέρ, than the present passage of Lyc.]

ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαν] For the 'sense construction,' cf. supra § 87 ἡ πόλις...ἐδοσαν μ. 

οὐδὲ τὰ ἐλεγεία...ἡδέοθη] Cf. supra § 45 οὐδὲ τὰς θήκας παριῶν ἱσχύονθη.

ἀναστρέφεσθαι] versari: Xen. Hell. vi. 4. 16 λιπαροῖς καὶ φαινοῖς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, 'moving about in public.'

§ 143. αὐτικὰ μᾶλ']αὐτικὰ μᾶλα is idiomatic, μᾶλα intensifying αὐτικα, 'he will be begging you just in a moment to hear him': cf. Plato, Protag. 318 B et αὐτικα μᾶλα μεταβαλὼν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ...ἐπιθυμήσειν, 'if he should change his desire on the spot' (Adam's n. ad loc.), Gorg. 469 D, Crat. 384 B. Note that the words are always in this order: αὐτικα δὴ μᾶλα is a frequent variant.

πολοῦς; οὔς] The general structure of this and the next paragraph, consisting of short pithy answers to questions put by the speaker anticipating the adversary's line of defence, is of a type common in orations.

ἐᾶσαι] sc. ἀξιώσει. [ἐᾶσαι Reiske: ἐᾶσετε codd.]

πολοῦς; & μόνος] This brilliant resolution of the desperate ποιησάμενοι of the MSS. is due to Reiske.

σώσοντας] Cf. supra § 17 οὗς αὐτικα σώσοντας ἐαυτὸν...ἐπικαλέσεται μ.

τούς νεῶς...τὰ ἔδη...τὰ τεμένη] Cf. supra § 1 n.

δεῆσεται καὶ ἱκετεύσει...τίνων;] τίνων must be regarded as depending on δεῆσεται, which is felt as the emphatic verb, καὶ ἱκετεύσει forming a sort of parenthesis, for ἱκετεύω is normally
construed with the acc.: cf. *Polidous ikevetew immediately following. ikevetew οὐμών (infra §150), where οὐμών can hardly be taken with τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ δένδρα, is exceptional and perhaps poetic.

οἷς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον...οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ‘men with whom he could not bring himself to make an equal contribution to the public safety’: οἷς depends on τὸν αὐτὸν, and is compressed for ὦν τῷ ἔρανῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον κ.τ.λ. For ἔρανος, cf. supra §22 τοὺς ἔρανους διενεχέων ὃν.

§ 144. πότερον...ἄλλῳ οὔδεν] For ἄλλα in questions put and answered by the speaker, cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 148, which Hickie (ad loc.) describes as the locus classicus in Greek literature in this connexion, and which, he adds, is regularly quoted as such in grammars. But not with better reason than Lysias, xxiv. §§ 24, 25, which ‘out-ἄλλα’s’ the Andoc. passage, and Lysias, xxx. §§ 26, 27 is deserving of honourable mention.

γνηστροφηθήναι] a moral and legal duty of children towards their parents: cf. supra §94.

οὐδ’ ἐν ἐλευθερῳ...παρέδωκεν] ‘no, nor did he suffer them, so far as he was concerned, to have burial in the free soil of their country’: ἐλευθερωφ is of course predicative, but it is difficult to give it this force in trans.: the meaning is that L. did his best to enslave his country. For ἔδαφος, ‘ground,’ ‘soil,’ cf. Dem. De Chers. § 39 (of Philip) ἐχθρὸς ὀλη τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, ‘the very ground on which it stands,’ Aeschin. Cies. § 134 οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς...ἡγεμονίας ἀγνωστοι (sc. ἡ πόλις), ἄλλῃ ἡδε περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους, ‘the very soil of our country.’—ταφήναι...παρέδωκεν: cf. Her. vi. 103 τὴν αὐτήν ἐπιούσι μικῶν παραδίδοι Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθήναι.—τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος: cf. supra §17 n.

ἡ τῶν νεωτέρων] sc. ἡλικία.

§ 145. ἱονολαία] ἦς, as often, of improper freedom, ‘licence’: cf. supra §12 τὴν γὰρ ἦς. ταύτην διδόκατε τοὺς ἐνθάδ’ ἐλεισοῦσιν.

τὸν δὴμον καὶ ὑμᾶς] ‘the body politic’)(‘you, as individuals.’

οὐ γὰρ μὸνον νῦν...κατέρχονται] ‘for it is not merely a case of an exile returning’ (νῦν—supposing you let L. go unpunished).—
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oi φεύγοντες: the plural here is used to put a general case.—
κατέρχονται: technical in this sense: cf. supra §124 μόλις εἰς
τὴν εαυτῶν κατεληλυθότες.
φυγήν...καταγνοῦσ] Cf. supra §22 οὕτως αὐτοῦ καταγνώκει
άλλων φυγήν.

οικήσας εἰς Μ. ἐπὶ προστάτου] Cf. supra §21 n.
πλείω πέντε η ἢ ἢ ἢ ἢ] The duration of L.'s sojourn abroad is
given supra §21 as πλείω η πέντε ἢ ἢ, §56 πέντε ἢ ἢ, §58 ἢ ἢ ἢ. [Es
considers that a copyist who had before him πλείω (so Es, as
supra §21) ἢ ἢ ἢ introduced πέντε from his memory of §§21,
56: πλείω ἢ πέντε ἢ ἢ (as §21) Auger (Rehd.).]

ἀναστρέφηται] Cf. supra §142 ἡγεῖται δέ εἷς ἀναστρέφεσθαι
μηλόβοτον τὴν 'Α. ἄνειναι] 'to turn Attica into a sheep-walk':
cf. Isocr. Plat. §31 (of Theban animosity) οὐ δυστυχησάντων
ὑμῶν [after Aegospotami] μόνοι τῶν συμμάχων ἔθεντο τὴν ψήφον,
ὡς χρῆ...τὴν χώραν ἄνειναι μηλόβοτον ὕστερ τὸ Κρισάιον πεδίον;
σύνοικος ύμῶν] we might expect ύμῶν, but cf. Soph. Ant. 451
ἡ ξύνοικος τῶν κατῶ θεῶν Δλκη. [ὑμῶν Herwerden.]

γλαγεται] Rehd. (Bl.): γενήσεται Melanchth. (Sch., Turr.,
Sof.): γεγένηται Thalh.: γέγενται codd.

C. 37. §§146–148. Before concluding, I should like to quote you
the decree of the people ‘concerning piety.’ I have denounced
the guilty party to you: with you rests the responsibility of
punishing him as he deserves. Be assured that each one of you,
though giving his vote in secret, will make his mind open to the
gods. Consider that by your single verdict you are pronouncing
sentence on all the most heinous crimes, of all of which Leocrates
stands guilty—treason, overthrow of the democracy, impiety, ill-
treatment of parents, desertion. By showing him mercy, you will
expose yourselves to the vengeance of heaven.

§146. βραχέα...ἐπίων καταβηγναι] ‘to say a few words
more...and to cite the decree of the people...before stepping
down’: a good example of a case where the stress, in Greek,
falls on the ptcp. Of the decree ‘concerning piety’ nothing
further is known.
τὸν ἄφαντον] either (a) 'him who would obliterate' (conative) or (b) 'him who has obliterated,' the present denoting the 'standing characteristic' as in ἀδικεῖν, προδίδοναι = ἀδίκος, προδότης εἶναι.—ταύτα πάντα: i.e. all the clauses of the decree just quoted.

κολάσαι...τιμωρήσασθαι] the first, of the reformation of the offender; the second, of the satisfaction of the offended: Arist. Rhet. I. 10. 1369b διαφέρει δὲ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις: ἢ μὲν γὰρ κόλασις τοῦ ποιοῦντος ἐνεκὰ ἐστιν, ἢ δὲ τιμωρία τοῦ πάσχοντος, ἣν ἀποπληρωθῆ.

tὸ γὰρ ἀδικήματα κ.τ.λ.] 'for crimes, so long as they are untried, lie at the door of the perpetrators, but as soon as the trial has taken place, at the door of those who fail to punish them as they deserve': the force of παρὰ c. dat. here seems to be that of 'resting with,' 'chargeable upon,' as ἀφυν and πενες are occasionally used in Latin.

κρύβειν...φανεράν] a common sentiment in the orators: cf. Lysias c. Eratosth. § 91 μηδ' ὀλεθρε κρύβειν <εἰναι> τὴν ψήφον· φανεράν γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γράμμαν ποιήσετε, or. vi. § 53 ποίον δημότην χρῆ τούτω χαρισάμενον κρύβειν φανερῶς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεχθέσθαι; or. xv. § 10, Dem. F. L. § 239 οὐ γὰρ εἰ κρύβειν ἐστιν ἡ ψήφος, λήσει τοὺς θεοὺς, κ.τ.λ.

§ 147. ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων...μλαν ὑμᾶς ψῆφον] 'that you are passing a single verdict on all the greatest and most heinous forms of crime,' i.e. though you only vote once, your vote has reference to a multiplicity of crimes, of which (as he explains) L. is guilty. For ὑπέρ, cf. supra § 9 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρίαν ἃν.

ἐν τῇ τῆμερον ἡμέρᾳ] cf. supra § 2 n.

προδοσίας] This and the following genitives are in app. with ἀδικημάτων above.

tὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαι] The collocation of the words is no doubt helped by the fact that τέμνει belongs to the same root as τέμνω ('a place cut off' from common use, Lat. templum): τέμνεσθαι here of course = 'be ravaged,' 'laid waste.'

τοκέων δὲ κακώσεως] 'maltreatment of parents' was a specific
offence under Athenian law, and might be the subject of an εἰσαγγελία which was brought before the chief archon: see notes to § 1. Note the poetic τοκέων = γονέων. For the text after κακώσεως, see Crit. App.

λιποταξίον...ἄστρατελας] ‘desertion’...‘shirking of service’: both were subject to γραφή. Properly λιποταξίον (which occurs only as gen. with γραφή, ἔνοχος, etc., though Cobet restores λιποτάξιον for λιποταξίαν of codd. at Dem. Mid. § 166) would be said of desertion in actual battle, ἄστρατελα of failing to take one’s place in the ranks when placed upon the military list, the latter only of which might be held to be applicable to the case of Leocrates. For a discussion of the point, see Lysias c. Alcib. 1 [or. xiv] §§ 1-8, where the speaker contends that λιποταξία includes non-appearance in the ranks as well as falling out in presence of the enemy: Lys. l.c. § 6 ἀκούετε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς δικασταῖς, ὅτι περὶ ἀμφοτέρων κεῖται (sc. ὃ νόμος), καὶ ὅσι ἄν μάχης οἴσης εἰς τούπλασον ἀναχωρήσωσι, καὶ ὅσι ἄν ἐν τῇ πεζῷ στρατῇ μὴ παρώσι. From Lyc.’s language in the present passage we should certainly infer that the two terms covered pretty much the same ground.

παρασχῶν τὸ σώμα τάξαι] Cf. supra § 43 n.

§ 148. ἐπειτα] admirantis vel indignantis, ‘after all that’: Xen. Mem. 1. 4. 11 ἐπειτὶ οὕτω ὥσπερ φροντίζειν (τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων); supra § 27 n.

τούτοι τις] note the indef. τις, which has the effect of throwing more weight upon τούτου.


καὶ τίς οὕτως] Dobr. (Bl., Sof.): καὶ τοσοῦτον codd.

σόφιστὸν...ἐλημοσας] ‘by seeking to save’...‘by showing him pity.’

προαιρήσεται] Bekker would omit this, on the ground that it disturbs the symmetry of the passage without helping the sense.

χάριν θέμενος] ‘by doing him a favour’: a common Gk. phrase.
§ 149. ἥτευθυνος εἶναι...πυμωρία] sc. προαμήσται, 'to expose himself to the vengeance of heaven.'

§§ 149, 150. On behalf of my country and the laws, I have conducted the case honestly and straightforwardly, confining myself strictly to the point at issue. Reflect that, by acquitting Leocrates, you are condemning your country to death and slavery, and that your votes, according to the use you make of them, mean either the destruction or the salvation of your native city. Consider that a cry goes up to you from the very land—from harbours and arsenals, shrines and temples—and make Leocrates a signal example of the fact that tears and compassion do not weigh more with you than the vindication of the laws and the public weal.

§ 149. ἀποδέωκα τὸν ἄγωνα] 'I have conducted my case' is perhaps the most we can make of this: the speaker regards the prosecution as something committed to his charge, which he has 'duly delivered' (cf. reddo): ἀπολαμβάνω is the correlative.

οὐτε τὸν ἄλλον...βλον διαβαλῶν] 'without either attacking his life in general,' which was an all too common practice in Athenian courts: cf. the amenities exchanged between Aeschines and Demosthenes (Aeschin. Ctes. §§ 51–53, Dem. De Cor. §§ 257–266), etc.

ἐξω τοῦ πράγματος] cf. supra § 11 n.

τὸν Δεωκράτους] [τὸν] Rehd.: τὸν Es.

καὶ δυοὶ καδίσκοιν...τὸν μὲν προδοσίας, τὸν δὲ σωτηρίας] 'and that of the two urns which are set out, one is for betrayal, the other for safety': the method of voting here described appears to be the older and simpler one, according to which two voting-urns were provided, one for condemnation and one for acquittal, called respectively ὁ πρότερος and ὁ ὑστερος, Ar. Vesp. 986–991: cf. Phrynichus, Μοῦσα, quoted by Harp. s.v. καδίσκος (Mein. Com. Frag. 2. 593), ἵδο, δέχον τὴν ψῆφον. ὁ καδίσκος δὲ σοι | ὁ μὲν ἀπολύων οὗτος, ὁ δ' ἀπολλύον ὅδι, and each dicast was provided with one ψῆφος, which was dropped into one or other of the urns. According to the later method described by Aristotle, Ἁθ. Πολ.

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col. 36, ll. 14–22, there were still two urns, one of bronze and one of wood, but each dicast was furnished with ἐνος ψῆφοι, one with a hollow cylinder (ἡ τετραπυρηνήν), for condemnation, the other with a solid (ἡ πλήρης), for acquittal: these held between the finger and thumb were indistinguishable to the onlookers: the dicast dropped whichever he wanted to use into the bronze urn, which was called ὁ κύριος (the ‘operative’ or ‘deciding’), the wooden (ὁ ἄκυρος) being reserved for the ψῆφος which was unused. At the conclusion of the voting, the contents of the κύριος were emptied out, the perforated and the solid ballots were counted, and the verdict was declared accordingly. The latter method secured secrecy of voting: it is difficult to see how the former could have done so. For a discussion of the subject, and the authorities bearing upon it, see the exhaustive note of Wyse on Isaeus v. 17 s.vv. ἐξεραθεισῶν [alii ἐξαιρεθεισῶν] τῶν ψῆφων, and Sandys on Ἄθ. Πολ. col. 35, 22 sqq.


§ 150. εἶν...ἀπολυόσητε] si absolveritis.

προδιδόναι...ψηφιεῖσθε] ‘you will vote for the betrayal of,’ etc.: so ψηφίζεσθαι βοηθεῖν, etc.

παρακελεύσεσθε] ‘you will encourage’ (others): παρακελεύσασθαι. προτρέψασθαι Hesych.

ἰκετεύειν ὑμῶν] Cf. supra § 143 δεησεθαι καὶ ἱκετεύσει...τίνων; n.

τὰ δενδρα] The reference is no doubt especially to the olive-trees, an important state asset: cf. supra § 43 δόθ’ ἡ μέν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο n.

τοῦς λιμένας <καὶ> τὰ νεώρια] The appeal of the ‘harbours’ and the ‘dockyards,’ important sources of Athens’ strength, is specially pertinent in the mouth of Lycurgus, who had increased the fleet and completed an arsenal during his administration: see Introd. p. xx. So Lysias c. Eratosth. § 99 appeals to the judges ὑπὲρ τῶν νεώριων, ὁ καθεῖλον (sc. οἱ τριάκοντα). [<καὶ > is added by
Scheibe (Es, Thalh.), who postulates either this or the asyndetic τοὺς λ. τὰ ν. τὰ τ. (Bl.) as the proper form.]

παράδειγμα ποιήσατε Δ.] Cf. with the conclusion Lysias, xxviii. § 11 ἀλλὰ παράδειγμα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσαι καὶ μήτε κέρδος μήτε ἔλεον μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν περὶ πλεονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς τούτων τιμωρίας.

ὅτι οὐ πλέον ἵσχύει] depending on παράδ. π. Δ., 'make him a (warning) example (of the fact) that,' etc. [καλ, which the mss. give before ὅτι, is deleted by the editors generally (with Morus): Rehd. defends it in an elaborate excursus, App. 2, pp. 162 sqq.]

ὑπέρ] Lycurgean, for the simple genitive: cf. supra § 9 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιοούτων τιμωρίαν, [Dem.] xxvi. § 12 εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος σωτηρίαν.

σωτηρίας] so the mss., and intrinsically probable as supplying the desiderated vox fausta with which to conclude. [τιμωρίας Reiske (Sch., Bl.).]
CRITICAL APPENDIX

§ 8. The mss. give: ὃστε μήτε κατηγορολαν μήτε τιμωρολαν ἐνδέ-χεσθαι εὑρεῖν δὲ, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὑφισθαί τιμωρολαν δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, with ὃστε...εὑρεῖν δὲ τῶν Imita recurring infra § 9 after γενήσεσθαι. The passage has been variously emended: Bekker brackets μήτε κατηγορολαν...εὑρεῖν τιμωρολαν, Rehdantz τιμωρολαν. I have followed Blass, with the change of μηδὲ...μητ'.


§ 14. οἶ τοσατ...ὄντα. I have followed Blass in transposing (with Franke and Scheibe) this clause from its position in the mss. after ἰγκηκόεσαν infra, where it is awkward (as seems necessary) to refer οἶ to τὴν οἰκουμένην.

§ 19. ὃς καὶ μηγάλα...μετέχους αὐτῆς. The mss. give ὃς καὶ μηγάλα καὶ βλάβους ἑλη: βεβλαφως προ καὶ βλάβους, Sauppe (Blass, Thalh.): καταβεβλαφως Jenicke (Rehd.): μεγάλου βλά-βους αἰτίων ἑλη Corais: μεγάλου αἰτίων βλάβους ἑλη Franz.—μετέχων αὐτοῦ codd. praeter N (Franz, Saupp., Scheib., Thalh.): αὐτὸς Jenicke: αὐτῆς N (cf. § 58) (Blass, Rehd.).


§ 29. τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων. τὸν (τὸν Ἀ) πάντων συνειδότων ABN: τὸν πάντα Doberenz: τὸν πάντα' αὐτῷ Scheib. (Rehd.)
but, as Blass rightly remarks, the article cannot be omitted with the ptcp.]: τῶν τῶν πάντων αὐτῶν Ἡρω.: τῶν πάντων σαφέστατον ἔλεγξαν Reiske (Thalh.): τῶν παρὰ τῶν συνειδῶν Schoem. (Bl.).

§ 38. After oi vaoi, the ms. give τῶν ἱερέων, which is probably an importation due to a misunderstanding of the const. of ἐρημοῦ ...τῶν τειχῶν immediately following. Heinrich (Sch., Bl., Thalh.) deletes the words: Rehd. defends them.

§ 39. τῷ <στρατῷ> scripsi. τῷ ALP: τῷ <δῆμῳ > Ald., Bk. (Sch.): utrumque deletum volupt Osann., Turr.; τῷ <στρατοπέδῳ> Meier, prob. Rehd.: ἄρτιως Blass.—προσήγγελτο Es (Bl.): προσήγγελτο ALP.

§ 43. ὅθεν ἦ μὲν χάρα...τά νόμα. I have followed Blass (Sofer) in transposing this clause from its place in the ms. after τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἱνδρα.

§ 45. μηδὲ συνενεγκεῖν. μηδὲ ἵππες AB, μηδὲ ἵππες LP (Rehd.), μ. συνενεγκεῖν Z: μηδὲν ἵππες Cor.: μηδὲ ἵππες Mätz.: μηδὲ ἵππες Sch., prob. Es (sec. Thuc. II. 34 ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκαστὸς ἣν τι βούληται): μηδὲ ἵππες Dobre (Bl.), deletis verbis μηδ' ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν: μηδ' ἵππες Thalh.

§ 46. The ms. give τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν δημοσίων ἄγωνας (Rehd., Thalh.), Rehd. explaining τῶν δημοσίων as 'the state interests,' reis publica, and pointing out that the arrangement τοὺς τοιούτους ἄγωνας τῶν δημοσίων (which we should have expected) would postulate the supplying of ἄγωνας with δημοσίων. Otherwise ἄγωνες is to be understood in the sense of the ἄγωνιζόμενοι λόγοι of Isocr. (xv. 48), 'Privatprocessreden') ('Staatsprocessen.' On the whole, I prefer the reading in the text, which is due to Reiske (Turr., Sch., Bl., Es): τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς δ. ἄγωνας Mätz.: τοῖς τοιούτως τοὺς δ. ἄγωνας Franke.

§ 49. As Rehd. remarks (App. I, p. 109), there is a good deal that is unusual, both in expression and arrangement, in this and the following paragraph, which have probably suffered from the incorporation in them of reminiscences of famous Ἐπιταφίων which were much handled in the schools.
(a) ἁ γὰρ ἀθλα...ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα Cor., Dobr. (Bl.): τὰ γὰρ ἀθλα...ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμφότεροι. codd.: ταῦτα δὲ Auger, Bekk.: ταῦτ' ἄρα Rosenberg (Rehd.).

(b) μόνον γὰρ τοὺς κ.τ.λ. μόνον does not seem wanted if ἡττῆσθαι is understood (as seems most natural in its context) of military defeat: Rehd., who attempts a reconstruction of the whole passage, considers that μόνον arose out of ἀμφότεροι supra, and that the original ran...ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφότεροι τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κ.τ.λ.

§ 51. The mss. give καὶ δι' ἂν οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐπετηθέων, which has been variously emended so as (a) to supply an object to ἐπετηθέων, (b) to define more precisely the force of ἐπιστασθέ. I have adopted Blass's <ἀνθρειαν> after ἀλόγως, taking δι' ἂ...ἐπετηθέων in a causal relation to ἐπιστασθέ (see explanatory note). Other suggestions are: καὶ νη Δια οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ. ταὐτα. ἐπιστασθε γὰρ Cor.: καὶ νη Δια ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ., ἐπεὶ ἐπιστασθε Herw.: ἄ νη Δια οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ.: ἐπιστασθε γὰρ cf. Rehd.


§ 73. The probabilities for and against the genuineness of ἐστησαν seem to be about equally balanced: I have followed Meutzner (Bl., Thalh.) in bracketing it: Turr., Sch., Rehd. retain it.

§ 76. <ὡς> οὐδὲν ποιήσων. The mss. give οὐδὲν ποιήσων (Sch., Rehd., Thalh.), which, if defensible, is at least an exceptional const. with παρασκευάζεσθαι, which seems to be found only with (a) the infin. present or aorist, (b) fut. ptcp., with or without ὡς (Rehd., App. 2, ad loc.): ποιήσων Frohb.: <ὡς>...ποιήσων Es (Bl.).

§ 80. ὅμως ὡς ἡγιασ. I have adopted Rehd.'s suggestion for ὅμως λαχνὸς of the mss., which has been very variously emended: ἱκανὸς Cor.: λαχνὸς Dind.: συχνὸς Sch.: ἡγιασ...τῆς...ἀρετῆς M Haupt. (Bl.): alii alia.
§ 85. κατακλησθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.—διακαρτέρειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, 'to stand staunchly by one's country' (see expl. note) is perhaps somewhat difficult (though Lyc. has other unusual examples of εἰς, cf. § 129); but it seems intolerably harsh to join (with Rehd.) κατακλησθέντες with εἰς τὴν π. Es (Bl.) would delete ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ, which no doubt makes κατακλ....εἰς τὴν π. easier, though even then the rhythm of the sentence is in favour of joining εἰς with διεκαρτέρουν.

§ 86. κατὰ τὰς πῦλας ὑποδύντα.—After considering the passage in all its bearings, I am inclined to believe that ὑποδύντα (which I once thought might conceal something like ὑπὸ νῦκτα—a time note) is sound, and that the corruption lies in κατὰ τὰς πῦλας. I put forward the following suggestions for what they are worth.

(i) φρύγανα συλλέγειν (added to the general testimony that Codrus took the disguise of a woodman: εὐτελεὶς σκευὴ ὡς κυλιστής Schol. Platon., ὡλοκλήρωσιν ἑσθῆτα λαβὼν Συίδας) points to θλας for πῦλας. We should then have, (a) with κατὰ, 'taking shelter (securing himself: ὑποδύντα used absol.) near (in the neighbourhood of) the woods,' (b) with κατὰ (Madvig), 'and then taking cover in the woods' (τὰς θλας being here direct obj. of ὑποδύντα: cf. subire). In either case, the action of ὑποδύντα (as well as of λαβὼν) is strictly antecedent in time (as the tense itself shows) to that of συλλέγειν (see expl. note): during the time when φρ. συλλέγειν could be predicated of him, C. was, and intended himself to be, easily seen.

(ii) ὑποδύεσθαι is capable of two other meanings, either of which seems pertinent for the present passage: (a) to 'put on' shoes [cf. Ar. Vesp. 1158, where RV give ὑπόδυθι...τὰς Δακωνικάς, with ὑποδύεσθαι and ὑποδυσάμενος at ll. 1159, 1168 respectively, though it is true that Scaliger and Hirschig changed all three to corresponding forms of ὑποδεισθαι (ὑπόδου, ὑποδησ-), which are now adopted by the editors], (b) to 'put on' a certain character (cf. Plat. Gorg. 464 C ἡ κολακευτικὴ...προσποιεῖται εἶναι τοῦθ'
assuming that ὑποδύναι could have been said by Lycurgus in the sense of (a), and reading Madvig's κάτα, I see in πολλάς an additional detail of Codrus' 'make up': λαβώντα πτωχικήν στολήν...κάτα τὰς ἀρβύλας (τὰς ἀ πλάς?—cf. Dem. Liv. 34 ἀ πλάς ὑποδέενται) ὑποδύνη κ.τ.λ. ἀρβύλη is defined by L. S. as 'a strong shoe...a half-boot, used by country-people, hunters, travellers'; with (b), I suggest that the original may have run: λαβώντα πτ. στολήν...ταύτην ὑποδύνη κ.τ.λ., 'assuming, I say, this disguise,' etc.: Lyc. is partial to the resumptive οὖτος (cf. §§35, 42, 46, 82, 93, 117). If ΤΑΤΤΗΝ (ταύτην) came to look like, or was misread as, ΤΑΤΤΘΙ (ταύτη, ταύτη), κατὰ τὰς πολλὰς might very well be a gloss which attempted to explain the latter word.

§ 88. ἀρά γ' ὁμολόγωσ. I have adopted Corais' (Es, Bl., Sofer) ἀρά γε for ὄρατε of the mss., which Scheibe (Rehd., Thalh.) retains (ὁρατε el Ald.). ὄρατε (rarer than ὄρας) thus used initially is felt (acc. Rehd., App. 2, p. 151) as a statement, not as a question, and is without influence on the construction, as in Lucian, πῶς δεῖ ὅτε γρ. § 27 ὄρας, ὅμοιος οὖτος ἐκείνῳ. The idiom, however, appears to be distinctly rare in prose. On the other hand, ἀρά γε seems to have an affinity for ὅμοιος in introducing an ironical question, cf. § 70 ἀρά γ' ὅμοιοι, § 119 ἀρά γ' ὁμολογεῖ, which passages may perhaps be regarded as creating an ἀ πριορί case for ἀρά γε here. Palaeographically, as Es points out, APATΕ and OPATΕ would be easily confused.

§ 93. εἶ ταυτὰ σημεῖα...φαίνονται codd. (Sch.): φαίνοντο Steph.: φαίνοντο Heinrich (Bl., Sofer): φαίνοντι' ὄντα Rehd.: ταυτὰ <τὰ> σημεῖα (Melanchth.)...φαίνονται Thalh.: ταυτὰ <τὰ> σ....φαίνοι Reiske (Sauppe): σημαίνοι pro σημεία, del. φαίν., Nicolai.

§ 100. Eur. Erechth. 1. 3. The line has been variously completed: I have adopted Meineke's <λέγω> (see expl. note). χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστεροι B (sec. Osann.) et vett.
edd.: χρόνως δὲ δρώσι, <δρώσι> δ—ρον Heinrich: δ—ροι φύσιν
G. Herm.: alii alia.

1. 41. τοῦν γ’ ἐμοὶ Heinr. (Turr., Sch., Thalh.): τοῦν ἐμοὶ
Reiske: γοῦν ἐμοὶ Blk.: σοῦ γ’ ἐμοὶ Bl.: γοῦν τ’ ἐμοὶ codd. etiam
οὐκοῦν...σωθήσεται; Dind.

1. 42. ἀξίουσι τ’ ἈΝ, ἀξίουσιν Μ, deinde ἄλλοι τῆς (sive
τῆ δ’) ἐγὼ σῶσω πόλιν codd.: ἀξίουσιν ἄλλοι, τῆς’ ἐγὼ σῶσω
πόλιν Dind. (Thalh., Sof.): ἀξίουσι τ’ ἄλλοις τῆς’ ἐγὼ οὐ δῶσω
πόλιν Jenicke: ἀξί. τ’ ἄλλοις τῆς’ ἐγὼ οὐ σῶσω πόλιν Blass.
Hunc et priorem versum ita ponit Rehdantz:

οὐκοῦν ἀπανθ’ ἄ τοῦτ’ ἐμοὶ σωθήσεται ἀξιοῦσιν ἄλλοι, τῆ δ’ ἐγὼ σῶσω πόλιν.

§ 107. Tyrtaeus, ll. 11, 12.

ei δ’ οὔτως ἄνδρός τοι ἄλωμένου οὔδεμι’ ἡρή
γίγνεται οὔδ’ αἴδως, οὔτ’ ὀπίσω γένεος.

οὐδ’ αἴδως Μ (Bk., Turr., Sch.): οὔτ’ αἴδως libri et vulg. ||
οὔτ’ ὀπίσω τέλος ABN: εἰσοπίσω τελέθει Ald. (Bk., Turr.):
οὔτ’ ὀπίσω γένεος Ahrens (Bl., Sofer): ἐξοπίσω s. τοῦξοπίσω
γένεος Sch.: οὔτ’ ὀπίσ οὔτ’ ἐλεος Bergk (Rehd., Thalh.).

For the second half of the line, I have adopted Ahrens’ οὔτ’
ὀπίσω γένεος as against Bergk’s οὔτ’ ὀπίσ οὔτ’ ἐλεος, the objection
to which is, ceteris paribus, that αἴδως...ἀπίσ...ἐλεος seem to
overload the whole line somewhat with the same idea. With
Ahrens’ reading, however, it seems necessary to adopt, in the
first half, οὐδ’ αἴδως (with M): otherwise οὔτε...οὔτε (Bl., Sofer)
connect heterogeneous elements in a way for which I can find
no parallel. Reading then οὐδ’ αἴδως, and punctuating as in the
text for the sake of clearness, we have: ei δ’ (οὔτε) ἄνδρός...οὔτ’
ὀπίσω γένεος οὐδέμια ὥρη γίγνεται οὐδ’ αἴδως, which I submit is
normal and intelligible Greek (see explanatory note).

On the other hand, the double οὔτε, subdividing the preceding
οὐδέμια, is thoroughly characteristic Greek, and tempts one to
suppose that οὔτε...οὔτε is sound. Is it possible that the true
reading is:

γίγνεται οὔτ’ αὔτοι οὔτ’ ὀπίσω γένεος?
It will be granted that οὕτως γένεος, if sound and not directly pointing to a preceding αὐτοῦ, at least goes very well with it (cf. the familiar ἐξώθη εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ γένος in imprecations in the orators passim, and § 79 of the speech, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς, οἱ παῖδες γε καὶ τὸ γένος ἄπαν κ.τ.λ.). I do not think that the hiatus resulting from the reading of αὐτοῦ, coming where it does in the line, is an insuperable objection (cf. Theognis 478 οὕτω τε γὰρ νήφω, οὕτοι λίνοι μεθύω); and it may be observed, further, that this very hiatus (assuming that Tyrtaeus wrote αὐτοῦ) would very naturally have suggested the mending of the metre by the substitution of a word like αἰδὼς which did not offend. In any case, it will be agreed that a place like ΟΤΤΑΤΤΟΤΟΤΤ would be, on the face of it, a likely source of corruption.

§ 116. ὤμων οὕτω πάτριον codd.: ὤμων οὕτωι πάτριον N° (Schaub): ὤμων οὕτω πάτριον Ald. (Bk.). || ψηφίζεσθαι ΝΜ: ψηφίζεσθε cett. (Sch., Thalh.).—A great many remedies have been proposed. οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριον Franke, δ ὤμων οὐδὲ πάτριον Sch., οὗ γὰρ ὤμων πάτριον Es, ὤμων οὗ γε πάτριον Rehd., <οὕτω γὰρ νόμιμον (s. εἰθιομένον)> ὤμων οὕτω π. Cohn, <οὕτω γὰρ ἐμφυτον> ὤμων κ.τ.λ. prob. Bl. (Sofer): ὤμεισιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ πάτριον Jenicke. The most attractive of all is Rehd.'s μὴ δῆτα, ό δ. δ., οὕτω τῶν τε πατέρων ἀναξίως καὶ ὤμων αὐτῶν ψηφίζεσθε, which he does not, however, introduce into his text. Needless, and useless, as it may appear to add to the above list, I have ventured to write <οὕτω γὰρ δοσιν>, on the ground that, if an adjective is missing, δοσίος seems as likely as any other on the lips of Lycurgus.

§ 132. The mss. give τὰ γοῦν ζωα πετεινα μάλιστα πέρφυκα πρὸς (τὸ ΑΝ) τάχος δ ἐστιν ἱδειν.—ζωα del. G. Hermann (Sch., Bl., Thalh.): <ἀ> ante μάλιστα add. R. (Sch., Bl., Thalh.): <ἀ> πετεινα Rehd.: τάχος, ἐστιν dist. R. (edd. omn.).

§ 134. ὅταν ληφθώσι Contius (Rehd., Bl., Thalh.): καταλη-φθώσι G. Herm. (Sch.): συλληφθώσι Halm (Turr.): ὅταν μὴ (δὴ Ν°) ληφθώσι ANpr. μὴ is difficult and contrary to the sense: the omission of it at least cuts the knot, but there is some force in van Es’s criticism: ...' quod (sc. ὅταν μὴ λ.) explicari nequit;
quam ob causam alius aliam viam corrigendi ingressus est, omnes tamen in eo convenientes in his vocabulis late re elocutionem quae optime hoc modo redditur "cum deprehenduntur." sed Lycurgus nonnumquam insulsus et futilis est, ne talia eum dixisse credamus. quis umquam maleficus non deprehensus poenas luit? puto Lycurgum scripsisse: "dum reliqui in animo habentes peccare poenas patiuntur eorum, quae non perpetraverunt," quod recte opponitur Leocrati τῷ διαπεπραγμένῳ ὅπερ ἐπεξεληφθε. Is it possible that ὅταν μὴ ληφθῶσι may have been developed from ὅταν μὴ φθῶσι, a (somewhat superfluous) gloss on μέλλοντες ἀδίκειν?

§ 138. The MSS. give οὐ γὰρ δὴ καθ' ὑμῶν γεγενήσθαι δεινῶν: δεῖ pro δὴ Bekker (edd. omn.): γενέσθαι δεινῶς Dobr. (prob. Es): οὐ γὰρ δεῖ μὴ καθ' ὑμῶν γεγενήσθαι μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. Rehd., who considers that δεῖ μὴ became δὴ, and that δεινῶν arose from μόνον with δεῖ superscribed.

§ 147. The MSS. give ὅτι τὰ μνημεῖα κ.τ.λ. Most editors follow Morus in deleting ὅτι (Turr., Sch., Bl., Thalh.) as a ptcp., and not a finite verb, follows: others suppose that a finite verb such as ἐληπται or ἡλεγκται (Reiske), ἑξεληλεγκται or ἐφευρέθη (Duke) has fallen out. Rehd. suggests the change of ὅτι to ἄτε.
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