LYCURGUS
The Speech against Leocrates
LYCURGUS

THE SPEECH
AGAINST LEOCRATES
PREFACE

THE Leocrates of Lycurgus has remained, in England, in comparative obscurity, not having attracted an editor since John Taylor\(^1\) 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 Registrary (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 Δυκαύργειος (sc. λόγος) ἐστὶ διαπαντὸς αὐξητικὸς καὶ
dιημένος καὶ σεμνὸς, καὶ ὅλως κατηγορικὸς, καὶ φιλαλήθης καὶ
παρρησιαστικὸς· οὕ γὰρ ἀστεῖος οὐδὲ ἦδυς, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖος.
τούτου χρὴ ζηλοῦν μᾶλιστα τὰς δεινώσεις.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, Veterum Censura, v. 3.

πολὺ δὲ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρὸν ἔχει χωρὶς ἐπιμελείας...χρῆται
dὲ πολλαῖς πολλάκις καὶ ταῖς παρεκβάσεσιν, ἐπὶ μύθους καὶ
ἰστορίας καὶ ποιήματα φερόμενος.

HERMOCGENES, De Formis Oratoriis, B. ii.

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

LYCURGUS, Contra Leocratem, 124.
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

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.).
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 Macedon 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. 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—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 (οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν), who, according to Aeschines, though it suits his purpose to

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. Vit. Per. IX. ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ἕκείνου (sc. τοῦ Περικλέους) φασί τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ κληρονομία καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομάς προαχθῆραι...καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικὸς καὶ δικαστικὸς λήμμασιν...συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος. The principle was extended (some think, instituted) by Cleophon, who introduced the διωβελία or 'two-obol payment,' and later by Agyrrhius.
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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. Cles. § 25 oi ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι... σχέδιον τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.
2 Argt. to Dem. Ol. 1.: νόμον ἐθέντο περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τούτων χρημάτων, θάνατον ἀπειλοῦντα τῷ γράφαντι μετατέθηναι τε ταύτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν 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. 1. § 19 τί οὖν; ἄν τις εἶποι, σὺ γράφεις ταύτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά; μᾶ Δί' οὐκ ἐγώγε.
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.

'Steward of the Public Revenue' 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, 339/8).

2 What definite office, or offices, Lycurgus held during his 'polito-financial ascendancy' is largely a matter of conjecture. From other language of Ps.-Plut. Vit. § 3 πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων, Hyper. fr. 121 (Blass) ταχθεῖσ' ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησι τῶν χρημάτων, Diod. xvi. 88 δώδεκα ἐπὶ τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοίκησα, it has been suggested that his office was ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησι, which probably did not exist so early, the first ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησι 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 στρατηγὸς 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 αἴρεθείς 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 θεωρικόν, 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 θεωρικόν and the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

2 [Plut.] Vit. Lyc. § 3 ταμίας ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας...το μὲν πρῶτον αἴρεθείς αὐτὸς, ἐπειτα τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραφάμενός τινα αὐτός ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διοίκησιν, διὰ τὸ φθάσαι νόμον εἰσενεγκεῖν, μὴ πλείω ε' ἔτων διοικείν τὸν χειροτονθεῖντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα. I have followed Blass in understanding μὴ πλείω ε' ἔτων to mean ‘not for two successive penteterids,’ 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. π. 834b 1, 11 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 διοικήσει (C.I.A. π. 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 ἀποδέκται, πωληταί, 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 Staath. I. 569.

3 [Plut.] Viti. Lyc. § 30 τὸ μέγιστὸν χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδων τῇ πόλει κατέστησε, πρότερον ἐξήκοντα προσιώνων. [ἐξήκοντα is incredibly low, and ἐξαικοσίων (Reiske) is generally accepted: τετρακόσιων καὶ ἐξήκοντα (cf. [Dem.] Phil. iv. § 38) Meursius]. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the entire revenues, acc. to Xen. Anab. vii. 1. 27, amounted to 'quite 1000 talents' (οὐ μεῖόν χιλίων 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, 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.’ These figures, even with

These figures, of course, refer to a date a century earlier than Lycurgus’ administration. From Ps.-Plut.’s statement (supposing ἔξακοσίων 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 ταμίας ἐγένετο...ταλάντων, ἰδ (14,000) ἥ δὲ τινες ἡχυ’ (18,650), ἰδ. § 7 πιστευσάμενος δὲ ἐν παρακαταθήκη παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν σὺ’ (250) τάλαντα ἐφύλαξε.  
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 x 1200; while the second (18,650) may have arisen from an accidental combination of the inscriptional μύρια καὶ ὀκτακισθίλια with ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα (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\textsuperscript{1}, 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\textsuperscript{2}. 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\textsuperscript{3}. Now, too, was finished the famous σκευοθήκη or arsenal, which was begun in 347 under the administration of Eubulus\textsuperscript{4}. 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-

(1. 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).

\textsuperscript{1} See n. 3, p. xviii.

\textsuperscript{2} The normal strength of the fleet was 300 triremes: Xen. \textit{Anab.} vii. 1. 27, Ar. \textit{Ach.} 544/5.

\textsuperscript{3} The galley-slips numbered 372, and were distributed as follows: Munychia 82, Zea 196, Cantharus 94.

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. Aeschin. \textit{Cies.} § 25 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι... νεώριον καὶ σκευοθήκην φιλοδόμουν.
served to us in an inscription\textsuperscript{1}. '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\textsuperscript{2}.' 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\textsuperscript{3}.

Hardly less important than the naval improvements of Lycurgus, whose post 'practically included the functions of a minister of public works\textsuperscript{4},' 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

\textsuperscript{1} Dittenberger, \textit{Syll.} \textsuperscript{2} 852.
\textsuperscript{2} Prof. E. A. Gardner, \textit{Ancient Athens}, pp. 557–9.
\textsuperscript{4} Bury, \textit{H. G.} (1900), p. 826.
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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—
Lycurgus fosters the state religion
were, it must always be remembered, re-
ligious, 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 ἑπιστατῶν ἑπετέλεσεν, Rog. Strat. 852 c
ημεργα παραλαβὸν...τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν ἐξηγάσατο
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\(^1\), 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\(^2\).’ 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\(^3\),’ 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\(^4\).’ Diodorus characterizes him

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\(^1\) The proposal was opposed by Philinus, a contemporary orator.


\(^3\) [Plut.] Vit. § 10.

\(^4\) Ibid. οὐ μέλαν, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ χρίοντα τῶν κάλαμων κατά τῶν πονηρῶν. The credit of the famous moi appears to belong to Demades, who said of Draco ὅτι διʼ αἵματος, οὐ διὰ μέλανος τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν, Plut. 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.

1 Diod. xvi. 88 οὗτος γὰρ (sc. ὁ Λυκοῦργος) τῶν τότε ῥητόρων μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα...πικρῶτατος ἦν καθηγορος, γενοῦται ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀξίαν καὶ πικρίαν ἐν οἷς τοῦ Δυσικλέους κατηγορῶν 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 ἀγῶνα ἀλούς, καίτοι πολλῶν κατηγορησάντων.
which he himself had built, for public inspection, and that no one was able to convict him of peculation.

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—Menesaechmus, who had been one of his victims—he was conveyed back to his house and expired, 324 B.C.

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

After his death, his old enemy Menesaechmus, 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.
4 Dem. Ep. iii.
5 A fragment of Hyperides' speech has been preserved (fr. 121 Blass), which may be quoted as summing up
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, and that the right of maintenance at the state expense should belong, in perpetuity, to the eldest of his descendants. 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. The titles of some of them

Lycurgus' life and work: τίνα φήσουσιν οἱ παρίντες αὐτοῦ τῶν τάφων; οὗτος ἐβίω μὲν σωφρόνως, ταχθεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν διουκίσει τῶν χρημάτων εὑρείροις, ὁκοδόμησε δὲ τὸ θέατρον, τὰ νεώρια, τριήρεις ἑποίησατο, λιμένας· τοῦτον ἥ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡτίμωσε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐδήσεν αὐτοῦ.

1 I.e. in the inner Ceramicus (Agora), at its southern end, where the statue was seen by Pausanias (I. 8. 2): ἐνταῦθα Δ. τε κεῖται χαλκοῦς ὁ Δυκόφρωνος. A fragment of the base has been discovered, C. I. A. iv. 1363b: -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 ἡτοροῦ λόγοι πεντεκαίδεκα. 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. \( \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \tau \acute{y} \varsigma \ \delta \omega \omega \kappa \acute{y} \varsigma \varepsilon \varsigma \omega \varsigma \), \( \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \tau \acute{y} \varsigma \ \iota \rho \varepsilon \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \varsigma \) (?), \( \pi \varepsilon \rho \iota \tau \acute{y} \varsigma \ \iota \epsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \omega \omicron \omicron \varsigma \? \)); 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 prosecution of Lysicles, one of the generals at Chaeronea, has been already referred to. The impeachments of Autolycus 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.

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 (\( \epsilon \iota \sigma \alpha \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda \iota \alpha \ \pi \rho \omicron \delta \omicron \omicron \sigma \iota \alpha \).)

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

\[ \Delta \mu \alpha \delta \eta \nu \] \( \upsilon \pi \varepsilon \rho \ \tau \acute{o} \nu \ \epsilon \upsilon \theta \nu \nu \omega \omega \) is taken to represent two speeches or one. Cf. Blass, \textit{App. ad Lyc.}, p. xliv.

\footnote{\textit{Supra}, p. xxiv.}

\footnote{C. \textit{Leocr.} § 53.}

\footnote{These, along with fragments of Lycurgus' laws and decrees, have been collected by Blass in his edition of the \textit{Leocrates}.}

\textit{P. L.}
INTRODUCTION

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: \( \text{Δεωκράτης δὲ τούτων οὐδὲνς φροντίσας, συσκευασάμενος ἄ ἐ γχε χρήματα...φχετο φεύγων} \), thus establishing, by implication, the connexion which he desired, but which

\[ ^1 \text{C. Leocr. § 53.} \quad ^2 \text{Ibid.} \quad ^3 \text{Ib. § 16 (decree of Hyperides).} \quad ^4 \text{§ 17.} \]
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 ὃτι 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.

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1 § 53 ἀνὴρ δὲν οὐκ ἄπεδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι.
2 [Plut.] Vit. § 45 ὃ δ’ εὐθύνας (sc. ἐγράψατο s. εἶλε) Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ Δεωκράτην καὶ Αὐτόλυκον δείλιας.
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.
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 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. 'Aθ. Πολ. 53. 3, Dem. xxiv. 9 and Schol. διά τούτο δὲ ὃ ἐσ προσετέθη δὲ τοῖς δικασταῖς, κ.τ.λ.

\(^2\) 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 ἦ πέντε ἡ, § 56 πέντε ἡ, § 145 πλείω πέντε ἠ ἔς ἡ. Also § 58 ἔς ἡ συνεχῶς ἀποδημήσας presumably refers to Megara only. Taking these figures in conjunction with § 45 ὀγδών ἔτει 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) ἔτερος δ’ ἐκπλεύσας ἰδιώτης ἐσ ‘Ρόδου... πρόην πτομ’ (‘only the other day’) εἰσηγγέλθη κ.τ.λ., would seem to fix the speech to the earlier part of 330 B.C.


\(^4\) Aeschin. C. Ctes. § 252...καὶ ἵναι αἰ ψῆφοι αὐτῶ ἐγενοντο... ἐι δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ’ ἢ 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 praeccepta relinquens, suum sibi eligeret ordinem, quod imprimitis conspicuum est in Demosthene...quae artificia Lycurgus vel ignoravit vel contempsit. et in hac gravissima Leocratis accusatione iudicum 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 ἐβουλόμην δ' ἀν... ὄσπερ ὀφελμὸν ἐστὶ... οὕτω κ.τ.λ., with Isocr. viii. (De Pace) § 36 ἦβουλόμην δ' ἀν, ὄσπερ προσήκον ἐστιν... οὕτω κ.τ.λ. and xv. (Antid.) § 114; § 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' ἀμφοτὲρον περιγεγόνατι... ὡς ἐκατέρων προσῆκε, with Isocr. iv. (Paneg.) § 72 ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες ὡς ἐκατέρων προσῆκεν; and § 136 εἰ τις ἄρ' ἐστιν αὖθισις 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 ὑπὲρ τῶν τουπτῶν 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\(^7\).

\(^1\) Cf. § 18 εὔνοιαι, §§ 20, 139 χάριτες, §§ 37, 43 φόβοι, § 48 εὔνοια, § 75 ἀδικία, § 126 τιμωρίαι.

\(^2\) Cf. § 3 (also § 150) διαφυλάττει καὶ διαστάζει, § 91 τῶν ἁκλεοὺς καὶ ἄδοξον θανάτου, § 141 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντες καὶ ὀρφήμενοι.

\(^3\) 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 αἰῶν
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 καίτοι, 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 εὐκλεία, § 99 λῶν (perhaps a quotation), § 130 φιλοψυχεῖν (quoted also from Dem. and Lysias); and the phrase ἐπὶ γῆρῳ ὀδὸ (quoted also from Hyper. v. col. 22).

1 Cf. § 7 οὐ μικρὸν τί μέρος συνέχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον (where συνέχει | οὐδ' is avoided), § 58 ἄξιον ἐστὶν οὐ μάνον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πράξιν ὅργιζεσθαι ταύτην (ὁργίζεσθαι | αὐτῷ), § 83 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξει μέγιστον ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἀγάθον (ἐξει | ἡ), etc.

2 Cf. e.g. § 20 πολλοὶ ἐπεισθηκαν τῶν μαρτύρων ἡ ἀμυνόμουν. κ.τ.λ., where πολλοὶ τῶν μ. ἐπεισθηκαν might have been said.

3 ὁ φοβοῦμενος φωνῆνεν φωνήνειν συγκρούσαι (Plut. De Glor. Athen. c. 8).

4 Cf. e.g. § 52 τοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φονικὰ ἀδικήματα ὀσίωτα δικάζοντα, § 65 οὐδὲ τῶν μὲν μεγάλα ἰεροσυλήσαντα ἀπέκτεινον, τῶν δὲ μικρὰ ἑλάτοι τιμωρία ἐκόλαξον, § 113 τὰ γε ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἀνορίζαι καὶ ἐξορίσαι ἔξω 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 veriatis* 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.

Resemblance to 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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2 By the orator Pytheas (Dionysius, *Isaeus*, c. 4).

3 [Plut.] *Vit.* § 24.
rigid stateliness of Antiphon ... The combination of these manners, the Isocratie 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 betray 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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2 §§ II sqq.  
3 § I.49.  
4 He has practically proved his case by § 36.  
5 § I.24.  
6 Cf. §§ 95, 98.  
7 § 95 εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθώδεστερόν ἐστιν, ἄλλ’ ἀρμόσει καὶ νῦν ἄπασι τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκούσαί.
INTRODUCTION

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 Antiphon, 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 γὰρ ἐστι τὰ μέγιστα, ἀ διαφυλάττει...τὴν δημοκρατίαν, § 10 δύο γὰρ ἐστι τὰ παύ- 
deûontα τοὺς νέους: also §§ 6, 64, 79.


3 Cf. §§ 79, 91–93. 4 Cf. p. xxiii, supra.

5 Plato, Rep. 1. 344 D (of Thrasymachus) ὁσπερ βαλα

νεὺς...καταντλήσας...ἀθρόνον καὶ πολὺν 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

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1 § 128 καὶ μὴ μοι ἀχθεσθητε...εἰ πολλάκις μέμνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων.
4 Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, B. ΙΙ.
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: τούτου χρὴ ζηλοῦν μάλιστα τὰς δείνωσεις. By δείνωσις 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 adventum. haec est illa, quae diosis 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, Isaeus, 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 Crippsi anus is an inferior ms., remarkable neither for age nor integrity, but infected with nearly all the vices to which mss. are liable,' 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 readings.'

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 ἐγκατα[λιπτῶν. N. and A descend from a common archetype, which Blass (but probably without justification) describes as ‘multis locis sive correctum sive varia lectione auctum’. 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.

‘The editio princeps of 1513 was not only derived from an inferior ms. but teemed with typographical errors ... The efforts of three centuries were spent on purging the text of the Aldine.’ This remark is no doubt eminently true of the speech of Lycurgus. The text of the *Leocrates*, though purified to a great extent by the labours of successive scholars, from Taylor and Reiske onwards, still provides a considerable field for the textual critic, though the field has been narrowed since van den Es, in 1854, concluded his critical notes with the following suggestive observation: ‘ne quis in una oratione tot vitia miretur. notum est Lycurgi Leocrateam ludi magistris in deliciis esse habitam: veterum scripta autem nulla plus mendorum contraxerunt, quam quae ab iis terebantur et explicabantur; frequentius etiam in discipulorum usum describantur eoque paulatim magis atque magis corrumpabantur.’

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

ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Μετά τὰ ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ δεινὰ ψήφισμα ποιεῖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, ὡστε μήτε τινὰ ἐξω γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, μήτε μὴν ἐκθέσθαι παίδας καὶ γυναῖκας. Δεωκράτης οὖν τις ἐξελθὼν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐν Ῥώδε καὶ πάλιν ἐν Μεγάροις, ἤλθεν ἐν Ἀθηναῖς· καὶ παρρησιαζομένου αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν ποιεῖται ὁ Δυκούργος αὐτοῦ ὡς προδότου. Ἡ δὲ στάσις ὅρος ἀντυνομάξων ὄντως γὰρ καὶ ὁ Δεωκράτης ἀπολιπτεῖν τὴν τόλμην, οὐ μάταιο προδοδάναι. ἂλλοι στοχασμὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης, ὥς τοῦ μὲν ἐξελθεῖν ὄμολογουμένου, ἀμφιβαλλομένης δὲ τῆς προαρέσεως, ποῖα γνώμη ἐξῆλθεν, εἰτ' ἐπὶ προδοσία εἰτ' ἐπὶ ἐμπορία. ἂλλοι δὲ ἀντίστασιν· λέγει γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ προδοσία τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐμπορία. ἔοικε δὲ ἡ τοῦ λόγου ὑπόθεσις τῇ τοῦ κατὰ Αὐτολύκου.

Δικαίαν, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εὐσεβὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατηγορίας Δεωκράτους τοῦ κρινομένου ποιήσαμε. εὐχομαι γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἤρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱδρυμένους, εἰ μὲν εἰσῆγγελκα Δεωκράτη δικαίως καὶ κρίνω τὸν προδότ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἔδη καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ύμετέρων προγόνων παραδεδομένας, ἐμὲ 2 μὲν ἄξιον ἐν τῇ τήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Δεωκράτους

P.L.
ἀδικημάτων κατήγορον ποιήσαι, δ' καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, ύμᾶς δ' ὡς ὑπὲρ πατέρων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ἱερῶν βουλευομένους, καὶ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῇ ψήφῳ τῶν προδότην ἀπάντων τούτων, ἀπαραιτήτους δικαστὰς καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον γενέσθαι τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτα καὶ τηλικαύτα παρανομοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ μήτε τὸν προδότα τὴν πατρίδα μήτε τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰς τούτοι τὸν ἁγώνα καθίστημι, σωθήναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ψ' ύμων τῶν δικαστῶν.

3 Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὃσπερ ὀφελεῖτον 2 ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει εἶναι τοὺς κρίνοντας ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ παρανομοῦντας, οὕτω καὶ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπειλήφθαι· νῦν δὲ περιέστηκεν εἰς τούτο, ὡστε τὸν ἰδία κινδυνεύοντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεχθανόμενον οὐ φιλόπολιν, ἀλλὰ φιλοπράγμων δοκεῖν εἶναι, οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ συμφέροντος τῇ πόλει. τρία γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ μέγιστα, ὃ διαφυλάττει καὶ διασφάζει τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως εὐθαμονίαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τῶν νόμων τάξις, δεύτερον δ' ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ψήφος, τρίτον δ' ἡ τούτων τάδικήματα παραδειδοῦσα κρίσις. ὃ μὲν γὰρ νόμος πέφυκε προλέγειν ἀ μὴ δὲι πράττειν, ὃ δὲ κατήγορος μηνύειν τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτιμῶι καθεστῶτας, ὃ δὲ δικαστῆς κολάζειν τοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀποδειχθέντας αὐτῷ, ὥστ' οὖθ' ὁ νόμος οὖθ' ἡ τῶν
κατά δεωκράτους

dικαστῶν ψήφος ἂνευ τοῦ παραδόσοντος αὐτοῖς
tούς ἀδικοῦντας ἰσχύει. Ἐγὼ δ', ὁ Ἀθηναίοι, 5
eἰδῶς Δεωκράτην φυγόντα μεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς
pατρίδος κινδύνους, ἐγκαταλυόντα δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
πολίτας, προδεδωκότα δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν
dύναμιν, ἀπασὶ δὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐνοχὸν ὄντα,
tαύτην τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἐποιησάμην, οὕτε δὲ ἐξῆραν
οὐδεμίαν οὕτε διὰ φιλονεικίαν οὐδ' ἠμίν-
ούν τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα προελόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸν
ἐίναι νομίσας τοῦτον περιορᾶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἐμβάλλοντα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἱερῶν μετέχοντα, τῆς
te πατρίδος ὅνειδος καὶ πάντων ἰμῶν γεγενημένον.
πολίτου γὰρ ἐστὶ δικαίον, μη διὰ τὰς ἑιδίας ἐξῆρας 6
eἰς τὰς κοινὰς κρίσεις καθιστάναι τοὺς τῆς πόλεων
μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τι
παρανομοῦντας ἑίδος ἐχθροὺς εἰναι νομίζειν, καὶ
tά κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κοινὰς καὶ τὰς προφά-
σεις ἐχειν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφορᾶς.

3 "Απαντας μὲν οὖν χρή νομίζειν μεγάλους εἶναι 7
tοὺς δημοσίους ἀγῶνας, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ
οὗ νῦν μέλλετε τὴν ψήφον φέρειν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
tὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς δικάζητε, τοῦτο μόνον
ἐπανορθοῦτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν κωλύετε, καθ' ὁ
ὅσον ἄν το ψήφισμα μέλλῃ βλάπτειν τὴν πόλιν:
δὲ νῦν ἐνεστηκὼς ἀγῶν οὐ μικρὸν τι μέρος
συνέχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ
αἰῶνος ἀείμνηστον καταλείψει τοῖς ἐπιγυγνομένοις

I—2
8 τὴν κρίσιν. οὖν γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ γεγενημένον ἀδίκημα καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔχει τὸ μέγεθος, ὡστε μήτε κατηγορίαν [μήτε τιμωρίαν] ἐνδέχεσθαι εὗ- ρεῖν ἀξίαν μήτ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὁρίσθαι τιμωρίαν [ἀξίαν] τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. τί γὰρ χρῆ παθεῖν τὸν ἐκλιπόντα μὲν τὴν πατρίδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντα δὲ τοῖς πατρῴους ἔρεις, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τὰς τῶν προγόνων θήκας, ἀπασαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑποεἰρίου τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδόντα; τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγιστον καὶ ἐσχατόν τῶν τιμημάτων, θάνατος, ἀναγκαῖον μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπιτίμιον, ἔλαττον δὲ τῶν
9 Δεωκράτους ἀδίκημάτων καθέστηκε. παρεῖσθαί δὲ τὴν ὑπέρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρίαν συμβέβηκεν, ὡς ἄνδρες, οὐ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν τῶν τότε νομοθετοῦντων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις γεγενημένα ἐκεῖνα προτείνοντα μηδὲν, μηδ' ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ- δοξοῦν εἰναι γενήσεσθαι. διὸ καὶ μάλιστ', ὡς ἄνδρες, δεῖ ύμᾶς γενέσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ νῦν ἀδίκηματος δικαστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοθέτας. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀδίκημάτων νόμος τις διώρικε, ῥάδιον τούτῳ κανόνι χρωμένους κολάξειν τοὺς παρανομοῦντας· ὅσα δὲ μὴ σφόδρα περιείληφεν, ἐνὶ ὅνοματι προσαγορεύσας, μεῖξω δὲ τούτων τις ἡδίκηκεν, ἀπασι δ' ὄμοιως ἑνοχὸς ἐστιν, ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ὑμετέραν κρίσιν κατα-
10 λείπεσθαι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγνωσμένοις. εὗ δ' ἔστε, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τούτον νῦν κολάσετε κατεψηφισμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἀπαντᾶς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψετε. δύο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὰ παιδεύ-
κατὰ λεωκρατοῦς

οὐτα τοὺς νέους, ἢ τε τῶν ἀδικοῦντων τιμωρία, καὶ ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διδομένη δωρεά. πρὸς ἐκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον φεύγουσι, τῆς δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἐπιθυμοῦσι. 4 διὸ δεῖ, ὡς ἄνδρες, προσέχειν τούτῳ τῷ ἁγώνι, καὶ μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιῆσασθαι τοῦ δικαίου.

Ποιῆσομαι δὲ κάγω τὴν κατηγορίαν δικαίαν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἕναν οὐδὲν οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσήλθοντων πάντων ἀτοπώτατον ποιοῦσιν, ἡ γὰρ συμβουλεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ κατηγοροῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ οὐ μέλλετε τῇ γῆςφον φέρειν. ἔστι δὲ οὐδέτερον τούτων χαλεπόν, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμὶν βουλευτεσθε γνώμην ἀποφήμασθαι, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμὸς μηδεὶς ἀπολογησθείτων κατηγορίαν εὑρεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς μὲν ἀξιοῦν δικαίαν τῇ γῆςφον φέρειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ δικαίαν τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιεῖσθαι. τούτων δ' αἰτιοί ὑμεῖς ἔστε, ὡς ἄνδρες τὴν γὰρ ἔξουσίαν ταύτην δεδώκατε τοῖς ἐνθάδε εἰσιούσι, καὶ ταῦτα κάλλιστον ἔχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων παράδειγμα τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ συνέδριον, ὃ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων δικαστηρίων, ὡστε καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμολογεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀληθεμένοις δικαίων ποιεῖσθαι τῇ κρίσιν. πρὸς δὲ δεῖ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀποβλέποντας ὑμὶ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ἐξῳ τοῦ πράγματος λέγουσιν: οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται τοῖς τε κρινομένοις ἀνευ διαβολῆς ὁ ἁγών, καὶ τοῖς διώκουσιν ἥκιστα συκοφαντεῖν,
καὶ ὑμῖν εὐφροσύνην τῇ Ψήφῳ ἐνεγκείν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνευ τοῦ τοιούτου λόγου, μὴ δικαίως δεδιδαχόμενος δικαίως θέσθαι τῇ Ψήφῳ.

14 Δεῦ δ', οὐ ἄνδρες, μὴ δὲ ταύτα λαθεῖν ύμᾶς, ὅτι 5 ὅμως ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγὼν περὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱδιωτῶν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώτου ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Ἑλλησίων ἐν ύμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδοκεῖτ' ἃν ἡ καλὸς ἡ καὶ φαύλως ἐψηφίσθαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ τι ἃν βουλεύσῃς, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἐσται λόγος, οἱ ἵσασι τὰ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔργα ἐναντίωτα τοῖς τούτω διαπεραγμένοις ὄντα. ἐπιφάνεια γὰρ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν τὸν εἰς Ἡρώδου καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἢν ἐποιήσατο καθ' ύμῶν πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἔκει, οἱ πᾶσαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ περιπλέοντες δι' ἐργασίαν ἀπηγγέλλων ἅμα περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ Δεσποτικὴ ἡ κηκόεσαν. ὥστε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιητέου ἐστὶν ὁθός βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, οὐ Ἀθηναίοι, οτι ὁ πλείστων διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, τῷ πρὸς τῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοτίμως ἔχειν, τούτων πλείστων ἀμελεῖν δόξαι' ἃν, εἰ τῇ παρ' ύμῶν οὗτος διαφύγοι τιμωρίαν.

16 Δέομαι δ' ύμῶν, οὐ Ἀθηναίοι, ἀκοῦσαι μον τῆς κατηγορίας διὰ τέλους, καὶ μὴ ἀχθεσθαί, ἢν ἄρξω-μαι ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ πόλει τότε συμβάντων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοίς ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ δι' οὗς ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν
κατὰ δεωκρατοὺς

μεμνησθαί περὶ αὐτῶν. Γεγενημένης γὰρ τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης καὶ συνδραμόντων ἀπάντων ύμῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δήμος, παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναικὰς ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων εἰς τὰ τείχη κατακομβῶν, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τάττειν εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οἰκούντων Ἀθηνῶν, καθ' ὁ τι ἄν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ. Δεωκράτης 17 δὲ τούτων οὐδενὸς φροντίσας, συσκευασάμενος δὲ εἶχεν χρήματα, μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τῶν λέμβων κατεκόμμευ τῆς νεώς ἤδη περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξορμοῦσις, καὶ περὶ δεῖλην ψήλαν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς ἐταῖρας Εἰρηνίδος κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἀκτὴν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τὴν ναῦν προσεπλησε καὶ ἄγετο φεύγων, οὕτε τοὺς λιμένας τῆς πόλεως ἔλευν, εξ ὧν ἀνήγετο, οὕτε τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος αἰσχυνομένους, ὧν τὴν φυλακὴν ἔρημον τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν μέρος κατέλειπεν· οὕδε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς σωτείρας ἀφορῶν καὶ προδίδουσ εἰροβήθη, οὕς αὐτίκα σωστὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐπικαλέσεται. καταχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ὁρόδου, ὥσπερ 18 τῇ πατρίδι μεγάλας εὐτυχίας εὐαγγελιζόμενος, ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς τὸ μὲν ἅστυ τῆς πόλεως ἐαλωκὸς καταλιποίτω, τὸν δὲ Πειραιάν πολιορκοῦμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος διασωθεὶς ἦκοι· καὶ οὐκ ἦσχυνθη τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ἀτυχίαν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν προσαγορεύσας. οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα ταῦτ' ἐπίστευσαν οἱ Ὁρὸδοι, ὥστε τριήρεις πληρώσαντες τὰ πλοῖα κατῆγον, καὶ τῶν
ἐμπόρων καὶ τῶν ναυκλήρων οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι
dεύρο πλείων ἀυτοῦ τὸν σίτου ἐξείλοντο καὶ τάλλα
19 χρήματα διὰ τούτου. Καὶ ὃι ταῦτ’ ἀληθὴ λέγω,
ἀναγνώσται ὑμῖν τὰς μαρτυρίας ἀπάντων, πρῶ-
tοι µὲν τὰς τῶν γειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
τούτῳ κατοικοῦντων, οἱ τούτοι ἱσασιν ἐν τῷ πο-
λέμῳ φυγόντα καὶ ἐκπλησάντα Ἀθήνηθεν, ἔπειτα
tῶν παραγενομένων εἰς 'Ρόδον, ὁτε Δεωκράτης
tαῦτ’ ἀπῆγγελλε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Φυρκίνου
μαρτυρίαν, ὅν καὶ ὑµῶν ᾧ ἱσασιν οἱ πολλοὶ κατη-
gοροῦντα ἐν τῷ δήµῳ τούτου, ὡς καὶ µεγάλα
βεβλαφῶς εἰή τὴν πεντηκοστὴν, µετέχων αὐτῆς.
20 Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς µάρτυρας βραχέα 7
βούλοµαι διαλεχθῆναι ὑµῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἁγνοεῖτε, ὁ
ἀνδρεῖς, οὗτε τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρινοµένων,
οὗτε τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἐξαιτουµένων, ἀλλ’ ἀκριβῶς
ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι χρηµάτων ἔνεκά καὶ χάριτος πολλοὶ
ἐπείσθησαν τῶν µαρτύρων ἢ ἁµηνµονεῖν ἢ µὴ
ἐλθεῖν ἢ ἑτέραν πρόφασιν εὑρεῖν. ἀξιοῦτε οὖν
τοὺς µάρτυρας ἀναβαίνειν καὶ µὴ ὅκνεῖν, µηδὲ
περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τὰς χάριτας ὑµῶν καὶ
τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ἀποδίδοντι τῇ πατρίδι τάληθη
καὶ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ µὴ λειπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ταύτην,
µηδὲ µιµεῖσθαι Δεωκράτην, ἢ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ
κατὰ τὸν νόµον ἔξοµόσασθαι. εἶν δὲ µηδέτερον
tούτοις ποιώσων, ὑπὲρ ὑµῶν καὶ τῶν νόµων καὶ
tῆς δηµοκρατίας κλητεύσοµεν αὐτοὺς. Δέγε τὰς
µαρτυρίας.
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ

8 Μετὰ τάδε τοίνυν, ὃ άνδρες, ἐπειδὴ χρόνος 21 ἔγένετο καὶ ἀφικνεῖτο Ἀθήνηθεν πλοία εἰς τὴν Ρόδον καὶ φανερὸν ἦν ὅτι οὗτον δεινόν ἐγεγόνει περὶ τὴν πόλιν, φοβηθεὶς ἐκπλεῖ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ρόδου καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Μέγαρα· καὶ χίκει ἐν Μεγάροις πλείω ἡ πέντε ἐτη προστάτην ἔχων Μεγαρέα, οὔδε τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας αἰσχυνόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν γειτόνων τῆς ἔκθερψάσης αὐτῶν πατρίδος μετοικῶν. καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ κατεγνώκει ἄλων 22 φυγῇν, ὡςτε μεταπερμψάμενος ἐντεύθεν Ἀμύνταν τὸν τὴν ἀδελφήν ἔχοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν καὶ τῶν φίλων Ἀντυγένην Ξυπτεταίονα, καὶ δεθεῖς τοῦ κηδεστοῦ πρίασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τάνδράποδα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντου, κατὸ τοῦτον προσέταξε τοῖς τε χρήσταις ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἀφειλόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἑράνους διενεγκείν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτῶ ἀποδοῦναι. διοικήσας δὲ τάδε τάντα ὃ 23 Ἀμύντας, αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀποδίδοται τάνδράποδα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα μνὸν Τιμοχάρει Ἀχαρνεῖ τῷ τὴν νεωτέραν ἔχοντα τοῦτον ἀδελφὴν· ἀργύριον δὲ οὐκ ἔχων δοῦναι ὁ Τιμοχάρης, συνθήκας ποιησάμενος καὶ θέμενος παρὰ Δυσίκλει, μίαν μνὰν τόκον ἐφερε τῷ Ἀμύντα. Ίνα δὲ μὴ λόγον οἶησθε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰδῆτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀναγνώστεται καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τὰς μαρτυρίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ξύν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ἐκεῖνον (ἄν) αὐτὸν παρειχόμην· νυνὶ δ' ὑμῖν καλὸ τοὺς συνειδότας. Καὶ μοι λέγε
ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὡς ἐπρίατο παρὰ Δεωκράτους ἐν Μεγάρωις τὰ ἀνδράποδα Ἀμύντας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ

24 Ἅρκουσατε 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 ἀκηκόατε, ὡς ἀνδρεὶς ἄξιοι δ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' οἷς μέλλων λέγειν ἀγανακτήσαι καὶ μισῆσαι τουτοῖς Δεωκράτην. οὖ γὰρ ἔξηρκες τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ χρήματα μόνων ὕπεκθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἴερὰ τὰ πατρφία, ὡς τοῖς ὑμετέροις νομίμοις καὶ πατρίοις ἔθεσιν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ ἱδρυσάμενοι, ταῦτα μετεπέμψατο εἰς Μέγαρα καὶ ἔξηγαγεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, οὕτω τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν πατρῴων ἱερῶν φοβηθεὶς, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ κινήσας συμφεύγειν αὐτῷ, ἐκλιπόντα τοὺς νέως καὶ τὴν χώραν ἢν κατείχεν, ἦξιωσε, καὶ ἱδρύσθαι ἐπὶ ἔξενης καὶ ἀλλοτρίας, καὶ εἶναι ὃθνεια τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις τοῖς 26 κατὰ τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν εἰθισμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν
πατέρες ὑμῶν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὡς τὴν χώραν εἰληξυά ὁμώνυμον αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα προσηγόρευον Ἀθήνας, ἵνα οἱ τιμῶντες τὴν θέσα τὴν ὁμώνυμον αὐτὴν πόλιν μὴ ἐγκαταλίπτωσιν. Δεωκράτης δὲ οὔτε νομίμων οὔτε πατρίων οὖθ᾽ ἵερῶν φροντίσας τὸ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγώγημον ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν ἐποίησε. καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοσιάτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὴν πόλιν ἀδικήσας, ἀλλ᾽ οἰκῶν ἐν Μεγάροις, ὀς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐξεκομίσατο χρήμασιν ἀφορμὴ χρώμενος, ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Δευκάδα ἐστηγής καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Κόρινθον. καίτοι, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ περὶ τούτων οἱ 27 ὑμετέρων νόμων τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας ὁρίζουσιν, ἕαν τις Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλοσὲ ποι συνηγήσῃ ἢ ὡς ὑμᾶς. ἐπετα τὸν προδότα μὲν ἐν τῷ τολέμῳ, συνηγήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, μὴ φροντίσαντα δὲ μῆτε ἵερῶν μῆτε πατρίδος μῆτε νόμων, τούτων ἑχουσει υπὸ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ποιήσετε; πάντων ἃρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ῥαθυμότατοι ἐσεσθε, καὶ ήκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς ὀργίζομενοι.

9 Καὶ ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐμοῦ θεωρήσατε, ὡς 28 δικαίαν τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένου περὶ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἀδικημάτων εἰκάζοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότας ψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μὴ δώσοντας ἐλεγχον μαρτυρεῖν, ἀλλὰ δεδωκότας. προὐκαλεσάμην γὰρ αὐτοὺς πρόκλησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπάντων γράψας
καὶ ἀξιῶν βασανίζειν τοὺς τούτου οἰκέτας, ἢς ἀκούσαι ἀξιῶν ἐστίν. Καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτην.

ΠΡΟΚΑΛΗΣΙΣ

29 Ἀκούστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῆς προκλήσεως. ἀμα τοῖς ταύτην Δεωκράτης οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κατεμαρτύρει αὐτοῦ, ὅτι προδότης τῆς πατρίδος ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων ἔλεγχον φυγῶν ὥμολογηκεν ἀλήθη εἶναι τὰ εἰσηγγελμένα. τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οίδεν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων πολὺ δοκεῖ δικαίωταν καὶ δημοτικώτατον εἶναι, ὅταν οἰκέται ἢ θεράπαιναι συνειδῶσιν ἢ δεῖ, τούτους ἐλέγχειν καὶ βασανίζειν, καὶ τοὺς ἔργους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους πιστεύειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων κοινῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ συμφε-30 ρότων τῇ πόλει; ἐγὼ τοῖς τοσοῦτοι ἀφέστηκα τοῦ ἄδικως τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν κατὰ Δεωκράτους ποιήσασθαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβουλόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἐν τοῖς Δεωκράτους οἰκέταις καὶ θερα-παίναις βασανισθείσι τὸν ἔλεγχον γενέσθαι, οὕτως δὲ διὰ τὸ συνειδέναι ἑαυτῷ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐφύγε. καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πολὺ θὰττον οἱ Δεωκράτους οἰκέται καὶ θεράπαιναι τὸν γενομένων ἂν τι ἡρμῆθησαν ἢ τὰ μὴ οντα τοῦ αὐτῶν δεσπότου

31 κατεψεύσαντο. χωρὶς τοῦν τούτων Δεωκράτης Ἰο ἀναβοήσεται αὐτίκα ὡς ἰδιώτης ἄν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ρήτορος καὶ συκοφάντου δεινότητος ἀναρπα-ξόμενος· ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, ὅτι
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

τῶν μὲν δεινῶν καὶ συκοφαντείν ἐπιχειροῦντων ἔργον ἔστιν ἀμα τοῦτο προαρείσθαι καὶ ξητείν τὰ χωρία ταῦτα, ἐν οἷς τοὺς παραλογισμοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ποιήσονται, τῶν δὲ δικαίως τὰς κρίσεις ἐνισταμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐνόχους ταῖς ἀραις ἀκριβῶς ἀποδεικνύντων τάναντα φαίνεσθαι τούτοις ποιοῦντας, ὡσπερ ἥμεις. οὖτωσι δὲ δια-32 λογίζομαι περὶ τούτων παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τίνας ἀδύνατον ἢν τῇ δεινότητι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ λόγου παραγαγεῖν; κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς βασανιζόμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμελλον φράσειν οἱ οἰκέται καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι. ἀλλὰ τούτους Δεωκράτης παρα-δοῦναι ἐφυγε, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλοτρίους, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ οὕτας. τίνας δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς 33 λόγοις ψυχαγωγησαί καὶ τὴν ψυχρότητα αὐτῶν τοῦ ἴθους τοῖς δακρύοις εἰς ἔλεον προαγαγέσθαι; τοὺς δικαστάς. ἐνταῦθα Δεωκράτης ὁ προδότης τῆς πατρίδος ἐλήλυθεν, οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἡ φοβούμενος, μὴ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας οἱ τ' ἐξελέγχοντες τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ ὁ ἐξελέγχομενος γένηται. τί γὰρ ἔδει προ-φάσεων ἢ λόγων ἢ σκηψεως; ἀπλοῦν τὸ δίκαιον, ῥάδιον τὸ ἀληθές, βραχὺς ὁ ἐλεγχὸς. εἰ μὲν ὁμο-34 λογεῖ τὰ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ ἀληθῆ καὶ ὅσω έκεῖ, τί οὐ τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας τυγχάνει; εἰ δὲ μὴ φησὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ εἶναι, τί οὐ παραδέδωκε τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰς θεράπαινας; προσήκει γὰρ τὸν ὑπὲρ προδοσίας κινδυνεύοντα καὶ παραδιδόναι.
βασανίζειν καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀκριβεστάτων ἐλέγχων
35 φεύγειν. ἂλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπραξεν, ἂλλα κατα-
μεμαρτυρηκὼς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι προδότης ἐστὶ τῆς πα-
τρίδος καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἀξιώσει ὑμᾶς
ἐναντία ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαις καὶ μαρτυρίαις
ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ πῶς δίκαιον ἐστὶ τὸν τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν τῆς ἀπολογίας αὐτοῦ ἢ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι τὰ δίκαια περιήρημένων,
τούτων ἐάσασθαι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογο-
μένων ἀδικημάτων ἐξαπατήσαι;
36 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προκλήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἀδι-
κήματος, ὅτι ὁμολογούμενον ἐστὶν, ἰκανῶς ὑμᾶς
ὁγούμαι, ὃ ἄνδρες, μεμαθηκέναι· ἐν οἷς δὲ καιροῖς ΠΠ
καὶ ἡλικίας κινδύνοις τὴν πόλιν οὐσαν Δεωκράτης
προδέδωκεν, ἀναμνήσαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Καὶ μοι
λαβὲ τὸ ψήφισμα, γραμματεῦ, τὸ Τπερείδου, καὶ
ἀναγίγνωσκε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ
37 Ἀκούετε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τὴν
βουλὴν τοὺς πεντακοσίους καταβαίνειν εἰς Πειραιᾶ
χρηματιοῦσαν περὶ φυλακῆς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς ἐδοξεῖ, καὶ πράττειν διεσκευασμένην ὃ τι ἂν
dοκῇ τῷ δήμῳ συμφέρον εἶναι. καίτοι, ὃ ἄνδρες,
ei οἱ ἀφειμένοι τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ένεκα τοῦ βου-
λεύσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
τάξει διέτριβον, ἀρ' ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι μικροὶ καὶ οἱ
38 τυχόντες φόβοι τότε τὴν πόλιν κατασχέιν; ἐν
οἰς Δεωκράτης οὐτοσὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδρᾶς ἔχετο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐξεκόμισε, καὶ (τὰ) ἵερα τὰ πατρῶν μετεπέμψατο, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον προδοσίας ἤλθεν. ὥστε κατὰ τὴν τούτον προαίρεσιν ήρημοι μὲν (ἀν) ἤσαν οἱ ναοί, ἡρημοὶ δ' αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἐξελέειπτο δ' ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα. καὶ τοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς 39 χρόνους, ὃς ἄνδρες, τίς οὐκ ἄν τὴν πόλιν ἠλέησεν, οὐ μόνον πολίτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε χρόνοις ἐπιδεδημηκός; τίς δ' ἦν οὔτως ἡ μισόνυ-
μος τότε ἡ μισαθήναιος, ὡς εἰς ἑυθύνη ἂν ἀτακτὸν αὐτὸν υπομείναι ἰδείν; ἦν πρὸς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος τῷ (στρατῷ) προσήγγειλότο, ἵνα δ' ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τοὺς συμβεβηκόσιν, αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντ' ἐτῆ γεγονότοι καθειστήκεσαν, ὅραν δ' ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν 40 τῶν θυρῶν γυναίκας ἐλευθέρας, περιφόρους κατε-
πτηχυίας καὶ πυνθανομένας εἰ ζῶσιν, τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἄνδρός, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ πατρός, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν, ἀναξίως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὀρωμένας, τῶν δ' ἄνδρῶν τούς τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειρηκότας καὶ ταῖς ἠλικίαις πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τοῦ στρατευέσθαι ἀφειμένους ἰδεῖν ἦν καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν τότ' ἐπὶ γῆρως ὃδ' περιφθειρομένους, διπλὰ ἰδαμάτια ἐμπεπορτημένους; πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δευτέρου 41 κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γεγονομένου καὶ πάντων τῶν πολι-
τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ἡτυχηκότων, μάλιστ' ἂν τῖς ἠλγησε καὶ ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς,
ἡμῖν ὅραν ἢν τὸν δήμου ψηφισάμενον τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐλευθέρους, τοὺς δὲ ξένους Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς δὲ ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους· δις πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῷ 42 αὐτόχθων εἶναι καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἐσεμνύνετο. τοσαύτη δ' ἡ πόλις ἐκέχρητο μεταβολή, ὡστε πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἀγαπᾶν, εάν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀσφαλῶς δύνηται (δια)κινδυνεύσαι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πολλῆς χάρας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπάρχειν, τότε δὲ πρὸς Μακεδόνας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας κινδυνεύειν· καὶ τὸν δήμου ὃν πρῶτον Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες Ἑλλήνες βοηθῶν ἐπεκαλοῦντο, τούτον ἔδει τὸν Ἐνδροῦ καὶ Κέω καὶ Τροζήνος καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ μετα- 43 πέμψασθαι. ὡστε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φόβοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις κινδύνοις καὶ τοσαύτη αἰσχύνη ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μήτε (τὰ) ὅπλα θέμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, μήτε τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἀλλὰ φυγόντα καὶ προδόντα τὴν τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίαν, τῆς ἃν ἡ δικαστής φιλόπολις καὶ εὐσεβεῖς βουλόμενος ψήφῳ ἀπολύσειν, ἡ ρήτωρ κληθεῖς τῷ προδότη τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσει; τὸν οὐδὲ συμπενθῆσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς τολμῆσαντα, οὐδὲ συμβεβλημένον οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίαν, ὃθ' ἡ μὲν χάρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ
νεφ τὰ ὁπλα. καίτοι κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους 44
οὐκ ἔστιν ἥτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχεν ἐαυτὴν εἰς τὴν
τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν· ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν
τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων,
οἱ δὲ τῆς χαρακώσεως· οὐδεὶς δ’ ἦν ἀργὸς τῶν
ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐφ’ ὅν οὐδενὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ
παρέσχε τάξαι Δεωκράτης. ἂν εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνα- 45
μνησθέντας τὸν μηδὲ συνενεγκεὶν μηδ’ ἐπ’ ἐκφορὰν
ἐλθεῖν ἀξιώσαντα τῶν ὑπέρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ
tοῦ δήμου σωτηρίας ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τελευτησάντων
θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, ὡς τὸ ἑπὶ τούτῳ μέρος ἀτάφων
ἐκείνων τῶν ἁνδρῶν γεγενημένων· ὅν οὐτος οὐδὲ
τὰς θήκας παριὼν ἁσχύνθη, ὁγδὸν ἔτει τὴν πατρίδα
aultῶν προσαγορεύων.

12 Περὶ οὖν, (ὅ) ἁνδρεῖς, μικρῷ πλείω βούλομαι 46
dieλθείν, καί ύμῶν ἀκοῦσαι δέομαι καὶ μὴ νομί-
ζειν ἀλλοτρίους εἶναί τοὺς τοιοῦτους (λόγους) τῶν
dημοσίων ἁγώνων· αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἁνδρῶν
eὐλογία τὸν ἐλεγχὸν σαφῆ κατὰ τῶν τὰναντία
ἐπιτηδευόντων ποιοῦσιν. ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ δίκαιον τὸν
ἐπαινοῦν, δε μόνος ἄθλον τῶν κινδύνων τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ἐστὶ, τούτοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὴν
κοινὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν
ἀνήλωσαν, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις καὶ κοινοῖς ἁγώσι
τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραλείπειν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τοῖς 47
πολεμίοις ἀπήντησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Βοιωτίας
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας μαχοῦμενοι,
oūk ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι τὰς ἐπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας

R.L.
έχοντες, ούδὲ τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν προέμενοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνδρεῖαν ἀσφαλεστέραν φυλακὴν εἶναι νομίζοντες τῶν λιθίων περιβόλων, τὴν δὲ θρήψασαν αὐτοὺς αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐπιρροαῖς πορθομένης, εἰκότως· ὥσπερ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς φύσει γεννήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ποιητοὺς τῶν πατέρων οὐχ ὀμοίως ἔχουσιν ἄπαντες ταῖς εὐνοίαις, οὔτω καὶ πρὸς τὰς χώρας τὰς μὴ φύσει προσηκούσας, ἀλλὰ ύστερον ἐπικτήτους γενομένας καταδεέστερον διάκεινται. τοιαύταις δὲ γνώμαις χρησάμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἐνοῦ τῶν κυνδύων μετασχόντες, οὐχ ὀμοίως τῆς τύχης ἐκοινώνησαν· τῆς γὰρ ἁρετῆς οὐ ξόντες ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντες τὴν δόξαν καταλελοίπασιν, οὐχ ἡττηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες ἐνθαπερ ἐτάχθησαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμύνοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθές δὲ, ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθανον, ἀ γὰρ ἀθλα τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐστὶν, ἐλευθερία καὶ ἁρετή, ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα τοῖς τελευτήσασιν ὑπάρχει. ἐπεὶτα δ' οὐδ' οίον τ' ἐστίν εἰπεῖν ἡττήσθαι τοὺς ταῖς διανοιαῖς μὴ πτήξαντας τὸν τῶν ἐπιόντων φόβον. μόνους γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καλῶς ἀποθυμησκοῦντας οὐδ' ἀν εἰς ἡττήσθαι δικαίως φήσει· τὴν γὰρ δουλείαν φεύγοντες εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον αἴρονται. ἐδήλωσε δ' ὡς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἁρετή· μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ἄπαντων τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλευθερίαν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν σώμασιν εἶχον. ἀμα
γάρ οὖτοί τε τῶν βίων μετήλλαξαν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐλλάδος εἰς δουλείαν μετέπεσεν· συνετάφη γὰρ τοὺς τοῦτων σώμασιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερία. ὥθεν καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἵδια πολεμοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας προκινδυνεύοντες. ὡστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἅντις ἀι- σχυνθείην εἰτῶν στέφανον τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι τὰς ἑκεῖνων ψυχὰς. καὶ δι’ ὅ οὐκ ἄλογος ἂνδρείαν) ἑπετήδευν, ἐπίστασθε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τιμᾶν· εὐρήσετε δὲ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ταῖς ἄγοραις ἀθλητάς ἀνακειμένους, παρ’ ὑμῖν δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἄγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν τύραννων ἀποκτείναντας. καὶ τοιού- 
τους μὲν ἄνδρας οὐδ’ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὀλίγους εὐρείων ῥάδιον, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς στεφανίτας ἁγώνας νευκηκότας εὐπτετῶς πολλαχόθεν ἔστι γεγονότας ἰδεῖν. ὡσπερ τοίνυν τοῖς εὐεργέταις 
μεγίστας τιμᾶς ἀπονέμετε, οὐτω δίκαιον καὶ τοὺς τὴν πατρίδα κατασχύνοντας καὶ προδιδόντας 
ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωρίαις κολάζειν.

13 Σκέψασθε δ’, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι οὐδ’ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι Δεωκράτους τοστού, τὰ δίκαια 
ποιοῦσι. τὸ γὰρ ἄδικημα τοῦτο κεκριμένον ἐστὶ καὶ κατεγνωσμένον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγω 
βουλῇ (καὶ μηδεῖς μοι θορυβῆσῃ ταύτην γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνω μεγίστην τότε γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει 
σωτηρίαν) τοὺς φυγόντας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐγκατα- 
λυόντας τότε τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε.
καίτοι, ὠ ἀνδρεῖς, μὴ νομίζετε τοὺς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φονικὰ ἀδικήματα ὁσιώτατα δικάζοντας αὐτοὺς ἄν εἰς τινά τῶν πολιτῶν τοιούτων τι παρανομήσαι. 53 ἄλλα μὴν Ἀὐτολύκου γε ὑμεῖς κατεψηφίσασθε, μείναντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, ἔχοντος δ᾽ αἰτίαν τοὺς νεῖσι καὶ τὴν γυναικὴ ὑπεκθέσθαι, καὶ ἐτιμωρήσασθε. καίτοι εἰ τὸν τοὺς ἀχρήστους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπεκθέσθαι αἰτίαν ἔχοντα ἐτιμωρήσασθε, τί δεὶ πάσχειν ὅστις ἄνὴρ ὃν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι; ἔτι δὲ ὁ δήμος, δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο ἐνόχου εἶναι τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοὺς φεύγοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον, ἄξιος εἶναι νομίζων τῆς 54 ἐσχάτης τιμωρίας. ἃ δὴ κατέγνωσται μὲν παρὰ τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ, κατεψηφίσται δ᾽ ὕφ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν δικάζειν λαχόντων, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς μεγίστης ἄξια εἶναι τιμωρίας, τούτοις ὑμεῖς ἐναντία ψηφιεῖσθε; πάντων ἀρ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθε ἀγνώμονεστατοι, καὶ ἐλαχίστους ἔξετε τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας.

55 Ἡμὲς μὲν οὖν ἐνοχὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς εἰσηγγελμένοις ἰτ ἀπασιν, ὁ ἀνδρεὶς, Δεωκράτης, φανερὸν ἐστὶ: πυθάνομαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατᾶν λέγοντα, ὡς ἐμπροσ ἐξέπλευσε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα τῆν ἐργασίαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Ῥόδον. ἐὰν οὖν ταύτα λέγῃ, ἐνθυμεῖσθο ὡς ῥαδίως λήψεσθ᾽ αὐτὸν ψευδόμενον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἐμβαίνουσιν οἱ κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν
κατὰ λεοκρατοῦς 21

πλέοντες, ἀλλ' εἶσος τοῦ λιμένος, ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν φίλων ὁρῶμενοι καὶ ἀποστελλόμενοι ἔπειτα οὐ μετὰ τῆς ἔταιρας καὶ τῶν θεραπαινῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνος μετὰ παιδὸς τοῦ διακονοῦντος. πρὸς δὲ τούτων 56 τὶ προσήκειν ἐν Μεγάροις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμπορον πέντε ἔτη κατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρῴα μετα-
κομίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐνθάδε πωλεῖν, εἰ ἡ κατεγνώκει τε αὐτοῦ προδεδωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μεγάλα πάντας ὑδίκηκέναι; ὃ καὶ πάντων γένοιτ' ἄν ἀτοπώτατον, εἰ περὶ ὅν αὐτὸς προσεδόκα τεύξεσθαι τιμωρίας, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς ἀπολύσατε κύριοι γενόμενοι τῆς ψήφου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὦχ ἡγού-

μαι δεῖν ἀποδέχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπολογίαν. πῶς 57 γὰρ οὐ δεινον τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἐμπορίαν ἀποδημοῦντας σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως βοήθειαν, τούτων δὲ μόνον ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς καὶ κατ' ἐργασίαν ἐκπλεῖν, ἡνίκα οὐδ' ἄν εἰς προσκήτσασθαι οὐδὲν ἀν ἐξήτησεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μόνον διαφυ-

λάξαι; ἢδεως δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ πυθοίμην, τῶν ἐμπορίαν εἰσάγων χρησιμώτερος ἐγένετο ἃν τῇ πόλει τοῦ παρασχέιν τὸ σῶμα τὰξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχόμενος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὅρῳ τηλικαύτην οὐσαν βοήθειαν. αξίων δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὀργή-

58 ξεσθαι ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων: φανερῶς γὰρ ψεύδεσθαι τετόλμηκεν. οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας, ἀλλ' ἐκέκτητο χαλκοτύπους, οὔτε τὸτ'
εκπλεύσας οὖδὲν εἰσῆγαγεν ἐκ Μεγάρων, ἡξ ἔτη 
συνεχῶς ἀποδημήσας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ (τῆς) πεντηκοσ-
τῆς μετέχων ἐτύγχανεν, ἦν οὖν ἀν καταλιπτὸν κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἀπεδήμηει. ὡστ’ ἂν μὲν τι περὶ τούτων λέγη, οὖδ’ ύμᾶς ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ νομίζω.

59 "Ηξεί δ’ ἵσως ἐπ’ ἐκείνον τῶν λόγων φερόμενος, ἰὰ 
δὲν αὐτῷ συμβεβουλεύκασι τινες τῶν συνηγόρων, 
ὡς οὖν ἐνοχός ἐστὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ. οὐτέ γὰρ νεωρίων 
kύριος οὔτε πυλῶν οὔτε στρατοπέδων οὕθ’ ὅλως 
tῶν τῆς πόλεως οὖνενός. ἔγω δ’ ἡγούμαι τοὺς μὲν 
tούτων κυρίοις μέρος ἂν τι προδοοῦντα τῆς ὑμετέ-
ρας δυνάμεως, τούτωι δ’ ὅλην ἐκδοτον ποιῆσαι τὴν 
πόλιν. ἔτι δ’ οἱ μὲν τοὺς ξώντας μόνον ἀδικοῦσι 
προδιδόντες, οὔτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, 
60 τῶν πατρίων νομίμων ἀποστερῶν. καὶ υπὸ μὲν 
ἐκείνων προδοθείσαν οἰκείσθαι ἂν συνέβαινε δοὺ-
λην οὖναν τὴν πόλιν, δὲ τὶ ρῆτον οὔτος ἔξελιπεν,
ἀοίκητον ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δ’ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κακῶς 
πράττειν τὰς πόλεις μεταβολῆς τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ 
βέλτιον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παντάπασι γενέσθαι 
ἀναστάτους καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐλπίδων στερηθῆναι. 
ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ξώντι μὲν ἐξηπίς ἐκ τοῦ 
κακῶς πρᾶξαι μεταπεσεῖν, τελευτήσαντε δὲ συνα-
ναιρεῖται πάντα δι’ ὅν ἂν τις εὐδαιμονήσειεν, οὔτω 
καὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις συμβαίνει πέρας ἔχειν τὴν 
61 ἀτυχίαν, ὅταν ἀνάστατοι γένωνται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τὴν 
ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν, πόλεως ἐστὶ θάνατος ἀνάστατον 
γενέσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον ἡμῶν γὰρ ἡ
πόλις τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων κατε- 
δουλώθη, τὸ δὲ ὑστερον ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα, ὦτε) 
καὶ ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων τὰ τεῖχα καθηρέθη· καὶ 
ἐκ τούτων ὁμος ἀμφοτέρων ἠλευθερώθημεν καὶ τῆς 
tῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίας ἡξιώθημεν προστάται 
γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὖχ ὅσαι πώποτ' ἀνάστατοι γεγο- 
νασι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, εἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰπεῖν 
ἐστιν, τὴν Τροιάν τίς οὐκ ἄκηκοεν, ὃτι μεγίστη 
γεγενημένη τῶν τότε πόλεων καὶ πάσης ἐπάρξασα 
tῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς ἀπάξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, 
tὸν αἰῶνα ἀοίκητος ἐστὶν; τοῦτο δὲ Μεσσήνην 
pεντακοσίους ἔτεσιν ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων 
ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθείσαν;

16 Ἡσας οὖν τῶν συνηγόρων αὐτῷ τολμήσει τις 63 
eἰπεῖν, μικρὸν τὸ πράγμα ποιῶν, ως οὐδὲν ἄν 
παρ᾽ ἔνα ἀνθρωπον ἐγένετο τούτων· καὶ οὐκ ἀι- 
σχύνονται τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν ποιούμενοι πρὸς 
ὑμᾶς, ἐφ᾽ ἤ δικαίως ἄν ἀποθάνοιεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 
ὁμολογοῦσι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὸν ἐκλιπεῖν, τοῦτο 
συγχωρήσαντες ὑμᾶς ἐάτωσαν διαγνώσαι περὶ τοῦ 
μεγέθους: εἰ δὲ ὠλος μηδὲν τούτων πεποίηκεν, οὐ 
μανία δὴ που τοῦτο λέγειν, ως οὐδὲν ἄν ἐγένετο 
παρὰ τούτου; ἤγοιμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες; τοῦ- 

64 ναντίον τούτως, παρὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν 
σωτηρίαν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν 
ἐκάστου μοίραν φυλαττομένη· ὅταν οὖν ταύτην 
ἐφ᾽ ἐνὸς τις παρίδη, λέλθεν ἐαυτὸν ἐφ᾽ ἀπάντων 
tοῦτο πεποίηκώς. καὶ τοιο παθίον ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες,
πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων νομοθετῶν διανοίας ἀπο-
65 βλέψαντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὑρεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ
tῷ μὲν ἐκατόν τάλαντα κλέψαντι θάνατον ἔταξαν,
tῷ δὲ δέκα δραχμὰς ἐλάττον ἐπιτίμησαν. οὐδὲ τὸν
μὲν μεγάλα ἱεροσυνήγαντα ἀπέκτεινον, τὸν δὲ
μικρὰ ἐλάττον τιμωρία ἐκδόλαξαν. οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν
οἰκέτην ἀποκτείναντα ἀργυρίῳ ἐξημίουν, τὸν δὲ
ἐλεύθερον εἰργον τῶν νομίμων. ἀλλ' ὀμοίως ἐπὶ
πάσι καὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις παρανομήμασι θάνατον
66 ὀρίσαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἱδιὸν
ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἀπέβλεπε τὸν γεγενημένου πράγ-
ματος, οὐδ' ἐυνεῦθεν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
ἐλάμβανον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἐσκόπουν τοῦτο, εἰ πέφυκε
τὸ ἄδικημα τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείον ἔλθον μέγα βλάπτειν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἄλλως πως περὶ
τοῦτον ἑξετάζειν. φέρε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰ τις ἔνα
νόμον εῖς τὸ Μητρῶν ἔλθον ἐξαλείψειειν, εἰτ' ἄπολυοιν ὡς οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦτον τῇ πόλει ἐστίν,
ἀρ' οὖκ ἂν ἀπεκτείνατ' αὐτῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι
δικαίως, εὐπερ ἐμέλλετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σῷξειν.
67 τὸν αὐτὸν τοίνυν τρόπον κολαστέον ἐστὶ τοῦτον, εἰ
μέλλετε τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας βελτίως ποιῆσειν;
καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λογιεῖσθε, εἰ εἰς ἐστὶ μόνοις ἄνθρωποις,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πράγμα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἰησοῦν τὸ μὴ
πολλοῦς τοιούτους γενέσθαι ἢμέτερον εὐτύχημα
εἶναι, τοῦτον μέντοι διὰ τοῦτο μείζονος τιμωρίας
ἀξίον εἶναι τυχεῖν, ὅτι μόνος τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
οὐ κοινῆς, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξήτησειν.
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

17 Ἄγανακτῶ δὲ μάλιστα, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐπειδὰν ἀκού- 68 σω τῶν μετὰ τούτου τινὸς λέγοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι
τούτο προδιδόναι, εἰ τις ψχετο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοι ποθ’ ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλι-
pόντες, ὅτε πρὸς Σέρεξην ἐπολέμουν, εἰς Σαλαμῖνα
dιέβησαν. καὶ οὕτως ἔστιν ἀνόητος ἡ παντάπασιν
ὑμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς, ὡστε τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν
ἔργων πρὸς τὸ αὐχεῖστον συμβαλεῖν ἢξίωσε. ποὺ 69
γὰρ οὐ περιβόητος ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ
γέγονε; τίς δ’ οὕτως ἡ φθονερὸς ἐστὶν ἡ παντά-
pασιν ἀφιλότιμος, ὦς οὐκ ἂν εὑξαίτο τῶν ἐκεῖνων
πεπραγμένων μετασχεῖν; ὥς γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξε-
lιποῦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τόπον μετῆλλαξαν, πρὸς τὸν
ἐπίοντα κίνδυνον καλῶς βουλευσάμενοι. Ἐτεό- 70
νικὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ
Κορίνθιος καὶ τὸ Αἰγινητῶν ναυτικὸν ὑπὸ νῦκτα
τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμελλον πορίζεσθαι· ἐγκα-
tαλειπόμενοι δ’ οἱ πρόγονοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν
Ἐλλήνων, βίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥλευθέρωσαν,
ἀναγκάσαντες εἰν Σαλαμῖνι μεθ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς
βαρβάρους ναυμαχεῖν. μόνοι δ’ ἀμφοτέρων περι-
γεγονασι, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων,
ὡς ἐκατέρων προσήκε, τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετοῦντες,
tους δὲ μαχόμενοι νικῶντες. ἄρα γ’ ὅμοιοι τῷ
φεύγοντι τὴν πατρίδα τεττάρων ἥμερων πλοῦν εἰς
Ῥόδου; ἡ ποὺ ταχέως ἄν ἴνασχεῖτο τις ἐκεῖνων τι
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιοῦτον ἔργον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν κατέ-
λευσαν τὸν καταίσχυνοντα τὴν αὐτῶν ἀριστείαν.
ούτω γοῦν ἐφίλουν τὴν πατρίδα πάντες, ὡστε τὸν παρὰ Ἑρέσου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀλέξανδρον, φίλου ὄντα αὐτοῖς πρότερον, ὅτι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ ἤτησε, μικροῦ ἰδίων κατέλευσαν. ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοῦ λόγου τιμωρίαν ἤξιον λαμβάνειν, ἢ που τὸν ἔργῳ παραδόντα τὴν πόλιν ύποχείριον τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ 72 μεγάλαις ἃν ξημίαις ἐκόλασαν. τοιγαροῦν τοιαύταις χρώμενοι γνώμαις ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτή τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἱγεμόνες κατέστησαν, Φοινίκην δὲ καὶ Κιλκίαν ἐπόρθησαν, ἐπ᾽ Ἕβριμέδουτι δὲ καὶ πεξομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἐνίκησαν, ἐκατὸν δὲ τρήρεις τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, ἀπασαν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν κακῶς ποιοῦντες περι-73 ἐπλευσαν. καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης, οὐ τὸ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τρόπαιον ἀγαπήσαντες [ἔστησαν], ἀλλὰ ὀροὺς τοῖς βαρβάροις πήξαντες τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τούτους κωλύσαντες ὑπερβαίνειν, συνθῆκας ἐποίησαντο, μακρῷ μὲν πλοῖῳ μη πλεῖν ἐντὸς Κυανῶν καὶ Φασῆλίδος, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἔλληνας αὐτοῦμοις εἶναι, μὴ μόνον τοὺς τὴν Ἕβρωπην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν 74 κατοικοῦντας. καίτοι οἶεσθ᾽ ἄν, εἰ τῇ Δεοκράτους διανοίᾳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἐφυγον, τούτων ἄν τι γενέσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, ἢ ταύτην ἄν ἐτί τὴν χώραν κατοικεῖν ὑμᾶς; χρῆ τοῖςν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ τιμᾶτε, οὐτω καὶ τοὺς κακῶς μισείν τε καὶ κολάζειν, ἀλλας τε καὶ Δεοκράτην, ὅς οὔτε ἐδεισεν οὔτε ἱσχύνθη ὑμᾶς.
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

18 Καίτοι ύμεις τίνα τρόπον νευμίκατε περὶ τού-75
tων, καὶ πῶς ἔχετε ταῖς διανοίασις, θεωρήσατε.
ἀξίον γὰρ ὁμως καὶ περὶ πρὸς εἰδότας διελθεῖν·
ἐγκώμιον γὰρ νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἰς τῆς πόλεως
οἱ παλαιοὶ νόμοι καὶ τὰ έθη των ἕξ ἀρχῆς ταύτα
κατασκευασάντων, οίς ἂν προσέχῃτε, τὰ δίκαια
ποιήσατε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις σεμνοὶ καὶ ἄξιοι
τῆς πόλεως δόξητ' εἰναι. ύμῖν γὰρ ἔστων ὄρκος,76
ὅν ὀμνύουσι πάντες οἱ πολίται, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ
ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματείου ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἐφηβοὶ
γένονται, μήτε τὰ ἱερὰ ὅπλα κατασκυνεῖν μήτε
τὴν τάξιν λείψειν, ἀμυνεῖν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ
ἀμείνῳ παραδώσειν. ὃν ἐὰν μὲν ὀμωμοκεῖ 
Δεω-
κράτης, φανερῶς ἑπιώρκηκεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς
ηδίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱσέβηκεν· εἰ δὲ
μὴ ὀμωμοκεν, εὕθως δήλος ἐστὶ παρασκευασάμενος
(ὡς) οὐδὲν ποιήσων τῶν δεόντων, ἀνθ' ὅν δικαίως
ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν
τιμωρήσαισθε. Βούλομαι δ' ὑμᾶς ἀκούσαι τοῦ
ὄρκου. Δέγε, γραμματεῦ.

(ΟΡΚΟΣ)

Οὗ κατασκυνώ ὅπλα τὰ ἱερὰ, οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τῶν
παραστάτην ὅτω ἄν στοιχήσω, ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν
καὶ ὑπὲρ δούλων, καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν· τὴν πατρίδα
δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω δόχης ἃν
παραδέξωμαι. καὶ εἰδοκοήσω τῶν αἰεί κραίνοντων, καὶ τοῖς
θεσμοῖς τοῖς ἱδρυμένοις πείσωμαι καὶ οὐσίνας ἃν ἀλλοὺς
tὸ πλήθος ἱδρύσηται ὅμοφρόνως· καὶ ἂν τις ἀναιρῇ τοὺς
θεσμοὺς ἡ μὴ πείθηται, ὅπε ἐπιτρέψω, ἀμινὺ ἰὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πάντων. καὶ οἱρὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμήσω. ἵστορες θεοὶ τούτων, Ἄγγανος, Ἐνυάλιος Ἀρχης, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη."

Καλὸς γ', ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ θυσίας ὁ ὅρκος. παρὰ τούτων τούνν ἀπαντά πεποίηκε Λεωκράτης. καὶ τοι πῶς ἄν ἀνθρώπος γένοιτο ἀνοσιότερος ἢ μᾶλλον προδότης τῆς πατρίδος; τίνα δ' ἄν τρόπον ὅπλα κατασχύνει μια μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ λαβεῖν μὴ θέλου καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ καὶ τὸν παραστάτην καὶ τὴν τάξιν λέοντεν ὁ μηδὲ

78 τάξιν τὸ σῶμα παρασχῶν; ποῦ δ' ὑπὲρ ὅσιών καὶ ἱερῶν ἦμυνεν ἢν ὁ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὑπομείνας; τίνι δ' ἄν τὴν πατρίδα παρέδοκε μείζονα — προδοσία; τὸ γὰρ τούτων μέρος ἐκκελειμμένη τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίᾳ ἐστίν. εἶτα τούτων οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν ἀπάσας ταῖς ἀδίκαιας ἐνοχῶν ὄντα; τίνας οὖν τιμωρῆσεσθε; τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἡμαρτηκότας; ῥάδιον ἔσται παρ' ὑμῖν ἄρα μεγάλα ἀδικεῖν, εἰ φανεῖσθε ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μᾶλλον ὅργι
ζόμενοι.

79 Καὶ μήν, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ μαθεῖν. 19 ὅτι τὸ συνέχον τὴν δημοκρατίαν ὅρκος ἐστὶ. τρία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκεν, ὁ ἄρχων, ὁ δικαστής, ὁ ἰδιώτης. τούτων τούνν ἐκαστὸς ταύτην πίστιν δίδωσιν, εἰκότως οὔτε τοὺς μεν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις πολλοὶ ήδη ἐξαπατήσαντες καὶ δια-
λαθόντες οὐ μόνον τῶν παρόντων κινδύνων ἀπε-
κατὰ δεωκρατοὺς

λύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀδικημάτων τούτων εἰσὶ· τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὔτε ἀν ἐπιορκήσας τις λάθοι, οὔτε ἀν ἐκφύγῃ τὴν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ αὐτός, οἱ παῖδες γε καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπαν τὸ τοῦ ἐπιορκήσαντος μεγάλους ἀτυχήμασι περιπίπτει. διότερ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικα-80 σταί, ταύτην πίστιν ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πάντες οἱ Ἐλληνες, ὃτ' ἐμελλὼν παραταξάμενοι μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἐφέσου δύναμιν, οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ μακρόσαμενοι τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν εἰθισμένον ὄρκον. διὸ ἀξίων ἐστιν ἀκούσαι· καὶ γὰρ παλαιῶν ὄντων τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων ὀμῶς ὡς ἰχνὸς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἴδειν τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν. Καὶ μοι ἀναγίγνωσκε αὐτόν.

ορκος

οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ἐπ' τής ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ 81 ἐγκαταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ἓντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀπαντας θάψω. καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τῶν μὲν μαχεσαμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὗθεν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἵσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσέβειας.

οὐτώ τοῖνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες, σφόδρα ἐνεμειναν ἐν 82 τούτῳ πάντες, ὡστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐὑ-
νοιαν μεθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐσχον βοηθόν, καὶ πάντων (τῶν) Ἑλλήνων ἄνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν γενομένων πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, μάλιστα ἡ πόλις ύμῶν εὐδοκίμησεν. ὃ καὶ πάντων ἂν εἰς δεινότατον, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ύμῶν ἀποθυήσκειν τολμᾶν ὡστε μή τινὶ πόλιν ἀδοξεῖν, ύμᾶς δὲ μὴ κολάξειν τοὺς κατασχύναντας αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ περιορὰν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν πόλεων συνειλεγμένην εὐκλειαν, ταύτην διὰ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἄνδρῶν πονηρίαν καταλυμένην.

83 Καίτοι, ὁ ἄνδρες, μόνοις ύμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων 20 οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδεὶς τούτων περιδείν. Βούλομαι δὲ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ύμῖν διελθεῖν, οἷς παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βέλτιον βουλεύσεσθε. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔχει μεγίστον ἡ πόλις ύμῶν ἀγαθὸν, ὅτι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων παράδειγμα τοῖς Ἑλλησί γέγονεν. ὥσιν γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ πασῶν ἐστὶν ἁρχαιοτάτη, τοσοῦτον οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπων ἁρετῇ.

84 διεννύχαιον. ἐπὶ Κόδρου γὰρ βασιλέυοντος Πελοποιησίων γενομένης ἁφορίας κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδοξεὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους ἔξαναστήσαντας κατανείμασθαι τὴν χώραν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλαντες τὸν θεοῦ ἐπηρῷτων, εἰ λήψονται τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀνελύοντος δ' αὐτῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν αἰρήσοντι, ἃν μὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀθηναίων Κόδρον ἀποκτένωσιν, ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ 85 τὰς Ἀθήνας. Κλεόμαντις δὲ τῶν Δελφῶν τις, πυ-
θόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, δε' ἀπορρήτων ἐξήγησελε 
τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις· οὕτως οἱ πρόγονοι ἦμῶν ὡς έοικε 
καὶ τοὺς ἐξώθεν ἀνθρώπους εὐνους ἔχοντες διε-
τέλουν. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων εἰς 
τὴν 'Αττικὴν, τὶ ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι ύμῶν, ἄν-
δρες δικασταὶ; οὐ καταλιπόντες τὴν χώραν ὡς 
Δεωκράτης ψέχοντο, οὐδ' ἐκδοτον τὴν θρεψαμένην 
καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέδοσαν, ἀλλ' ὄλγοι 
ὁντες κατακλησθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρ-
τέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὡς 
ἀνδρες, γενναίοι οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ὡστε προ-
ροῦντο ἀποθυγήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων 
σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ ξώντες ἐτέραν μεταλλάξαι 
τινά χώραν. φασίν γοῦν τὸν Κόδρον παραγγεί-
λαντα τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις, προσέχειν ὅταν τελευτήσῃ 
τὸν βίον, λαβόντα πτωχικὴν στολὴν ὅπως ἀν ἀπα-
τήσῃ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα 
φρύγανα συλλέγειν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, προσελθόν-
τοι δ' αὐτῷ δυνών ἄνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατόπεδου 
καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πυνθανομένων, τὸν ἐτερον 
αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι τῷ δρεπάνῳ προσπεσόντα· τὸν 
87 δὲ περιλειμμένων, παροξυνθέντα τῷ Κόδρῳ καὶ 
νομίσαντα πτωχὸν εἶναι, ἐπασάμενον τὸ ἐξῆς 
ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Κόδρον. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ 
μὲν 'Αθηναίοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες ἥξιον δοῦναι 
τὸν βασιλέα θάψαι, λέγοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπασαν τὴν 
ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι τούτων μὲν ἀπέ-
δοσαν, γνόντες δ' ὡς οὐκέτι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν
χόραν κατασχεῖν ἀπεχώρησαν. τῷ δὲ Κλεομάντει
τῷ Δελφῷ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐν
πρωτανείῳ ἀδίδου σίτησιν ἕδοσαν. ἀρα γ' ὁμοίως
ἐφίλουν τὴν πατρίδα Δεωκράτει οἱ τότε βασιλεύ-
όντες, οἳ γε προφροῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαπα-
τώσαν ἀποδηνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἰδιαν
ψυχὴν ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀντικαταλλά-
τεσθαι; τοιγαροῦν μονώτατοι ἐπώνυμοι τῆς χώρας
εἰσίν, ἱσοθέων τιμῶν τετυχηκότες, εἰκότως· ὑπὲρ
ἡς γὰρ οὕτω σφόδρα ἑσπούδαξον, δικαίως ταῦτης
καὶ τεθνεότες ἐκληρονόμουν. ἀλλὰ Δεωκράτης
οὕτε ζῶν οὐτε τεθνεώς δικαίως ἀν αὐτῆς μετάσχοι,
μονώτατος (δ') ἀν προσηκόντως ἐξορισθεὶς τῆς
χώρας, ἢν ἐγκαταλιπτῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις ψχετο·
οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν τὴν αὐτὴν καλύπτειν τοὺς τῇ
ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας καὶ τὸν κάκιστον πάντων ἀν-
θρώπων.

90 Καίτω γ' ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν, ὁ καὶ νῦν ἵσως 21
ἐρεῖ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὑπέμεινε τῶν
ἀγώνα τοῦτον συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ τοιοῦτόν τι δια-
πεπραγμένον· ὡσπέρ οὐ πάντας καὶ τοὺς κλέπ-
τοντας καὶ ἱερουλοῦντας τούτῳ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ
χρωμένους. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ πράγματός ἐστὶ σημείον,
ὡς οὐ πεποιήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀναιδείας ἢν ἐχοῦσιν.
οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἐξέπλευσεν
οὕδε τὴν πόλιν ἐγκατέληπτεν οὐδ' ἐν Μεγάροις
91 κατάκησε· ταῦτά ἐστὶ τεκμήρια τοῦ πράγματος,
ἐπεῖ γε τὸ ἐλθεῖν τοῦτον, οἴμαι θεόν τινα αὐτοῦν
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ἐπ' αὐτῆν ἀγαγεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἵν' ἐπειδῆ τὸν εὐκλεᾶ κίνδυνον ἔφυγε, τοῦ ἀκλεοῦς καὶ ἀδόξου θανάτου τῦχοι, καὶ οὐς προούδωκε, τούτους ὑπο-χείριον αὐτὸν καταστήσειν. ἐτέρωθι μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχῶν οὔτω δῆλον, εἴ διὰ ταύτα δίκην δίδωσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ παρ' οἷς προούδωκεν φανερὸν ἔστιν, ὅτι τῶν αὐτοῦ παρανομημάτων ὑπέχει ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν. οἱ γὰρ θεὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν, ἢ 92 τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν παράγουσι· καὶ μοι δοκοῦσι τῶν ἀρχαῖων τινὲς ποιητῶν ὁσπερ χρησμοὺς γράψαντες τοῖς ἐπιγεγυμνομένοις τάδε τὰ ἱαμβεία καταλιπεῖν·

ὅταν γὰρ ὀργῆ δαιμόνων βλάπτη τινά, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἔξαφαιρείτα φρενῶν τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλὸν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χείρα τρέπει γνώμην, ἵν' εἰδῆ μηδὲν ὁν ἀμαρτάνει.

22 τὸς γὰρ οὐ μέμνηται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν 93 νεοτέρων οὐκ ἄκηκοε Καλλίστρατον, οὐθανάτου ἢ πόλις κατέγυω, τοῦτον φυγόντα, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀκούσαντα, ὅτι ἄν ἔλθη Ἀθηνάζε τεύξετα τῶν νόμων, ἀφικόμενου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καταφυγόντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπὸ τῆς πολεως ἀποθανόντα; δικαίως· τὸ γὰρ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ἡδικηκόσι τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ἔστιν. ο ὁ δὲ γε θεὸς ὁρθῶς ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἡδικημένοις κολά- σαι τὸν αἰτίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, εἰ ταύτα σημεία τοῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τοῖς κακούργοις φαίνοιτο.
94 Ἡγοῦμαι δ᾽ ἐγώ, ὦ ἀνδρές, τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν πάσας μὲν τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις ἐπισκοπεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς γονεάς καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐσέβειαν, εἰκότως· παρ᾽ ὅν γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ζῆν εἰλήφαμεν καὶ πλείστα ἄγαθα πεποίηθαμεν, εἰς τούτοις μὴ ὅτι ἀμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ εὐρεγετοῦντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον καταναλῶσαι μέγιστον ἁσβετμά

95 ἐστι. λέγεται γοῦν ἐν Σικελίᾳ (εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθω-23 δεστερὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀρμόσει καὶ ύν ἂπασι τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀκούσαι) ἐκ τῆς Αἰτνης ῥύσκα πυρὸς γενέσθαι. τοῦτον δὲ ἰεὶν φασίν ἐπὶ (τε) τὴν ἄλλην χώραν, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς πόλιν τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικομένων. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὀρμήσαι πρὸς φυγήν, τὴν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν ξηποῦντας, ἕνα δὲ τινὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ὀρῶντα τὸν πατέρα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ δυνάμενον ἀποχωρεῖν ἀλλὰ 96 ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενον, ἀράμενον φέρειν. φορτίον δ᾽ οἴμαι προσγενομένου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκατελήφθη. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ἄξιον θεωρῆσαι τὸ θέαιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς εὐμενῶς ἔχει. λέγεται γὰρ κύκλῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον περιρρέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ σωθῆναι τούτους μόνους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἔτι καὶ νῦν προσαγορευότας τῶν εὐσέβῶν χώρον· τοὺς δὲ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιησαμένους καὶ τοὺς έαυτῶν γονεῖς ἐγκαταλιπόντας ἂπαντας 97 ἀπολέσθαι. ὡστε καὶ ύμᾶς δεῖν τὴν παρὰ (τῶν) θεῶν ἑξοντας μαρτυρίαν ὀμογνωμόνως τοῦτον κο-
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

λάξειν, τὸν ἀπασὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασιν ἔνοχον ὄντα κατὰ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μέρος. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θεοὺς τὰς πατρίους τιμὰς ἀπεστέρησε, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγκατέλυτε, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκότας τῶν νομίμων οὐκ ἔσασε τυχεῖν.

24 Καίτοι σκέψασθε, ὡ ἀνδρεῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἀποστή-98 σομαί τῶν παλαιῶν· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦντες ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο, ταῦτα δικαίως ἃν ύμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ἀποδέχοισθε. φασὶ γὰρ Βύμολπον τὸν Ποσειδώνος καὶ Χίόνης μετὰ Ὁρακῶν ἐλθεῖν τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βασιλεύουσα Ἑρεχθέα, γυναῖκα ἔχουτα. Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα. μεγά-99 λοι δὲ στρατοπέδου μέλλοντος αὐτοῖς εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν χώραν, εἰς Δελφοὺς ἤδη ἥρατα τὸν θεόν, τί ποιῶν ἂν νῦν λάβοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. χρήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν θυγατέρα εἰ θύσειε πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ πιθομένος τούτ' ἐπραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρατευομένους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλε. διὸ καὶ δικαῖος ἂν τις Εὐριπίδην ιοο ἐπαινέσειν, ὅτι τὰ τ' ἄλλ' ὧν ἄγαθος ποιητής καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον προείλετο ποιήσαι, ἱγούμενος κάλλιστον ἄν γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις παράδειγμα τὰς ἐκείνων πράξεις, πρὸς ὡς ἀποβλέποντας καὶ θεωροῦντας συνεθίζονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ τήν πατρίδα φιλεῖν. ἄξιον δ', ὡς ἀνδρεῖς δικασταί, καὶ τῶν ἰαμβείων ἀκούσαι, ὃ πεποίηκε λέγοντας τὴν

3—2
μητέρα τῆς παιδός. ὄψεσθε γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ γενναιότητα ἁξίαν καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα.

ΡΗΣΙΣ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

tάς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται, ἤδιον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οὗ δὲ δρώσι μὲν, χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον (λέγω): ἐγὼ δὲ δῶσω τὴν ἐμῆν παῖδα κτανεῖν. λογίζομαι δὲ πολλά· πρῶτα μὲν πόλιν οὐκ ἀν τιν' ἄλλην τῆςδε βελτίω λάβοιν· ἢ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ' ἐφυμεν· αἰ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεσοῦν ὑμοίας διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμέναι ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι. ὅστις δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεος οἰκήσῃ πόλιν, ἄρμος πονηρὸς ὀστευτεκνὸν ἐν ξύλῳ παγείς, λόγῳ πολίτης ἐστί, τοὺς δ' ἔργοιςιν οὐ. ἐπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἔκατε τίκτωμεν, ὡς θεῶν τε βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα. πόλεως δ' ἀπάσης τοῦνμ' ἐν, πολλοὶ δὲ νιν ναίουσι· τούτους πῶς διαφθείραι με χρῆ, ἐξὼν προπάντων μίαν ὑπὲρ δοῦναι θανεῖν; εἰπερ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν ὁίδα καὶ τοῦλάσσονος τὸ μείζον, οὐγός οἶκος οὐ πλεῖον σθένει πταίσας ἀπάσης πόλεος, οὐδ' ἤποιον φέρει. ei δ' ἦν ἐν οἰκοῖς ἀντὶ θηλείων στάχυς
κατά λεωκρατοῦς

...
σφέσθε, νικάτ'· ἀντὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς μιᾶς
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτως υἱῶν ἐγὼ οὐ σῶσω πόλιν.
ὡς, πατρὶς, εἰθεὶς πάντες οἱ ναυσιντε 
οὐτῳ φιλοίεν ὡς ἔγὼ· καὶ πάλιν
οἰκοίμεν ἄν σε, κούδεν ἄν πάσχοις κακὸν. 55

101 Ταῦτα, ὥς ἄνδρες, τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐπαίδευε. 25
φύσει γὰρ οὐσίων φιλοτέκνων πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν, ταῦτην ἐποίησε τὴν πατρίδα μᾶλλον τῶν παίδων φιλούσαν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τίτι εἴπερ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῦτο τολμήσουσι ποιεῖν, τοὺς ἥ ἄνδρας ἀνυπέρβλητον τινα δεῖ τὴν εὐνοίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἕχειν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν αὐτὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντας, μηδὲ κατασχύνειν πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ὥσπερ Δεωκράτης.

102 Βούλωμαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου παρασχέ- 26
σθαί ἑπὶ τῶν· οὕτω γὰρ υπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαίοι εἶναι ποιητὴν, ὅστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἐκάστην πεντετερίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ῥαφῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν ποιοῦμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων προηγοῦντο, εἰκότως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόμοι διὰ τὴν συντομίαν οὐ διδασκούσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτάττουσιν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ μμούμενοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίου, τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐκλεξάμενοι, μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἀποδείξεως τοὺς ἄν-

103 θρόπους συμπείθουσιν. Ἐκτερ γὰρ τοὺς Τρωσὶ παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τάδ' εἰρήκειν.
KATA ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ 39

άλλα μάχεσθ’ ἐπὶ νησοὶ διαμπερές. ὲς δὲ κεν ὑμεων βλήμενοι ἣ τυπεῖς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη, τεθνάτω. οὐ οἱ ἀεικές ἠμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ’ ἄλοχος τε σόν καὶ νήπια τέκνα, καὶ κλήρος καὶ οἶκος ἀκήρατος, εἰ κεν Ἀχαιοὶ οἴχωνται σὺν νησὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

27 Τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν ἀκούοντες, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ πρὸ-104 γονεῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ξηλοῦντες, οὕτως ἔσχον πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὡστ’ οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὡς κοινῆς ἥθελον ἀποθνήσκειν. οἱ γονεῖς ἐν Μαραθώνι παραταξάμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας στόλον ἐκράτησαν, τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις κοινὴν ἄδειαν ἀπασί τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κτώ-

28 ἀλλ’ ἔργῳ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο. τουγαροῦν οὕτως 105 ἦσαν ἀνδρεῖς σπουδαίοι καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ἱδία οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν ὑκοῦντες, ὡστε τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις Ἀκεδαμονίοις ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε χρόνοις πολε-μούσι πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς, παρ’ ἡμῶν ἠγεμόνα λαβεῖν καὶ νικῆσειν τοὺς ἐναντίον. καίτοι εἰ τοῖν ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους γεγενημένων, οὐ ἀεὶ βασιλεύσωμεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, τοὺς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἠγεμόνας ἀμείνοις ὁ θεὸς ἔκρινε, πῶς οὐκ ἄνυ-
πέρβλητον χρή τήν ἐκείνων ἀρετήν νομίζειν; τίς
gάρ οὐκ οἴδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι Τυρταίον στρα-
tηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τής πόλεως, μεθ᾽ οὗ καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τήν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπι-
mέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τόν παρόντα
κίνδυνον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἀπαντά τοῦ αἰῶνα βουλευσά-
μενοι καλῶς. κατέληπτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑλεγεία ποιή-
σας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν· καὶ
περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες,
περὶ τούτου οὕτω σφόδρα ἐσπουδάκασιν, ὡστε
νόμον ἔθεντο, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλισὶ ἐξεστρατευ-
μένοι ὤσι, καλέων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνήν
ἀκουσομένους τῶν Τυρταίου ποιημάτων ἀπαντάς,
νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸ τῆς
πατρίδος ἔθελεν ἀποθυμήσκειν. χρῆσιμον δ᾽ ἐστὶ
καὶ τούτων ἀκούσαι τῶν ἑλεγείων, ἵν᾽ ἐπιστησθῇ
όλα ποιοῦντες εὐδοκίμουν παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις.

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἀνδρὸν ἀγαθόν, περὶ ἤ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.
ἡμὶ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ προλειτόντα πόλιν καὶ πίονας ἄγρους
πτωχεύειν πάντων ἐστὶ ἀνιπρότατον,
πλαξόμενον σὺν μητρὶ φίλη καὶ πατρὶ γέροντι
παισὶ τε σὺν μικροῖς κουρίδιῃ τ᾽ ἀλόχῳ.
ἐχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοiosis μετέσσεται, οὕς κεν ἤκεται
χρημοσύνη τ᾽ εἰκὼν καὶ στυγερὴ πενίῃ,
αἰσχύνει δὲ γένος, κατὰ δ᾽ ἄγλαδν εἶδος ἑλέγχει,
πᾶσα δ᾽ ἀτιμία καὶ κακότης ἐπέτατ.
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

εἰ δ’ οὖτως ἀνδρός τοι ἀλωμένου οὐδεμι' ὡρη
gίγνεται οὖδ’ αἰδώς, οὔτ’ ὁπίσω γένεος,
θυμὸ γῆς περὶ τῆς ἐκ μαχώμεθα, καὶ περὶ παῖδων
θυήσκωμεν ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.
ὡ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ’ ἀλλήλοις μένοντες, 15
μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχρῆς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου,
ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ’ ἀνδρασὶ μαρνᾶμενοι·
tοὺς δὲ παλαιότέρους, ὅν οὐκέτι γούνατ’ ἐλαφρά,
μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιόνς.  20
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
ἡδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιὸν τε γένειον,
θυμὸν ἀποπνείοντ’ ἄλκιμον ἐν κοινῆ,
αἰματόεντ’ αἰδοία φίλησ’ ἐν χερσῖν ἔχοντα  25
(αἰσχρὰ τὰ γ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσθῶν ἰδεῖν)
καὶ χρόα γυμνωθέντα. νέοισι δὲ πάντ’ ἐπέοικεν,
ὅπρ’ ἐρατὴς ἡβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχῃ·
ἀνθράσι μὲν θητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἔρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν
ζωὸς ἔων, καλὸς δ’ ἐν προμάχοισι πεσόν.
  30
ἀλλὰ τις εὐ διαβὰς μενετῶ ποσίν ἀμφοτέροις
στηριχθεῖς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὁδοῦσι δακῶν.

Καλὰ γ’, ὃ ἄνδρες, καὶ χρήσιμα τοῖς βουλομένοις 108
προσέχειν. οὖτω τοίνυν εἶχον πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οἱ
τούτων ἄκουόντες, ὡστε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
περὶ τῆς ἱγμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν, εἰκότως· τὰ γὰρ
κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀμφοτέροις ἦν κατειργα-
σμένα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἢμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν, καὶ καταφαίη ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλήθους περιγυγνομένην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι, ταῖς μὲν τύχαις οὐχ ὀμοίας ἔχρησαντο, τῇ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ πολὺ πάντων διήνεγκαν.

109 Τούγαροιν ἑκατέρων ἐπιτύμβια μαρτύρια ἐστίν ἱδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς "Ελλήνας, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν·

οὶ ξεῖν', ἀγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇ δὲ κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις,

tois δ' ὑμετέροις προγόνοις.

"Ελλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναίοι Μαραθῶνι χρυσοφόρων Μῆδων ἑστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

110 Ταῦτα, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι καλὰ καὶ 29 τοῖς πράξασιν ἔπαινος καὶ τῇ πόλει δόξα ἀεὶμνηστος. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Δεωκράτης πεποίηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν τὴν εξ ἀπαντος τοῦ αἰῶνος συνηθροισμένην τῇ πόλει δόξαν καθήσχυνεν. εάν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖνητε, δόξετε πάσι τοῖς "Ελλησι καὶ ύμεῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων μυσεῖν· εἰ δὲ μῇ, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης ἀποστερήσετε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας μεγάλα βλάψετε. οἱ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ θαυμάζοντες τοῦτον πειράζονται μιμοῖσθαι, νομίζοντες ἐκεῖνα μὲν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς
εὐδοκιμεῖν, παρ' ὑμῖν δ' ἀναίδειαν καὶ προδοσίαν καὶ δειλίαν κεκρίσθαι κάλλιστον.

30 Ἐι (δὲ) μὴ δύνασθε ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ διδαχθῆναι, διὸ 111 τρόπον δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἔχειν, σκέφασθε ἐκείνους τίνα τρόπον ἐλάμβανον παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων ἡπισταντο ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πονηρὰ προηγοῦντο κολάζειν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, θεωρήσατε ὡς ὀργίζοντο τοῖς προδόταις καὶ κοινοὺς ἔχοντες ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. Φρυνίχος γὰρ 112 ἀποσφαγεντος νῦκτωρ παρὰ τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰστοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδόρου καὶ Ὀρασυβούλου, καὶ τούτων ληφθέντων καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀποτεθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φρυνίχου φίλων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ δῆμος τὸ γεγονὸς τοὺς τε εἰρχθέντας ἐξῆγαγε καὶ βασάνων γενομένων ἀνέκρινε, καὶ ξητῶν τὸ πράγμα εὑρεῖ, тόν μὲν Φρύνιχον προδοδόντα τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δ’ ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν ἀδίκως εἰρχθέντας· καὶ ψηφίζεται ὁ δῆμος Κρίτων 113 εἰπόντος, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν κρίνειν προδοσίας, κἂν δόξη προδότης ὅν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τεθάφθαι, τὰ γε ὅστα αὐτοῦ ἀναφύσαι καὶ ἐξορίσαι ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅπως ἄν μὴ κέψαι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μὴδὲ τὰ ὅστα τοῦ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως προδοδόντως. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ εὰν ἀπολογοῦνται τινὲς ὑπὲρ 114 τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, εὰν ἅλῳ ὁ τεθνηκός, ἐνόχους εἶναι καὶ τούτους τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμίλους· οὕτως οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν τοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐγκαταλείπουσιν.
Ἀκούετε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος. ἐπείτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὰ τοῦ προδότου ὅστα ἀνορύξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοππῆς ἐξώρισαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολογοῦμένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρισταρχοῦ καὶ Ἀλέξικλέα ἀπέκτειναν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταφήναι ἐπέτρεψαν, ὡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ προδεικνύον τὴν πόλιν ἤκουν καὶ ὑποχείριον ἔχοντες τῇ ψήφῳ.

Αἰτιμόρφητον ἐάσετε; καὶ τοσοῦτον γ' ἐσεσθε τῶν προγόνων χείρος, ὡςον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς λόγους μόνον τῷ προδότῃ βοηθήσαντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωρίαις μετῆλθον, ὡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἔργον καὶ οὐ λόγῳ τὸν δήμον ἐγκαταλιπόντα ὡς οὗτοι ἀδικοῦντα ἀφῆσετε; μὴ δὴτα, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς δικασταῖ; οὕτε γὰρ ὅσιον ὑμῖν οὕτε πάτριον, ἀναξίως ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ψηφίζεσθαί. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γεγονός ἡ ψήφισμα, εἴχεν ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ὡς δὲ ὄργῃ μάλλον ἢ δὲ ἀλήθειαν ἐποιήσαντο· ὅταν δὲ παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως εἰληφότες ὡς τῇ αὐτῇ τιμωρίᾳ, τῶς ὅσι εὑράλην ὅτι φύσει πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπολέμουν; Ἰππαρχοῦ γὰρ
τὸν Χάρμου, οὖν υπομείναντα τὴν περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κρίσιν, ἀλλ’ ἔρημον τὸν ἀγώνα ἑάσαντα, θαυμάζω τούτου ξημιώσαντες, ἐπειδή τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἔλαβον τὸ σῶμα ὅμηρον, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἔξ ἀκροτόλεως καθελόντες καὶ συγχωνεύσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες στήλην, ἐψηφίσαντο εἰς ταύτην ἀναγράφειν τοὺς ἀληθήριους καὶ τοὺς προδότας· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ προδόται. Καὶ μοι ὁ λαβὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψηφίσμα, καθ’ ὃ ἦ 118 εἰκῶν τοῦ Ἰππαρχοῦ τοῦ προδότου ἔξ ἀκροτόλεως καθηρέθη, ἐπειτα τῆς στήλης τὸ υπόγραμμα, καὶ τοὺς ὑστερον προσαναγραφέντας προδότας εἰς ταύτην τὴν στήλην, καὶ ἀναγίγνωσκε, γραμματεύ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗΛΗΣ

Τί δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες; άρα γ’ ὀμολογεὶς 119 ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων γιγνώσκειν, καὶ οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐδύναντο ὑποχείριον τοῦ προδότου λαβεῖν, τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ προδότου ἀνελόντες ταῖς ἐνδεχομέναις τιμωρίαις ἐκόλασαν; οὐχ ὅπως τὸν χαλκοῦν ἀνδριάντα συγχωνεύσειαν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις παράδειγμα εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὡς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς προδότας καταλίποιεν.

Λαβὲ δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ψηφίσμα (τὸ) 120 περὶ τῶν εἰς Δεκέλειαν μεταστάντων, ὅτε ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ὅπως εἶδόσιν ὅτι περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι ὀμοίας καὶ
άκολούθους ἀλλήλας τὰς τιμῶριας ἐποιοῦντο. ἀναγίγνωσκε, γραμματεύ.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

121 Ἀκούετε, οὗ ἄνδρες, καὶ τούτον τοῦ ψηφι- σματος, ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μεταστάντων εἰς Δεκέλειαν κατέγρωσαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν ἑπανιῶν ἀλίσκηται, ἀπαγαγεῖν Ἀθηναίων τὸν Βουλόμενον πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, παραλα- βόντας δὲ παραδόονι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁρυγμάτων. ἔπειτα ἐκείνοι μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ μετα- στάντας οὕτως ἐκόλαξον, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φυγόντα εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ προδόντα τὸν δήμον οὐκ ἀπο- κτενείτε; πῶς οὖν δόξετε ἀπόγονοι εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν ἄνδρῶν;

122 Ἀξιον τοίνυν ἀκούσαι καὶ ὁ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τελευτήσαντος γενομένου ψηφισμάτος, ὥν ἡ Βουλή, ὅτι λόγῳ μονὸν ἐνεχείρει προδίδοναι τῇ πόλιν, περιελομένη τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοχειρὶ ἀπέκτεινεν. γενναίον δ', ὃ ἄνδρες, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἄξιον τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων, δικαίως· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς ψυχὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμῶριας ἐκέκτηντο.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

123 Τί οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες; ἀρά γ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Βουλομένοις μμείμτως τοὺς προγόνους πάτριου εἶναι Δεσκρά-
ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
47

tην μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι; ὅποτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ἀνά-
στατον τὴν πόλιν οὐσαν λόγῳ μόνον προδιδόντα
οὕτως ἀπέκτειναν, τὶ υμᾶς προσήκει τὸν ἔργῳ καὶ
οὐ λόγῳ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκλυπόντα ποιῆσαι; ἀρφ
οὐχ ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἐκεῖνοι τῇ τιμωρίᾳ; καὶ ὅτε
ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
σωτηρίας ἀποστερεῖν οὕτως ἐκόλασαν, τὶ υμᾶς
προσήκει τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμου τὴν σωτηρίαν
προδόντα ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἐκεῖνοι
tοὺς αἰτίους οὕτως ἐτιμωροῦντο, τὶ υμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρίδος προσήκει πολεῖν;

Ἰκανὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τῶν προγόνων 124
 γρῶναι διάνοιαν, ὡς εἰχόν πρὸς τοὺς παρανοοῦν-
tας εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι βουλομαί τῆς
στήλης ἀκούσαι υμᾶς τῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ περὶ
tῶν προδοτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου καταλυόντων:
τὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων διδάσκειν
ῥαδίαν υμῖν τὴν κρίσιν καθίστησι. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς
τριάκοντα οἱ πατέρες υμῶν, πεπονθότες ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν, οὐδεὶς πῶς ποτὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡξίωσε,
καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατεληλυθότες, ἀπάσας
τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐνέφραξαν, πεπειρα-
μένοι καὶ εἰδότες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους
tῶν τοῦ δήμου προδιδόντων. ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ καὶ 125
ἂμοσαν, ἐαν τὸς τυραννὸν ἐπιτιθῆται ἤ τὴν πόλιν
προδίδω ἢ τὸν δήμον καταλύῃ, τὸν αἰσθανόμενον
καθαρὸν εἶναι ἀποκτείναντα, καὶ κρείττον ἐδοξεῖν
αὐτοῖς τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοντας τεθνάναι μᾶλλον
Ταύτα, ο άνδρες, ἐγραψάνει εἰς τὴν στήλην, καὶ ταύτην ἔστησαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν συνιούσι καὶ βουλευο-μένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ώς δὲὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοιού-τους ἔχειν. καὶ διὰ τούτο ἄν τις αὐθηται μόνον μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς τούτων τι ποιεῖν, ἀποκτεῖνει συνώμοσαν, εἰκότως· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀδικη-μάτων ὑστέρας δὲι τετάχθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, προ-δοσίας δὲ καὶ δήμου καταλύσεως προτέρας. εἰ γὰρ προῆσεσθε τούτων τὸν καίρον, ἐν ὦ μέλλουσιν ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος φαύλον τι πράττειν, οὐκ ἔστιν ύμῖν μετὰ ταύτα δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν ἀδικούντων λαβεῖν· κρέιττους γὰρ ἢδη γίγνονται τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων τιμωρίας.

Τὸνυν ὁ άνδρες, τῆς προνοιας 31 ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν ἀξίως, καὶ μὴ ἐπιλαυθά-νεσθε ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ, ὅλων άνδρῶν ἐκγονολ ἐστε, ἀλλὰ παρακελεύσεθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ὁμοίων ἔκεινοι καὶ ἀκόλουθα ἐν τῇ τήμερον ἡμέρα ἐψηφίσμενοι ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐξῆτε. ὑπομνήματα δ' ἔχετε καὶ παραδείγματα τῆς ἐκείνων τιμωρίας τὰ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων ψηφίσμασιν ὀρισμένα.
κατά λεωκρατοῦς

διομωμόκατε δ' εν τῷ ψηφίσματι τῷ Δημοφάντος, κτείνειν τὸν τὴν πατρίδα προδιδόντα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ψήφῳ. μὴ γὰρ οἴσθησαι τῶν μὲν ὀυσιῶν, ἂς ἂν οἱ πρόγονοι καταλίπωσι, κληρονόμοι εἶναι, τῶν δ' ὄρκων καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἢν δόντες οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὀμηρον τοῖς θεοῖς τῆς κοινῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς πόλεως μετείχον, ταύτης δὲ μὴ κληρονομεῖν.

32 Οὐ μόνον τοίνυν ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐσχε 128 πρὸς τοὺς προδιδόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι. καὶ μὴ μοι ἀχθεσθήτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰ πολλάκις μέμνημαι τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων· καλὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ ἐκ πόλεως εὐνομομένης περὶ τῶν δικαίων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν, ἣν ἀσφαλέστερον ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν δικαίαν καὶ τὴν εὐφρον ψῆφον θέται. Παυσανίαν γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν προδιδόντα τῷ Πέρσῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαβόντες, ἐπειδή ἐφθασε καταφυγὼν εἰς τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἱερὸν, τὴν θύραν ἀποικοδομήσαντες καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν ἀποσκευάσαντες καὶ κύκλῳ περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθον πρὶν ἢ τῷ λιμῷ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίσημον ἐποίησαν τὴν τιμωρίαν ὅτι 129 οὐδ' αἱ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρία τοῖς προδόταις βοηθοῦσιν, εἰκότως· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἁσεβοῦσι, τῶν πατρίων νομίμων αὐτῶν ἀποστεροῦντες. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἐκεί γεγενημένων τεκμηρίων ἐστιν ὁ μέλλω λέγειν· νόμον γὰρ ἐθεντο περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν μὴ ἑθελόντων ὑπὲρ

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τῆς πατρίδος κινδυνεύειν, διαρρήδην λέγοντα ἀπο-θνήσκειν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τιμωρίαν τάξαντες, εἰς ὁ μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τυγχάνουσι, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν ὑπεύθυνον ἑποίησαν κινδύνῳ μετ’ αἰσχύνης. ἦν δ’ εἰδήτε ὅτι οὐ λόγον ἀναπόδεικτον εἴρηκα, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ἀληθείας παραδείγματα, φέρε αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων.

ΝΟΜΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ

130 'Ενθυμεῖσθε δή, ὡς καλὸς ὁ νόμος, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ σύμφορος οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ὥς γὰρ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος ἵσχυρὸς ἄν ἀναγκάσει τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν· τίς γὰρ ὅρον θανάτῳ ζημιοῦμεν τὸν προδότην, ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐκλείψει τὴν πατρίδα; ἢ τίς παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως φιλοψυχήσει, εἰδὼς ὑποκειμενὴν αὐτῷ (ταύτην) τιμωρίαν; οὔδεμιαν γὰρ ἄλλην ἐτί ζημίαν εἶναι τῆς δειλίας ἢ θάνατον· εἰδότες γὰρ οὗτοι κινδύνους ὑποκειμένους ἀναγκαῖον ἐσται θατέρου μετασχεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰρήσωνται τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας.

131 Τοσοῦτῳ δ’ ἄν δικαιότερον οὕτως ἀποθάναι τῶν ἑκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φευγόντων, ὡς οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤκουσιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ταύτης μαχούμενοι ἡ κοινὴ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν συνατριχήσοντες, οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἔφυγεν, ἰδίᾳ τὴν σωτη-
ρίαν πορίζομενος, οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας ἔστιας ἀμύνεσθαι τολμήσας, ἀλλὰ μόνος οὗτος τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεία καὶ ἀναγκαῖα προδέδωκεν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ξύφοις μέγιστα καὶ σπουδαιότατα διεỉληπται. τὰ γοὺν πετεινὰ ὁ 132 μάλιστα πέφυκε πρὸς τάχος, ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν νεοτιᾶς ἐθέλοντα ἀποθησκεῖν· ἄθεν καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινές εἰρήκασιν·

οὐδ’ ἄγρια γὰρ ὄρνις, ἣν πλάσῃ δόμον, ἀλλὰ νεοσσοῦς ἥξιωσεν ἐντεκεῖν.

34 ἀλλὰ Δεωκράτης τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκε δειλία, ὥστε τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς πολεμίωσ ἐγκατέλιπτε. τοιγαροῦν οὐδεμία πόλις αὐτῶν εἶσαι παρ’ αὐτῇ 133 μετοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἡλαυνεῖν, εἰκότως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φόνου φεύγοντες εἰς ἑτέρας πόλιν μεταστάντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔχθρους τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, τοῦτον δὲ τίς ἀν ὑποδέξαστο πόλις; ὅσ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος οὐκ ἐβοήθησε, ταχὺ γ’ ἀν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κίνδυνον τιν’ ὑπομείνειε. κακοὶ γὰρ καὶ πολιταὶ καὶ ξένοι καὶ ἰδία φίλοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, οὐ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μεθέξουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις οὐδὲ βοηθείας ἀξίωσον. καὶ τοῖς 134 τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν ἀδικομέμενον μισοῦμενον καὶ ἐξελαυνόμενον, τὶ δὲ παθεῖν ὑφ’ ὕμων τῶν τὰ δεινότατα πεπονθότων; ἄρ’ οὐ τῆς ἔσχάτης τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν; καὶ μὴν, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῶν πώποτε
προδοτῶν δικαιότατ' ἄν Δεωκράτης, εἰ τις μείζων εἶν τιμωρία θανάτου, ταύτην ὑπόσχοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι προδόται, μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖν ὅταν ληφθῶσι, τιμωρίαν ὑπέχουσιν· οὕτος δὲ μόνος διαπεπραγμένος ὑπερ ἐπεχείρησε, τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαταλειπὼν κρίνεται.

135 Θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ τῶν συνηγορεῶν αὐτῷ μελλόν-35 των, διὰ τί ποτε τούτον ἀξιώσουσιν ἀποφυγεῖν. πότερον διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν; ἄλλ' ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσι δικαίως οὐκ ἂν χάριτος τυχεῖν, ἄλλ' ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι χρῆσθαι τούτῳ τολμῶσι. πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ πρᾶξαι Δεωκράτην, ἀδηλον ἢν ὅποιος τινες ὄντες ἔτυγχανον, νῦν δὲ πάντι φανερὸν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἥθεσι χρώμενοι τὴν πρὸς τούτον φιλίαν διαφυλάττουσιν, ὡστε πολὺ πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἀπολογητέον ἢ τούτων παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξαιτητέον.

136 Ἡγοῦμαι δ' ἐγνω καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ τὸν τετελευτηκότα, εἰ τις ἄρ' ἔστω αἰσθησις τοῖς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, ἀπάντων ἄν χαλεπώτατον γενέσθαι δικαστήν, οὐ τὴν χαλκὴν εἰκόνα ἐκδοτον κατέληπτε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διῶς (τού) σωτήρος ἱεροσυληθάναι καὶ αἰκίσασθαι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἔστησε μνημεῖον τῆς αὐτοῦ μετρίοτητος, ταύτην αὐτοῦ ἐποιείδιστον ἐποίησε· τοιούτου 137 τοῦ γὰρ νικὸν πατήρ προσαγορεύεται. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ μοι προσεληλύθασιν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐρωτώντες, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐνέγραψα τούτο εἰς τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν,
προδεδωκέναι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς, τὴν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνακειμένην. ἐγὼ δ', ὁ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἡγυόουν τοῦτο τἀδίκημ' ἄξιον (ἢν) τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡγούμην δεῖν περὶ προδοσίας τούτου κρίνων ὄνομα Διὸς σωτῆρος ἐπιγράψει πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν.

'Εκπέπληγμαι δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς μήτε γένει 138 μήτε φιλίᾳ μηδὲν προσήκουσι, μισθοῦ δὲ συναπολογούμενοι ἂεὶ τοῖς κρινομένοις, εἰ λελήθασιν ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐσχάτης ὀργῆς δικαίως ἂν τυχάνοντες. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικησάντων ἀπολογεῖσθαι τεκμήριον ἐστίν ὦτι καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς τουοῦτοις ἂν μετάσχοιεν. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ καθ' ὑμῶν γεγενηθῆσαι δεινόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας.

Καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν οὐκέτι τοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς 139 παρακρούσασθαι ἥτητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡδὴ ταῖς αὐτῶν λητουργίαις ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τοὺς κρινομένους ἄξιον· ἐφ' οἷς ἔγονε καὶ μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῶ. εἰς γὰρ τὸν ἵδιον ὀίκον αὐτὰς περιποιησάμενοι, κοινὰς χάριτας ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τις ἑπτοτρόφηκεν ἢ κεχορήγηκε λαμπρὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τουοῦτων τι δεδαπάνηκεν, ἄξιός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῶν τοιαύτης χάριτος (ἐπὶ τοῦτοις γὰρ αὐτῶν μόνος στεφανοῦται, τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ὠφελῶν), ἀλλ' εἰ τις τετριηράρχηκε λαμπρῶς ἢ τείχη τῇ πατρίδι περιέβαλεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων συνεντόρησε· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ κοινῶς 140
ὑπὲρ ύμῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ἔστω ἱδεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἑπιδεδωκότων, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν μόνον τῶν δεδαπανηκότων. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ἐγώγη σύδεν' οὕτω μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν εὐεργετηκέναι, ὡστ' ἐξαιρετοὶ ἄξιοι λαμβάνειν χάριν τὴν κατὰ τῶν προδιδόντων τιμωρίαν, οὔτε οὕτως ἀνόητον ὡστε φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μὲν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τούτῳ δὲ βοηθεῖν δς αὐτοῦ πρώτον τὰς φιλοτιμίας ἡφάνισεν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία μὴ ταύτα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τούτως ἦστι συμφέροντα.

141 'Εχρῆν μὲν οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες, εἰ καὶ περὶ οὕδενος 36 ἄλλου νόμιμον ἔστι παίδας καὶ γυναῖκας παρακαθισαμένους ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς δικαστὰς δικάζειν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε περὶ προδοσίας κρίνοντας οὕτως ὅσιον εἶναι τούτῳ πράττειν, ὅπως ὅποσοι τοῦ κυνήγου ομείχον ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς ὅντες καὶ ὀρώμενοι καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκοντες ὅτι τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ πάσιν ἔλεου οὐκ ἥξιόθησαν, πικροτέρας τὰς γνώσεις κατὰ τοῦ ἀδικοῦντος παρεσκεύαζον. ἑπειδὴ δ' οὐ νόμιμον οὐδ' εἰθωμένον ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίον ύμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων δικάζειν, τιμωρησάμενοι γοῦν Δεωκράτη καὶ ἀποκτείναντες αὐτὸν, ἀπαγγείλατο τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐτῶν παῖσι καὶ γυναιξίν, ὅτι ὑποχείριον λαβόντες τὸν προδότην αὐτῶν ἐτιμωρήσασθε.

142 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν καὶ σχέτιον, ὅταν νομίζῃ δεῖν Δεωκράτης ίσον ἔχειν ὁ φυγὼν ἐν τῇ τῶν μεινάντων πόλει, καὶ ὁ μὴ κυνδυνεύσας ἐν τῇ τῶν παραταξαμένων, καὶ ὁ μὴ διαφυλάξας ἐν τῇ τῶν
σωσάντων, ἀλλ' ἢ ἡ ἱερών θυσίων ἀγοράς νόμων πολιτείας μεθέξου, ὑπὲρ δὲν τοῦ μὴ καταλυθῆναι χίλιοι τῶν ὁμετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἐτε- λεύτησαν καὶ δημοσία αὐτοῦς ἡ πόλις ἐθαψαν·
ὠς οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῖς
μυημείοις ἐπανιόν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦδεσθη, ἀλλ’
οὕτως ἀναίδως ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν πενθησάν-
των τὰς ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἤγειται δεῖν ἀναστρέ-
φεσθαι. καὶ αὐτίκα μᾶλ' ὑμᾶς ἅξιόσει ἄκοινεν 143
αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὑμεῖς δ’
ἐρωτάτε αὐτὸν ποιοὺς; οὐς ἐγκαταλιπτὼν ὄχετο.
καὶ εἶσαι αὐτὸν οἰκείν ἐν τοῖς τεῖχεσι τῆς πατρί-
δος· ποιοὺς; ἣ μόνος τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ συνιδεῖσά
καὶ ἐπικαλέσται τοὺς θεοὺς σώσωντας αὐτὸν ἐκ
τῶν κινδύνων· τίνας; οὐχ ὅν τοὺς νεώς καὶ τὰ
ἔδη καὶ τὰ τεμένη προύδωκε; καὶ δεησται καὶ
ἰκετέσει ἐλεησαι αὐτοῦ· τίνων; οὐχ οἰς τὸν
αὐτοῦ ἔρανον εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰσενεγκείν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησε; Ὁρδίους ἱκετεύετο· τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν
ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδι ἐνόμισεν εἶναι. Ποῖα δ’ ἡ λικία δικαῖος 144
ἀν τούτον ἐλεήσειε; πότερον ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων;
ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ γηροτροφηθῆναι, οὐδ’ ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ (τῷ)
ἐδάφει τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοὶς ταφῆναι τὸ καθ’ αὐτοῦ
μέρος παρέδοκεν. ἀλλ’ ἡ τῶν νεωτέρων; καὶ τὸς
ὃν ἀναμνήσθεις τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Χαιρω-
νείᾳ ἑαυτῷ συμπαραταξάμενον καὶ τῶν κινδύνων
τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχόντων, σώσειε τὸν τὰς ἐκείνων
θῆκας προδεδωκότα, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ τῶν μὲν ύπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τελευτησάντων παράνοιαι καταγνοῖ, τὸν δὲ ἐγκαταλειπόντα τὴν πατρίδα ὡς εὐ φρονοῦντα ἀθῆνοι ἀφεῖς; ἔξουσίαν ἁρὰ δώσετε (τῷ) Βουλομένῳ, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τὸν δήμον καὶ ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τίνι οἱ φεύγοντες κατέρχονται, ὅταν ὁ ἐγκαταληπὼν τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυγὴν αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ καταγνοῖ καὶ οἰκήσαι ἐν Μεγάροις ἐπὶ προστάτου πλείω πέντε ἦ ἐξ ἔτη, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀναστρέφηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μηλόβουτον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνείναι φανερὰ τῇ ψήφῳ καταψηφισάμενος, οὕτως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ σύνοικος ὑμῶν γίγνεται.

Βουλομαι δ’ ἐτί βραχέα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν κατα- 37 βῆναι, καὶ τὸ ψηφίσμα τοῦ δήμου παρασχόμενος, ὃ περὶ εὐσεβείας ἐποιήσατο· χρῆσιμον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι τῇ ψήφῳ φέρειν. Καὶ μοι λέγε αὐτό.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

'Εγὼ τοῖςυν μηνύω τὸν ἀφανίζοντα ταύτα πάντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους ὄντας κολάσαι, ὑμέτερον δ’ ἐστι καὶ ύπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ύπὲρ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρήσασθαι Δεωκράτην. τὰ γὰρ ἀδικήματα, ἐὼς μὲν ἂν ἦ ἀκρίτα, παρὰ τοῖς πράξασιν ἔστιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρίσις γένηται, παρὰ τοῖς μὴ δικαίως ἐπεξελθοῦσιν. εὐ δ’ ἱστε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃτι νῦν κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενος ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν φανερὰν ποιήσει τὴν 147 αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἡγούμαι δ’, ὦ ἄνδρες,
κατὰ Δεωκράτους

υπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ δεινοτάτων ἀδικημάτων μίαν ὑμᾶς ψῆφου ἐν τῇ τῇμερον ἡμέρᾳ φέρειν, οἷς ἀπασικ ἐνοχὸν ὄντα Δεωκράτην ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, προδοσίας μὲν ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐγκαταλιπτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε, δήμου δὲ καταλύσεως ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμειν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνον, ἄσβεσις δὲ ὅτι τοῦ τὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαί καὶ τοὺς νεὼς κατασκάπτεσθαι τὸ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν γέγονειν αἰτίας, τοκέων δὲ κακώσεως τὰ μνημεία αὐτῶν ἀφανίζων καὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποστερῶν, λεπτομεῖον δὲ καὶ ἀστρατείας οὐ παρασχῶν τὸ σῶμα τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἐπείτα τούτου τις ἐπὶ ἀποψηφιεῖται καὶ συγγνώμην ἔξει τῶν κατὰ προαιρέσειν ἀδικημάτων; καὶ τίς οὗτος ἐστὶν ἀνόητος, ὡστε τούτον σώξων τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν προέσθαι τοῖς ἐγκαταλιπτέιν βουλομένωι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεήσας αὐτὸς ἀνηλέητος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολέσθαι προαιρήσεται, καὶ τῷ προδότῃ τῆς πατρίδος χάριν θέμενος ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίᾳ;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθῶν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποδέδωκα τὸν ἁγῶνα ὅρθως καὶ δικαιώς, οὕτε τὸν ἄλλον τούτου βίοις διαβαλῶν, οὔτ' ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος οὐδὲν κατηγορήσας· ύμῶν δὲ ἐκαστὸν χρῆ νομίζειν τῶν Δεωκράτους ἀποψηφιζόμενον θάνατον τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀνδραποδισμὸν καταψηφίζεσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν καδίσκοις κειμένοι 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. ἦν μὲν Δεωκράτην ἀπολύσατε, προδίδοντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ψηφιεῖσθε· ἦν δὲ τούτων ἀποκτείνητε, διαφυλάττειν καὶ σφύζειν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παρακελεύσεσθε. νομίζοντες οὖν, ὥ 'Αθηναῖοι, ἵκετεύειν ὑμῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ δέντρα, δεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας (καὶ) τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως, ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, παράδειγμα ποιήσατε Δεωκράτη, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν κατηγορημένων, ὅτι οὐ πλέον ἱσχύει παρ’ ὑμῖν ἔλεος οὐδὲ δάκρυα τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ δήμου σωτηρίας.
NOTES

ARGUMENT

tâ én X. δεινά] 'The disaster at Chaeronea,' 338 B.C.

ψήφισμα ποιεῖν for ποιεῖτο, 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. év infra).

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

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

ἡ δὲ στάσις ὅρος ἀντινομάξων] στάσις (status s. constitutio causae) is the determination of the point at issue; ὅρος (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 (ἀντινομάξων: 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 (πολα γνώμη ἔξηλθεν, ἔτε...ἔτε).

ἀντιστάσιν] 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 (ἀντιστασις, compensatio, comparatio).

[For the explanation of the technical terms, I am indebted to Wyse on Isaees, i and ii, after Volkmann’s Rhetorik, pp. 70 sqq.]

υπόθεσις] ‘subject.’

Αὐτολύκου] 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. δικαλαν...εὔσεβη] 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.—ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι: this, and not the more usual ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀ., appears to be the regular formula in Lycurgus. [Blass <ἀνδρες> everywhere.]

τὴν ἄρχην...ποιήσουμαι] more stately than ἀρχομαι. ποιεῖσθαι with a noun is a common periphrasis for the simple verb: cf. πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι=πλέιν, λήθην π. =λαμβάνεσθαι, καταφυγῆν π. = καταφεύγειν, etc. Cf. infra §§ 5, 11, etc.

εὐχομαι...τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ] 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 De Corona, delivered shortly after the prosecution of Leocrates.

τοῖς ἥρωσι...[δρυμένοις] ‘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 ἥρως ἐπώνυμος, at Athens, were the heroes after whom the φυλαί were named. Founders of a race or city (ἄρχηγέται, κτίσται) were worshipped under this name, having small temples or chapels (ἥρα) dedicated to them by the state, but always distinct from the national gods (θεοί), with whom, however, they are regularly coupled. Cf. Thuc. IV. 87 μάρτυρας μὲν θεοὺς καὶ ἥρων τοὺς
NOTES

§ I] 61

εγχωρίους ποιήσομαι, Dem. De Cor. § 184 [ΨΗΦ.] ευξαμένους...

tοις θεοῖς καὶ ἦρωσι τοῖς κατέχονσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν
'

Ἀθηναίων.

ei μὲν εἰσαγγελία Δ. At Athens, the εἰσαγγελία was a state

prosecution or impeachment, applicable, acc. to the νόμος εἰσαγ-

gγελτικὸς 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) εἰσαγγελεῖαι κακώσεως (maltreatment of parents, heiresses, etc.),
laid before the First Archon; (2) εἰσ. διαιτήτων (against unjust
arbitrators). A political εἰσαγγελία was usually brought before
the Council (εἰσαγγέλλειν τινὰ τῇ βουλῇ, εἰς τὴν βουλήν), some-
times before the Assembly at the meeting in each Prytany which
was known as ἡ κυρλα (εἰσ. τινὰ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, 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. 1. 7. 9.

κρίνω] 'put on his trial': Dem. De Cor. § 15 κατηγορεῖ μὲν

ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τούτων.

νέως...[δῆ...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, ἀδυτον, the sense of

λευων being more general' (L.S.); (b) ἐδώς, which signifies primarily

'a seated statue,' means either 'temple-statue' or 'temple' (Timaei

lex. ἐδῶς· τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ὧ Ἰδρυται); (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.
τὸς 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 ημέρᾳ.] 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.).

ὑπὸ] 'at the mercy of': so infra § 27.

τοιαῦτα...τηλικαῦτα] '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 μεγέθος: cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 136 τοσούτας τὸ πλῆθος πόλεως καὶ τηλικαῦτας τὸ μεγέθος δύναμες, 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 ἢν 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.; Isaues, or. x. init.; Isocr. Antid. § 114, De Pace § 36. In such cases, ἐβουλόμην ἢν (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 ὦκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε. Editors would change the μὲν which follows ἐβουλόμην in these exx. to ἢν 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.—ταύτης: stronger and more pointed than αὐτῆς, and in Lycurgus’ manner: cf. infra § 117 ποιήσαντες στήλην... eis ταύτην ἀναγράφειν, § 126.—αὐτό = τὸ εἶναι τοὺς κρίνοντας.—

ὑπελήφθαι: the perf. infin. denotes the permanent attitude: Goodwin, M.T. § 110.

νῦν δὲ περιέστηκεν...ἂστε] ‘as it is, matters have come to such a pass, that’ etc.

τὸν ἴδια 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 ἀγώνας n.

ἢστε...οὖ...δοκεῖν] Examples of ἂστε οὖ 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 οὖ in the or. recta, e.g. Xen. Hell. vi. 2. 6 ἐφασαν τοὺς στρατιῶτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ἄστε οὖκ ἔθελεν πίειν (recta: εἰς τοῦτο... ἕθον ἂστε οὖκ ἦθελον), Dem. De Cor. § 283 ἦ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸν καὶ λήθην (sc. ἄγαν) ἄπαντας ἔχειν, ἂστε οὖ μεμνησθαί (where, omitting ἄγαν, we have ἄπαντας ἔχουσιν, ἂστε οὖ μέμνηται—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 οὐτῷ κακῶς προὺστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἄστε ἡμᾶς οὖ τολλοῖς (= ὀλγοῦς) ἔτεσίν ὑπερον...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, ἂστε with a finite verb would be equally appropriate, as arising from a mixture of the constructions ἂστε οὖ δοκεῖν and ἂστε μὴ δοκεῖν, ‘this occasional confusion’ being ‘made easier by familiarity with ἂστε οὖ c. infin. in indirect discourse.’ Goodwin, § 599. See also Shilleto’s ed.
of Dem. De Falsa Legatione, App. B. The οὐ...οὐδὲ in the last clause requires no explanation, this clause being virtually equivalent to ὁπερ οὐ δικαίων ἐστιν οὐδὲ συμφέρον κ.τ.λ.


ἡ τούτωσ...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.

ὁ...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’ (φόσις), either in an active or a passive sense: cf. Thuc. III. 45 πεφύκασι δ’ ἀπαντες...ἀμαρτάνειν (‘humanum est errare’), II. 64 πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἑλασθοῦσθαι.

tοὺς ἐνόχους...ἐπιτίμλοις] ‘those who have rendered themselves liable to the penalties prescribed by the laws.’—ἐνόχος (= ἐνεχόμενος) usually (a) c. dat., as here, ‘subject to,’ occasionally c. gen., e.g. ἑν. βιαίων, λυποταξίου (where either δίκη, γραφή are to be supplied, or the genitive is the ordinary gen. with verba accusandi); (b) absol. = ‘guilty,’ Antiph. Tetr. Γ. α. § 1 μήτε τοὺς ἑν. ἀφίέντας μήτε τοὺς καθαροῦς εἰς ἀγώνα καθίσταντας, De Chor. § 17 ἀποφαίνω δτι οὐκ ἐνόχος εἶμι. But the meaning of (a) naturally shades off into (b).—Distinguish ἐπιτίμια = ‘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 τὴς δυσσεβείας] from ἐπιτίμλα, ‘enjoyment of civil rights’) (=τίμια.—ἔπ’ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων: sc. ὁ νόμος and ὁ καθήγορος.

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

εἰσαγγελλαν ἐποιησάμην] Cf. supra § 1 τὴν ἄρχην...ποιήσομαι π. φιλονεκίαν] The meaning of the word required here is the usual unfavourable one of ‘love of strife,’ ‘contentiousness’: cf. Dem. De Cor. § 141 εἴ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἦ φ. ἰδιαῖς ἑνεκ’ αὐτίαν ἐπάγω: for the use of the word in the good sense, cf. Plat. Legg. 834 C εστὼ τοῦτων...κατὰ νόμον ἀμιλλά τε καὶ φ., Xen. Anab. iv. 8. 27 πολλὴ φ. ἐγγύνετο (quoted by L.S. s.v. φιλονεκία).—The orthography of the word (φιλονεκία π. 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. φιλόνικος remarks: ‘Derived from φιλός and νίκη,’ and quotes in his support Arist. Rhet. ii. 12. 6, which is the locus classicus for the νίκη derivation. He adds that φιλόνικος (Plat. Protag. 336 E, etc.) is really a separate word, derived from νικός. Adam, however, on Protag. l.c. (reading φιλόνικος) contends that ‘the word comes from φιλό- and νίκη, not from φιλό- and νικός (in which case the form would be φιλονεκης: cf. φιλοκερδῆς, φιλοκυνῆς, but φιλότιμος, φιλόδοξος, φιλόθρηρος and the like), and adds that ‘Schanz declares himself, after a full discussion, for φιλόνικος.’

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’ (ἐλέγεσθαι τὴς ἀγορᾶς, τῶν λεπ.): cf. infra § 65 εἰργὸν τῶν νομίμων.—ἐμβάλλειν and μετέχειν are technical: the former suggests boldness and confidence: cf. Aeschin. 1. § 164 ἐπείτα ἐμβάλλεις εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, Dem. c. Timocr. § 103 κἂν τις ἄλοις κακώσεως...εἰς τὴν ἀγ. ἐμβάλλῃ. For μετέχειν (the opp. of εἴργεσθαι), cf. infra § 142 ἄλλ’ ἥκη λεπ. θυσίων ἄγορας...μεθέτειν.

πατριδὸς ὁνειδὸς] ‘a reproach to his country’: cf. Soph. O.C. 984 αὐτῆς ὁνειδὸς παιδᾶς ἐξέφυσε μοι. With the whole

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passage may be compared the forcible fragment of Lycurgus' speech Against Lysicles (Blass 77): τολμᾶς ἠ...καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ὑπὸμνημα γεγονός αἰσχύνης καὶ ονείδους τῇ πατρίδι.

§ 6. πολιτῶν γὰρ ἔστι δικαίου, μή κ.τ.λ.] Some editors see in this a side-thrust at Aeschines, whose prosecution of Ctesiphon (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.

κοινάς] i.e. affecting the state, 'public.'

καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κ.τ.λ.] 'and that public offences [τῶν ἀδικ.—partitive gen.] involve [ἐξειν] also public grounds of quarrel with them [sc. τοὺς παρανομοῦντας].' For the sentiment and language, cf. Dem. Mid. § 225 δεῖ τῶν τούτοις βοηθεῖν ὁμολογ ὡσπερ ἄν αὐτῷ τις ἀδικομένης, καὶ τὰ τῶν νόμων ἀδικήματα κοινὰ νομίζειν.—ἐξειν, 'involve,' 'carry with them,' as often: Isocr. Philip. § 68 τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐργῶν φθόνον ἔχει καὶ δυσμένειν 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 αἰτία (III. 13 τοιαῦτα ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας), 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 δὲ] 'cum...tum maxime.'—μεγάλους: 'important.'

τοὺς δημοσίους ἀγώνας] ἀγώνες δημόσιοι, δίκαι δημόσιαι, or more specially γραφαί, were 'public' actions, which might be instituted by any one in possession of his full civic rights (ἐπίτυμος), in name of the state) ἀγώνες ἱδίοι, δίκαι ἱδίαι, or simply δίκαι, 'private' suits, in which the plaintiff was the person whose rights were immediately affected. The ἐσαγγελία was a special form of γραφή.

Public actions, with the exception of such ἐσαγγελίαι 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 (διαυγγαλεῖαι), a practice which aimed at securing a compromise which should be acceptable to both parties, without 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 κυνὸνἐδονησε. 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 ἐπωβελή).

ὑπὲρ οὖ] The use of ὑπὲρ as an equivalent for περὶ is characteristic of Lyc.'s Greek (cf.infra § 9 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωριῶν, § 147 ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων...ἀδικημάτων...ψῆφον φέρειν), and is fairly frequent also in Lysias and Demosthenes.

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

อกαν 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.'—τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς: at Athens, the γραφὴ παρανόμων 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 ψήφισμα 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 ἐὰν (τὸν νόμον) ἐν υπωμοσίᾳ: 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.—δικάζῃτε: δικάζεων = 'sit in judgment on') (δικάζεσθαι = 'go to law.'—τοῦτο 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. τοῦτο and ταῦτην τὴν πράξιν both look forward to, and are defined by, the clause καθ' δόσων...βλάπτειν τὴν πόλιν.—δ...ἐνεστηκὼς ἀγών: 'the action which has now begun,' 'the present case': cf. Dem. c. Androt. § 24 ὃ νῦν ἐνεστηκὼς ἀγών ἐστι παρα-
νόμων, Ep. apud Dem. De Cor. § 157 τοῦ ἑνεστῶτος μηνὸς.—
συνέχει: ‘embraces,’ ‘concerns.’—τῶν τῆς πόλεως: ‘the interests
of the state.’—κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος: in sempiternum (opp. to
ἐπ’ ὀλίγον χρῆνον): rather a rare use of the prep., but paralleled
by Dem. c. Androt. § 72 κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρῆνον. 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.

(τοῦ) μη βοηθήσαντα] ‘a man who did not defend’: generic.
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 ἂν
μοι δοκ[εῖ δύνασθαι Ἑργοκλής...πολλάκις ἀποθανὼν δούναι δίκην
ἀξίαν.—μὲν...Σὲ: ‘though...yet,’ often so best rendered, like
sicut...ita in Latin.—καθεστ[ηκε]: a stronger ἐστὶ: so supra § 4
toὺ ἐνόχους...καθεστ[ώτας.

§ 9. παρείσθαι] Emphatic by position and introducing the
main thought of the paragraph, with which may be compared
Lysias, or. xxxi. § 27 οὐ γὰρ ο[λεταί ὑμ[ᾶς γνώσεσθαι δ[ιὰ δ[ιὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ο[δ[εῖς περ[ὶ αὐ[τ[ὸ[ῦ ἐγ[ρ[άφ[η νόμος. τ[ίς γάρ
ἀν ποτ[ε ρ[ήτ[ωρ ἐνεβ[υ[μ[ήθη ἡ νομ[οθ[έτ[ης ἤ[π[υ[σ[εν (’expected’) ἀμαρτ[ή[σ[ε[σ[θ[α[ί
τ[ι[α τ[ῶ[ν πολιτ[ῶν τοσ[ά[τ[ην ἀμαρτ[ί[α[ν;

τ[ῆ[ν ύπ[έρ τῶ[ν το[ι[ο[ῦ[τ[ῶ[ν τ[ιμ[α[ρ[λ[α[ν] ‘punishment for such
offences’: cf. supra § 7 ύπ[έρ ο[ὐ ν,, Soph. Ant. 932 κ[λ[α[ύ[ματα
βραδυτ[ῆτ[ο[ὺ[ς ύπ[έρ, ‘tears for (= on account of) tardiness.’

τῶ[ν τ[ό[τ[ε νομ[οθετ[ο[ῦ[τ[ῶ[ν] ‘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. Ctes. § 165 ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀλὼναι (sc. Μεγάλη
πόλις), ‘was expected to be captured,’ Isocr. Areop. § 48 τοὺς
emptionous ἀμαρτῆσεσθαί, 'those on whose part an offence was apprehended' (Jebb). Cf. the passive use of προοδοκᾶν, Dem. F.L. § 170 ὅλων...προοδοκμένων ἀφεθῆσεσθαί, 'when it was expected that the others would be released.'

muḥ 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 ἀετίν, ὥ ἄνδρες δικασταί,...πρῶτον περὶ τούτων νυνι δικάζοντας μη μόνον δικαστάς ἄλλα καί νομοθέτας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι, ὅπως ἂν ὑμείς νυνι περὶ αὐτῶν γνῶτε, οὔτω καί τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς χρήσεται. Conversely, we have or. xv. § 9 μεμνήσθαι χρῆ ὅτι οὐ νομοθέτησοντες περὶ αὐτῶν ἢκετε, 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 (δικασταί) 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 γραφή παρανόμων, supra § 7. The dicasts in this capacity were thus the ultimate source of Athenian legislation.

"σα 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.'—τούτῳ κανόνι: 'this as your standard' (predicative). κανών, (a) in the literal sense, the carpenter's or mason's rule (Lat. amussis), (b) met., 'rule,' 'standard.' (Lat. norma, regula). Both uses are illustrated in Aeschin. Ctes. §§ 199, 200
Performance γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μῆ, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ὃ διαγεγραφοῦσι, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον, τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι.—οὐσα δὲ μὴ σφόδρα περείληφέν...προσαγορεύσας: περείληφεν (sc. ὁ νόμος) is here practically equivalent in sense to διώρικε preceding, and ἐνὶ διὸματι goes closely with προσαγορεύσας. The argument is that the law, in providing penalties for an offence to which it gives a specific designation (e.g. murder, treason), implies the inclusion in that designation of kindred offences which it does not, or cannot, expressly label: it ‘calls them by a single name’ (ἐνὶ διὸματι προσαγορεύει). Cf. Lysias, or. x. (c. Theomnest.) § 7 πολὺ γὰρ <ὁν> ἔργον ἦν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ἀπαντα τὰ νόματα γράφειν, ὥσα τῇν αὐτήν δύναμιν ἔχει· ἀλλὰ περὶ ἔνδις εἰπὼν περὶ πάντων ἐδήλωσεν. Thus Lycurgus would make the crime of ‘treason’ (προδοσία), of which he accuses L., include several others, such as ‘impiety,’ ‘desertion,’ ‘maltreatment of parents,’ etc. (infra § 147). The inadequacy of the law to provide for every conceivable offence is a common topic with prosecutors, who frequently appeal to the jurors to judge according to the spirit of the law where the letter is deficient: this was known in Latin as dilatare legem or extensio legis (Rehd. ad loc.). To defendants, on the other hand, the same circumstance naturally afforded opportunities for quibbling and evasion: see especially Lysias, or. x (quoted above), §§ 6–14, also xiii and xiv; Dem.’s speech Against Midias, and particularly the argument prefixed thereto.

—κρίσιν: ‘decision,’ ‘verdict.’

§ 10. κατεψηφισμένοι = si damnaveritis.

Σῶ ὡρ ἔστι...τοὺς νέους] The editors compare the didactic and moralising tone of Aeschines, c. Cles. § 246 εὐ γὰρ ὤστε, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς Δ., διὶ οὐξ αἱ παλαίστραι οὐδὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα οὕτως ἡ μονοκτηνίᾳ μόνον παρέδειπτοι τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰ δημόσια κηρύγματα. Cf. also supra § 4, infra § 79.

ἢ...τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διδομένη δωρεά] ‘the bounties awarded to good men’: these would include ἀτέλεια, exemption from some or all
of the state burdens (ἄγουργαί); στῆσις ἐν προτανείῳ, public maintenance in the state-hall, etc.

πρὸς ἐκάτερον...άποβλέποντες] ‘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:  eius interchanges with πρὸς as the accompanying preposition.

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

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

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. ποιήσομαι δὲ κἀγὼ] ‘I, too, on my part, shall conduct the prosecution fairly’: δικαλαί echoes τοῦ δικαλοῦ of the previous clause. For ποιήσομαι...τὴν κατηγορίαν, cf. supra § 1 τὴν ἀρχὴν...ποιήσομαι n.

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

τῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιόντων] regularly, of the parties to a suit, ‘those who appear before you in court.’ So ol παριόντες, of the speakers in the Assembly.

πάντων ἀτοπ. ποιούσιν] ‘do the most absurd thing imaginable’: πάντων is neut.

ἡ γὰρ συμβουλεύοντων 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 ἥ τόδε μὲν (sc. διὶ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος προσήκει λέγειν) ἐπιστάνται (sc. οἱ ἀντίδικοι), ἢγούμενοι δὲ λῆσειν περὶ παντὸς πλείω λόγον ἡ τοῦ προσήκοντος ποιοῦνται;—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.—συμβουλέουσιν, absol. 'give advice': συμβουλεῖσθαι τινί, s. τινὲς = suadere alicui, s. aliquid alicui; συμβουλευόσθαι τινί = consulere aliquem. Cf. Her. ii. 107 τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτικα συμβουλεύοσθαι τῇ γνωσί...τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύοσαι, κ.τ.λ. —πάντα: accusative of the 'extent' or 'compass' of the action of the verb: Madvig, § 27.—ἡ περὶ οὖ = ἡ ἐκείνο περὶ οὖ.

γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι] 'declare one's opinion': γνώμην without the article in this article is the regular idiom; see exx. from Dem. cited by Sandys on First Philippic, § 1.

§ 12. ὑμᾶς μὲν ἡξιοῦν...αὐτοὺς δὲ μή] '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 ἵσον ἐστι τὸν τε διώκοντα μὴ ὀρθῶς αἰτιᾶσασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δικαστὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γνώναι.

ὑμεῖς] emphatic, 'you yourselves.'

τὴν γὰρ ἡξιοῦσαν ταύτην] Cf. Dem. De Cor. § 138 ἄλλα
NOTES

δεδώκατε ἐθεὶ τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ λέγοντα...ὑποσκέλζειν καὶ συκοφάντειν, De Chers. § 23 οἱ...τοσο- αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτίασθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις διδόντες.
—τοῖς ἐνθάδ' εἰσιν: cf. τῶν ἕμας εἰσίντων in previous § n.

καὶ ταύτα κάλλιστον ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ. ‘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.’
—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 ἐδέθην...παρανομώτατα ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ‘in a far more unconstitutional way than ever man was.’—τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ συνεδρίων: the venerable Council of Areopagus (otherwise styled ἢ βουλή ἢ ἢ Ἄρελον πάγου, ἢ ἢ Ἄ. π. β., ἢ ἐν Ἀ. π. β., or simply Ἄρειος πάγος), the mythical origin of which (Aesch. Eum., Dem. contra Aristocr. § 66, Paus. 1. 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—wilful homicide, poisoning, and arson: cf. the emphatic language of Dem. C. Aristocr. § 66 τοῦτο μόνον τὸ δικαστήριον οὐχὶ τύραννος, οὐκ ὀλιγαρχία, οὐ δημοκρατία τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἀφελέσθαι τετόλιμηκεν.
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. ἐνταυθοὶ μόνον οὕτως πῶτορ· οὕτε φεύγων ἄλοιφ οὕτε διώκων ἢττηθεὶς ἐξήλεγξεν ὃς ἀδίκως ἐδικάσθη τὰ κριθέντα.—παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμολογεῖσθαι: sc. αὐτὸ (i.e. τὸ ἐν Ἀ. π. συνέδριον) as subject of ὁμολογεῖσθαι, which is used personally (τὸ...συνέδριον ὁμολογεῖται δικαίως ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν). For the const., cf. Xen. Anab. i. 9. i ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ πάντων, Ib. 20 ὡμ. πρὸς πάντων.—τοῖς ἀληθευόμενοις: 'those who are convicted': the frequent legal sense of the vb., often with the gen. of the charge (κλοπῆς, ἀσεβείας, etc.).


ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς...λέγουσιν] For this absolute use of ἐπιτρέπειν c. dat. = 'give way to,' 'indulge,' cf. Her. ii. 120 ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, Plat. Euthyph. 5 e.—ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος: cf. suprā § 11. Rehdantz aptly cites Lucian, Anach. 19 in connexion with the traditional strictness of the Areopagus: ἐστ' ἄν μὲν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος λέγουσιν, ἀνέχεται ἡ βουλὴ [the Areopagus] καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκούσα: ἢν δὲ τὶς ἡ φρονίμα εἴπῃ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου...ἡ ὁικτὼν ἡ δειλίως ἔξωθεν ἐπάγη τῷ πράγματι, παρελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ κατεσιώ-πησεν εὐθύς, οὐκ ἔως ληρεῖν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν.

οὕτω γὰρ ἐσται 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 ἐσται (subst. followed by two infins.) is due to ἐσται passing over into the meaning of ἐξέσται with the infins.—συνοφαντεῖν: regularly, in the orators, of malicious or vexatious prosecution, as Lysias says, or. xxv. § 3 τούτων (sc. τῶν συνοφαντῶν) ἐργον ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτήκοτας εἰς αἰτίαν καθιστάναι, 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. αἰκοφόρος. —ἐχθροκοτάτην: a clause in the dica
tic oath ran: ἄκροδοσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογομενοῦ ὑμῶν ἀμφότεροιν.

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἑστὶν 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
instructed, to pass a right verdict.’ —μὴ δικαίως δεδεδαγμένος is ex
aplanatory of ἄνευ τοῦ <τουοῦτου> λόγου: the two might almost
be combined into ‘unless you have been properly instructed by
a proper speech.’ [<τουοῦτου> is due to Nicolai: see Crit. App.]

c. 5. §§ 14, 15. The notoriety of the accused and of his conduct
must make your verdict of more than merely local interest. In
dealing with him, you must remember your hereditary reputation
for piety and patriotism.

§ 14. δει...μηδὲ ταῦτα λαθεῖν ύμᾶς] A common formula of
transition to a new point: ταῦτα (τοῦτο) [like ἐκεῖνο, ἱλλοῦd] is
prospective: cf. Dem. Ol. 1. § 25 μηδὲ τοῦθεν ύμᾶς λανθανέτω,
Isocr. Antid. § 295 χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ύμᾶς.

οὐχ ὑμοίος] ‘the case of L. is quite different from,’ etc.: a very
common litotes 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 = έἰ ἀγνώστης ἢν ἀνθ. τοῖς Ε.,
‘if the individual was unknown’ (but he is not): Goodwin, M.T.
§ 472. For the thought, cf. Lysias, In Alcib. 1. [or. xiv]. § 12
εὰν μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦ ἀγνώτους κολάξητε, οὗδεις ἐσταί τῶν ἄλλων
βελτίων: οὗδεις γὰρ εἰστει τὰ ὑφ’ ύμῶν καταψήφισθέντα: εὰν δὲ
tοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων τιμωρήσθε, πάντες πεθ-
σωνται, or. vi. § 6, Gorgias, Palam. § 36.

ἐσταί λόγοι] ‘will be talked about.’

οἱ ἵσασι...οντα] See Crit. App.—τοῖς τούτῳ διαπεραμένοισι:
'the defendant's conduct': so τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπολυτευμένα, 'my political acts, career': Madvig, § 38. g.

ἐπιφανής] 'a marked man,' 'notorious.'

τὴν ἀπαγγελθαν...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. 11 τοῦτο ἐςηται 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')(ἀποδημεῖν, '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 ἔξον ἐπιδημοῦσιν, Dem. 1357. 17 ἐπὶδ. εἰς Μέγαρα (with 'pregnant' prep.).

§ 15. πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην] 'the whole inhabited (Greek) world': Dem. De Cor. § 48 ἐλανυμένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων...πῶς ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. In Roman times, the phrase was similarly used of the Roman world. [At Her. II. 32 ἔρει τὰ πρῶτα διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης, also IV. 110 ἀποβάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ ἀμαξῶν ὑδατόρεων ἐς 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.]

δι’ ἔργασιν] 'in pursuit of their calling,' lit. 'for the purpose of trade': of this use of διὰ c. acc. = 'for the sake of,' 'in order to,' four exx. are quoted from Thuc.: II. 89 διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δύταν, suae gloriae causa, IV. 40 δι’ ἀξιότητα, 'in order to vex,' Ibid. 102 διὰ τὸ περιέχειν (τὴν πόλιν) (?), v. 53 διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἐσπραξίν.

& Δ. ἥκηκοσαν] 'what they had heard from L.:' for the simple gen. of source, cf. Plat. Apol. 17 εἰς ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀκούσατε πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, Soph. El. 424 τοιαῦτα τοῦ παρόντος...ἐκλυν. So also πνεύμαναι, Ar. Av. 1120.
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 εἰ ἕτα γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεωσεβεστάτας | εἶναι, 1006 εἰ τῷ γῇ θεῶν ἐπίσταται | τιμᾶς σεβίζειν, ἥδε τοῦθ᾽ ὑπερφέρει, 1125 ἐπεὶ τῷ γ᾽ εὐσεβές | μόνοις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εὐρον ἀνθρώπων ἐγώ | καὶ τούτῳ εἰκὲς καὶ τῷ μὴ ψευδοστομείῳ, 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 γονεὰς.—τὴν παρὰ ὑμῶν...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 βοηθεῖν, §§ 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 τελεῖσθαι τοῦμιν ὅν ἐραὶ 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 τελέως posuit, ut Aesch. Prom. 275 (ὡς μάθητε διὰ τέλους τὸ πάν).’ But the two ideas often seem to merge into one.

τοῖς αὐτοῖς...καὶ δι’ οὐς] 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 ptcpl. (τοῖς αὐτίοις καὶ ἀναγκάζοντι μὲ π. τ. μ.): cf. Dem. De Cor. § 35 τίνες ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτων λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες καὶ δι’ οὗ ἦσαν ἀπαντ’ ἀπώλετο, F. L. § 132 τὸν ἀπάντων τῶν κακῶν αὐτίον καὶ δὲ εἰλήφατ’...τούτων ἀφεῖναι.

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

ἔψηφισατο...κατακομβίζειν] ‘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 ψῆφισμ’ εἶπεν...'Ἀριστοφῶν ἐλέσθαι ζητήτας, ‘that commissioners should be appointed.’ The proposer of the decree was Hyperides: cf. infra §§ 36, 37.

τοὺς 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 φυλακή (of a squadron of ships), followed immediately by τὴν φ. ποιούμενοι (abstract); also iii. 114.—τῶν Ἀθηναίων, with τάττειν: partitive gen.—καθ’ ὁ τι...δοκῇ: the usual language where ‘discretionary powers’ are concerned: cf. the familiar παρέδωσαν σφᾶς αὐτοῖς...χρῆσθαι ὁ τι ἀν βούλωνται. The phrase looks like a quotation from the actual decree.

§ 17. Α. δὲ τούτων κ.τ.λ.] For a similar dereliction of duty, described in similar language, cf. Lysias, xxxi. §§ 8 sqq. (of Philo after Aegospotami) τὰ ἐναντία ἀπασὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολιτῶν ἐποίησε: συνεκασάμενος γὰρ τὰ εἰαυτῶν ἐνθένδε εἰς τὴν ύπερορλαν ἐξόρκησε κ.τ.λ.

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

λέμβον...νεώς] The λέμβος is the small ‘cock-boat’ (τὸ μικρὸν πλοίαριον, 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 εἰς ὅ τοῦ λιμένος, 'inside the (regular) harbour,' infra § 55. η ἀκτή meant specifically the southern peninsula of the Piraeus: ἑπιβαλλομένοις τοῖς μοῖραι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Harpocr.

μετὰ τῆς ἑταλφασ] unimportant, but 'showing the man' (Rehd. ad loc.).

διὰ τῆς πυλίδος] '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. 111), Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 8 (of Eleusis).

ψχετο φεύγων] the impf. ptcp. (instead of aorist) with ψχετο suits the highly descriptive passage, and agrees with the imps. ἀνήγετο...κατελειπεν following.

τὰ τείχη...αἰσχυνόμενοι] 'feeling shame before the walls of his native city': so infra § 45 οὐδὲ τὰς θέκας παρῶν ἠσχύνθη. The whole passage is a good example of δείνωσις.

ὅν τὴν φυλακὴν ἔρημον...κατελειπεν] 'which, for his part, he was leaving defenceless,' another way of expressing ἀ ἑρημα φυλακῆς...κατελειπεν, perhaps with a suggestion of the legal use of the adj., 'let it go by default.'—το 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 ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, (c) §§ 26, 147 τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, (d) § 78 τὸ τουτοῦ μέρος, (e) § 45 τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέρος. Es, among others, lays it down that the three forms recognized by the classicists are (a) τὸ ἑκείνου μέρος, (b) τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, (c) τὸ καθ’ αὐτόν, and would make variants such as τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος, κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ 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...Ἀ. 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.—σωτῆρ...σωτείρα, of ‘protecting’ gods and goddesses respectively, but the masc. form is coupled also with fem. nouns: cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 664 τύχη σωτῆρ, *S.C.T.* 826 (conj. Dindorf), Soph. *O.T.* 81.

ἄφορῶν καὶ προδιδοὺς] ‘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, τεῖχη, 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’ (ἀφορῶ).

σώσοντας] σώσοντας echoes, of course, τοῦ σωτῆρος...τῆς σω- 

teίρας, and is a somewhat harsh extension of the final use of the future ptcp.: ‘to save him.’ Cf. *infra* § 143 ἐπικαλέσεται τοὺς 

θεοὺς σώσοντας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κυνδύων.

§ 18. ὡσπερ...εὐαγγελιζόμενος] ‘as though he were bringing glad tidings of great good fortune for his country’: τῇ πατρίδι depends upon εὐτυχίας. Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 643 λόγους ἀγαθοὺς εὐαγ- 

gελισασθαι, Dem. *De Cor.* § 323 τὴν δεξιὰν προτεινῶν καὶ εὐαγ- 


gελιζόμενος, ‘offering my congratulations.’

τὸ ἀστυ τῆς πόλεως] ‘the city proper,’ πόλεως being a partitive gen. and πόλεως including both the ἀστυ or ‘upper city’ and the Piraeus. The distinction τὸ ἀστυ(ὁ Πειραιεῖος is familiar: cf. 

οἱ ἐκ ἀστεοῦ)(οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, of the parties in the time of the Thirty.
Israelites...polioorkoyme] ‘captured’...‘in a state of blockade.’

kal ouk [posxvndh k.t.l.] Cf. Lysias xxxi. § 17 (of Philo)
eperios...oil tae ymetera duyvychmat evyvychmata egyonei, Dem.
De Cor. § 323 (of Aeschines).

οστε τριηρεις πληρωσαντες...κατηγον] ‘that they manned
triremes and proceeded to bring merchantmen into port’: note
the tenses, for which see Goodwin, §§ 36, 143.—κατάγειν τα πλοια
was said of forcing vessels to land (naves vi coactas abducere, 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 και Βυζαντιος (sc. ἐδώμεν) κατάγειν τα πλοια, De Chers. § 9
Διοπείθης ἀδικεῖ κατάγων τα πλοια, Adv. Polycl. [or. I.] § 17
Βυζαντιο...κατάγων τα π. και ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν σίτον ἐξαιρεῖσθαι.
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 τριηρεις and τα
πλοια, and taking κατηγον as = καθειλκον. This is clearly
wrong.]

αὐτοῦ τὸν σίτον ἔξελοντο...διὰ τοῦτον] ‘discharged their corn
and other cargo on the spot (abto—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
ture) that they would be unable to make the Piraeus.—διὰ τοῦτον:

note the emphatic position of these words, which would be pre-
ceded by a slight pause on the part of the speaker.

§ 19. kal οτι ταυτ’ ἀληθή λέγω] ‘and in proof of the truth
of my statement’: for this initial use of οτι, ‘to prove that,’ ‘as
evidence that,’ looking forward to, but not depending directly
upon, a following predicate (here ἀναγνώστεια...τὰς μαρτυρίας), see the elaborate excursus of Rehd., App. 2, pp. 129-133.

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

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

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

ὁς καὶ μεγάλα...μετέχων 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 πεντηκοστολύγοι (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 (ἄρχων), by whose name it was called. The lease was sold to the highest bidder by the πωληταῖ near the White Poplar (ἡ λευκή), 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. Ἀγρίππας γὰρ οὖσι...ἀρχων ἐγένετο τῆς π.... καὶ ἑπτάτο τριάκοντα ταλάντων, μετέχοχον δ' αὐτῶ οὖσι 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.—καὶ μεγάλα: καὶ, '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. ἀναβαλένειν] Said of a witness who at the trial ‘mounts the tribune’ (βῆμα) to acknowledge his evidence as put in at the ἀνάκρισις or preliminary investigation before the archon: see note on ἡ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ...Ἑξομόσασθαι infra.

τὰς παρασκευὰς τῶν κρινομένων] ‘the tricks of defendants’: παρασκευὴ is so used constantly by the orators of corrupt practices in getting up or conducting a case: cf. Lysias, xxviii. § 11 οὐκ ἄξιον ἡμῖν τῆς τούτων παρασκευῆς ἥττασθαι, Isaeus, viii. § 5 παρασκευὰς λόγων, ‘fabricated statements,’ Dem. xxx. § 3, Aeschin. Clès. § 1, etc. So also παρασκευάζειν and παρασκευάζεσθαι: Lysias c. Agrat. [or. xiii] § 12 δικασθῆρον παρασκευάζοντων, ‘having packed a court for his trial,’ Dem. xxix. § 28 μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς παρασκευάζονται, etc.

τὰς δεξίους τῶν ἔξ.] ‘the entreaties of those who seek to beg them off’: cf. Aeschin. Clès. § 1 τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν δεξίους, Dem. F.L. § 1 ἀλ τῶν παρακλήσεων (advocatorum) δεξίους.—For ἔξαίτεισθαι, exorare, cf. infra § 139, Lysias, xiv. § 20 ἐὰν μὲν τινες τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτὸν ἔξαίτεινται, 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 πλείων ποιεῖσθαι, not with τὰς χάριτας: this would be made clear in speaking by a short pause after χάριτας.

ἀποδιδόναι] reddere, ‘duly render.’

τάξιν] ‘duty,’ ‘role,’ a favourite word with Dem. in this sense: De Cor. § 138 τὴν ύπερ ὑμῶν τάξιν, Ibid. § 173 τὴν τῆς εὐνοιας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὖκ ἔλπιτον.

ἡ λαβόντας τὰ ἱερὰ...Ἑξομόσασθαι] ‘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 (ἀναβαλέων) 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 ἐξωμοσία: Dem. XLV. § 60 ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξωμόσασθαι, 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 ἢ ἐξομνύειν, F. L. § 176, where ἐξομνύωσιν immediately follows ἐξεμνοῦσθαι. [Distinguish from this use ἐξομνόσασθαι πρεσβείαν, εἰναι τα λεγατον, '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 ἐξώμοσεν ἀρρωστεῖν τοντον.—λαβόντας τὰ ιερά: a solemn formality accompanying the oath, such as is described e.g. in Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 12 ἀποτομέον 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 τομίων κάπρου καὶ κριῶν καὶ ταύρου, XLIII. § 14.

κλητεύσομεν αὐτούς] In respect of the preliminaries to the actual trial, κλητεύειν is said (a) of summoning in the presence of κλητήρες, i.e. witnesses to the proper service of the summons, Dem. De Cor. § 150 τίς ἐκλητεύσειν 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 ἢ ἐξωμόσασθαι. But in the present
passage, and also in [Dem.] LIX. 28 ἀναγκάσω μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἔξομνυσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡ κλητεύσομεν αὐτὸν, 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 ἐκκλητεύον ἀνάγκην τοῦ μαρτυρεῖν προστιθέντες· ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἔξομνυσθαι ὡς οὐκ εἰδείη ἢ μὴ παρείη ἢ χιλιας ἀποτίνειν. κλητεύεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ καλεῖσθαι εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἐκκλητεύεσθαι δὲ τὸ δικην ὑφείλεων ἐπί τῷ τάς χιλιας καταβαλεῖν. Ἡραποκ.: λέγεσται δὲ κλητεύεσθαι καὶ ἐκκλητεύεσθαι ἐπί τῶν μαρτύρων, ὅταν μὴ ὑπακούσωσι πρὸς τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, καὶ ἔστων ἐπιτίμων κατ’ αὐτῶν δραχμα χιλιας. Ἡσαίος εὖ τῷ ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος ἀποστάσιον. From Aeschin. 1. 47 it would appear that ἐκκλητεύεσθαι was equivalent to τὸ χιλιας ἀποτίνειν (ἔδει δὲ προαιρῆται ἐκκλητευθῆναι, προαιρῆσεται χιλιας δραχμας ἀποτίαι τῷ δημοσίῳ). If then we are justified in inferring from Ἡραποκ. that κλητεύειν and ἐκκλητεύειν were said indifferently of the same thing, κλητεύσομεν 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 ἐκκλητεύσομεν, 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 ἐκκλητεύσομεν.]

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. ἑγένετο...ἀφυκνεῖτο] ‘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 νέμειν προστάτην (whence Es would read νέμων here, but πρ. ἔχειν was also said, Rehd., p. 134): his state was also described as ἐπὶ προστάτου οἰκεῖν: cf. infra § 145, Lysias, XXXI. § 9 ἐν 'Ὀρωπῳ μετοικίου καταθείς ἐπὶ πρ. φίλκει.

αἰσχυνόμενος] Cf. supra § 17 οὕτε τὰ τελεῖ τῆς πατρίδος αἰσχυνόμενος.

ἐν γειτόνων...μετοικῶν] ‘living as a stranger next door to the country that brought him up’: ἐν γειτόνων, sc. χώρα or ἀκόου, but the phrase, like ἐκ γειτόνων, which some read here, has come to be virtually equivalent to πέλας or πλησιόν. 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.

τοῦ...ἑξοντα] ‘him who had to wife,’ a common idiomatic meaning of ἓχω: cf. Thuc. II. 29 Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πόθεω...οδ ἐχε τὴν ἅδελφην Σιτάλκης.

τῶν φίλων] partitive gen.
`Xypete', a deme of the tribe Cecropis, W. of Athens.

τοῦ κηδεστοῦ] '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 τοῦτον] 'from' or 'with' this money, sc. ταλάντου.

προσέταξε...οφειλόμενα] The const. is: προσέταξεν (αὐτῷ) ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφ. τοῖς χρῆσαι, 'commissioned him to pay his creditors what was owing to them.'

τοῦς ἔρανους διενεγκεῖν] 'to pay off his loans,' i.q. διαλύσασθαι
(L.S. s.v. διαφέρω).—ερανος seems capable of the following meanings: (a) 'a meal to which each contributes his share,' 'a pic-nic' (cena collaticia), opp. to εἰλαπίνη, Od. 1. 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. Τετρ. Α. Β. § 9 ἐρανὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων συλλέγασ), 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... ἔρανον αὐτῷ προιήμενον, '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. 'Αχαρνεῖ] 'of Acharnae,' one of the best-known Attic demes.

ἀργυρίου δὲ...δοῦναι] 'not being able to pay cash.'

συνθήκαις...Δυσικλεῖ] 'having arranged a bond and deposited it with L.,' who presumably was a banker (τραπεζίτης): cf. [Dem.] or. XLVIII. § 11 Ἀνδροκλείδην 'Αχαρνέα, παρ' ὃ κατεθέμεθα τὰς συνθήκας.

μιᾶν μνᾶν τόκον ἔφερεν] '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.) ἡμιμαῖον for μιᾶν μνᾶν seems most attractive: ἡμιμαῖος (‘half-mina’) ἰκόσι would accordingly represent about 17 per cent. Other suggestions are: μιᾶν δραχμῆν ἀνὰ μνᾶν Meier, δραχμῆν 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 δραχμῆν, ἐπ’ ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς, respectively, on the per mina per month basis), and the former was considered low].


ἀναγνώσται] Cf. supra § 19 n.

παρειχόμενη] sc. μάρτυρα, as a witness.—νυν] ἐπειδὴ ἤπερ τέθυηκε.—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 μοι λέγε (λαβέ, ἀνάγνωθι) τὴν μαρτυρίαν, and infra § 114 λαβέ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ ψήφισμα, etc.—καλῶ: future.

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

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

τὴν Τ.] sc. μαρτυρίαν.

§ 25. ἀγανακτῆσαι...μισῆσαι] ‘to get indignant’...‘to conceive a hatred of’: for the force of the aorists, cf. Goodwin, § 55.—τοῦτοι Δ.: οὕτωσι usually follows its subst., but sometimes precedes it, as here.
Ou γαρ ἐξήρκεσε...μόνον ὑπεκθ.] '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 ἐχοντος δ' αἰτίαν τούς νιεῖς καὶ τὴν γνώακα ὑπεκθέσθαι) (ὑπεκκεῖσθαι, to be so removed: Her. VIII. 41 ὃς δὲ φη δάντα ὑπεξέσκειτο, etc.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ...[ιδρυσάμενοι] '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' (ιδρυσάμενοι, 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).—ἱερά (with μετεπέμψατο and ἐξῆγαγεν) must mean something concrete, 'sacred images': cf. supra § 20 λαβόντας τὰ ἱερά.—πατρίφα...πατρίοις: the adjs. are usually distinguished as 'belonging to' or 'derived from' one's father (one's fathers: paternus) (patrius, v. L.S. s.v. πατρίφος; and the distinction seems applicable here, where τὰ πατρίφα has reference to L.'s own family) (τοῖς πατρίοις, 'ancestral,' 'hereditary,' in a general sense. But it is doubtful whether any of the canons which have been laid down regarding πατρίφος, πάτριος, πατρίκης is of universal application: the first two especially are sometimes hard to separate. Bekker, Anec. 1. p. 297 (quoted by Sandys on Isocr. Ad Dem. § 2) lays it down: πατρίφα λέγονσιν οἱ φθορὲς χρήματα καὶ κτήματα καὶ τόπους, πάτρια δὲ τὰ ἐθνα καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τὰς ἔσορτας, πατρίκων δὲ φίλον ἡ ἐχθρίων.

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

οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν...φοβηθεῖς] "not dreading even the appellation of 'family images,'" i.e. the sanctity implied in their very name: τῶν πατρίφων ἱερῶν is a gen. defining ἐπωνυμίαν.—ὅτι 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) ἀπερεπντήσατα δὲ ἐναὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον...ἐλεῖ τι ἀκινήτων εἴτε κτ.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).

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


§ 26. τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς] depending upon ὀμώνυμον following. For the reading, see Crit. App.

ὡς τὴν χώραν ἐλληχυα] ‘on the ground of her having received the country as her portion’: λαγχάω is thus used, esp. in the perf., of the tutelary deity of a place: cf. Her. vii. 53 θεός τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν λεβέγχασι, 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).

ὀμώνυμον] From another point of view, A. was the ‘eponymous’ goddess of Athens: cf. the ‘eponymous heroes’ and supra § 1 τοῖς ἔρωσι...ιδρυμένοις n.

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

τὸ καθ’ ἐαυτόν] Cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος n.

ἐξαγωγιμὸν ὑμῖν...ἐποίησε] ‘made the very help of heaven one of your articles of export’: ὑμῖν, 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' ὕπων...τιμωριᾶν n.

tosai̇ta kal tηlakai̇ta] cf. supra § 2 n.


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 εἶν τίς...ὡν ὑμᾶs. τᾶς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας...σιτηγηση][ 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 σιτοφῶλακες, 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 εκ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς σιτοφ. ἀπογραφῆ): cf. also Ibid. § 31 πλειστῶ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτω σίτῳ χρώμεθα (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.

ἐπείτα] ‘then,’ ‘after all this,’ characteristically (cf. ἐτρά) 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.
§ 28] NOTES 93

 règle 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 ταύτα δὲ...έμοι] 'and this action too on my part,' etc.: for kal...δὲ used for emphasis and enclosing, as here, the emphatic word, cf. Dem. Ol. iii. § 15 kal πρᾶξαι δὲ διωθήσεθε, ‘and you will be able to act too,’ Phil. iii. § 70 ἐγὼ νῦν Δὼ εἶρω, kal γράψω δὲ, ‘and, what is more, I’ll move’: Madvig, § 229. a, ‘kal being both and and also, the Greek was obliged to have recourse to δὲ to express and also....In Attic, the word that has the emphasis comes between.’—ταύτα: here prospective, referring to the account of the challenge which follows. (so often ἐκεῖνο).—έμοι, with ταύτα: 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 τὸ βραδῦ, δ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, Plat. Aρολ. 17 μάλιστα αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν κατεγθέρων) ἐν ἑθαύμασα, Iδιδ. 17 β τούτῳ μοι ἐδοξέν αὐτῶν ἀναισχυντότατον ἐώναι. Sometimes the pronominal subject or object is replaced by a sentence, as in Xen. Mem. i. 1. 12 καὶ 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.

καὶ τῶν 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 (αὐτοὺς, ‘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 προκαλεῖσθαι εἰς βάσανον; to accept the challenge was δέχεσθαι τὴν πρόκλησιν, τὴν βάσανον; to decline it was φεύγειν τὴν π., τὴν β., τὸν ἔλεγχον; to offer one's slaves for torture, διδῶναι, παραδιδόναι, εἰς β.; to call for the other's slaves, ἔξαίτειν; to comply with the demand, ἐκδιδῶναι; 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 (δώσοντας)—in the shape of a possible trial for perjury (ψευδομαρτυρίων). For a close parallel to the whole passage, cf. Isaeus, viii. § 10. bouλόμενος οὖν πρὸς τός υπάρχοντι μάρτυσιν ἔλεγχον ἐκ βασάνων ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν [the facts in dispute], ἵνα μᾶλλον αὐτῶς [the witnesses] πιστεύητε μὴ μέλλονι δώσειν ἔλεγχον ἄλλ' ἣδη δεδωκόσι περὶ ὧν μαρτυροῦσιν, τούτοις [my opponents] ἥξιον ἐκδοῦναι τὰς θεραπαίνας καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας περὶ τε τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὡστε τυγχάνουσι συνειδότες, and the whole section §§ 10–13 of Isaeus with §§ 28–30 of Lycurgus.—προκαλεσάμην...πρόκλησιν: πρόκλησιν is an internal acc. with προφ., though partly also with γράφας: cf. [Dem.] liii. § 22 περὶ τῆς προκλήσεως...ἂν οὕτω τ' ἔμε προκαλεσάντο καὶ ἐγὼ τούτους.—ἀὐτῶς, which in its context would most naturally be referred to τοὺς μάρτυρας preceding (but προκαλεῖσθαι is not said of witnesses), must mean generally 'the defence,' 'the opposite side' (L. and his slaves—Rehd., Sofer). [Dobree's αὐτῶν, which is attractive and would seem to mend matters, is difficult with τούτων following.]

καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτην] Cf. supra § 23 μνεί δ' ὑμῖν καλῷ τοῦς συνειδότας π.
NOTES

§ 29. ἀκούετε] 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 ἔδεχετο...καὶ κατεμαρτύρει] 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 κακῶν ἐγίνετο, 'the loss of our ἀρχῆ ('dominion') was the ἀρχὴ ('beginning') of troubles for the Greeks.'

ὄ 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 φεύγεω is technical in this connexion: cf. supra § 28 n., Antiph. De Chor. § 27 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐμοὶ προκαλομένου οὔτοι ἦσαν οἱ φεύγοντες τὸν ἐλέγχον, Dem. Adv. Ἀριδ. [or. xxix] § 5 ἐπιδείξω...πεφυγότα τούτον τοὺς ἀκριβεστάτους ἐλέγχουσ.—τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδῶτῶν: see Crit. App.

δημοτικῶτατον] 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· χαίρων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, says schol. on Aeschin. 'Cles. § 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 αὐν ὕμιν καὶ δημοτικός, where Drake suggests 'a friend of the democracy,' 'a lover of equality.'

ὅταν οἰκέται ἢ θεράπαιναι...πιστεύειν] συνειδῶσιν ὧν...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 λέγω...ἐργάω 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 βασανοθέντων οὐδὲνε πώποτε ἔξηλεγχθησαν ὡς οὐκ ἄληθή <τὰ> ἐκ τῶν βασάνων εἰπόντες, 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. τοσούτον ἀφέστηκα τοῦ...ποίησασθαί, ὅσον] 'tandum abest, ut faciam, ut' (Sofer).

τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις] '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 ἠθελον...εἴ τι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων βλαφθήσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀποτέλειν δὲ τι βλαφθήσαν.

ἐν τοῖς...οἰκέταις...τὸν ἐλεγχον γενέσθαι] '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 ἔθελεις ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ τὸν ἐλεγχον γένεσθαι, XLIX. 55 ἥξιον αὐτόν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέρματι τὸν ἐλεγχον διδόναι. So more generally Thuc. vii. 11 τὰ πραξάθεντα...ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς λατε, 'ye know...by letters,' etc.—τοῖς...βασανισθεῖσι: the slaves, though of different genders, are grouped together in the masc. as a single idea: cf. τοὺς τοὺς of the preceding section.

διδ τὸ συνειδέναι ἐαυτῷ] practically 'because of his guilty conscience': usually συνιότα has a supplementary participle either in nom. or dat.: Plat. Ἀρ. 22 ι. σ. ἐμαυτῷ σοφὸς ὢν, Ἰβ. 22 σ. ὀφθὲν ἐπισταμένως, or an acc.: Ar. Θέσμ. 477 σύνοιδ' ἐμαυτῷ πολλὰ δεινά, Dem. 1472. 16 εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοιαν ἐμαυτῷ σ.

ἐφυγε] sc. τὴν βάσανον ορ 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 P.L.
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. ἄναβοςτατι 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.’—ἰδιώτης: 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 ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐχουσί καὶ λαῶν ἀπεκριβομένοις, ‘speeches which are too highly elaborated and beyond the range of ordinary hearers,’ Thuc. II. 48 καὶ ιατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης, VI. 72 ἰδιώτας, ὡς εἰπέων, χειροτέχναι ἀναγωνισαμένους (of the Syracusan seamen as opp. to the Athenians).—τοῦ ῥήτορος: 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.—δεινότητος: esp. of ‘cleverness’ in an orator, ‘rhetorical skill’: Thuc. III. 37 δεινότητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι ἐπαιρομένους, Dem. De Cor. §§ 242, 277, Isocr. Ad Dem. § 4 τὴν δ. τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ‘oratorical power.’—ἀναραταξόμενος: 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 τοῦς διώκουσιν ἥκιστα συκο-

φαντεῖν. 

άμα...προαιρείσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν] 'in choosing this rôle (i.e. that of

the συκοφάντησ), to seek,' etc.

χωρία] in the rhetorical sense, 'themes,' 'topics,' i.e. *τόποι,* Lat. *loqui,* somewhat as at Thuc. 1. 97 τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπασών ἐκλίνες τοῦτο ἢν τὸ χωρίον, 'this subject,' 'department.'

ἐν οἷς...ποιήσονται] final, 'in which they can practise.'—

παραλογισμοῦς: 'false reasonings,' 'quibbles,' divided by Aristotile into *οί παρὰ τὴν λέξιν* (verbal) and *οί έξω τῆς λέξεως* (material): *Soph. Elench. 4. 9 sqq.*

τῶν...τάς κρίσεις ἐνισταμένων] Cf. Dem. De Cor. §4 ὁ ταυτό-

τον ἄγων' ἐνιστήσαμεν, and, passively, ὁ νῦν ἐνεστηκὼς ἄγων,

*supra* §7.

ταῖς ἄρας] 'the curses,' such as the herald recited against 

traitors and corrupt advisers before sittings of the Assembly: 

cf. Dem. F.L. §§70, 201, etc.

τούτοις] neuter, acc. to Rehd., but the masc. (sc. τοῖς δεινοῖς 

καὶ συκοφ. ἐπιχειροῦσι) is certainly defensible.

ώσπερ ἥμείς] sc. ποιοῦμεν.

§ 32. παρ' ύμιν αὐτοῖς] apud vosmet ipsos: *indicantis.*

τίνας ἀδύνατον 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': 


§191 ἔσως καὶ τὰ τοιαύτ' ἑρεί, ὡς ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρασκευασμένα 

πάντα λέγω νῦν.

κατὰ φύσιν] with ἐμελλόν φράσεων, 'they would naturally have 

told the truth.'


§13 ἐφευγον τῶν πραχθέντων τὴν σαφήνειαν πυθόσαι, Plat. 

*Apol.* 26Α συγγενεσθαι...καὶ διδάξαν ἐφυγε: 'with μὴ, Soph.

7—2
Ant. 263 ἐφευρεῖς μὴ εἰδέναι, 'denied knowledge of the deed.'—
καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλοτριον: 'and that although they were not
another's': concessive. Cf. supra § 12 καὶ ταῦτα κάλλιστον
ἐχοντες...παράδειγμα.

§ 10 αὐταῖς ταῖς εὐρυθμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμετρίαις ψυχαγωγούσι τοὺς
ἀκούοντας, Ad Nícoc. § 49 τοὺς ἀκροαμένους ψ., [Dem.] Adv.
Leoch. [or. XLIV] § 63 ταῖς κολακείαις οἱ πλείστοι ψυχαγωγο-
μενοι...ποιητοῦς οἰεῖς ποιοῦνται. In a rather different application,
rhetoric is defined by Plato (Phaedr. 261 α, 271 c) as a
ψυχαγωγία, ‘a winning of men’s souls,’ ‘persuasion.’

τὴν ὑπότητα...τοῦ θεοῦ] ‘their pliability of temper’: so
also ὑγ. ξέως, Plut. 2. 68ο. For ὑγός in the metaph. sense =
mollis, facilis, cf. Plut. Mar. 28. ὑγός τις εἶναι βουλήμενος καὶ
dημοτικός, Sull. 30. 5 πρὸς οίκτον ὑγός, Peric. 5. 3 τὸ Κλιμονος
ὑγόν, ‘his good humour,’ ‘complaisance.’

εἰς ἑλεον προαγαγέσθαι] So Her. II. 121. 24 ἐς γέλωτα
προαγαγέσθαι, ‘to move to laughter.’

ἐνταῦθα] with ἐληλυθεν, ‘here,’ ‘to this court,’ εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς.
For ἐνταῦθα used where motion is implied, cf. Her. v. 72 οὐ
θεμιτὸν παρέναι ἐνταὐτα, Aesch. Pers. 450 ἐνταὐθα πέμπει,
Plat. Theaet. 187 β ἐνταῦθα προεληλυθασ.

οὔδὲν ἔτερον ἦ] an unusual variant for the commoner οὔδὲν
ἄλλον ἦ, from which it does not appear to differ in meaning:
‘simply and solely because he feared.’ Lyc. seems to affect
variations of the οὔδὲν άλλο ἦ idiom: cf. infra § 92 οὔδὲν πρότερον
ποιοῦσιν ἦ, § 129 οὔδὲν πρότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἦ, 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 πρόφασις, cf. supra § 6 n. The first and the third are
conjoined by Dem.: F. L. § 100 σκήψεις καὶ προφάσεις ἔρει;
Mid. § 41 ποια πρόφασις, τίς ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρα σκήψεις φανεῖται
tῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; The combination of the three, as Rehd.
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§ 35. The asyndeton belongs to the elevated style, and its "gnomic" character (γνώμη, 'maxim,' sententia) imparts a touch of ήθος (ήθικον ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον, indicates the character of the speaker) (Rehd. ad loc.). We may compare generally the famous passage of Eur. Phoen. ii. 469 sqq.

άπλοούν τὸ δίκαιον, κ.τ.λ.] The asyndeton is probably intended to lead up to the triple-headed asyndeton immediately following.

dirXovv rd SL'KCUOV, K.T.X. The asyndeton belongs to the elevated style, and its 'gnomic' character (γνώμη, 'maxim,' sententia) imparts a touch of ήθος (ήθικον ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον, indicates the character of the speaker) (Rehd. ad loc.). We may compare generally the famous passage of Eur. Phoen. ii. 469 sqq.

§ 34. [στία] stronger than δίκαιο: Lyc. applies the standard of fás, he is not content merely with ius.

τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας] cf. supra § 4 tois ēk tōn nómovn épitéimoi.

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

tōn ὑπέρ πρ. κινδυνεύοντα] 'a man who is on his trial for treason': κινδυνεύω here of the peril connected with a judicial sentence, cf. periculum, O.E. danger.—For ὑπέρ προοδοσίας, cf. supra § 7 ὑπέρ οὐ...μέλλετε τὴν ψήφον φέρει n.

παραδιδόναι] sc. tods oikétas as obj.—βασανίζειν: 'to be tortured': Goodwin, § 770.

§ 35. καταμεμαρτυρηκώς] concessive.

καὶ πῶς] introducing an objection, with a suggestion of incredulity or absurdity: cf. Soph. O.T. 1019 καὶ πῶς ὃ φώσας ἔξ ἱσοῦ τῷ μηδενί;

tōn τὴν ἔξουσιαν...περιπημένον] '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 μῦνον οὐ τὴν 'Ἀττικῆν ὑμῶν περιήγηται, 'have all but robbed you of A.'—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

c. 11. §§ 36–45. The desertion of Leocrates was aggravated by the pitiable plight of Athens after Chaeronea—Athens, once
the arbiteress 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. μὲν οὖν [μὲν οὖν (like μὲν δὴ, and often μὲν alone, cf.
Thuc. vii. ad fin. ταύτα μὲν τὰ 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 αδέξησις ('amplification') and δείνωσις
('rhetorical heightening'), and by numerous digressions (παρεκ-
βάδεσις) 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.

οτι όμολογούμενόν έστιν] lit. 'that it is an admitted thing':
stronger than όμολογεῖται.

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

ἐν οἷς δὲ καιροῖς...οὕσαν...προδέδωκεν] '(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 προδέδωκεν, which combines both past
and present elements: ἐν οἷς καιροῖς ἡ πόλις ἤν (a) ὅτε Λ. προδέ-
δωκε, (b) ἃς προδότης ἡστιν.

λαβὲ...ἀναγιγνωσκε] 'λαβὲ statim et celeriter peragenendum, ἀνα-
γιγνωσκε aliquid temporis postulat,' Schoemann (Isaeus, p. 236).

'Υπερεῖδου] 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 προκλῆσεως π.

τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς π. ] the language is official, and also distinctive: 'the council of the 500')(ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου,

supra § 12. A still fuller designation was ἡ β. οἱ π. οἱ λαχώντες τῷ κυνάμφ. For the apposition, cf. Lysias c. Agorat. § 35 ἐν τῷ δικαστήρῳ ἐν διαχύλοις, etc.

καταβαλὲν] i.e. from ἡ ἂνω πόλις (ἀστυ): cf. supra § 18 ἐν ἀστυ τῆς πόλεως π.

χρηματιοῦσαν] 'to consult about,' agere, a technical word of official bodies, ἐκκλησία, πρυτάνεις, στρατηγοὶ, etc.) (χρηματι-εσθαί, 'transact business to one's profit,' 'make money.'

πράττεν...ὁ τῷ ἂν δοκῇ] 'take such measures...as should be deemed advantageous,' etc.: the editors compare with this (no doubt a quotation from the actual ψῆφισμα), the terms of the Roman *senatus consultum ultimum,* 'videant consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.'—Διεσκευασμένην: ἡτοιμασμένην Hesych., *habitu militari,* practically = ἐν τοῖς δῖπλοις: Aeschines indeed combines the two (Cles. § 140) ἐν τοῖς δῖπλοις διεσκευασμένοι.

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

μικρὸν καὶ οἱ τυχόντες] 'slight or ordinary' is our idiom: for the Gk. usage, cf. χθές καὶ πρώην, 'yesterday or the day before,' Plat. *Apol. 23 Α ὀλίγον ἄξια καὶ οὐδένος, '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* οὐ παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων κ.τ.λ.

§ 38. ἐν οἷς] sc. φόβοις, 'Yet it was then,' we should say.
'fetched out' (with his own hands)... ‘had them brought.’ — *<τά> ἱερὰ τὰ πατρίδα, cf. supra § 25 n.

κατὰ τὴν τοῦτον προαλήσειν] ‘if L. had had his way,’ lit. ‘according to his deliberate purpose’: ἡ προαλήσεις is the characteristic of moral action in Aristotle’s *Ethics*.

ναόι] so the MSS. here, but *οἱ νεῶς* 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 δείνοσις: see also Crit. App.

ἔρημοι δ’ αἱ φ. τῶν τειχῶν] ‘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 tάττειν εἰς τὰς φυλάκας τῶν ’Αθη-ναίων n.

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

§ 39. τὸς οὐκ ἀν...ἐπιδεδημηκώς] For ἐπιδημεῖν, cf. supra § 14 τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ n. For the sentiment, cf. [Lysias] *Epitaph.* § 40 (of Athens before Salamis) τὸς οὐκ ἀν θεῶν ἡλέσεν αυτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κυνόνου; ἡ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀν ἐδακρυσέν;

ἐδυνηθή ἂν...ὑπομεῖναι] Const. ὅστις ἐδυνηθῇ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι ἰδείν αὐτῶν ἀτακτον (δύνα). The expression is no doubt redundant, but the text is probably sound: Blass (with Corais) reads ὅστις ἂν ἄτρ. αὐτῶν ὑπέμεινε ἰδείν.

τῷ <<στρατῷ>] with τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος. For the arrangement of the words, probably due to a desire to avoid the cacophony τὸ τῷ <<σ.> γ. π., see Kühner, *Gr. Gram.* § 464. 8.—See Crit. App.

ὁρθῇ δ’ ἄν...ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβ.] ‘and the city was in a state of tension in view of what had happened’: for ὁρθῇ=spe or metu erecta, cf. Isocr. *Philip.* § 70 τὴν Ἐλλάδα πᾶσαν ὁρθὴν οὖσαν (of hope), *De Big.* § 7 ὁρθῆς τῆς πόλεως γενομένης διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν αἰτῶν (of alarm): so Livy, i. 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.

\section*{NOTES}

\section*{§ 40. \( \delta \rho \alpha \nu \delta ' \ \eta \nu \) licuit videre, ‘one might have seen.’}

\begin{itemize}
  \item periphrórous kateptikaulas k.t.l.] ‘crouching in terror and asking, Is he alive?’—one for a husband,’ etc.: the edd. compare Hom. \textit{II. vi.} 237 “Εκτωρ δ’ ὡς Σκαιάς τε πόλας καὶ φηγόν ἵκανεν, | ἄμφ’ ἠρα μιν Τρώων ἅλωχοι θέον ἤδε θύγατρες | εἰρήμεναι παίδας τε κασιγνήτους τε ἔτας τε | καὶ πόσιας, and Livy, \textit{XXII. 7. 7}
  \item (of Rome after Trasimene) matronae vagae per vias, quae repente clades allata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percutantur, etc.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{dρωμένας] 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 ὁδυρομένας Orelli, ωρομένας Scheibe, όρνομένας Rehdantz.

\textbf{ταῖς ἡλικίαις] a defining dative, cf. \textit{maiores natu.}} \( α\) 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 \( τοῖς \) σῶμασιν: \( τὰς \) ἡλικίας codd. (Rehd.).]

\textbf{ἐπὶ γῆρως ὄδῷ περιφθ.} ‘hurrying about helplessly, on the threshold that leads from age to death’ (Jebb).—ἐπὶ γῆραος ὄδῷ is a Homeric phrase (\textit{II. XXII. 60, XXIV. 487, Od. xvi. 348}), which is variously interpreted as ‘on the \textit{path} of old age’ (ὄδὸς =ὁδὸς, so Leaf on \textit{II. XXIV. 487}), ‘on the \textit{threshold} of old age,’ i.e. either (a) ‘at the beginning’ or (b) ‘at the end’ of old age (cf. schol. on \textit{II. xxii. 60}: ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γῆρως ἔξωθεν, ἐπὶ τῷ τέρματι, Eustath. ὑπεξών καὶ πρὸς τῷ θανάτῳ ὄψιν), which last is undoubtedly the meaning here, as we say ‘with one foot in the grave.’


\textbf{διπλά θαίματα [i.e. τὰ ιμάτια] ἐμπεπορπημένους] ‘with their
cloaks pinned about them double’ (predicative adj.)—The ἱμάτιον, 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 Polyaeus, 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 (πῖλον) and pinning a cloak about him double (τριβώμα διπλοῖν 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.’]—θαλματία ἐμπεπ.: for the acc. indueendi et exuendi, cf. Her. vii. 77 Μίλησα...εἶματα ἐνεπορπέατο.

§ 41. τολλῶν δὲ...γιγνομένων...ἄτυχηκότων] concessive.
τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐλευθέρους κ.τ.λ.] sc. εἶναι. Cf. [Dem.] xxvi. § 11 δε Ἐπερείδης ἔγραψε, τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἄτυχημάτων...γενομένων...εἶναι τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπτίμους. 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).

δὲ] emphatic, ‘that people which.’
αὐτόχθων] 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...ἀνθρωποὶ ὕκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ, Ibid. 6; Isocr. Panath. § 124, Paneg. § 24, etc. So also παλαιχθῶν, Aeschin. Cles. § 190 (epigram).
§ 42. ἐκέχρητο] ‘had experienced,’ of good or ill fortune: cf. utor.

 applyMiddleware τρόπον μὲν...ἐν δὲ τῶις] ‘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 be almost ruled out of court.]

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδιας] Philip, acc. to Dem. De Chers. § 39, was ἐχθρὸς ὑπῆρ πόλεις 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....βοθθόν ἐπεκαλούντο] 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...”Ελλήνες: after the Persian invasions, when Athens took the Asiatic Greeks under her protection, and gradually built up the Confederacy of Delos.

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

ἐξ Ἀνδρον 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. τοιούτοις...τηλικούτοις] 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...τῶν οὕτω καταφανῶς ἐν ἄπασιν ἀδικῶς πεποιημένον τήν
Notas [§ 43]

άπόφασιν, καὶ μήτε τῶν νόμων φροντίσαντα...μήτε τῶν ἴδιων ὑμono-
λογίων...τοῦτον δικαίως ψηφειόθηκε πεποίηθαι τὴν ἀπόφασιν;

<τα> ὡπλα θέμενον] 'took up arms' is the Eng. equivalent of
the phrase here: for its various meanings, see L.S. s.v. ἔθημι, 
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 οὐτ' ἐν
τῷ Πειραιεὶ οὖτ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει θέτο τὰ ὀπλα (of Philo).

τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαι τοῖς σ. ] 'offered himself to the
generals for enrolment in the ranks,' the regular phrase of a
§ 47 οὐδὲ μιαν παρέσχεν αὐτὸν ἡμέραν τάξαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, Lysias,
In Alcib. 1. § 7 μονός οὐ παρέσχε μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐαυτὸν τάξαι,
In Philon. § 9.—For the act. infin. with παρέχω, cf. Ar. Nub.
441 π. τὸ σῶμα τῦπτεν, Plat. Αρισ. 33 β πλούσιω καὶ πένητι
παρέχω ἐμαυτῶν ἐρωτάν.

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

κληθεῖσι] i.e. as συνήγαρος: 'what advocate would hold a brief
for him?' would be our equivalent: cf. Aeschin. Π. 14 έκάλεσεν
αὐτῷ συνήγαρον τὸν Δημοσθένην, and the still commoner παρα-
καλεῖν.

τὸν...τολμήσαντα] Note that the const. is carried on as though
ὴ ὑπέρ...βοηθήσειε 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 οὔδε...οὔδε: 'the man who did
not even...no, nor yet,' a particular case: contrast τὸν μήτε...μήτε
above. For οὔδε...οὔδε, which marks a stronger opposition than
οὔτε...οὔτε, the second negation being usually the stronger of the
two ('not even...no, nor yet'), see L.S. s.v. οὔδε, A. III.—τολμή-
σαντα: 'had the grace to': τολμάν is regularly used (cf. ἔτην in
poetry) of overcoming some strong natural inclination towards a
course of action opposed to that indicated by the accompanying
infin.: Lat. sustineo.
§ 45] NOTES 109

δ' η μεν χώρα] see Crit. App.—τα δενδρα...τας θηκας...τα δπλα.—The first would be used for palisades (της χαρακώσεως below), though in ordinary times the olive trees (of which the speaker is probably thinking) were protected by law; the second for the walls (της των τειχών κατασκευης), as Thuc. I. 93 speaks of gravestones being freely used for the hastily built wall of Themistocles; the third would be ‘dedications’ (ἀναθήματα), which would be used only under great pressure.

§ 44. ουκ ἐστιν ἡτις] i.q. οὐδεμιά. For a discussion of this idiom, see Rehd., App. 2, pp. 137–8.
	τειχών...τάφρων...χαρακώσεως] Cf. last note on previous §.
	ἐφ' ουν οὐδένος] ‘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. οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ‘charges d’affaires,’ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, etc. Cf. infra § 58 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας.
	τὸ σώμα...παρέσχε τάξαι] ‘offered himself for personal service’: cf. supra § 43 n.—Δεσκράτης: 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...ἐξιώσαντα] ‘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 infs. depending upon ἐξιώσαντα seems most naturally to refer, like the second, to ‘the men who died at Ch.’ In that case, συνενεγκεῖν Ζ [or ξυν—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 ἤ...ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ο βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων) coincides with ἐπ’ ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν (Rehd., App. I, 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
tοῦτῳ μέρος, cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ’ αὐτῶν μέρος η.
ἂν οὖτος...προσαγορεύων] ‘whose very tombs the defendant
passed by with never a qualm, when he greeted their country
eight years afterwards.’ Cf. infra § 142 ἄν οὖτος οὐδὲ τὰ
ἐλεγεία...ἐπανών...ὑδήσθη.—όγδῳ 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.).
—προσαγορεύων: here = salutare (προσαγορεύει· ἀσπάζεται

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 ἄν] sc. τὸν ἐν Ἡ τελευτησάντων.
μικρὸ τὸ λέον...διεξεῖν] ‘I wish to speak at a little greater
length.’

ἀλλότριος εἶναι...ἀγώνυ] ‘that such topics (as I am going
to deal with) are alien to public trials.’—For ἀλλότριος c. gen.,
alienus ab, cf. Lysias, xxxi. ad fin. ἐπιτηδεύματα...πάσης δημοκρατίας ἀλλότρια, 'practices...alien to every democratic principle.'

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

αἱ γὰρ εὐλογηθα...τοιοῦτοι] '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 (ἴλεγχον) clear against (κατὰ) them.'

ἐπαινον, δὲ μάνος ἄθλον] For the sentiment, cf. Dem. F.L. § 313 καὶ μὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀγάθων οὐ μέτεστι τοῖς τεθνεόντων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς καλῶς πρακτεῖσιν ἐπαίνοι τῶν οὐτω τετελευτηκότων ἠδιον κτήμι' εἶσθιν: οὔ δὲ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος αὐτοῖς ἐτί τηνίκαυτ' ἐναντιώταται.

τοιοῦτο] resuming and reinforcing τὸν ἐπαινον: cf. supra § 42 τὸν δήμον...τοῦτον ἐδει λ.

ἐπειδή 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 δημοσίως to κοινοῖς, the latter of which in itself would be a sufficient balance to κοινήν preceding.

§ 47. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρλοῖς τῆς B.] i.e. at Chaeronea: Thuc. iv. 76 ἔστι δὲ ἡ Χαιρώνεια ἔχασαν τῆς Βοιωτίας πρὸς τῇ Φανοτίδι τῆς Φωκίδος. μαχούμενοι] fut. ptcp., 'to fight.'

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


τῶν λιθίων περιβόλων] We may compare the language of Demosthenes in vindicating his policy, De Cor. § 299 οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πληθὺς ἐγώ, also Nicias' address to his army at Syracuse, Thuc. vii. 77 ἀνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί, and Soph. O, T. 56, 57 ώς οὐδὲν ἔστιν
The earliest occurrence of the sentiment in Gk. is perhaps Alcaeus, fr. 23 ἄνδρες πόλης πύργος ἀρείου.

τὴν δὲ θρέψαμεν] sc. γῆν or χώραν. Infra § 85 we have τὴν θρέψαμεν without any apparent difference of meaning.

ἐκότως] '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 γάρ immediately introducing the supporting argument.

§ 48. ὥσπερ γάρ...Διάκεινται] 'For just as people universally (αὐτοίς) 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) ὑμοίωσ ὥσπερ οἱ βέλτιστοι τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὰς μητέρας τὰς αὐτῶν, [Dem.] XL. § 47.—τῶν πατέρων: partitive gen.—ταῖς εὐνολαίσ: '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 εὐνυχλας, § 20 τὰς χάριτας, infra § 64 τὰς διανολας, § 140 τὰς φίλοτιμας, etc.—ἐπικτήτους: lit. ‘acquired besides’ or ‘in addition,’ as of land added to one’s hereditary property, Plat. Legg. 924 A; ἐπίκτητ. φίλοι, ‘newly acquired’) (ἀρχαῖοι, Xen. Ages. 1. 36; τὰ ἐπίκτ.) (τὰ φύσει ὄντα, Plat. Rep. 618 D. Our ‘adopted country’ is the idea here, and we may correlate the terms as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>πατὴρ</th>
<th>χώρα</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>φύσει γεννήσας: ποιητός</td>
<td>φύσει προσήκουσα: ἐπικτήτος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural: adopted</td>
<td>native: adopted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In plain language, they were less fortunate than brave.—

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’: τοιογραφεῖ κυρίων ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ σωματίου ἀδάνατος ἐν σώματος σώμασι, τό δὲ τό αἰὼν ἀπείπον (from a fragment of Gorgias’ Epitaphius). Reference may be made generally to the Funeral Speeches of [Lysias] and Hyperides. The closest parallel to Lys. here is perhaps Isocr. Paneg. § 92 (of the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae) ἔσσαι δὲ τάς τόλμας παρασχόντες οὐχ ὀμολογεῖ ἐκρήγαντο ταῖς τοῦχαις, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν διεθάρμησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντι τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπείπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτο γε θέμα εἰπεῖν, ὥς ἡττηθησαν: οὐδέσι γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἡξίωσεν).

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 πάντων.

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

ἀ γὰρ ἀθλα] see Crit. App.—ἀθλα, honourable prizes of war)(λήμματα, personal and selfish gains: the two are con-
trasted by Dem. Ol. ii. § 28.—


οὐδ’ οἶνον τ’ ἐστιν...ήττησθαι] Cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 92, quoted supra § 48.

τοὺς...μὴ πτήσαντας...φόβον] ‘men who did not quail in spirit under the terror of their assailants.’ L.S. s.v. πτῆσιν say that ‘in the strange passage ταῖς διανοαῖς μὴ πτήσαντες φόβον [giving reference], φόβον must be taken as a cognate acc.’ [like φόβον φοβείσθαι, φ. δεδακέναι, φ. ταρβείν, in which case τῶν ἐπιδρῶν 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 ἐπιδρῶν 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. i. 2. 18 Κῦρος 6’ ἡσθη τῶν ἐκ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἵδων. 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 ἐπιδρῶν as = ‘the future’ seems, in this context, improbable: cf. infra § 57 τῶν ἐπιδρῶν ἀμώνασθαι.


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

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

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

ἀμα γὰρ οὕτω...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
NOTES

§ 51] Αύτα τοίνυν...οὐκ ἐξέχετο, καὶ κατεμαρτύρειν π.—τὸν βιον μεταλάσομεν, ‘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: μεταπήπτευς generally, as here, in deterius, but also in melius: cf. infra § 60 ἐκ τοῦ κακῶς πράξας μεταπήπτευς.

συνετάθη γάρ...ἐλευθερία] Cf. the famous sentence, [Lysias], Ἐριταρφ. § 60 ὡστ’ ἄξιον ἢν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τὸν κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι...ὡς συγκαταβασμόνεν τῆς αὐτῶν ἑλευθερίας τῷ τοῦτω ἀρετῇ (of those who fell in the Corinthian War, 394 B.C.), and with the whole passage [Dem.] XI. § 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 ἐδηλωσαν πολεμοῦντες. Cf. Her. vi. 21 δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεθέντες, Thuc. III. 64 δῆλον ἐποίησατε...μονοὶ οὐ μηδεστανες.

οὐκ <ἀν> αἰτικυνθείην...ψυχάς] ‘I would not be abashed at declaring that those men’s lives are a crown of glory to their country’: for στέφανοι in the met. sense, decus, cf. Her. iv. 88 (of Mandrocles) αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθεῖς, Σαμίωι δὲ κόδος, Hyper. Ἐριταρφ. § 19 τὴν εὔδοξίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἱδον τόσον τραγῳδον τῇ πατρίδι περιέβηκαν.

§ 51. καὶ δι’ ἂν 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 ἐπιστάσασθε...τιμᾶν the cause and not the effect of ἐπετήθευσον (‘because they showed reason...you know how to, etc.’), δι’ ἂν is to be taken as looking forward to, and in apposition with, ἐπιστάσασθε...τιμᾶν, as though we had: δι’ ἂν οὐκ ἀλόγως...ἐπετήθευσον, ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, δι’ ἐπιστάσασθε κ.τ.λ. For the position of δι’ ἂν at the beginning of the sentence, Rehd. cites the somewhat similar use of ὤθεν in Lys. XII. § 43, Isaicus, vi. § 8, etc. But the text is suspect: see Crit. App.—For the claim made by the speaker, we may compare Dem. Λεπτ.
§ 141 πρῶτον μὲν μόνοι τῶν πάντων ἀνδρῶπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασιν δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖτε λόγους ἐπιταφίους, ἐν όσι κοιμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. καλτοὶ τοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἀγιοῦστων ἁρετῆν.

ἀνακειμένους] 'set up,' i.e. statues of them. ἀνακεῖσθαι in this connexion acts as pass. of ἵσταναι: ἵσταναι τινὰ χαλκοῦν (χαλκοῦς ἀνακεῖσθαι: cf. Theocr. x. 33 χρόσεοι ἀνακέλμεθα. In Dem. F.L. § 251 we have both the person and the statue as subject: ἐφη τῶν Σόλων ἀνακεῖσθαι...καλτοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον...φάσι ἀνακεῖσθαι Σαλαμίνων.

ταρ' ὑμῖν...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 προτανεῖσθᾳ...στησοῦν ἐδοσαν ὧ.—τὸν τύραννον: the speaker implies that the τύραννος 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 ρήμιον] '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 ὧδ' ἐξ ἄπασης...πολλοῦς, but ὀλίγον is to be taken in a positive sense.

τοὺς στέφανιτας ἀγώνας] 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 δίδοτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου δώρεας τοῖς τοῦς γυμνικοῦς νικῶσιν ἀγώνας τοὺς στέφανιτας.

πολλαχόθεν] with γεγονότα.—Polle (N. Jahrb. f. Philol.,
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.).

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

μεγασ] without article, absol. 'very great.' [<τὰς > μεγ., however, which would balance τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας, is read by Reiske and Heinrich.]

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

c. 13. §§ 52–54. You have no choice but condemn Leocrates, if you do your duty. His case has already been decided (a) by the action of the Areopagus in similar cases, (b) by your own sentence on Autolyctis, (c) by the decree of the people prescribing the extreme penalty for public defaulters. Will you reverse all these?

§ 52. οὔδ' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν] 'it is not even in your power,' 'it does not even rest with you': cf. Dem. De Cor. § 193 ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τουτού τέλος ἤν, ὅπως ἐμοὶ. [ἐφ' ὑμῖν cf. Bk. (Bl.).]

τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦσι] conditional, 'if you do your duty.'

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. pteps. passive with the subst. verb are forcible and emphasise the abiding result: Goodwin, M.T. § 45. Cf. [Dem.] c. Aristogit. 1. § 2 ὑπολαμβάνω τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν... ἔθους ἐνεκα...δεῖν ποιῆσαι, κεκριθαι δὲ τούτῳ τὸ πράγμα πάλαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως ὀίκοθεν.

μηδεῖς μοι θορυβήσῃ] 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 εἰλώθαιν ἐπὶ τοῖς χαριέντως διελεγμένοις, Ibid. § 233 λόγος τεθο- ρυβημένος, '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.

tαύτην] sc. τὴν ἐν 'Α. π. βουλῆν, rather than a case of 'predicative attraction' of the pronoun.
tότε] 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.

λαβόνσα] i.q. συλλαβόνσα [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 δικάζοντας.

§ 53. ἀλλὰ μὴν 'Α. γε ύμεῖς] ἀλλὰ μὴν, verum enimvero, 'alleging what is not disputed' (L.S. s.v. μὴν, 3), introduces a fresh and emphatic point.—Αὐτολόκου and ύμεῖς are both emphatic: Α.)(other offenders: ύμεῖς, the Heliaea)(ἢ ἐν 'Α. π. βουλῆ. Lyc. tactfully says nothing of his having been himself the prosecutor of A., who was an Areopagite (Harpocr. s.v. Αὐτολόκος, quoting the present passage): cf. also the Argument to the speech, ad fin. Α. 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, δι ἐκπλεῖν εἰς Σάμων ἐπιχειρήσας ὡς προδότης τῆς πατρίδος αὐθημερον ὑπὸ τῆς ἔξ 'Α. πάγου βουλῆς θανάτῳ ἐξημιωθῆ.

μείναντος μὲν αὐτοῦ...ἐχοντος δ' αἰτίαν] 'who, though he
remained himself... was charged with having,' etc. For αἰτίαν ἔχειν c. infin.= crimen habere, cf. infra §125 τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοντας, Ar. Vesp. 506 αἰτίαν ἔχω ταῦτα δρᾶν ἐνυωμότης ὄν. But Plat. Gorg. 503 β δὴ ὅτι αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν 'Αθηναίοι βελτίους γέγονεναι, 'are reputed,' 'are credited with.'—For ἑπεκθέσθαι, cf. supra §25 τὰ χρήματα... ὑπεκθέσθαι τί.

τὶ δεὶ 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 θρέψασα (§§ 21, 47, 85), was morally entitled, even as aged parents were legally entitled γνωριμοὶ ἀνθρώποι (infra §144). Cf. [Lys.], Epitaph. § 70 τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τροφεῖα ἀποδόστε, Lys. c. Andoc. § 49 τοῖς τροφεῖα ἀνταποδοῦσιν; So also τρ. ἐκτίνειν, Plat. Rep. 520 B.—For ἀποδοῦναι = 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.

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

ἐνόχους... τῇ προδοσίᾳ] 'amenable to the charge of treason': cf. supra §4 τοὺς ἑνόχους τοῖς... ἐπιτιμίους τοὺς.

toûs φεύγοντας] 'those who sought to shirk': cf. supra §49 τὴν δουλείαν φεύγοντες τοὺς.

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

παρὰ τῷ... συνεδρίῳ] παρὰ c. dat. indicantis: cf. Her. III. 160 παρὰ Δαρείως κριτῇ, παρ' ἐμοὶ = me iudice, etc. So also παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ immediately following, for which cf. supra §12 παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀμολ. τοῖς ἀληθικοῖς τοῖς.

τῶν δικαζεόντων λαχών] '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 'Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν, οἱ λαχώνες οἱ ὑπολείψαν, etc.: cf. supra §37 τὴν βουλή τοὺς πεντακοσίους τοὺς. 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 (ἐπιτιμοῖς), Arist. 'Αθ. Πολ. c. 63.


toús] referring formally to á ('offences which'), but in substance to the content of the three preceding clauses, and so = 'these decisions.'

āp'] cf. supra § 27 πάντων ἀρ' ἄνθρωπων ἁθυμότατοι ἐσεόθε ν. ἀγνωμονεότατοι] 'most unconscionable.'

ἐλαχίστους ἔσετε...κινδυνεύοντας] 'and shall find very few who will be disposed to run risks on your behalf': cf. Antiph. Tetr. A. γ. ad fin. ἐλάσσοι μὲν τοὺς ἐπιμελεύοντας καταστήσετε, πλείους δὲ τοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἑπιτηδεύοντας, Dem. Lextf. § 166 οὗκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν ἐθελησόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδυνεύειν.

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 εἰσ. ἀπασών] cf. supra § 5 ἀπασί τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐνοχον ὄντα.

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.

ἐμπρόσ] 'as a merchant.' [<οτί ὡς ἐμπ. Es.]

κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν] 'on this business,' a use of the prep. as old as Homer: Od. III. 72 ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆκεν ('on a trading enterprise') ἢ μαψιδώς ἀλαλησθε; cf. infra § 57, but ἢ ἐργασίαν, supra § 15.

ὁ] 'how,' 'by what means.' [ὡς Bk., Bl.]
NOTES

§ 56. τὸν Ἀ. ἔμπορον] Acc. to this reading [Bk., Bl.; τὸν Ἀ. ὡς ἐμπ. codd. (Rehd., Thalh.), τὸν Ἀ. 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’)(ἀποδόθαι ταλάντου: supra § 22.

κατεγνώκει τε αὐτοῦ προδεδωκέναι] ‘had pronounced himself guilty of having betrayed’: cf. Lys. xx. §6 καταγνώντες αφῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖν with Andoc. De Myst. §3 καταγνώντες αὐτοῦν ἀδικλαν.—κατεγνώκει τε...καί: on the principle that τε...καί should connect corresponding elements, we might have expected προδ. τε τὴν π. καί κ.τ.λ. But exceptions are frequent: cf. in consecutive chaps. of Thuc. (iv. 9, 10), ἀσπίζει τε φαίλας καλ ὀλλώναις and ἤν ἔθελομεν 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. a., and esp. Rehd. (App. 2, pp. 141–3), who distinguishes three separate uses, (a) δ, (b) δε, (c) δ καί. 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 ᾗ καὶ πάντων ἄν εἴῃ δεινότατον, τούς μὲν προγόνους κ.τ.λ.

*ἀπολόγοιτε* with ταῦτα, must have the meaning of ‘dismissing,’ ‘quashing’ a charge, in which sense ἀπολόγοιται is very frequently said of a defendant, cf. δίλητος: ἀπολόγοιται τὴν αἰτιαν, τὰ κατηγορημένα, etc. The use of ἀπολόγοι in the present passage is illustrated by Hyper. *Euł.* §38 (εἰσαγγελία)...ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν κατηγόρου τρόπων τινα ἀπολελυμένη. 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 ψήφως. For κύριος, cf. *infra* §59 ὧντε γὰρ νεωρλῶν κύριος ἰ.


§57. τοὺς μὲν...τούτων δὲ] The regular *paratactic* (co-ordinate) arrangement in Greek, where we use the *hypotactical* (subordinate): cf. *supra* §§8, 42, notes.

ἐν τοῖς τότε καιροῖς καὶ κατ’ ἐργασίαν] καὶ, 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...καιροῖς 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 ἡμίκα...προσκήσασθαι κ.τ.λ. We may compare generally the charge against Andocides in *Lys.* vi. §49 ἐπιστάμενος ἐν πολλῷ σάλῳ καὶ κυνδύνῳ τὴν πόλιν γενομένην, ναυκληρῶν οὐκ ἔτιλμησεν...οὕτων εἰσάγων ὡφελήσαι τὴν πατρίδα. ἀλλὰ μέτοικοι μὲν καὶ ξένοι...ὡφελοῦν τὴν πόλιν εἰσάγοντες.

οὖδ’ ἄν εἰς...ἀν ἔχητησεν] For οὖδ’ 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.
—προσκτησθαι: 'acquire in addition' (πρόσ).—τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, 'what they had.'

ηςέως δ' ἄν αὐτοῦ πυθολὺν 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 παρασχών 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 παρασχών and τίν' ἐμπ. εἰσ. ἥδυνατο χρησιμοτέραν τοῦ παρασχεῖν: in other words, the comparison of two actions is confused with the comparison of two things.


§ 58. αὐτῷ] The unusual position of the unemphatic αὐτῷ is probably due to a desire partly to avoid the hiatus αὐτῷ ὅργι-ζεσθαι, partly to make the antithesis διὰ τὴν πράξιν ταύτην...διὰ τὸν λόγον τούτον more strongly marked: cf. Rehd., *ad loc.*, who quotes Dem. *Lept.* § 33 οὐ μόνον ὑμὴν ἵκανον σῖτον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ., *Ib.* § 70 διάπερ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξαλκὴν εἰκόνα...ἐστησαν.


ἐγένετο ἐπὶ...ἐργασίας] 'he was engaged in this business': cf. supra § 44 ἐφ' ἄν οὐδενὸς ὃν.
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. καλούσι) τοὺς τὸν σίδηρον ἐργαζόμενους, Arist. Poet. 25. 14), though the two are distinguished in Xen. Hell. III. 4. 17 οἱ τε χαλκοτύπου καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς (v. L.S. s.v. χαλκοτύπος).

ἀποδημήσας] concessive, 'though he was away.'

<τῆς> πεντηκοστῆσι μετέχων] cf. supra §19 τὴν π., μετέχων αὐτῆς n.

ην ούκ ἄν καταλίπων...ἀπεδήμει] 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 §57 ἐγὼ μὲν οὔθεμιαν ὁρῶ n.), but is balanced by the δὲ of the next paragraph.

λέγῃ] conative, 'attempts to say.'

οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιτρέψειν] = ὑμᾶς οὐδ' 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 μεστώσαι λέγων, 'ere thou dost utterly fill me with wrath,' where καὶ (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. ἦξει δ᾿ τοὺς...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. Cles.: § 89 Καλλιας ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς...πάλιν ἦκε φερόμενος εἰς τὴν ἕαστον φύσιν, ‘returned headlong to his old practices’ (of bad faith), § 82 εἰς τὸῦτο 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 ἐσθητητὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀλκυνήτας, ‘fell upon them at full speed,’ Ibid. 87 φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε τῇ φιλῇ (of Artemisia at Salamis).

ἀν αὐτῷ συμβεβ. ] cf. supra § 11 ἡ γὰρ συμβουλέουσαν...περὶ τῶν καινῶν πραγμάτων n.

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.’

οὗτε γάρ νεωρὰν κύριον] sc. ἦν (the mood and tense of the recta: the speaker imagines L. to say ‘I was not responsible,’ oυ κύριος 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 εἰοι γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις οὐ τρήσκων οὐδὲ τόπων οὐδ’ ὀπλιτῶν οὐδ’ 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 ἐγένοντο εἰσαγγελίαι...κατὰ τῶν προδότων φρούριων ἡ στρατιὰν ἡ ναὸς, and the Lysias passage quoted hereunder.

οὖθ’ ὄλως...οúdeνος] ‘nor in short of any state department whatever’: ὄλως marks a climax, as often, nec denique, neque omnino: cf. Dem. Mid. § 101 οὖθ’ ἐλεῶν οὖθ’ ὄλως ἀνθρωπον ἤγοιμενος.


τοὺς τετελευτηκότας] I have followed Herw. (Bl.) in omitting καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἱερά, which the mss. give after τετελευτηκότας.

τῶν πατριῶν νομίμων ἀποστερῶν] ‘by robbing them of their ancestral rites’: cf. Thuc. iii. 58 (the Plataeans are speaking) οὐδ...ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα ἐτιμώμεν...ἐσθήμασι τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις. [πατριῶν Schoem. (Rehd.): πατρίων codd.: cf. supra § 25 n.]

§ 60. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκεῖνων κ.τ.λ.] ‘Moreover, had the city been betrayed by them (τῶν τινος κυριων—‘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 προδοθέσαν = ei προδοθῆ, a supposed past act: σννέβαινεν ἄν represents the abiding result of the act in the present, si urbs prodita esset, tamen incoleretur: cf. Goodwin, §§ 410, 411. So οἰκεῖον = ‘would still be inhabited’ (present state): ἄοικητον ἄν γενέσθαι = ‘would have been desolated’ (act). For οἰκεῖων, cf. [Dem.] c. Aristag. 1. [or. xxv] § 26 ei ταῦτα ποιοίμεν, ἐπὶ ἐτί τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖοθαί;—δὲ τρόπον: the modal accusative is generally preferred to the dative by Greek prose writers in these phrases with τρόπος (τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, τίνα τρόπον; τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, etc.), though τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ in
Andoc. De Myst. § 41, De Pace § 20, De Redit. § 18 ὅτως τρῆσθαι, and always μηδενὶ τρῆσθαι. (Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. l.c.)

τυχεῖν...εἰκός ἐστὶν...στερηθηναι[1] For the aor. infsns. with εἰκός (where we might expect the fut.), cf. Thuc. iv. 24 ἄλπιζον ἀραὶ ἔριπες Χειρώσασθαι, Xen. Hell. v. 4. 7 ἤπειλησαν 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 ἐπείδου τὴν ἐαρτκὴν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην, Her. i. 76 Συρλους...ἀνάστατος ἐποίησε, etc. [ἀναστάτους Reiske (Bl.): ἀνάστατον codd., which some editors retain, agrees with πόλιν understood.]

καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐλπιδῶν[2] ‘even of ordinary hopes,’ i.e. hopes that are common to all men alike.


οὕτω καὶ περὶ ταῦτα πόλεως 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 δυναμικὰ changing to εὔνεια. For πέρας ἔχειν, of a limit which may not be passed, cf. Lysias c. Eratosth. § 88 ἔκεινοι δὲ...τελευτῆσαντες τὸν βλον πέρας ἔχοντι τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν (subj. gen.) τιμωρίας, Isocr. Paneg. § 5, Philipp. § 141, Dem. Lepit. § 91.

§ 61. οἷς γὰρ δέ] cf. supra § 49 οἷς δὲ δὲ καὶ παραδοξῶτατον μὲν ἐπείν, ἄληθες δὲ, n.

πόλεως ἐστὶ βάνατος...γενέσθαι[4] ‘it is death for a city to be laid waste’: for ἀνάστατον in acc. agreeing with the implied subject of the infsn. (ἀνυήν, τὴν πόλιν), cf. Goodwin, M.T. § 744.

τεκμηρίου δὲ μέγιστον[5] sc. ἐστὶν, which seems to be regularly omitted in this formula.
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NOTES

§ 61

ημῶν γάρ] γάρ introduces, as regularly, the matter of the τεκμήριον: do not translate.

το μὲν παλαιόν...τὸ δ’ ὑστερον] ‘of old’...‘later’: accusatives, like τὸ πρῶτον, τούνατιον, 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...ἄμφωτέρων] 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. εἰδαίμονια] The term εἰδαίμονια, 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 ἔλευθερια or ἱγεμονίαs (Es), as neither the one nor the other holds good for both centuries.

§ 62. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἄσαι...γεγόνασι] ‘But not so with such as have ever 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 ἀναιρεθέσαι πάλιν ἐσχύναν.

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

εἰ καὶ παλαίότερον εἶπεῖν ἐστι] ‘though I may be quoting somewhat ancient history,’ lit. ‘even if (as I grant) it is rather ancient to mention’ (παλ. goes with εἶπεῖν: Goodwin, M.T'.
§ 763): cf. *infra* § 95 *ei γὰρ καὶ μυθωδέστερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρμόσει 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.*

τὴν Τρολαν] 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 (Κύρος) ἐδει αὐτὸν (sc. βασιλέα) δὴ μέσον ἐχον τοῦ Περαικοῦ στρατεύματος, 'knew that the king held,' etc. So in Latin, *noster* Marcellum, *quam tardus sit*: Madvig, § 191.

πάσης ἐπάρξασα τῆς 'Α.] '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 μίαν πόλιν πολεμήσας, ἔργῳ δὲ... πρὸς ἀπαντὰς τοὺς τῆς 'Ασίαν κατοικοῦντας κ.τ.λ.

τὸν αἰῶνα ἀδικητὸς ἐστί] 'is uninhabited for all time,' i.e. has been (since the time of its sack) and will so remain.—τὸν αἰῶνα, *in sempiternum*, is noteworthy for the omission of πᾶς (ἀπαντα, σύμπαν) 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 ἀπαντά τὸν αἰῶνα, VIII. 34 τὸν σύμπαντος αἰ.) and Plato, *Tim.* 38 c 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...
districts, the effect of which was to make Messene the Messenian state, as Athens was to Attica (cf. Thuc. III. 2 εὐνοικίζουσι τὴν Δέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην). The speaker’s contention is that the ‘synoecism’ was effected so easily (ἐκ τῶν τ. ἀνθ.) 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 φυκεῖτο δούλη ὕσσα.—πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὑστερον: 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 (1. 73 Μεσσήνην τετρακοσιοστὸ ἔτει κατάκισαν), 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 ἀνθ.: 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 πρᾶγμα ποιῶν] ‘seeking to represent the matter as trivial’(μικρὸν ποιῶνειν, ‘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 ἐπολῆσαν (of the Athenian protection of the Heraclidae), which seems equally subjective in sense with παρὰ μικρὸν ἥγεισθαι Id. Phil. § 79, or ἐξ σμικρῶποιείσθαι Soph. Phil. 498. With the present passage, cf. Isocr. xx. § 5 ὅσον οὖν Δοξήτης ἐπιχειρήσει μικρὸν ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα, διασφέρω τὴν κατηγορίαν κ.τ.λ.

ὡς οὖδὲν ἂν 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 οὐ παρ’ ἐν οὖδὲ δύο εἰς τὸ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἀφίκται, Isocr. Archid. § 52 ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὡμολογεῖτο παρὰ τούτων γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶς, 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 ἐκλιπεῖν] The strictly correct order in a case of this kind appears to be τὴν πατρίδα (obj.) ἐκλιπεῖν αὐτῶν (subj.): Hickie on Andoc. De Myst. § 16, where he quotes as a type Antiph. v. 39 ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ 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.’—
éatwosan: 'the usual form of the imper. from the Macedonian period,' Rehd. In inscr. not before 300 B.C. [éowtnw Es (Blass).]

el 8' ólws µhdeν] 'but if they roundly assert his innocence,' we might say: for ólws, cf. supra § 59 oθθ' ólws των τῆς πόλεως οὐδενός n.

§ 64. τούτοις] personal, sc. τοῖς συνηγόροις αὐτῷ.

pará toûton elvai...tῆν σωτηρίαν] 'that the very safety of the state depended on him': for pará, cf. previous §: elvai is imperf. infin. The main antithesis is between οὐδέν of the preceding sentence and τῆς πόλεως τῆς σωτηρίαν.

η γάρ 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 ἵδιαν μοῖραν) in one point, he unwittingly neglects it in all' (τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς=παρεωρακώς). For the sentiment, cf. Isocr. Nícoc. § 48 μιθένδος διλιγωρεῖται μηδὲ καταφρονεῖτε τῶν προστατευμένων, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς οὖ παρά τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὡς παρ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς τὸ σύμπαν ἔχουν, οὕτω σπουδάζετε περὶ αὐτῶν, i.e. 'neglect no duty, however trivial, 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. Mid. § 38 οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτον μῦνον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων φαίνεται προηγημένος μ' ὑβρίσεων, Ibid. § 44.

τῶν ἀρχαίων 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. Cíes. § 175 ὁ γάρ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς νομοθέτης, Dem. De Cor. § 6 οἱ νόμοι...οὗς ὁ τιθεὶς εἶ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, κ.τ.λ. 'Draco's laws were specially called θεσμοί, as distinguished from Solon's νόμοι' (Pape, quoted by Hickie, Andoc. De Myst. § 81 τέως δὲ κρήσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς. But Solon himself spoke of his laws as θεσμοῖ: v. Sandys on Arist. 'Ἀθ. Πολ. c. 4 ἐκ.ρ.)—νομοθετῶν...ἀποβλέψαντας: cf. supra §§ 9, 10, respectively.

§ 65. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ οὐ κ.τ.λ.] The code of Draco especially was
proverbial for its severity: Demades the orator said of him δη δι' αλματος, ον δια μελανος τους νομους έγραψεν, '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 ουν extends to the second clause τι δε δεκα κ.τ.λ. as well: so also the ουδε's following.

τω μεν έκατων...τι δε δεκα δραξμας] Cf. Dem. c. Timocr. § 114 (of Solon) και ει τις γ' έκ Άνκελον...ιματιον ή λικθυιον ή άλλο τι φαλλοτατον, ή ει των σκευων τι των ή των γυμνασιων υφελοιο ή τη των λιμένων, υπερ δεκα δραξμας, και τουτοις θανατον ένομοθητησεν εναι την ζημιαν.—ἐπιτιμιον, 'penalty': cf. supra § 4 τος έκ των νομων επιτιμιοις n., and Aeschin. Cles. § 175 ο Σδλων...εν τοις αυτοις επιτιμιοις ζετο δειν ενεχεσθαι τον αστρατευτον και των λεισπιστα την ταξιν και των δειλων όμοιωσ.

του μεγαλα ιεροσυλήσαντα] 'a man who had committed great sacrilege': Madvig, § 27.

τιμωρη εκόλαζον...ωρισαν] For τιμωρεισθαι) kolazen, see infra §§ 123, 146, nn.—Note the impfs. απεκτεινον, εκόλαζον, εξημιονν, 'nor was it their practice to,' etc.)(εταξαν, όρισαν, of the fixing of the penalty as a definite legislative act.

ουδε των μεν οικητην...ειργον των νομιμων] '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?': οικητην is obj. of αποκτειναντα, which is to be supplied after των δε ελευθερον.—ειργον των νομιμων: cf. Antiph. De Chor. § 36 ο γαρ νομος ουτως εχει, έπειδαν τις απογραφη φονου δικην, ειργεσθαι των νομιμων, Dem. Lept. § 158 ο Άρακων...γραφον...ειργεσθαι των ανδροφονου σπουδων, κρατήρων, λεπων, αγορας. Cf. also supra § 5 εις την αγοραν εμβαλλοντα και των κοινων λεπων μετεχοντα n., infra § 142.

αλλ' όμοιως επι τασι...την ζημιαν] 'but for all offences alike, even the smallest, they defined death as the penalty.'—For επι
c. dat. ‘in the case of,’ cf. the common νόμον τιθέναι ἐπί τινι, ‘to make a law in the case of a person’ (for or against him): so νόμος κεῖται ἐπί τινι.—καὶ τοῖς ἑλ.: the καὶ is intensive = etiam: rather different is the ‘corrective’ use of the conj. in e.g. Dem. De Cor. § 12 μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας, ‘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 ᾿Ιημα, ‘the (legal) penalty,’ which latter, however, is often anarthrous: cf. Thuc. III. 44 θάνατον ᾿Ιημα προθείοι, and other exx. cited by Rehd., App. 2, p. 145.

§ 66. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ᾿Ιδίον κ.π.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 (ἐντεῦθεν = ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾿Ιδίου 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 ᾿Ιδίον 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 ἀπέβλεπε, cf. supra § 10 πρὸς ἐκάτερον... ἀποβλέποντες n.—ἐλάμβανον: ‘judged,’ ‘estimated’: cf. Thuc. II. 42 τὴν τῶν ἔναντιον τιμωρίαν ποθεινότεραν λαβόντες, ‘holding it more dear to them,’ III. 20 (of the Plataean besieged) τὴν ᾿Ευμέτρησιν τῶν κλιμάκων οὕτως ᾿Ελαβον, Lys. X. § 13 εἰ οὕτω τοῦ νόμου λαμβάνεις.—ἐλ πέφυκε: the tense of the recta: they asked themselves ἄρα πέφυκε, ‘is the crime calculated?’ etc.: for πέφυκε, cf. supra § 4 ὁ νόμος περ. προλέγειν n.—ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐλθὼν: conditional, ‘if it went to greater lengths,’ ‘by acquiring a wider scope.’

καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον... 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 ἄξεστιν ἐστίν ἐξέτασαι, lb. § 11.
фере гάρ, 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 ἀλλοὺς sc. νόμους).—For φερε 'before a question which usually serves to refute another,' v. L.S. s.v. φέρω, 1x. 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 εν τοῖς καινοῖς τοῖς ψυμερίοις γράμμασιν εν τῷ μητρῷῳ, Aeschin. Ctes. § 187, etc.—εἰ...ἐξαλείψειεν...ἀπολογοῦτο ...οὐκ ἀν ἀπεκτέλατε; We have here a mixed conditional sentence, which is quite easy to make conform to type by reading ἐξῆλθεν...ἀπελογεῖτο (Dobree) or ἀποκτέλατω' (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) (ἀπολογοῦτο, of the attempt (conative), 'should seek to put forward the plea.'—εἴται: so regularly (without καί) in conditional clauses, 'marking continuation and further consequence' (Madvig, § 185, R. 6): cf. Dem. Ol. 1. § 12 εἰ δὲ προησομένα τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰτ ὁλυνθον ἐκεῖνος καταστρέψεται.—οὐδέν παρὰ τούτων: cf. supra §§ 63, 64.—ἐγὼ μὲν οἱμαί δικαίως: sc. υμᾶς ἄν ἀποκτέλαι αὐτόν. For μὲν, cf. supra § 57 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδεμιάν ὁρῶ ν.—ἐπερ, 'that is to say, if,' etc., assuming the fact of the condition: Madvig, § 194.—ἐμέλλετε... σὺξεν, 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. τῶν αὐτῶν...τρόπον] Cf. *supra* § 60 ὅν ἔδε τρόπον οὕτος ἔξελιπτεν ὑ.

κολαστέουν ἐστι τοῦτον] Note that this (the gerund) const. of the verbal is commoner in Gk. than the personal or gerundive (κολαστέος ἐστίν οὕτος): contrast the Latin usage in the case of verbs that take an object acc. So *infra* § 135 τοῦτον...ἐξαιτητέον.

ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πράγμα] sc. λογεῖσθε, 'but you will have an eye to the fact,' and the principle which it involves. εἰς τὸ πρ. seems capable of being joined with λογεῖσθε on the analogy of λέγειν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα, κατηγορεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ π. (cf. Dem. L.VII. § 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 μὴ 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 μὴ...γενέσθαι is subj. of ημέτερον...εἶναι.

μόνος τῶν ἄλλων] Rather a curious, but frequent, expression (cf. *infra* § 102 μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν) 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. ὃς οὐκ ἐστι τούτο...εἴ τις ὑετο] ‘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 τούτο λύειν ἐστὶ τὰ συγκείμενα, εἰ Ἦνδοκίδης...δίδωσι δίκην, c. Theomn. § 6.—ὑετο 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.’

ὁτε πρῶς ἐπολέμουν...διέβησαν] 480 B.C. Cf. Her. viii. 41, Isocr. Paneg. § 96, etc.

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

ὁστε τὸ κάλλιστον...ηζισωσε] For a similar perversion of a noble historical episode, cf. Lys. In Alcib. i [or. xiv] §§ 32, 33 τολμᾶ γὰρ λέγειν ὃς Ἀλκιβιάδης ὦδὲν δεισὶν εἰργασαί...καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς φεύγουντας Φυλῆν καταλαβεῖν καὶ δένδρα τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβαλεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα ποιῆσαντας οὐκ ὄνειδος τῶν παῖσι καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τιμῆν...κτῆσασθαι.—ηζισωσε: ‘has presumed’: Goodwin, § 58.

§ 69. τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξαν] Cf. supra § 50 τὸν βίον μετήλλαξαν n.

§ 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 ἄθιμος γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων, διακειμένων, καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατείχιζοντων τῶν Ἰουθιῶν καὶ ἱπτώντων ἑδαμ αὐτοῖς 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. ναυτικὸν: Aegina was represented by a contingent of thirty ships at Salamis, Her. viii. 46.—αὐτοῖς...πορίσθαι: for the fulness of expression, cf. Isocr. Nicoc. § 37 αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσαντο τὰς ἡδονὰς, infra § 141 παρακαθίσαμένους ἑαυτοῖς.

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

βλα...ηλευθέρωσαν] ceteros quoque etiam invitos 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 τὸν ἄρετὸν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων), καὶ νομισάντες προδιαφθαρέντων τῶν ἥμετέρων οὐδ’ αὐτὸι σωθήσονται.

ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκει] sc. περιγενέσθαι. Cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 72 ἀρφοτέρων (sc. τῶν πολεμίων...τῶν συμμάχων) κρατήσαντες ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκειν.
§ 71. ή που 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 ἡφέσχετο τις...κατέλευσαν.—ή που, 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, τηλικούτον, τοσούτων, ταὐτῶν, rarely the -o forms: Meyer, Griech. Gr. 3 p. 519.—ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀν κατέλευσαν: the οὐκ is not redundant or contradictory, as may appear at first sight, if we remember that the whole sentence is under the influence of ἡ που and that the Greeks said ἄλλ’ οὗ 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 κινούνον n.
γοῦν] γοῦν indicates the transition from conjecture to historical fact: 'they would have stoned L.: at all events they stoned A.'

tόν παρά Ξ. πρεσβευτήν Ἀ.] 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 πρόξεινος καὶ εὐεργῆς (viii. 136) and again as πρόξεινος τε καὶ φίλος (sc. τόν Ἀθηναίων) (Ibid. 143). The only mission that we hear of his having undertaken to Athens is that described by Herod. 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 Lycidas (cf. 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, Herod. Bks. vii–ix, vol. II, p. 41.)—γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ: 'earth and water,' the Persian tokens of submission.—μικρὸς δεῖν: infin. absol., 'almost': Goodwin, § 779.

ὅπου δὲ...η που 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 ὅπου (in a causal sense) introduces
a case just established, or not disputed, with ἢ ποὺ introducing an à fortiori argument based upon it (‘much more’ or ‘much less,’ as the sense requires), cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 86 ὅπου οὖν ἀγράφω νῦν ὅκ ἔξεστι χρήσασθαι, ἢ ποὺ ἀγράφω γε ψηφίσματι παντάπασιν οὖ δεὶ χρήσασθαι, Ib. § 90, Isocr. De Pace § 24, etc. The main clause with ἢ 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.—οὗ μεγάλαις...ἐκόλασαν: οὗ by position belongs to μεγάλαις perhaps rather than to ἐκόλασαν, but the sense is the same: ‘I presume they would have visited with light (οὗ 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 ἐνεν. 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. XIII] § 26 πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτη τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἦρξαν ἐκόντων ἐκείνω (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: Κλιμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντως... ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνος τὴς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοινίξι καὶ Κλιξίνῃ ἐναμάχθησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχθησαν ἀμα, 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.

ἐν’ Εὐρυμέδοντι] ‘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. 6o-62; Plut. Vit. Cim. 12, 13.

ἐκατόν δὲ τριήρεις... ξαβον] Thuc. I.c. καὶ εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέθεσαν τὰς πᾶσας ἐς διακοσιᾶς, 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. 6o 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 πᾶν τοὐναντίον, etc. : cf. infra § 92 τοῦτον αὐτὸ πρῶτον, κ.τ.λ.: Madvig, § 19, R. 3, § 31, c.


ὃν τοῖς βαρβάροις πήγαντες 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 Ἀλνος 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’ (ἐιρήνη) 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. Καλλιάν τὸν Ἰππονίκου...ὅτι δῶρα λαβεῖν ἐδοξε προσβεύσας, μικρὸν ἀπέκτειναν, Plut. l.c. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
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ιδρύσασθαι, καὶ Κ. τὸν προσβεύσαντα τιμήσαι διαφερόντως). Plut. further mentions that a copy of the convention was to be found 'in the collection of Craterus' (flor. c. 250 B.C.—ἐν τοῖς ψηφομασὶν ἀ 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.—μακρὸ πλοῖο: 'i.q. navis longa, the long and narrow ship-of-war) (στρογγύλη ναῦς, ὀλκᾶς, γαῦλος, navis oneraria, the rounded and roomy merchant-vessel' (Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. § 118, s.πν. 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.]
§ 74. οἷς θ' 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 ἴσχυνθη 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).'-περί 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.

τῶς ἔχετε ταῖς διανοιαῖς] Cf. supra § 48 ὅχ ὁμολόγω ἔχουσιν...ταῖς εὐνοιαῖς n.

ὁμοῖς καὶ περὶ πρός εἴδοτας διελθεῖν] i.q. καὶ περὶ πρὸς εἴδοτας, ὁμοῖς διελθεῖν. For the position of ὁμοῖς close to the protasis, though really belonging to the verb of the apodosis, cf. Thuc. VIII. 93 ὁ τετρακόσιον...ὁμοῖς καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ξυνελέγοντο = καὶ περὶ τεθορυβημένοι, ὁμοῖς εἰ., and other exx. quoted by L.S. s.v. ὁμοῖος, 11.—πρὸς εἴδοτας διελθεῖν: so Thuc. II. 36 μακρυγορεῖν ἐν εἴδοσιν.

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

οἷς ἄν προσέχῃτε] cf. supra § 10 προσέχειν τούτων τῷ ἄγονι n.

§ 76. ἐπειδὴν...ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἐφηβοὶ γένωνται] 'whenever they are enrolled in the public register and rank as ἐφηβοί.'—

P.L.
The institution of ἐφηβεία 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 ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον). For the next two years he ranked as an ἐφηβος and underwent a course of training at the public expense, under the supervision of a chief officer (κοσμητῆς) who was assisted by ten σωφρονισταί. 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 περπολοί). 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 Aglaaurus (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, 'Ἀθ. Πολ. c. 42, with Sandys’ notes; A. Dumont, L’Éphébie attique; P. Girard in Darem. and Sag. 111. pp. 621 ff. (1891).

τὰ [ἐρα ὀπλα] i.e. the shield and spear given by the state.—κατασχυνεῖν, etc.: the fut. infins. refer of course to ὅρκος, ὅν ὀμνύοντες πάντες ol πολίται, the substance of which they embody.

δὲν εἰ μὲν ὁμώμος] an artificial dilemma: the speaker does not doubt that L., as a matter of fact, took the oath in his time.
εὐθὺς δὴ λός ἐστὶ παρασκευασάμενος] 'he has plainly made up
his mind to evade his duty from the first.'—For παρασκευάζεσθαι,
of deliberate intention, cf. Dem. Lept. § 143 e'tis μεγάλας τάς
tιμωρίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ' ἀδικεῖν παρα-
σκευάζεθαι δόξαι.—<ως> οὖδὲν ποιήσων: see Crit. App.—
ἀνθ' ἄν: i.q. ὅστε, 'wherefore,' drawing the inference from the
argument preceding.

§ 77. <ОРΚΟΣ> The 'ephebic' oath which follows is

τὸν παραστάτην ὅτι ἄν στοιχήσω] 'the comrade by whose
side I shall be ranged' in battle: παραστάτης is one's confrade-
on-the-flank, as προστάτης is one's front-rank-man, and ἐπιστάτης
one's rear-rank-man: Arist. Eth. Nic. v. 2. 5 el ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν
παραστάτην, ἐτὶ δειλιάν (sc. γίνεται ἡ ἐπαναφόρα, 'the act is
referred to cowardice'), Soph. Ant. 671.—στοιχήσω: of arrange-
ment in 'rows' or 'ranks' (στοιχοί).

ἱερῶν...ὁσιῶν] sacra et profana: Thuc. ii. 52 (of the plague-
stricken Athenians) ἐσ διεγερτὶν ἑτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὅσιῶν
ὁμολογ., etc.

ἀρείω] 'better' (√ AR, *ἀρω, ἀραφίσκω) is the comp. corre-
spanding roughly to ἄρατος: epic and tragic, rare in prose.—
όσης ἄν π.: = τοσονύς οὐσιν ἄν π.

εὐηκοῆσω τῶν ἂν κραυνόντων] εὐηκοῆσω = dicto audiens ero:
apparently a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, though εὐήκοος is found, and
δυσήκοος and δυσηκοεῖν in later Gk.—τῶν ἂν κραυνόντων: 'the
rulers for the time being': the verb is poetical. [I have adopted
κραυνόντων (Blass) for κραυνόντων of the MSS.]

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

ὁμοφρόνως] with πείσομαι.

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

οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω] Cf. supra § 13 n.

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

Ἰστορεῖς θεοί] 'as witness the gods,' etc. ἰστωρ occurs twice in

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Homer (Il. xviii. 501 ἐπὶ ἱστορί ἐλέσθαι, xxiii. 486 ἱστορα δ’ Ἀτρείδην Ἀγαμέμνονα θεομένα ἄμφω), clearly in the sense of ‘judge,’ ‘umpire.’ θεόν πάντα ἱστορα ποιεόμενος is quoted from an oath in Hippocrates (L.S. s.v.). The word no doubt comes from the rt. ἕν (seen in εἴδον, σίδα, etc.), as is shown by the first Homeric example and also by the occurrence of ἱστορεῖ (= ‘arbitrators’) in inscr.

Ἀγλαύρος] It was ‘in the temple of Aglaurus’ that the ἑπεθήμενος took the oath: cf. Dem. F.L. § 303 τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὄρκον. 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 Κέκροπος θυγατρός 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. Iom, 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 (τῇ περὶ τῆς Θύσεως, § 99). Ulpian says simply ἐὰν τις ἀνέλῃ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, but he follows immediately with: ἡ τολμῶν Ἀγραύλος ἐκουσα αὐτὴν ἔξεδωκεν εἰς θάνατον. ἐραυσε γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους—which last statement looks like a return to Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops. He concludes: εἰτα ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ πολέμου, ἤρθον υπὲρ τοῦτον ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκεῖσε ὄμνυν (‘went there to take the oath’) ὁ ἐφήβοι μελλοντες εξελαί οἱ 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.’

'Ενυάλιος "Δρης] These words probably denote one deity, not two; for 'Ενυάλιος is an epithet of Ares in his special character as war-god (Hom. I. xvii. 210 "Δρης δεινός ένυάλιος), or occurs absol. as his name (Ib. xx. 69 ἄντα δ' 'Ενυάλιοι θεὰ γλαυκώτις 'Αθηνη: cf. Soph. Ai. 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 Ai. l.c. and App.)

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

καλός γ'...δ' άρκος] ‘An honourable and holy oath!’ we may say, though the adjs. are, of course, predicative.

τίνα δ' ἄν τρόπον] Cf. supra § 60 ὅν ἔστω τρόπων της.

§ 78. τοῦ] ‘how?,’ perhaps, rather than ‘where?,’ as frequently: cf. Soph. O. T. 390 τοῦ σὺ μάντις ἐκ σαφής; Dem. c. Aristocr. § 58 τοῦ δ' γένοιτ' ἐν ταύτα;

τίνα δ' ἄν...παρέδωκε μείζονα—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 (τίνα πατρίδα δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττω παραδόσω), which the orator does not systematically pursue further, but rounds off with the sarcastic προδοσία; which paves the way for the concluding το γὰρ...ὑπολειπότας ἔστων. It seems an open ques-
tion whether τίνι should be taken as neut. (‘by what?’), in app. with προδοσία (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 πολι-
λάκις μεῖξιν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς διαδεχομένοις στρατηγοῖς παρεδίδοσαν
(so Rehd., ad loc.).

tὸ γὰρ τούτου μέρος] Cf. supra § 17 τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος n.

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 ἐπείτα τὸν προδότα...οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε; n.

τίνας οὖν τιμωρῆσουσθε;] ‘whom then will you punish?’

ἀρα] ‘one must conclude’: cf. supra § 27 n.

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

eἰ φανεροθε...ὀργιζόμενοι] ‘if you shall show that you keep your
anger rather for small offences’: μᾶλλον perhaps with ἐπὶ τοῖς
μικροῖς, ἄριστος ὑπερ διάρρηκτος, rather than with ὀργιζόμενοι, 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 μῆν] 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 δὴ clause following: cf. supra § 14 n.

καὶ συνέχει μᾶνον τὴν πόλιν (sc. τὸ ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους),
Dem. c. Timocr. § 2 ὧ δοκεῖ συνέχειν τὴν πολιτείαν, τὰ δικαστήρια.

ὁ ἰδιώτης] the term here means simply ‘one who takes no part in public affairs,’ ‘private individual’: as such it is contrasted with βασιλεύς, ἄρχων, στρατηγὸς, δικαστὴς, πολιτευόμενος (v. L.S. s.v. 11). Rather different is the meaning at supra § 31 ἀναβοηθεῖται αὐτίκα ὡς ἰδιώτης ὑν, where the contrast is with ‘the professional speaker’: see note.

ταῦτην πίστιν διδωσιν] ‘gives this as a pledge’ (ταῦτην τὴν πίστιν = ‘this pledge.’ ‘If there is anything in Greek [prose] more certain than another, it is that τὸῦτο τράγμα, 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 οὗτος in which the article may be omitted, and cites as parallels to the passage in the text, Aeschin. Fals. Leg. § 40 ἢξηγηθήν τοῦτον λαβὼν, ‘him as an instructor,’ Isocr. De Pace, § 4 ταῦτην τέχνην ἔχω, ‘I have this as my business’ (τὴν τέχνην Blass), Xen. Oecon. XI. 14 περιπάτῳ τοῦτῳ χρώμαι, ‘this as a constitutional exercise’).

εἰκότωσ· τοὺς μὲν γάρ] cf. supra § 47 n.

πολλοὶ ἡδη...ἀπελύθησαν, ἀλλὰ 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 (ἄθψολ ἐλει), though the present also denotes the state of impunity as opposed to the act of escape (ἀπελύθησαν). Cf. Thuc. II. 89 πολλὰ στρατόπεδα ἡδη ἐπεσεν ὑπ’ ἐλασόνων, i.e. ‘it often happens that great armaments are overthrown by small,’ and Goodwin, M. T. §§ 155–157.—τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον: ‘for all future time.’—τῶν ἀδικηματῶν: i.e. from the consequences of them, ‘unpunished for’ them.

εἰ μὴ αὐτός, οἱ παῖδες γε κ.τ.λ.] The classic example is perhaps Glaucus, the Lacedaemonian, who repudiated a deposit: Her. vi. 86 Πλαύκον νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἱστη οὐδεμιά νομίζομεν ἐναί Γλαύκου· ἐκτετριπταῖ το πρόμεσος ἐκ Σπάρτης.
Cf. Lys. vi. § 20 oβτε γαρ ὁ θεὸς παραχρῆμα κολάξει (ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ μὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρωπίνη δική); πολλαχθέν δὲ ἐξω τεκμαίρομενοι εἰκά-ζειν, ὃρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἄσεβετοτας χρόνως δεδοκότας δικήν, καὶ τούς ἐξ̄ ἐκείνων διὰ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀμαρτήματα, Cic. De Nat. Deor. iii. c. 38 (§ 90).—For ἰεροτύπες, agreeing with the nearer subject, cf. Madvig, § 2 d. R. 1: [Xen.] Rep. Ath. 1. 2 Ἀθήνησι καὶ οἱ πένητες καὶ ὁ δῆμος πλέον ἔχει...τῶν πλουσίων.

§ 80. ταύτην πίστιν ἔδοσαν αὐτοῖς] ‘took’ or ‘bound themselves by’ this pledge (strictly ‘this as a pledge’: cf. ταύτην πίστιν δίδωσιν in previous § and n.), i.e. by an oath, ὄρκος, with which πίστις here is evidently interchangeable, although the two appear to be distinguished in Arist. Rhet. i. 14. 5 ὅτων ὄρκον δεξιάς πίστεις κ.τ.λ. διδόναι πίστιν (ὄρκον) is usually said of ‘tendering an assurance (oath),’ i.e. offering to swear to another party, and δέχεσθαι or λαμβάνειν πίστιν (ὄρκον) of ‘accepting such a tender from another’: Xen. Cyr. vii. 1. 44 π. διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ‘to exchange assurances.’ When the oath is ‘proposed’ or ‘administered’ to oneself, δοῦναι αὐτῷ πίστιν becomes practically = ὃρκον ὄμοσα, ‘to swear an oath.’

οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐφώντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν...εἰδισμένον ὄρκον] The ‘customary oath’ is apparently the ‘ephebic’ 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.

Παλαιῶν ἕντων] concessive.

ὦς ἢς ἱνος] i.e. as though it were ‘a sketch in outline’ which can be filled in: cf. ἱνογραφία.—See Crit. App.

§ 81. ἀνάστατον] Cf. supra § 60 n.

τὰς τὰ τοῦ β. προελομένας] ‘such as have espoused the cause of the barbarian.’

δεκατεύσω] ‘betithe,’ i.e. exact a tenth part from, by way of satisfaction; but the word as used in threats is clearly stronger than its literal meaning, and connotes ‘signal punishment,’ ‘utter destruction,’ as in its proverbial application to Thebes before Leuctra (371 B.C.): Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 20 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξον τὴν γνώμην ὡς Ἐθηβάλους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθήναι ἐλπίς εἶν.

ἀνακοδομήσω] ‘rebuild,’ reficere.

§ 82. ἐνέμειναν ἐν τούτῳ] sc. τῷ ὅρκῳ. The simple dative with ἐμμένω in the transferred sense, ‘abide by’ (τοῖς ὅρκοις, ταῖς σπονδαῖς, etc.), is usual, but not universal: cf. Thuc. iv. 118 ad fin. ἡ μὴ ἐμμενεῖν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, and Rehd., App. 2, ad loc:

πάντων...γενομένων] concessive.

πρὸς] of relation, ‘in face of.’

δ καὶ πάντων] Cf. supra § 56 δ καὶ πάντων γένοιτ’ ἀν ἀτοπώτατον n.

τοὺς μὲν προγόνους...ὑμᾶς δέ] ‘whereas your ancestors dared to die...you decline to punish’: cf. supra §§ 8, 42, etc.

ἐὐκλειάν] a word of poetic flavour, like ἐπιτίμων, αἶων, etc.

tαὐτήν] For the resumptive pronoun, cf. supra §§ 42, 46 nn.
c. 20. §§ 83–89. You of all the Greeks cannot afford to overlook 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. oị́s παραδείγματι 'which as examples': παραδ. is predicative. Cf. Dem. F. L. § 276 οὐ τολμῶν τὰ παλαῖ ἀν τις ἔχωι μονον εἰπεὶν καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τιμωρφὰν παρακαλέσαι.

ἀρχαιοτάτη] 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.
NOTES

§ 85] (ἀ-priv., φέρω): ‘on the occasion of a famine in their country.’—ἐξαναστήσαντας: ἐξανισθήμι (lit. ‘make to rise’) is said of the wholesale removal of a population: Her. I. 171 τοὺς Κάρας...Δωρεῖς τε καὶ Ἰωνές ἐξανάστησαν ἐκ τῶν νῆσων, II. 117 ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωρεῶν, Soph. Ant. 297 τὸδ’ (sc. ὁ ἄργυρος) ἀνδρας ἐξανίσθησον δῆμων. Cf. ἀνάστατος, and supra § 60 n.

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

ἀνελάντος...τοῦ θεοῦ] ‘on the god answering them, that,’ etc.: v. L. S. s.v. ἀναίρεω, III, and cf. Thuc. I. 25 ὁ δὲ (sc. θεός) αὐτοῖς ἀνελα Παράδοναι κ.τ.λ.—ἐστράτευον: ‘set about their expedition,’ perhaps, if we press the tense.


οὗτως...εὐνοὺς ἐχοντες διετέλεον] ‘to such an extent, it would appear, did they continue to enjoy the good-will even of foreigners’: though οὗτως, ταμ, is frequently separated from its adj. (cf. οὗτως ἦσαν...γενναίου a few lines below), the distance between οὗτως and εὐνοὺς 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 ταμ studiosis...utebantur.—τοὺς ἐξωθεὶν ἄνθρωπους, ‘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 αὐτοῖς ἡ.

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

§ 86. ἐτέραν μεταλλάξας...χώραν] Cf. supra § 50 τὸν βιον μετήλλαξαν π.

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

προσέχειν ὅταν τελευτήσῃ τὸν βιον] ‘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 ἑπεδύετο, xx. 53 κακῶν ὑποδύεαι) 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. 1. 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 ἑγκύπτω—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 ὑποδύνα 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 προσπεσώντα] τῷ δρεπάνῳ is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἀποκτ. and προσπ.—προσπεσώντα, for which Blass reads παλαστα out of Suidas' πλήξαντα, seems well enough supported by Dem. l. iv. 8 θαυμάζειν προσπιπτει, 'falls upon (attacks) P.,' and other passages.

§ 87. τῷ Κόδρῳ...τὸν Κόδρον] Blass brackets the first, Taylor the second; but probably both should stand (as Rehd. points out, App. i, ad loc.): (a) τῷ Κόδρῳ is necessary to show that τὸν δὲ περιλέξι. 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.

σπασάμενον] The middle seems more frequent than act. in this sense, but Eur. Or. 1194 ξίφος σπάσαντα, I. T. 322 φάσγανον σπάσας χερ.
‘for burial’: cf. supra § 43 to σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαι n. κατασχέιν] occupare, ‘get possession of’: note the aorist.

ἡ πόλις...ἐδοσαν] for the plural vb. with collective subject, cf. infra § 142 ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαν, Thuc. i. 20 Ἀθηναῖων τὸ πλήθος Ἰππαρχον οἴονται...tύραννον οὐντα ἀποθανεῖν.

αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις] 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 πρυτανεύοντα, v. L.S. s.v. πρύτανες), 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 πράξειν τινα συτήσεως ἀξιωθέντες), (3) those who had been granted perpetual maintenance (ἐτι τις ἐκ τιμῆς ἀέλατον ἦν), 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 ἡρωεῖ τοῖς...идρυμένοις ἦν.

ισοθέων τιμῶν τετυχηκότες] Cf. Dem. F. L. § 280 οὗς (sc. public benefactors) νῦν διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἂς ὑπήρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς λεποῖς ἔτι ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδών...κοινωνίας πεποιηθένε, καὶ ἀδετε καὶ τιμᾶτ’ ἐξ οἷον τοῖς ἡρωεῖ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

ὑπὲρ ἦς...ἐσπούδαζον] There is an obvious temptation to insert <εὖντες> somewhere here, to balance τεθνεῶτες, and give
more force to οὐτε ἕων ὀτε τεθνεώς 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 ὀπίσερ τῆς οὔσιας οὕτω καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομεύει.

§ 89. ἐξορισθεῖ τῆς χώρας] ἐξορίζειν, ‘to send beyond the borders,’ ‘banish,’ Lat. exterminare: so also ὑπερορίζειν. Cf. infra § 113 ἐξορίσαι ἐξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν] neque enim decet.

τὴν αὐτὴν] 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. ὡς οὐκ ἐν ποτὲ ὑπέμεινε...συνειδός] ‘that he would never have faced this trial, had he been conscious,’ etc.: συνειδός = el συνήδει. Cf. Antiph. De Caed. Herod. § 93 εὐ δ’ ἵστε δι’ οὐκ ἐν ποτ’ ἥλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ε’ τι συνήδεις ἐμαυτῷ τοιοῦτον.

ὡσπερ οὐ πάντας...χρωμένους] For this acc. absol. of a personal verb, common with ὡς or ὡσπερ, cf. Plat. Protag. 342 c βραχελας ἀναβολᾶς φοροῦσιν, ὡς δὴ τούτοις κρατοῦντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Ἀκαδαιμονίους, Dem. F. L. § 189 ταῦτα γάρ τραγῳδεῖ περιμῶν, ὡσπερ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τούτων δυναὶ στρατός, ἄλλα τούς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας: Madvig, § 182, Goodwin, § 853.—καὶ τοὺς κλέπτοντας...ιεροσυλοῦντας: 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 sacrilegi sint, etc.

tou prágmatos] The ‘anticipated’ gen. is no doubt meant to give a pointed balance to tís ánaïdelas.

tekmērion...schemión] ‘proof’...‘evidence.’ The locus classicus for these terms is Arist. Rhet. I. 2. 16 ff., where he says: tòn de sHEMEION...tò μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΝ, tò de μή ἀναγκαῖον ἀνώνυμον ἐστι κατὰ tìn διαφοράν. ἀναγκαῖα μὲν οὖν λέγω ἕξ 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. sHEMEION is ‘proof’ in general (whether fallible or not), and the genus sHEMEION is divided into two species, TEKMIHRIOS and SHEMEION, 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): sHEMEION καὶ τΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΝ διαφέρει. Ἄ. ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ (‘handbook of rhetoric’) τὰ μὲν παροιχόμενα sHEMEION πιστοῦσαι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα τΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΝ, ‘where sHEMEION = indications furnished by facts, TEKMIHRA = 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 tā sHEMEIA...tòn 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 τΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΝ μὲν tís πρὸς ύμᾶς εὐνολας, sHEMEION δὲ tís πρὸς Ἰππόνικον συνηθελας, Dem. Lept. § 140 διὶ παντάπασι φόσοις κακίας sHEMEION ἐστὶν ὁ φθόνος...TEKMIHRIA δ’ ἥλκα τοῦτον θεωρῆσαι.

§ 91. tou prágmatos] ‘the fact’ (at issue), ‘the matter in hand’: cf. supra § 11 εἰς τοῦ prágmatos λέγων n.

ėpete ge to ἐλθεῖν τούτον] ‘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 κ.τ.λ. δρᾶν ἐφιν ἀμήχανος, *O.T.* 1417, Thuc. II. 53 τὸ προστάλαιπωρεῖν...οὐδέις ἐπίθευμοι ἡν.


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 εἰ... ἡτύχει, οὐκ ἀν δῆλον ἡν, or εἰ...ἀτυχοὶ, οὐκ ἄν...ἐλη (Goodwin, § 472): the first, which represents a condition contrary to the existing facts (as emphasised in the following clause ἐνταύθα 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.—οὐπω: 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. ἐστι [δῆλος Frohb. (Es, Bl.)].

ἐνταύθα δὲ] sc. ἀτυχῶν.

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

ταύτην τὴν τιμωρεῖν] 'this punishment': the retention of the article is supported by τοῦ ἀκλεοῦς...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 (φθόνος) of the gods: he waxes wanton and commits an act of insolence (ὕβρις):  
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the gods visit him with a blinding influence (ἀτη—ἀδω) which leads him on till the cup of his iniquity is full and he commits the error which causes his own destruction. ἀτη—the influence which 'perverts the understanding'—is related to ὑβρις as child to parent: Aesch. Pers. 821 ὑβρις γὰρ ἑξανθοῦ ἐκάρπωσε στάξιν | ἀτης, '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 ή, and supra § 33 οὐδὲν ἐτερον ἡ φοβούμενος ή.

tῶν ἀρχαλῶν 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 ἀρχαλῶν by a man of Lycurgus' temperament: ΙI. xix. 137 ἄλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην, καὶ μεν φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς, Θεογνίς 403 σπεύδει ἀνήρ, κέρδος διζήμενος, ὃν τινα δαίμων | πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακὴν παράγει, | καὶ οἱ θηκεὶ δοκεῖν, ἄ μὲν ἡ κακά, ταῦτα ἀγάθ᾽ εἶναι, | εὐμαρέως, ἃ δ᾽ ἄν ἡ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά, Soph. Ant. 621 σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται, τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ᾽ ἐσθλὸν τῷ ἕμμεν δὴφ φρένας θέος ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν. The schol. on this last quotes two lines by an unknown poet, οὖν δ᾽ ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσόνῃ κακά, | τὸν νυὼν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον, ὃ 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 volt perdere.'
For χρήσιμοις, cf. Isocr. Paneg. § 171 (the leading statesmen of Greece should have offered counsel about an expedition against Persia: even if they had failed) ἄλλῳ τούς γε λόγους ὁπερ χρήσιμοι εἰς τὸν ἐπίστωτα χρόνον ἀν κατέλειπον, where Sandys renders 'solemn, oracular utterances,' quoting the present passage and Aeschin. Ctes. § 136 οἰμαί υἱὸν δόξεων οὐ ποιήματα Ἡσίοδον εἶναι ἄλλα χρήσιμα ('solemn warning') εἰς τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν.

[βλάπτῃ] Cf. Od. xiv. 178 τὸν δὲ τις ἀθανάτων βλάψει 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. βλάψεως, φρενοβλάπτης." (Jebb on Soph. Ant. 622 ff.)

tοῦτον αὐτὸ πρῶτον] acc. in apposition to the sentence, like πᾶν τοιναντίον, etc.: cf. supra § 73 τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς νίκης n.

ἐξαφανεῖται φρενῶν τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἔστηλον] 'takest utterly from out his good understanding. The most instructive parallel to this passage is perhaps Soph. Ant. 1090 (Ἰνα γυμὸ τρέφειν) τὸν νοῦν τ᾽ ἀμείνῳ τῶν φρενῶν ἦ νῦν φέρει, where Jebb points out that τὸν νοῦν τῶν φρενῶν must be taken together as = 'his mind within his breast,' if ἦ is to be retained. After quoting Il. xviii. 419 τῆς ἐν μὲν νόσος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίων, 'there is understanding in their breasts,' xxii. 475 έσ φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη, 'the soul returned to her breast,' he adds: 'The word φοίνις being thus associated with the physical seat of thought and feeling, ὁ νοῦς τῶν φρενῶν was a possible phrase.'

τρέπει] sc. αὐτῶν, 'him.'

γνῶμην] 'judgment,' 'purpose,' the practical manifestation of the νοῦς, as they may perhaps be distinguished when in juxtaposition. Cf. Lysias c. Andoc. § 22 καίτοι πῶς οὐ θεὸν τὶς τὴν τούτου γνώμην διεφθειρεῖν;

c. 22. § 93. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων...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 Callicrates, 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.

touτoν ψυγόντα] For the resumptive touτoν, cf. Xen. Anab. II. 2. 20 Kléarχos Tολυμίδην Ἡλείον, δν ετύγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ...touτον ἀνεπείδε έκέλευσε: cf. supra § 42, Madvig § 100. c. [Sofer, however, explains touτoν as=τον βάνατον, which seems less likely.]

teύξεται τόν νόμων] 'he would have fair treatment by the laws': cf. [Dem.] or. xliv. § 3 ἀγαπώντες, ἀν τις ἡμᾶς εὗ τῶν νόμων τυγχάνειν, Ibid. § 28, etc. The ambiguous phrase would be interpreted by C. as the opp. of τῶν νόμων εἴργεσθαι: cf. supra § 65.

τόν βωμόν 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.

tό γὰρ τῶν νόμων...τιμωρίας ἔστιν] 'for to meet with the laws, for the guilty, is to meet with punishment': with the reading in the text, τυχείν goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with τῶν νόμων and τιμωρίας, i.e. τὸ τῶν νόμων τυχείν τοῖς ἡδ. ἔστι τὸ τυχείν τιμωρίας. Note that τιμωρίας τυχείν 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.) πιμωπλας, which I have adopted, seems preferable to πιμωπλα of the MSS.]

ο δὲ γε θεὸς...κολάσαι τὸν αἰτίον] ‘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: (1) as a simple adversative, ‘on the other hand,’ ‘on the contrary’: Plat. Protag. 334 A ἀλλ’ ἐγώγε πολλὰ οὖθ’ ἃ ἀνθρώποις μὲν ἀνωφελῆ ἐστὶ, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτᾶ...τὰ δέ γε ὄρφελμα...τὰ δέ βουσιν μόνον, τὰ δέ κυσίν: τὰ δὲ γε τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶ, δεύδροις δὲ, Dem. Mid. § 27 φεύγοντος μὲν γὰρ...ἐστὶ...τῶν οὐκ ὄνθ’ ὃς 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 α ψήφισμα) ‘καὶ ἡλεγχθησάν τινες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὗ τάληθ ἀπαγγέλλοντες.’ οὕτω δὲ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, ‘and so were these too,’ etc., Soph. Ai. 1142 ἡδη ποτ’ εἶδον ἄνδρα..., 1150 ἐγὼ δὲ γ’ ἄνδρ’ ὅπωστα, ‘yes, and I too have seen one,’ Eur. Ion 1329, 1330 προγόνους δάμαρτες δυσμενεῖς ἀεὶ ποτε. ἰμεῖς δὲ μητριναί ἑ 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 αἰτίον: 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 ἡξίουν δοῦναι τὸν βασιλέα θάψαι. Cf. Dem. c. Aristocr. § 56 τοὺς ἐχθρὰ ποιοῦντας...κολάξειν ἀπέ- δωκεν ὁ νόμος, ‘the law empowers you.’

δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἶ, εἰ...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 χρή δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημεῖοι...τεκμηριαμένους ψηφίζεσθαι, Soph. O.C. 94.—For the reading, see Crit. App.

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

τοὺς γονέας...τοὺς τετελευτηκότας...αὐτοὺς] 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 ὁτι ἀμαρτεῖν, ἅλλα 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 αὐτῶν βίον, i.q. τὸν ἡμέτερον αὐτῶν β.

c. 23. § 95. λέγεται γονῖν ἐν Σ.] For γονίν, cf. supra § 86 φασὶ γονίν 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.

εἰ γὰρ καὶ μυθῳδέστερον ἐστίν] It will be, on that account, ἐστὶ ἀκρόβασιν εὐτερπέστερον (Thuc. i. 22). For εἰ καὶ, cf. supra § 62 εἰ καὶ παλαιότερον εἰτεῖν ἐστὶ n.


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

ῥόϊκα πυρός] the regular phrase for 'an eruption,' or more strictly perhaps 'the stream of lava' from a volcano: cf. Thuc.
NOTES

III. 116 ἔρρηθ ὑλὲς περὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸ πυὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττῆς (where the article seems to imply that it was a familiar occurrence).

ἐπὶ <τε>...καὶ δὴ καὶ] <τε> is inserted by Baiter (Es, Bl.): καὶ δὴ καὶ introduces an emphatic additional detail: cf. Her. i. 30 (of Solon) ἐς Ἀγαπην ἀπίκετο...καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις.

κατοικουμένων] sc. πόλεων, passive: cf. Dem. xii. § 5 τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῷ Παγασῆτη κόλπῳ κατοικούμενας, and supra § 64 ἡ γὰρ πόλις οἰκεῖται.

πρεσβύτερον ὄντα καὶ] Es (Bl.) brackets καὶ so as to bring πρεσβ. ὄντα 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 ἐγκαταλείπομενοι οἱ πρόγονοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

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

tὸ θείον] anticipation: ‘how kind Providence is to good men.’


ἀφ’ ὄν...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. ὥστε καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖν] The occurrence of ‘ὡστε intro-
ductory' with the infin. (instead of ωσε δει, 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 ε (after a stop) ωσε με εμαυτόν ἀνερωτάν (=ωσε ἀνηρώτων, 'I began to question myself').

τὴν παρὰ <τῶν> θεών...μαρτυρίαν] Cf. supra § 15 τὴν παρ' ύμων...τιμωρίαν n.

κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ 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 Tyrtæus, 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. οὔ γάρ ἀποστήσομαι τῶν παλαιῶν] 'for I won't depart from ancient history,' i.e. from seeking examples from it: cf. Dem. Lept. § 139 οὔδ' ἐκεῖνον γ' ἀποστατέων τοῦ λόγου, Isocr. De Pace § 81 οὔ μὴν ἀποστήσομαι παντάπασιν ὧν διενοθησώ.—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 τάναντια φαλνεσθαί τούτως ποιοῦντας n.
§ 99] NOTES 169

ἔφ' οίς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι...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 ἀλόγων ἐστὶν...εἰ ἔγιω μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

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

Ἐὐμολπὸν τὸν Π. καὶ Χ.] ‘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: Ἐρακεῖς μὲν γὰρ μετ’ Ἐυ. τοῦ Ποσ. εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, δὲ ἡμιφανῆσαν Ἐρεχθεὶ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσείδω πρότερον Ἀθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν, Paneg. § 68 (cf. Eur. frag. infra, II. 46–49).

τῆς χώρας...ἀμφίσβ.] For the const., cf. Isocr. Panath. l.c., Dem. xxxix. § 19 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμιφασθήτει, ἦν ὑμεῖς ἐμ' ἐχείρο-τονήσατε.

'Ερεχθέα] 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 Eteobutadae, 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.—μέλλοντος...εισβάλλειν: cf. supra § 66 ἐμέλλετε...αφ'ειν ὃν.

τὸν] poetic for ἐλθὼν N, probably betrays as its origin another place of the play from which the ἰῆςις following is quoted: ἐς Δ. τὸν might be the end of an actual iambic trimeter.

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

χρῆσαντος...τοῦ θεοῦ] Cf. supra § 84 ἀνελβάντος ὃ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ.

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

πρὸ τοῦ συμβαλεῖν τῷ στρ.] prīrusquam dūo exercitus congre-derentur. 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 δῶ θ' ὀμοστρόω in l. 36 of the iambics, infra).

ὁ δὲ] The prose uses of δὲ in apodosi 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, ἐπειδῆ, ὅταν, ὡδ, ὡς, 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. ὃτι τά τ' ἄλλα ὡν...καλ τοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] Note that in this const., where we have τά τε ἄλλα with a ptcp. followed by καλ with a finite verb, τά τε 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 φιλανθρωπενήμενος belongs entirely to its own clause, and not at all to that of προάπνευνεν. [τά τ' ἄλλα ἦν Bekk. (Bl., Es.)]

τούτων τῶν μέθον προέλετο ποιήσαι] 'he elected to dramatise this story': ποιήσαι of artistic production, esp. in poetry (cf. ποιητής, Eng. maker, makyr), Plat. Phaedo 61 ἐποληγός μόθος τῶν Ἀἰσιωτῶν, 'put them into verse.'—μόθος, in the technical language of Aristotle, = 'plot,' Poet. 6. 6, where it is defined as μιμητικὸς 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...συνεβιζεσθαι: the infin. is final in force=ὡστε πρὸς ταῦτα κ.τ.λ., quae intuentes ac contemplantes assuesserent, and τὸ τὴν π. φιλεῖν is to be taken as an 'acc. of the inner object,' defining the scope of συνεβιζεσθαι, 'to become habituated in the matter of patriotism,' somewhat like Soph. Ant. 1105 καρδίας ἐξιστάματο τὸ δράν, 'I withdraw from my resolution—in the matter of doing,' and other exx. quoted by Goodwin, § 791.

ἀ πεποληκε λέγουσαν] 'which he has put into the mouth' of the mother, lit. 'represented her as saying': cf. supra τούτων τῶν μύθων προέλετο ποιήσαι π., Aeschin. Cles. § 231 εἰ τις τῶν τραγικῶν ποιητῶν...ποιησειν εἰ τραγῳδία τὸν Θερσίθην ὕπο τῶν Ελλήνων στεφανούμενον.

ἀδίαν...τοῦ γενέσθαι Κ. θυγατέα] 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?'

ΦΗΣΙΣ 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
catastrophe in a tragedy: the ῥῆσεις 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 περὶ συμκροβ πράγματος ῥῆσεις παμμήκεις τοιεῖν, *Rep.* 605 D μακρὰν ῥήσιν ἀποτελένοντα, '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 ὅστις...ἡδιον] For χάριτας...χαρίζεται, cf. Isocr. *Ad Dem.* § 31 χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαρίζῳμενος, Dem. *De Cor.* § 239 εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζει χάριτας συκοφαντῶν ἐμὲ.—ἡδιον: sc. ἑστὶ. The neut. adj. is really in agreement with the thought of the previous line, as though the const. were τὸ χάριτας εὐγ. χαρίζεσθαι ἡδιον κ.τ.λ., but the substitution of the relative clause for the articular infin. (or εἰ τις) is thoroughly Euripidean: cf. *Hel.* 271 καὶ τοῦτο μείζων...κακόν, ὅστις...κέκτηται, *Ib.* 941 παισὶ γὰρ κλέος τόδε...ὁστὶς κ.τ.λ., *I.T.* 606, *Phoen.* 509, *Med.* 220, etc. So also Thuc. II. 44, 62; III. 45 πολλῆς εὐηθελας ὅστις οὐτεῖν κ.τ.λ., 'it is great folly to imagine,' etc.

2, 3. οὐ δὲ δρῶσι μὲν, χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσιν] '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 ἐγὼ following. See Crit. App.]


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

7, 8. ᾧ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς... αὐτόχθονες] Note that this πρῶτα μὲν has no ἐπετα (δὲ) answering it.—λεῶς 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... ἐσεμώνυτο ὑμ. ; also Isocr. Paneg. § 24 παύην γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν οὗτος ἐτέρους ἐκβαλὼντες... οὕτ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἔθνων μυγάδες συλλεγέντες... αὐτόχθονες ὑντες κ.τ.λ., a passage which recurs with little variation in [Lys.] Epitaph. § 17.

8–10. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις... ἐισαγώγιμοι] '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 (πεσσοὶ), 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 πεσσοὶ, and its connection with dice (κύβοι), which may have determined the position of the πεσσοὶ on the board. Plutarch, indeed (Mor. 604 D), quotes l. 9 as πεσσῶν ὅμοιος διαφορθείσαι βόλαις, which seems to mean 'tossed to and fro (ultra citro iactatae) as by casts of the dice,' though διαφορεῖν has usually the stronger sense of 'harry,' 'plunder': cf. Her. III. 53, Dem. XLV. § 64. Also in l. 10 he gives ἄγῳγιμοι (contra metrum).—πεσσὸν ὑμ. διαφ. ἐκτισμ. = διαφοράς ὁ ταῖς πεσσῶν διαφ.: compendious comparison.—ἐισαγώγιμοι: practically = ἐπακτοι, the idea of 'permissibility' suitable to the termination of the adj. (as in ἐισαγώγιμος δίκη) being here quiescent: so τὰ ἐισαγ. = 'imports.'
11-13. ὁστις δ' ἀπ' ἀλλὰς 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 πόλεως metri causa,
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.: ἡκασεν Dobree) seems
distinctly preferable to οἰκίζει 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 ἄν with the conj.,
cf. Soph. O.T. 1231, O.C. 395, El. 771, etc.—ἄρμός: here, as
παγεῖσ shows, a 'fastening' in the concrete sense, 'a peg,' 'bolt,'
as Eur. Med. 1315 ἐκλύθη ἄρμοις, 'undo the fastenings' of the
doors; otherwise, 'a chink,' 'aperture' between two things
which are joined together: Soph. Ant. 1216 ἄρμον χώματος
λιθοσπαδῆ, 'the opening made by wrenching away the stones.'
—λόγῳ...τοῖς δ' ἐργοσιν: 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' ἐργοσιν κακά.

14. ἐκατη] Doric and tragic form of ἐκητὶ = ἐνεκα.

15. θεῶν...τῇ ῥώμεθα] θεῶν is one syllable by synizesis: cf.
supra l. 7 λεώς.—τῇ ῥώμεθα: for the lengthening of the short
vowel in arsi before ρ, due to the strong pronunciation of the
letter initially (v. L.S. s. lit. 111), cf. Soph. O.T. 847 τοῦτ' ἐστίν
ἡδη τοῦργον εἰς ἐμὲ ῥέτουν.

16. πόλεως δ' ἀπάσης...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 = αὐτὴν.

18. προπάντων μιὰν ὑπὲρ δοῦναι θανείν] προπάντων (Meineke,
for πρὸ πάντων) here depends upon ὑπὲρ (as the accentuation of
the prep. shows: ὑπὲρδοῦναι mss.): others writing ὑπὲρ δ. θ.
make ὑπὲρ...θανείν a case of ἐνεσί = ὑπὲρθανείν, on which com-
 pound προπάντων then depends: cf. Eur. Phoen. 998 ψυχὴν τε
δῶσω τῆσδ' ὑπὲρθανείν χθονὸς.
NOTES

19, 20. *εἴπηρ γὰρ ἀριθμὸν...τὸ μεῖξον*] ‘for if I understand number, and what is greater than the less’: *εἴπηρ...ἀριθμὸν οἶδα* was probably a proverbial expression: v. L.S. s.v. ἀριθμὸς.

20, 21. *οὖν ὁικὸς...οὐδ’ ἱσον φέρει*] ‘the misadventure of one house outweighth not that of the whole city, nay, nor doth it count as equal.’—οὖν (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 πταλωσάς with ἄπώσης πόλεος.—πόλεος: cf. supra l. 11 n.—ἱσον φέρει: cf. the Homeric ἴσοφαρίζεω.

22, 23. εἰ δ’ ἦν ἐν οἰκοισ...ἀρσην] ‘now had I in my house male offspring in place of female, ‘sons instead of daughters: ἥλειόν 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. ὁὐκ ἀν νῦν ἐξεπεμπον...προταρβοῦσ;] ‘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 προταρβοῦσ, ‘I would send...without blenching,’ but this seems less likely.

25–27. ἄλλ’ ἐμοίγ’ ἐστώ τέκνα...πεφυκότα] ‘nay, mine be children [ἐστώ G. Herm. (Turr., Thalh.): ἐσθ Ald. (Bl.): ἐστίν Rehd.: ἐστι codd.] who should both fight and be illustrious among men, and not be mere figures in the state.’—μάχουσ 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.—σχήματ’ ἄλλως: σχῆμα, of the appearance as opp. to the reality: cf. Eur. Frag. 25 γέρωντες οὐδὲν ἐσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅχλον γιὰ καὶ σχῆμ’, ‘nothing but number and a mere outside’ (L.S.); we may compare the somewhat similar use of ἀριθμός, Eur. Troad. 476 ὁὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἄλλ’ ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν, and Horace’s nos numerus sumus.

28, 29. τὰ μητέρων δὲ...όρμωμένους] ‘but whenene’er a mother’s
tears escort her sons, they unman many as they set forth to the fray': \(\pi\varepsilon\mu\pi\varepsilon\nu\) here of 'escorting' perhaps rather than 'sending' (cf. \(\pi\omicron\omicron\mu\tau\omicron\gamma\), \(\pi\omicron\mu\tau\alpha\omicron\oslash\)).—\(\theta\varepsilon\iota\lambda\nu\): gnomic.

30. \(\pi\rho\delta\) 'before,' i.e. 'in preference to' honour (\(\tau\omicron\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\omicron\)).

31. \(\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\ \eta\) The Mss. give \(\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\), for which none of the numerous remedies proposed seems satisfying palaeographically: \(\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\ \eta\) (Matthiae) at least cuts the knot.

32-35. \(\kappa\alpha\ \mu\eta\nu\ \theta\alpha\alpha\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\ \gamma\varepsilon\) \(\kappa\alpha\ \mu\eta\nu\) 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 (\(\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\)): my daughter by dying for the state will win a crown of glory which none shall divide with her': for \(\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\), cf. \(\text{supra} \ \S\ 50 \ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\lambda\omicron\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\ \tau\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\nu\ \phi\nu\chi\alpha\nu\ \pi\nu\).—\(\epsilon\iota\ \mu\iota\ \mu\omicron\nu\): the juxtaposition of these words emphasises the oneness of the sacrifice and the oneness of the reward.

36. \(\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \theta^\prime\ \omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) 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 \(\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\ \theta\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\) (\(\text{supra} \ l. \ 22\)) and \(\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\mu\omega\nu\) (\(\text{infra} \ l. \ 40\)) imply that she has more than one daughter. Lycurgus' language at \(\S\ 99 \ \text{supra}, \ \tau\omicron\ \nu\ \theta\nu\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\ \theta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\), 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, i.e.

38. \(\tau\omicron\nu\ \omicron\kappa\omicron\ \epsilon\mu\nu\ \pi\lambda\nu\ \eta\gamma\ > \ \phi\upsilon\omicron\omicron\) '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. \(<\eta\gamma\ > \ \text{Wagner (Sch., Thalh.)}: \ <\tau\gamma\ > \ \text{Sauppe (Bl.)}: \ <\epsilon\nu\ > \ \text{Rehd.}: \ \text{alii alia.}\]

39. \(\theta\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\omicron\]\ Cf. \(\text{supra} \ \S\ 43, 87, \) etc.

\(\alpha\omicron\rho\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) 'shall be taken,' for which \(\alpha\lambda\omega\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) would be normal in prose: \(\upsilon\omicron\beta\omicron\eta\nu\) regularly = 'was chosen.'

41, 42. \(\omicron\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\ \alpha\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \pi\omicron\omicron\omicron\) '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.—τοῦν γ’ ἐμοῖ ὀν ὑπ’ ἐκβαλεὶ, quantum in me est, ‘as far as it rests with me.’

43-45. ἐκείνο δ’ οὐ...ἐκβαλεὶ] ‘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.’—ἐκείνο is an absol. acc. (cf. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ, etc.) which looks forward to and is in apposition with the main statement οὐκ ἔσον...οὐτὸς ἐκβαλεῖ.—οὐ τὸ πλεῖστον...μέρος: lit. ‘of which the part in the common weal is the greatest’: μέρος is said of the part assigned to’ or ‘played by’ one in anything: cf. ἐν μέρει (τινὸς) ποιεῖσθαι, ἐν οὐδὲνος εἶναι μέρει, ‘to be of no consequence.’—ἀνὴρ: this, which is Bothe’s [Rehd., Sofer: ἀνερ Valck. (Thalh.)] correction, I have adopted with some diffidence for ἀνερ 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 (1. 4) οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ’ ἀλγεινόν οὐτ’ ἄτης ἄτερ, which has been variously treated (see C. and A. and Jebb, ad loc.) so as to obtain a positive meaning.—θέσμι: = νόμιμα, δικαία, Hesych.: cf. Aesch. Eum. 491, Soph. Aï. 713.—ἐκβαλεὶ: ‘annul,’ ‘set at naught’: cf. Soph. O.T. 849 κούκ ἐστιν αὐτῷ τοῦτο γ’ (sc. τὸ ἔπος) ἐκβαλεῖν πάλιν, O.C. 631 τὶς δὴτ’ ἀν ἀνδρὸς εὐμένειαν ἐκβάλοι | τοιοῦτο.’

46. ἀντ’ ἐλᾶς χρυσέας τε Γ’.] The olive tree and the Gorgon (for which latter see L.S. or Class. Dict.) were the distinctive emblems of Athena, as the trident (τράγων) 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).—[ἀντ’ ἐλᾶς, which is Dobree’s correction of ἀν τελείας, is truly a palmaris emendatio.]

47. ἐν πόλεω πάθροις] ‘in the heart of the city,’ in sinu urbis, is perhaps our equivalent.

P.L.

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


51. ἀντι...ψυχῆς μιᾶς] 'at the price of a single life.'

52. καὶ ραδίως] i.e. 'in that case we should both,' etc. For the sentiment, Rehd. cites Eur. Phoen. 1017 κακῶν ἄν αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων | πειρώμεναι τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν.

53. c. 25. § 101. ταύτα] obj. of the thing taught after ἐπαιδεύει, with which (as also with ἑποίησε following) supply Ὁ Εὐπριτίδης as subject.

ἐποίησε] 'he has represented': cf. supra § 100 ἐ πεποίηκε λέγουσαν ν.

τοῦς γ' ἀνδρας...ἐκεῖν] (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 ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας.

ἐσπερ Δ.] 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.

54. c. 26. § 102. καὶ τῶν 'Ο. παρασχέοιθα ἐπών] 'to quote you also some of H.'s poetry,' as inculcating patriotic principles: cf. παρέχεοιθα μάρτυρα, τεκμήριον, etc.—ἐπών: of epic poetry par excellence, cf. Her. II. 117 "Ομηρος μέν νυν, καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπει, χαιρέτω, Thuc. I. 3, etc.: the gen. is partitive.

οὕτω γάρ ὑπέλαβον...σπουδαῖον] For the separation of ὦτω from the adj. which it qualifies, cf. supra § 85 οὕτως...εὖνος ἑχοντες διετέλουτι ν.—For the value of the Homeric poems from
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the military point of view, which is the one specially intended by Lycurgus, we may compare the well-known passage of the Frags (ll. 1034–6), where Aristophanes credits 'the divine Homer' with having taught τάξεις, ἄρετᾶς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν, and Isocr. Paneg. § 159 οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὄ. ποίησιν μεῖζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὃτι καλῶς τοῖς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθήναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμον αὐτοῦ ποίησαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μονακής ἀθλοῖς καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἐπῶν...καὶ ἥλιοντες τὰς ἄρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνως ἐπιθυμόμεν. Against such passages may be placed the polemic of Plato (Rep. 598 D—601 B), where, denying that the poet writes with knowledge, he asks (600 A), ἀλλὰ δὴ τίς πόλεμοι ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ἢ ἐκείνου ἀρχόντων ἡ ἑυμβουλευόντος εὖ πολεμηθεῖς μνημονευται; 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 κἀγαθός’ (Sandys on Isocr. Paneg. l.c.).

ὡςτε νόμον ἐθεντο...ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη] 'that they passed a law that he alone among the poets should have his poems recited at each quinquennial celebration of the Panathenaeae.' 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 πεντετρίδα τῶν Π.: 'at each quinquennial celebration of the Panathenaeae,' acc. to the Greek mode of reckoning: the reference is to ‘the Great Panathenaeae,’ Π. τὰ μεγάλα, held once every four years, in the third year of each Olympiad)(Π. τὰ μικρά, τὰ καρ’ ἐνιαυτόν, 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.’

—πεντετερίδα: so Dobree (Bl., Sofer) for πενταετερίδα, acc. to Moeris’ canon πεντετερίς. 'Αττικῶς, πενταετηρίς. 'Ελληνικῶς.—μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν: cf. supra § 67 μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν n.—ραψῳδεῖα τὰ ἑπτή; ‘that his poems should be recited.’

For ραψῳδεῖα, ραψῳδία, ραψῳδὸς 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 Panathenaeae 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 ραψῳδὸς 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 ραψῳδεῖα (often accompanied by περελεμ, suggestive of the ‘wandering minstrel,’ as Plat. Rep. x. 600 D Ὀμηρον...ἡ Ἡσιοδον ραψῳδεῖα ἄν περιεύντας εἰῶν,); cf. Dem. xiv. § 12 οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ ῥαψῳδήσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιεύντες, ‘will simply deliver a homily.’

ἐπιδειξιν ποιούμενοι.] = ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ‘by way of demonstrating’: cf. supra § 1 τῆν ἄρχην...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.’—μιμούμενοι 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 μιμεῖσθαι and μιμητικός 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 Art⁴, c. ii. With the language of L. here we may compare Isocr. Ad Nicoc. § 43 σημείων (that the majority prefer τὰ χαριστάτα to τὰ χρησιμώτατα) δ’ αν τις ποιήσαιτο τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους φαίνει μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενησάναι συμβοῦλους τὸ βίω τῷ τῶν ἄνθρωπων.—ἐκλεξάμενοι, ‘choosing for themselves,’ i.e. for their special purpose.—συμπελθόντων: perhaps not so much ‘join in influencing’ as ‘add their influence to other influences’ in admonishing men.

§ 103. γὰρ] ‘for instance.’

αλλὰ μάχεσθ’ κ.τ.λ.] II. xv. 494–499, with some variations: διαμπερὲς for ἀλλὲς, νήπια τέκνα for παιδές ὀψίσω, καὶ κλῆρος καὶ οἶκος for καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος. 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. II. xi. 191 ἢ δουρὶ τυπεῖς ἢ βλήμενος ἵφ, but the distinction cannot always be pressed in Homeric usage.

κλῆρος] “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. οὕτως ἐσχόν πρὸς ἀρετῆν] But infra § 108 οὕτω τούτων εἰχὸν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οἱ τοῦτων ἄκοιντες. 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 (εἰχὸν). Goodwin, §§ 55–57.

οἱ γοῦν ἐν Μαραθῶνι] For γοῦν, cf. supra §§ 71, 86 nn.—
\( \textit{év Ἐπαρθῶν}: \) the prep. in this phrase is now generally expelled by editors, in accordance, seemingly, with the best Greek usage, which makes \( \textit{Ἐπαρθῶν} \) a locative; but Cobet’s ‘\textit{nemo unquam veterum \( \textit{ἐν M. dixit} \)’ is too sweeping, in the face both of the mss. and of inscr. (v. Rehd., App. 1, \textit{ad loc.}). Cf. Her. vi. 111–117, Aeschin. \textit{Ctes.} § 181, etc. On the other hand, \( \textit{ἐν Σαλαμῖν} \) appears to be the regular expression, though the Aeschin. passage just cited for \( \textit{ἐν M.} \) curiously enough gives \( τῇ \textit{Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχίᾳ} \) (with \( τῇ \textit{περὶ Σαλαμῖνα} \) as an inevitable variant), and Dem. \textit{F.L.} § 312 shows \( οἱ \textit{Ἐπαρθῶν καὶ Σαλαμῖν} \) (κὰν Herwerden).

\( \textit{τὸν \& ἀπάσης τῆς \'A. στόλον} \) An armament ‘drawn from the whole of Asia’ need not necessarily have been \textit{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, \textit{History of Greece}, vol. ii, p. 25, n. 6.

\( \textit{τῶν \& \textit{Ἐ. προστάτας}, τῶν \& \textit{ἐς} \textit{δε} \textit{β. δεσπότας...λόγῳ...ἔργῳ} \) A thoroughly Isocratean passage: note the favourite antithesis (\( λόγῳ...ἔργῳ \)), the exact balancing of clauses (\( παρισῶσιν \)), and the assonance (\( προστάτας...δεσπότας \) (\( παρισῶσις \)).

\( \textit{ἐπεδεικνυτο} \) \textit{praec se ferebant.} \[ cf. supra § 85, 102 \]

\( \textit{ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲ χρόνοις} \) These words (as Dr Verrall points out in his essay on Tyrtaeus, see note \textit{infra}) are ambiguous: (\( a \)) taking them with \( \textit{πολεμοῦσιν} \) and \( \textit{ἀνείλεν} \), we shall render: ‘when the martial L. had in former times a war with the M.,’ (\( b \)) taking them as attributive (\( \textit{ἐν τοῖς \& \textit{ἐμπροσθὲ χρόνοις M.} \) 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.

\( \textit{πολεμοῦσι πρὸς M.} \) 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 δὲ Μεσσήνην πεντακοσίους ἔτεων ὑστερον...συνοικισθείσαν; n. [See note on Tyrtaeus, infra.]

άνείλευ τὸ θεός] Cf. supra § 84 ἀνελόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ n.

λαβεὶν...νικήσειν] The first infin. represents a command, the second a statement: ‘the god answered in 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.

οἱ ἀδὲ βασιλεόντων] ἀδὲ refers here rather to the ancient and unbroken line of the Spartan kings than = ‘from time to time.’

For the const. τοῖν...οἱ βασιλεόντων, cf. Xen. Hell. v. 4. 19 τῶ δύο στρατηγῶν, οἱ (but σωφροσύνην following).

§ 106. Τυρταῖον στρατηγῶν ἔλαβον] 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.]

την περὶ τῶν νέων ἐπ. συνετάξαυτο] ‘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.'

ēis ἄπαντα τὸν αἰώνα] Cf. supra § 7 κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος, § 62 τὸν αἰὼνα ἀλκητῶς ἐστὶ n.

κατέλυπε...ἐλεγεία ποιήσας] 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 τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον ὑπόθελι (‘staking his personal safety’) ἐλεγεία ποιήσας ἐδε, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν <ἀν> ἐσωσε τῇ πόλει, τὴν δ’ ὑπάρχουσαν αἰσχύνην ἀπῆλλαξεν.—ποιήσας: ‘which he had composed’: cf. Dem. l.c.

§ 107. περὶ τούς ἀλλοὺς...λόγον ἑξοντες] cum ceterorum poetarum nullam rationem habeant: so Plat. Tim. 87 C λόγον ἑχειν περὶ τινος, and the commoner λόγον τινὸς ποιεῖσθαι, ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιείσθαι (esp. in Herod.).

ἐσπονδάκασιν...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.

ὅταν...ἐξετρατευμένοι ὥσι] ‘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 Βοωρω δὲ πετυσμένοι τὰ πράγματα ἐπι τοῖς ὑρίοις ἦσαν ἐξετρατευμένοι. [ἐξετρ. ὦσι Es (Bl., Sofer): ἐκτρατευμένοι εἰσι codd.: ἐκτρ. ὦσι A. G. Becker (Sch., Rehd., Thalh.): ἐκτρ. ἤσι Heinr. (Turr.).]

καλεῖν] ‘should be summoned’: cf. supra § 16 ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος...κατακομίζειν 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 ἐθελωμέν τε μεῖναι κ.τ.λ., where he quotes from Brasidas’ address before the battle of Amphipolis (Thuc. v. 9. 6):
καὶ νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι.

οῖα ποιοῦντες...παρ' ἐκεῖνοις] '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 εὐδοκίμουν is indef., 'people,' homines, on.

2. ἀνδρὸν ἀγαθόν] predicative, perhaps, 'like a brave man,' the subject of τεθνάμεναι being indefinite.

περὶ ἧν πατρ[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 A περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβερνεῖν (though the idea here is rather different). Thuc. vi. 34 περὶ τῇ Σικελία ἐσται 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 δ's, ἥ, ὅ, and =τῇ ἐαυτῷ. So in next line ἤν δ' αὐτῶν = suam ipsius: Soph. O. T. 1248 τοῖς οἶσιν αὐτῶν.

4. ἀνηρότατον] The second syllable of this word is short also in Theognis (πόλλ' ἀνηρὰ παθὼν): in Hom. and Soph. always ἀνι- (cf. ἀνιάω): see L.S. s.v.

6. κουριδ[ὴ] ἀλόχυφ] a common Homeric phrase, 'his wedded (lawful) wife') (a concubine, παλλακῆ, παλλακῆς.

7. τοῦ...οὗς κεν ἱκταί] iis...quoscumque adierit: τοῦι is demonstrative and antecedent of: ὦς.—ἰκνέωμαι regularly with bare acc. in Hom. ("Ολυμπον, Τροίην, δήμον, etc.), unless indeed the verb here has the meaning of 'supplicate' (=ἰκτεύω), which is quite possible, but the literal sense goes well with πλαξόμενον above.

9. κατὰ δ' ἄγλαδν 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. Op. 712 σὲ δὲ μὴ τι νῦν κατελεγχέτω 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.

§ 107. 13] \( \Delta \tau \mu \mu \eta \ldots \epsilon \pi \tau \alpha i \) \( \) For the quantity of the penult. of \( \Delta \tau \mu \mu \eta \), cf. \( O d . \) xiii. 142 πρεσβύτατον καὶ ἀρατον \( \Delta \tau \mu \mu \eta \sigma \)ν εἰλλείν.—

\( \epsilon \pi \tau \alpha i \), 'attends upon': II. iv. 415 τούτῳ...κῦδος ἢμ' \( \epsilon \pi \tau \alpha i \) : so also \( \alpha \tau \eta \), τιμή.—For the sing. predicate with a composite subject, which is felt as making up a single idea, cf. Luc. Dial. Mort. 6. I ὡ Μοῖρα καὶ ὡ Φύσις διέταξαν: so Livy ix. ii. 4 τοῦμ σπονδιον εἰ ᾿παξ ῥεποδιετωρ, Ps. lxxxiv. 2 'my heart and my flesh crieth out.'

\( \) 11, 12. \( e l \ \delta' \ldots \omega \delta e m i l' \ \omega \rho \eta \ldots \gamma \epsilon \nu e o s \) '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: \( e l \ \delta' \ (\omega \delta e) \ \alpha \nu \delta r o s \ldots \omega \delta r \) ὑπὸσον \( \gamma \epsilon \nu e o s \) γλυκεται \( \omega \delta e m i a \ \omega \rho \eta \ \omega \delta' \) αἰδὼς, the suppression of the first \( \omega \delta e \) being paralleled by e.g. Aesch. Agam. 532 Πάρος γὰρ \( \omega \delta e \) συντελῆς πῖλις κ.τ.λ. See Crit. App.—\( e l \ \nu \) c. indic. in Hom. is so comparatively frequent (II. xv. 162, xx. 129, xxiv. 296; Od. ii. 274, xii. 382) as to suggest that \( \nu \) was originally normal in protases c. indic. and was afterwards displaced by \( \mu \eta \) 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 \( \nu \) after \( e l \) when the latter is virtually=\( \epsilon \pi e l \), 'since,' \( q u o n i a m \), \( q u a n d o q u i d e m \), as it clearly is here where the substance of the preceding lines is asserted as an established truth. Cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 33 \( e l \ \delta e \ \omega \delta e n \ \eta m \alpha r t h a i \) μοι, 'but since I have committed no offence,' Dem. c. Androl. § 18 \( e l \ \delta' \) \( \nu \) \( \nu \) \( \epsilon x e a t i \), 'but seeing that it is not permissible,' c. Timocr. § 53, etc. (See App. C to Cope's Rhetoric of Aristotle, vol. 1 (Sandys), and, generally, Goodwin, §§384–387.)—\( \omega \rho \eta \), 'regard,' 'consideration' (Att. \( \omega \rho a \)): Her. i. 4 μηδεμίαν \( \omega \rho e n \) \( \epsilon x e i n \) ἄρπαζθεισῶν (sc. τῶν γυναικῶν), Soph. O.C. 386, Trach. 57.

\( \) 13. \( \theta \upmu \mu \omega \) 'with spirit,' 'courageously': so often in Hom. ὀτρύνε μένοι καὶ \( \theta \upmu \mu \)ν ἐκάστου, and cf. \( \theta \upmu \mu \)δος and τὸ \( \theta \upmu \mu \)οεδῆς, 'the spirited principle,' in Plato's psychology.
14. \( \psi \nu \chi \varepsilon \omega \nu \) two syllables (synizesis).—\( \mu \nu \kappa \varepsilon \tau \) is due to the imperatival force of the hortatory subj., the clause being

\[ \theta \nu \gamma \sigma \kappa \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \mu \tau \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha \]

15. \( \delta \nu \varepsilon \iota, \ \alpha \nu \Lambda \mu \alpha \varepsilon \varepsilon \theta \delta e \) Some think (with Heinrich) that a new fragment begins here.—\( \alpha \nu \Lambda \ \text{hortatium} \) is freq. in Hom. with an imper. or subj.: cf. the quotation \( \text{supra} \ § 103 \) \( \alpha \nu \Lambda \mu \alpha \varepsilon \varepsilon \theta \delta ^{\prime} \epsilon \tau i \ \nu \nu \sigma i \ \delta \iota \alpha \mu \pi \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \). The usage no doubt arose after a preceding imperative, which came to be suppressed: 'do not do this, but,' etc.

16. \( \phi \delta \beta \nu \iota \) in the Homeric sense, practically = \( \phi \nu \gamma \gamma \) preceding.

17. \( \epsilon \nu \ \phi \varepsilon \varepsilon i \ \theta \upsilon \mu \delta \upsilon \) ‘your heart within your breast,’ \( \phi \varepsilon \varepsilon \upsilon \) being conceived as the physical seat of the \( \theta \upsilon \mu \delta \) as often in Hom., \( \theta \upsilon \mu \delta \ \epsilon \nu i \ \sigma \theta \varepsilon \theta \varepsilon \sigma i \), \( \epsilon \nu \ \phi \varepsilon \varepsilon i \ \theta \upsilon \mu \delta \), etc. Cf. \( \text{supra} \ § 92 \ \varepsilon \xi \alpha \phi \alpha \iota \rho \iota \varepsilon i \tau i \ \phi \varepsilon \varepsilon \upsilon \upsilon \ | \ \tau \nu \ \nu \nu \ \tau \nu \ \epsilon \sigma \theta \lambda \nu \ \iota \).

20. \( \tau o \nu s \ \gamma e \rho \alpha \iota \iota \) For the short penult., cf. the Aristophanic \( \varphi \nu \mu \mu \iota \ \varphi \varepsilon \iota \alpha \iota \iota \) at the end of a trimeter, though \( \varepsilon \iota \alpha \iota \iota \) 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 (\( \tau o \varphi \nu \mu \mu \iota \o \nu \)s for \( \tau o \varphi \nu \mu \mu \iota \o \nu \)s), after which the \( \iota \) disappeared as at the beginning of words. Thus we have \( \varphi \upsilon \varsigma s, \tau o \varphi \nu \mu \mu \iota \o \nu \) scanned with a short first syllable; \( \pi o \varepsilon \nu \) alongside of \( \pi o \varepsilon \nu \); \( \upsilon \nu \)s written almost uniformly for \( \upsilon \nu \)s in the 4th cent. B.C., though \( \upsilon \) is still scanned as long (Giles, \( \text{Comp. Phil.} \), § 122. 6).

21. \( \alpha \iota \sigma \chi \rho \upsilon \ \gamma \delta i \ \tau o \nu t o \ \kappa . \tau . \lambda . \) The ten lines which follow are practically an expansion of Hom. \( \text{II. xxii.} \ 71-76: \)

\[ \nu \nu \varphi \ \delta e \ \tau e \ \pi \alpha \nu \iota \ \epsilon \pi \varepsilon \iota \iota \iota \kappa e \]

\[ \alpha \rho \iota \kappa \tau \alpha \mu \iota \mu \epsilon \nu \varphi, \]

\[ \kappa \iota \iota \sigma \theta \iota i: \ \pi \alpha \nu t a \ \delta e \ \kappa a l a \ \theta a \nu \omega i \ \pi e r, \ \delta t t i \ \varphi a \nu \gamma \iota. \]

\[ \alpha \lambda \iota \ \delta e \ \delta \iota \ \pi o \iota \iota \ \tau e \ \kappa a r h \ \pi o \iota \iota \ \tau e \ \gamma \iota \varepsilon \iota o \iota \]

\[ \alpha i \delta \omega \ \tau \ \alpha i \sigma \chi \iota \omega \omega i \ \kappa \nu e s \ \kappa a \tau \alpha \mu \iota \iota o i o \ \gamma \iota \rho \varepsilon \iota o \iota o, \]

\[ \tau o \nu t o \ \delta e \ \o \iota \kappa t i o s t o n \ \pi e \le \tau \iota i \ \delta e i \lambda \iota \iota i \ \beta r o \tau o \iota \iota i. \]

24. \( \kappa o \nu \iota \) In Hom. the penult. is short in the quadrisyllabic \( \kappa o \nu \iota \sigma \), long in the trisyllabic forms: in Attic we have -\( \iota \) in dactylic and anapaestic rhythms, but -\( \iota \) in iambics (L.S. s.v.).
26. νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν] ‘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 κείσε δ’ ἐγὼν οὐκ ἐλεί—νεμεσητὸν δὲ κεν ἐλη, ‘twere enough to make one wroth,’ and twice at least (II. ix. 523, Od. xxii. 59—in both cases urging the acceptance of an offer), πρὶν δ’ οὗ τι νεμεσητὸν κεχολώθαι, ‘ere that, ’tis no blame to thee (i.e. no one can feel indignant) that thou should’st be wroth.’ At II. xi. 649 we have the word applied to a person, αἰδοῖος νεμεσητὸς δ’ με προήκε πυθέοθαι, where the force seems to be active, ‘an austere man,’ one whose character it is to be angry at wrong (cf. ἐπιεικῆς, ‘yielding,’ caustus, 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 τὰ γ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς (ἐστι) καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν, lit. ‘these things are unseemly to the eyes, and a thing that moveth indignation to behold’ (ἰδεῖν epexegetic infin.). But it is possible (I imagine) to take αἰσχρὰ (= αἰσχρῶν) and νεμεσητὸν both with ἰδεῖν, and construe: αἰσχρὰ καὶ νεμέσητὸν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τὰ γ’ ὀφθαλμοῖς, where τὰ γ’ is object and ὀφθ. ἰδεῖν go together.]

27. χρῶν γυμνωθέντα] ‘with his body stripped naked’: χρῶν (χρῶς) is acc. of ‘respect’ or of ‘of the part affected,’ with γυμνωθέντα. νέοισι] ‘a youth’: the plural is used in a general sense: we have sings. following.


29. θητῶς ἰδεῖν] conspiciendus, ‘an object of admiration.’

30. καλὸς] the ἀ is regular in epic (cf. l. i): at Theocr. vi. 19 we have τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφινται.

NOTES

32. στηριχθές ἐπὶ γῆς] ‘firm planted on earth’: II. xxii. 241 (of Achilles’ combat with Scamander) οὐδὲ πόδεσσων ἐίχε στηριχθές, ἵνα he could not get a firm footing.

χελλός ὀδούσι δακών] a mark of stern determination: the Homeric ὀδάξ ἐν κελεσφί φόντεσ, which occurs thrice in Od. (1. 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 χελεσίν ὄδον ὀδόντος (of Pentheus’ rage against the supposed Dionysus).

§ 108. προσέχειν] absol., cf. supra § 10, etc.

ἐίχον πρὸς ἀνδρέαν] cf. supra § 104 οὕτως ἐσχον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀρτικῆς ἐπέβησαν] ‘set foot in L.’: so even ἐμβαλὼν and ἐπεμβαλὼν (Soph. O.C. 400, 924), probably through the influence of ἐπιμβαλὼν, or the gen. may be felt as a partitive.


§ 109. ἐκατέρως ἐπιτύμβια] I have adopted Rehdantz’s suggestion for the MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄριοι τοῦ βίου, 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 βίου is discounted by the circumstance that the locale of the inscr. is different. Wurm, followed by Blass, reads ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡριοῖς, ‘on their barrows,’ on the strength of Harpocratius’ ἡρία. Α. ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αβτολύκουν. ἡρία ἐσῶν οἱ τάφοι, but this leaves τοῦ βίου unaccounted for.

πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς 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 ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς “Ελληνας.

ἐκείνοις μὲν] ‘for them,’ i.e. in the case of the L.: the dat. is possessive.
§ 110] NOTES 191

ό ξεῖν’, ἄγγειλον κ.τ.λ.] Her. vii. 228:

ό ξεῖν’, ἄγγέλλειν Δακεδαμονίοις ὅτι τῇ δε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι 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 ό ξεῖν’, ἀπάγγειλον) is inferior to the Herodotean, and was apparently that followed by Cicero in his Latin version, Tusc. Disp. i. 42:

dic, hospe, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

'Ελλήνων προμαχοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] The epigram is also by Simonides (Simon. 93).—χρυσοφόροι: gold, in one form or another, is the inevitable epithet of the oriental, suggesting wealth and luxury.—ἐστόρεσαν: 'laid low': cf. Thuc. vi. 18 ίνα Πελοποννησίων στορέσαμεν τὸ φρόνημα.

c. 29. § 110. ἀλλ' οὖν δ' Α. πεποιηκέν] sc. άξεῖν ἐστὶν ἑπάλνου, or something similar out of the preceding sentence.

τὴν ἐξ ἀπαντος...δόξαν] 'the accumulated glory of the state from time immemorial.'

δόξαι] '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) δείξωμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνου θαυμάξειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἔχοντος τιμωρεῖσθαι, 'even without worshipping them.'

τοῖς παλαιοῖς] So Taylor (Bl., Sofer) for τοῖς πολεμίως, 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 ὑπειλήφθαι, etc.—κάλλιστον: cf. Madvig, § 1 b, R. 3.

cc. 30, 31. §§ 111-127. The way in which your forefathers dealt with traitors is shown by the case (a) of Phrynichus and his would-be defenders, (b) Hippiarchus, 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. ἕχειν] probably intrans., ὅς τρόπον being then = ὅπως, 'what your attitude should be.'

ἐκεῖνος τίνα τρόπον ἔλ.] for the 'anticipation,' cf. supra § 62 τὴν Τρολαν τίς οὐκ ἄκηκεν, n. and refl. Contrast ἐκεῖνοι...θεωρήσατε ὡς ὑργίζοντο just below.—For the severer methods of the Athens of a previous age, cf. Dem. F.L. § 272 τότε μὲν οὖν σεμών ἦν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κολάζειν τὸν τὰ στοιχατα ποιοῦντας (persons like Arthmius of Zelea, a tool of Xerxes, who distributed Persian gold in Greece) ἐντιμον, ὡστε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡξιόθεν στάσεως τὸ τέ ἄριστεῖον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ αἰ κατὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαύτα ἀδικῆντων τιμωρίαι [i.e. the στήλη with the decree of execration against A. was placed in a conspicuous position close by the great statue (ἄριστεῖον) of the goddess]: νῦν δὲ τέλως, ἀδεία, ἀληχύνη, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἄγνα ταύτην ἐξουσιάσαν αὐχέσατε νῦν ὑμεῖς, Phil. III. § 43.

τήν τιμωρίαν] the 'due' or 'appropriate' punishment.

tὰ καλὰ τῶν ἐργῶν] a favourite const. with Lycurgus: cf. supra §§ 6, 48, 102, 110, infra § 133, etc.

ἐνόμιζον] sc. αὐτῶσ.  

§ 112. Φρυνίχου...ἀποσφαγέντος...ὑπὸ ἴ. Α. 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 Π. πληγείς ὑπ' ἀνδρός τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ πληθοῦσῃ καὶ οὐ 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 Ἐρμῶν 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 Apollo- dorus of Megara: they fell in with Π. as he was taking a walk (βαδίζοντι): T. aimed the blow. We possess the text of a decree, proposed by Erasinides (Hicks and Hill, 74), conferring honours on Thrasybulus, and the mention of 'Apollo- dorus of Megara,' in Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ [or. vii] § 4, as receiving a grant of land, is presumably connected with his share in Π.'s death. Hicks on the decree quoted reconciles Lycurgus' νόκτωρ with Thuc.'s ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθοῦσῃ 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 Apollo- dorus (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 οἰλοῦσις: 'by the fountain in the osier-beds,' presumably within the confines of the marketplace: there being no doubt several κρήναι, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἰλοῦσις is added for purposes of identification.

Ληφθέντων] i.q. συλληφθέντων: cf. supra § 52 λαβοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε.

ἐξῆγαγε] liberavit, 'set them free.'

ἀνέκρινε] 'held an inquiry into the matter': cf. ἀνάκρις, the preliminary investigation of a case before the archon.

P.L.
here of a judicial, frequently of a philosophical, inquiry.

**προδιδόντα**] 'was scheming to betray': conative impf., but possibly = προδοτήν 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.'

**τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν κρίνειν προδοσίας**] 'that the dead should be tried for treason': for the active infin., cf. *supra* § 16 ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δήμος...κατακομβῶν n.

καὶ δόξῃ] *si visus sit.*

**προδότης ὅν...τεθάφθαι**] Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 22 νόμος ἑστίν... ἐὰν τὶς τὴν πόλιν προδιδὸ...κρίθητα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, δὲν καταγωγικῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ 'Αττικῇ, κ.τ.λ.

**τά γε ὀστᾶ**] γε [Jacob (Bl., Sof.) for τέ] implies that the exhumation of the bones was the next best thing after the unjustifiable burial.

**ἐξορίσαι εξο τῆς Α.**] Cf. *supra* § 89 μονώτατος δ' ἄν...ἐξορισθεὶ τῆς χώρας n., Hyper. *Lycoph.* [or. i] ad fin.

κένται] this form is quoted also from Plat. *Soph.* 257c and Xen. *Oec.* 8. 19. [L. S. quote διακένσηθε from Isocr. *Antid.* § 278, but the reference should be to § 259.]

**τὸ...προδιδόντος**] the same possibilities as in προδιδόντα, *supra* § 112.

**§ 114. ἀπολογώνται**] conative, 'seek to defend.'

ἐνόχους...ἐπιτυμίους] *supra* § 4 τοὺς ἐνόχους τοῖς...ἐπιτυμίους n.

**τὸν διασώζοντα**] 'he that would save' the traitor: Goodwin, § 25.

ἐκ τῶν κυνδύνων] This const. seems rarer than the simple gen. with ἀπαλλάττειν.

λαβὲ δ' αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς 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. τοῦτον τοῦ ψηφίσματος**] The demonstrative is usually
omitted in cases like this: see the exx. collected by Rehd., App. 2, P. 155.

επειτα εκείνοι μὲν...ύμεις δ'] For επειτα, cf. supra § 27, and for μὲν...δέ, supra § 42 n.

'Ἀρισταρχον 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 ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μᾶλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστων ἐναντίος 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. viii. 98; Xen. Hell. 1. 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 ὅστα.

ὑποξειροιον...τῇ ψήφῳ] Cf. supra §§ 2, 27, 91.

§ 116. ἐκείνοι μὲν...ύμεις δ] Cf. supra § 42 n.

ταῖς ἐσχάταις...μετῆλθον] 'visited with the most severe penalties': μετέρχομαι in this sense (cf. διώκειν, φεύγειν, ἀλοκεσθαί) suggests the primitive 'avenger of blood': cf. Antiph. 1. § 10 ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως μετέρχομαι τὸν φονέα τοῦ πατρός, Plat. Protag. 322 A Προμηθέα...κλοπῆς δίκη μετῆλθεν.

ὡς οὔδεν ἄδικοιντα] 'as if he were entirely guiltless,' i.q. ὡς οὔδεν 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 ἐγεγονεί would have done on the state as opp. to the act: 'were in existence,' 'were on record.'—δι’ ἀλῆθειαν is explained
by φόσει just below, the contrast being between the haste of anger (δι’ ὀργήν) 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 δι' and ὅπως, quoniam, quando, quandoquidem: cf. Soph. O.T. 918 ὅτι ὅν παρανόον' οὐδὲν ἐσ πλέον ποῦ, Ant. 170.

§ 117. "Ἱππαρχον...τὸν Χάρμου] This Hipparchus, acc. to Androtion ἄρ. Harpocr., was a relation of the Pisistratids, and was the first victim of the ordinance of ostracism, 487 B.C.: cf. Plut. Nic. 11 πρῶτος δὲ (ἐξωστρακισθη) Ἱππαρχος ὁ Χολαργεύς, συγγενής τις ὄν 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 φησὶ Λυκόβργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δεσκράτους. Others correct Harpocr. from the mss.; but the Hipparchus intended is no doubt one and the same.]

ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ] i.e. before the Assembly, acting as a law-court (Heliaeæ).

ἐρημὸν τὸν ἁγώνα ἐδομαντὰ] 'having left the case undefended,' having let it go by default': so ἐρήμην (sc. δίκην) κατηγορεῖν, ἐλείν, ὀφλείν, 'be accuser in,' 'win,' 'lose,' an undefended suit.

tοῦτον] For the resumptive pronoun, cf. supra §§ 82, 93, etc.

ἐπειδὴ...οὐκ ἐλάβον...ὅμηρον] 'since they could not lay hands on his person to answer for his guilt': rather an odd use of ὅμηρος, but the sense is clear.

ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως] The article is frequently omitted with this and similar nouns (cf. πόλις, ἁγορά) which are at once common and proper.

συγχωνεύσαντες] 'having melted it down': cf. Dem. c. Androt. § 70 φήσας δ’ ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων...συγχωνεύειν ἐπεισεν.

ποιῆσαντες στῆλην] The person who had his name so inscribed was στηλίτης: cf. Isocr. De Big. § 9 ἐλαίνειν αὐτὸν ἐξ
NOTES

§ 119. ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ στηλίτην ἀναγράφειν, Dem. Phil. III. § 45 ἐτιμωροῦντο ὁδὸν ἀλθοῦντο ὡς καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν.

τοὺς ἀλ. καὶ τοὺς πρ.] 'sinners and traitors,' as a class: cf. Andoc. De Myst. § 51 ἀναγραφέντας ἐν στῇλας ὡς ὑπὸς ἀληθείας τῶν θεῶν.—For ἐφησάντω...ἀναγράφειν, cf. supra §§ 16, 113, nn. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ προδόται] 'and other traitors as well': cf. supra § 28 n.

§ 118. λαβὲ...ἀναγγέλωσέ] Cf. supra § 36 n.

καθ' ἓ] 'in pursuance of which.'

ὑπόγραμμα] strictly correct as being on the base of the στήλη, but we must be content with 'inscription.'

τοὺς ὑστερόν προσαναγραφέντας] 'those who had their names added (προς-) later.'

§ 119. τὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν] 'what think ye of them?': sc. perhaps γυγνώσκεων 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 τὶ δ' ἄν δοκεῖ σοι Πριάμος, εἶ τάδ' ἣροτεν; Plat. Phaedr. 234c τὶ σοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος; οἷς ὑπερφυῶς...εἰρήσθαι;

ὁμολογὸς ὑμῖν] υμῖν depends upon ὑμολογ. καὶ οὐκ] For the structure of the sentence, cf. supra §§ 70, 71 ἀδὰ γ' ὁμοίοι κ.τ.λ., and notes there. Here we have καὶ οὐκ for the commoner ἀλλ' οὐκ in such cases, and 'instead of' (as at l.c.) 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.—καὶ τὸ σῶμα: 'the actual person': the statue was the next best thing.—ὑποξείριον closely with λαβεῖν, 'get it into their power.'—τοῦ προδότου...τοῦ προδότου: 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.—ταῖς ἐνδεχομέναις τιμωρίαις, 'such penalties as were possible.'

οἶχ ὀπως] 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’ ἔνα: ‘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...ἀκεινοὶ κατέθεντ’ εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν (referring to the στήλη of Arthmius, supra § 111 n.) some MSS. give οὖν ἐν’ αὐτοῖς ἡ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντ’ ἐφρήσων), ἀλλ’ ἐν’ ὑμεῖς ἕχον ὑπομνήματα...ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σκουδάζειν προσήκει.

§ 120. αὐτοῖς] Cf. supra §§ 23, 114 nn.

τὸ ἔτερον 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 δέκελεικὸς 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. l.c. ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλεως εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη).

ὅτι περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν...ἔποιεθ’] ‘that the penalties which our ancestors prescribed for traitors were uniform and mutually consistent.’

§ 121. τούτου τοῦ ψηφισμάτος] Cf. supra § 115 n.

ἐπανών ἀλλοκηταί] ‘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 ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶς ἔτι 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. ἀπαγωγη) a person,
whom it was perhaps necessary to take in the act (ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ) to make this procedure legitimate (see the argument in Lysias, C. Agorat. §§ 85–87). ἀπαγωγή was allowed (1) against ‘male-factors’ (κακοϑρογοι) in the technical application of the term, e.g. thieves (κλέπται), clothes-stealers (λωποδύται), etc.; (2) against persons labouring under any kind of disfranchisement (ἀτιμλα), if they unlawfully returned (κατιέναι) to the country. The Eleven (οἱ ἕνδεκα) 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 ἐξεῖναι τῷ β., etc.—παραλα-βόντας: sc. τοὺς θερμοθέτας.—τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅργματος, ‘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 ὅ ἐπὶ τῷ ὅργματι.

ἐπειτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν...ὑμεῖς δέ] Cf. supra § 115 n.
ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ χώρᾳ] Decelea, after all, was on Attic soil.
ἐἰς 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. τελευτησαντος] 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 n. But 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 τούς στεφάνους] 'taking off their crowns,' which they would be wearing as the badge of their office as βουλευταὶ: crowns were worn also by archons, priests, and by orators in the assembly: cf. Dem. Mid. § 17 τῶν ἐστεφανωμένων ἄρχοντα, [Dem.] xxvi. § 5 δόταν ἀποχειροτονηθῶσι τινες τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, παραχώμα πέπαυται ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιήγηται, 'have their crowns taken away from them.' The verb is specially applicable to anything that 'encloses' or 'fits all round' (τεῖχος, στέφανος, δακτύλιος).

eὖγενεῖς γὰρ...ἐκέκτυντο] '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. [εὖγενεῖς Dobree (Sch., Bl.): ἐγγενεῖς 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.

βουλομένους] 'if you wish.'

μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι] N (Bl., Sofer) has μὴ οὖν ἄποκ. The question, converted into a statement, is equivalent to οὐ τάρτῳ ἐστὶ Λ. μὴ οὖν ἀποκτεῖναι, which may be sound Greek, as far as the form goes, but it does not admit of being stated in the positive form πάρτῃ ἐστι Λ. μὴ ἄποκ., which is contrary to the speaker's contention.

ὁπότε] causal, like the two ὅτε's following, cf. Lat. quando = quoniam: cf. Thuc. 11. 60 ὁπότε οὖν πῶλοι μὲν τὰς ἱδίας ξυμφόρασ οία τε φέρειν, εἰς δ' ἐκαστὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνης ἄδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρῆ πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ; Dem. Ol. 1 init. ὅτε τολμῶν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, etc. Cf. supra § 116 δόταν...εἰληφὼτες ὅσις η.

τὴν οἰκουμένην] sc. πόλιν, 'the inhabited city,' 'the city while still inhabited' (ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν, through the Persian occupation.

tοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας...ἀποστερεῖν] The reference is to οἱ εἰς Δ. μεταστάντες, supra §§ 120 sq.—For τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
σωτηριαν, cf. supra § 15 τὴν παρ’ ὑμῶν...τιμωρησαν n.—[The want of an object to ἀποστερεῖν, though not perhaps absolutely necessary to the sense, has been felt by most editors: Reiske supplied ἓαυτοῦς after ἑπιχ., Herwerden τὴν πατρίδα, Blass τὴν πόλιν after σωτηριαν.]

ἐκόλασαν...τιμωροῦντο] κολάζεων of the correction of the offender, τιμωρεῖσθαι of the satisfaction of the offended: Arist. Rhet. 1. 10. 17.

§ 124. καὶ παῦτα] i.e. what I have said already.

γνώναι] i.q. ἰκανὰ ὡστε ὑμᾶς γνώναι, ‘sufficient to enable you to judge of,’ etc.

τῆς στήλης] short for the inscription upon it.

τὸ γὰρ μετὰ πολλῶν...καθίστησιν] ‘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.).

οἶα οὖνεις...;base] sc. παθεῖν αὐτοῦς.—ἥξιωσε, ‘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. [ἥξιωσε is expelled by Dobr. (Sch., Es), but without good reason: ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων, which Sch. and Frohb. 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.

"ἀπάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς...ἐνέφραξαν 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.'—"ἀδικημάτων": here specially of political offences.—

τὰς ὁδοὺς...ἐνέφραξαν: cf. Isocr. Areop. § 40 ἐμφράγματα γὰρ αὐτῶν [a community with a multiplicity of laws] ποιομένους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πολλοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀναγκάζεσθαι, 'in seeking to raise barriers against crime, they are compelled,' etc.; Aeschin. Ctes. § 223 οὕτω δὲ ταῖς αἵλιας ἐνέφραξας τὰς κατὰ σαντὼν τιμωρίας, 'barred the penalties against yourself by (counter) charges.'—τὰς ἀρχὰς, 'the first occasions,' what they start from, somewhat akin to ἀφορμῇ: τὰς ἐφόδους, 'ways of approach,' 'methods of attack': the word suggests grassari.—

τῶν προδιδόντων: cf. supra § 112 προδιδόντα τὴν πόλιν ἡ.

§ 125. ἦσθον γὰρ καὶ ὁμοσαν] The decree of Demophonatus, 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: ὁ δὲ ὥρκος ἐστῳ δδε· κτενῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῳ καὶ ψηφῳ καὶ τῇ ἐμαυτῷ χειρί, δὲν δυνατὸς ὃ, δὲν καταλύσῃ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν 'Αθήνησι,...καὶ ἐάν τὶς τυραννεῖν ἐπαναστῆ ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκαταστῆσῃ, καὶ ἐάν τὶς ἄλλος ἀποκτείνῃ, δόσον αὐτὸν νομίζει ἐναι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, ὥς πολέμων κτείναντα τὸν 'Αθηναίων.

ἐάν τὶς τυραννεῖν ἐπιτυθῇται] 'if any one should attempt a tyranny,' i.e. attempt to establish one: cf. Aeschin. Ctes. § 235 οὐδεὶς πόροτε ἐπέθετο τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει, 'attempted the overthrow,' Lysias, or. vi. § 19 ναυκληρίᾳ ἐπιθέμενος τὴν βάλλανταν ἐπελεί, 'took to shipmastering.'—προδίδῳ...καταλύῃ: conative.
τὸν ἀλοθανόμενον...ἀποκτείναντα] ‘whoever detected them should be guiltless of their blood,’ lit. ‘if he killed him.’ With τὸν ἀλοθανόμενον cf. the common ὁ βουλόμενος, and supra § 121.

καὶ κρείττων ἐδοξεν 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 Πελοποννησοῖς...ἐδοξε...ἐξαναστήσαντας κατανεμασθαί, where ἐδοξε=visum est, ‘they resolved.’—περαθέντας I understand as passive (cf. Thuc. vi. 54 πειραθεῖς ὁ Ἀρμύδιος ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου), which seems slightly more probable than middle (so Rehd., sc. αὐτῶν), in the absence of an accompanying gen.

ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὕτως 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) ταῦτα διανοηθέντες οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐσκόπουν, δι' ὧν κολάσουσι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας, ἀλλ' ἐς ὧν παρασκευάσουσι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄξιον ἥμισσας ἐξαμαρτάνειν.—ἀρχὴν, lit. ‘to start with,’ and so ‘at all,’ omnino, mostly in negative sentences and preceding the negative, as Soph. Ant. 92 ἀρχὴν δὲ θηρᾶν οὐ πρέπει τάμηχαν, ‘a hopeless quest should not be made at all.’ Also τὴν ἀρχὴν, as Dem. c. Aristocr. § 93 τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐξήν αὐτῷ μὴ γράφειν, ‘he need never have proposed at all,’ Her. iv. 25, Isocr. Antid. § 272.

§ 126. τοῖς...συνιστούσι καὶ βουλευομένοις] ‘those who meet in council’: βουλευόσθαι, ‘deliberate’)(βουλεύειν, ‘be a member of the bouλή,’ but also =βουλευόσθαι.

ὡς δὲι] with ὑπόθυμημα, ‘a reminder of how you ought,’ etc. ὡς=quemadmodum is less common than ἐπὶς or ὑπὸ τρόπου.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο...συνιστούσιν] ἂν τίς αὐθηται explains διὰ τοῦτο: 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 ὅμοιοι... ἀποκτείνειν. 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. Aristogit. B. § 4 διὸ καὶ τὰς τιμωρλας ὁ Σῶλων τοῖς μὲν ὑπόκτηται ἐποίησε βραδέλας, ταῖς δ' ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ταχείας, ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον [i.e. ὅστερον τοῦ ἀδικήματος] τὸ δίκαιον λαβέν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐνεῖναι περιμέναι: τὸ γὰρ τιμωρησόμενον οὐχ ὑπέσται τῆς πολιτείας καταλυθῆσθαι, '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 industria implores: capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis.'

παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀδικοῦντων] (to obtain satisfaction) 'from them for the crime': ἀδικοῦντων is predicative.

κρείττουσ...γεγονονται...τιμωρλας] 'for they are already beyond the reach of punishment at the hands of the injured': for κρείττουσ in this sense, cf. Thuc. III. 84 ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φόθις...ἐκλείσσει ἀκρατῆς μὲν ὄργης οὖσα, κρείττουσ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, 'superior to considerations of right,' Arist. Pol. v. 12. 8 φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας—οὐς παιδεύθηναι ἀδύνατον (immediately following): v. L.S. s.v. κρείττουσ, III.

c. 31. § 127. τῆς προνολας...τῶν ἐργῶν] 'this foresight [which your ancestors displayed] and their practice.'

ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ in suffragio ferendo, 'in giving your vote.'

ἐν τῇ τίμηρον ἡμέρᾳ] Cf. supra § 2 n.

τῆς ἐκεῖνων τιμωρλας] '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 λάγῳ 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 Crissa) ὅρκων ὀμοσαν ...βοηθήσειν τῷ θεῷ...καὶ χείρι καὶ ποδί 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.’: οἴεσθε here is virtually = ἀξιοῦτε.

ταύτης δὲ μὴ κ.] For the resumptive δὲ, cf. supra § 99 ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ πιθήμενον τούτ᾽ ἐπραξε ὁ.—κληρονομεῖν: cf. supra § 88 δικαίως ταύτης (sc. τῆς χώρας) καὶ τεθνεώτες 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-countrysmen.

§ 128. μὴ μοι ἀχθεσθήτε] Α προδόθωσι for what he suspects may be unpleasant to his hearers: cf. supra § 52 καὶ μηδες μοι βορυξῆσθη. 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.’ Eunomia, ‘Law and Order,’ was the title of a poem by Tyrtaeus. Cf. Thuc. i. 18 ἡ γὰρ Δακεδαλμον...ἐκ παλαιστάτου καὶ εὐνομῆθη καὶ δὲλ ἀτριάννετος ἦν, Plat. Crito 52 ε (the Laws to Socrates) σὺ δὲ οὔτε Δακεδαλμονα προηροῦ οὔτε Κρήτην, ἀς δὴ ἐκάστοτε φῦς εὐνομεϊσθαι, 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 is 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.

ἁρφαλέστερον] 'with the more certainty.'

τὴν δικαλαν...τὴν εὐφροκον] 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 δικαλα καὶ ἡ εὐφροκος ψῆφος.

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.'

\[\text{ἀποικοδομήσαντες...ἀποσκευάσαντες}\] 'walled up the door'

'pulled off the roof': Thuc. l.c. μετὰ δὲ τὸῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἄφειλον καὶ τὰς θύρας...ἀπωχοδύησαν, προσκαθεζόμενοι τε ἐξεποιιόρκησαν λιμῷ.

\[\text{περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες}\] the act. form of the verb appears to belong to late writers, e.g. Polybius and Plutarch.

\[\text{πρὶν ἦν}\] an 'Ionism' which was abjured by many Atticists:

\[\text{πρὶν Es (Bl.). But see Kühner II\textsuperscript{a}. 455.}\]

\[\text{τῷ λιμῷ}\] hunger, as a form of death (τῷ).

\[\text{§ 129. πᾶσιν ἐπισήμων ἐποίησαν...ὅτι}\] '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 τὴν τιμωρία Morus (Thalh., Sofer). Rehd. defends the text, quoting Ar. Thesm. 684 πᾶσων ἐμφανὴς ὅραν ἑσταί...ὅτι τὰ παράνομα θεὸς ἀποτίνεται, Plat. Crito 44 D αὐτὰ δὲ δῆλα τὰ παράνομα ννι, δότι οἴοι τ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί κ.τ.λ., Rep. 1. 348 E.]

\[\text{αἱ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίαι}\] Cf. supra §§ 15, 123, etc.

\[\text{ἀδικοῦσιν}\] 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.]

\[\text{διαρρήδην λέγοντα ἀποθνησκεῖν}\] 'expressly prescribing death as the penalty.'

\[\text{εἰς αὐτό τοῦτο...τυγχάνουσι}\] '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 τυγχάνοντα supply as subject oλ μη ἑθελοντες...κινδυνεύειν. Of the two εἰς’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. ἐξ ὀ δ’ εἰς τὰ μητρὸς μὴ φοβοῦν νυμφεύματα. [Hoffmann, followed by Sofer, omits the first εἰς, which simplifies the const.]

καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν...αισχύνης] 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 κινδυνος in the judicial sense (Lat. periculum, O.E. danger), cf. τὸν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους (sc. κινδυνον) in the next §, supra § 34 τὸν ὑπὲρ προδοσίας κινδυνεύοντα, and Lysias ix. § 7 τὸν παρ’ ύμων κινδυνον 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 οἴησθε εἶναι, ἀλλ’ εἴδητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

ἀυτοῖς] Cf. supra §§ 23, 114, etc.

§ 130. ὁ...παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόβος] metus, quem inicent cives (Sofer). Cf. supra §§ 15, 49 nn.

φιλοψυχόσει] 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 επικειμένην, on the analogy of ζημιαν επιτιθέναι (cf. Thuc. II. 24, III. 70), but unnecessarily.]

<ταύτην> τιμωρλαν] ‘this as a punishment’: cf. supra § 79 ταύτην πιστῶν δίδωσιν n. [<ταύτην> is due to Scheibe (Es, Bl., Sof.): Rehd. (Thalh.) keeping αὐτῷ τιμωρλαν (with the mss.}
except Z) arranges: αὐτῷ τιμωρλαν—οὔδεμιαν γὰρ...δειλαὶ—θάνατον; deleting ἤ.]

δυνών κινδύνων ὑποκειμένων] 'of two dangers which are proposed to them,' slightly different in sense from ὑποκειμένην above.

τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους...τῶν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους] sc. κινδύνων, 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. Paneg. § 77 δευτέρον ἐνόμιζον εἰναί κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκοῦειν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθυγγέον, Aeschin. Ctes. § 175 εἰσιν (sc. φύσεως γραφαί). τίνος ἔνεκα; ἣν ἔκαστος ἡμῶν τάς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἰμαίας φοβοῦμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμελεῖν ἀγωνιστὴς 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.'

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.

§ 131. ποριζομένους] 'seeking to secure.'

ἄλλα μόνοις ὅστοις 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': ὀλκεία, what specially or peculiarly appertains to one, Lat. proprius: ἀναγκαία, 'necessary,' whether in the physical or (as here) in the moral sense: cf. Dem. c. Steph. A. [or. XLV]§ 53 οὗ γὰρ τοὺς γεγραμμένους νόμους ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρωπος

P. L.
mu-nine, alli kal tâ tês fôsews olkei' anairei.—tois álôgois ýxôus, 'the brutes') ('man,' whose distinguishing characteristic is lôgos (rational speech), Arist. Pol. 1. 2. on lôgon de mûnon ánthropos èchei tân ýxôw. In modern Greek, curiously enough, álôgon is 'a horse.'—dèièlêptai, of the standing attitude, 'have been' and so 'are (as a permanent characteristic) defined': with this, tois ýxôus is the so-called 'dative of the agent,' which is very closely akin to the possessive dative.

§ 132. tâ gôu peiteivâ] is acc. of the object after èsôn iðeiv, 'one may see': cf. supra § 80 ómôs ós ýxôs èstiv...iðeiv tân èkênoôn árêthn.

á málîstâa péfuke prôs tâxos] 'which are best adapted by nature for swiftness,' and so might be expected to offer the less resistance.—For the text, see Crit. App.

oûd' ágria gâr k.Ô.L.] The source of the lines is unknown, and Es and Rehd. bracket them as an importation by a later copyist.—ôrûs: so several times in Trag.: cf. Soph. Ant. 1021 oûd' ôrûs eûsîmous ápôroppôdei boás, but ôrûs in Ar. and normally in Attic: v. Jebb on Soph. l.c. and L.S. s.v.—nêiôsèn: 'deigns,' 'expects': gnomic.

ûpérpêblêke] absol. 'has so surpassed' in cowardice: cf. Dem. De Chers. § 16 kàkôdaîmônôsîn ánthropoi kai ûpérpêblôsîn ánôlq.

§ 133. ëlunven] supply as subject pâsaoi èkástetô out of oûdêmia (as frequently): cf. Soph. Ant. 263 kôúdeis ènarpûh, állo' êfênoje (sc. èkastos) mh eîdêna, Dem. Lept. § 74 mhdeis ëfüôw tô meîlon ákûsh, állo' oû álîthês ë skopoëtôw.—eîasê, of the act of permission: ëlunven, of their attitude towards him.

oi...fûonu feûgonûtes] 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.

ouk ëkounîn èxòrhoi tôous ûpôd.] 'do not find those who shelter them hostile to them.'

taxûgy' an] 'would be in a hurry, I suppose, to' etc.: ironical.
Cf. the idiomatic σχολή γε, 'at one's leisure,' and so 'scarcely,' 'hardly': freq. in apodosis, Plat. Rep. 610E, etc.

μεθέξουσιν 'are ready to share.'

ἀξιώσουσι γε 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 οἱ πώποτε occurs absolv., and τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων is quoted from Xen. Hell. v. 4. 1.]

ἐλ τις μείζων ἢ τιμωρεῖ] The form of the protasis regards the invention of a more severe penalty than death as remotely possible: ἐλ τις μείζων ἢν would have denied it. Goodwin, § 410 ff.

μελλοντες ἄδικείν] 'though their crime is only prospective')(διαπεπραγμένος ὅπερ ἐπεξειρήσε. οὖν λῃστῶν] See Crit. App.

ὅπερ ἐπεξειρήσε] sc. διαπράττεσθαι, but not necessarily, as ἐπιχειρεῖν is found with an object acc.: cf. Plat. Crit. 45 c οὕτω δικαίων μοι δεκεῖσ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμα, Phileb. 57 B.

ἡν πόλιν ἐγκαταλιπὼν] 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...τών...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. i. §5 θαυμάζω ...τοῦ ἄδελφοι, ἡμινά ποτε γρώμην ἔχον ἀντίδικος καθέστηκε πρὸς ἐμέ, Dem. C. Timocr. §66 θαυμάζω δ' αὐτοῦ τί ποτε καὶ τολμήσει λέγειν, Isocr. Paneg. §170 θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστευόντων...ei ...ἡγούνται, etc.: also supra §28 καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὡς ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ θεωρῆσατε ἃ.

χρήσθαι] uti, 'associate with.'

πρίν...πράξαι...ἀδηλον ἢν] As far as the form of the sentence goes, we might have had πρίν...ἐπραξε Α., ἀδηλον ἢν (=οὐ δῆλον ἢν...πρίν ἐπραξε): 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 (πρίν πράξαι) is more prominent than that of until (πρίν ἐπραξε). Goodwin, M. T. §628.

οὕτωι τινες ὄντες ἐτύχχανον] we should say simply 'their real character was uncertain': the Greek is reminiscent of Plato's phraseology.

τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡθείῳ χρώμενοι] 'because they are men of like manners.'

πολὺ πρότερον...η] 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.'

NOTES

§ 136. αὐτῷ] ‘I fancy he would find his dead father his severest judge’; cf. Isocr. Aeginet. § 44 ὁμαί γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν πατέρα) πάντων γενέσθαι ταύτῃ χαλεπώτατον δικαστήν.

eἰ τις ἄρ’ ἔστιν αἰσθήσις...γιγνομένων] ‘if indeed the departed [τοῖς ἐκεί] have any consciousness of what passes on earth [τῶν ἐνθάδε γεγ.]:’ 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’ (εἶδωλον) 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. 1115a 26, on the other hand, it is maintained that death is most formidable just because it does end all (φοβερώτατον δ’ ὁ θάνατος: πέρας γὰρ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ οὐ’ ἄγαθον οὔτε κακὸν εἶναι, which is quoted by Adam on Ἀρ. l.c.]

οὗ τὴν χαλκῆν εἰκόνα] the statue was evidently one of L.’s father himself, dedicated by himself (cf. ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐστησε κ.τ.λ.): of the circumstances of the dedication we have no knowledge.—ἐκδοτον κατέλιπε: cf. supra § 85.

ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς] sc. νεῖρ or ἱερ. —ἰεροσυλήσαι...αἰκίσασθαι: cf. supra § 43 τὸ σῶμα παρασχόντα τάξαί τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, etc.

αὐτός] αὐτός may be sound, but οὖτος (Reiske) is tempting with ἐκεῖνος preceding.

τοιούτου γὰρ νίοθ...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 τούτο...προδεδωκέναι] ‘why I did not insert this in the impeachment, “betrayal of his father’s statue”’: προδεδωκέναι (sc. αὐτὸν as subject)...πατρὸς (or perhaps to ἀνακειμένη) 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:—ἐγράψατο | κὺν Κυδαθηραειδὸς Λάβητ' Αλξωνα, | τὸν τυρὸν ἄδικεῖν ὅτι μόνος κατήσθην | τὸν Ἱκελικὸν.—ἀνακειμένη: cf. supra § 51 ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀθλητὰς ἀνακειμένους ὑ.

dὲξιον <ὁν>] <ὁν> Bekker (Blass).

ἐπιγράψαι] ‘to add the name of Z. S. to the bill of indictment,’ as a sort of subscriptor to the charge: the verb was used of attaching one’s name to a decree, etc. as its official mover or supporter: cf. Aeschin. Ctes. § 159 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὔδ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰλέτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὑμοία, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικεί τούτο προσετάττετε, Plut. Dem. 21 τοῖς δὲ ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἔαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἐκαστον ἐπεγράφεν. The addition of the name of Zeus Σωτήρ would have been a good omen for the accused. [ἐγράψατο Es, ἐγγ. eis Cobet.]

§ 138. ἐκπέπληγμαι δὲ...ἐπὶ τοῖς...εἰ λελήθαισιν] ‘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 φιλα...μισθοῦ δὲ συναπ:..: ‘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.'

ἀδικισσάντων] So Bekker (Es, Bl.) for ἀδικημάτων of the mss.

τοῖς τοιούτοις] dat. of agent with τῶν πεπραγ., but partly, perhaps, with μετάσχοιες as well: cf. supra § 48 n. For the sentiment, we may cf. Lysias, C. Eratosth. § 41 ἐθαῦμασα τὴς τόλμης τῶν λεγόμενων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν (men like E.), πλὴν ἤταν ἐνθυμηθὼ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν αὐτοὺς τε πάντα κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι καλ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαινεῖν. [τοῖς τοιούτοις Bl. (Sofer): οἱ τοιούτοι codd.]

οὐ γάρ δεὶ κ.τ.λ.] ‘for they should not acquire their skill [γεγενηθαί] 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 τούτου γάρ δεινὸς εί, ‘you are a past-master at this business,’ Plat. Euthyphr. 3 c Ἀθηναῖοι γάρ...οὐ σφόδρα μέλει, ἢν τινα δεινὸν οἴωνται εἶναι, ‘clever above his fellows,’ ‘out of the ordinary.’—For the reading, see Crit. App.

§ 139. οὐκέτι...ἡδη] logical, ‘are not content with seeking to mislead you...but will actually go the length of expecting,’ etc.

toῖς 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 θεωρίαι 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.vv.—ἐξαιτεῖσθαι: cf. supra § 20 τὰς δεξείς τῶν ἐξαιτομένων ν.—ἐφ᾿ οἷς: οἷς is most probably masc.: cf. supra § 138 init. ἐκπε-πληγμα...ἐπὶ τοῖς...προσήκουσι.—καὶ μάλιστα, vel maxime.

εἰς γάρ τὸν ἑδίον οἴκον κ.τ.λ.] ‘for after compassing them [the
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. καταχαργεθαι τὰ δίκαια, 'give judgment by private interest,' Plat. Αριζ. 35 c.

[ιπποτρόφησι] (so Es for ιπποτετρ- 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 ιπποτροφεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας, δ τῶν εὐδαιμονετάτων (‘the wealthiest’) ἔργον ἐστί, Dem. De Cor. § 320 καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ιπποτρόφος, 'a grand gentleman' (Drake). So Herodotus (vi. 35) describes Miltiades, son of Cypselus, as being οὔκ ις θεριπποτρόφον, 'of a family that kept a four-horse chariot for racing,' and Thuc. (vi. 15) speaks of Alcibiades as one who ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μείζονι ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἐχρῆτο ἐς τὰς ιπποτροφίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας. So καθιπποτροφεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν, 'to squander one’s fortune in keeping horses.'

κεχορήγηκε] 'has performed the office of choregus,' who defrayed the cost of providing, training and dressing a chorus for the dramatic festivals at Athens: the χορηγὸι were nominated from the φυλαὶ in turn, but the burden might be imposed (after the Peloponnesian War) on two persons jointly (cf. τριηραρχία). The χορηγὶα was perhaps the chief, and the most spectacular, of the λητουργίαι (see above), and afforded an opportunity for the display of munificence.—δεδαπάνηκεν: 'has defrayed the expense of.'

αὐτὸς μόνος...τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ωφελῶν] 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 ὅπερ πέρι ἐπιβοήθος εἰμι, τοῖς μὲν προγόνοις μου καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξαν φέρει ταῦτα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι καὶ ωφελίαν. οἱ γὰρ Ἐλλήνες καὶ υπὲρ δύναμιν μείζων ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν τῷ ἐμῷ διαπρεπεῖ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς θεωρίας, πρότερον ἐπιζοντες αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμήσας, διότι ἀρματα μὲν ἐπτὰ καθήκα κ.τ.λ., 'entered seven teams for the chariot race...'...καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἔγιναν χορηγίαις ἡ ἄλλη τῷ λαμπρόνομαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀστοῖς
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§ 139

photovetai fousai, pro
des toves xenos kal'abth ischus faivetai, Lysias,
or. xix. § 63 (the defendant is quoting his father's services) 

des 
gar ezw tov anagkakon epethymen analiacein, pantai farnoetai 

toiavta othen kal' ty polei twn emellei esosthai. autika ('for in-
stance') ote ippeuen, ou monon ippos ekthosato lamproous alla kal 


dalhtas, os enikseren 'Isbmoi kai Nemea, wste tin polein khruchthnai 


cal auton stefanowthnai. The glory shed on their native cities by 


the winners at the great games is the burden of Pindar's odes.

terimparxhe] The function of the trierarchos 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 trierarchos was also responsible for the 


command of the vessel, though not necessarily in his own person.


The trierarchy was the most important of the extraordinary 


lytourgiai (see note supra). Originally the burden was imposed 


on one person, after 405 B.C. on two, after 358 (?) on the trier-


archic symmories (symmophai). 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 


(symtelei), 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).

telh tay patridi periballev] Perhaps a compliment to De-


of periballw admits either telh tay patridi peribalein or telhsei 


tin patrida: cf. circumdo.—tay patridi, 'his native city,' as often.


sunneuporhse] 'has helped to contribute.'
§ 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 εὐπορλαν τῶν δεδαπ. ] Cf. Antiph. Tetr. A. γ. § 8 al 8' εἰςφοράλ καὶ χορηγίαν εὐδαιμονίας ἱκανόν σημεῖον ἔστι, where εὐδαιμονία = 'wealth': cf. note on ἑπιτρόφηκεν, supra § 139.

ὁστ' ἐξαλρέτων ἀξιόν λαμβάνειν...τιμωρλαν] '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 τιμωρλαν being equivalent to τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς προδιδόντας, 'the non-punishment of traitors.' We may compare Aeschin. Cles. § 196 οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ...ἐξαιτοῦνται τάς γραφάς 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 μόνῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐξαλρέτων ἐστι καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν παρὰ τῶν νόμων, 'he alone has the special privilege,' Dem. c. Aristocr. § 181 Καρδιανῶν πόλων, ἤν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐξαλρέτων αὐτῷ γέγραφεν, 'has defined as his special prerogative.'

ἄνόητον] sc. εἰναι.

ὁστε 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.

εἰ μὴ νῦν Δ[α 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': εἰ μὴ introduces here an ironical hypothesis, like nisi forte in Latin, the second μὴ adheres closely to ταῦτα: nisi forte istis et patriae non eadem convenient.

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. ἔχρην] For the potential impf. indic. without ἄν (cf. ἐδεί; προσήκεν, 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 οὐδὲνος ἄλλου] οὐδὲνος for μηδὲνος, 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 εἰθωσταί), 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 οὐδὲνος 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 ἡν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμελλὼν πορίζεσθαι.—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 παραστῆσασθαι (Lys. xx. § 35, Aeschin. Ctes. § 154, Dem. Mid. § 187), or ἀναβιβάζεσθαι (Andoc. De Myst. § 148, Isocr. Antid. § 321, Plat. Apol. 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 ἤν ἐλληνω τι...ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπογράψεω γ' οἶμαι κ.τ.λ., 'yet at least I think I can trace,' etc., Dem. Phil. ΠΙ. § 30 καὶ μὴν κάκεινο γ' ἵστη, διὶ δόσα μὲν ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἢ ύφ' ἡμῶν ἐπασχον οἱ 'Ελληνες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ γνησίων γ' οὕτω τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἑδικοῦντο, '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. ΧΧ. § 14 we have: ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν οἶν τ' ἐστὶν αἰσθέναι (since it is impossible to detect wicked men before being injured by them)...ἀλλ' οὖν γ' ἐπειδὴν γνωρισθώσι, προσήκει...μεσεῖν τοὺς τοιούτους κ.τ.λ. [Es (Bl.) changes to ἀλλ' οὖν περὶ προδοσίας γε.] οὕτως] resuming (as often) the content of a preceding ptcp. (here περὶ προδοσίας κρινοῦτας).

τοῦτο πράττειν] i.e. τοὺς δικαστᾶς δικάζειν π. καὶ γ. παρακαθισαμένους.

ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς οὔτες καὶ ὀρώμενοι] ὀρώμενοι, if genuine, must be felt to be more definite than ἐν ὀφθ. οὔτες, but the expression is admittedly redundant. [Blass (with Es) brackets καὶ ὀρώμενοι.]

τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔλεον] 'the universal attribute of pity.'

πικροτέρας τὰς γνώσεις...παρεσκευαζον] 'that (ὀνος) 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...παρεσκευαζον: 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 ἄλλα σὲ ἐξήρην ἠμῶν αὐχωρεῖν, ἵνα αὐνοοσία ἐγγένετο, '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. [παρεσκευαζον Es (Bl.): παρα-
The latter, if more unusual after ἐχρῆν, is defensible on the supposition that the speaker vividly transfers the purpose from the sphere of unreality to that of actuality.

ἀναγκαίον] sc. ἔτων.

tὸν προδότην αὐτῶν] ‘the man who betrayed them.’

§ 142. ὅταν νομίζει causal, cum putet: a variant for ei νομίζει or τὸ νομίζειν δέιν Δεσκράτη: cf. supra §§ 116, 123 nn.

ὅ μὴ κινδυνεύσας] ‘a man who shunned the peril’; generic. Cf. supra §§ 27, 43.

ἡκῆ] Steph. (Bl.): ἣκεὶ codd.

ἰερῶν θυσιῶν ἁγορᾶς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. everything from which a person in his position was held εἰργαζόμενοι: cf. Antiph. De Chor. § 4 νῦν καὶ εἰργαζόμενοι πόλεως ιερῶν ἁγιῶν θυσιῶν, supra § 65 εἰργον τῶν νομίμων ὑ. [θυσιῶν Tayl. (Sch., Bl., Thalh.): ὀσίων Reiske (Bk., Rehd.): οὐσίων codd.]

ὑπέρ δὲν τοῦ μὴ καταλυθήναι] These words may be construed as follows: ὑπέρ δὲν, ‘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 καταλυθήναι is independent of ὑπέρ; 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 ὑπέρ with the infin. being easily paralleled from Aeschin. Cles. § 1 τὰς δεήσεις αἰς κέχρηται τινὲς ὑπέρ τοῦ ταμείρα καὶ τὰ συνήθη μὴ γινεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει (= ἦνα μὴ γινενται), Dem. De Cor. § 204: Goodwin, § 802. The obvious objection to this interpretation, viz. that it postulates the possibility of writing τὸ μὴ καταλυθήναι 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 ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτα καταλυθήναι is quite easy, ὑπέρ τοῦ μὴ ἀ 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, 114, are, to my mind, less convincing, for the trajectory of υπέρ, than the present passage of Lyc.]

η πόλις ἔθαψαν] For the 'sense construction,' cf. supra § 87 η πόλις...ἐδοσαν n.

οὔδε τὰ ἑλεγεία...ἡδέσῳ] Cf. supra § 45 οὔδε τὰς θήκας παριῶν ἧσχώνθη.

ἀναστρέφεσθαι] versari: Xen. Hell. vi. 4. 16 λιπαρώς καὶ φαινομένοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφόμενοι, 'moving about in public.'

§ 143. αὐτίκα μᾶλ']αὐτίκα μᾶλα is idiomatic, μᾶλα intensifying αὐτίκα, 'he will be begging you just in a moment to hear him': cf. Plato, Protag. 318 B el αὐτίκα 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: αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα is a frequent variant.

πολόν; ὡς] 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 perorations.

ἐᾶσαι] sc. ἐξισθεί. [ἐᾶσαι Reiske: ἐᾶσετε codd.]

πολοῖς; καὶ μόνος] This brilliant resolution of the desperate ποιησάμενοι of the mss. is due to Reiske.

σώσοντας] Cf. supra § 17 ὡς αὐτίκα σώσοντας έαυτόν...ἐπικαλέσεται n.

τοὺς νεώς...τὰ ἔνη...τὰ τεμένη] Cf. supra § 1 n.

δεισεται καί [κετεύσει...πίνων;] τίνων must be regarded as depending on δεισεται, which is felt as the emphatic verb, καί [κετεύσει forming a sort of parenthesis, for κετεύω is normally
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construed with the acc.: cf. 'Poliov iktενετω immediately following. iktενεω υμων (infra §150), where υμων can hardly be taken with την χωραν καὶ τὰ δενδρα, is exceptional and perhaps poetic. οὐς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρανον...οὖκ ἐπολμησε] ‘men with whom he could not bring himself to make an equal contribution to the public safety’: οὐς depends on τὸν αὐτόν, and is compressed for ων τῷ ἔρανῳ τὸν αὐτόν ἔρανον κ.τ.λ. For ἔρανος, cf. supra §22 τοὺς ἐράνους διενεγκεῖν n.

§ 144. πότερον...ἀλλ’ οὖδ’] For ἀλλα 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-ἀλλα’ the Andoc. passage, and Lysias, xxx. §§26, 27 is deserving of honourable mention.

γηροτροφήθηναι] a moral and legal duty of children towards their parents: cf. supra §94.

οὖδ’ εἰν ἐλευθέρῳ...παρέδωκεν] ‘no, nor did he suffer them, so far as he was concerned, to have burial in the free soil of their country’: ἐλευθέρῳ 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) ἔχθρος δλη τὴν πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, ‘the very ground on which it stands,’ Aeschin. Cles. §134 οὐκετι περὶ τῆς...ἥγεμονιας ἁγωνίζεται (sc. ἡ πόλις), ἀλλ’ ἡδη περὶ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφους, ‘the very soil of our country.’—

ταφήναι...παρέδωκεν: cf. Her. vi. 103 ὅτι αὐτήσι ἐποιουσι μικών παραδίδοι Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθήναι.—τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν μέρος: cf. supra §17 n.

ἡ τῶν νεωτέρων] sc. ἡλικία.

§ 145. ἡσουσαν] εξ., as often, of improper freedom, ‘licence’: cf. supra §14 την γὰρ εξ. ταύτην δἐδωκατε τοὺς ἐνθάδε εἰσιούσι.

τὸν δῆμον καὶ ὑμᾶς] ‘the body politic’) (‘you, as individuals.’

οὗ γὰρ μόνον νῦν...κατέρχονται] ‘for it is not merely a case of an exile returning’ (νῦν—supposing you let L. go unpunished).—
NOTES

oi φεύγουσις: the plural here is used to put a general case.—
kατέρχονται: technical in this sense: cf. supra § 124 μόλις εἰς
τὴν εαυτῶν κατελημνύστες.

φυγήν...καταγνώσις] Cf. supra § 22 οὕτως αὐτοῦ καταγνώκεις
άιδον φυγήν.

οικήσας ἐν Μ. ἐπὶ προστάτου] Cf. supra § 21 n.

πλεῖω πέντε ἢ ἕξ ἔτη] The duration of L.'s sojourn abroad is
given supra § 21 as πλεῖον ἢ πέντε ἔτη, § 56 πέντε ἔτη, § 58 ἕξ ἔτη.
[Es considers that a copyist who had before him πλεῖον (so Es, as
supra § 21) ἕξ ἔτη introduced πέντε from his memory of §§ 21,
56: πλεῖον ἢ πέντε ἔτη (as § 21) Auger (Rehd.).]

ἀναστρέφεται] Cf. supra § 142 ἤγείται δείν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πάν.

μηλόβοσον τὴν 'Α. ἀνείναι] 'to turn Attica into a sheep-walk':
cf. Isocr. Plat. § 31 (of Theban animosity) οὐ δυστυχησάντων
ὑμῶν [after Aegospotami] μονοὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔθεντο τὴν ψῆφον,
ὡς χρῆ...τὴν χώραν ἀνείναι μηλόβοσον ὁπερ τὸ Κρισαίων πεδίον;

σύνοικος ὑμῶν] we might expect ὑμῖν, but cf. Soph. Ant. 451
ἡ γίνοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Ἀθην. [ὑμῶν Herwerden.]

γέγενται] Rehd. (Bl.): γεγένσαται Melanchth. (Sch., Turr.,
Sof.): γεγένεται Thalh.: γέγένται 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...εἰπὼν καταβήναι] ‘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 ptp. Of the decree ‘concerning piety’ nothing
further is known.
τὸν ἀφανίζοντα] either (a) ‘him who would obliterate’ (conative) or (b) ‘him who has obliterated,’ the present denoting the ‘standing characteristic’ as in ἀδικεῖν, προδίδοναι = ἀδικος, προδοτὴς εἶναι.—ταῦτα πάντα: i.e. all the clauses of the decree just quoted.

κολάσας...τιμωρήσασθαι] the first, of the reformation of the offender; the second, of the satisfaction of the offended: Arist. Rhet. 1. 10. 1369b διαφέρει δὲ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις. ἢ μὲν γὰρ κόλασις τοῦ ποιοῦντος ἐνεκὰ ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ τιμωρία τοῦ πάσχοντος, ἵνα ἀποπληρωθῇ.

τὰ 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 φῦdid and penes are occasionally used in Latin.

κρύβον...φανερὰν] a common sentiment in the orators: cf. Lysias c. Eratosth. §91 μηδ' οἷοθεν κρύβον <εἶναι> τὴν ψῆφον: φανερὰν γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε, or. vi. §53 ποιῶν δημότην χρὴ τοῦτω χαρισάμενον κρύβον φανερῶς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεκθέσθαι; or. xv. §10, Dem. F. L. §239 ὦ γὰρ εἰ κρύβον ἐστὶν ἡ ψῆφος, λήσει τοὺς θεοὺς, κ.τ.λ.

§147. υπὲρ ἀπάντων...μᾶν ύμᾶς 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 υπὲρ, cf. supra §9 τὴν υπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρίαν.

ἐν τῇ τῇμερον ἡμέρᾳ] cf. supra §2 n.

προδοσίας] This and the following genitives are in app. with ἀδικήματων above.

τὰ τεμένη τέμνεσθαι] The collocation of the words is no doubt helped by the fact that τέμνειν 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

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offence under Athenian law, and might be the subject of an εὐθαγεῖλα which was brought before the chief archon: see notes to § 1. Note the poetic τοκέων = γονέων. For the text after κακώσεως, see Crit. App.

λιποταξιῶν...ἀστρατελας] ‘desertion’...‘shirking of service’: both were subject to γραφή. Properly λιποταξίων (which occurs only as gen. with γραφή, ἔρως, etc., though Cobet restores λιποτάξιον for λιποτάξιαν of codd. at Dem. Mid. § 166) would be said of desertion in actual battle, ἀστρατελα 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 ἀκούσε, ὁ ἄρδεσ δικαστα, δει περὶ ἀμφοτέρων κείται (sc. ὁ νόμος), καὶ δοῦν ἄν ὁμός οὕτης εἰς τούπισω ἀναχωρήσωσι, καὶ δοῦν ἄν ἐν τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ μὴ παρῶσι. From Lyc.'s language in the present passage we should certainly infer that the two terms covered pretty much the same ground.

παρασχὼν τὸ σῶμα τάξιν] Cf. supra § 43 n.

§ 148. ἐπεύται] admirantis vel indignantis, ‘after all that’: Xen. Mem. 1. 4. 11 ἐπεύτ οὐδ' οἱ εἰς φροντίζεων (τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων); supra § 27 n.

τούτου τις] note the indef. τίς, which has the effect of throwing more weight upon τούτου.

τῶν κατὰ π. ἀδικημάτων] ‘deliberate crimes’: cf. ἐκ προβολας in τὰ ἐκ πρ. τραύματα, ‘wounding with intent,’ and supra § 38 κατὰ τὴν τούτου προαίρεσιν n.

καὶ τίς οὕτως] Dobr. (Bl., Sof.): καὶ τοσούτου codd.

σφόδρων...ἐλεήσας] ‘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. ἀποδέδωκα τὸν ἀγώνα] '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 ἀλλον...βίον 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.

ξέω τοῦ πράγματος] cf. supra § 11 n.

τὸν Δευκράτους] [τὸν] Rehd., τοῦ Es.

καὶ δυοὶν καδίσκουν...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 οὐστερος, Ar. Vesp. 986–991: cf. Phrynichus, Μοῦσα, quoted by Harp. s.v. καδίσκος (Mein. Com. Frag. 2. 593), ἵδος, δέχον τὴν ψήφον. ὁ καδίσκος δὲ σοι ὁ μὲν ἀπολλόν υἱός, ὁ δ' ἀπολλόν ὁδί, and each dicast was provided with one ψήφος, which was dropped into one or other of the urns. According to the later method described by Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ.

§ 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. ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι...προσ προσ ορήσεται, 'to expose himself to the vengeance of heaven.'
col. 36, ll. 14–22, there were still two urns, one of bronze and one of wood, but each dicast was furnished with τὼν ψῆφων, one with a hollow cylinder (ἡ τετραπυθμενή), 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. ἐξερευνήσεις [αἱ ἐξερευνήσεις] τῶν ψῆφων, and Sandys on 'Αθ. Πολ. col. 35, 22 sqq.

§ 150. ἐὰν...ἀπολύσητε] si absolveritis.

προδιδόναι...ψηφίζεσθε] ‘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 ἰδισεται καὶ ἰκετεύσει...τίνων; n.

τὰ δένδρα] The reference is no doubt especially to the olivetrees, an important state asset: cf. supra § 43 ὅθ’ ἡ μὲν χωρὰ τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο n.

τοὺς 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 καθεῖλων (sc. οἱ τριάκοντα). [<καὶ> is added by
Scheibe (Es, Thalh.), who postulates either this or the asyndetic 
\textit{tous} \lambda. \tau\alpha\nu. \tau\alpha\tau. (Bl.) as the proper form.]

\textbf{παράδειγμα ποιήσατε} \Delta.\] Cf. with the conclusion Lysias, 
\textit{xxviii. § 11} \textit{άλλα παράδειγμα πάσων ἀνθρώπων ποιήσαι καὶ μήτε 
kέρδος μήτε ἔλεον μήτ'} \textit{άλλο μηδὲν περὶ πλεονος ποιήσασθαι τῆς 
τούτων τιμωρίας.}

\textit{ότι οὐ πλέον ἴσχύει} depending on \textit{παράδ. π. Α.}, 'make him 
a (warning) example (of the fact) that,' etc. \textit{[kal, which the mss. 
give before \textit{ότι}, is deleted by the editors generally (with Morus): 
Rehd. defends it in an elaborate excursus, \textit{App. 2, pp. 162 sqq.}]}

\textit{ὑπὲρ} Lycurgean, for the simple genitive: cf. \textit{supra} \textit{§ 9 τὴν 
ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιοῦτων τιμωρίαν, \textit{[Dem.} \textit{xxvi. § 12 eis τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς 
πατρίδος σωτηρίαν.}}}

\textit{σωτηρίας} so the mss., and intrinsically probable as supplying 
the desiderated \textit{vox fausta} with which to conclude. \textit{[τιμωρίας 
Reiske (Sch., Bl.).]}
CRITICAL APPENDIX

§ 8. The mss. give: ὡστε μητε κατηγορλαν μητε τιμωρλαν ἐνδέ-χεσθαι εὐρείν ἀξιαν, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὑπόσθαι τιμωρλαν ἀξιαν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, with ὡστε...εὐρείν ἀξιαν recurring infra § 9 after γενήσεσθαι. The passage has been variously emended: Bekker brackets μητε κατηγορλαν...εὐρείν ἀξιαν, Baiter and Sauppe μητε τιμωρλαν, Rehdantz τιμωρλαν ἀξιαν. I have followed Blass, with the change of μηδὲ...μηδ' to μητε...μητ'.


§ 14. ο’ ἵσατι...ὅντα. I have followed Blass in transposing (with Franke and Scheibe) this clause from its position in the mss. after ἥκηκοσεν infra, where it is awkward (as seems necessary) to refer ο’ to τὴν οἰκουμένην.

§ 19. ὡς καὶ μεγάλα...μετέχων αὐτῆς. The mss. give ὡς καὶ μεγάλα καὶ βλάβους εἰς: βεβλαφὼς πρὸ καὶ βλάβους, Sauppe (Blass, Thalh.): καταβεβλαφῶς Jenicke (Rehd.): μεγάλου βλάβους αὕτης εἰς Corais: μεγάλου αὕτης βλάβους εἰς Φραντ.—μετέχων αὐτοῖς codd. praeter N (Franz, Saupp., Scheib., Thalh.): αὐτοῖς Jenicke: αὐτῆς N (cf. § 58) (Blass, Rehd.).


§ 29. τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων. τὸν (τὸν Α) πάντων συνειδότων ABN: τὸν πάντα Doberenz: τὸν πάντ' αὐτῷ Scheib. (Rehd.)
[but, as Blass rightly remarks, the article cannot be omitted with the ptcp.]: τὸν τῶν πάντ' αὐτῷ Ηερω.: τὸν πάντων σαφεστατον ἔλεγχον Reiske (Thalh.): τὸν παρὰ τῶν συνεδρίων Schoem. (Bl.).
§ 38. After οἱ ναὸι, the mss. give τῶν ἱερεῶν, which is probably an importation due to a misunderstanding of the const. of ἤρμοι ...τῶν τείχων immediately following. Heinrich (Sch., Bl., Thalh.) deletes the words: Rehd. defends them.
§ 39. τῷ <στρατῷ> scripsi. τῷ ALP: τῷ <δήμῳ> Ald., Bk. (Sch.): utrumque deletum volunt Osann., Turr.; τῷ <στρατοπέδῳ> Meier, prob. Rehd.: ἄρτιως Blass.—προσηγγελτο Es (Bl.): προσηγγέλλετο ALP.
§ 43. δῆθ' ἡ μὲν χώρα...τὰ ὅπλα. I have followed Blass (Sofer) in transposing this clause from its place in the mss. after τὴν τής πόλεως σωτηριαν ἑνάρα.
§ 45. μηδὲ συνενεγκεῖν. μηδὲ ἐνυγκαἰν AB, μηδὲ ἐνυγκαἰν LP (Rehd.), μ. συνενεγκεῖν Ζ: μηδὲν ἐνυγκαὶκεῖν Cor.: μηδὲ ἐνυγκαίκεῖν Mätz.: μηδὲ ἐνυγκαίκεῖν Sch., prop. Es (sec. Thuc. II. 34 ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκαστὸς ἣν τι βούληται): μηδὲ ἐνυγκαίκεῖν Dobre (Bl.), delete is verbis μηδ' επ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν: μηδ' ἐνυγκαίκεῖν Thalh.
§ 46. The mss. give τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν δημοσίων ἁγώνας (Rehd., Thalh.), Rehd. explaining τῶν δημοσίων as 'the state interests,' res publica, and pointing out that the arrangement τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἁγώνας τῶν δημοσίων (which we should have expected) would postulate the supplying of ἁγώνων with δημοσίων. Otherwise ἁγώνες is to be understood in the sense of the ἁγωνιζόμενοι 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 τοιοῦτων τοῦ δ. ἁγώνας Mätz.: τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τοῦ δ. ἁγώνας 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 Epitaphii which were much handled in the schools.
(a) ἄ γὰρ ἄθλα...ταύτ' ἀμφότερα Cor., Dobr. (Bl.): τά γὰρ ἄθλα...ταύτα γὰρ ἀμφότεροι. codd.: ταύτα δὲ Auger, Bekk.: ταύτ' ἄρα Rosenberg (Rehd.).

(6) μόνοις γὰρ τούς κ.τ.λ. μόνοις does not seem wanted if ἡπτῆσθαι is understood (as seems most natural in its context) of military defeat: Rehd., who attempts a reconstruction of the whole passage, considers that μόνοις arose out of ἀμύνοντες συνρα, and that the original ran...ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμυνόμενοι· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κ.τ.λ.

§ 51. The mss. give καὶ δι' ἀ οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐπετήδευν, which has been variously emended so as (a) to supply an object to ἐπετήδευν, (b) to define more precisely the force of ἐπιστάσαθε. I have adopted Blass's <ἀνδρέλαν> after ἀλόγως, taking δι' ἀ...ἐπετήδευν in a causal relation to ἐπιστάσαθε (see explanatory note). Other suggestions are: καὶ νὴ Δία οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ. ταὐτα· ἐπιστάσαθε γὰρ Cor.: καὶ νὴ Δία ταὐτ' οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ., ἐπεὶ ἐπιστάσαθε Herw.: α νὴ Δία οὐκ ἀλ. ἐπ.: ἐπιστάσαθε γὰρ cf. Rehd.


§ 73. The probabilities for and against the genuineness of ἐκτησαν seem to be about equally balanced: I have followed Meutzner (Bl., Thalh.) in bracketing it: Turr., Sch., Rehd. retain it.

§ 76. <ὠς> 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. ptcps., with or without ὡς (Rehd., App. 2, ad loc.): ποιήσων Frohb.: <ὦς>... ποιήσων Es (Bl.).

§ 80. ὁμως ὡς ἵχνος. I have adopted Rehd.'s suggestion for ὁμως ἵχνως of the mss., which has been very variously emended: ἴκανως Cor.: ἴχνωρος Dind.: σχινως Sch.: ἵχνος...τῆς...ἀρετῆς M Haupt. (Bl.): alii alia.
§ 85. κατακλησθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.—διεκαρτερεῖν 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. Ες (Bl.) would delete επολιορκοῦντο κα., 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 πύλας ὑποδύνητα.—After considering the passage in all its bearings, I am inclined to believe that ὑποδύνητα (which I once thought might conceal something like ὑπὸ νῦκτα—a time note) is sound, and that the corruption lies in κατὰ τὰς πύλας. 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: εὐτελεῖ σκευὴ ὡς ξυλιστής Schol. Platon., ὑλοτήμων ἐσθήτα λαβὼν Suidas) points to ὑλᾶς for πύλας. We should then have, (a) with κατὰ, 'taking shelter (secret ing himself: ὑποδύνητα used absol.) near (in the neighbourhood of) the woods,' (b) with κατὰ (Madvig), 'and then taking cover in the woods' (τὰς ὕλας being here direct obj. of ὑποδύνητα: cf. subire). In either case, the action of ὑποδύνητα (as well as of λαβώνα) 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) ὑποδύσηθαι 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 ὑπόδυθη...τὰς Δακωνικάς, with ὑποδύσασθαι and ὑποδύσαμενος at ll. 1159, 1168 respectively, though it is true that Scaliger and Hirschig changed all three to corresponding forms of ὑποδείσθαι (ὑποδοῦ, ὑποδησ-), which are now adopted by the editors], (b) to 'put on' a certain character (cf. Plat. Gorg. 464 C ἣ κολακευτική...προσποιεῖται εἶναι τοῦθ'

Assuming that υποδύναι could have been said by Lycurgus in the sense of (a), and reading Madvig's κατα, I see in πόλας an additional detail of Codrus 'make up': λαβώντα πτωχικὴν στολήν...κατά τὰς ἀρβύλας (τὰς ἀ πλάς?—cf. Dem. LIV. 34 ἀπλάς υποδέθενται) υποδύντα 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 υποδύντα κ.τ.λ., 'assuming, I say, this disguise,' etc.: Lyc. is partial to the resumptive οὗτος (cf. §§35, 42, 46, 82, 93, 117). If TATTHN (ταύτην) came to look like, or was misread as, TATTHI (ταύτη, ταύτη), κατὰ τὰς πόλας might very well be a gloss which attempted to explain the latter word.

§ 88. ἀρά γ' ὀμολογ. 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, πώς δει ιστ. γρ. § 27 ὄρας, δμωος οὗτος ἐκείνῳ. The idiom, however, appears to be distinctly rare in prose. On the other hand, ἀρά γε seems to have an affinity for ὄμοιος in introducing an ironical question, cf. § 70 ἀρά γ' ὄμοιοι, § 119 ἀρά γ' ὀμολογ., which passages may perhaps be regarded as creating an ἀ πριορί case for ἀρά γε here. Palaeographically, as Es points out, APATE and OPATE would be easily confused.

§ 93. εἰ ταύτα σημεῖα...φαίνονται codd. (Sch.): φαίνοντο Steph.: φαίνοντο Heinrich (Bl., Sofer): φαίνοντ' ὄντα Rehd.: ταύτα <τὰ> σημεῖα (Melanchth.)...φαίνονται Thalh.: ταύτα <τὰ> σ....φαίνοι Reiske (Sauppe): σημαινοι pro σημεῖα, 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 δρώσι, δυσγενεστέροι B (sec. Osann.) et vett.
edd.: χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, <δρῶσι> δ—ροῦ Heinrich: δ—ροῦ φύσων
G. Herm.: alii alia.

1. 41. τοῦν γ’ ἐμοὶ Heinr. (Turr., Sch., Thalh.): τοῦν ἐμοὶ
Reiske: γοῦν ἐμοὶ Bk.: σοῦ γ’ ἐμοὶ Bl.: γοῦν τ’ ἐμοὶ codd. etiam
οὐκοῦν...σωθήσεται; Dind.

1. 42. ἀρξουσι τ’ ΑΝ, ἀρξουσιν M, deinde ἀλλοι τήν δ’ (sive
τὴν δ’) ἐγὼ σῶσω πόλιν codd.: ἀρξουσιν ἀλλοι, τήν’ ἐγὼ σῶσω
πόλιν Dind. (Thalh., Sof.): ἀρξουσι τ’ ἀλλοις τήν’ ἐγὼ οὐ δῶσω
πόλιν Jenicke: ἀρξ. τ’ ἀλλοις τήνδε γ’ οὐ σῶσω πόλιν Blass.
Hunc et priorem versum ita ponit Rehdantz:

οὐκοῦν ἀπανθ’ ἄ τοῦτ’ ἐμοὶ σωθήσεται
ἀρξουσιν ἀλλοι, τὴν δ’ ἐγὼ σῶσω πόλιν.

§ 107. Tyrtaeus, ll. 11, 12.

εἰ δ’ οὗτως ἀνδρός τοι ἀλλομένου οὐδεμί’ ὥρη
γιγνεται οὖθ’ αἰδῶς, οὔτ’ ὑπίσω γένεος.

οὔθ’ αἰδῶς M (Bk., Turr., Sch.): οὔτ’ αἰδῶς libri et vulg. ||
οὔτ’ ὑπίσω τέλος ABN: εἰσοπίσω τελέθει Ald. (Bk., Turr.):
οὔτ’ ὑπίσω γένεος Ahrens (Bl., Sofer): ἐξοπίσω s. τοὐχοπίσω
γένεως Sch.: οὔτ’ ὑπίσιν οὔτ’ ἔλεος Bergk (Rehd., Thalh.).

For the second half of the line, I have adopted Ahrens’ οὔτ’
ὅπισω γένεος as against Bergk’s οὔτ’ ὑπίσιν οὔτ’ ἔλεος, the objection
to which is, ceteris paribus, that αἰδῶς...ὑπίσ...ἔλεος 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’ αἰδῶς (with M): otherwise οὔτε...οὔτε (Bl., Sofer)
connect heterogeneous elements in a way for which I can find
no parallel. Reading then οὐδ’ αἰδῶς, and punctuating as in the
text for the sake of clearness, we have: εἰ δ’ (οὔτε) ἀνδρός...οὔτ’
ὅπισω γένεος οὐδεμία ὥρη γίγνεται οὖθ’ αἰδῶς, which I submit is
normal and intelligible Greek (see explanatory note).

On the other hand, the double οὔτε, subdividing the preceding
οὐδεμία, is thoroughly characteristic Greek, and tempts one to
suppose that οὔτε...οὔτε is sound. Is it possible that the true
reading is:

γίγνεται οὔτ’ αὐτοῦ οὔτ’ ὑπίσω γένεος?
It will be granted that *οὔτε ὅπλως γένεος*, if sound and not directly pointing to a preceding *ἂντω*, at least goes very well with it (cf. the familiar εἰκόη ἐναι ἄντων καὶ γένεος in imprecations in the orators *passim*, and § 79 of the speech, ἄλλα εἰ μὴ ἄντως, οἱ πάιδες γε καὶ τὸ γένεος ἀπαν κ.τ.λ.). I do not think that the hiatus resulting from the reading of *ἄντω*, coming where it does in the line, is an insuperable objection (cf. Theognis 478 *οὔτε τι γάρ νηφω, οὔτε λίνη μεθύω*); and it may be observed, further, that this very hiatus (assuming that Tyrtaeus wrote *ἄντω*) 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 ΟΤΤΑΤΤΟΤΟΤ would be, on the face of it, a likely source of corruption.

§ 116. *ὑμῖν οὔτε πάτριον* codd.: *ὑμῖν οὔτοι πάτριον N²* (Schaub): *ὑμῖν οὔτω πάτριον Ald.* (Bk.). || *ψηφίζεσθαι* NM: *ψηφίζεσθε* cett. (Sch., Thalh.).—A great many remedies have been proposed. *οὔδὲ γάρ πάτριον* Franke, δ *ὑμῖν οὔδε πάτριον* Sch., οῦ γάρ ὑμῖν πάτριον Es, *ὑμῖν οὗ γε πάτριον* Rehd., <οὔτε γὰρ νόμμον (s. εἰθισμένον)> *ὑμῖν οὔτε π.* Cohn, <οὔτε γάρ ἐμφυτον> *ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.* prob. Bl. (Sofer): *ὑμεῖς* οὔδὲ γάρ πάτριον Jenicke. The most attractive of all is Rehd.’s μὴ δῆτα, ὡ ἀ. δ., οὔτω τῶν τε πατέρων ἀναξίως καὶ ὑμῶν 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 <οὔτε γὰρ ὅσιον>, on the ground that, if an adjective is missing, ὅσιος seems as likely as any other on the lips of Lycurgus.


§ 134. ὅταν ληφθῶσι Contius (Rehd., Bl., Thalh.): *καταληφθῶσι* G. Herm. (Sch.): *συλληφθῶσι* Halm (Turr.): ὅταν μὴ (δὴ N²) ληφθῶσι 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 aliquam viam corrugendi ingressus est, omnes
tamen in eo convenientes in his vocabulis late recitotionem
quae optime hoc modo redditur "cum deprehenduntur." sed
Lycurgus nonnumquam insulsus et futilis est, ne talia eum dixisse
credamus. quis umquam malesicus non deprehensus poenas luit?
puto Lycurgum scrisisse: "dum reliqui in animo habentes
peccare poenas patiuntur eorum, quae non perpetraverunt," quod
recte opponitur Leocrati τῷ διαπεραγμένῳ ὄπερ ἐπεξερήσει. 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 ὅτι 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 δή, 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., but
not a finite verb, follows: others suppose that a finite verb such
as ἐλήσται or ἤλεγκται (Reiske), ἔξελησενκται or ἔφευρέθη (Duke)
has fallen out. Rehd. suggests the change of ὅτι to ἄτε.
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