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On the Crown and the Philippics

Demosthenes

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

On the Crown and the Philippics

With the Olynthiacs, On the Peace, and On the Chersonese

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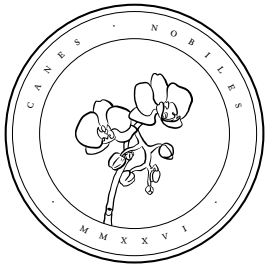
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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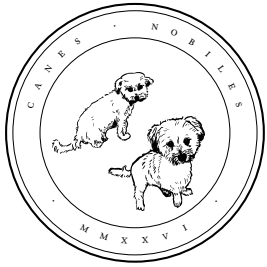

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The Fourth Philippic is printed in Greek 82

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Words the editor secludes are not printed; words
he supplies are printed without their brackets.

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DEMOSTHENES

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α

First Olynthiac

I · THE MOMENT FOR OLYNTHUS

Demosthenes tells the Athenians that the present crisis all but cries aloud for them to take up Olynthus' cause themselves: vote help now, prepare it quickly, and send envoys to be on the spot, before Philip, sole master of his counsels, army, and treasury, wins something by yielding, threatening, or slandering their absence. The Olynthians know that his reconciliations mean the ruin of their city, as Amphipolis and Pydna found. Athens let Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone, and Pagasae go one by one, and so made him greater than any king of Macedonia. Abandon Olynthus, and like careless borrowers at high interest they will lose the capital too: the war will come to Attica.

Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς 1
for much — O men Athenians money you
ἑλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερὸν γένοιτο τὸ μέλλον συνοίσειν
to-choose I-think if clear should-become the going to-benefit
τῇ πόλει περὶ ὧν νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε. ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως
the city about which now you-consider since then this so
ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν βουλομένων
holds it-is-fitting eagerly to-be-willing to-hear the-ones wishing
συμβουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος
to-advise not for only if something useful having-considered
ἥκει τις, τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
has-come someone this — having-heard you-would-take but also of-the
ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ
your fortune I-suppose many of-the needful-things on the
παραχρῆμ' ἐνίοις ἂν ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἁπάντων
instant to-some — to-occur to-say so-that from all
ῥᾳδίαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν αἵρεσιν γενέσθαι.
easy the of-the advantageous for-you choice to-become

2 ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνον
the indeed then present occasion O men Athenians only
οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεὶς ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐκείνων
not says voice uttering that the affairs by-you those
αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν
yourselves to-be-taken-up is if-indeed for safety of-them
φροντίζετε· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅντινά μοι δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν
you-care we but not I-know what to-me we-seem to-have
τρόπον πρὸς αὐτά. ἔστι δὴ τά γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα,
manner toward them is indeed the-things at-least to-me seeming
ψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἤδη τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι
to-vote indeed now the help and to-prepare
τὴν ταχίστην ὅπως ἐνθένδε βοηθήσετε (καὶ μὴ πάθητε
the quickest(-way) so-that from-here you-will-help and not you-suffer
ταὐτὸν ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον), πρεσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἥτις
the-same which-very also before embassy and to-send which
ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν·
these-things will-say and will-be-present at-the affairs
3 ὡς ἔστι μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος, μὴ πανοῦργος ὢν καὶ
since is most this fear lest unscrupulous being and
δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν εἴκων,
clever the-man affairs to-handle the-things indeed yielding
ἡνίκ' ἂν τύχῃ, τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν (ἀξιόπιστος δ' ἂν
when — it-happens the-things and threatening credible and —
εἰκότως φαίνοιτο), τὰ δ' ἡμᾶς διαβάλλων καὶ τὴν
reasonably he-would-appear the-things and us slandering and the
ἀπουσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, τρέψηται καὶ παρασπάσηταί
absence the our he-may-turn and may-wrest-away
τι τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων.
something of-the whole affairs

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιεικῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ᾽ ὃ 4
not indeed but fairly O men Athenians this which
δυσμαχώτατόν ἐστι τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων, καὶ βέλτιστον
hardest-to-fight is of-the of-Philip affairs also best
ὑμῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκεῖνον ἕν᾽ ὄντα κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν
for-you the for to-be of-all him one being master both of-spoken
καὶ ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἅμα στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ
and of-unspoken and at-the-same-time general and lord and
ταμίαν, καὶ πανταχοῦ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τῷ στρατεύματι,
treasurer and everywhere himself to-be-present with-the army
πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ταχὺ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν
for indeed the the-things of-the war quickly and in season
πράττεσθαι πολλῷ προέχει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς καταλλαγάς, ἃς
to-be-done much is-superior for but the reconciliations which
ἂν ἐκεῖνος ποιήσαιτ᾽ ἄσμενος πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους, ἐναντίως ἔχει.
— he would-make gladly with Olynthians contrarily is
δῆλον γάρ ἐστι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης 5
clear for is to-the Olynthians that now not for glory
οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναστάσεως
nor for part of-land they-are-fighting but uprooting
καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἴσασιν ἅ τ᾽
and enslavement of-the fatherland and they-know what-things both
Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν
of-Amphipolitans he-did the-ones having-handed-over to-him the city
καὶ Πυδναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους· καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστον,
and of-Pydnaeans the-ones having-received(-him) and altogether untrustworthy
οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ τυραννίς, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὅμορον
I-think to-the constitutions the tyranny otherwise both and-if bordering
χώραν ἔχωσι.
land they-have

6 ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἐγνωκότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
these-things then having-recognized you O men Athenians and
τἄλλ᾽ ἃ προσήκει πάντ᾽ ἐνθυμουμένους φημὶ δεῖν
the-other-things which are-fitting all pondering I-say to-be-necessary
ἐθελῆσαι καὶ παροξυνθῆναι καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν εἴπερ
to-be-willing and to-be-roused and to-the war to-attend if-indeed
ποτὲ καὶ νῦν, χρήματ᾽ εἰσφέροντας προθύμως καὶ αὐτοὺς
ever also now money contributing eagerly and yourselves
ἐξιόντας καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείποντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις
going-out and nothing leaving-undone not-even for reason nor pretext
ἔθ᾽ ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται.
any-longer for-you of-the not the needful-things to-do to-be-willing is-left
7 νυνὶ γάρ, ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλουν τέως, Ὀλυνθίους ἐκπολεμῶσαι
now for what all were-babbling till-then Olynthians to-embroil
δεῖν Φιλίππῳ, γέγονεν αὐτόματον, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὡς ἂν
to-be-necessary with-Philip has-happened of-itself and these-things as —
ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμφέροι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν πεισθέντες
for-you most would-benefit if indeed for by you having-been-persuaded
ἀνείλοντο τὸν πόλεμον, σφαλεροὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ μέχρι
they-had-taken-up the war unsafe allies and up-to
του ταῦτ᾽ ἂν ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν ἴσως· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐκ
some(-point) these-things — having-resolved they-would-be perhaps since but from
τῶν πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων μισοῦσι, βεβαίαν εἰκὸς τὴν
the toward themselves grievances they-hate firm likely the
ἔχθραν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν φοβοῦνται καὶ πεπόνθασιν ἔχειν.
enmity them about what they-fear and have-suffered to-have
8 οὐ δεῖ δὴ τοιοῦτον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραπεπτωκότα
not one-must indeed such O men Athenians having-fallen-in-our-way
καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι, οὐδὲ παθεῖν ταὐτὸν ὅπερ ἤδη πολλάκις
occasion to-let-go nor to-suffer the-same which-very already often
πρότερον πεπόνθατε. εἰ γάρ, ὅθ᾽ ἥκομεν Εὐβοεῦσιν
before you-have-suffered if for when we-came Euboeans

βεβοηθηκότες καὶ παρῆσαν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἱέραξ καὶ
having-helped and were-present of-Amphipolitans Hierax and
Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα, κελεύοντες ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ
Stratocles on this-here the platform bidding us to-sail and
παραλαμβάνειν τὴν πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν παρειχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς
to-take-over the city the same had-shown we
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίαν ἥνπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβοέων
for us selves eagerness which-very for the of-Euboeans
σωτηρίας, εἶχετ' ἂν Ἀμφίπολιν τότε καὶ πάντων τῶν
safety you-would-have — Amphipolis then and of-all the
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἂν ἦτ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμάτων.
after these-things — you-would-be rid of-troubles
καὶ πάλιν ἡνίκα Πύδνα, Ποτείδαια, Μεθώνη, Παγασαί, 9
and again when Pydna Potidaea Methone Pagasae
τἄλλα, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω, πολιορκούμεν'
the-rest so-that not by each-thing speaking I-waste-time being-besieged
ἀπηγγέλλετο, εἰ τότε τούτων ἑνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ προθύμως
were-reported if then of-these one the first eagerly
καὶ ὡς προσῆκεν ἐβοηθήσαμεν αὐτοί, ῥᾴονι καὶ πολὺ
and as was-fitting we-had-helped ourselves easier and much
ταπεινοτέρῳ νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ. νῦν δὲ τὸ
humbler now — we-would-deal-with — Philip now but the
μὲν παρὸν ἀεὶ προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντ' αὐτόματ'
indeed present always giving-up the-things and future of-themselves
οἰόμενοι σχήσειν καλῶς, ηὐξήσαμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες
thinking to-be-going-to-turn-out well we-increased O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικοῦτον
Athenians Philip we and made so-great
ἡλίκος οὐδείς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Μακεδονίας. νυνὶ δὴ
as-great-as no yet king has-been of-Macedonia now indeed

καιρὸς ἥκει τις, οὗτος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, αὐτόματος τῇ
occasion has-come some this the of-the Olynthians of-itself to-the
πόλει, ὃς οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐλάττων τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων.
city which than-none is less of-the former those
10 καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δίκαιος
and to-me-at-least seems someone — O men Athenians just
λογιστὴς τῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηργμένων
auditor of-the-things from the gods to-us having-been-granted
καταστάς, καίπερ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὡς δεῖ πολλῶν,
having-been-appointed although not being as is-needful many-things
ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς χάριν, εἰκότως· τὸ
nevertheless great — to-have to-them gratitude reasonably the
μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
indeed for many-things to-have-lost in the war
τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἄν τις θείη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ
of-the our negligence — someone would-set justly the but
μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τέ τιν' ἡμῖν
neither long-ago this to-have-suffered to-have-appeared and some for-us
συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι,
alliance for-these counterbalancing if we-wish to-use
τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἔγωγε θείην.
of-the from them goodwill benefaction — I would-set
11 ἀλλ', οἶμαι, παρόμοιόν ἐστιν ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν
but I-think similar is which-very also about the of-the
χρημάτων κτήσεως· ἂν μὲν γάρ, ὅσ' ἄν τις
money acquisition if indeed for as-much-as — someone
λάβῃ, καὶ σώσῃ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν
gets and keeps great he-has to-the fortune the gratitude if
δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ, συνανήλωσε καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι.
but having-spent he-escapes-notice he-spends-along also the to-remember
καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως οἱ μὴ χρησάμενοι
also about the affairs so the-ones not having-used

τοῖς καιροῖς ὀρθῶς, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβη τι παρὰ τῶν
the occasions rightly not-even if happened something from the
θεῶν χρηστὸν μνημονεύουσι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον
gods good remember by for the last
ἐκβὰν ἕκαστον τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων κρίνεται. διὸ καὶ
outcome each of-the before having-been is-judged wherefore also
σφόδρα δεῖ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
greatly it-is-necessary for-the rest you O men Athenians
φροντίσαι, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐπανορθωσάμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
to-take-thought so-that these-things having-set-right the for the
πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν ἀποτρίψώμεθα.
things-done disrepute we-may-wipe-off
εἰ δὲ προησόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τούτους 12
if but we-will-abandon O men Athenians also these
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἶτ' Ὄλυνθον ἐκεῖνος καταστρέψεται,
the men then Olynthus he will-subdue
φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ τί τὸ κωλῦον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται
let-tell someone me what the preventing any-longer him will-be
βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλεται. ἆρα λογίζεταί τις ὑμῶν, ὦ
to-march wherever he-wishes then reckons anyone of-you O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν
men Athenians and observes the manner through which
μέγας γέγονεν ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος; τὸ
great has-become weak being the at beginnings Philip the
πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβών, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν, πάλιν
first Amphipolis having-taken after these-things Pydna again
Ποτείδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἶτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη·
Potidaea Methone again then on-Thessaly he-set-foot
μετὰ ταῦτα Φεράς, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν, πάνθ' ὃν 13
after these-things Pherae Pagasae Magnesia everything which
ἐβούλετ' εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ᾧχετ' εἰς Θράκην· εἶτ' ἐκεῖ
he-wished having-arranged way he-went to Thrace then there

τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς δὲ καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων
the-ones indeed having-expelled the-others and having-installed of-the kings
ἠσθένησε· πάλιν ῥᾴσας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἀπέκλινεν,
he-fell-ill again having-recovered not to the to-take-ease he-turned
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐπεχείρησεν. τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς
but at-once Olynthians attacked the and against Illyrians
καὶ Παίονας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρύββαν καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν
and Paeonians of-him and against Arybbas and wherever one —
εἴποι παραλείπω στρατείας.
might-say I-pass-over campaigns
14 τί οὖν, ἄν τις εἴποι, ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν νῦν; ἵνα
why then — someone might-say these-things you-say to-us now so-that
γνῶτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ αἴσθησθ' ἀμφότερα, καὶ
you-may-know O men Athenians and perceive both-things both
τὸ προΐεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀεί τι τῶν πραγμάτων
the to-give-up by each always something of-the affairs
ὡς ἀλυσιτελές, καὶ τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ᾗ χρῆται καὶ
how unprofitable and the restless-activity which uses and
συζῇ Φίλιππος, ὑφ' ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας
lives-with Philip by which not it-is how having-been-content
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀεί
with-the things-done quiet he-will-keep if but he indeed as always
τι μεῖζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν ἐγνωκὼς
something greater than-the existing-things one-must to-do having-resolved
ἔσται, ἡμεῖς δ' ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀντιληπτέον ἐρρωμένως τῶν
will-be we but as nothing to-be-grasped vigorously of-the
πραγμάτων, σκοπεῖσθ' εἰς τί ποτ' ἐλπὶς ταῦτα τελευτῆσαι.
affairs consider to what ever hope these-things to-end
15 πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν
by gods who so simple is of-you who is-ignorant-that the
ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον δεῦρ' ἥξοντα, ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μήν, εἰ
from-there war here going-to-come if we-neglect(-it) but indeed if

τοῦτο γενήσεται, δέδοικ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν
this will-happen I-fear O men Athenians lest the same
τρόπον ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις
manner as the-ones borrowing lightly at the great
τόκοις μικρὸν εὐπορήσαντες χρόνον ὕστερον καὶ τῶν
interests little having-been-in-funds time later also from-the
ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ πολλῷ φανῶμεν
original(-capital) are-parted so also we at great(-cost) may-appear
ἐρρᾳθυμηκότες, καὶ ἅπαντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ
having-been-idle and everything for pleasure seeking many
καὶ χαλεπὰ ὧν οὐκ ἐβουλόμεθ' ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν
and hard-things which not we-wished later into necessity we-come
ποιεῖν, καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.
to-do and we-run-risk for the-things in very the land

II · HELP IN TWO WAYS

It is easy to censure, Demosthenes says, but an adviser must say what to do, even at the risk of their anger. The help must be twofold: soldiers to save the Olynthians' cities, and triremes and troops to harry Philip's own land. There is money, if the festival fund went to the soldiers; he will not propose that, he says, so all must contribute. Philip is weaker than he looks: the Thessalians have voted to demand Pagasae back and may deny him their harbors and markets, and the Paeonians and Illyrians would rather be free. The choice is to fight in Philip's land or in Attica, where only thirty days of their own army camped on the land, with no enemy in it, would cost the farmers more than the whole war so far has cost.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φήσαι τις ἂν ῥᾴδιον καὶ 16
the indeed then to-censure perhaps might-say someone — easy and
παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὅ τι δεῖ
of-anyone to-be the but about the present-things what ever one-must
πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ
to-do to-declare this to-be of-an-adviser I but not

ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς
am-ignorant indeed O men Athenians this that often you
οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
not the guilty but the last about the affairs
εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ ποιεῖσθε, ἄν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην
having-spoken in anger hold if something not according-to expectation
ἐκβῇ· οὐ μὴν οἶμαι δεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν
turns-out not indeed I-think to-be-necessary the private safety
σκοποῦνθ' ὑποστείλασθαι περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι.
considering to-hold-back about what for-you to-be-advantageous I-consider
17 φημὶ δὴ διχῇ βοηθητέον εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑμῖν,
I-say indeed in-two-ways to-be-helped to-be the affairs by-you
τῷ τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις σῴζειν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτο
by-the both the cities for-the Olynthians to-save and the this
ποιήσοντας στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκείνου
going-to-do soldiers to-send-out and by-the the his
χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ στρατιώταις ἑτέροις·
land badly to-treat both with-triremes and with-soldiers other
18 εἰ δὲ θατέρου τούτων ὀλιγωρήσετε, ὀκνῶ μὴ μάταιος ἡμῖν
if but the-one of-these you-neglect I-fear lest vain for-us
ἡ στρατεία γένηται. εἴτε γὰρ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς
the expedition become whether for you the his(-land) badly
ποιούντων, ὑπομείνας τοῦτ' Ὄλυνθον παραστήσεται, ῥᾳδίως
treating having-endured this Olynthus he-will-reduce easily
ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐλθὼν ἀμυνεῖται· εἴτε βοηθησάντων
to the home(-land) having-come he-will-defend-it or having-helped
μόνον ὑμῶν εἰς Ὄλυνθον, ἀκινδύνως ὁρῶν ἔχοντα τὰ
only you to Olynthus safely seeing being the-things
οἴκοι, προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει τοῖς πράγμασι,
at-home he-will-sit-down-before(-it) and will-persist at-the affairs

περιέσται τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πολιορκουμένων. δεῖ δὴ
will-prevail in-the time over-the besieged it-is-necessary indeed
πολλὴν καὶ διχῇ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι.
great and twofold the help to-be
καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς βοηθείας ταῦτα γιγνώσκω· περὶ δὲ 19
and about indeed the help these-things I-judge about but
χρημάτων πόρου, ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν,
of-money supply there-is O men Athenians money to-you
ἔστιν ὅσ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων· ταῦτα δ'
there-is as-much-as to-none of-the other men these-things but
ὑμεῖς οὕτως ὡς βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα
you so as you-wish take if indeed then these-things
τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ
to-the ones-serving you-will-give of-nothing to-you there-is-need-besides
πόρου, εἰ δὲ μή, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ
supply if but not there-is-need rather but of-all there-is-lack
τοῦ πόρου. 'τί οὖν;' ἄν τις εἴποι, 'σὺ γράφεις ταῦτ'
of-the supply what then — someone might-say you propose these-things
εἶναι στρατιωτικά;' μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε.
to-be military-funds by Zeus not I
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι στρατιώτας δεῖν 20
I indeed for consider soldiers to-be-necessary
κατασκευασθῆναι καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ
to-be-provided and one system to-be the same of-the
τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, ὑμεῖς δ' οὕτω
both to-receive and of-the to-do the needful-things you but so
πως ἄνευ πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς. ἔστι δὴ
somehow without trouble to-receive for the festivals it-is indeed
λοιπόν, οἶμαι, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν δέῃ, πολλά,
remaining I-think all to-contribute if of-much there-be-need much
ἂν ὀλίγων, ὀλίγα. δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων
if of-little little there-is-need and of-money and without these

οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους
nothing it-is-possible to-happen of-the needful-things say and also other
τινὰς ἄλλοι πόρους, ὧν ἔλεσθ' ὅστις ὑμῖν συμφέρειν
some others supplies of-which choose whichever to-you to-be-advantageous
δοκεῖ· καὶ ἕως ἐστὶ καιρός, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων.
seems and while is occasion take-hold-of the affairs
21 ἄξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματ' ἐν ᾧ
worthwhile and to-ponder and to-reckon the affairs in which
καθέστηκε νυνὶ τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε γάρ, ὡς δοκεῖ καὶ
stand now the-affairs of-Philip neither for as it-seems and
φήσειέ τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς, εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὡς
might-say someone — not examining closely well-ordered nor as
ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει, οὔτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε
— finest for-him the present-things are nor — would-have-begun
τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾠήθη
the war ever this he if to-fight he-had-thought
δεήσειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπιὼν ἅπαντα τότ' ἤλπιζε
to-be-going-to-be-necessary him but as by-advancing all-things then he-hoped
τὰ πράγματ' ἀναιρήσεσθαι, κᾆτα διέψευσται. τοῦτο δὴ
the affairs to-be-going-to-carry-off and-then he-has-been-deceived this indeed
πρῶτον αὐτὸν ταράττει παρὰ γνώμην γεγονὸς καὶ
first him troubles contrary-to expectation having-happened and
πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν αὐτῷ παρέχει, εἶτα τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν.
much despondency to-him gives then the-affairs of-the Thessalians
22 ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν
these for untrustworthy indeed were surely by-nature and always to-all
ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι νῦν τούτῳ.
men entirely and as-very they-were also are now to-him
καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτόν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι, καὶ
and for Pagasae to-demand-back him they-are having-voted and
Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τειχίζειν. ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων,
Magnesia have-prevented to-fortify I-heard and I some

ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν
that not-even the harbors and the markets any-longer they-would-give
αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ
him to-reap the for common(-funds) the of-Thessalians from
τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ Φίλιππον λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ
these must to-administer not Philip to-take if but
τούτων ἀποστερήσεται τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ
of-these he-will-be-deprived the money into strait entirely
τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις αὐτῷ καταστήσεται.
the-things of-the pay for-the mercenaries to-him will-come
ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν γε Παίονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἁπλῶς 23
but indeed the at-least Paeonian and the Illyrian and simply
τούτους ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ αὐτονόμους ἥδιον
these all to-consider one-must independent more-gladly
ἂν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις
— and free than slaves to-be and for unaccustomed
τοῦ κατακούειν τινός εἰσι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής, ὥς
to-the to-obey someone they-are and the-man insolent as
φασιν. καὶ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως· τὸ γὰρ εὖ
they-say and by Zeus nothing incredible perhaps the for well
πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν
to-fare beyond the desert starting-point of-the badly to-think
τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται· διόπερ πολλάκις δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι
for-the foolish becomes wherefore often seems the to-guard
τἀγαθὰ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι.
the-goods than-the to-acquire harder to-be
δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τὴν 24
it-is-necessary then you O men Athenians the ill-timing the
ἐκείνου καιρὸν ὑμέτερον νομίσαντας ἑτοίμως συνάρασθαι
his occasion your having-considered readily to-take-up
τὰ πράγματα, καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐφ᾽ ἃ δεῖ καὶ
the affairs and sending-embassies to what it-is-necessary and

στρατευομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ παροξύνοντας τοὺς ἄλλους
campaigning yourselves and rousing the others
ἅπαντας, λογιζομένους, εἰ Φίλιππος λάβοι καθ' ἡμῶν
all reckoning if Philip should-get against us
τοιοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ πόλεμος γένοιτο πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ,
such occasion and war should-arise near the land
πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθ' ἑτοίμως ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν; εἶτ' οὐκ
how — him you-think readily against you to-come then not
αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ μηδ' ἃ πάθοιτ' ἄν, εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκεῖνος,
you-are-ashamed if not-even what you-would-suffer — if could he
ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν ἔχοντες οὐ τολμήσετε;
these-things to-do occasion having not you-will-dare
25 ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς
further then O men Athenians not-even this you
λανθανέτω, ὅτι νῦν αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ὑμῖν πότερ' ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ
let-escape that now choice is for-you whether you there
χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνον. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ
it-is-necessary to-fight or among you him if indeed for
ἀντέχῃ τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ πολεμήσετε καὶ
holds-out the-cause of-the Olynthians you there will-fight and
τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιήσετε, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν
the his(-land) badly will-treat the existing and the
οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι· ἂν δ' ἐκεῖνα Φίλιππος
home(-land) this fearlessly reaping if but those Philip
λάβῃ, τίς αὐτὸν κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζειν; Θηβαῖοι;
takes who him will-prevent here to-march Thebans
26 μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ᾖ — καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἑτοίμως.
lest too bitter to-say it-be also they-will-join-the-invasion readily
ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς; οἱ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες
but Phocians the-ones the home(-land) not able — being
φυλάττειν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήσηθ' ὑμεῖς. ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ', ὦ
to-guard if not help you or other someone but O

τᾶν, οὐχὶ βουλήσεται. τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων μέντἂν εἴη,
good-sir not he-will-wish of-the most-absurd-things however it-would-be
εἰ ἃ νῦν ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων ὅμως ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα
if what now folly incurring-a-charge-of nevertheless he-blurts-out these-things
δυνηθεὶς μὴ πράξει.
having-been-able not will-do
ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα γ' ἐστὶν τὰ διάφορ' ἐνθάδ' ἢ 27
but indeed how-great at-least are the differences here or
ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲ λόγου προσδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ
there to-fight not-even of-argument to-need-besides I-consider if for
ὑμᾶς δεήσειεν αὐτοὺς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας μόνας ἔξω
you it-should-be-necessary yourselves thirty days only outside
γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅσ' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδῳ χρωμένους
to-be and as-much-as necessity camp using
τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐν
of-the-things from the land to-take no being in
αὐτῇ πολεμίου λέγω, πλείον' ἂν οἶμαι ζημιωθῆναι τοὺς
it enemy I-mean more — I-think to-be-damaged the
γεωργοῦντας ὑμῶν ἢ ὅσ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ
farming of-you than as-much-as into all the before this
πόλεμον δεδαπάνησθε. εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἥξει,
war you-have-spent if but indeed war some will-come
πόσα χρὴ νομίσαι ζημιώσεσθαι; καὶ πρόσεσθ' ἡ
how-much one-must to-think to-be-going-to-be-damaged and will-be-added the
ὕβρις καὶ ἔθ' ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη, οὐδεμιᾶς
outrage and further the of-the affairs shame than-no
ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσιν.
less loss to-the at-least prudent
πάντα δὴ ταῦτα δεῖ συνιδόντας ἅπαντας βοηθεῖν 28
all indeed these-things it-is-necessary having-perceived all to-help
καὶ ἀπωθεῖν ἐκεῖσε τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους,
and to-push-off thither the war the indeed well-to-do

ἵν᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι μίκρ᾽
so-that for the many-things which well doing they-have little
ἀναλίσκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ καρπῶνται ἀδεῶς, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν
spending the rest they-may-enjoy fearlessly the-ones and in
ἡλικίᾳ, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου
age(-for-service) so-that the of-the to-fight experience in the of-Philip
χώρᾳ κτησάμενοι φοβεροὶ φύλακες τῆς οἰκείας ἀκεραίου
land having-acquired formidable guardians of-the home(-land) unravaged
γένωνται, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἵν᾽ αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων
they-may-become the-ones and speaking so-that the of-the public-acts
αὐτοῖς εὔθυναι ῥᾴδιαι γένωνται, ὡς ὁποῖ᾽ ἄττ᾽ ἂν
by-them audits easy may-become since of-what-sort some —
ὑμᾶς περιστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τοιοῦτοι κριταὶ καὶ τῶν
you turn-out-for the affairs such judges also of-the
πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε. χρηστὰ δ᾽ εἴη παντὸς εἵνεκα.
things-done by-them you-will-be good and may-be of-all for-the-sake

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DEMOSTHENES

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β

Second Olynthiac

I · A POWER BUILT ON DECEIT

Demosthenes sees the gods' goodwill in the Olynthians' war: a people on Philip's border, with power of their own, who judge that any reconciliation with him means the ruin of their country. Philip's strength he will not dwell on, since it is to his honor and Athens' shame. He grew by deceit: he first fooled Athens with the secret promise of Amphipolis, won the Olynthians with Athens' Potidaea and the Thessalians with promises of Magnesia and the Phocian war, and no one who has dealt with him has escaped being cheated. What is built so falls at the first stumble, as a house or a ship stands on its lowest timbers. Athens must help Olynthus, send envoys to rouse the Thessalians, and back their words with contributions and a campaign.

Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἄν τις ἰδεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ 1
in many-cases indeed — someone to-see O men Athenians seems
μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν φανερὰν γιγνομένην
to-me the from the gods goodwill clear becoming
τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι· τὸ
to-the city not least and in the present affairs the
γὰρ τοὺς πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ χώραν
for the-ones going-to-make-war on-Philip to-have-arisen both land
ὅμορον καὶ δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον
bordering and power some having-acquired and the greatest
ἁπάντων, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχοντας
of-all the about the war judgment such having
ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους,
so-as the with him reconciliations first indeed untrustworthy
εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν, δαιμονίᾳ
then of-the their-own fatherland to-consider uprooting to-superhuman
τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ.
some and divine altogether it-resembles benefaction

2 δεῖ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν
it-is-necessary then O men Athenians this now to-consider
αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξομεν
ourselves that not worse toward us selves to-be we-will-seem
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ
than-the existing-circumstances since it-is of-the shameful-things rather and
τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἦμέν
of-the most-shameful not only cities and places of-which we-were
ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προϊέμενους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ
once masters to-appear abandoning but also the by
τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν.
the fortune having-been-provided allies and occasions

3 τὸ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην
the indeed then O men Athenians the of-Philip strength
διεξιέναι καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων προτρέπειν τὰ
to-go-through and by these the words to-urge the
δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ
needful-things to-do you not well to-be I-consider because-of
τί; ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ
what because to-me seems all-things as-many-as — might-say someone about
τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν, ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς
these for-him indeed to-hold honor by-us but not well
πεπρᾶχθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὅσῳ πλείον' ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν
to-have-been-done he indeed for by-as-much-as more beyond the worth
πεποίηκε τὴν αὑτοῦ, τοσούτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι
he-has-done the his-own by-so-much more-wonderful among all
νομίζεται· ὑμεῖς δ' ὅσῳ χεῖρον ἢ προσῆκε κέχρησθε
is-thought you but by-as-much-as worse than was-fitting you-have-handled
τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσούτῳ πλείον' αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε.
the affairs by-so-much more shame you-have-incurred

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μετ᾽ ἀληθείας 4
these-things indeed then I-will-pass-over and for if with truth
τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σκοποῖτο, ἐνθένδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸν
someone O men Athenians should-examine from-here — him
ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενημένον, οὐχὶ παρ᾽ αὑτοῦ. ὧν οὖν
he-would-see great having-become not from himself of-which then
ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὀφείλει τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις
he indeed owes to-the-ones for him having-acted-in-politics
χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην προσήκει λαβεῖν, τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν
gratitude for-you but penalty it-is-fitting to-take of-these not now
ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν· ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων
I-see the occasion of-the to-speak what but also apart-from these
ἔνι, καὶ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ
it-is-possible and better it-is to-have-heard all you and
μεγάλ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατ᾽ ἐκείνου φαίνοιτ᾽ ἂν ὀνείδη
great O men Athenians against him would-appear — reproaches
βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι.
to-the-ones-wishing rightly to-judge these-things to-say I-will-try
τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον κἄπιστον καλεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ τὰ 5
the indeed then perjured and-faithless to-call without the the
πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι λοιδορίαν εἶναί τις ἂν φήσειε
things-done to-show abuse to-be someone — might-say
κενὴν δικαίως· τὸ δὲ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πώποτ᾽ ἔπραξε
empty justly the but all-things as-many-as ever he-did
διεξιόντα ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι τούτοις ἐλέγχειν, καὶ βραχέος λόγου
going-through on all these to-convict also of-short speech
συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν ἕνεχ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν
it-happens to-need and of-two-things for-the-sake I-consider to-be-advantageous
εἰρῆσθαι, τοῦ τ᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει,
to-have-been-said of-the both him which-very also true is
φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους ὡς
worthless to-appear and the-ones over-astounded as

ἄμαχόν τινα τὸν Φίλιππον ἰδεῖν ὅτι πάντα διεξελήλυθεν
invincible some — Philip to-see that all-things he-has-gone-through
οἷς πρότερον παρακρουόμενος μέγας ηὐξήθη, καὶ πρὸς
by-which before deceiving great he-grew and to
αὐτὴν ἥκει τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ.
very has-come the end the affairs for-him

6 ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρ' ἂν ἡγούμην καὶ
I for O men Athenians very — I-would-consider also
αὐτὸς φοβερὸν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ δίκαια
myself formidable — Philip and wonderful if the just-things
πράττονθ' ἑώρων ηὐξημένον· νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν
doing I-saw having-grown now but observing and examining
εὑρίσκω τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτ'
I-find the indeed our simplicity the at beginnings when
Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλαυνόν τινες ἐνθένδε βουλομένους ὑμῖν
Olynthians were-driving-away some from-here wishing with-you
διαλεχθῆναι, τῷ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν φάσκειν παραδώσειν
to-converse by-the — Amphipolis to-claim to-be-going-to-hand-over
καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτ' ἀπόρρητον ἐκεῖνο κατασκευάσαι,
and the much-talked-of once secret that to-contrive

7 τούτῳ προσαγαγόμενον, τὴν δ' Ὀλυνθίων φιλίαν μετὰ
by-this having-won-over the and of-Olynthians friendship after
ταῦτα τῷ Ποτείδαιαν οὖσαν ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν καὶ
these-things by-the Potidaea being yours to-take-out and
τοὺς μὲν πρότερον συμμάχους ἀδικῆσαι, παραδοῦναι δ'
the indeed former allies to-wrong to-hand-over and
ἐκείνοις, Θετταλοὺς δὲ νῦν τὰ τελευταῖα τῷ Μαγνησίαν
to-them Thessalians and now the last by-the Magnesia
παραδώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον
to-be-going-to-hand-over to-promise and the Phocian war
πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι. ὅλως δ' οὐδεὶς

ἔστιν ὅντιν᾽ οὐ πεφενάκικ᾽ ἐκεῖνος τῶν αὐτῷ χρησαμένων·
there-is whom not has-cheated he of-the him having-dealt-with
τὴν γὰρ ἑκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν
the for of-each folly always of-the not-knowing him
ἐξαπατῶν καὶ προσλαμβάνων οὕτως ηὐξήθη.
deceiving and winning-over thus he-grew
ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων ἤρθη μέγας, ἡνίχ᾽ ἕκαστοι 8
as then through these he-was-raised great when each
συμφέρον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς ᾤοντό τι πράξειν, οὕτως
advantageous him for-themselves thought something to-be-going-to-do so
ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν,
he-ought through the same these also to-be-brought-down again
ἐπειδὴ πάνθ᾽ εἵνεχ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελήλεγκται. καιροῦ
since all-things for-the-sake-of himself doing he-has-been-exposed of-crisis
μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι Φιλίππῳ
indeed then O men Athenians to this have-come for-Philip
τὰ πράγματα· ἢ παρελθών τις ἐμοί, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ὑμῖν
the affairs or having-come-forward someone to-me rather but to-you
δειξάτω, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ ὡς
let-show either that not true these-things I say or that
οἱ τὰ πρῶτ᾽ ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύσουσιν, ἢ
the-ones the first having-been-deceived the rest will-trust or
ὡς οἱ παρὰ τὴν αὑτῶν ἀξίαν δεδουλωμένοι νῦν οὐκ
that the-ones against the their-own worth having-been-enslaved now not
ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιντ᾽ ἄσμενοι.
— free would-become gladly
καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγεῖται, 9
and indeed if someone of-you these-things indeed so to-be considers
οἴεται δὲ βίᾳ καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα τῷ
thinks but by-force to-be-going-to-hold him the affairs by-the
τὰ χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προειληφέναι, οὐκ
the places and harbors and the like to-have-seized-first not

ὀρθῶς οἴεται. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα
rightly he-thinks when indeed for from goodwill the affairs
συστῇ καὶ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετέχουσι
hold-together and to-all the-same-things are-advantageous to-the-ones sharing
τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ
the war both to-toil-together and to-bear the misfortunes and
μένειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δ᾽ ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ
to-stand-fast are-willing the-men when but from greed and
πονηρίας τις ὥσπερ οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις
wickedness someone as this-man grows-strong the first pretext
καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντ᾽ ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσεν.
and small stumble all-things throws-off and dissolves
10 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικοῦντα
not for it-is-possible not it-is-possible O men Athenians doing-wrong
καὶ πιορκοῦντα καὶ ψευδόμενον δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι,
and-perjuring and lying power firm to-acquire
ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον
but the such-things for indeed once and short time
ἀντέχει, καὶ σφόδρα γ᾽ ἤνθησ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν
hold-out and greatly at-least bloomed on the hopes if
τύχῃ, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὑτὰ καταρρεῖ.
it-happens in-the time but is-detected and about themselves falls-in
ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
as for of-a-house I-think and of-a-ship and of-the others the
τοιούτων τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατ᾽ εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω
such the-parts below strongest to-be it-is-necessary so
καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς
also of-the actions the beginnings and the foundations true
καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει. τοῦτο δ᾽ οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς
and just to-be it-is-fitting this but not is-in now in the
πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ.
things-done by-Philip

φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ 11
I-say indeed to-be-necessary us the indeed Olynthians to-help and
ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι·
as someone says finest and quickest so pleases me
πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει
to but Thessalians embassy to-send which the-ones indeed will-teach
ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι
these-things the-others and will-rouse and for now they-are having-voted
Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν καὶ περὶ Μαγνησίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι.
Pagasae to-demand-back and about Magnesia words to-make
σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ 12
consider however this O men Athenians that not
λόγους ἐροῦσιν μόνον οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ
words will-speak only the from us envoys but
καὶ ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἕξουσιν ἐξεληλυθότων ὑμῶν
also deed some to-show they-will-be-able having-gone-out you
ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς
worthily of-the city and being at the affairs since
ἅπας μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι
all indeed speech if be-absent the deeds vain something
φαίνεται καὶ κενόν, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας
appears and empty most and the from the our
πόλεως· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἑτοιμότατ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦμεν χρῆσθαι,
city by-as-much-as for most-readily it we-seem to-use
τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες αὐτῷ.
by-so-much more distrust all it
πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ μεγάλην δεικτέον 13
great indeed the change and great one-must-show
τὴν μεταβολήν, εἰσφέροντας, ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας
the reversal contributing going-out everything doing
ἑτοίμως, εἴπερ τις ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. κἂν ταῦτ'
readily if-indeed someone to-you will-turn the mind and-if these-things

ἐθελήσηθ' ὡς προσήκει καὶ δὴ περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον,
you-are-willing as it-is-fitting and indeed to-accomplish not only
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως
O men Athenians the allied-affairs weakly and faithlessly
ἔχοντα φανήσεται Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας
being will-appear for-Philip but also the-things of-the home
ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντ' ἐξελεγχθήσεται.
rule and power badly being will-be-shown

II · MACEDON'S WEAKNESS, ATHENS' IDLENESS

Macedon's power counts as an addition to an ally, Demosthenes argues, but alone it is weak, and Philip's wars have made it weaker: he wants glory, while his people are worn out by campaigns and shut out of their markets. A man who has been there reports that his famous troops are no better than anyone's, since Philip pushes away the able and keeps bandits, flatterers, and buffoons. Success hides this, as health hides a body's weakness, until war at the border shows it. Yet Athens sits idle while its generals hunt private wars for gain at Lampsacus and Sigeum, quarrels, tries its generals and acquits them, and conducts its politics by tax groups, each with its orator and general. All must contribute by their means, serve in turn, and hear every speaker.

14 ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐν
altogether indeed for the Macedonian power and rule in
μὲν προσθήκῃ μερίς ἐστί τις οὐ μικρά, οἷον ὑπῆρξέ ποθ'
indeed addition share is some not small as it-was once
ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς
for-you under Timotheus against Olynthians again in-turn against
Ποτείδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον·
Potidaea for-Olynthians appeared something this combined
νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς νοσοῦσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν
now and to-Thessalians being-sick and disordered against the

τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησεν· καὶ ὅποι τις ἄν, οἶμαι,
tyrannical house it-helped and wherever one — I-think
προσθῇ κἂν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεῖ· αὐτὴ δὲ καθ'
adds even small power everything it-helps itself but by
αὑτὴν ἀσθενὴς καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐστι μεστή.
itself weak and of-many evils is full
καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι τούτοις, οἷς ἄν τις μέγαν 15
and for this-man by-all these by-which — someone great
αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιτο, τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις, ἔτ'
him would-consider the wars and the campaigns still
ἐπισφαλεστέραν ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει κατεσκεύακεν αὑτῷ.
more-precarious than it-was by-nature has-made for-himself
μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιππόν
not for think O men Athenians in-the same-things Philip
τε χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δόξης
both to-rejoice and the ruled but he indeed glory
ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐζήλωκε, καὶ προῄρηται πράττων καὶ
desires and this has-striven-for and has-chosen doing and
κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῇ τι, παθεῖν, τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι
running-risks if it-happen something to-suffer the of-the to-accomplish
ταῦθ' ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς
these-things which no ever other of-Macedonians king
δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ᾑρημένος·
glory instead-of the to-live safely having-chosen
τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ 16
to-the-others and of-the indeed honor the from these not
μέτεστι, κοπτόμενοι δ' ἀεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ταύταις ταῖς
is-a-share being-worn-out and always by-the campaigns these the
ἄνω κάτω λυποῦνται καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὔτ'
up down they-are-grieved and continually suffer-hardship neither
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι
at the works nor at the their-own private(-affairs) being-allowed

διατρίβειν, οὔθ' ὅσ' ἂν ποιήσωσιν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν
to-spend-time nor as-much-as — they-produce so as —
δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι κεκλειμένων τῶν
they-can these-things having to-dispose-of having-been-closed the
ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.
markets the in the land because-of the war

17 οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ, ἐκ
the indeed then many of-Macedonians how are-disposed to-Philip from
τούτων ἄν τις σκέψαιτ' οὐ χαλεπῶς· οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν
these — someone might-see not with-difficulty the and indeed around him
ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ
being mercenaries and foot-companions reputation indeed have that they-are
θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς δ'
wonderful and drilled the-things of-the war as but
ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγενημένων τινὸς ἤκουον,
I of-the-ones in very the land having-been some I-heard
ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἷόν τε ψεύδεσθαι, οὐδένων εἰσὶν βελτίους.
man in-no-way able — to-lie than-none they-are better

18 εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου
if indeed for some man is among them such-as experienced in-war
καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν
and in-contests these indeed from-jealousy all to-push-away him
ἔφη, βουλόμενον πάνθ' αὑτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τἄργα (πρὸς γὰρ
he-said wishing all his-own to-seem to-be the-deeds besides for
αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι)· εἰ
in-turn the other(-faults) also the jealousy unsurpassable to-be if
δέ τις σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν
but someone prudent or just otherwise the by day intemperance
τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν,
of-the life and drunkenness and lewd-dances not being-able to-bear
παρεῶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον.
to-have-been-pushed-aside and in no to-be part the such

λοιποὺς δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λῃστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ 19
remaining indeed around him to-be bandits and flatterers and
τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἵους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦθ'
such men as having-got-drunk to-dance such-dances
οἷ' ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτ'
as I now hesitate before you to-name clear and that these-things
ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὗς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον ὡς πολὺ
are true and for whom from-here all drove-away as much
τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον
than-the conjurors more-licentious being Callias that
τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ
the public-slave and such men mimes of-jokes and
ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ᾀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν
makers of-shameful songs which against the companions they-make
εἵνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει.
for-the-sake of-the to-be-laughed-at these he-loves and around himself has
καίτοι ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μικρά τις ἡγεῖται, μεγάλ', ὦ ἄνδρες 20
and-yet these-things even if small someone considers great O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας
Athenians proofs of-the his disposition and wretchedness
ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ
are to-the-ones well thinking but I-think now indeed overshadows
τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι
these the succeeding the for successes clever to-cover-up
τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνείδη· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότ' ἀκριβῶς
the such reproaches if but in-something he-will-stumble then exactly
αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἐξετασθήσεται. δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγ', ὦ ἄνδρες
his these-things will-be-scrutinized seems and to-me-at-least O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἂν οἵ τε θεοὶ
Athenians to-be-going-to-show not into long if the both gods
θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε.
be-willing and you wish

21 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, τέως μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένος ᾖ
as for in the bodies as-long-as indeed — strong is
τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται, ἐπὰν δ' ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ,
someone nothing he-perceives when but sickness some happens
πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν ῥῆγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο
everything is-stirred even-if rupture even-if sprain even-if other
τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων
something of-the existing(-parts) unsound be so also of-the cities
καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἔξω πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῆ
and of-the tyrants as-long-as indeed — outside they-make-war unseen
τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστιν, ἐπειδὰν δ' ὅμορος πόλεμος
the evils to-the many are when but border war
συμπλακῇ, πάντ' ἐποίησεν ἔκδηλα.
closes-in everything made plain

22 εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον
if but someone of-you O men Athenians — Philip
εὐτυχοῦνθ' ὁρῶν ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι νομίζει,
prospering seeing in-this formidable to-make-war-on considers
σώφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου λογισμῷ χρῆται· μεγάλη γὰρ
of-a-prudent indeed man reasoning he-uses great for
ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἡ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν
weight rather but the whole the fortune in all is the of-the
ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αἵρεσίν
men affairs not indeed but I if someone choice
μοι δοίη, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἑλοίμην,
to-me should-give the of-the our city fortune — I-would-choose
ἐθελόντων ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν,
being-willing what is-fitting to-do you selves even by little
ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν
than the his much for more resources toward the the
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ ὑμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ ᾽κείνῳ.
from the gods goodwill to-have I-see for-you being-present than for-him

ἀλλ', οἶμαι, καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες· οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν 23
but I-think we-sit nothing doing not it-is-possible and himself
ἀργοῦντ' οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ τι
being-idle not-even to-the friends to-command for himself something
ποιεῖν, μή τί γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν
to-do not something at-least indeed to-the gods not indeed wonderful
ἐστιν, εἰ στρατευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς καὶ
it-is if campaigning and toiling he himself and
παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι καὶ μήτε καιρὸν μήθ' ὥραν παραλείπων
being-present at all and neither occasion nor season letting-slip
ἡμῶν μελλόντων καὶ ψηφιζομένων καὶ πυνθανομένων
us delaying and voting and inquiring
περιγίγνεται. οὐδὲ θαυμάζω τοῦτ' ἐγώ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἂν
he-prevails nor wonder-at this I the-opposite for —
ἦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ὧν τοῖς
would-be wonderful if nothing doing we of-what to-the-ones
πολεμοῦσι προσήκει τοῦ πάντα ποιοῦντος περιῆμεν.
making-war is-fitting than-the-one everything doing we-prevailed
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μέν ποτ', ὦ 24
but that I-wonder-at if against-Lacedaemonians indeed once O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων ἀντήρατε,
men Athenians for the Greek rights you-rose
καὶ πόλλ' ἰδίᾳ πλεονεκτῆσαι πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐξὸν οὐκ
and much privately to-gain often for-you being-possible not
ἠθελήσατε, ἀλλ' ἵν' οἱ ἄλλοι τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, τὰ
you-were-willing but so-that the others might-obtain the rights the
ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετ' εἰσφέροντες καὶ προυκινδυνεύετε
yours selves you-spent contributing and ran-risks-in-front
στρατευόμενοι, νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μέλλετ' εἰσφέρειν
campaigning now but you-hesitate to-go-out and delay to-contribute
ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν κτημάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν
for the your selves possessions and the indeed

ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕν' αὐτῶν
others you-have-saved often all and by one of-them
ἐν μέρει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε.
in turn the and yours selves having-lost you-sit
25 ταῦτα θαυμάζω, κἄτι πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ
these-things I-wonder-at and-further besides these if no-one of-you O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύναται λογίσασθαι πόσον πολεμεῖτε
men Athenians can to-reckon how-long you-have-been-at-war
χρόνον Φιλίππῳ, καὶ τί ποιούντων ὑμῶν ὁ χρόνος
time with-Philip and what doing you the time
διελήλυθεν οὗτος. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι μελλόντων
has-passed this you-know for surely this that delaying
αὐτῶν, ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐλπιζόντων πράξειν, αἰτιωμένων
yourselves others some hoping to-be-going-to-act blaming
ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπιζόντων, σχεδὸν ταὔθ'
one-another trying again hoping nearly the-same-things
ἅπερ νυνὶ ποιούντων, ἅπας ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν.
which-very now doing all the time has-passed
26 εἶθ' οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε δι'
then so senselessly are-you O men Athenians that through
ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν,
what from good bad the affairs of-the city have-become
διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων
through these you-hope the same actions from bad
αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὔτ' εὔλογον οὔτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ
them good to-be-going-to-become but neither reasonable nor having is
φύσιν τοῦτό γε· πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν ἢ
nature this at-least much for easier having to-keep than
κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. νῦν δ' ὅ τι μὲν φυλάξομεν,
to-acquire all-things it-is-natural now but what ever indeed we-will-keep

οὐδέν ἐσθ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν τῶν πρότερον,
nothing is by the war left of-the former(-possessions)
κτήσασθαι δὲ δεῖ. αὐτῶν οὖν ἡμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη.
to-acquire but one-must selves then of-us work this now
φημὶ δὴ δεῖν εἰσφέρειν χρήματα, αὐτοὺς ἐξιέναι 27
I-say indeed to-be-necessary to-contribute money yourselves to-go-out
προθύμως, μηδέν᾽ αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὶν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων
eagerly no-one to-blame before — the affairs
κρατήσητε, τηνικαῦτα δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων κρίναντας
you-master at-that-time and from very the deeds having-judged
τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδικοῦντας
the-ones indeed worthy of-praise to-honor the-ones and doing-wrong
κολάζειν, τὰς προφάσεις δ᾽ ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ᾽
to-punish the pretexts and to-remove and the on-the-part-of
ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι τί
you shortcomings not for it-is-possible sharply to-examine what
πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἂν μὴ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον
has-been-done by-the others if not from you selves first
ὑπάρξῃ τὰ δέοντα.
exist the needful-things
τίνος γὰρ εἵνεκ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τοῦτον 28
of-what for for-the-sake O men Athenians think-you this
μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον πάντας ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε
indeed to-avoid the war all as-many-as — you-send-out
στρατηγούς, ἰδίους δ᾽ εὑρίσκειν πολέμους, εἰ δεῖ τι
generals private but to-find wars if one-must something
τῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπεῖν; ὅτι ἐνταῦθα
of-the true-things also about the generals to-say because here
μέν ἐστι τἆθλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστιν ὁ πόλεμος ὑμέτερα
indeed are the-prizes for which is the war yours
(Ἀμφίπολίς γ᾽ ἂν ληφθῇ, παραχρῆμ᾽ ὑμεῖς κομιεῖσθε), οἱ
Amphipolis at-least if is-taken at-once you will-recover the

δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ
but dangers of-the commanders private pay but not there-is there
δὲ κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων
but dangers indeed fewer the and gains of-the commanders
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖ' ἃ
and of-the soldiers Lampsacus Sigeum the ships which
συλῶσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν αὑτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦσιν.
they-plunder to then the profitable for-themselves each go
29 ὑμεῖς δ', ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψητε φαύλως
you but when indeed at the affairs you-look badly
ἔχοντα, τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε, ὅταν δὲ δόντες λόγον
going the commanders you-try when but having-given a-hearing
τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀκούσητε ταύτας, ἀφίετε. περίεστι τοίνυν
the necessities you-hear these you-acquit it-results then
ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα
for-you with-one-another to-quarrel and to-be-divided the-ones indeed these-things
πεπεισμένοις, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ κοινὰ δ' ἔχειν
having-been-persuaded the-others and these-things the common-affairs and to-be
φαύλως. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ
badly before indeed for O men Athenians by
συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας.
tax-groups you-contributed now but you-conduct-politics by tax-groups
ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἑκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ
orator leader of-each and general under him and
οἱ βοησόμενοι, οἱ τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε
the going-to-shout the three-hundred the and others you-have-been-assigned
οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνους.
the-ones indeed to these the-others and to those
30 δεῖ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπανέντας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι
one-must indeed these-things having-given-up and of-you selves even
καὶ νῦν γενομένους κοινὸν καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ
also now having-become common both the to-deliberate and the

λέγειν καὶ τὸ πράττειν ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ
to-speak and the to-act to-make if but to-some indeed as
ἐκ τυραννίδος ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε, τοῖς δ'
from a-tyranny you to-command you-will-grant to-others and
ἀναγκάζεσθαι τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, στρατεύεσθαι, τοῖς
to-be-compelled to-be-trierarch to-contribute to-serve to-others
δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδ'
and to-vote against these only other and not-even
ὁτιοῦν συμπονεῖν, οὐχὶ γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ἡμῖν
anything-at-all to-share-toil not will-happen of-the needful-things for-us
οὐδὲν ἐν καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἠδικημένον ἀεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει,
nothing in season the for having-been-wronged always part will-fail
εἶθ' ὑμῖν τούτους κολάζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξέσται.
then for-you these to-punish instead-of the enemies it-will-be-possible
λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὅσων ἕκαστος 31
I-say indeed in-sum all to-contribute from as-much-as each
ἔχει τὸ ἴσον· πάντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες
has the equal all to-go-out by turn until — all
στρατεύσησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς παριοῦσι λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ
you-have-served to-all the-ones coming-forward hearing to-give and the
βέλτισθ' ὧν ἂν ἀκούσηθ' αἱρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἂν ὁ δεῖν' ἢ
best of-what — you-hear to-choose not what the so-and-so or
ὁ δεῖν' εἴπῃ. κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον
the so-and-so says and-if these-things you-do not the speaker only
παραχρῆμ' ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον,
at-once you-will-praise but also you selves later
βέλτιον τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων.
better the whole affairs for-you being

DEMOSTHENES

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Γ

Third Olynthiac

I · SAVE THE ALLIES FIRST

Speeches about punishing Philip, Demosthenes says, miss the real question: Athens must first make sure of saving its allies. He reminds them how, when Philip was reported besieging the Heraean fort, they voted forty triremes and sixty talents, then a year later sent only ten empty ships and five talents with Charidemus, since at the news that Philip was sick or dead they let the expedition go. The Olynthians' war is a second chance, and if it is lost nothing stands between Philip and Attica. Let lawgivers repeal the laws on the festival fund and on service, so that no one who proposes what all know is needed must risk his life for it: a decree without action is worth nothing.

Οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες 1
not the-same-things occurs to-me to-judge O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν
Athenians when both at the affairs I-look and when
πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ
at the speeches which I-hear the indeed for speeches about the
τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' εἰς
to-punish Philip I-see being-made the but affairs to
τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥσθ' ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθ' αὐτοὶ πρότερον
this having-come so-that how not we-will-suffer ourselves first
κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν
badly to-consider being-necessary nothing then other to-me seem
οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς
the-ones the such-things saying than the subject about which
βουλεύεσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν ἁμαρτάνειν.
you-deliberate not the real presenting to-you to-err
ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτι μέν ποτ' ἐξῆν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ 2
I but that indeed once it-was-possible for-the city both the-things
αὑτῆς ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ
its-own to-hold safely and Philip to-punish and

μάλ᾽ ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ γάρ, οὐ πάλαι γέγονεν
very exactly I-know in my(-time) for not long-ago have-been
ταῦτ᾽ ἀμφότερα· νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι τοῦθ᾽ ἱκανὸν
these-things both now however I-am-persuaded this enough
προλαβεῖν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους
to-secure-first for-us to-be the first that the allies
σώσομεν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, τότε καὶ περὶ
we-will-save if for this firmly exists then also about
τοῦ τίνα τιμωρήσεταί τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐξέσται
the whom will-punish one and in-what manner it-will-be-possible
σκοπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον
to-consider before but the beginning rightly to-lay-down vain
ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὁντινοῦν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον.
I-consider about the end any-whatever to-make word
3 ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, εἴπερ ποτέ, πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ
the indeed then present occasion if-indeed ever much thought and
βουλῆς δεῖται· ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐχ ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν παρόντων
counsel needs I but not what ever one-must about the present-things
συμβουλεῦσαι χαλεπώτατον ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ ἀπορῶ,
to-advise hardest I-consider but that I-am-at-a-loss
τίνα χρὴ τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ
what one-must manner O men Athenians to you about
αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων
them to-speak I-am-persuaded for from what being-present and hearing
σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ
I-know the most of-the affairs us to-have-escaped by-the
μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. ἀξιῶ
not to-wish the needful-things to-do than by-the not to-understand I-ask
δ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παρρησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν,
and you if with frankness I-make the speech to-bear(-it)
τοῦτο θεωροῦντας, εἰ τἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα
this considering whether the-truth I-speak and because-of this so-that

τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν
the rest better may-become you-see for how from the for favor
δημηγορεῖν ἐνίους εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα.
to-harangue some to all have-come of-wretchedness the present-things
ἀναγκαῖον δ' ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων 4
necessary and I-suppose a-little of-the past-events
πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι. μέμνησθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ'
first you to-remind you-remember O men Athenians when
ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον
was-reported Philip to-you in Thrace third or fourth
ἔτος τουτὶ Ἡραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοίνυν μὴν
year this-here Heraean fort besieging then then month
μὲν ἦν μαιμακτηριών· πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου
indeed was maemacterion many and words and uproar
γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις
occurring among you you-voted forty triremes
καθέλκειν καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντ' ἐτῶν
to-launch and the-ones up-to five and forty years
αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν καὶ τάλανθ' ἑξήκοντ' εἰσφέρειν.
themselves to-embark and talents sixty to-contribute
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διελθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου 5
and after these-things having-passed the year this
ἑκατομβαιών, μεταγειτνιών, βοηδρομιών· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς
hecatombaeon metageitnion boedromion this the month
μόγις μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατ' ἔχοντα
barely after the mysteries ten ships you-sent-off having
κενὰς Χαρίδημον καὶ πέντε τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου. ὡς γὰρ
empty Charidemus and five talents of-silver when for
ἠγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς (ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα),
was-reported Philip being-sick or dead came for both
οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν νομίσαντες ἀφεῖτ', ὦ
no-longer occasion none of-the to-help having-thought you-let-go O

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ἀπόστολον. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς
men Athenians the expedition was but this the occasion
αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ τότ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα,
very if for then thither we-had-helped as we-voted
προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἠνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος σωθείς.
eagerly not — would-be-troubling now us — Philip saved
6 τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι· νῦν
the indeed then at-that-time done not — otherwise could-be now
δ' ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἥκει τις, δι' ὃν καὶ
but of-another war occasion has-come some because-of which also
περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταὐτὰ πάθητε. τί
about these I-made-mention so-that not the-same-things you-suffer what
δὴ χρησόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; εἰ γὰρ μὴ
indeed will-we-do O men Athenians with-this if for not
βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, θεάσασθ' ὃν
you-will-help with-all strength according-to the possible see in-what
τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες πάντ' ἔσεσθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου.
manner you having-been-generals all will-be for Philip
7 ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ'
there-were Olynthians power some having-acquired and stood
οὕτω τὰ πράγματα· οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάρρει τούτους οὔθ'
so the affairs neither Philip trusted these nor
οὗτοι Φίλιππον. ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς
these Philip we-made we and-they with us
εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦθ' ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ
peace was this as hindrance some — to-Philip and
δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς
annoying city great to-lie-in-wait-for the his-own opportunities
διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖν ᾠόμεθα
reconciled with us to-embroil to-be-necessary we-thought

τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, καὶ ὃ πάντες
the men by every means and what all
ἐθρύλουν, πέπρακται νυνὶ τοῦθ' ὁπωσδήποτε.
were-babbling has-been-done now this somehow-or-other
τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν 8
what then remaining O men Athenians except to-help
ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ· χωρὶς
vigorously and eagerly I indeed not see apart-from
γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά
for the surrounding — us shame if we-should-give-up
τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον, ὦ ἄνδρες
something of-the affairs not-even the fear O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν ὁρῶ τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων
Athenians small I-see the of-the after these-things being
μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι
indeed as they-are Thebans to-us exhausted and in-money
Φωκέων, μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ τὰ παρόντα
Phocians nothing and in-the-way being for-Philip the present-things
καταστρεψαμένῳ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα.
having-subdued toward these-things to-turn the affairs
ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν 9
but indeed if someone of-you to this puts-off to-be-going-to-do
τὰ δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινά, ἐξὸν
the needful-things to-see from-near he-wishes the terrors it-being-possible
ἀκούειν ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν,
to-hear elsewhere happening and helpers for-himself to-seek
ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο
it-being-possible now to-others himself to-help that for to this
περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα,
will-come-round the affairs if the present-things we-throw-away
σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου.
nearly we-know all surely

10 ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἄν, πάντες
but that indeed then one-must to-help might-say someone — all
ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δ᾽ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε. μὴ
we-have-decided and we-will-help the but how this tell not
τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε, ἂν παράδοξον εἴπω
then O men Athenians be-amazed if paradoxical I-say
τι τοῖς πολλοῖς. νομοθέτας καθίσατε. ἐν δὲ τούτοις
something to-the many law-givers appoint among but these
τοῖς νομοθέταις μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα (εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν
the law-givers not make law none there-are for for-you
ἱκανοί), ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε.
enough but the-ones for the present harming you repeal
11 λέγω τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὑτωσί, καὶ τοὺς
I-mean the-ones about the festival-fund clearly thus and the-ones
περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ
about the ones-serving some of-which the-ones indeed the
στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά,
military-funds to-the-ones at-home staying distribute as-festival-fund
οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθῴους καθιστᾶσιν, εἶτα
the-others and the-ones shirking unpunished make then
καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους
also the-ones the needful-things to-do wishing more-despondent
ποιοῦσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ
make when but these-things you-repeal and the of-the the
βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν
best to-say road you-make safe at-that-time the-one
γράψοντ᾽ ἃ πάντες ἴσθ᾽ ὅτι συμφέρει ζητεῖτε.
going-to-propose what all know that is-advantageous seek
12 πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτισθ᾽
before but these-things to-do not look-for who having-said the best
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε,
for you by you to-perish will-wish not for you-will-find

ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος, παθεῖν
otherwise both and this only to-result being-about to-suffer
ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα,
unjustly some harm the-one these-things having-said and having-proposed
μηδὲν δ᾽ ὠφελῆσαι τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
nothing and to-help the affairs but also for the future
μᾶλλον ἔτ᾽ ἢ νῦν τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον
more still than now the the best to-say more-fearful
ποιῆσαι. καὶ λύειν γ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς νόμους
to-make and to-repeal at-least O men Athenians the laws
δεῖ τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν οἵπερ καὶ τεθήκασιν·
it-is-necessary these the same to-require who-very also have-made(-them)
οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν ἔβλαπτε 13
not for is just the indeed favor which all harmed
τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δ᾽
the city to-the-ones then having-made to-belong the but
ἀπέχθειαν, δι᾽ ἣς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν,
hatred through which — all better we-would-fare
τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. πρὶν δὲ
to-the-one now the best having-said penalty to-become before but
ταῦτ᾽ εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδέν᾽
these-things to-set-right in-no-way O men Athenians no-one
ἀξιοῦτε τηλικοῦτον εἶναι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ὥστε τοὺς νόμους
expect so-great to-be among you that the laws
τούτους παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ᾽ οὕτως ἀνόητον
these having-transgressed not to-pay penalty nor so foolish
ὥστ᾽ εἰς προῦπτον κακὸν αὑτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν.
as into foreseen harm himself to-throw
οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὦ 14
not indeed not-even that at-least you to-be-ignorant-of it-is-necessary O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψήφισμ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ἂν
men Athenians that decree of-nothing worth is if

μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα
not be-added the to-do to-be-willing the-things at-least resolved
προθύμως. εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματ' ἦν ἢ ὑμᾶς
eagerly if for sufficient the decrees were either you
ἀναγκάζειν ἃ προσήκει πράττειν ἢ περὶ ὧν γραφείη
to-compel what is-fitting to-do or about what it-might-be-proposed
διαπράξασθαι, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ψηφιζόμενοι μικρά,
to-accomplish neither — you many voting little
μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲν ἐπράττετε τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος
rather but nothing would-do of-these nor Philip
τοσοῦτον ὑβρίκει χρόνον· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν εἵνεκά
so-long would-have-outraged time long-ago for — for-the-sake
γε ψηφισμάτων ἐδεδώκει δίκην.
at-least of-decrees would-have-paid penalty

15 ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν
but not so these-things are the for to-act than-the to-speak
καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ
and to-vote later being in-the order before in-the
δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν. τοῦτ' οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι,
power and stronger is this then it-is-necessary to-be-added
τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν
the but rest exists and for to-say the needful-things among you
εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων
there-are O men Athenians able and to-understand of-all
ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν,
you quickest the things-said and to-act and you-will-be-able now
ἐὰν ὀρθῶς ποιῆτε.
if rightly you-act

16 τίνα γὰρ χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
what for time or what occasion O men Athenians
τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πόθ' ἃ δεῖ πράξετ',
than-the present better do-you-seek or when what one-must will-you-do

εἰ μὴ νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν προείληφε τὰ χωρί᾽
if not now not all indeed of-us has-seized-first the places
ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται,
the-man if but also of-this master the land will-become
πάντων αἴσχιστα πεισόμεθα; οὐχ οὕς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν,
of-all most-shamefully we-will-suffer not whom if they-should-fight
ἑτοίμως σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦσιν;
readily to-be-going-to-save we-promised these now are-fighting
οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ ὅ τι 17
not enemy not holding the ours not barbarian not what ever
ἂν εἴποι τις; ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πάντ᾽ ἐάσαντες καὶ μόνον
— might-say someone but by gods everything having-let-be and only
οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους οἵτινες
not having-helped-build for-him then the responsible who
τούτων ζητήσομεν; οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ᾽ αἴτιοι φήσομεν εἶναι,
of-these we-will-seek not for ourselves at-least responsible we-will-say to-be
σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ᾽ ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου
clearly I-know this I not-even for in the of-the war
κινδύνοις τῶν φυγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ
dangers of-the-ones having-fled no-one himself accuses but
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν πλησίον καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον,
the general and the neighbors and all rather
ἥττηνται δ᾽ ὅμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φυγόντας
they-have-been-defeated but nevertheless because-of all the ones-having-fled
δήπου· μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν
surely to-stand for it-was-possible for-the-one accusing the
ἄλλων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίει ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν.
others if but this did each they-would-win —

Demosthenes asks for the best counsel rather than the pleasant: no one can keep the festival fund and still find money for the war, and it is shameful to let Greek cities be enslaved for want of soldiers' pay. The ancestors' speakers, Aristides, Nicias, Demosthenes' namesake, and Pericles, did not flatter, and Athens ruled the Greeks forty-five years, brought more than ten thousand talents to the Acropolis, raised its temples, and lived modestly at home. Since the speakers who ask what the people wish arose, Athens has lost land and its allies and wasted more than fifteen hundred talents, the politicians have grown rich, and the people, tamed by doles, take what they are given. Let each take his share of the public money and serve as the city needs.

18 καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀναστὰς ἄλλος
and now not says someone the best having-stood-up another
εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω·
let-speak not this-man let-him-blame another says someone better
ταῦτα ποιεῖτ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα· οὐκέτι
these-things do with-good fortune but not pleasant these-things no-longer
τοῦθ' ὁ λέγων ἀδικεῖ — πλὴν εἰ δέον εὔξασθαι
in-this the speaker does-wrong except if it-being-necessary to-pray
παραλείπει. εὔξασθαι μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ῥᾴδιον,
he-omits to-pray indeed for O men Athenians easy
εἰς ταὐτὸ πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεταί τις ἁθροίσαντ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ·
into the-same all-things as-many-as wishes one having-gathered in little
ἑλέσθαι δ', ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ'
to-choose but when about affairs it-is-proposed to-consider no-longer
ὁμοίως εὔπορον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀντὶ τῶν
alike easy but one-must the best instead-of the
ἡδέων, ἂν μὴ συναμφότερ' ἐξῇ, λαμβάνειν.
pleasant if not both it-be-possible to-take

εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν ἔχει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ ἐᾶν καὶ πόρους 19
if but someone for-us can both the festival-fund to-leave and supplies
ἑτέρους λέγειν στρατιωτικούς, οὐχ οὗτος κρείττων; εἴποι
other to-name military not this-man better might-say
τις ἄν. φήμ' ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
someone — I-say I if-indeed it-is(-possible) O men Athenians
ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω εἴ τῳ ποτ' ἀνθρώπων ἢ γέγονεν ἢ
but I-wonder if to-anyone ever of-men either it-has-happened or
γενήσεται, ἂν τὰ παρόντ' ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ,
will-happen if the present-things he-spends on what not is-needful
τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορῆσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, μέγα
of-the absent-things to-be-supplied for what is-needful but I-think great
τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις ἡ παρ' ἑκάστου βούλησις,
to-the such is-present arguments the from each wish
διόπερ ῥᾷστον ἁπάντων ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι· ὃ
wherefore easiest of-all is oneself to-deceive what
γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται, τὰ δὲ πράγματα
for wishes this each also thinks the but facts
πολλάκις οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν.
often not so are-by-nature
ὁρᾶτ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ 20
see then O men Athenians these-things so as both
τὰ πράγματ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθ' ἐξιέναι καὶ μισθὸν
the affairs allow and you-will-be-able to-go-out and pay
ἕξετε. οὔ τοι σωφρόνων οὐδὲ γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων,
you-will-have not surely of-prudent nor of-noble is-it men
ἐλλείποντάς τι δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ
falling-short-in something because-of lack of-money of-the-things of-the
πολέμου εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνείδη φέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὲν
war lightly the such reproaches to-bear nor against indeed
Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας ἁρπάσαντας τὰ ὅπλα πορεύεσθαι,
Corinthians and Megarians having-snatched-up the arms to-march

Φίλιππον δ' ἐᾶν πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι
Philip but to-allow cities Greek to-enslave
δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις.
because-of lack of-provisions for-the ones-serving
21 καὶ ταῦτ' οὐχ ἵν' ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τὴν ἄλλως
and these-things not so-that I-may-be-hated by-some of-you the idle(-way)
προῄρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων οὐδ' ἀτυχής
I-have-chosen to-say not for so senseless nor unfortunate
εἰμ' ἐγὼ ὥστ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βούλεσθαι μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν
am I as to-be-hated to-wish nothing to-help
νομίζων· ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
thinking but of-a-just citizen I-judge the of-the affairs
σωτηρίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἱρεῖσθαι.
safety instead-of the in the to-speak favor to-choose
καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας
and for the-ones in-the-time-of the ancestors our speaking
ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν οἱ
I-hear as perhaps also you whom praise indeed the-ones
παριόντες ἅπαντες, μιμοῦνται δ' οὐ πάνυ, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει
coming-forward all imitate but not very this the custom
καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην
and the manner of-the policy to-use — Aristides
ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Νικίαν, τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν Περικλέα.
that — Nicias the namesake to-myself — Pericles
22 ἐξ οὗ δ' οἱ διερωτῶντες ὑμᾶς οὗτοι πεφήνασι ῥήτορες
from when but the questioning you these have-appeared orators
'τί βούλεσθε; τί γράψω; τί ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι;'
what do-you-wish what am-I-to-propose what to-you am-I-to-please
προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως
have-been-squandered for-the immediate pleasure the of-the city

πράγματα, καὶ τοιαυτὶ συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων
affairs and such-things result and the indeed of-these
πάντα καλῶς ἔχει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' αἰσχρῶς.
all well are the but yours shamefully
καίτοι σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἅ τις ἂν κεφάλαι' 23
and-yet consider O men Athenians what someone — heads
εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν
to-tell could of-the both in-the-time-of the ancestors deeds and of-the
ἐφ' ὑμῶν. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος·
in your(-time) will-be and short and familiar to-you the speech
οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ'
not for foreign to-you using examples but
οἰκείοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι.
home-grown O men Athenians happy it-is-possible to-become
ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζονθ' οἱ λέγοντες οὐδ' 24
they then whom not pleased the speakers nor
ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὗτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ
loved them as you these now five indeed and
τετταράκοντ' ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἑκόντων, πλείω
forty years the Greeks ruled willing more
δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντ' εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον,
and than ten-thousand talents into the acropolis brought-up
ὑπήκουε δ' ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς,
obeyed and the this the land holding them king
ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσῆκον βάρβαρον Ἕλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
as is fitting barbarian to-Greeks many and and
καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαι' αὐτοὶ
fine both on-land and fighting-at-sea they-set-up trophies themselves
στρατευόμενοι, μόνοι δ' ἀνθρώπων κρείττω τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
campaigning alone and of-men greater the for the
ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούντων κατέλιπον.
deeds glory than-the envious they-left

25 ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
in indeed then the Greek(-affairs) they-were such in and the-things
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθ' ὁποῖοι, ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς
in the city itself see of-what-sort in both the public
κἀν τοῖς ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ
and-in the private publicly indeed then buildings and
κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ
beauties such and so-many they-built for-us of-temples and
τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων
of-the in these offerings that for-none of-the coming-after
ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι· ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν
surpassing to-have-been-left privately and so modest they-were
καὶ σφόδρ' ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἤθει μένοντες,
and very in the of-the constitution character remaining
26 ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε
that the of-Aristides and the of-Miltiades and of-the then
λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὁποία ποτ'
illustrious house if anyone then knows of-you of-what-sort ever
ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν·
it-is he-sees than-the of-the neighbor nothing more-stately being
οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς
not for for surplus was-conducted by-them the-affairs of-the
πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν.
city but the common to-increase each thought to-be-necessary
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
from and the the indeed Greek(-affairs) faithfully the and toward the
θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς, τὰ δ' ἐν αὑτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν μεγάλην
gods piously the and among themselves equally to-administer great
εἰκότως ἐκτήσαντ' εὐδαιμονίαν.
reasonably they-acquired prosperity

τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματ' 27
at-that-time indeed then this the manner stood the affairs
ἐκείνοις, χρωμένοις οἷς εἶπον προστάταις· νυνὶ δὲ πῶς
for-them using whom I-named as-leaders now but how
ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τούτων τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει; ἆρά
for-us under the good these the affairs stand then
γ' ὁμοίως ἢ παραπλησίως; οἷς — τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
at-least alike or similarly with-whom the indeed other-things
σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτ'
I-pass-over much — having to-say but how-great all you-see
ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀπολωλότων,
emptiness having-got Lacedaemonians indeed ruined
Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς
Thebans and busy being the and others none
ὄντος ἀξιόχρεω περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἡμῖν ἀντιτάξασθαι,
being fit about the first-place us to-oppose
ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν
it-being-possible and for-us both the ours selves safely to-hold
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν,
and the of-the others rights to-arbitrate
ἀπεστερήμεθα μὲν χώρας οἰκείας, πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια 28
we-have-been-deprived indeed of-land our-own more and than thousand
καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντ' ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, οὓς
and five-hundred talents we-have-spent on nothing needful whom
δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὔσης
and in the war allies we-acquired peace being
ἀπολωλέκασιν οὗτοι, ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικοῦτον
have-lost these enemy and against us selves so-great
ἠσκήκαμεν. ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθών, πόθεν
we-have-trained or let-tell someone me having-come-forward whence
ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν Φίλιππος.
else strong has-become than from us selves Philip

29 ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
but O good-sir if these-things badly the-things at-least in very the
πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; τὰς
city now better are and what — to-name someone could the
ἐπάλξεις ἃς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν,
battlements which we-whitewash and the roads which we-repair
καὶ κρήνας, καὶ λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς
and fountains and trifles look indeed at the-ones
ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν
these-things administering of-whom the-ones indeed from beggars
πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι
rich have-become the-others and from obscure honored some
δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων
and the private houses than-the public buildings
σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς
more-stately are having-built by-as-much-as and the-affairs of-the
πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονεν, τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ηὔξηται.
city less have-become by-so-much the-fortunes of-these have-grown
30 τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τούτων, καὶ τί δή ποθ'
what indeed the of-all cause of-these and why indeed ever
ἅπαντ' εἶχε καλῶς τότε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς; ὅτι τότε μὲν
all-things were well then and now not rightly because then indeed
πράττειν καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης
to-act and to-campaign daring itself the people master
τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν καὶ κύριος αὐτὸς ἁπάντων τῶν
of-the politicians was and lord itself of-all the
ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων
goods and welcome it-was from the people of-the others
ἑκάστῳ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν·
to-each both of-honor and of-office and of-good some to-get-a-share

νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον κύριοι μὲν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τῶν 31
now but the-opposite lords indeed the politicians of-the
ἀγαθῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὑμεῖς δ᾽
goods and through these everything is-done you but
ὁ δῆμος, ἐκνενευρισμένοι καὶ περιῳρημένοι χρήματα,
the people unnerved and stripped money
συμμάχους, ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγένησθε,
allies in of-servant and of-appendage part have-become
ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν ἢ Βοηδρόμια
being-content if they-give-a-share of-festival-fund to-you or Boedromia
πέμψωσιν οὗτοι, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνδρειότατον, τῶν
they-send these and the of-all bravest for-the
ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ
yours selves thanks you-owe-besides they and in very
τῇ πόλει καθείρξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ
the city having-penned you lead to these-things and
τιθασεύουσι χειροήθεις αὑτοῖς ποιοῦντες.
tame hand-tame for-themselves making
ἔστι δ᾽ οὐδέποτ᾽, οἶμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα 32
it-is but never I-think great and spirited mind
λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας· ὁποῖ᾽ ἄττα γὰρ
to-take-on small and mean doing of-what-sort some for
ἂν τἀπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη
— the-pursuits of-the men be such necessity
καὶ τὸ φρόνημ᾽ ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ᾽ οὐκ ἂν
also the mind to-have these-things by — Demeter not —
θαυμάσαιμ᾽ εἰ μείζων εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ γένοιτο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
I-would-wonder if greater having-spoken to-me should-come from you
βλάβη τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ
harm than-the-ones having-made them to-be not-even for

παρρησία περὶ πάντων ἀεὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽
freedom-of-speech about all always among you is but I
ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονεν θαυμάζω.
that even now it-has-happened wonder

33 ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ᾽ ἔτι ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν
if then but now at-least still having-been-freed from-these the
ἐθῶν ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ πράττειν ἀξίως ὑμῶν
habits you-are-willing to-campaign both and to-act worthily of-you
αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις ἀφορμαῖς
selves and the surpluses the at-home these as-resources
ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσθαι, ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως, ὦ
for the abroad of-the goods to-use perhaps — perhaps O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτήσαισθ᾽ ἀγαθὸν
men Athenians complete some and great you-would-acquire good
καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε, ἃ τοῖς
and from-the such doles you-would-be-freed which to-the
παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις ἔοικε. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖν᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἰσχὺν
from the doctors diets are-like and for those neither strength
ἐντίθησιν οὔτ᾽ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐᾷ· καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἃ νέμεσθε
put-in nor to-die allow and these-things which you-receive
νῦν ὑμεῖς, οὔτε τοσαῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ὥστ᾽ ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν τινὰ
now you neither so-great are as help to-have some
διαρκῆ, οὔτ᾽ ἀπογνόντας ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐᾷ, ἀλλ᾽
lasting nor having-given-up other something to-do allow but
ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἑκάστου ῥᾳθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα.
are these-things the of-each idleness of-you increasing

34 οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις; φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρῆμά
therefore you payment propose will-say someone and at-once
γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἁπάντων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
at-least the same system of-all O men Athenians
ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων, ὅτου
so-that of-the common(-funds) each the share taking of-whatever

δέοιθ' ἡ πόλις, τοῦθ' ὑπάρχοι. ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν· οἴκοι
might-need the city this might-be it-is-possible to-keep quiet at-home
μένων βελτίων, τοῦ δι' ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκῃ τι ποιεῖν
staying better than-the because-of want by-necessity something to-do
αἰσχρὸν ἀπηλλαγμένος. συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἷον
shameful having-been-freed happens something such as
καὶ τὰ νῦν· στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
also the now soldier himself being from the same
τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.
these doles as is just for the fatherland
ἔστι τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν· ὅσ' οὗτος ἀτάκτως
is someone outside the age of-you as-much-as this-man irregularly
νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ' ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει λαμβάνων
now receiving not helps these-things in equal order receiving
πάντ' ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν ἃ χρὴ πράττεσθαι.
all overseeing and administering what it-is-necessary to-be-done
ὅλως δ' οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτε προσθείς, πλὴν μικρῶν, τὴν 35
altogether and neither having-taken-away nor having-added except small-things the
ἀταξίαν ἀνελὼν εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγον τὴν πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν
disorder having-removed into order I-brought the city the same
τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ'
of-the to-receive of-the to-serve of-the to-judge of-the to-do this
ὅ τι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχοι καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη,
what ever by age each might-be-fit and of-what occasion might-be
τάξιν ποιήσας. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μηδὲν ἐγὼ ποιοῦσι τὰ
order having-made not is where nothing I to-the-ones-doing the-things
τῶν ποιούντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς μὲν
of-the-ones doing said that one-must to-distribute nor themselves indeed
ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ὅτι δ' οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος νικῶσι
to-be-idle and to-be-at-leisure and to-be-at-a-loss that but the of-the so-and-so win
ξένοι, ταῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ νυνὶ γίγνεται.
mercenaries these-things to-learn these-things for now happens

36 καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν ποιοῦντά τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ
and not I-blame the-one doing something of-the needful-things for
ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ πράττειν
you but also you for you selves I-ask to-do
ταῦτ' ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρους τιμᾶτε, καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες
these-things for which others you-honor and not to-give-up O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τάξεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς
Athenians the post which to-you the ancestors of-the valor
μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.
with many and fine dangers having-acquired left
σχεδὸν εἴρηχ' ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἕλοισθ'
nearly I-have-said what I-think to-be-advantageous you and may-choose
ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει.
what ever both the city and all to-benefit you is-likely

DEMOSTHENES

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α

First Philippic

Demosthenes rises first, since those who usually advise them have not advised them well. Athens' affairs are bad because Athens does nothing, and that is the hope in them. Once it held Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone, and the peoples now with Philip were free and friendlier to Athens; Philip took them because the prizes of war go to those who are present and willing to toil. If each will do his part, contributing or serving, instead of waiting for his neighbor, Athens will recover its own. Philip is hated, feared, and envied by his own, yet the Athenians go about asking whether he is dead or only ill: if he died, their neglect would make another Philip.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προυτίθετ', ὦ ἄνδρες 1
if indeed about new some matter it-were-proposed O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν
Athenians to-speak having-waited — until the most of-the-ones
εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκέ τί μοι
accustomed opinion had-declared if indeed pleased something me
τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ
of-the-things by these said quiet — I-would-keep if but
μή, τότ' ἂν καὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γιγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ
not then — I-too would-try what I-think to-say since
δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει
but about what often have-spoken these before it-happens
καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως
also now to-consider I-think even first having-risen reasonably
ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος
— of-pardon to-obtain if for from the past
χρόνου τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς
time the needful-things these had-advised nothing — you
νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.
now would-need to-deliberate

2 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς
first indeed then not to-be-despondent O men Athenians at-the
παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ.
present affairs not-even if very badly to-be they-seem
ὃ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος
what for is worst of-them from the past
χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει.
time this for the future best is
τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
what then is this that nothing O men Athenians of-the
δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει· ἐπεί
needful-things doing you badly the affairs stand since
τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν,
surely if all-things which were-fitting doing so it-stood
οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι.
not-even — hope would-be them better to-become

3 ἔπειτ' ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς
then one-must-ponder both from others hearing and for-the-ones
εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνῃσκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ' ἐχόντων
knowing themselves remembering how-great once having
δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς, ὡς
power Lacedaemonians from which time not much how
καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς
finely and fittingly nothing unworthy you did of-the
πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους
city but you-endured for the rights the against them
πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν εἵνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' ἴδητ', ὦ
war of-what then for-the-sake these-things I-say so-that you-may-see O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις
men Athenians and behold that nothing neither being-on-guard
ὑμῖν ἐστιν φοβερόν, οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἷον ἂν
for-you is fearful nor if you-are-negligent such as —

ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ
you would-wish as-examples using the then strength
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς
of-the Lacedaemonians which you-mastered from the to-turn to-the
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι᾽ ἣν
affairs the mind and the now insolence of-this-man because-of which
ταραττόμεθ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν.
we-are-troubled from the nothing to-care-for of-what was-needful
εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον 4
if but someone of-you O men Athenians hard-to-fight
οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς
thinks — Philip to-be considering the both size of-the
ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντ᾽
existing for-him power and the the places all
ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται, λογισάσθω
to-have-been-lost to-the city rightly indeed he-thinks let-him-reckon
μέντοι τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι εἴχομέν ποθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
however this that held once we O men Athenians
Πύδναν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν
Pydna and Potidaea and Methone and all the
τόπον τοῦτον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκείνου
region this our-own around and many of-the with him
νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερ᾽ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ
now being peoples self-governing and-free were and
μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ᾽ ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ ἐκείνῳ.
rather with-us wished to-be friendly than with-him
εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, 5
if then — Philip then this had the opinion
ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτ᾽
that hard to-make-war is with-Athenians having so-many
ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὑτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων,
fortresses-against the his-own land destitute being of-allies

οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν οὐδὲ τοσαύτην
nothing — of-what now he-has-done he-would-have-done nor so-great
ἐκτήσατ' ἂν δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
would-have-acquired — power but saw O men Athenians
τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα τὰ
this well he that these indeed are all the
χωρὶ' ἆθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ'
places prizes of-the war lying in middle by-nature and
ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς
belong to-the-ones present the-things of-the absent and to-the-ones
ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων.
willing to-toil and to-run-risks the-things of-the neglectful
6 καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα
and for surely this having-used the judgment all-things
κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἑλών τις
he-has-subdued and holds the-ones indeed as — having-taken someone
ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος·
would-hold in-war the-others and allied and friendly having-made
καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις
and for to-be-allies and to-turn the mind to-these
ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὁρῶσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ
are-willing all whom — they-see prepared and
πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή.
to-do willing what one-must
7 ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
if then O men Athenians also you to the
τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ
such are-willing to-come judgment now since-indeed not
πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν
before and each of-you where one-must and he-could —
παρασχεῖν αὑτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, πᾶσαν ἀφεὶς
to-render himself useful to-the city all having-dropped

τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ᾽
the dissembling ready to-act is the-one indeed money
ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ᾽ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, —
having to-contribute the-other and in age to-serve
συνελόντι δ᾽ ἁπλῶς ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι,
to-one-summing-up and simply if of-you selves you-are-willing to-become
καὶ παύσησθ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν
and you-stop himself indeed nothing each to-be-going-to-do
ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν,
hoping the but neighbor everything for him to-be-going-to-do
καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ᾽ αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθ᾽, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ
both the yours selves you-will-recover if god is-willing and the
κατερραθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε.
things-idly-lost again you-will-take-back and-him you-will-punish
μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι 8
not for as for-a-god think for-him the present to-have-been-fixed
πράγματ᾽ ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον καὶ
affairs immortal but both hates someone him and
δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάνυ
fears O men Athenians and envies even of-the-ones very
νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα περ κἀν
now seeming friendly to-be and all-things as-many-as indeed also-in
ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κἀν τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνου
other some men are-in these-things also-in the-ones with him
χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν,
one-must to-think to-be-in have-cowered however all these-things now
οὐκ ἔχοντ᾽ ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα
not having refuge because-of the your slowness
καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν· ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη.
and idleness which to-put-off I-say to-be-necessary now

9 ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἷ
see for O men Athenians the matter to-what-point
προελήλυθ' ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν
has-gone of-insolence the-man who not-even choice to-you
δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ
gives of-the to-act or to-keep quiet but threatens and
λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν
words arrogant as they-say speaks and not such is
ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀεί
holding what he-has-subdued to-stay at these but always
τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας
something throws-around-besides and around everywhere delaying
ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται.
us and sitting he-nets-in

10 πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πόθ' ἃ χρὴ πράξετε;
when then O men Athenians when what one-must will-you-do
ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν νὴ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾖ.
when what happens when by Zeus necessity some there-be
νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
now but what one-must the happenings to-consider I indeed for
οἴομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
think for-the free greatest necessity the about the
πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθ', εἰπέ μοι, περιιόντες
affairs shame to-be or do-you-wish tell me going-around
αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, 'λέγεταί τι καινόν;' γένοιτο
of-one-another to-inquire is-said anything new could-happen
γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους
for — anything newer than Macedonian man Athenians
καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; 'τέθνηκε
defeating and the-affairs of-the Greeks managing is-dead
Φίλιππος;' 'οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ.'
Philip not by Zeus but he-is-sick

τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως 11
what but to-you does-it-matter and for if this-man something suffer quickly
ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς
you another Philip will-make if-indeed so you-turn to-the
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ῥώμην
affairs the mind not-even for this-man by the his-own strength
τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν.
so-much has-grown as by the our neglect
καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς 12
and-yet also this if something he-should-suffer and the-affairs of-the
τύχης ἡμῖν, ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
fortune for-us which-very always better than we of-us selves
ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον
take-care also this should-bring-about know that near
μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασιν τεταραγμένοις
indeed being to-all — the affairs disordered
ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε,
having-taken-charge-of as you-wish you-would-manage as but now you-are
οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ'
not-even giving the occasions Amphipolis to-receive you-could
ἄν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.
— being-far-off both in-the preparations and in-the minds

II · THE STANDING FORCE

Demosthenes asks them to hear his whole plan before judging it. Fifty triremes must stand ready, with citizens resolved to man them, and transports for half the cavalry, against Philip's sudden marches on Thermopylae, the Chersonese, or Olynthus. Beside them a standing force should harry him without pause: not tens of thousands of mercenaries on paper but two thousand foot, five hundred of them Athenians serving in turn, two hundred horse, and ten swift triremes.

Citizens must serve with the mercenaries, who alone plunder friends and sail off to Artabazus, and Athens' own elected officers should lead them instead of marching in processions. The rations would cost some ninety-two talents a year.

13 ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας
that indeed then it-is-necessary the fitting-things to-do willing
ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἑτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ
to-be all readily as having-recognized you and
πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς
having-been-persuaded I-stop saying the but manner of-the
παρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων
armament which to-free — from-the such troubles
ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὕστινας
you I-think and the size how-great and supplies which
χρημάτων, καὶ τἄλλ' ὡς ἄν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα
of-money and the-rest how — to-me best and quickest
δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν,
seems to-be-prepared and indeed I-will-try to-say
δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον.
having-asked you O men Athenians so-much
14 ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντ' ἀκούσητε κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον
when all-things you-hear judge not before
προλαμβάνετε· μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καινὴν
prejudge nor if from beginning I-seem to-someone new
παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματ' ἡγείσθω.
armament to-propose to-put-off me the affairs let-him-think
οὐ γὰρ οἱ 'ταχὺ' καὶ 'τήμερον' εἰπόντες μάλιστ' εἰς
not for the-ones quickly and today having-said most to
δέον λέγουσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γ' ἤδη γεγενημένα
need speak not for — the-things at-least already having-happened
τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλῦσαι δυνηθεῖμεν),
by-the present help to-prevent we-could

ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση 15
but who — shows what having-been-provided armament and how-great
καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, ἕως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα
and whence to-last will-be-able until — either we-end
πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν·
having-been-persuaded the war or we-prevail-over the enemies
οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι
so for no-longer for-the future we-would-suffer — badly I-think
τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος
then I these-things to-say to-be-able not preventing if some other
ἐπαγγέλλεταί τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη, τὸ
promises something the indeed then promise so great the
δὲ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.
but deed now the test will-give judges and you will-be
πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις 16
first indeed then O men Athenians triremes
πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημὶ δεῖν, εἶτ᾽ αὐτοὺς
fifty to-prepare I-say to-be-necessary then yourselves
οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς, ἐάν τι δέῃ, πλευστέον
so the minds to-have that if something be-needed to-be-sailed
εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς
into these for-yourselves having-embarked besides and these for-the
ἡμίσεσιν τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖ᾽
half of-the cavalry horse-transport triremes and boats
ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω.
sufficient to-get-ready I-bid
ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης 17
these-things indeed I-think to-be-necessary to-be-ready for the sudden
ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς
these from the his-own land his expeditions to
Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὄλυνθον καὶ ὅποι βούλεται·
Thermopylae and Chersonese and Olynthus and wherever he-wishes

δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆσαι, ὡς
one-must for to-him this in the mind to-put that
ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς
you from the negligence this the excessive as to
Εὔβοιαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ τὰ
Euboea and before once they-say to Haliartus and the
τελευταῖα πρώην εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε —
last lately to Thermopylae perhaps — you-might-rush
18 οὔτοι παντελῶς, οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο, ὡς ἔγωγέ
not-surely altogether not-even if not you-would-do — this as I
φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν — ἵν' ἢ διὰ
say to-be-necessary contemptible is so-that either because-of
τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς·
the fear knowing ready you he-will-know for exactly
εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ'
there-are for there-are the-ones all-things reporting to-him from
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ,
us selves more than-the needful quiet he-may-keep
ἢ παριδὼν ταῦτ' ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος
or having-overlooked these-things unguarded he-be-caught nothing being
ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῷ καιρόν.
in-the-way to-sail against the his land for-you if he-give occasion
19 ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ δεῖν
these-things indeed are what by-all to-have-been-resolved I-say to-be-necessary
καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι· πρὸ δὲ τούτων
and to-have-been-prepared to-be-fitting I-think before and these
δύναμίν τιν', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι
force some O men Athenians I-say to-provide
δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἣ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκεῖνον
to-be-necessary you which continually will-make-war and badly him
ποιήσει. μή μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς
will-treat not to-me ten-thousand nor twenty-thousand mercenaries nor the

ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἧ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται,
on-paper these forces but which of-the city will-be
κἂν ὑμεῖς ἕνα κἂν πλείους κἂν τὸν δεῖνα κἂν ὁντινοῦν
and-if you one and-if more and-if the so-and-so and-if anyone-whatever
χειροτονήσητε στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει.
you-elect general him will-obey and will-follow
καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς 20
and provisions for-this to-provide I-bid will-be and this what
ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφὴν ἕξει, καὶ
the force and how-great and whence the provisions will-have and
πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἕκαστον
how these-things will-be-willing to-do I will-tell by each
τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξένους μὲν λέγω — καὶ ὅπως
of-these going-through separately mercenaries indeed I-mean and see-that
μὴ ποιήσεθ' ὃ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω
not you-do what often you harmed all-things less
νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς
thinking to-be than-the needful and the greatest in the
ψηφίσμασιν αἱρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ
decrees choosing at the to-act not-even the small-things
ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες
you-do but the small-things having-done and having-provided
τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται.
to-these add if less it-appears
λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων 21
I-say indeed the all soldiers two-thousand of-these
δ' Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς
and Athenians I-say to-be-necessary to-be five-hundred from what
ἄν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν
— some to-you age well to-be seems time fixed
στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ
serving not long this but as-long-as — seems

καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους
well to-be by succession to-one-another the and others mercenaries
εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων
to-be I-bid and with these cavalry two-hundred and of-these
πεντήκοντ' Ἀθηναίους τοὐλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζούς, τὸν
fifty Athenians at-least as the infantry the
αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱππαγωγοὺς τούτοις.
same manner serving and horse-transports for-these
22 εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ
well what besides these further swift triremes ten there-is-need
γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν,
for having he a-navy also of-swift triremes for-us
ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις
so-that safely the force may-sail whence indeed for-these
ἡ τροφὴ γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω,
the provisions will-come I also this will-tell and will-show
ἐπειδάν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ
when why so-great to-suffice I-think the force and
πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.
citizens the serving to-be I-bid I-will-explain
23 τοσαύτην μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι
so-great indeed O men Athenians because-of this that
οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ
not it-is-possible now for-us to-provide force the him
παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ λῃστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ
going-to-meet-in-battle but to-raid necessity and this the
τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν
manner of-the war to-use the first(-time) not then
ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή), οὐδὲ
excessive it not for there-is pay nor provisions nor
παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ.
altogether small to-be it-is-necessary

πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι 24
citizens and to-be-present and to-sail-with because-of this I-bid that
καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ
also before once I-hear mercenary-force to-maintain in Corinth
τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ
the city which Polystratus led and Iphicrates and
Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι·
Chabrias and others some and yourselves you to-serve-with(-them)
καὶ οἶδ' ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μεθ'
and I-know hearing that Lacedaemonians meeting-in-battle with
ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ἐξ
you won these the mercenaries and you with them from
οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται,
when but themselves by themselves the mercenaries for-you serve
τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ
the friends they-defeat and the allies the but enemies
μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντ' ἐπὶ
greater than-the needful have-become and having-glanced at
τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ
the of-the city war to Artabazus and everywhere
μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ,
rather is-gone sailing the and general follows
εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν.
naturally not for it-is-possible to-command not giving pay
τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ 25
what then I-bid the pretexts to-remove both of-the
στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ
general and of-the soldiers pay having-provided and
στρατιώτας οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων
soldiers our-own as overseers of-the generalship
παρακαταστήσαντας· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς
having-posted-beside since now at-least laughter is how

χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς,
we-handle the affairs if for should-ask someone you
'εἰρήνην ἄγετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;' 'μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς
peace do-you-keep O men Athenians by Zeus not we
γ',' εἴποιτ' ἄν, 'ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.'
at-least you-would-say — but with-Philip we-are-at-war

26 οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ
not did-you-elect and from you selves ten taxiarchs and
στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν
generals and phylarchs and hipparchs two what then
οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητ' ἐπὶ
these do except one man whom — you-send-out to
τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ
the war the rest the processions conduct for-you with
τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς
the commissioners-of-sacrifices as for the-ones molding the
πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους
clay(-figures) for the market you-elect the taxiarchs
καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.
and the phylarchs not for the war

27 οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν,
not for ought O men Athenians taxiarchs from you
ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν' ἦν ὡς
hipparch from you officers our-own to-be so-that might-be as
ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν
truly of-the city the force but to indeed Lemnos the
παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς
from you hipparch it-is-necessary to-sail of-the-ones but for the of-the
πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν.
city possessions fighting Menelaus to-command-the-horse

καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ'
and not the man blaming these-things I-say but by
ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.
you it-ought having-been-elected to-be this-man whoever — he-be
ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ 28
perhaps and these-things indeed rightly you-think to-be-said the but
τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτ'
of-the money how-much and whence will-be most you-long
ἀκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοίνυν· ἔστι μὲν
to-hear this indeed also I-complete money then is indeed
ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον, τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ τάλαντ'
the maintenance ration-money only for-the force this talents
ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρός, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις
ninety and little some besides for-ten indeed ships swift
τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναῖ τοῦ
forty talents twenty for the ship minas the
μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα,
month each for-soldiers and two-thousand as-much other
ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον
so-that ten the month the soldier drachmas ration-money
λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι διακοσίοις οὖσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα
may-receive for-the and cavalry two-hundred being if thirty
δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα.
drachmas each receives the month twelve talents
εἰ δέ τις οἴεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς 29
if but someone thinks small resource to-be ration-money for-the
στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
ones-serving to-be-provided not rightly he-has-judged I for
οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ
know clearly that this if happens will-provide-besides the rest
αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων
itself the army from the war none of-the Greeks

ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ.
wronging nor of-the allies so-as to-have pay full
ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντὴς πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν ἕτοιμος, ἐὰν
I sailing-with volunteer to-suffer anything-at-all ready if
μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων,
not these-things so be whence then the supply of-the money
ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι; τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.
which from you I-bid to-come this now I-will-tell

III · LEAD THE EVENTS

The proposals read, Demosthenes urges a force wintering at Lemnos, Thasos, and Sciathus and bound by law to the war, since Philip times his attacks by the etesian winds and the winter. Athens has suffered raids on Lemnos and Imbros, the seizure of ships at Geraestus and the capture of the sacred trireme at Marathon, while its festivals, ordered by law, never come late and its expeditions always do. Like a barbarian boxer it guards wherever it was last struck, and lets Philip be its general. The war begun to punish him is now fought not to be harmed by him. Let them sail against his land themselves, stop trading rumors of his plans, and know that if they will not fight there they must fight here.

30 ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθ' εὑρεῖν ταῦτ'
what indeed we O men Athenians have-been-able to-find these-things
ἐστίν· ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονῆτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν
are when but you-vote-on the proposals if you
ἀρέσκῃ, χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ
they-please you-will-vote so-that not only in the decrees and
ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.
the letters you-make-war on-Philip but also in-the deeds
31 δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
you-seem and to-me much better — about the war
καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον,
and whole the armament to-deliberate if the position

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε,
O men Athenians of-the land against which you-make-war
ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθ' ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασιν καὶ ταῖς
you-should-ponder and reckon that by-the winds and the
ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται
seasons of-the year the most-things anticipating accomplishes
Φίλιππος, καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶν'
Philip and having-waited-for the etesian-winds or the winter
ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἡνίκ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ' ἐκεῖσ' ἀφικέσθαι.
attacks when — we not could thither to-arrive
δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις 32
one-must then these-things pondering not by-relief-expeditions
πολεμεῖν (ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἁπάντων), ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ
to-make-war we-will-be-late for for-all but by-armament
συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν
continuous and force it-is-possible and for-you as-winter-quarters indeed
χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ
to-use for-the force Lemnos and Thasos and Sciathus and
ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ
the in this the region islands in which both harbors and
σῖτος καὶ ἃ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ'
grain and what is-needful for-an-army all is-at-hand the and
ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥᾴδιον
season of-the year when both near the land to-be easy
καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ
and the of-the winds safe near very the land
καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασιν ῥᾳδίως ἔσται.
and near the of-the trading-posts mouths easily it-will-be
ἃ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ 33
how indeed then he-will-use and when the force according-to
τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν
the occasion the of-these master appointed by you

βουλεύσεται· ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ'
will-decide what but to-be-provided it-is-necessary from you these-things
ἐστὶν ἁγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
are which-I have-proposed if these-things O men Athenians
πορίσητε, τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τἄλλα
you-provide the money first which I-mention then also the-rest
παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς
having-prepared the soldiers the triremes the
ἱππέας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν νόμῳ κατακλείσητ'
cavalry complete all the force by-law you-bind
ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι
at the war to-remain of-the indeed money yourselves treasurers
καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ
and providers becoming of-the but actions from the
στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν
general the account demanding you-will-stop always about the
αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες,
same deliberating and more nothing doing
34 καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν
and further besides this first indeed O men Athenians the
μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος
greatest of-the his resources you-will-take-away is and this
τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων
what from the your against-you he-makes-war allies plundering
καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς
and pillaging the-ones sailing the sea then what besides
τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ
this from-the to-suffer yourselves badly outside you-will-be not
ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον
as the past time on Lemnos and Imbros
ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ' ἔχων,
having-invaded captive citizens yours he-went-off holding

πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ'
at — Geraestus the ships having-seized countless money
ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖ' εἰς Μαραθῶν' ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ
he-levied the last at Marathon he-landed and the sacred from
τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε
the land went-off holding trireme you but neither these-things can
κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν.
to-prevent nor at the times which — you-appoint to-help
καίτοι τί δήποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν 35
and-yet why ever O men Athenians do-you-think the indeed
τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ
of-the Panathenaea festival and the of-the Dionysia always
τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἄν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν
at-the appointed time to-take-place if both clever be-allotted
ἄν τ' ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς
if and laymen the-ones of-these each having-charge on
ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα, ὅσ' οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα
which so-much is-spent money as-much-as not-even on one
τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν
of-the expeditions and so-great crowd and preparation
ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἁπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ'
as-great-as not I-know if anything of-the all has the but
ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν
expeditions all for-you to-be-too-late-for the occasions the
εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτείδαιαν;
to Methone the to Pagasae the to Potidaea
ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν 36
because those indeed all by-law are-ordered and knows-beforehand
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος
each of-you from long-ahead who choregus or gymnasiarch
τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί
of-the tribe when and from whom and what having-received what

δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις
one-must to-do nothing unexamined nor undefined in these
ἠμέληται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ
has-been-neglected in but the-things about the war and the
τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα.
of-this preparation disordered unregulated undefined all-things
τοιγαροῦν ἅμ' ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους
therefore at-the-same-time we-have-heard something and trierarchs
καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ
we-appoint and for-these exchanges-of-property we-make and about
χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐμβαίνειν
of-money supply we-consider and after these-things to-embark
τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας,
the metics it-was-resolved and the-ones apart living
37 εἶτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἶτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἶτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα
then yourselves again then to-put-in-substitutes then in as-long-as these-things
μέλλεται, προαπόλωλεν τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν·
are-delayed has-been-lost-before the(-object) for which — we-sail-out
τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι
the for of-the to-act time on the to-prepare
ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ
we-spend the but of-the affairs not wait occasions
τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἃς δὲ τὸν
the our slowness and dissembling which and the
μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἷαί
between time forces we-think for-us to-be nothing able
τ' οὖσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ
— being to-do at very the occasions they-are-shown he
δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν
but to this of-insolence has-come as to-send to-Euboeans
ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.
now such letters

τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ 38
of-these O men Athenians the things-read true
μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ
indeed are the most as not it-ought not indeed but perhaps not
ἡδέ' ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν, ὅσ' ἄν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ
pleasant to-hear but if indeed as-much-as — someone passes-over in-the
λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ὑπερβήσεται,
speech so-that not he-may-pain also the facts will-pass-over
δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν· εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις,
one-must for pleasure to-harangue if but the of-the words charm
ἂν ᾖ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται, αἰσχρόν
if it-be not fitting in-fact loss becomes shameful
ἐστι φενακίζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἂν
it-is to-cheat ourselves and all-things putting-off which
ᾖ δυσχερῆ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων,
be unpleasant all to-be-late-for the deeds
καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς 39
and not-even this to-be-able to-learn that it-is-necessary the-ones
ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν,
rightly war conducting not to-follow the events
ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν
but themselves in-front to-be of-the events and the
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ τις
same manner as of-the armies would-expect someone
ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
— the general to-lead so also of-the events
τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα
the-ones deliberating so-that what to-them seems these-things
πράττηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντ' ἀναγκάζωνται διώκειν.
be-done and not the happenings they-be-compelled to-chase

40 ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἁπάντων
you but O men Athenians greatest power of-all
ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὁπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσοδον,
having triremes hoplites cavalry of-money revenue
τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτ'
these indeed up-to the today day none ever
εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ
to need at-all you-have-used nothing but you-leave-out as the
βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ
barbarians box so to-make-war with-Philip and for
ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, κἂν
of-those the having-been-struck always the blow holds and-if
ἑτέρωσε πατάξῃ τις, ἐκεῖσ' εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι
elsewhere strikes someone thither are the hands to-guard
δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὔτ' οἶδεν οὔτ' ἐθέλει.
but or to-look opposite neither knows nor wishes
41 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε
and you if in Chersonese you-learn Philip thither
βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, ἂν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, ἂν ἄλλοθί
to-help you-vote if at Thermopylae thither if elsewhere
που, συμπαραθεῖτ' ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθ' ὑπ'
somewhere you-run-along up down and are-generaled by
ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ
him you-have-planned but nothing yourselves advantageous about the
πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾶτ' οὐδέν, πρὶν
war nor before the events you-foresee nothing before
ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα
— either having-happened or happening something you-learn these-things
δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἥκει
and perhaps before indeed was-possible now but to very has-come
τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ.
the crisis so-that no-longer it-is-allowed

δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις 42
seems and to-me of-gods some O men Athenians at-the happenings
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην
for the city being-ashamed the restless-activity
ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται
this to-have-thrown into-Philip if for holding what he-has-subdued
καὶ προείληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν
and has-seized-first quiet to-keep he-were-willing and nothing
ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ
did further to-suffice for-some of-you — to-me it-seems from
ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἴσχιστ'
which shame and cowardice and all the most-shameful-things
ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεί
having-incurred — we-would-be publicly now but attacking always
τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ'
something and the more reaching-for perhaps — he-might-call-out
ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε.
you if-indeed not altogether you-have-despaired
θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' 43
I-wonder and I if no-one of-you neither ponders nor
ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ
is-angry seeing O men Athenians the indeed beginning of-the
πολέμου γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον,
war having-been about the to-punish Philip
τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς
the but end being now about the not to-suffer badly
ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται,
at-the-hands-of Philip but indeed that at-least not he-will-stop
δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει. εἶτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν; καὶ
clear if not someone will-prevent then this will-we-wait-for and

τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἂν
triremes empty and the from the so-and-so hopes if
ἀποστείλητε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς;
you-send-off all-things to-be think-you well
44 οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινι
not will-we-embark not will-we-go-out ourselves in-part at-least some
στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ
of-soldiers our-own now if even not before not against
τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; ποῖ οὖν προσορμιούμεθ'; ἤρετό
the his(-land) will-we-sail where then will-we-put-in asked
τις. εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρά, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου
someone will-find the rotten-places O men Athenians of-the his
πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν· ἂν μέντοι
affairs itself the war if we-attempt if however
καθώμεθ' οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων
we-sit at-home abusing listening-to and blaming
ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μὴ γένηται
one-another the speakers never nothing for-us not happen
τῶν δεόντων.
of-the needful-things
45 ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἄν, οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως
wherever indeed for — I-think part some of-the city
συναποσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς
is-sent-along even-if not all also the of-the gods favor
καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται· ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν
and the of-the fortune fights-along wherever but — general
καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας
and decree empty and the from the platform hopes
ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ
you-send-out nothing for-you of-the needful-things happens but the

μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ
indeed enemies laugh the and allies are-dead with-the
δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους.
fear the such expeditions
οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕν' ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε 46
not for it-is-possible not it-is-possible one man to-be-able ever
ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πρᾶξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὑποσχέσθαι
these-things for-you to-do all as-many-as you-wish to-promise
μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν' αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν'
however and to-assert and the so-and-so to-blame and the so-and-so
ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν· ὅταν
it-is-possible the but affairs from these have-been-ruined when
γὰρ ἡγῆται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων ξένων,
for leads indeed the general of-wretched unpaid mercenaries
οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι
the-ones but about what — he does to you lying
ῥᾳδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσηθ' ὅ
easily here be you and from what — you-hear what
τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;
ever — you-happen vote what also one-must to-expect
πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 47
how then these-things will-stop when you O men Athenians
τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν
the same appoint soldiers and witnesses of-the
στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἴκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν,
generalship and judges home having-come of-the audits
ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
so-that not to-hear only you the yours selves but also
παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πράγματ' αἰσχύνης
being-present to-see now but to this has-come the affairs of-shame
ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δὶς καὶ τρὶς κρίνεται παρ'
that of-the generals each twice and thrice is-tried before

ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἅπαξ
you for death against but the enemies no-one not-even once
αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν
of-them to-fight for death dares but the of-the
ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται
kidnappers and clothes-thieves death rather they-choose
τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ'
than-the fitting of-a-criminal indeed for it-is having-been-tried
ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις.
to-die of-a-general but fighting the enemies

48 ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ
of-us and the-ones indeed going-about with Lacedaemonians say
Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς
Philip to-contrive the of-Thebans overthrow and the
πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς
constitutions to-break-up the-others and that envoys he-has-sent to
βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ
king the-others and among Illyrians cities to-fortify the-others
δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα.
and stories inventing each we-go-about

49 ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς
I but think indeed O men Athenians by the gods
ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ
him to-be-drunk with-the greatness of-the things-done and many
τοιαῦτ' ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τήν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν
such-things to-dream in the mind the both absence of-the-ones
κωλυσόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπῃρμένον,
going-to-prevent seeing and by-the things-done elated
οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὕτω γε προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν ὥστε
not however by Zeus so at-least to-choose to-act that

τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει
the most-foolish of-the-ones among us to-know what he-is-about
ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες.
to-do he most-foolish for are the story-makers
ἀλλ᾽ ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς 50
but if having-dismissed these-things that we-know that enemy
ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον
the-man and the ours us deprives and time
πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα πώποτ᾽ ἠλπίσαμέν
long has-outraged and all-things as-many-as ever we-hoped
τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν εὕρηται, καὶ
someone to-be-going-to-do for us against us have-been-found and
τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ
the rest in selves us is and-if not now we-are-willing there
πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ᾽ ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν,
to-make-war with-him here perhaps we-will-be-compelled this to-do
ἂν ταῦτ᾽ εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντ᾽ ἐσόμεθ᾽ ἐγνωκότες
if these-things we-know also the needful-things we-will-be having-decided
καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ᾽
and from-words vain freed not for what-things ever
ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι φαῦλα, ἂν μὴ προσέχητε
will-be one-must to-consider but that bad if not you-turn
τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.
the mind and the fitting-things to-do be-willing well to-know
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἱλόμην 51
I indeed then neither at-another-time ever for favor chose
λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὦ,
to-say what ever — not also to-be-going-to-benefit having-been-persuaded I-be
νῦν θ᾽ ἃ γιγνώσκω πάνθ᾽ ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος,
now and what I-think all simply nothing having-held-back
πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ᾽ ἄν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν
I-have-spoken-freely I-would-wish and — as that for-you

συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι
it-is-advantageous the best to-hear I-know so to-know
συνοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ
going-to-benefit also the-one the best having-said much for
ἂν ἥδιον εἶχον. νῦν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ
— *more-gladly I-would-be now but on uncertain being the-things from*
τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν
these for-myself going-to-come nevertheless on the to-be-going-to-benefit
ὑμῖν, ἂν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἱροῦμαι.
you if you-do these-things to-be-persuaded to-speak I-choose
νικῴη δ᾽ ὅ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.
may-prevail and what ever all is-likely to-benefit

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

On the Peace

I · KEEP THE PEACE

Demosthenes finds the Athenians confused, deliberating after events instead of before them. He reminds them that he alone opposed the Euboean expedition for Plutarchus, exposed the actor Neoptolemus as Philip's agent, and warned that the promises brought back with the oaths, Thespiae and Plataea resettled, the Phocians saved, Thebes split up, and Oropus and Euboea in exchange for Amphipolis, were empty: good fortune and taking no bribes taught him, not cleverness. The peace, however unworthy, must not now be broken, nor the Amphictyons given a pretext for a common war, which Thebans, Thessalians, and Argives would each join for private grievances. Having yielded Amphipolis to Philip and let the Carian seize the islands for the sake of quiet, it would be folly to fight all Greece over the shadow at Delphi.

Ὁρῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα 1
I-see indeed O men Athenians the present affairs
πολλὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ μόνον τῷ
much difficulty having and confusion not only by-the
πολλὰ προεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι προὔργου περὶ
many-things to-have-been-thrown-away and nothing to-be of-use about
αὐτῶν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων κατὰ
them well to-speak but also about the remaining-things in
ταὐτὰ μηδὲ καθ' ἓν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι,
the-same-way not-even in one the advantageous all to-consider
ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὧδί, τοῖς δ' ἑτέρως δοκεῖν.
but to-some indeed thus to-others and otherwise to-seem
δυσκόλου δ' ὄντος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, 2
difficult and being by-nature and hard the to-deliberate
ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ πεποιήκατ', ὦ ἄνδρες
still much harder you it have-made O men
Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν
Athenians the indeed for other all men before the

πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς
events are-accustomed to-use the to-deliberate you
δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ
but after the events from and this it-results through
πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν οἶδ' ἐγώ, τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν
all the time which know I the-one indeed in-what —
ἁμάρτητ' ἐπιτιμῶντα εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ
you-err censuring to-be-esteemed and to-seem well to-speak the
δὲ πράγματα καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλεύεσθ' ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς.
but affairs and about which you-deliberate to-escape you
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οἴομαι καὶ
not indeed but although these-things so being I-think also
πεπεικὼς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα, ἂν ἐθελήσητε τοῦ θορυβεῖν
having-persuaded myself I-have-risen if you-are-willing from-the to-clamor
καὶ φιλονικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ πόλεως
and to-wrangle having-desisted to-listen as for city
βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων προσήκει,
deliberating and such-great affairs is-fitting
ἔξειν καὶ λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν δι' ὧν καὶ
to-be-going-to-be-able both to-speak and to-advise through which both
τὰ παρόντ' ἔσται βελτίω καὶ τὰ προειμένα σωθήσεται.
the present-things will-be better and the things-thrown-away will-be-saved
4 ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδώς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ λέγειν περὶ ὧν
exactly and knowing O men Athenians the to-speak about what
αὐτὸς εἶπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὑτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πάνυ
himself said someone and about himself among you always of-the very
λυσιτελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν ὄν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν
profitable-things to-the-ones daring being so I-consider vulgar
καὶ ἐπαχθὲς ὥστε ἀνάγκην οὖσαν ὁρῶν ὅμως ἀποκνῶ.
and offensive that necessity being seeing nevertheless I-shrink

νομίζω δ' ἄμεινον ἂν ὑμᾶς περὶ ὧν νῦν ἐρῶ κρῖναι, μικρὰ
I-think and better — you about what now I-will-say to-judge a-little
τῶν πρότερόν ποτε ῥηθέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντες.
of-the-things before once said by me having-remembered
ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρῶτον μέν, ἡνίκ' ἔπειθόν 5
I for O men Athenians first indeed when were-persuading
τινες ὑμᾶς, τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττομένων,
some you the in Euboea affairs being-disturbed
βοηθεῖν Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ πόλεμον ἄδοξον καὶ δαπανηρὸν
to-help Plutarchus and war inglorious and costly
ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντεῖπον, καὶ
to-take-up first and alone having-come-forward I-spoke-against and
μόνον οὐ διεσπάσθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς λήμμασιν
only not I-was-torn-apart by the-ones for small gains
πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλ' ὑμᾶς ἁμαρτάνειν πεισάντων· καὶ χρόνου
many and great-things you to-err having-persuaded and time
βραχέος διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ προσοφλεῖν αἰσχύνην καὶ
short having-passed with the to-incur-besides disgrace and
παθεῖν οἷα τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες πώποτε
to-suffer such-things-as of-the being men none ever
πεπόνθασ' ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς ἐβοήθησαν, πάντες ὑμεῖς
have-suffered at-the-hands-of these whom they-helped all you
ἔγνωτε τήν τε τῶν τότε ταῦτα πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ
recognized the both of-the then these-things having-persuaded baseness and
τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰρηκότ' ἐμέ.
the best having-said me
πάλιν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον 6
again then O men Athenians having-seen Neoptolemus
τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ'
the actor by-the indeed of-the art pretext obtaining
ἀδείας, κακὰ δ' ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ
immunity evils but working the greatest the city and

τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα,
the-affairs from you managing for-Philip and presiding
παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὔτ᾽ ἔχθρας
having-come-forward I-said to you of-no private neither enmity
οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἕνεκα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ᾽
nor malicious-prosecution for-the-sake as from the after these-things
ἔργων γέγονεν δῆλον.
deeds has-become clear

7 καὶ οὐκέτ᾽ ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου
and no-longer in these I-will-blame the-ones for Neoptolemus
λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἷς γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ
speaking not-even one for was-there but yourselves you if for
ἐν Διονύσου τραγῳδοὺς ἐθεᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ
in the-theater-of-Dionysus tragedies you-were-watching but not about
σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν
safety and common affairs was the talk not —
οὕτως οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὔτ᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν
so neither of-him for favor nor of-me for hatred
ἠκούσατε.
you-would-have-listened

8 καίτοι τοῦτό γ᾽ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι νῦν ἅπαντας ᾐσθῆσθαι,
and-yet this at-least you I-think now all to-have-perceived
ὅτι τὴν τότ᾽ ἄφιξιν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιησάμενος
that the then journey to the enemies having-made
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τἀκεῖ χρήματ᾽ ὀφειλόμεν᾽, ὡς ἔφη, κομίσας
for the the-there money owed as he-said having-brought
δεῦρο λῃτουργεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ πλείστῳ
here to-perform-public-services and this the plea most
χρησάμενος, ὡς δεινὸν εἴ τις ἐγκαλεῖ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν
having-used how terrible if someone charges the-ones from-there
ἐνθάδε τὰς εὐπορίας ἄγουσιν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην
here the resources bringing since because-of the peace

ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν ἐνθάδ' ἐκέκτητ' οὐσίαν φανεράν,
immunity he-obtained what here he-had-acquired property visible
ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπάγων οἴχεται.
this having-turned-into-silver to him carrying-off he-has-gone
δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὧν προεῖπον ἐγὼ μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς 9
two indeed then these-things of-what I-foretold I bear-witness to-the
γεγενημένοις λόγοις ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οἷά περ ἦν,
having-been-made words rightly and justly such-as indeed they-were
ἀποφανθέν' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· τὸ τρίτον δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
declared by me the third and O men Athenians
(καὶ μόνον ἓν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν
and only one this having-said further indeed indeed about what
παρελήλυθ' ἐρῶ,) ἡνίκα τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς
I-have-come-forward I-will-speak when the oaths the about the
εἰρήνης ἀπειληφότες ἥκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις,
peace having-received we-came the envoys
τότε Θεσπιάς τινων καὶ Πλαταιὰς ὑπισχνουμένων 10
then Thespiae some and Plataea promising
οἰκισθήσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν Φίλιππον,
to-be-going-to-be-settled and the indeed Phocians — Philip
ἂν γένηται κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν
if be-becomes master to-be-going-to-save the but of-Thebans city
διοικιεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ
to-be-going-to-split-up and — Oropus to-you to-be-going-to-belong and
τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀποδοθήσεσθαι, καὶ
— Euboea in-exchange-for Amphipolis to-be-going-to-be-given-back and
τοιαύτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμούς, οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς
such hopes and deceptions by-which having-been-led-on you
οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ' ἴσως καλῶς προεῖσθε Φωκέας, οὐδὲν
neither advantageously nor perhaps honorably you-gave-up Phocians nothing
τούτων οὔτ' ἐξαπατήσας οὔτε σιγήσας ἐγὼ φανήσομαι,
of-these neither having-deceived nor having-kept-silent I will-appear

ἀλλὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ὡς οἶδ' ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτ'
but having-forewarned you as I-know that you-remember that these-things
οὔτ' οἶδα οὔτε προσδοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ τὸν λέγοντα ληρεῖν.
neither I-know nor expect I-think but the speaker to-talk-nonsense
11 ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπανθ', ὅσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον τῶν
these-things then all as-many-as I-appear better than-the
ἄλλων προορῶν, οὐδ' εἰς μίαν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔτε
others foreseeing not-even to one O men Athenians neither
δεινότητ' οὔτ' ἀλαζονείαν ἐπανοίσω, οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι
cleverness nor boastfulness I-will-refer nor I-will-pretend
δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γιγνώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν
through nothing other to-know and to-perceive-beforehand except
δι' ἃν ὑμῖν εἴπω, δύο· ἓν μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
through what to-you I-will-say two one indeed O men Athenians
δι' εὐτυχίαν, ἣν συμπάσης ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις
because-of good-fortune which all I of-the among men
οὔσης δεινότητος καὶ σοφίας ὁρῶ κρατοῦσαν·
being cleverness and wisdom see prevailing-over
12 ἕτερον δέ, προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι,
other and without-payment the affairs I-judge and reckon
καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι
and no gain — no-one could at what I have-conducted-politics
καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρτημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὅ τι ἄν
and say to-show attached right then what ever —
ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον
ever from very is the affairs the advantageous
φαίνεταί μοι. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερ' ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην
appears to-me when but on the-other as onto a-scale
ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς, οἴχεται φέρον καὶ καθείλκυκε τὸν
silver you-put it-goes carrying and has-dragged-down the

λογισμὸν ἐφ᾽ αὑτό, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ᾽ ὀρθῶς οὐδ᾽ ὑγιῶς
reckoning toward itself and not — any-longer rightly nor soundly
ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο.
the-one this having-done about nothing would-reckon
ἓν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημὶ δεῖν, ὅπως, 13
one indeed then I first to-be-secured I-say to-be-necessary that
εἴτε συμμάχους εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ᾽ ἄλλο τι βούλεταί τις
whether allies or contribution or other something wishes someone
κατασκευάζειν τῇ πόλει, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην μὴ λύων
to-arrange for-the city the existing peace not breaking
τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐχ ὡς θαυμαστὴν οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἀξίαν οὖσαν ὑμῶν·
this he-will-do not as wonderful nor as worthy being of-you
ἀλλ᾽ ὁποία τίς ποτ᾽ ἐστὶν αὕτη, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον
but of-what-sort some ever is this not to-have-been-made rather
εἶχε τοῖς πράγμασι καιρὸν ἢ γεγενημένη νῦν δι᾽ ἡμᾶς
had for-the affairs fitness than having-been-made now by us
λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γὰρ προείμεθα, ὧν ὑπαρχόντων τότ᾽
to-be-broken much for we-have-thrown-away which being-present then
ἂν ἦ νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥᾴων ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος.
— than now safer and easier would-be for-us the war
δεύτερον δ᾽, ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 14
second and to-see that not we-will-bring O men Athenians
τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας
the having-gathered these and claiming Amphictyons
νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς
now to-be into necessity and pretext of-common war against
ἡμᾶς. ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ γένοιθ᾽ ἡμῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον πάλιν
us I for if should-arise for-us against Philip again
πόλεμος δι᾽ Ἀμφίπολιν ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημ᾽ ἴδιον,
war because-of Amphipolis or some such charge private

οὗ μὴ μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ μηδ' Ἀργεῖοι μηδὲ Θηβαῖοι,
of-which not share Thessalians nor Argives nor Thebans
οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν οἴομαι τούτων οὐδένας πολεμῆσαι,
not — for-us I-think of-these none to-make-war
15 καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν
and of-all least and to-me let-not shout-down no-one before
ἀκοῦσαι) Θηβαίους, οὐχ ὡς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν, οὐδ'
to-hear Thebans not as kindly they-are-disposed to-us nor
ὡς οὐκ ἂν χαρίζοιντο Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς,
as not — they-would-gratify Philip but they-know exactly
εἰ καὶ πάνυ φησί τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, ὅτι,
if even very calls someone them dull to-be that
εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν κακὰ
if will-arise war against you for-them the indeed evils
πάνθ' ἕξουσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος
all they-will-have themselves on-the and goods lying-in-wait another
καθεδεῖται. οὔκουν προοῖντ' ἂν αὑτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ
will-sit not-then would-throw — themselves into this not
κοινῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οὔσης τοῦ πολέμου.
common the beginning and the cause being of-the war
16 οὐδέ γ' εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμήσαιμεν
nor at-least if again against the Thebans we-should-make-war
δι' Ὠρωπὸν ἤ τι τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς
because-of Oropus or something of-the private-things nothing — us
παθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κἀκείνοις τοὺς βοηθοῦντας
to-suffer I-think and for for-us and-for-them the-ones helping
ἂν οἶμαι, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλοι, βοηθεῖν,
— I-think into the home(-land) if someone should-invade to-help
οὐ συνεπιστρατεύσειν οὐδετέροις. καὶ γὰρ αἱ συμμαχίαι
not to-be-going-to-join-in-invading for-neither and for the alliances

τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον, ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν ἄν
this have the manner of-which also might-take-thought —
τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν·
someone and the matter by-nature such is
οὐκ ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστός ἐστιν εὔνους οὔθ' ἡμῖν 17
not to the equal(-point) each is well-disposed neither to-us
οὔτε Θηβαίοις, σῶς τ' εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων,
nor to-Thebans safe both to-be and to-master the others
ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν εἶναι πάντες ἂν βούλοιντ' ἕνεχ' αὑτῶν,
but safe indeed to-be all — would-wish for-the-sake-of themselves
κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς ἑτέρους δεσπότας ὑπάρχειν αὑτῶν
having-conquered but the others masters to-be of-themselves
οὐδὲ εἷς. τί οὖν ἡγοῦμαι φοβερὸν καὶ τί φυλάξασθαι
not-even one what then I-consider fearful and what to-guard-against
δεῖν ἡμᾶς; μὴ κοινὴν πρόφασιν καὶ κοινὸν ἔγκλημ'
to-be-necessary us lest common pretext and common charge
ὁ μέλλων πόλεμος πρὸς ἅπαντας λάβῃ.
the coming war against all take
εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται 18
if for Argives indeed and Messenians and Megalopolitans
καί τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὅσοι ταὐτὰ
and some of-the remaining Peloponnesians as-many-as the-same-things
τούτοις φρονοῦσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν
as-these think because-of the with Lacedaemonians our
ἐπικηρυκείαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαί
negotiation hostilely will-be-disposed and the to-seem to-accept
τι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἔχουσι μέν,
something of-the by-them done Thebans and are indeed
ὡς λέγουσιν, ἀπεχθῶς, ἔτι δ' ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν,
as they-say hostilely further and more-hostilely will-be

ὅτι τοὺς παρ᾽ ἐκείνων φεύγοντας σῴζομεν καὶ πάντα
because the-ones from them exiled we-shelter and every
τρόπον τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικνύμεθ᾽ αὐτοῖς,
way the ill-will we-show to-them
19 Θετταλοὶ δ᾽, ὅτι τοὺς Φωκέων φυγάδας σῴζομεν,
Thessalians and because the of-Phocians exiles we-shelter
Φίλιππος δ᾽, ὅτι κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς
Philip and because we-prevent him to-share the
ἀμφικτυονίας, φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων
amphictyony I-fear lest all about the private
ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος κοινὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν
each being-angry common against us bring the
πόλεμον, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα προστησάμενοι,
war the of-the Amphictyons decrees having-put-forward
εἶτ᾽ ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς,
then they-be-drawn-in each beyond the advantage for-themselves
ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ Φωκέας.
as also about Phocians
20 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι νῦν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ
you-know for surely this that now Thebans and Philip and
Θετταλοί, οὐχὶ ταὔθ᾽ ἕκαστοι μάλιστ᾽ ἐσπουδακότες,
Thessalians not the-same-things each most having-been-eager-for
ταὐτὰ πάντες ἔπραξαν· οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν μὲν
the-same-things all did for-instance Thebans — indeed
Φίλιππον παρελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους οὐκ ἐδύναντο
Philip to-pass and to-seize the passes not were-able
κωλῦσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν αὑτοῖς πεπονημένων ὕστατον
to-prevent nor at-least of-the by-themselves toiled-for-things last
ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν·
having-come the glory to-have

νυνὶ γὰρ Θηβαίοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι 21
now for for-Thebans toward indeed the the land to-have-recovered
πέπρακταί τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἴσχιστα· εἰ
has-been-achieved something toward but honor and glory most-shamefully if
γὰρ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιππος, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς κέρδος εἶναι.
for not had-passed Philip nothing — for-them gain would-be
ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ
these-things but not they-wished but by-the — Orchomenus and
τὴν Κορώνειαν λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, πάντα
— Coronea to-take to-desire not to-be-able but all
ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν.
these-things they-endured
Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' 22
Philip then some indeed surely dare to-say that not-even
ἐβούλετο Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦναι,
he-wished for-Thebans Orchomenus and Coronea to-hand-over
ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἐρρῶσθαι λέγω,
but he-was-compelled I but to-these indeed farewell say
ἐκεῖνο δ' οἶδ', ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλόν γε ταῦτ' ἔμελ' αὐτῷ ἢ
that but I-know that not more at-least these-things concerned him than
τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου
the passes to-take he-wished and the glory of-the war
τοῦ δοκεῖν δι' αὑτὸν κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια
of-the to-seem through himself decision to-have-taken and the Pythian-games
θεῖναι δι' αὑτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν ὧν μάλιστ' ἐγλίχετο.
to-hold through himself and these-things were what most he-craved
Θετταλοὶ δέ γ' οὐδέτερ' ἐβούλοντο τούτων, οὔτε 23
Thessalians and at-least neither wished of-these neither
Θηβαίους οὔτε τὸν Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ
Thebans nor — Philip great to-become these-things for
πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦντο), τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν
all against themselves they-thought the pylaea but they-desired

καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν, κύριοι
and of-the at Delphi advantages two masters
γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ τούτων γλίχεσθαι τάδε συγκατέπραξαν.
to-become by-the and these to-crave these-things they-helped-accomplish
τῶν τοίνυν ἰδίων ἕνεχ' εὑρήσεθ' ἕκαστον πολλὰ
of-the then private-things for-the-sake you-will-find each many-things
προηγμένον ὧν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο πρᾶξαι. τοῦτο μέντοι,
having-been-led-into of-which nothing he-wished to-do this however
τοῦτ' ἔστιν φυλακτέον ἡμῖν.
this is to-be-guarded-against for-us
24 τὰ κελευόμεν' ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα
the-things being-ordered us then it-is-necessary to-do these-things
φοβουμένους; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω.
fearing and you these-things bid much at-least indeed I-lack
ἀλλ' ὡς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται
but that neither we-will-do nothing unworthy of-us selves nor will-be
πόλεμος, νοῦν δὲ δόξομεν πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν,
war sense and we-will-seem to-all to-have and the just-things to-say
τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν ποιεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως ὁτιοῦν
this I-think to-be-necessary to-do to but the-ones boldly anything-at-all
οἰομένους ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν
thinking to-endure to-be-necessary and not foreseeing the
πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς Θηβαίους
war those-things I-wish to-reckon we Thebans
ἐῶμεν ἔχειν Ὠρωπόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ἡμᾶς, κελεύσας
allow to-hold Oropus and if someone should-ask us bidding
εἰπεῖν τἀληθῆ, διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ πολεμῶμεν, φαῖμεν ἄν.
to-say the-truth because-of what so-that not we-may-make-war we-would-say —
25 καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως
and to-Philip now according-to the treaty Amphipolis
παρακεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ Καρδιανοὺς ἐῶμεν ἔξω
we-have-yielded and Cardians we-allow outside

Χερρονησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς
of-Chersonesites the others to-be-ranked and the Carian the
νήσους καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον, καὶ
islands to-seize Chios and Cos and Rhodes and
Βυζαντίους κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
Byzantines to-bring-in the ships clear that the from the
εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες
peace quiet of-more goods cause to-be considering
ἢ τὸ προσκρούειν καὶ φιλονικεῖν περὶ τούτων. οὐκοῦν
than the to-clash and to-wrangle about these-things therefore
εὖηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἑκάστους καθ' ἕν' οὕτω
foolish and utterly wretched toward each by one so
προσενηνεγμένους περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων,
having-behaved about the private and most-vital
πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι.
toward all about the at Delphi shadow now to-make-war

DEMOSTHENES

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β

Second Philippic

Speeches against Philip, Demosthenes says, are just but useless: Philip acts while the speakers, fearing the people's displeasure, do not propose. Master of Thermopylae and Phocis after the peace, Philip served Thebes, not Athens, because he knew Athens would not sell the Greeks for any private gain, as its ancestors refused the king's offer brought by Alexander, while the Thebans and Argives, whose ancestors marched with the barbarian or did not resist him, could be bought. His claim of justice fails, since he bids Sparta let Messene go yet gave Orchomenus and Coronea to Thebes, and he was not forced, since he now sends mercenaries and money to the Messenians and Argives. He plots against Athens because he knows it is his only rival and that it hates him justly.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται περὶ ὧν 1
when O men Athenians speeches are-made about what
Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀεὶ τοὺς
Philip does and forces against the peace always the
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ
for us speeches both just and humane I-see
φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέοντα
appearing and to-speak indeed all always the needful-things
δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ'
seeming the-ones accusing Philip happening but
οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ' ὧν εἵνεκα
nothing so word to-say of-the needful-things nor of-which for-the-sake
ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον·
these-things to-hear worthwhile
ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ 2
but to this already advanced happen all the
πράγματα τῇ πόλει, ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ
affairs for-the city that by-as-much-as someone — more and
φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην
more-clearly convicts Philip both the with you peace

παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα,
transgressing and against-all the Greeks plotting
τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλεῦσαι χαλεπώτερον.
by-so-much the what one-must to-do to-advise harder
3 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς
cause and of-these that all O men Athenians the-ones
πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐχὶ
to-encroach seeking by-deed to-prevent and by-actions not
λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων
by-words it-being-necessary first indeed we the-ones coming-forward from-these
μὲν ἀφέσταμεν καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς
indeed we-have-shrunk both to-propose and to-advise the toward
ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δ', ὡς δεινά, καὶ
you hatred fearing what-things he-does but how terrible and
τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα· ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν
such-things we-go-through then you the-ones sitting how indeed
ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε,
— *you-could-speak just words and speaking another understand*
ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνον
better than-Philip you-have-prepared how but you-could-prevent — him
πράττειν ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὧν ἐστι νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε.
to-do these-things in which he-is now altogether idly you-are
4 συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμ' ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν
results indeed thing necessary I-think and perhaps natural in
οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ'
what each spend-time and about what are-zealous these-things
ἄμεινον ἑκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ
better for-each are for-him indeed the actions for-you but the
λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερ' ὑμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ,
words if indeed then also now to-speak more-justly for-you suffices
ῥᾴδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι·
easy and toil none is-attached to-the matter

εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν 5
if but how the present-things will-be-set-right one-must to-consider
καὶ μὴ προελθόντ' ἔτι ῥᾳστέρω λήσει πάνθ' ἡμᾶς,
and not having-advanced still farther will-escape all-things us
μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ'
nor will-stand-over greatness of-power against which not-even
ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον
to-rise-up we-will-be-able not the same manner which before
τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι καὶ
of-the to-deliberate but both for-the speakers all and
τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν
for-the listening you the best and the saving(-things) than-the
ῥᾳστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.
easiest and the most-pleasant to-be-preferred
πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ, ὁρῶν 6
first indeed if someone O men Athenians is-confident seeing
ἡλίκος ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδέν'
how-great already and of-how-much master is Philip and no
οἴεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
thinks danger to-bring this to-the city nor against you
πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων
all to-be-prepared I-wonder and to-ask all
ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ
alike of-you I-wish the reasonings to-hear of-me through
βραχέων, δι' οὓς τἀναντί' ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν
brief because-of which the-opposite to-me has-occurred to-expect
καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον· ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν
and through which enemy I-consider Philip so-that if indeed
ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ
I seem better to-foresee me you-may-obey if but the-ones
θαρροῦντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθῆσθε.
confident and having-trusted him to-these you-may-join

7 ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι· τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος
I then O men Athenians reckon of-what — Philip
κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; πυλῶν καὶ τῶν
master first after the peace became of-Thermopylae and of-the
ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο;
among Phocians affairs what then how these he-used
ἃ Θηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν
what for-Thebans is-advantageous and not what for-the city to-do
προείλετο. τί δήποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ
he-chose why ever because toward greed I-think and
τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων,
the all-things under himself to-make the reasonings examining
καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν,
and not toward peace nor quiet nor just nothing
8 εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τοῖς
he-saw this rightly that to-the indeed our city and to-the
ἤθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ
characters the our nothing — he-could-show so-great nor
ποιήσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ'
could-do by which persuaded you of-the private for-the-sake
ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προοῖσθε,
benefit of-the other some Greeks to-him would-abandon
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν
but both of-the just account making and the attaching
ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει
disgrace to-the deed shunning and all-things which are-fitting
προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἄν τι τοιοῦτ'
foreseeing alike you-will-oppose if something such
ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε.
he-attempts to-do as — if at-war you-should-happen-to-be

τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν 9
the and Thebans he-thought which-very happened for the-things
ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐάσειν ὅπως βούλεται
for-themselves happening the rest to-be-going-to-allow as he-wishes
πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ
to-do himself and not only to-be-going-to-oppose and
διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς
to-be-going-to-hinder but even to-be-going-to-join-campaign if them
κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους
he-bids and now the Messenians and the Argives
ταὔθ' ὑπειληφὼς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
the-same-things having-supposed well he-treats which also greatest is
καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
of you praise O men Athenians
κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν 10
you-have-been-judged for from these the deeds alone of-the
πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων
all for-no — gain the common rights of-the Greeks
προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ'
to-give-up nor to-barter for-no favor nor
ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν. καὶ ταῦτ'
benefit the toward the Greeks goodwill and these-things
εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπείληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων
reasonably both about you so he-has-supposed and about Argives
καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόνθ' ὁρῶν,
and Thebans as otherwise not only at the present looking
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος.
but also the-things before these reckoning
εὑρίσκει γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους 11
he-finds for I-think and hears the indeed your
προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων
ancestors it-being-possible for-them the remaining to-rule Greeks

ὥστ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους
so-as themselves to-obey the-king not only not having-tolerated
τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἡνίκ᾽ ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων
the proposal this when came Alexander the of-these
πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν
ancestor about these herald but also the land
ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας,
to-leave having-chosen and to-suffer anything-at-all having-endured
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ᾽ ἃ πάντες ἀεὶ
and after these-things having-done these-things which all always
γλίχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ᾽ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ
crave to-tell worthily but no-one to-tell has-been-able wherefore
κἀγὼ παραλείψω, δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τἀκείνων ἔργα
I-too will-pass-over justly are for greater the-their deeds
ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων
than as by-the word someone — could-tell the and of-Thebans
καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ
and of-Argives ancestors the-ones indeed having-campaigned-with the
βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ᾽ οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας.
barbarian the-others and not having-opposed

12 οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας,
he-knows then both privately the profitable going-to-love
οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκεψομένους.
not what ever will-benefit in-common the Greeks going-to-consider
ἡγεῖτ᾽ οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἕλοιτο, φίλους ἐπὶ τοῖς
he-thought then if indeed you he-should-choose as-friends on the
δικαίοις αἱρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ᾽ ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς
just(-terms) to-be-going-to-choose if but to-them he-attached accomplices
ἕξειν τῆς αὑτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνους
to-be-going-to-have of-the his-own greed because-of these-things them
ἀνθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἱρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ
instead-of you both then and now he-chooses not for indeed

τριήρεις γ᾽ ὁρᾷ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· οὐδ᾽ ἐν
triremes at-least he-sees more for-them than for-you being nor in
τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν᾽ ἀρχὴν εὕρηκε, τῆς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
the inland some empire has-found of-the and on the sea
καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ᾽ ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους
and of-the trading-posts has-withdrawn nor forgets the words
οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ᾽ αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.
nor the promises on which the peace he-obtained
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί᾽, εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ᾽ εἰδώς, 13
but by Zeus might-say someone — that all-things these knowing
οὐ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε
not of-greed for-the-sake nor of-what I accuse then
ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερα τοὺς Θηβαίους
these-things he-did but by-the juster the Thebans
ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν
than you to-claim but this also only of-all the
λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην
arguments not it-is-possible for-him now to-say the-one for Messene
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων, πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ
Lacedaemonians to-let-go bidding how — Orchomenus and
Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν
Coronea then to-Thebans having-handed-over by-the just to-think
ταῦτ᾽ εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;
these-things to-be to-have-done could-plead
ἀλλ᾽ ἐβιάσθη νὴ Δία (ταῦτα γάρ ἐσθ᾽ ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ 14
but he-was-forced by Zeus this for is remaining and against
γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁπλιτῶν
intention of-the Thessalian cavalry and of-the Theban hoplites
ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν
in middle having-been-caught he-conceded these-things fine therefore

φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν,
they-say indeed to-be-about toward the Thebans him suspiciously to-be
καὶ λογοποιοῦσιν περιόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ.
and spread-stories going-around some that Elatea he-will-fortify
15 ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γ', ὡς ἐγὼ
he but these-things indeed delays and will-delay at-least as I
κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς
judge to-the Messenians but and the Argives against the
Λακεδαιμονίους συλλαμβάνειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους
Lacedaemonians to-assist not delays but both mercenaries
εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην
sends-in and money dispatches and force great
ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς
having himself is expected the indeed being enemies
Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς
of-Thebans Lacedaemonians he-destroys whom but ruined himself
πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σῴζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν;
before Phocians now saves and who — these-things would-believe
16 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα
I indeed for not — think Philip neither if the first-things
βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν, οὔτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίγνωσκε
having-been-forced unwilling he-did nor — if now he-were-giving-up
Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'
Thebans to-the their enemies continually to-oppose but
ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖν' ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι
from what now he-does those-too from choice clear he-is
ποιήσας, ἐκ πάντων δ', ἄν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάνθ' ἃ
having-done from all and if one rightly observes all-things which
πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων.
he-contrives against the city arranging

καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν᾽ αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ 17
and this from necessity in-a-way some for-him now at-least indeed
συμβαίνει. λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ᾽
happens reckon for to-rule he-wishes of-this and
ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπείληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν
rivals only has-supposed you he-has-done-wrong long
ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ·
already time and this himself best is-conscious-of in-himself
οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τἄλλ᾽
by-what for being yours he-holds by-these all the-rest
ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν
safely he-possesses if for Amphipolis and Potidaea
προεῖτο, οὐδ᾽ ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως ἡγεῖται.
he-gave-up not-even — at-home to-stay securely he-thinks
ἀμφότερ᾽ οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ 18
both-things then he-knows both himself against-you plotting and
ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων,
you perceiving well to-think and you supposing
δικαίως αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζει, καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαί
justly him to-hate he-thinks and is-exasperated to-be-going-to-suffer
τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθάσῃ
something expecting if occasion you-get if not he-forestall
ποιήσας πρότερος.
having-done first
διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει 19
because-of these-things he-is-awake he-stands-over against the city he-courts
τινάς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταὐτὰ
some Thebans and of-Peloponnesians the-ones the-same-things
βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντ᾽
wishing as-these whom through indeed greed the present
ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν
to-be-going-to-be-content he-thinks through but dullness of-characters of-the-things

μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε
after these nothing to-be-going-to-foresee and-yet to-ones-prudent at-least
καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ
even moderately clear examples it-is-possible to-see which both
πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη,
to Messenians and to Argives for-me to-say it-happened
βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν εἰρῆσθαι.
better and perhaps also to you is to-have-been-said

II · DISTRUST, THE FREE CITY'S WALL

Demosthenes repeats what he told the Messenians: the Olynthians, given Anthemus and Potidaea, would not have believed they would be betrayed and sold; the Thessalians, freed from their tyrants and given Nicaea and Magnesia, now have a council of ten. Distrust is the one safeguard free peoples have against a king or tyrant. The Messenians applauded and will still not keep away from Philip. The Athenians, who know they are plotted against, prefer the pleasure of the moment. Those who brought the promises that won the peace should be summoned: he protested then and was called a peevish water-drinker. Whoever gave up the Phocians and Thermopylae opened the road to Attica.

20 'πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ',' ἔφην, 'ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσχερῶς
how for think-you I-said O men Messenians with-displeasure
ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου
to-hear Olynthians if someone something said against Philip
κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς
in those the times when Anthemus indeed to-them
ἀφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς
he-ceded which all the former of-Macedonia kings
ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτείδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων
laid-claim-to Potidaea and he-was-giving the of-Athenians
ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς
colonists expelling and the indeed enmity the toward

ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῄρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει
us himself had-taken-on the land and to-them had-given
καρποῦσθαι; ἆρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι,
to-enjoy then to-expect them such-things to-be-going-to-suffer
ἢ λέγοντος ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε;'
or speaking — someone to-believe think-you
'ἀλλ' ὅμως,' ἔφην ἐγώ, 'μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν 21
but nevertheless said I short time the others'(-land)
καρπωσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὑτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται,
having-enjoyed long(-time) of-the their-own by him are-deprived
αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
shamefully having-been-expelled not having-been-conquered only but also
προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς
betrayed by one-another and sold not for safe
ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὗται λίαν ὁμιλίαι.'
for-the constitutions the with the tyrants these too-close associations
'τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἆρ' οἴεσθ',' ἔφην, 'ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς 22
what and the Thessalians then think-you I-said when for-them the
τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν
tyrants he-was-expelling and again Nicaea and Magnesia
ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν
was-giving to-expect the established now decadarchy
ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα,
to-be-going-to-be among them or the-one the pylaea having-restored
τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι
this the private their revenues to-be-going-to-take-away not is
ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονεν ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι.'
this but indeed has-happened this and for-all it-is-possible to-know
'ὑμεῖς δ',' ἔφην ἐγώ, 'διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε 23
you and said I giving indeed and promising you-see
Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον
Philip having-deceived but already and having-cheated

ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νὴ
you-pray-against if you-are-wise indeed to-see it-is-possible then by
Δί᾽,᾽ ἔφην ἐγώ, ‘παντοδαπὰ εὑρημένα ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς
Zeus said I all-kinds-of-things invented for-the cities for
φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ
guarding and safety such-as palisades and walls and
τάφροι καὶ τἄλλ᾽ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.᾽
ditches and the-rest as-many-as such
24 ‘καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα καὶ δαπάνης
and these indeed are all handmade and of-expense
προσδεῖται· ἓν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων
need one but some common the nature of-the well thinking
ἐν αὑτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μέν ἐστ᾽
in itself possesses safeguard which for-all indeed is
ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς
good and saving most but for-the peoples against
τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην
the tyrants what then is this distrust this
φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σῴζητε, οὐδὲν
guard to-this cling if this you-keep nothing
μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτ᾽;᾽ ἔφην.
not terrible you-will-suffer what do-you-seek I-said
25 ‘ἐλευθερίαν; εἶτ᾽ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ
freedom then not you-see Philip most-alien to-this
καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος
even the titles having king for and tyrant
ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ᾽
every enemy to-freedom and to-laws opposed not will-you-guard
ὅπως,᾽ ἔφην, ‘μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην
that I-said not from-war seeking to-be-freed master
εὕρητε;᾽
you-find

ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς 26
these-things having-heard they and applauding as rightly
λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων
it-is-said and many other speeches from the envoys
καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν
both being-present me and again later as it-seems nothing
μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ᾽ ὧν
more will-keep-away from-the of-Philip friendship nor from-what
ἐπαγγέλλεται.
he-promises
καὶ οὐ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων 27
and not this is strange if Messenians and of-Peloponnesians
τινὲς παρ᾽ ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ᾽ ὁρῶσί τι πράξουσιν,
some against what by-the reasoning best they-see something will-do
ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων
but you the-ones both understanding yourselves and the speakers
ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς περιστοιχίζεσθε, ἐκ
hearing us that you-are-plotted-against that you-are-netted-in from
τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι λήσεθ᾽, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ᾽
the nothing now to-do you-will-escape-notice as to-me it-seems all-things
ὑπομείναντες· οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχ᾽ ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥᾳστώνη
having-endured so the immediate pleasure and ease
μεῖζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ᾽ ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.
more has-power than-the-thing ever later to-benefit being-about
περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἡμῖν πρακτέων καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον 28
about indeed then the-things by-us to-be-done by you selves later
βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονῆτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ
you-will-deliberate if you-are-wise what but now having-answered the
δέοντ᾽ ἂν εἴητ᾽ ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ᾽ ἤδη λέξω.
needful-things — you-would-be having-voted these-things now I-will-tell

ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας
it-was indeed then just O men Athenians the-ones having-brought
τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπείσθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν
the promises on which you-were-persuaded to-make the
εἰρήνην, καλεῖν·
peace to-summon
29 οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄν ποθ' ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ'
neither for myself — ever would-have-endured to-serve-as-envoy nor
ἂν ὑμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα
— you I-know that would-have-stopped making-war if such-things
πράξειν τυχόντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾠεσθε· ἀλλ' ἦν
to-be-going-to-do having-obtained peace Philip you-had-thought but were
πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ'
far from-these standing the then said-things and again at-least
ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς
others to-summon whom the-ones when I having-been-made already the
εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς
peace from the later having-come embassy the for the
ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ
oaths having-perceived being-cheated the city foretold and
διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἴων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας,
protested and not allowed to-give-up Thermopylae nor Phocians
30 λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ
saying that I indeed water drinking naturally perverse and
δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ εὔξαισθ'
peevish am some man Philip but what-very you-would-pray
ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἂν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιὰς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς
— you if be-passes will-do and Thespiae indeed and Plataea
τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ
will-fortify Thebans and will-stop from-the insolence Chersonese and
τοῖς αὑτοῦ τέλεσιν διορύξει, Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν
at-the his-own expense will-dig-through Euboea and and — Oropus

ἀντ᾽ Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντ᾽
in-exchange-for Amphipolis to-you will-give these for all
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύετ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ῥηθέντα,
on the platform here you-remember I-know that having-been-said
καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μεμνῆσθαι.
although being not clever the-ones doing-wrong to-remember
καὶ τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς 31
and the of-all most-shameful also for-the descendants upon the
ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω
hopes the same peace to-be this you-voted so
τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν
completely you-were-led-on why indeed these-things now I-say and to-summon
φημὶ δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τἀληθῆ μετὰ
I-say to-be-necessary these I by the gods the-truth with
παρρησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι·
frankness will-tell to you and not will-hide
οὐχ ἵν᾽ εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου 32
not so-that into abuse having-fallen for-myself indeed on equal(-terms)
λόγον παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν
hearing with you I-may-make for-the-ones and me having-clashed-with
ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ νῦν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι
from beginning also now I-may-provide pretext of-the again something
λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ᾽ ἵν᾽ ὡς ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ·
to-take from Philip nor so-that as idly I-may-babble
ἀλλ᾽ οἴομαί ποθ᾽ ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἃ Φίλιππος πράττει
but I-think sometime you to-be-going-to-pain what Philip does
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί·
more than the-things now
τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμ᾽ ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην ἂν 33
the for matter I-see advancing and not I-would-wish —
εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη.
to-guess rightly I-fear but lest too near be this already

ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν
when then no-longer for-you to-be-heedless possibility becomes of-the
συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἀκούηθ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστιν
happenings nor you-hear that these-things against you are
ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ
from-me nor from-the so-and-so but yourselves all see and
εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω.
well know angry and harsh you to-be-going-to-be I-think
34 φοβοῦμαι δὴ μή, τῶν πρέσβεων σεσιωπηκότων ἐφ' οἷς
I-fear indeed lest the envoys having-kept-silent about what
αὑτοῖς συνίσασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν
in-themselves they-are-conscious having-taken-bribes for-the-ones to-set-right
τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων
something trying of-the-things through these lost
τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ
the from you anger to-fall-into it-happen I-see for how the
πόλλ' ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ
most some not on the guilty but on the-ones under
χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.
hand most the anger venting
35 ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ
while then still delays and is-gathering the affairs and
κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόθ'
we-hear one-another each of-you although exactly knowing
ὅμως ἐπαναμνῆσαι βούλομαι, τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας
nevertheless to-remind I-wish who the-one Phocians having-persuaded
καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς
and Thermopylae to-give-up of-which having-become he master of-the
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος
to — Attica road and of-the to Peloponnese master
γέγονεν, καὶ πεποίηχ' ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ
has-become and has-made for-you not about the rights nor about

τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν
the abroad affairs to-be the deliberation but about the-things in
τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει
the land and the against — Attica war which will-pain
μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὰν παρῇ, γέγονεν δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
indeed each when it-comes was-born but on that the day
εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ 36
if for not you-had-been-cheated then you nothing — would-be for-the
πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δήπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν
city trouble neither for with-ships surely having-prevailed into —
Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἄν ποτε στόλῳ Φίλιππος, οὔτε
Attica would-have-come — ever with-an-armament Philip nor
πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ
by-land marching beyond — Thermopylae and Phocians but either
τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν
the just-things — he-would-be-doing and the peace keeping quiet
εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι'
he-would-keep or at-once — would-be in a-like war because-of
ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν.
which then the peace he-desired
ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνῆσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, 37
these-things then as indeed to-remind now sufficiently has-been-said
ὡς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθείη μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτ', ὦ
as but — would-be-examined most exactly not may-it-happen O
πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην ἔγωγ' ἄν, οὐδ' εἰ
all gods no-one for would-wish I — not-even if
δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ
deserving he-is to-perish with the of-all danger and
τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.
the loss penalty to-undergo

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ

On the Chersonese

The speeches, Demosthenes says, are all about Diopeithes, whom the Athenians may punish whenever they wish, while Philip, in the eleventh month of his campaign in Thrace with a great force near the Hellespont, is the urgent matter. Philip broke the peace long before Diopeithes sailed, so the choice is not between war and peace but whether to defend themselves, unless his opponents mean that Philip does no wrong so long as he keeps off Attica and the Piraeus. Those who slander Diopeithes want the city's one force dissolved, which is what Philip wants, since he wins by being first with a standing army. If he besieges Byzantium after the etesian winds, or moves on the Chersonese, Chalcis, or Megara, nothing will be ready. They should keep Diopeithes' force, support it with money, and raise another.

Ἔδει μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας μήτε 1
it-ought indeed O men Athenians the speakers all neither
πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα μήτε πρὸς χάριν,
for hatred to-make speech any nor for favor
ἀλλ' ὃ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος ἡγεῖτο, τοῦτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι,
but what best each considered this to-declare
ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων
otherwise both and about common affairs and great
ὑμῶν βουλευομένων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονικίᾳ,
you deliberating since but some the indeed through-contentiousness
τὰ δ' ἠτινιδήποτ' αἰτίᾳ προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμᾶς, ὦ
the and for-whatever cause are-led to-speak you O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα τἄλλ'
men Athenians the many it-is-necessary all the-rest
ἀφελόντας, ἃ τῇ πόλει νομίζετε συμφέρειν, ταῦτα
having-removed what for-the city you-think to-be-advantageous these-things
καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν.
both to-vote and to-do

2 ἡ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων
the indeed then concern about the in Chersonese affairs
ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἣν ἑνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ
is and the expedition which eleventh month this-here
Φίλιππος ἐν Θρᾴκῃ ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλεῖστοι
Philip in Thrace makes of-the but speeches the most
περὶ ὧν Διοπείθης πράττει καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν εἴρηνται.
about what Diopeithes does and intends to-do have-been-spoken
ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα μέν τις αἰτιᾶταί τινα τούτων, οὓς
I but as-many-things indeed someone charges anyone of-these whom
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ὅταν βούλησθε,
by the laws in your(-power) it-is whenever you-wish
κολάζειν, κἂν ἤδη δοκῇ κἂν ἐπισχοῦσιν περὶ αὐτῶν
to-punish both-if now it-seems and-if having-waited about them
σκοπεῖν ἐγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ πάνυ δεῖ περὶ
to-consider to-be-possible I-think and not very it-is-necessary about
τούτων οὔτ' ἔμ' οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδέν' ἰσχυρίζεσθαι·
these neither me nor another any to-insist
3 ὅσα δ' ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμει
as-many-things but enemy being to-the city and with-force
πολλῇ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ὢν πειρᾶται προλαβεῖν, κἂν
great around Hellespont being tries to-seize-first and-if
ἅπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκέθ' ἕξομεν σῶσαι, περὶ τούτων
once we-are-late no-longer we-will-be-able to-save about these
δ' οἶμαι τὴν ταχίστην συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ
but I-think the quickest to-be-advantageous both to-have-deliberated and
παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις
to-have-prepared and not by-the about the other-things uproars
καὶ ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.
and the accusations from these to-run-away

πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθότων λέγεσθαι παρ' 4
many-things and wondering-at of-the-things accustomed to-be-said among
ὑμῖν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τεθαύμακα, ὃ
you than-nothing less O men Athenians I-have-wondered what
καὶ πρώην τινὸς ἤκουσ' εἰπόντος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα
also lately someone I-heard saying in the council that then
δεῖ τὸν συμβουλεύοντα ἢ πολεμεῖν ἁπλῶς ἢ τὴν
it-is-necessary the adviser either to-make-war simply or the
εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμβουλεύειν.
peace to-keep to-advise
ἔστι δέ, εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος ἄγει καὶ μήτε τῶν 5
it-is and if indeed quiet Philip keeps and neither of-the
ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην μηδὲν μήτε συσκευάζεται
ours holds against the peace nothing nor stirs-up
πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ'
all men against us no-longer one-must to-speak but
ἁπλῶς εἰρήνην ἀκτέον, καὶ τά γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἕτοιμ'
simply peace must-be-kept and the-things at-least from you ready
ὑπάρχονθ' ὁρῶ· εἰ δ' ἃ μὲν ὠμόσαμεν καὶ ἐφ' οἷς
being I-see if but what indeed we-swore and on which(-terms)
τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιησάμεθα,
the peace we-made
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ γεγραμμένα κεῖται, φαίνεται δ' ἀπ' 6
it-is-possible to-see and written lie appears but from
ἀρχῆς ὁ Φίλιππος, πρὶν Διοπείθην ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς
beginning — Philip before Diopeithes to-sail-out and the
κληρούχους, οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον,
settlers whom now they-blame to-have-made the war
πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως εἰληφώς, ὑπὲρ ὧν
many-things indeed of-the ours unjustly having-taken about which
ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμέτερ' ἐγκαλοῦντα κύρια ταυτί, πάντα δὲ
decrees yours complaining valid these-here all and

τὸν χρόνον συνεχῶς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ
the time continually the-things of-the other Greeks and
βαρβάρων λαμβάνων καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος, τί
barbarians taking and against us stirring-up what
τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς πολεμεῖν ἢ ἄγειν εἰρήνην δεῖ;
this they-say that to-make-war or to-keep peace one-must
7 οὐ γὰρ αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ'
not for choice is for-us of-the matter but
ὑπολείπεται τὸ δικαιότατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν ἔργων,
remains the most-just and most-necessary of-the deeds
ὃ ὑπερβαίνουσιν ἑκόντες οὗτοι. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο;
which pass-over willingly these what then is this
ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πρότερον πολεμοῦνθ' ἡμῖν. πλὴν
to-defend-ourselves-against the-one first making-war on-us except
εἰ τοῦτο λέγουσι νὴ Δί', ὡς, ἂν ἀπέχηται τῆς Ἀττικῆς
if this they-say by Zeus that if he-keeps-off — from-Attica
καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Φίλιππος, οὔτ' ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε
and the Piraeus Philip neither wrongs the city nor
ποιεῖ πόλεμον.
makes war
8 εἰ δ' ἐκ τούτων τὰ δίκαια τίθενται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
if but from these the rights they-set and the peace
ταύτην ὁρίζονται, ὅτι μὲν δήπουθεν οὔθ' ὅσι' οὔτ' ἀνεκτὰ
this define that indeed surely neither righteous nor tolerable
λέγουσιν οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἀσφαλῆ, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἅπασιν, οὐ μὴν
they-say nor for-you safe clear is to-all not indeed
ἀλλ' ἐναντία συμβαίνει ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἃς Διοπείθους
but contrary it-happens to-the accusations which of-Diopeithes
κατηγοροῦσι καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτούς. τί γὰρ δήποτε
they-accuse even very these-things to-say themselves why for ever
τῷ μὲν Φιλίππῳ πάντα ἄλλα ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν δώσομεν,
— indeed to-Philip all the-rest to-do license will-we-give

ἂν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπέχηται, τῷ Διοπείθει δ' οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν
if — from-Attica he-keeps-off — to-Diopeithes but not-even to-help
τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ἐξέσται, ἢ πόλεμον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν φήσομεν;
the Thracians it-will-be-allowed or war to-make him will-we-say
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελέγχονται, δεινὰ ποιοῦσι 9
but by Zeus these-things indeed they-are-refuted terrible-things do
δ' οἱ ξένοι περικόπτοντες τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ
but the mercenaries ravaging the-places on Hellespont and
Διοπείθης ἀδικεῖ κατάγων τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ
Diopeithes does-wrong detaining the ships and one-must not
ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ. ἔστω, γιγνέσθω ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω.
to-allow him so-be-it let-it-happen this nothing I-object
οἶμαι μέντοι δεῖν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι
I-think however to-be-necessary if-indeed as truly on all
δικαίοις ταῦτα συμβουλεύουσιν,
just(-grounds) these-things they-advise
ὥσπερ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν καταλῦσαι 10
as the existing for-the city force to-dissolve
ζητοῦσι, τὸν ἐφεστηκότα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα ταύτῃ
they-seek the-one commanding and providing money for-it
διαβάλλοντες ἐν ὑμῖν, οὕτω τὴν Φιλίππου δύναμιν δεῖξαι
slandering before you so the of-Philip force to-show
διαλυθησομένην, ἂν ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πεισθῆτε. εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖθ'
going-to-be-dissolved if you these-things are-persuaded if but not consider
ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ καθιστᾶσι τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν
that nothing other they-do than they-set the city into the
αὐτὸν τρόπον δι' οὗ τὰ πράγμαθ' ἅπαντ' ἀπολώλεκεν.
same course through which the affairs all it-has-lost
ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων πλέον 11
you-know for surely this that by-nothing of-the all more
κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι
has-prevailed Philip than by-the first at the events

γίγνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν ἀεὶ
to-be he indeed for having force standing always
περὶ αὑτὸν καὶ προειδὼς ἃ βούλεται πρᾶξαι, ἐξαίφνης
around himself and knowing-beforehand what he-wishes to-do suddenly
ἐφ' οὓς ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ πάρεστιν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὰν
against whom — to-him it-seems-good is-present we but when
πυθώμεθά τι γιγνόμενον, τηνικαῦτα θορυβούμεθα καὶ
we-learn something happening at-that-time make-an-uproar and
παρασκευαζόμεθα.
prepare

12 εἶτ', οἶμαι, συμβαίνει τῷ μὲν ἐφ' ἂν ἔλθῃ, ταῦτ'
then I-think it-results for-him indeed against what he-comes these-things
ἔχειν κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἡμῖν δ' ὑστερίζειν, καὶ
to-hold at much leisure for-us but to-be-late and
ὅσ' ἂν δαπανήσωμεν, ἅπαντα μάτην ἀνηλωκέναι, καὶ
as-much-as — we-spend all in-vain to-have-spent and
τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι κωλύειν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι,
the indeed enmity and the to-wish to-prevent to-have-shown
ὑστερίζοντας δὲ τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνην προσοφλισκάνειν.
being-late but for-the deeds shame to-incur-besides

13 μὴ τοίνυν ἀγνοεῖτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ νῦν
not then be-ignorant O men Athenians that also the now
τἄλλα μέν ἐστι λόγοι ταῦτα καὶ προφάσεις, πράττεται
the-rest indeed are words these-things and pretexts is-done
δὲ καὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτο, ὅπως ὑμῶν μὲν οἴκοι
but and is-contrived this that you indeed at-home
μενόντων, ἔξω δὲ μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως,
staying abroad and no being for-the city force
μετὰ πλείστης ἡσυχίας ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεται Φίλιππος
with most leisure all-things as-many-as wishes Philip
διοικήσεται. θεωρεῖτε γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πρῶτον, ὃ γίγνεται.
will-manage observe for the present first what happens

νυνὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἐκεῖνος ἔχων ἐν Θρᾴκῃ διατρίβει, 14
now force great he having in Thrace stays
καὶ μεταπέμπεται πολλήν, ὥς φασιν οἱ παρόντες,
and sends-for much as say the-ones present
ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θετταλίας. ἐὰν οὖν περιμείνας τοὺς
from Macedonia and Thessaly if then having-waited-for the
ἐτησίας ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ, πρῶτον μὲν
etesian-winds against Byzantium having-come he-besieges first indeed
οἴεσθε τοὺς Βυζαντίους μενεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς
think-you the Byzantines to-be-going-to-remain in the folly the
αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν, καὶ οὔτε παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς οὔτε βοηθεῖν
same as now and neither to-call-in you nor to-help
αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσειν;
them to-be-going-to-think-fit
ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τισι μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσιν 15
I indeed not think but even if some more they-distrust
ἢ ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτους εἰσφρήσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ᾽κείνῳ
than us also these to-be-going-to-admit rather than to-him
παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἄν περ μὴ φθάσῃ λαβὼν
to-be-going-to-hand-over the city if indeed not he-forestall having-taken
αὐτούς. οὐκοῦν ἡμῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένων ἐνθένδ᾽ ἀναπλεῦσαι,
them therefore we indeed not being-able from-here to-sail-up
ἐκεῖ δὲ μηδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης ἑτοίμου βοηθείας, οὐδὲν
there and no being ready help nothing
αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι κωλύσει.
them to-perish will-prevent
νὴ Δία, κακοδαιμονῶσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσιν 16
by Zeus are-possessed for the-men and exceed
ἀνοίᾳ. πάνυ γε, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως αὐτοὺς δεῖ σῶς εἶναι·
in-folly very at-least but nevertheless them it-is-necessary safe to-be
συμφέρει γὰρ τῇ πόλει. καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνό γε
it-is-advantageous for to-the city and indeed not-even that at-least

δῆλόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον οὐχ ἥξει· ἀλλ'
clear is to-us that against Chersonese not he-will-come but
εἴγ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἧς ἔπεμψε πρὸς
if-at-least from the letter one-must to-judge which he-sent to
ὑμᾶς, ἀμυνεῖσθαί φησι τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ.
you to-be-going-to-punish he-says the-ones in Chersonese
17 ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ᾖ τὸ συνεστηκὸς στράτευμα, καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ
if indeed then exists the standing army both the land
βοηθῆσαι δυνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τι κακῶς ποιῆσαι·
to-help it-will-be-able and of-the his something badly to-treat
εἰ δ' ἅπαξ διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον
if but once it-will-be-dissolved what will-we-do if against Chersonese
ἴῃ; 'κρινοῦμεν Διοπείθη νὴ Δία.' καὶ τί τὰ πράγματ' ἔσται
he-goes will-we-try Diopeithes by Zeus and how the affairs will-be
βελτίω; 'ἀλλ' ἐνθένδ' ἂν βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί.' ἂν δ' ὑπὸ
better but from-here — we-could-help ourselves if but by
τῶν πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; 'ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἥξει.'
the winds not we-be-able but by Zeus not he-will-come
18 καὶ τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστι τούτου; ἆρ' ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογίζεσθ', ὦ
and who guarantor is of-this then do-you-see and reckon O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, εἰς ἣν
men Athenians the coming season of-the year for which
ἔρημόν τινες οἴονται δεῖν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑμῶν
empty some think to-be-necessary the Hellespont of-you
ποιῆσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι Φιλίππῳ; τί δ', ἂν ἀπελθὼν
to-make and to-hand-over to-Philip what and if having-gone-away
ἐκ Θρᾴκης καὶ μηδὲ προσελθὼν Χερρονήσῳ μηδὲ
from Thrace and not-even having-approached Chersonese nor
Βυζαντίῳ (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα λογίζεσθε) ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ
Byzantium and for these-things reckon against Chalcis and
Μέγαρ' ἥκῃ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν πρώην,
Megara he-comes the same manner which-very against Oreus lately

πότερον κρεῖττον ἐνθάδ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν
whether better here him to-repel and to-come
τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐᾶσαι, ἢ κατασκευάζειν
the war to — Attica to-allow or to-contrive
ἐκεῖ τιν᾽ ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶομαι τοῦτο.
there some occupation for-him I indeed think this
ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους χρή, 19
these-things then all knowing and reckoning it-is-necessary
οὐ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐχ ἥν Διοπείθης πειρᾶται τῇ πόλει δύναμιν
not by Zeus not which Diopeithes tries for-the city force
παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ διαλῦσαι πειρᾶσθαι,
to-prepare this to-malign and to-dissolve to-try
ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρασκευάζειν καὶ συνευποροῦντας
but another yourselves to-prepare-besides and helping-supply
ἐκείνῳ χρημάτων καὶ τἄλλ᾽ οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους.
him with-money and the-rest in-friendly-fashion fighting-along

II · WHAT PHILIP WOULD PRAY FOR

Philip, Demosthenes says, would pray for nothing better than to see Diopeithes' army torn apart by the Athenians' own accusations. The Athenians will neither contribute, serve, spare the public funds, nor let Diopeithes keep what he raises; yet every general takes goodwill gifts from Chios, Erythrae, and the Greeks of Asia, and an unpaid army must live by collecting, begging, and borrowing. A wrongdoing general can be stopped by an impeachment; an enemy needs soldiers, triremes, and money. The people applaud whoever blames Diopeithes, Chares, or Aristophon, and their politicians have made them fierce in the assembly and slack in preparing for war. In the ten months Philip was away, Athens neither freed Euboea nor recovered anything of its own, while he set up two tyrants there.

20 εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον, ‘εἰπέ μοι, πότερ’ ἂν
if for someone should-ask Philip tell me whether —
βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς Διοπείθης νῦν
you-would-wish these the soldiers whom Diopeithes now
ἔχει, τοὺς ὁποιουστινασοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω) εὐθενεῖν
has the of-whatever-sort nothing for I-object to-prosper
καὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους γίγνεσθαι τῆς
and among Athenians to-be-esteemed and more to-become the
πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ
city helping or slandering some and
κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι;’ ταῦτ’ ἂν
accusing to-be-torn-apart and to-be-destroyed this —
οἶμαι φήσειεν. εἶθ’ ἃ Φίλιππος ἂν εὔξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς,
I-think he-would-say then what Philip — would-pray-for to-the gods
ταῦθ’ ἡμῶν τινες ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἶτ’ ἔτι ζητεῖτε
these-things of-us some here do then still you-seek
πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα;
whence the-things of-the city have-been-lost all
21 βούλομαι τοίνυν μετὰ παρρησίας ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα
I-wish then with frankness to-examine the present
πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ
affairs of-the city and to-consider what we-do ourselves
νῦν καὶ ὅπως χρώμεθ’ αὐτοῖς. ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματ’ εἰσφέρειν
now and how we-handle them we neither money to-contribute
βουλόμεθα, οὔτ’ αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν
wish nor ourselves to-serve nor from-the public-funds
ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπείθει δίδομεν,
to-keep-off are-able nor the contributions to-Diopeithes give
οὔθ’ ὅσ’ ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πορίσηται ἐπαινοῦμεν,
nor as-much-as — himself for-himself provides approve

ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν, καὶ τί μέλλει 22
but we-malign and look-into whence and what he-intends
ποιεῖν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτί, οὔτ', ἐπειδήπερ οὕτως ἔχομεν,
to-do and all the such-things nor since-indeed so we-are
τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς
the ours selves to-do we-are-willing but in indeed the
λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξι' ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν
words the-ones of-the city saying worthy-things we-praise in
δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα.
but the deeds the-ones opposing these we-help
ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰώθαθ' ἑκάστοτε τὸν παριόντ' ἐρωτᾶν, 23
you indeed then are-accustomed every-time the-one coming-forward to-ask
τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι,
what then one-must to-do I but you to-ask wish
τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτ' εἰσοίσετε, μήτ' αὐτοὶ
what then one-must to-say if for neither you-will-contribute nor yourselves
στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς
will-serve nor from-the public-funds will-keep-off nor the
συντάξεις δώσετε, μήθ' ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πορίσηται
contributions will-give nor as-much-as — himself for-himself provides
ἐάσετε, μήτε τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθελήσετε, οὐκ
will-allow nor the yours selves to-do will-be-willing not
ἔχω τί λέγω. οἱ γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς
I-have what I-am-to-say the-ones for already such license to-the-ones
αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις διδόντες, ὥστε καὶ
to-blame and to-slander wishing giving that even
περὶ ὧν φασι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων
about what they-say to-intend him to-do also about these
προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθαι, — τί ἄν τις λέγοι;
accusing-in-advance to-listen what — one could-say

24 ὅ τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίους μαθεῖν ὑμῶν
what ever then can these-things to-do some to-learn of-you
δεῖ. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν
it-is-necessary I-will-tell and with frankness and for not —
ἄλλως δυναίμην. πάντες ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι παρ'
otherwise could-I all as-many-as ever have-sailed-out from
ὑμῶν στρατηγοί (ἢ 'γὼ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν τιμῶμαι)
you generals or I to-suffer anything-at-all propose-as-penalty
καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρ' Ἐρυθραίων καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν
both from Chians and from Erythraeans and from whom —
ἕκαστοι δύνωνται, τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων
each are-able of-these the-ones — Asia inhabiting
λέγω, χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν.
I-mean money receive
25 λαμβάνουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ἢ δύο ναῦς
they-receive and the-ones indeed having one or two ships
ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν πλείονα. καὶ διδόασιν
less the-others and greater force more and give
οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός
the-ones giving neither the small nor the large-sums for nothing
(οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μαίνονται), ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι
not for so they-are-mad but buying not to-be-wronged
τοὺς παρ' αὑτῶν ἐκπλέοντας ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλᾶσθαι,
the from themselves sailing-out merchants not to-be-plundered
παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὑτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δ'
to-be-convoyed the ships the their-own the like they-say but
εὐνοίας διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοὔνομ' ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα.
goodwill-gifts to-give and this the-name have the gains these
26 καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπείθει στράτευμ' ἔχοντι σαφῶς
and indeed also now — to-Diopeithes army having clearly
ἐστι τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα πάντες οὗτοι·
is this plain that will-give money all these

πόθεν γὰρ οἴεσθ' ἄλλοθεν τὸν μήτε λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν
whence for think-you else the-one neither having-received from you
μηδὲν μήτ' αὐτὸν ἔχονθ' ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσει, στρατιώτας
anything nor himself having whence he-will-pay soldiers
τρέφειν; ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
to-maintain from the sky not are these-things but from what
ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιτεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διάγει.
he-collects and begs and borrows from these he-gets-along
οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες ἐν ὑμῖν 27
nothing then other do the-ones accusing among you
ἢ προλέγουσιν ἅπασι μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ διδόναι,
than warn all not-even anything-at-all to-him to-give
ὡς καὶ τοῦ μελλῆσαι δώσοντι δίκην, μή τι ποιήσαντί
as even for-the to-intend going-to-pay penalty not something having-done
γ' ἢ καταπραξαμένῳ. τοῦτ' εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι· 'μέλλει
at-least or having-accomplished this are the words he-intends
πολιορκεῖν,' 'τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδίδωσιν.' μέλει γάρ τινι
to-besiege the Greeks he-betrays cares for any
τούτων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἑλλήνων; ἀμείνους
of-these the-ones — Asia inhabiting Greeks better
μέντἂν εἶεν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τῆς πατρίδος κήδεσθαι.
however would-be the others rather-than the fatherland to-care-for
καὶ τό γ' εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσπέμπειν ἕτερον 28
and the at-least into the Hellespont to-send-in another
στρατηγὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοπείθης
general this is if for terrible-things does Diopeithes
καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν
and detains the ships small O men Athenians small
πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλῦσαι δύναιτ' ἄν, καὶ λέγουσιν
tablet these-things all to-stop could — and say
οἱ νόμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ
the laws these-things the-ones doing-wrong to-impeach not by

Δί᾽ οὐ δαπάναις καὶ τριήρεσιν τοσαύταις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς
Zeus not with-expenses and triremes so-many us selves
φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γ᾽ ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας·
to-watch since this at-least is excess of-madness
29 ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οὓς οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν ὑπὸ
but against indeed the enemies whom not it-is-possible to-get under
τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας τρέφειν καὶ τριήρεις ἐκπέμπειν
the laws both soldiers to-maintain and triremes to-send-out
καὶ χρήματ᾽ εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ δ᾽
and money to-contribute one-must and necessary it-is against but
ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, πάραλος ταῦτ᾽ ἔστιν.
us selves decree impeachment state-ship these-things are
ταῦτ᾽ ἦν εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων δὲ
these-things were of-well thinking men of-acting-spitefully but
καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν.
and of-ruining the affairs what now these do
30 καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους, δεινὸν ὂν
and the indeed of-these some to-be such terrible being
οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη
not terrible is but you the-ones sitting so already
διάκεισθε, ὥστ᾽, ἂν μέν τις εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι
are-disposed that if indeed someone says having-come-forward that
Διοπείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν πάντων αἴτιος, ἢ Χάρης ἢ
Diopeithes is of-the evils all cause or Chares or
Ἀριστοφῶν ἢ ὃν ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν εἴπῃ τις, εὐθέως
Aristophon or whom — of-the citizens names someone at-once
φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖθ᾽ ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει·
you-assent and applaud as rightly he-speaks
31 ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ τις τἀληθῆ, ὅτι ‘ληρεῖτ᾽,
if but having-come-forward says someone the-truth that you-talk-nonsense
Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων
Athenians of-all the evils and the troubles these

Φίλιππός ἐστ᾽ αἴτιος· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν
Philip is cause if for he kept quiet no
ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει,᾽ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ᾽
— would-be trouble for-the city that indeed not true these-things
ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχετ᾽ ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ
are not you-can to-gainsay to-be-vexed but to-me you-seem and
ὥσπερ ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν.
as to-lose something to-think
αἴτιον δὲ τούτων (καί μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν εἴνεκα τοῦ 32
cause and of-these and to-me by gods when for-the-sake of-the
βελτίστου λέγω, ἔστω παρρησία)· παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς
best I-speak let-there-be freedom-of-speech have-made you
τῶν πολιτευομένων ἔνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβεροὺς
of-the politicians some in indeed the assemblies fearsome
καὶ χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
and harsh in but the preparations the of-the war
ῥᾳθύμους καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτους. ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν αἴτιον
slack and contemptible if indeed then the guilty-one
εἴπῃ τις ὃν ἴσθ᾽ ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ᾽ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς,
names someone whom you-know that you-will-take among you selves
φατὲ καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγῃ τις, ὃν
you-assent and wish if but such names someone whom
κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἄλλως δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν κολάσαι,
having-prevailed with-the arms otherwise but not it-is-possible to-punish
οὐκ ἔχετ᾽, οἶμαι, τί ποιήσετε, ἐξελεγχόμενοι δ᾽ ἄχθεσθε.
not you-know I-think what you-will-do being-exposed and you-are-vexed
ἐχρῆν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὐναντίον ἢ νῦν 33
it-ought for O men Athenians the-opposite than now
ἅπαντας τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
all the politicians in indeed the assemblies
πράους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὑμᾶς ἐθίζειν εἶναι (πρὸς
gentle and humane you to-accustom to-be toward

γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν ταύταις ἐστὶ
for you selves and the allies in these are
τὰ δίκαια), ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
the claims in but the preparations the of-the war
φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς ἐπιδεικνύναι· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς
fearsome and harsh to-show toward for the
ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐκεῖνός ἐσθ' ἀγών.
enemies and the opponents that is the-contest
34 νῦν δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ χαριζόμενοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν
now but leading you and gratifying to excess
οὕτω διατεθήκασιν, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν
so have-disposed(-you) that in indeed the assemblies to-be-pampered
καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
and to-be-flattered everything for pleasure hearing in but the
πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη
affairs and the events about the extremest already
κινδυνεύειν. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, εἰ λόγον ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτήσειαν
to-be-in-danger come for by Zeus if account of-you should-demand
οἱ Ἕλληνες ὧν νυνὶ παρείκατε καιρῶν διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν,
the Greeks of-what now you-have-let-slip occasions through idleness
35 καὶ ἔροιν' ὑμᾶς, 'ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πέμπεθ' ὡς ἡμᾶς
and should-ask you men Athenians you-send to us
ἑκάστοτε πρέσβεις, καὶ λέγεθ' ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει Φίλιππος
every-time envoys and say that plots Philip
ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ ὡς φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ
against-us and against-all the Greeks and that to-guard-against one-must
τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτί;' ἀνάγκη φάσκειν καὶ
the man and all the such-things necessity to-assent and
ὁμολογεῖν· ποιοῦμεν γὰρ ταῦτα. 'εἶτ', ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
to-agree we-do for these-things then O of-all men
φαυλότατοι, δέκα μῆνας ἀπογενομένου τἀνθρώπου καὶ
worst ten months having-been-away the-man and

νόσῳ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποληφθέντος ὥστε μὴ
by-illness and by-winter and by-wars having-been-cut-off so-that not
ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε,
— to-be-able to-return home
‘οὔτε τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἠλευθερώσατε, οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων 36
neither — Euboea you-freed nor of-the yours
αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐκομίσασθε, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑμῶν οἴκοι
selves anything you-recovered but he indeed you at-home
μενόντων, σχολὴν ἀγόντων, ὑγιαινόντων (εἰ δὴ τοὺς
staying leisure keeping being-healthy if indeed the-ones
τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ὑγιαίνειν φήσαιμεν), δύ’ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
the such-things doing to-be-healthy we-should-call two in Euboea
κατέστησε τυράννους, τὸν μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
set-up tyrants the-one indeed opposite — of-Attica
ἐπιτειχίσας, τὸν δ’ ἐπὶ Σκίαθον,
having-planted-as-a-fort the-other and against Sciathus
‘ὑμεῖς δ’ οὐδὲ ταῦτ’ ἀπελύσασθε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλ’ 37
you but not-even these-things got-rid-of if nothing other
ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ’ εἰάκατε; ἀφέστατε δῆλον ὅτι αὐτῷ, καὶ
you-wished but you-have-let-be you-have-withdrawn clear that to-him also
φανερὸν πεποιήκατε ὅτι οὐδ’ ἂν δεκάκις ἀποθάνῃ, οὐδὲν
plain you-have-made that not-even if ten-times he-die nothing
μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε. τί οὖν πρεσβεύετε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε
more you-will-stir why then send-you-embassies and accuse
καὶ πράγμαθ’ ἡμῖν παρέχετε;’ ἂν ταῦτα λέγωσι, τί
and trouble to-us give if these-things they-say what
ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν, Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ.
will-we-say or what will-we-assert Athenians I indeed for not see

First, says Demosthenes, they must recognize that Philip is at war with Athens and has broken the peace, and that he is the enemy of the whole city, even of those who think they please him, as Euthycrates and Lasthenes found at Olynthus. Above all he fights the democracy. He does not endure winters for the holes of Thrace, Drongilus, Cabyle, and Masteira, but for Athens' harbors, dockyards, triremes, and silver. They must contribute, ask the allies, and keep a standing force with treasurers to guard its money, to compel a just peace or fight on equal terms. To those who say an army is costly and its money will be plundered, he answers that a guard stops plunder, and that Philip's plunder of Greece should grieve them more. For free men the greatest necessity is shame.

38 εἰσὶ τοίνυν τινὲς οἳ τότ' ἐξελέγχειν τὸν παριόντ'
there-are then some who then to-confute the-one coming-forward
οἴονται, ἐπειδὰν ἐρωτήσωσι 'τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν;'
think when they-ask what then one-must to-do
οἷς ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ δικαιότατον καὶ ἀληθέστατον τοῦτ'
to-whom I indeed the most-just and truest this
ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν ἃ νυνὶ ποιεῖτε, οὐ μὴν
will-answer these-things not to-do which now you-do not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐρῶ. καὶ ὅπως, ὥσπερ
but also by each exactly I-will-tell and that as
ἐρωτῶσι προθύμως, οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ἐθελήσουσιν.
they-ask eagerly so also to-do they-will-be-willing

39 πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς
first indeed O men Athenians this among you selves
βεβαίως γνῶναι, ὅτι τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν
firmly to-recognize that with-the city Philip is-at-war and the
εἰρήνην λέλυκεν (καὶ παύσασθε περὶ τούτου κατηγοροῦντες
peace has-broken and stop about this accusing

ἀλλήλων) καὶ κακόνους μέν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ
one-another and ill-disposed indeed he-is and hostile to-whole the
πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει,
city and to-the of-the city ground
προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, 40
I-will-add and also to-the in the city all men
καὶ τοῖς μάλιστ᾽ οἰομένοις αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι (εἰ δὲ μή,
even to-the-ones most thinking him to-gratify if but not
σκεψάσθων Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασθένη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, οἳ
let-them-look-at Euthycrates and Lasthenes the Olynthians who
δοκοῦντες οἰκειότατ᾽ αὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν
seeming most-friendly to-him to-be-disposed when the city
προὔδοσαν, πάντων κάκιστ᾽ ἀπολώλασιν), οὐδενὶ
they-betrayed of-all most-miserably have-perished against-nothing
μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ οὐδ᾽ ἐπιβουλεύει,
however more than against-the constitution he-fights nor plots-against
καὶ σκοπεῖ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ ἓν τῶν πάντων, ἢ πῶς ταύτην
and considers more not-even one of-the all than how this
καταλύσει.
he-will-overthrow
καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἰκότως τρόπον τινὰ πράττει· οἶδεν γὰρ 41
and this reasonably in-a-way some he-does he-knows for
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται
exactly that not-even if of-all the others he-becomes
κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ᾽ αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν
master nothing is-possible for-him securely to-hold as-long-as —
ὑμεῖς δημοκρατῆσθε, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα,
you are-a-democracy but if ever happens some stumble
ἃ πολλὰ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν
which many might-happen — to-a-man will-come all the now
συμβεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς·
having-been-forced-together and will-take-refuge with you

42 ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν
are for you not yourselves to-gain-advantage and to-hold
ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλῦσαι καὶ
empire well suited-by-nature but another to-take to-prevent and
ἔχοντ᾽ ἀφελέσθαι δεινοί, καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς
having to-take-away clever and generally to-trouble the-ones
ἄρχειν βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν
to-rule wishing and all men to freedom
ἐξελέσθαι ἕτοιμοι. οὔκουν βούλεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς
to-rescue ready not-then he-wishes on-the his-own opportunities
τὴν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ,
the from you freedom to-lie-in-wait not-even by-much lacks
οὐ κακῶς οὐδ᾽ ἀργῶς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος.
not badly nor idly these-things reckoning

43 πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ, ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς
first indeed then this one-must enemy to-have-understood of-the
πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκεῖνον· εἰ γὰρ
constitution and of-the democracy irreconcilable him if for
μὴ τοῦτο πεισθήσεσθε ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐκ ἐθελήσεθ᾽ ὑπὲρ
not this you-will-be-persuaded in-the souls not you-will-be-willing for
τῶν πραγμάτων σπουδάζειν· δεύτερον δ᾽ εἰδέναι σαφῶς
the affairs to-be-zealous second and to-know clearly
ὅτι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται νῦν,
that all-things as-many-as he-contrives and arranges now
ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ὅπου τις
against the our city is-prepared and wherever someone
ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεται, ἐνταῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμύνεται.
him repels there for us he-repels

44 οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ᾽ εὐήθης οὐδεὶς ὃς ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν
not for so at-least simple no-one who supposes —
Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο
Philip of-the indeed in Thrace miseries what for — else

τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν
someone could-call Drongilus and Cabyle and Masteira
καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐξαιρεῖ;) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ
and what now he-takes of-these indeed to-desire and for
τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς
the these-things to-take both toils and winters and the
ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν,
extreme dangers to-endure
τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ τῶν 45
of-the but Athenian harbors and dockyards and triremes and of-the
ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσούτων προσόδων οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν,
works the silver and such-great revenues not to-desire
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
but these indeed you to-be-going-to-allow to-hold for but the
μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Θρᾳκίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ
millet and the spelt the in the Thracian pits in the
βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖν' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
pit to-winter not is this but those-too for the
τούτων γενέσθαι κύριος καὶ τἆλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται.
of-these to-become master and the-rest all he-contrives
τί οὖν εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν; εἰδότας ταῦτα 46
what then of-well thinking men is knowing these-things
καὶ ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν ὑπερβάλλουσαν καὶ ἀνήκεστον
and having-recognized the indeed excessive and incurable
ταύτην ῥᾳθυμίαν ἀποθέσθαι, χρήματα δ' εἰσφέρειν
this idleness to-put-off money and to-contribute
καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀξιοῦν, καὶ ὅπως τὸ συνεστηκὸς
and the allies to-ask and that the standing
τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στράτευμ' ὁρᾶν καὶ πράττειν, ἵν'
this will-hold-together army to-see and to-act so-that
ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἕτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ
as he ready has force the going-to-wrong and

καταδουλωσομένην ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω τὴν
going-to-enslave all the Greeks so the
σώσουσαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν ἕτοιμον ἔχητε.
going-to-save you and going-to-help all ready may-have
47 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν
not for it-is-possible relief-expeditions using ever nothing
τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ
of-the needful-things to-do but having-equipped one-must
δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας καὶ ταμίας καὶ
force and provisions for-it having-provided and treasurers and
δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἔνι τὴν τῶν χρημάτων φυλακὴν
public-slaves and how it-is-possible the of-the money guarding
ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν
strictest to-be so having-done the indeed of-the
χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν
money account from these to-take the but of-the
ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. κἂν οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ
deeds from the general and-if so you-do and
ταῦτ' ἐθελήσηθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ
these-things are-willing as truly to-keep peace just and
μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, οὗ μεῖζον
to-stay in the his-own Philip you-will-compel than-which greater
οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ πολεμήσετ' ἐξ ἴσου.
nothing — could-be good or you-will-fight on equal(-terms)
48 εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης καὶ
if but to-someone seems these-things both of-expense great and
πόνων πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλ' ὀρθῶς
of-toils many and of-trouble to-be and very rightly
δοκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογίσηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα
he-thinks but if he-reckons the-things for-the city after these

γενησόμενα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ ᾽θέλῃ, εὑρήσει λυσιτελοῦν
going-to-happen if these-things not it-be-willing he-will-find profitable
τὸ ἑκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα.
the willingly to-do the needful-things
εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστί τις ἐγγυητὴς θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ᾽ 49
if indeed for is some guarantor of-gods not for of-men at-least
οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτ᾽ ἀξιόχρεως τηλικούτου πράγματος) ὡς,
none — could-be sufficient for-so-great a-matter that
ἐὰν ἄγηθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα προῆσθε, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
if you-keep quiet and all-things throw-away not against yourselves
ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνος ἥξει, αἰσχρὸν μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ
you in-the-end he will-come shameful indeed by — Zeus and
πάντας θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ
all gods and unworthy of-you and of-the advantages for-the
πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκα
city and achievements by-the ancestors of-the private for-the-sake
ῥᾳθυμίας τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας Ἕλληνας εἰς δουλείαν
idleness the other all Greeks into slavery
προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ
to-abandon and I myself indeed to-be-dead rather — than
ταῦτ᾽ εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἄλλος
these-things to-have-said would-wish not indeed but if some other
λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθε, ἅπαντα πρόεσθε.
says and you persuades so-be-it not defend all-things throw-away
εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, τοὐναντίον δὲ πρόϊσμεν ἅπαντες, 50
if but to-no-one this seems the-opposite but we-foreknow all
ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλειόνων ἐάσωμεν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι
that by-as-much-as — of-more we-allow him to-become
κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθ᾽
master by-so-much harder and stronger we-will-find

ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθα; ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότ', ὦ
enemy whither do-we-shrink or why do-we-delay or when O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν;
men Athenians the needful-things to-do will-we-be-willing
51 ὅταν νὴ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ. ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ἄν τις
when by Zeus necessary it-be but which indeed — someone
ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη
of-free men necessity would-call not only already
πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν
is-here but also long-ago has-passed the but of-the
δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει δὲ
slaves to-pray-against surely not to-happen one-must differs and
τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη ἀνάγκη
what because is for-a-free indeed man greatest necessity
ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη, καὶ μείζω ταύτης οὐκ
the about the events shame and greater than-this not
οἶδ' ἥντιν' ἂν εἴποιμεν· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ
I-know what — we-could-call for-a-slave but blows and the of-the
σώματος αἰκισμός, ἃ μήτε γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.
body abuse which neither may-happen nor to-mention worthy
52 πάντα τοίνυν τἄλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως, καὶ δείξας ὃν
all then the-rest having-told — gladly and having-shown in-what
τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐάσω·
manner you some ruin-by-politics the indeed rest I-will-leave
ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς
but when something of-the about Philip comes-up at-once
ἀναστάς τις λέγει τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ
having-stood-up someone speaks the the peace to-keep how good and
τὸ τρέφειν δύναμιν μεγάλην ὡς χαλεπόν, καὶ 'διαρπάζειν
the to-maintain force great how hard and to-plunder
τινὲς τὰ χρήματα βούλονται,' καὶ τοιούτους λόγους, ἐξ
some the money wish and such words from

ὧν ἀναβάλλουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ
which they-put-off indeed you leisure and make for-him
πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται.
to-do what ever he-wishes
ἐκ δὲ τούτων περιγίγνεται, ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολὴ καὶ τὸ 53
from and these results for-you indeed the leisure and the
μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν, ἃ δέδοιχ' ὅπως μήποθ' ἡγήσεσθ' ἐπὶ
nothing now to-do which I-fear lest ever you-will-think at
πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι, τούτοις δ' αἱ χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς
great(-cost) to-have-been for-these but the favors and the pay
ὁ τούτων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶομαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ
the for-these I but think the indeed peace to-keep not
ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἳ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ
you to-be-necessary to-persuade who persuaded sit but
τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
the-one the-things of-the war doing if for he
πεισθῇ, τά γ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει·
is-persuaded the-things at-least from you are-ready
νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ' ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν 54
to-consider and to-be hard not as-much-as — on safety
δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ 'θέλωμεν
we-spend but what we-will-suffer if these-things not we-are-willing
ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸ 'διαρπασθήσεται τὰ χρήματα' τῷ φυλακὴν
to-do and the will-be-plundered the money by-the guard
εἰπεῖν δι' ἧς σωθήσεται κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ
to-propose through which it-will-be-saved to-prevent not by-the from-the
συμφέροντος ἀφεστάναι.
advantage to-stand-aloof
καίτοι ἔγωγ' ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 55
and-yet I am-indignant also at-very this O men Athenians
εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται,
if the indeed money pains some of-you if it-will-be-plundered

ἃ καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐφ'
which both to-guard and to-punish the-ones doing-wrong in
ὑμῖν ἐστι, τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὑτωσὶ Φίλιππος
your(-power) is — but Greece all thus Philip
ἐφεξῆς ἁρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἁρπάζων.
in-succession seizing not pains and that against you seizing

IV · WHO MAKES THE WAR

Those who charge their opponents with making war, Demosthenes says, never say Philip makes it; they want the people's anger turned on the city's advisers. No Athenian has proposed war, yet Philip holds the city's possessions and has sent help to Cardia, and he will say he is not at war, as he said to the Oreitans, the Pheraeans, and the Olynthians. He means to destroy Athens, not rule it. He robs Athens openly because only at Athens can a man speak for Philip in safety, and his speakers grow rich while the city loses its allies. The brave politician opposes the people's wishes for their good; an adviser's task is to say what is best, as Timotheus did over Euboea. He proposes that they contribute, keep the force, send envoys, and punish the bribe-takers.

56 τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ
what ever then is the cause O men Athenians the
τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερῶς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικοῦντα, πόλεις
the-one indeed so openly campaigning doing-wrong cities
καταλαμβάνοντα, μηδένα τούτων πώποτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς
seizing none of-these ever to-say that
πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προϊέσθαι
war he-makes the-ones but not to-allow nor to-give-up
ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντας, τούτους τὸν πόλεμον ποιήσειν
these-things advising these the war to-be-going-to-make
αἰτιᾶσθαι;
to-accuse

ἐγὼ διδάξω· ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν εἰκός ἐστι γενέσθαι 57
I will-explain because the anger which likely is to-arise
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἄν τι λυπῆσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς
from you if in-something you-are-pained by-the war onto the-ones
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψαι βούλονται, ἵνα
for you saying the best to-turn they-wish so-that
τούτους κρίνητε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, καὶ κατηγορῶσιν
these you-try not Philip you-resist and they-accuse
αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὧν ποιοῦσι νῦν. τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς
themselves not penalty pay for-what they-do now this for-them
δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα βούλονται πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι
means the to-say that then wish war some to-make
παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστίν.
among you and about this the dispute this is
ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενός πω 58
I but know exactly that not having-proposed of-Athenians anyone yet
πόλεμον, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως
war both other many-things Philip holds of-the of-the city
καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ᾽
and now to Cardia has-sent help if however wish
ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος
we not to-pretend to-make-war him on-us most-foolish
πάντων ἂν εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐξελέγχοι.
of-all — would-be of-the existing men if this he-should-refute
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἴῃ, τί φήσομεν; 59
but when against ourselves us he-comes what will-we-say
ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ Ὠρείταις, τῶν
he indeed for not to-make-war as not-even on-Oreitans the
στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον,
soldiers being in the land nor on-Pheraeans before
πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν, οὐδ᾽ Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς,
at the walls attacking of-them nor on-Olynthians from beginning

ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων. ἢ καὶ
until in very the land the army he-was-present having or also
τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν;
then the-ones to-defend-themselves bidding war to-make will-we-say
οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδέν ἐστι
therefore remaining to-be-slaves not for other at-least nothing is
μεταξὺ τοῦ μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἐᾶσθαι.
between the neither to-defend-oneself nor to-keep quiet to-be-allowed
60 καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
and indeed not for the equal(-stakes) for-you and for-the others
ἔσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῷ τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι
is the danger not for under himself the city to-make
βούλεται Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. οἶδεν γὰρ
wishes Philip but altogether to-destroy he-knows for
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὔτ' ἐθελήσετε, οὔτ',
exactly that to-be-slaves indeed you neither will-be-willing nor
ἂν ἐθελήσητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε),
if you-are-willing will-know-how to-rule for you-are-accustomed
πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω
trouble but to-him to-cause if occasion you-get more
τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων δυνήσεσθε.
than-the other men all you-will-be-able
61 ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος, οὕτω
as then for the extremes being the struggle so
προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐκείνῳ
it-is-fitting to-judge and the-ones having-sold themselves to-him
μισεῖν καὶ ποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν
to-hate and-to-cudgel-to-death not for it-is-possible not it-is-possible the
ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν
outside the city enemies to-master before — the in
αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητ' ἐχθρούς.
very the city you-punish enemies

πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' 62
whence think-you now him to-outrage you nothing for other
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
to-me-at-least seems to-do than this and the indeed others
εὖ ποιοῦντα, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν
well treating if nothing other to-deceive you but to-threaten
ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ὑπηγάγετ' εἰς
already for-instance Thessalians many-things having-given he-led-on into
τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς
the now present slavery not-even — to-tell could no-one
ὅσα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δοὺς
how-much the wretched Olynthians before having-given
Ποτείδαιαν ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα·
Potidaea he-deceived and many other-things
Θηβαίους νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς 63
Thebans now he-leads-on — Boeotia to-them having-handed-over
καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ· ὥστε
and having-freed from-war great and hard so-that
καρπωσάμενοί τιν' ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν οἱ μὲν
having-reaped some each of-these advantage the-ones indeed
ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἃ δὴ πάντες ἴσασιν, οἱ δ' ὅταν
already have-suffered what indeed all know the-others and whenever
ποτὲ συμβῇ πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε,
ever it-happens will-suffer you but of-what indeed you-have-been-robbed
σιωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι,
I-pass-over but in very the the peace to-make
πόσ' ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε.
in-how-much you-have-been-deceived of-how-much you-have-been-robbed
οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης, 64
not Phocians not Thermopylae not the-places-toward Thrace
Δορίσκον, Σέρριον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν
Doriscus Serrium — Cersobleptes himself not now

τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ'
the city the of-Cardians he-holds and admits why ever
οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν
then that-way to-the others and not the same manner to-you
προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ
he-behaves because in alone of-the all cities the
ὑμετέρᾳ ἄδει' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ
yours immunity for the enemies to-speak is-granted and
λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν,
having-taken money himself safe it-is to-speak among you
κἂν ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἦτε. οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς
even-if having-been-robbed-of the yours selves you-be not was safe
λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότων
to-speak in Olynthus the-cause of-Philip not with well having-been-treated
τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτείδαιαν καρποῦσθαι·
the many Olynthians by-the Potidaea to-enjoy
65 οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ
not was safe to-speak in Thessaly the-cause of-Philip not
σὺν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς
with well having-been-treated the people the of-Thessalians by-the the
τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν
tyrants to-expel Philip for-them and the Pylaea
ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν
to-restore not was in Thebes safe before — Boeotia
ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν.
he-restored and the Phocians destroyed
66 ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν
but at-Athens not only Amphipolis and the of-Cardians
χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος
land having-robbed Philip but also making
ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον
against-you a-fort — Euboea and now against Byzantium

παριόντος, ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γάρ
advancing safe it-is to-speak for Philip and for
τοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται,
surely of-these indeed from beggars some quickly rich become
καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς
and from nameless and obscure famous and known you
δὲ τοὐναντίον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων
but the-opposite from indeed famous obscure from and well-off
ἄποροι· πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους,
poor of-a-city for I wealth consider allies
πίστιν, εὔνοιαν, ὧν πάντων ἔσθ' ὑμεῖς ἄποροι.
trust goodwill of-which all are you destitute
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ ἐᾶν ταῦτα 67
from and the about-these heedlessly to-be and to-allow these-things
φέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς πᾶσιν
to-go-adrift he indeed prosperous and great and formidable to-all
Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ ταπεινοί, τῇ
Greeks and barbarians you but isolated and humble in-the
τῶν ὠνίων ἀφθονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δ' ὧν προσῆκε
of-the market-goods abundance splendid in-the but of-what was-fitting
παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον
preparation ridiculous not the same and manner
περί θ' ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὑτῶν ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων
about both you and about themselves some of-the speakers
ὁρῶ βουλευομένους· ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασὶ
I-see deliberating you indeed for quiet to-keep they-say
δεῖν, κἄν τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται
to-be-necessary even-if someone you wrongs themselves but not can
παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος.
among you quiet to-keep no-one them wronging

68 εἶτα φησὶν ὃς ἂν τύχῃ παρελθών ‘οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλεις
then says whoever — happens having-come-forward not for you-are-willing
γράφειν, οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἄτολμος εἶ καὶ μαλακός.’
to-propose nor to-run-risks but timid you-are and soft
ἐγὼ δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὔτ’ εἰμὶ
I but bold indeed and loathsome and shameless neither am
μήτε γενοίμην, ἀνδρειότερον μέντοι πολλῶν πάνυ τῶν
nor may-I-become braver however than-many very of-the
ἰταμῶς πολιτευομένων παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι.
recklessly politicking among you myself I-consider
69 ὅστις μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παριδὼν ἃ
whoever indeed for O men Athenians having-disregarded what
συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, κρίνει, δημεύει, δίδωσι, κατηγορεῖ,
will-benefit the city prosecutes confiscates grants accuses
οὐδεμιᾷ ταῦτ’ ἀνδρείᾳ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἔχων ἐνέχυρον
with-no these-things courage does but having pledge
τῆς αὑτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ
of-the his-own safety the for favor to-you to-speak and
πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς ἐστιν· ὅστις δ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
to-politick safely bold he-is whoever but for the
βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασι, καὶ
best often to-the your opposes wishes and
μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, καὶ τὴν
nothing says for favor but the best always and the
τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων ἡ τύχη
such policy chooses in which of-more-things the fortune
κυρία γίγνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί, τούτων δ’ ἀμφοτέρων
master becomes than the calculations for-these and both
ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ’ ἀνδρεῖος,
himself accountable to-you renders this-man is brave

καὶ χρήσιμός γε πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οὐχ οἱ 70
and useful at-least citizen the such is not the-ones
τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμέραν χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως
for-the by the-day favor the greatest of-the city
ἀπολωλεκότες, οὓς ἐγὼ τοσούτου δέω ζηλοῦν ἢ νομίζειν
having-lost whom I so-much lack to-emulate or to-think
ἀξίους πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὥστ᾽ εἴ τις ἔροιτό
worthy citizens of-the city to-be that if someone should-ask
με, ‘εἰπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν
me tell me you and indeed what the city for-us good
πεποίηκας;’ ἔχων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τριηραρχίας
have-done being-able O men Athenians both trierarchies
εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς καὶ λύσεις
to-mention and choregies and of-money contributions and ransomings
αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιαύτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας,
of-prisoners and such other generosities
οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποιμι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων 71
nothing — of-these I-would-say but that of-the such
πολιτευμάτων οὐδὲν πολιτεύομαι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως,
measures none I-pursue but being-able — perhaps
ὥσπερ καὶ ἕτεροι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν
as also others both to-accuse and to-gratify and to-confiscate
καὶ τἄλλ᾽ ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἓν τούτων
and the-rest which do these to-do not-even to one of-these
πώποτ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα, οὐδὲ προήχθην οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ κέρδους
ever myself I-set nor was-led-on neither by gain
οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ διαμένω λέγων ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ
nor by ambition but I-persist saying from which I
μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων εἰμὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς δ᾽, εἰ πείσεσθέ
indeed than-many less am among you you but if you-will-obey
μοι, μείζους ἂν εἴητε· οὕτω γὰρ ἴσως ἀνεπίφθονον εἰπεῖν.
me greater — would-be so for perhaps unobjectionable to-say

72 οὐδ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίου τοῦτ' εἶναι πολίτου, τοιαῦτα
nor to-me-at-least seems of-a-just this to-be citizen such
πολιτεύμαθ' εὑρίσκειν ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶτος ὑμῶν ἔσομαι
measures to-devise from which I indeed first of-you will-be
εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὕστατοι· ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι
at-once you but of-the others last but to-grow-along
δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι,
it-is-necessary the city with-the of-the good citizens measures
καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, μὴ τὸ ῥᾷστον ἅπαντας λέγειν· ἐπ'
and the best always not the easiest all to-speak toward
ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ
that indeed for the nature itself will-go toward this but by-the
λόγῳ δεῖ προάγεσθαι διδάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.
reason it-is-necessary to-lead-on teaching the good citizen
73 ἤδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἤκουσα τοιοῦτόν τι λέγοντος, ὡς ἄρ'
already then someone I-heard such something saying that then
ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔστιν δ' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ
I say indeed always the best are but nothing other than
λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δ' ἔργων τῇ πόλει καὶ
words the-things from me is-needed and of-deeds for-the city and
πράξεώς τινος. ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς
of-action some I but how I-am about these will-tell to you
καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. οὐδ' εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος
and not will-hide nor to-be I-think of-the one-advising
ὑμῖν ἔργον οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι
you task nothing except to-say the best and this that
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ῥᾳδίως οἶμαι δείξειν.
this is the way easily I-think to-be-going-to-show
74 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι Τιμόθεός ποτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐν
you-know for surely this that Timotheus once that among
ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν ὡς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας
you harangued that one-must to-help and the Euboeans

σῴζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντ' αὐτούς, καὶ λέγων
to-save when Thebans were-enslaving them and speaking
εἶπεν οὕτω πως· 'εἰπέ μοι, βουλεύεσθε,' ἔφη, 'Θηβαίους
he-said so somehow tell me you-deliberate he-said Thebans
ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ
having in an-island what you-will-do and what one-must to-do not
ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρων;
will-you-fill the sea O men Athenians with-triremes
οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ;
not having-stood-up now will-you-go to the Piraeus
'οὐ καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;' οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦθ' ὁ Τιμόθεος, 75
not will-you-launch the ships therefore said indeed these-things — Timotheus
ἐποιήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρᾶγμ'
did and you from and these both the deed
ἐπράχθη. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν εἶπεν ὡς οἷόν τε ἄριστα, ὥσπερ
was-done if but he indeed had-spoken as possible — best as
εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπερρᾳθυμήσατε καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, ἆρ'
he-spoke you but had-been-idle and nothing obeyed then
ἂν ἦν γεγονός τι τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει;
— would-be having-happened anything of-the then happenings for-the city
οὐχ οἷόν τε. οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω καὶ περὶ
not possible — so then also about what — I say and about
ὧν ἂν ὁ δεῖν' εἴπῃ, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε,
what — the so-and-so says the indeed deeds from you selves seek
τὰ δὲ βέλτιστα ἐπιστήμῃ λέγειν παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.
the but best with-knowledge to-say from the-one coming-forward
ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ' ἃ λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι βούλομαι. 76
in summary and what I-say having-stated to-step-down I-wish
χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν φημὶ δεῖν· τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
money to-contribute I-say to-be-necessary the existing
δύναμιν συνέχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἴ τι δοκεῖ μὴ
force to-keep-together correcting if something seems not

καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ ὅσοις ἄν τις αἰτιάσηται τὸ
well to-be not in-whatever — someone finds-fault the
ὅλον καταλύοντας· πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν πανταχοῖ τοὺς
whole dissolving envoys to-send-out everywhere the-ones
διδάξοντας, νουθετήσοντας, πράξοντας· παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα
going-to-inform going-to-admonish going-to-act besides all these-things
τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν
the-ones in the affairs taking-bribes to-punish and to-hate
πανταχοῦ, ἵν' οἱ μέτριοι καὶ δικαίους αὑτοὺς παρέχοντες
everywhere so-that the moderate and just themselves showing
εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς.
well to-have-planned may-seem both to-the others and to-themselves
77 ἂν οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθε καὶ παύσησθ' ὀλιγωροῦντες
if so the affairs you-handle and you-stop neglecting
ἁπάντων, ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἔτι βελτίω γένοιτο.
all perhaps — perhaps even now still better may-become
εἰ μέντοι καθεδεῖσθε, ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι
if however you-will-sit as-far-as the to-applaud and to-praise
σπουδάζοντες, ἐὰν δὲ δέῃ τι ποιεῖν ἀναδυόμενοι,
being-zealous if but it-be-necessary something to-do shrinking-back
οὐχ ὁρῶ λόγον ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ προσήκει
not I-see speech which without the to-do you what is-fitting
δυνήσεται τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.
will-be-able the city to-save

DEMOSTHENES

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ

Third Philippic

Speeches against Philip are made at every assembly, Demosthenes says, yet Athens' affairs are at their worst, because its speakers please rather than advise, and Athens grants free speech even to slaves and foreigners but not to its counselors. Yet the worst of the past is the hope: Athens has been beaten by its own idleness, not by Philip. If Athens could keep the peace he would keep it, but when a man holds out the name of peace and wages war, only defense is left. Philip will not admit to war even if he marches on Attica and the Piraeus: he did not admit it to the Olynthians, the Phocians, Pherae, or Oreus. He has taken Serrium and Doriscus, sends mercenaries into the Chersonese, reaches for Megara and Euboea, and has been at war since he destroyed the Phocians.

Πολλῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν 1
many O men Athenians speeches being-made little to-lack
καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν
at each assembly about what Philip from when the
εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
peace he-made not only you but also the others
ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ
wrongs and all I-know that would-say at-least — if even
μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως
not they-do this both to-speak to-be-necessary and to-act that
ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ'
he will-cease from-the insolence and penalty will-pay to this
ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμέν' ὁρῶ, ὥστε
brought-down all the affairs and thrown-away I-see so-that
δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ᾖ· εἰ καὶ
I-fear lest ill-omened indeed to-say true but it-be if both
λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλονθ' οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν
to-propose all wished the-ones coming-forward and to-vote

ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ᾽ ἔμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ᾽ ἕξειν,
you from which as worst were-going the affairs to-be
οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι.
not — I-think to-be-able worse than now to-be-placed

2 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἴτια τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ᾽ ἓν
many-things indeed then perhaps are causes of-these and not from one
οὐδὲ δύ᾽ εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἀφῖκται, μάλιστα δ᾽, ἄνπερ
nor two into this the affairs have-come most but if-indeed
ἐξετάζητ᾽ ὀρθῶς, εὑρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον
you-examine rightly you-will-find because-of the-ones to-please rather
ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινες μέν, ὦ
than the best to-speak choosing of-whom some indeed O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται,
men Athenians in what are-esteemed themselves and are-powerful
ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν
these guarding no about the future forethought
ἔχουσιν, οὐκοῦν οὐδ᾽ ὑμᾶς οἴονται δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ
have therefore not-even you think to-be-necessary to-have others and
τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες
the-ones in the affairs being blaming and slandering
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ᾽
nothing other do than that the indeed city itself from
αὑτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ᾽
itself penalty will-take and about this will-be for-Philip but
ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται.
it-will-be-possible both to-say and to-do what ever he-wishes

3 αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μέν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἴτιαι
the and such policies familiar indeed are to-you causes
δὲ τῶν κακῶν. ἀξιῶ δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄν τι
but of-the evils I-ask and O men Athenians if something
τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ
of-the true-things with frankness I-say no to-me because-of

τοῦτο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὠδί. ὑμεῖς
this from you anger to-arise consider for thus you
τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε
the freedom-of-speech in indeed the other(-matters) so common think
δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς
to-be-necessary to-be for-all the-ones in the city that even to-the
ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς
foreigners and to-the slaves of-it you-have-given-a-share and many
ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὅ
— one servants could-see among us with more license what
τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων
ever they-wish saying than citizens in some of-the other
πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε.
cities from but the to-advise altogether you-have-driven-it-out
εἶθ᾽ ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις 4
then to-you it-has-happened from this in indeed the assemblies
τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν,
to-be-pampered and to-be-flattered all-things for pleasure hearing
ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν
in but the affairs and the events about the
ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω
extremest already to-be-in-danger if indeed then also now so
διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ δ᾽ ἃ συμφέρει
you-are-disposed not I-have what I-am-to-say if but what is-advantageous
χωρὶς κολακείας ἐθελήσετ᾽ ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ
without flattery you-will-be-willing to-hear ready to-speak and
γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ
for if very badly the affairs are and many-things
προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα
have-been-thrown-away nevertheless it-is-possible if you the needful-things
ποιεῖν βούλησθε, ἔτι πάντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐπανορθώσασθαι.
to-do wish still all these-things to-set-right

5 καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς
and paradoxical indeed perhaps is what I-am-about to-say true
δέ· τὸ χείριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ
but the worst in the past this for the
μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε
future best is what then is this that neither
μικρὸν οὔτε μέγ' οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν
small nor great nothing of-the needful-things doing you
κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει, ἐπεί τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε
badly the affairs stand since surely if all-things which were-fitting
πραττόντων οὕτως διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ
doing so they-stood not-even — hope would-be them
γενέσθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ
to-become better now but the idleness the your and
τῆς ἀμελίας κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ
the negligence has-mastered Philip the city but not
κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἥττησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.
he-has-mastered nor have-been-defeated you but not-even have-been-stirred
6 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὡμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ
if indeed then all we-agreed Philip with-the
πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ'
city to-be-at-war and the peace to-transgress nothing other
ἔδει τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν
it-would-be-necessary the-one coming-forward to-say and to-advise
ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ῥᾷστ' αὐτὸν ἀμυνούμεθα·
than how most-safely and most-easily him we-will-repel
ἐπειδὴ δ' οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διάκεινται, ὥστε πόλεις
since but so absurdly some are-disposed that cities
καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων
seizing him and many-things of-the yours
ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαί τινων
holding and all men wronging to-tolerate some

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινές
in the assemblies saying often that of-us some
εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι
are the-ones making the war necessity to-be-on-guard
καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου·
and to-set-right about this
ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα γράψας τις καὶ 7
is for fear lest-ever how we-will-repel having-proposed someone and
συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι τὸν
having-advised into the blame fall of-the to-have-made the
πόλεμον.
war
εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν 8
if indeed then it-is-possible peace to-keep for-the city and in our(-power)
ἐστι τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, φήμ' ἔγωγ' ἄγειν ἡμᾶς
is this so-that from-here I-may-begin I-say I to-keep(-it) us
δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν
to-be-necessary and the-one these-things saying to-propose and to-act
καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιῶ· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
and not to-cheat I-require if but another the arms in the hands
ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὑτὸν τοὔνομα μὲν τὸ
having and force great around himself the-name indeed the
τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ
of-the peace to-you holds-out the but deeds himself the of-the
πολέμου χρῆται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν
war uses what remaining other except to-defend-ourselves to-claim
δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι.
but peace to-keep if you-wish as he not I-disagree
εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος 9
if but someone this peace supposes from which he
πάντα τἄλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει, πρῶτον μὲν
all the-rest having-taken against us will-come first indeed

μαίνεται, ἔπειτ' ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου
he-is-mad then for-him from you not for-you from him
τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων
the peace he-means this and is what with-the being-spent
χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν
money all Philip buys himself indeed to-make-war
ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.
on-you by you but not to-be-warred-on
10 καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν
and indeed if until this we-will-wait until — to-us
ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέστατοι· οὐδὲ
he-admits to-be-at-war of-all we-are most-simple not-even
γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
for if against — Attica itself he-marches and the Piraeus
τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποίηκε
this he-will-say if-indeed by-what toward the others he-has-done
δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι.
one-must to-judge
11 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις, τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς
this indeed for to-Olynthians forty being-distant from-the
πόλεως στάδια, εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ
city stades he-said that it-is-necessary of-two the-one either
ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ,
them in Olynthus not to-live or himself in Macedonia
πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό
all the other time if someone him should-accuse
τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων
something such being-indignant and envoys sending
τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς
the-ones going-to-defend(-him) this and to Phocians as to
συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἳ
allies he-was-marching and envoys of-Phocians were who

παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἤριζον
accompanied him marching and among us contended
οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον.
the many for-Thebans not to-be-going-to-profit the his passage
καὶ μὴν καὶ Φεραὶς πρώην ὡς φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς 12
and indeed also Pherae lately as friend and ally into
Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβών, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς
Thessaly having-come he-holds having-seized and the last to-the
ταλαιπώροις Ὠρείταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς
wretched Oreitans these-here going-to-visit he-said the
στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ
soldiers to-have-sent out-of goodwill to-learn for
αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δ᾽ εἶναι
them that they-are-sick and are-in-faction of-allies and to-be
καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι.
and of-friends true in the such times to-be-present
εἶτ᾽ οἴεσθ᾽ αὐτόν, οἳ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ 13
then think-you him who would-have-done indeed nothing — harm not
παθεῖν δ᾽ ἐφυλάξαντ᾽ ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν
to-suffer but would-have-guarded — perhaps these indeed to-deceive
αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἐκ
to-choose rather than giving-warning to-force with-you but from
προρρήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἕως ἂν ἑκόντες
warning to-be-going-to-make-war and this as-long-as — willingly
ἐξαπατᾶσθε;
you-are-deceived
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων 14
not is this and for — most-foolish he-would-be of-all
ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων
men if the being-wronged you nothing complaining
αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας
to-him but of-you selves some blaming he having-ended

τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐφ'
the toward one-another strife of-you and rivalry against
αὑτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
himself should-give-warning to-turn and of-the-ones from himself
μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν
taking-pay the arguments should-take-away by-which they-put-off
ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γ' οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.
you saying that he at-least not makes-war on-the city
15 ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν
but is-there O by — Zeus anyone-who well thinking from the
ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην
names rather than the facts the-one keeping peace
ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' αὑτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἄν; οὐδεὶς δήπου. ὁ τοίνυν
or making-war with-himself would-judge — no-one surely — then
Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὔπω
Philip from beginning just the peace having-been-made not-yet
Διοπείθους στρατηγοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ
Diopeithes being-general nor the-ones being in Chersonese
νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμβανε καὶ
now having-been-sent Serrium and Doriscus took and
τοὺς ἐκ Σερρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας
the from Serrium fort and Sacred mountain soldiers
ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς κατέστησεν.
expelled whom the your general had-posted
16 καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ
and-yet these-things doing what was-he-doing peace indeed for
ὠμωμόκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, 'τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἢ τί
he-had-sworn and let-no-one say what but these-things are or what
τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει;' εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτα, ἢ
of-these concerns the city if indeed for small these-things or
μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος·
nothing to-you of-them mattered other — would-be argument this

τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἄν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἄν
the but piety and the justice if both in small someone if
τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίνῃ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε
and in greater transgresses the same has force come
δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες
indeed now when into Chersonese which king and all
οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει
the Greeks yours have-recognized to-be mercenaries he-sends-in
καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ;
and to-help admits and writes these-things what does-he-do
φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα 17
he-says indeed for not to-make-war I but so-much lack these-things
ποιοῦντ' ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην,
doing him to-keep to-agree the toward you peace
ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἁπτόμενον κἀν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα
that both Megara laying-hold-of and-in Euboea tyranny
κατασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην παριόντα καὶ τἀν
setting-up and now against Thrace advancing and the-things-in
Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττει
Peloponnese intriguing and all-things as-many-as he-does
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ποιοῦντα, λύειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
with the force doing to-break I-say the peace and
πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματ' ἐφιστάντας
to-make-war on-you if not also the-ones the engines setting-up
εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδη
peace to-keep you-will-say until — them to-the walls already
προσαγάγωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ
they-bring but not you-will-say the-one for by-what — I
ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος
might-be-taken these-things doing and preparing this-man
ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ.
on-me makes-war even-if not-yet he-throws nor shoots

18 τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν
in-what then you would-run-risk — if something should-happen by-the the
Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας
Hellespont to-be-alienated by-the of-Megara and — of-Euboea
τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους
the-one making-war on-you to-become master by-the Peloponnesians
τἀκείνου φρονῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχάνημ' ἐπὶ τὴν
his-cause to-favor then the-one this the engine against the
πόλιν ἱστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς;
city setting-up this-man peace to-keep I am-I-to-say to you
19 πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε
much at-least and-indeed it-lacks but from which day he-destroyed
Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὁρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς
Phocians from this I him to-be-at-war define you
δ', ἐὰν ἀμύνησθ' ἤδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δ' ἐάσητε,
but if you-defend now to-be-going-to-be-wise I-say if but you-let-be
οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι. καὶ
not-even this when you-wish to-be-going-to-be-able to-do and
τοσοῦτόν γ' ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
so-far at-least I-stand-apart-from the others O men Athenians
τῶν συμβουλευόντων, ὥστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρονήσου
the advisers that not-even seems to-me about Chersonese
νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τούτοις,
now to-consider nor Byzantium but to-defend indeed these
20 καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι πάθωσι, καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ
and to-watch-over lest something they-suffer and to-the being there
νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται ἀποστεῖλαι,
now soldiers all-things of-which — they-need to-send
βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν
to-deliberate however about all the Greeks as in
κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστώτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς
danger great standing I-wish and to-tell to

ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν',
you from what about the affairs so I-fear so-that
εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ
if indeed rightly I-reckon you-may-share the reasonings and
πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
forethought some of-you at-least selves if not even of-the others
ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι
then you-wish make if but to-talk-nonsense and to-be-deluded
δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὡς ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.
I-seem neither now nor again as sane to-me give-heed

II · WHAT NO GREEK WAS ALLOWED

The Greeks, Demosthenes says, concede to Philip what they never conceded to Athens in its seventy-three years of leadership, to Sparta in its twenty-nine, or to Thebes: to do as he wishes. Athens and Sparta wronged the Greeks less in all those years than Philip has in thirteen, destroying Olynthus, Methone, Apollonia, and thirty-two Thracian cities, ruining the Phocians, carving Thessaly into tetrarchies, and setting tyrants over Euboea. Wrong done by Greeks is a legitimate heir's mismanagement; Philip, no Greek and no barbarian of decent stock but a Macedonian pest, squanders what is not his. He holds the Pythian games and Thermopylae, takes Ambracia and Leucas from Corinth and Echinus from Thebes, and marches on Byzantium, his ally, while the Greeks watch him like hail, each praying it falls elsewhere.

ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς 21
that indeed then great from small and humble the at beginnings
Φίλιππος ηὔξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι
Philip has-grown and distrustfully and factiously are
πρὸς αὑτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον
toward themselves the Greeks and that much more-incredible
ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω
was so-great him from that to-become than now when so

πολλὰ προείληφε, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι,
many-things he-has-seized-first also the rest under himself to-bring
καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω.
and all-things as-many-as such — I-could to-go-through I-will-pass-over
22 ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν
but I-see having-conceded all men from you
ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον
having-begun to-him that-for which the other all time
πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν
all the wars have-been the Greek what then
ἐστι τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἕν'
is this the to-do what ever he-wishes and by one
οὑτωσὶ περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ
thus to-mutilate and to-rob the Greeks and
καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα.
to-enslave the cities attacking
23 καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν
and-yet leaders indeed you seventy years and three of-the
Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκονθ' ἑνὸς δέοντα
Greeks became leaders and thirty one lacking
Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ
Lacedaemonians were-strong and somewhat also Thebans these-here
τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην.
the last times after the at Leuctra battle
ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις
but nevertheless neither to-you nor to-Thebans nor to-Lacedaemonians
οὐδεπώποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ
never O men Athenians was-conceded this by
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ·
the Greeks to-do what ever you-might-wish not-even by-much lacks

ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ᾽ οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, 24
but this indeed to-you rather but to-the then being Athenians
ἐπειδή τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες
since toward-some not moderately they-seemed to-behave all
ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς,
thought to-be-necessary even the-ones nothing to-charge having them
μετὰ τῶν ἠδικημένων πολεμεῖν· καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις
with the wronged to-make-war and again to-Lacedaemonians
ἄρξασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν,
having-ruled and having-come into the same dominion as-you
ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ
since to-encroach they-attempted and beyond the moderate the
καθεστηκότ᾽ ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, καὶ
established-order disturbed all into war entered even
οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς.
the-ones nothing charging them
καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ 25
and why must the others to-mention but we ourselves and
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι
Lacedaemonians nothing — to-say having from beginning what ever
ἠδικούμεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους
we-were-wronged by one-another nevertheless for what the others
ἀδικουμένους ἑωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ᾠόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι
being-wronged we-saw to-make-war we-thought to-be-necessary and-yet
πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς
all-things as-many-as have-been-done-wrong both by-Lacedaemonians in the
τριάκοντ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔτεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις
thirty those years and by-the our ancestors
ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττον᾽ ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
in the seventy less are O men Athenians
ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκ᾽ οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, οἷς
than-what Philip in three and ten not whole years in-which

ἐπιπολάζει, ἠδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ
he-has-been-uppermost has-wronged the Greeks rather but not-even
μέρος τούτων ἐκεῖνα.
part of-these those

26 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ βραχέος λόγου ῥᾴδιον δεῖξαι. Ὄλυνθον μὲν δὴ
and this from short speech easy to-show Olynthus indeed then
καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις
and Methone and Apollonia and two and thirty cities
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐῶ, ἃς ἁπάσας οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνῄρηκεν
toward Thrace I-pass-over which all so savagely he-has-destroyed
ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ᾠκήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι
that not-even if ever they-were-inhabited having-approached to-be
ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνῃρημένον
easy to-say and the of-Phocians nation so-great destroyed
σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ
I-pass-over but Thessaly how is-it not the constitutions and
τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν,
the cities of-them he-has-taken-away and tetrarchies set-up
ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν;

27 αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτ'
the and in Euboea cities not already are-ruled-by-tyrants and that
ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς
in an-island near Thebes and Athens not expressly in
τὰς ἐπιστολὰς γράφει 'ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς
the letters he-writes for-me and there-is peace with the-ones
ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους'; καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς
to-obey me wishing and not he-writes indeed these-things in-the
δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον
but deeds not he-does but to Hellespont he-has-gone before
ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἦλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν
he-came against Ambracia Elis he-holds so-great city in

Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσεν πρώην, οὔθ' ἡ
Peloponnese against-Megara he-plotted lately neither —
Ἑλλὰς οὔθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τἀνθρώπου.
Greece nor the barbarian(-world) the greed holds of-the-man
καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες 28
and these-things seeing the Greeks all and hearing
οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους
not we-send envoys about these to one-another
κἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορωρύγμεθα
and-are-indignant so but badly we-are-disposed and are-trenched-apart
κατὰ πόλεις ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε
by cities that up-to the today day nothing either
τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι δυνάμεθα,
of-the advantageous nor of-the needful to-do we-are-able
οὐδὲ συστῆναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας
nor to-unite nor partnership of-help and of-friendship
οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι,
any to-make
ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, τὸν 29
but greater becoming the man we-overlook the
χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος
time to-gain this in-which another perishes each
ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται
having-resolved as at-least to-me it-seems not how will-be-saved
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεί, ὅτι
the-cause of-the Greeks considering nor acting since that
γ' ὥσπερ περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς
at-least like recurrence or attack of-fever or other some
κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι
evil even to-the-one very far seeming now to-stand-off
προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ.
he-approaches no-one is-ignorant

30 καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνό γ᾽ ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ
and indeed that-too at-least you-know that as-much-as indeed by
Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν
Lacedaemonians or by us suffered the Greeks but then
ὑπὸ γνησίων γ᾽ ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ
by legitimate at-least being — of-Greece they-were-wronged and
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄν τις ὑπέλαβεν τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἂν
the same manner — someone would-have-taken this as —
εἰ υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονὼς γνήσιος διῴκει τι μὴ
if son in property great born legitimate managed something not
καλῶς μηδ᾽ ὀρθῶς, κατ᾽ αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ᾽ ἄξιον μέμψεως
well nor rightly for very indeed this worthy of-blame
εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δ᾽ οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ
to-be and of-accusation that but not related or that not
κληρονόμος τούτων ὢν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν.
heir of-these being these-things he-did not to-be-possible to-say
31 εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκονθ᾽
if but at-least slave or supposititious the-things not belonging
ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν
was-wasting and was-ruining Heracles by-how-much more terrible
καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ
and of-anger worthy all — would-have-said to-be but not
ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως
about Philip and what he does now not so
ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος
they-are-minded not only not Greek being nor related
οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν
at-all to-the Greeks but not-even barbarian from-there
ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ᾽
whence fine to-mention but of-a-pest Macedonian whence not-even
ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι.
slave decent any was-possible before to-buy

καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ πρὸς τῷ 32
and-yet what of-the extremest insolence does-he-leave-out not besides the
πόλεις ἀνῃρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν
cities to-have-destroyed he-holds indeed the Pythian-games the common
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους
of-the Greeks contest and-if himself not be-present the slaves
ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ
going-to-preside he-sends master and of-Thermopylae and of-the to
τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρόδων ἐστί, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς
the Greeks passes he-is and with-garrisons and mercenaries the
τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ
places these he-occupies he-holds and also the precedence-in-consulting of-the
θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς
god having-pushed-aside us and Thessalians and Dorians and the
ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασι μέτεστι;
other Amphictyons which not-even to-the Greeks all is-shared
γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; 33
he-writes and to-Thessalians in-what one-must manner to-be-governed
πέμπει δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον
he-sends and mercenaries the-ones indeed to Porthmus the people
ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεόν, τύραννον
going-to-expel the of-Eretrians the-others and to Oreus tyrant
Φιλιστίδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες
Philistides going-to-establish but nevertheless these-things seeing
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν
the Greeks endure-it and the same manner as the
χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ'
hail to-me-at-least they-seem to-watch praying not upon
ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν.
themselves each to-fall to-prevent but no-one attempting

34 οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς
not only and at what — Greece is-outraged by him no-one
ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο
retaliates but not-even for what himself each is-wronged this
γὰρ ἤδη τοὔσχατόν ἐστιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν
for already the-utmost is not of-Corinthians against Ambracia
ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὀμώμοκεν
he-has-gone and Leucas not of-Achaeans Naupactus has-sworn
Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον ἀφῄρηται,
to-Aetolians to-be-going-to-hand-over not of-Thebans Echinus has-taken-away
καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας;
and now against Byzantines marches allies being
35 οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐῶ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην
not ours I-pass-over the-rest but of-Chersonese the greatest
ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες
he-holds city Cardia these-things then suffering all
μέλλομεν καὶ μαλκίομεν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν,
we-delay and are-numb and to the neighbors look
ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι.
distrusting one-another not the-one all us wronging
καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε,
and-yet the-one all outrageously so treating what think-you
ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἕν' ἡμῶν ἑκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;
when by one of-us each master he-becomes what to-be-going-to-do

III · EVERYTHING FOR SALE

What has changed, Demosthenes says, is that the Greeks once hated bribe-taking and punished it without pardon, as the bronze stele on the Acropolis outlawing Arthmius of Zelea for bringing Persian gold into the Peloponnese still shows; now everything is for sale, and the Greek cities' ships, men, and money, all greater now than then, are made useless by those who sell. Nor is Philip's war like Sparta's, a citizen army invading openly for a season: he wins by traitors, light troops, cavalry, and mercenaries, and besieges summer and winter. Athens must keep the war far from Attica, harry his land rather than meet him in battle, and hate those who speak for him at home.

τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας 36
what then cause of-these not for without reason and just cause
οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἑτοίμως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες
neither then so were readily toward freedom the Greeks
οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὦ
nor now toward the to-be-slaves there-was something then there-was O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, ὃ νῦν οὐκ
men Athenians in the of-the many minds which now not
ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν
is which also the of-Persians mastered wealth and free
ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης
kept — Greece and neither sea-battle nor land battle
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται
any was-worsted now but having-perished all-things has-ruined
καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.
and up and down has-made the of-the Greeks affairs
τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς 37
what then was this nothing subtle nor clever but that the-ones
παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα
from the-ones to-rule wishing or to-ruin — Greece

χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον
money taking all hated and most-grievous
ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντ᾽ ἐλεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ
was the taking-bribes to-be-convicted and with-penalty greatest
τοῦτον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμί᾽ ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη.
him they-punished and intercession none was nor pardon
38 τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἑκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ τύχη
the then occasion of-each of-the affairs which the fortune
καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων πολλάκις
even for-the negligent against the attentive often
παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων
provides not was-possible to-buy from the speakers
οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
nor the generals nor the toward one-another
ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
concord nor the toward the tyrants and the
βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ᾽ ὅλως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.
barbarians distrust nor at-all such nothing
39 νῦν δ᾽ ἅπανθ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα,
now but all-things as from market have-been-sold-off these
ἀντεισῆκται δ᾽ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ
have-been-imported and instead-of these by which has-perished and
νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις
has-sickened — Greece these and are what envy if someone
εἴληφέ τι· γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη τοῖς
has-taken something laughter if he-confesses pardon for-the-ones
ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ· τἄλλα
being-convicted hatred if these someone censures the-rest
πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται.
all as-many-as from the to-take-bribes depend

ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων 40
since triremes at-least and of-men number and of-money
καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τἆλλ' οἷς ἄν
and of-the other equipment abundance and the-rest by-which —
τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω
someone to-be-strong the cities would-judge now for-all both more
καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἄχρηστα,
and greater are than-the then much but these-things useless
ἄπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.
ineffective unprofitable by the sellers become
ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου καὶ οὐδὲν 41
that and so these-things are the indeed present you-see surely and in-no-way
ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι
of-me need witness the but in the earlier times that
τἀναντί' εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ
the-opposite held I will-show not words of-myself speaking but
γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀκεῖνοι κατέθεντ' εἰς
writings of-the ancestors the your which-they set-up on
στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵν' αὐτοῖς
a-stele bronze having-inscribed onto acropolis not so-that to-them
ᾖ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ
might-be useful and for without these the writings the
δέοντ' ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἔχηθ' ὑπομνήματα καὶ
needful-things they-thought but so-that you might-have reminders and
παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδάζειν προσήκει.
examples how for the such-things to-be-zealous it-is-fitting
τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα; 'Ἄρθμιος' φησὶ 'Πυθώνακτος 42
what then says the writings Arthmius it-says son-of-Pythonax
Ζελείτης ἄτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
of-Zelea outlawed and enemy of-the people the of-Athenians and
τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.' εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται,
of-the allies himself and family then the cause is-written

δι᾽ ἣν ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο· ‘ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων
because-of which these-things happened that the gold the from Medes
εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν.’ ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα.
into Peloponnese he-brought these are the writings
43 λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ᾽ ἡ διάνοια τῶν
reckon indeed by gods what was ever the mind of-the
Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε, ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα.
Athenians the then these-things doing or what the self-regard
ἐκεῖνοι Ζελείτην τινά, Ἄρθμιον, δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ
they a-Zeleite one Arthmius slave of-the-king — for
Ζέλεια ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον
Zelea is — of-Asia because the master serving gold
ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὑτῶν
he-brought into Peloponnese not to-Athens enemy of-themselves
ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους.
they-inscribed and of-the allies him and family and outlawed
44 τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐστὶν οὐχ ἣν οὑτωσί τις ἂν φήσειεν
this and is not which thus someone — would-call
ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν
disfranchisement what for to-the Zeleite of-the of-Athenians public-rights
εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται
if not to-share he-was-about but in the homicide is-written
νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ φόνου δικάσασθαι, ἀλλ᾽
laws about whom — not grants for-murder to-prosecute but
εὐαγὲς ᾖ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ‘καὶ ἄτιμος’ φησὶ ‘τεθνάτω.’ τοῦτο
pure be the to-kill and outlawed it-says let-him-die this
δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τιν᾽ ἀποκτείναντ᾽ εἶναι.
indeed it-means pure the-one of-these someone having-killed to-be
45 οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας
therefore thought they for-the of-all the Greeks safety
αὑτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελ᾽
by-themselves to-be-cared-for to-be not for — to-them it-would-matter

εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ
if someone in Peloponnese some buys and corrupts not
τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦνθ'
this supposing they-punished and so and took-vengeance-on
οὓς αἴσθοιντο, ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων
whom they-detected that even posted-on-steles to-make from and these
εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ
naturally the of-the Greeks was to-the barbarian fearsome not the
βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ'
barbarian to-the Greeks but not now not for so are-disposed
ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' οὔτε πρὸς τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ πῶς;
you neither toward the such-things nor toward the-rest but how
ἴστ' αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; 46
you-know yourselves why for must about all of-you to-accuse
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες οἱ
similarly and and nothing better than-you all the
λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες· διόπερ φήμ' ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς
remaining Greeks wherefore I-say I both of-zeal much
καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι.
and of-counsel good the present affairs to-need
τίνος; εἴπω κελεύετε; καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;
of-what am-I-to-say do-you-bid and not you-will-be-angry
ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι 47
there-is then some simple argument from the-ones to-console
βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρ' οὔπω Φίλιππός ἐστιν οἷοί
wishing the city that then not-yet Philip is such-as
ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἳ θαλάττης μὲν ἦρχον καὶ
once were Lacedaemonians who of-sea indeed ruled and
γῆς ἁπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ'
of-land all king and ally had withstood and
οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἠμύναθ' κἀκείνους ἡ πόλις
nothing them but nevertheless repelled them-too the city

καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. ἐγὼ δ' ἁπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
and not was-swept-away I but of-all so word to-say
πολλὴν εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων
great having-received advance and in-no-way similar being
τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ
the present to-the former nothing I-think more than the-things
τοῦ πολέμου κεκινῆσθαι καὶ πιδεδωκέναι.
of-the war to-have-been-changed and-to-have-advanced

48 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας
first indeed for I-hear Lacedaemonians then and all
τοὺς ἄλλους, τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὡραίαν αὐτήν,
the others four months or five the season itself
ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν ὁπλίταις καὶ
having-invaded — and having-ravaged the land with-hoplites and
πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω
citizen armies to-go-back to home again so
δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ
and old-fashioned they-were rather but civically that not-even
χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν
for-money to-buy from anyone anything but to-be lawful
τινα καὶ προφανῆ τὸν πόλεμον.
some and open the war

49 νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλεῖστα τοὺς προδότας
now but you-see indeed surely the most the traitors
ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης
having-lost nothing but from pitched-battle nor fight
γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγ'
happening you-hear and Philip not by-the phalanx
ὁπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς,
of-hoplites to-lead marching wherever he-wishes but by-the light-troops
ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον.
cavalry archers mercenaries such to-have-attached army

ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὑτοῖς προσπέσῃ 50
when and with these upon sick among themselves he-falls
καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανήματ'
and no-one for the land because-of distrust goes-out engines
ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς
having-set-up he-besieges and I-pass-over summer and winter how
οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει.
nothing it-matters nor is excepted season any which he-intermits
ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ 51
these-things however all knowing and reckoning not it-is-necessary
προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν
to-admit the war into the land nor at the simplicity
τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας
the of-the then against Lacedaemonians war looking
ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι
to-be-thrown-headlong but as from farthest to-guard
τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ
by-the measures and the preparations that from-home not
κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι.
he-will-stir considering not having-grappled to-fight-it-out
πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν 52
for indeed for war many by-nature advantages for-us
ὑπάρχει, ἄν περ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν
exist if indeed O men Athenians to-do we-are-willing
ἃ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἧς ἄγειν καὶ
what one-must the nature of-the his land of-which to-plunder and
φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία·
to-pillage it-is-possible much and badly to-treat other countless
εἰς δ' ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἤσκηται.
for but battle better than-we he has-been-trained

53 οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις
not only and one-must these-things to-know nor by-the deeds
ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
him to-repel the of-the war but also by-the
λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
reasoning and the mind the-ones among you for him
λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν
speaking to-hate pondering that not it-is-possible the
τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
of-the city enemies to-master before — the in very the
πόλει κολάσηθ' ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνοις.
city you-punish serving them

54 ὃ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ δυνήσεσθ' ὑμεῖς
which by — Zeus and the other gods not will-be-able you
ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφῖχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ
to-do but to this you-have-come of-folly or of-madness or
οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε
not I-have what I-am-to-say often for to-me-at-least it-has-occurred
καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ'
also this to-fear lest some divinity the affairs
ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας, φθόνου, σκώμματος, ἥστινος ἂν
drives so-that of-abuse of-envy of-jest whatever —
τύχηθ' ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὧν οὐδ'
you-happen for-the-sake cause men hirelings of-whom not-even
ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε,
— would-deny some that not they-are such to-speak you-bid
καὶ γελᾶτε, ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν.
and laugh if some they-abuse

55 καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὂν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ
and not yet this terrible although being terrible but
καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε
also with more safety to-be-in-politics you-have-granted

τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. καίτοι θεάσασθε
to-these than to-the-ones for you speaking and-yet behold
ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν
how-many disasters provides the of-the such to-be-willing
ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.
to-listen I-will-tell and deeds which all you-will-know

IV · OLYNTHUS, ERETRIA, OREUS

Demosthenes recalls how Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreus listened to Philip's men and drove out their own: at Olynthus Apollonides was banished and Lasthenes elected cavalry commander; the Eretrians expelled their own speakers and got the walls of Porthmus razed and three tyrants; at Oreus Euphraeus, who denounced Philistides, was jailed, and when the city was betrayed he cut his own throat. Now they are slaves. While the ship is afloat every man must work; when the sea overwhelms it, effort is vain. Athens must arm with triremes, money, and soldiers, fight for freedom even if all others consent to slavery, send money to the Chersonese, and send envoys to the Peloponnese, Rhodes, Chios, and the king.

ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν τινὲς 56
there-were in Olynthus of-the-ones in the affairs some
μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ
indeed of-Philip and in-all serving him some and
τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσουσιν οἱ πολῖται
of-the best and that not will-be-slaves the citizens
πράττοντες. πότεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι
working which indeed the fatherland destroyed or which
τοὺς ἱππέας προὔδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων Ὄλυνθος
the cavalry betrayed whom having-been-betrayed Olynthus
ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντες, καὶ ὅτ' ἦν
perished the-ones the-cause of-Philip favoring and when was
ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ
the city the-ones the best saying maligning and

διαβάλλοντες οὕτως, ὥστε τόν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ
slandering so that — at-least Apollonides even
ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.
to-banish the people the of-the Olynthians was-persuaded
57 οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κάκ'
not then among these only the habit this all evils
εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ
wrought elsewhere and nowhere but in Eretria when
ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε
having-been-removed Plutarchus and the mercenaries the people held
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον
the city and — Porthmus the-ones indeed to you were-leading
τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ
the affairs the-others and to Philip listening and
τούτων τὰ πολλά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάνθ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι
to-these the most rather but the all the wretched
καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς, τελευτῶντες ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς
and unfortunate Eretrians finally were-persuaded the-ones
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβαλεῖν.
for themselves speaking to-banish
58 καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἱππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς
and for surely having-sent Hipponicus the ally to-them
Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ
Philip and mercenaries thousand the walls razed — of-Porthmus
καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἵππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα,
and three set-up tyrants Hipparchus Automedon
Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας
Cleitarchus and after these-things he-has-driven-out from the country
δὶς ἤδη βουλομένους σῴζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς
twice already wishing to-be-saved then indeed having-sent the
μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος.
with Eurylochus mercenaries again and the-ones with Parmenion

καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδης μὲν 59
and why must the many-things to-tell but in Oreus Philistides indeed
ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας
worked for-Philip and Menippus and Socrates and Thoas
καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ᾔδεσαν
and Agapaeus who-very now hold the city and this knew
ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ τις ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ'
all Euphraeus but a man also among us once
ἐνθάδ' οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται.
here having-lived that free and of-no-one slaves they-will-be
οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προυπηλακίζεθ' ὑπὸ 60
he the indeed rest how he-was-outraged and was-insulted by
τοῦ δήμου, πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον
the people much — it-would-be to-tell by-a-year and before
τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην
the capture he-denounced as traitor — Philistides
καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἃ πράττουσιν.
and the-ones with him having-perceived what they-are-doing
συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες
having-banded-together and men many and paymaster having
Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς
Philip and being-directed they-haul-off — Euphraeus to
τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν.
the prison as disturbing the city
ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ 61
seeing and these-things the people the of-the Oreitans instead-of the
τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς
him indeed to-help the-others and to-cudgel-to-death with-the-ones
μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν
indeed not was-angry him but fit these-things to-suffer
ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας
said and rejoiced after these-things the-ones indeed with license

ὁπόσης ἐβούλοντ' ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται,
as-much-as they-wished worked that the city will-be-taken
καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις
and were-preparing the deed of-the but many if anyone
αἴσθοιτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἶ' ἔπαθεν
noticed was-silent and was-cowed — Euphraeus what he-suffered
μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο, ὥστ' οὐ πρότερον
remembering so and wretchedly they-were-disposed that not before
ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν,
dared no-one such evil approaching to-utter voice
πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι·
before having-made-ready to the walls approached the enemies
τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἠμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὐδίδοσαν.
at-that-time but the-ones indeed defended the-others and betrayed
62 τῆς πόλεως δ' οὕτως ἁλούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ
the city and so having-been-taken shamefully and basely the-ones
μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας ἑαυτοὺς
indeed rule and tyrannize the-ones then saving themselves
καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἑτοίμους ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν
and — Euphraeus ready anything-at-all to-do being some indeed
ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκεῖνος
having-banished others and having-killed — and Euphraeus that
ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ
cut-the-throat-of himself by-deed having-testified that both justly and
καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθειστήκει Φιλίππῳ.
purely for the citizens he-had-withstood Philip
63 τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους
what then ever cause you-wonder perhaps the both the Olynthians
καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας καὶ τοὺς Ὠρείτας ἥδιον πρὸς τοὺς
and the Eretrians and the Oreitans more-gladly toward the-ones
ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν;
for Philip speaking to-be-disposed than the-ones for themselves

ὅπερ καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου
which-very also among you because for-the-ones indeed for the best
λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν
speaking not-even wishing it-is-possible sometimes for favor anything
εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ πράγματ᾽ ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται·
to-say the for affairs necessity to-consider how they-will-be-saved
οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.
the-others and in very-things which they-gratify Philip they-help
εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· 64
to-contribute bade the-others and nothing to-be-necessary said
πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄγειν εἰρήνην,
to-make-war and not to-trust the-others and to-keep peace
ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι
until they-were-caught the-rest the same manner I-think
πάνθ᾽, ἵνα μὴ καθ᾽ ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν ἐφ᾽ οἷς
all so-that not by each I-speak the-ones indeed by what
χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον
they-will-please these-things said the-others and from what they-were-about
σωθήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ οὕτως
to-be-saved many and also the last not so
πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προσίεντο, ἀλλ᾽
for favor nor through ignorance the many admitted but
ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον.
yielding since in-the whole to-be-beaten they-thought
ὃ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ᾽ ἐγὼ μὴ πάθηθ᾽ 65
which by — Zeus and — Apollo I-fear I lest suffer
ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν εἰδῆτ᾽ ἐκλογιζόμενοι μηδὲν ἔθ᾽ ὑμῖν
you when you-know reckoning-up nothing any-longer for-you
ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ
being-possible and-yet not may-come indeed O men Athenians the
πράγματ᾽ ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι δὲ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ
affairs in this to-be-dead and ten-thousand-times better than

κολακείᾳ τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου καὶ προέσθαι τῶν
in-flattery something to-do of-Philip and to-give-up of-the-ones
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν
for you speaking some fine at-least the many now
ἀπειλήφασιν Ὠρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις
have-received of-Oreitans return because to-the of-Philip friends
ἐπέτρεψαν αὑτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν·
they-entrusted themselves — but Euphraeus they-thrust-away
66 καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέρους
fine at-least the people the of-Eretrians because the your
πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὑτόν·
envoys it-drove-away to-Cleitarchus but surrendered itself
δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι. καλῶς
they-are-slaves at-least being-whipped and being-slaughtered finely
Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένην ἵππαρχον
of-Olynthians spared the-ones — indeed Lasthenes hipparch
χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων.
having-elected — but Apollonides having-banished
67 μωρία καὶ κακία τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς
folly and cowardice the such-things to-hope and badly
βουλευομένους καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας,
deliberating and nothing of-what is-fitting to-do willing
ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους,
but the-ones for the enemies speaking listening-to
τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδέν,
so-great to-think city to-inhabit the size that nothing
μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι.
not-even if anything-at-all be terrible to-be-going-to-suffer
68 καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γ' αἰσχρόν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν 'τίς
and indeed that at-least shameful later ever to-say who
γὰρ ἂν ᾠήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νὴ τὸν Δί', ἔδει
for — would-have-thought these-things to-happen by — Zeus it-was-needed

γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.᾽ πόλλ᾽
for this and that to-have-done and the not to-have-done many-things
ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότ᾽ εἰ προείδοντο,
— to-say could Olynthians now which then if they-had-foreseen
οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ᾽ ἂν Ὠρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς,
not — they-would-have-perished many — Oreitans many Phocians
πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι.
many of-the ruined each
ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σῴζηται 69
but what of-these use to-them as-long-as — is-saved
τὸ σκάφος, ἄν τε μεῖζον ἄν τ᾽ ἔλαττον ᾖ, τότε
the vessel if both greater if and smaller it-be then
χρὴ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ᾽ ἄνδρ᾽ ἐξῆς
it-is-necessary both sailor and helmsman and every man in-turn
προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ᾽ ἑκὼν μήτ᾽ ἄκων μηδεὶς
eager to-be and that neither willing nor unwilling anyone
ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἡ θάλαττα
will-overturn this to-see-to when but the sea
ὑπέρσχῃ, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή.
overwhelms vain the effort
καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμὲν σῷοι, 70
and we then O men Athenians while we-are safe
πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα
city greatest having resources most reputation
κάλλιστον, τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως
finest what are-we-to-do long-ago someone gladly — perhaps
ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νὴ Δί᾽ ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστ᾽
having-asked sits I by Zeus will-tell and will-propose and so-that
ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ
if you-wish you-will-vote ourselves first defending and
παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις
preparing with-triremes and money and soldiers

λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν
I-mean even for if all surely to-be-slaves consent
οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον·
the others by-us at-least for the freedom must-be-fought
71 ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες
these-things indeed all ourselves having-prepared and having-made
φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς
plain the others now let-us-summon and the-ones
ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχοῖ, εἰς
these-things going-to-explain let-us-send-out envoys everywhere to
Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ
Peloponnese to Rhodes to Chios to king I-mean not-even
γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῦτον ἐᾶσαι
for of-the to-him advantageous stands-apart the not this-man to-allow
πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς
all to-subdue so-that if indeed you-persuade partners
ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἄν τι
you-may-have both of-the dangers and of-the expenses if something
δέῃ, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γ' ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν.
be-needed if but not delays at-least you-may-put-into the affairs
72 ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης
since for is against a-man and not of-a-united
πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ'
city strength the war not-even this useless nor
αἱ πέρυσιν πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖναι καὶ
the last-year embassies round — Peloponnese those and
κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ
accusations which I and Polyeuctus the excellent there
καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις περιήλθομεν, καὶ
and Hegesippus and the other envoys went-round and

ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκεῖνον καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν
made to-hold-back him and neither against Ambracia
ἐλθεῖν μήτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὁρμῆσαι.
to-go nor into Peloponnese to-rush
οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀναγκαῖον 73
not however I-say nothing ourselves for ourselves necessary
ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν, τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες
being-willing to-do the others to-summon and for foolish
τὰ οἰκεῖ' αὐτοὺς προϊεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν
the own-things ourselves throwing-away of-the others' to-claim
κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων
to-care and the present overlooking about the future
τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν
the others to-frighten not I-say these-things but to-the-ones indeed in
Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημὶ δεῖν καὶ τἄλλ'
Chersonese money to-send I-say to-be-necessary and the-rest
ὅσ' ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι, τοὺς δ'
as-much-as they-ask to-do ourselves and to-prepare the and
ἄλλους Ἕλληνας συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν·
other Greeks to-call-together to-assemble to-instruct to-admonish
ταῦτ' ἐστὶν πόλεως ἀξίωμ' ἐχούσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει.
these-things are of-a-city reputation having as-great-as to-you belongs
εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ 74
if but you-think Chalcidians — Greece to-be-going-to-save or
Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ
Megarians you but to-be-going-to-run-away-from the affairs not
ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σῴζωνται τούτων
rightly you-think content for if themselves they-are-saved of-these
ἑκάστοις. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι
each but by-you this must-be-done for-you the ancestors

τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ πολλῶν
this the privilege won and left with many
καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων.
and great dangers
75 εἰ δ' ὃ βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν
if but what he-wishes seeking each will-sit and how nothing
αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ μήποθ' εὕρῃ
himself he-will-do considering first indeed not-even ever he-will-find
τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοιχ' ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμ'
the-ones going-to-do then I-fear that not all at-the-same-time
ὅσ' οὐ βουλόμεθα ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.
as-many-as not we-wish to-do for-us necessity will-be
76 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἴομαι καὶ νῦν
I indeed then these-things say these-things propose and think even now
ἔτ' ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων. εἰ δέ
still to-be-set-right — the affairs these happening if but
τις ἔχει τούτων τι βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω.
someone has than-these something better let-him-say and let-him-advise
ὅ τι δ' ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι.
what ever and to-you will-seem-good this O all gods may-it-benefit

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

On the Crown

Demosthenes opens by praying that the gods grant him from the jurors the goodwill he has always shown the city, and that they not let his opponent tell them how to hear him. The laws and their oath bid them hear both sides alike and let the defendant order his own defense. He is at a disadvantage: he risks their goodwill while Aeschines risks only losing his suit, and men hear abuse gladly but a man's praise of himself with annoyance. Yet the charges compel him to speak of his own acts, and the blame for that is Aeschines', who brought the suit; the trial is his as much as Ctesiphon's.

Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι 1
first indeed O men Athenians to-the gods I-pray all
καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ
and all(-goddesses) as-much goodwill having I continue toward-the
τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ'
both city and all you so-much to-be-forthcoming to-me from
ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ'
you for this-here the trial then which-very is most
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης,
for you and the your piety both and reputation
τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον
this to-put-in-mind the gods to-you not the opponent
σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ
adviser to-make about the how to-hear you me
δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε),
it-is-necessary cruel for — would-be this at-least
ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι 2
but the laws and the oath in which besides all
τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως
the other just-provisions also this is-written the alike
ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ
both to-hear this and is not only the

μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην
not to-have-prejudged anything nor the the goodwill equal
ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς
to-give but the also the order and the defense as
βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος,
has-wished and has-chosen of-the contestants each
οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.
so to-allow to-use

3 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν
in-many-things indeed then I am-at-a-disadvantage in this-here the
ἀγῶν' Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μεγάλα,
trial than-Aeschines two and O men Athenians and great
ἓν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ
one indeed that not for the equal(-stakes) I-contend not for
ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ
is equal now for-me the from you goodwill to-miss and
τούτῳ μὴ ἑλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι
for-him not to-win the indictment but for-me indeed not I-wish
δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ
unpleasant to-say anything beginning the speech he and from
περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν
surplus me accuses other and which by-nature to-all
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν
men belongs the indeed abuses and the accusations
ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὑτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι·
to-hear gladly at-the-ones praising but themselves to-be-vexed

4 τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται,
of-these then what indeed is for pleasure to-him has-been-given
ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν
what but all so word to-say annoys is-left to-me and-if indeed
εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ
being-cautious this not I-tell the things-done by-myself not

ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω, οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς
to-be-able to-refute the charges I-will-seem nor for what
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ
I-claim to-be-honored to-show if but to what both I-have-done and
πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ
I-have-administered I-go often to-speak I-will-be-compelled about
ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν·
myself I-will-try indeed then as most-moderately this to-do
ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὖτ' ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν
what ever and — the matter itself compels of-this the blame
οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶν' ἐνστησάμενος.
he is right to-bear the-one such trial having-instituted
οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι 5
I-think and you O men Athenians all — would-agree
κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶν' ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ
common to-be this-here the trial for-me and for-Ctesiphon and
οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ
in-no-way less worthy of-concern to-me of-all indeed for
ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν
to-be-deprived painful is and hard otherwise both and-if
ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῳ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ'
by an-enemy to-someone this happens most but of-the from
ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳπερ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν
you goodwill and kindness by-as-much-as also the to-obtain
τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν.
these greatest is
περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι 6
about these and being this-here the trial I-ask and beg
πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων
all alike of-you to-hear me about the charges
ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ
defending-myself justly as the laws bid which the-one

τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός,
making from beginning Solon well-disposed being to-you and democratic
οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
not only by-the to-write valid thought to-be-necessary to-be but
καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὀμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν,
also by-the the jurors to-have-sworn not distrusting you
7 ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς
as at-least to-me it-appears but seeing that the charges and the
διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει,
slanders by-which from the first to-speak the prosecutor is-strong
οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων
not it-is-possible for-the defendant to-get-past if not of-the jurors
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ
each of-you the toward the gods piety keeping also
τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,
the of-the speaking later just(-claims) kindly will-receive
καὶ παρασχὼν αὑτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν
and having-rendered himself equal and impartial to-both hearer
οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἁπάντων.
so the decision will-make about all
8 μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τ' ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον
being-about and of-the both private life all as it-seems account
διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι
to-give today and of-the in-common administered I-wish
πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι
again the gods to-invoke and before you I-pray
πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε
first indeed as-much goodwill having I continue toward-the both
πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν
city and all you so-much to-be-forthcoming to-me from you
εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ
for this-here the trial then what ever is-going to-benefit both

πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο
for good-repute in-common and for piety to-each this
παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.
to-put-in-mind to-all you about this-here the indictment to-decide

II · SPITE, NOT ACCUSATION

Since Aeschines spent as much of his speech on other matters as on the indictment, and lied in most of it, Demosthenes answers that first. If the jurors know him to be what Aeschines says, let them condemn him unheard; if they know him better, let them disbelieve the rest. He will answer the charges on his policy and leave the abuse for later. If the charges were true the city could not punish them enough, but Aeschines, who could have impeached him or indicted his proposals at the time, waited years and now accuses Demosthenes while prosecuting Ctesiphon, out of spite. First he takes the peace and the embassy, where Aeschines lays on him what he did himself with Philocrates.

εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, 9
if indeed then about what he-prosecuted only had-accused Aeschines
κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην·
I-too about itself the preliminary-decree at-once — would-have-defended
ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τἄλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ
since but not less speech the-rest going-through he-has-spent and
τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ
the most lied-about me necessary to-be I-think and
δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων
just at-the-same-time briefly O men Athenians about these
εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος
to-speak first so-that no-one of-you by-the extraneous words led
ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.
more-coldly the about the indictment just(-pleas) may-hear me

περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος
about indeed then the private-matters as-much-as abusing
βεβλασφήμηκεν περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθ' ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια
he-has-slandered about me see how simple and just-things
λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο (οὐ
I-say if indeed you-know me such as he charged not
γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκ' ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν
for elsewhere anywhere I-have-lived than among you not-even voice
ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι,
endure not-even if all the public-affairs superbly I-have-administered
ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθ' ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω
but having-stood-up condemn now if but much better
τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα
than-him and from better and than-none of-the moderate so-that
μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς
nothing offensive I-say worse both me and the mine
ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν
you-have-supposed and know him indeed not-even about the
ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' ἐπλάττετο),
others trust clear for that alike all-things he-fabricated
ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθ'
to-me but which through all the time goodwill you-have-shown
ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε.
in many trials the former also now show

κακοήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης,
malicious and being Aeschines this altogether simple you-thought
τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους
the about the things-done and administered words
ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι.
having-dropped me to the abuses the from you to-be-going-to-turn
οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
not indeed I-will-do this not so I-am-deluded but about

μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες
indeed the political-acts which you-lied-about and slandered
ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης,
I-will-examine the but ribaldry this the unrestrained having-occurred
ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ᾖ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.
later if wishing it-be to-these I-will-mention
τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων 12
the indeed then charges many and about which some
μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας, τοῦ
great and the extreme the laws give penalties of-the
δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν
but present trial the choice this of-an-enemy indeed
ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν
spite has and insolence and abuse and insult
ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ
together and all the such-things of-the however accusations and
τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ
the charges the spoken if-indeed they-were true not
ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς.
it-is-possible for-the city penalty adequate to-take not-even near
οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ 13
not for to-take-away one-must the to-come-before the people and
λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο
hearing to-get nor in of-spite manner and of-envy this
ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν
to-do neither by the gods rightly being nor civic
οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς
nor just is O men Athenians but for which
ἀδικοῦντά μ' ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα
wronging me he-saw the city being at-least so-great as
νῦν ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις
now he-was-declaiming and recounting the from the laws penalties

παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια
at very the-wrongs to-use if indeed of-impeachment worthy
πράττονθ᾽ ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς
doing he-saw impeaching and this the manner into
κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα,
trial bringing before you if but proposing illegal-things
παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν
for-illegality indicting not for surely Ctesiphon indeed
δύναται διώκειν δι᾽ ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δ᾽, εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν
he-can to-prosecute because-of me me but if-indeed to-be-going-to-convict
ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο.
he-thought myself not — would-have-indicted

14 καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ
and indeed if anything of-the other(-acts) which now he-slandered and
διεξῄει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά μ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἑώρα,
recounted or also other anything-at-all wronging me you he-saw
εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι, καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ
there-are laws about all and penalties and trials and
κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλ᾽ ἔχουσαι τἀπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις
judgments bitter and great having the-penalties and these
ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὁπηνίκ᾽ ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα
it-was-possible all to-use and when he-appeared these-things
πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς
having-done and this the manner having-dealt the-things toward
ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτ᾽ ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.
me would-agree — the accusation with-the deeds of-him

15 νῦν δ᾽ ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν
now but having-left the right and just road and having-shunned
τοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον
the at very the events tests so-much later
χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφορήσας
in-time charges and jests and abuses having-heaped-up

ὑποκρίνεται· εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί,
he-plays-a-part then he-accuses indeed me tries but this-man
καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἔμ' ἔχθραν
and of-the indeed trial whole the toward me enmity
προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν
puts-forward nowhere but on this having-met me the
ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται.
of-another seeking rights to-take-away he-appears
καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις 16
and-yet besides all O men Athenians the other(-points)
οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ'
which — to-say someone for Ctesiphon could also this
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς
to-me-at-least seems also very reasonably — to-say that of-the
ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν
our enmity us between us selves just was
τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
the examination to-make not the indeed with one-another
ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι
to-contend to-pass-over for-another but to-whom harm some
δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.
we-will-give to-seek excess for of-injustice this at-least
πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημέν' ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἄν 17
all indeed then the charges alike from these —
τις ἴδοι, οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα·
someone could-see neither justly nor on truth any said
βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ'
I-wish but also by one each of-them to-examine and most
ὅσ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό
as-many-as about the peace and the embassy he-lied-about
μου, τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί.
me the things-done by-himself with Philocrates ascribing to-me

ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως,
it-is and necessary O men Athenians and fitting perhaps
ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματ' ἀναμνῆσαι,
how in those the times stood the affairs to-remind
ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.
so-that by the existing occasion each-thing you-may-view

III · WHO MADE THE PEACE

The peace was not his doing, Demosthenes argues. When the Phocian war began he was not yet in public life; Athens wished the Phocians saved and the Thebans humbled, and the Peloponnese was divided. Philip bought traitors everywhere, and when the worn-out Thebans were about to turn to Athens he offered Athens peace and Thebes help, and the Greeks, who had given Athens nothing in a war fought for all, let him. The peace was first raised by Aristodemus the actor and moved by Philocrates of Hagnus, Aeschines' partner, with Eubulus and Cephisophon. Aeschines' tale that Demosthenes kept the city from a peace made with a council of all the Greeks is false: no embassy was abroad, and Aeschines never protested.

18 τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ
of-the for Phocian having-arisen war not through me not
γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω
for I-myself was-in-politics yet then first indeed you so
διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ
were-disposed so-that Phocians indeed to-wish to-be-saved although
οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν
not just-things doing seeing to-Thebans but whatever-at-all —
ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς
to-rejoice having-suffered not unreasonably nor unjustly with-them
ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ ηὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως
being-angry in-what for they-had-prospered at Leuctra not moderately
ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ
they-had-used next — Peloponnese all was-divided and

οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστ'
neither the-ones hating Lacedaemonians so were-strong so-that
ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες
to-destroy them nor the-ones formerly through them ruling
κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ
masters of-the cities were but some was undecided both among
τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή.
these and among the others all strife and confusion
ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' 19
these-things and seeing — Philip not for were unseen to-the among
ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματ' ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε
each traitors money spending all he-knocked-together
καὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ
and against themselves stirred-up then in what erred others and
κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων
badly thought he-himself was-preparing and against all
ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου
was-growing as and being-worn-out by-the length of-the war
οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς, νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ
the-ones then indeed heavy now but unfortunate Thebans clear
πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ
to-all were going-to-be-compelled to-flee-for-refuge to you —
Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ
Philip so-that not this might-happen nor might-come-together the
πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην, ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο.
cities to-you indeed peace to-them and help announced
τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν 20
what then helped him toward the to-take little lacking
ὑμᾶς ἑκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων,
you willingly being-deceived the of-the other Greeks
εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ'
whether one-must baseness or ignorance or also both these

εἰπεῖν, οἳ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν,
to-call who war continuous and long waging you
καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν
and this for the to-all advantageous(-things) as by-deed clear
γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ
has-become neither with-money nor with-bodies nor with-other nothing
τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ
of-the all assisted you with-whom also justly and
προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἑτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ.
fittingly being-angry readily you-listened — to-Philip
ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσ' εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ
the indeed then then conceded peace because-of these not
δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων
because-of me as this-man slandered was-made the but of-these
ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων
wrongs and bribes in it of-the now present
πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἴτι' εὑρήσει.
affairs if anyone examines justly causes he-will-find
21 καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ
and these-here all for the truth I-state-precisely and
διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστ' ἐν τούτοις
I-go-through if for to-be anything should-seem the most in these
ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος
wrong nothing is surely toward me but the indeed first
εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος
having-spoken and having-mentioned about the peace Aristodemus
ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ
was the actor the and having-taken-up and having-proposed and
ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ
himself with this-man having-hired-out for these-things Philocrates the
Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σός, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ'
Hagnusian the your Aeschines partner not the mine not-even

ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες
if you burst lying the-ones and having-spoken-in-support
ὅτου δήποθ' εἵνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι)
of-what ever sake I-let-pass for this at-least in the present
Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.
Eubulus and Cephisophon I but nothing nowhere
ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς 22
but nevertheless these such being and on itself the
ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκεν ἀναιδείας
truth so being-shown to this he-came of-shamelessness
ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης
so-that he-dared to-say that then I besides the of-the peace
αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἴην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ
cause to-have-been and having-prevented should-be the city with
κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ'
common council of-the Greeks this to-make then
ὦ — τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου
O what — saying you anyone rightly might-address is-there where
σὺ παρὼν τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην
you being-present so-great action and alliance as-great-as
νυνὶ διεξῄεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως,
now you-were-recounting seeing taking-away me from-the city
ἠγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν κατηγόρεις
were-indignant or having-come-forward these-things which now you-were-accusing
ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες;
taught and went-through
καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν 23
and indeed if the to-prevent the of-the Greeks partnership
ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν,
I-had-sold I to-Philip for-you the not to-be-silent remaining was
ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ
but to-shout and to-protest and to-show to-these-here not

τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην
then you-did nowhere this nor heard of-you this
τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδέν'
the voice no-one neither for was embassy to no-one
ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν
having-been-sent then of-the Greeks but long-ago all were
ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.
having-been-tested nor this-man sound about these has-said nothing
24 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν
apart and from-these also he-slanders the city the greatest-things in
οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
what he-lies if for you at-the-same-time the indeed Greeks
εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ
to war were-summoning yourselves but to Philip about
εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως
peace envoys were-sending of-Eurybatus a-deed not of-a-city
ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι
work nor of-decent men were-accomplishing but not is
ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ'
this not is what for also wishing would-you-be-summoning
ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ'
— them in this the moment for the peace but
ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ
it-was-there for-all but for the war but yourselves about
εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. οὔκουν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης
peace were-deliberating not-then neither of-the from beginning peace
ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων
leader nor cause being I appear nor of-the others
ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὂν δείκνυται.
which he-lied-about me nothing true being is-shown

Once the peace was made, Demosthenes proposed that the envoys sail at once to Philip, wherever he was, and take his oaths while Athens' Thracian allies still held Serrium, Myrtenum, and Ergisce; Philip wanted the interval long, since whatever he seized before swearing would be his. The envoys ignored the decree and sat three months in Macedonia until Philip came back from Thrace with everything subdued. Aeschines faults Demosthenes for introducing Philip's envoys and giving them seats in the theater, as if they should have watched from the two-obol seats. Then Philip paid the envoys to stay until his march on the Phocians was ready, so that Athens could not sail to Thermopylae.

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐνταῦθα 25
when then made the peace the city there
πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν·
again consider what of-us each chose to-do
καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ πάντα
and for from these you-will-know who was the-one for-Philip all-things
συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ
assisting and who the-one acting for you and
τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα
the for-the city advantage seeking I indeed then proposed
βουλεύων ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς
being-councilor to-sail-off the quickest the envoys to the
τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς
places in which — being Philip they-learn and the
ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δ' οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ
oaths to-receive these-men but not-even having-proposed me
ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν.
these-things to-do were-willing

26 τί δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω.
what and this meant O men Athenians I will-teach
Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ
for-Philip indeed was advantageous as most the between
χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ᾽ ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ
time to-be of-the oaths for-you but as least because-of
τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὠμόσαθ᾽ ἡμέρας μόνον,
what because you indeed not from which you-swore day only
ἀλλ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας
but from which you-hoped the peace to-be-going-to-be all
ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτ᾽
you-dissolved the preparations the of-the war he but this
ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστ᾽ ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων,
from all the time most was-working-at thinking
ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ
which-very was true as-much-as of-the city he-seized-first before the
τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἕξειν·
the oaths to-render all these securely to-be-going-to-hold
οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων εἵνεκα.
no-one for the peace to-be-going-to-break of-these for-the-sake
27 ἀγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ
which-things-I foreseeing men Athenians and reckoning the
ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν
decree this I-propose to-sail to the places in which —
ᾖ Φίλιππος καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν,
is Philip and the oaths the quickest to-receive
ἵν᾽ ἐχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων,
so-that holding the Thracians the your allies
ταῦτα τὰ χωρί᾽ ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον
these the places which now this-man was-mocking — Serrium
καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιν᾽ οἱ
and — Myrtenum and — Ergisce so might-be-made the

ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν
oaths and not having-seized-first he the strategic of-the
τόπων κύριος τῆς Θρᾴκης κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν
places master — of-Thrace might-be-established nor much
μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ
indeed money much and soldiers having-gained-plenty from
τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν.
these easily to-the remaining might-lay-hand affairs
εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀναγιγνώσκει· 28
then this indeed not he-mentions the decree nor reads-out
εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾤμην
if and being-councilor I to-introduce the envoys thought
δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν;
to-be-necessary this of-me he-slanders but what was-needed me to-do
μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ᾽ ἥκοντας, ἵν᾽ ὑμῖν
not to-introduce to-propose the-ones for this having-come so-that with-you
διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτον᾽ αὐτοῖς
they-might-confer or a-seat not to-assign the manager for-them
κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν
to-order but in the two obols they-would-have-watched
ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς
— if not this had-been-proposed the small advantages of-the
πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ᾽ ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι,
city it-was-needed me to-guard the but whole as these-men
πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα
to-have-sold not surely read then for-me the decree
τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.
this-here having-taken which clearly this-man knowing transgressed
ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον 30
these-things having-proposed me then and the for-the city advantage
οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ
not the for-Philip seeking briefly having-cared the good

πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντ᾽ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας,
envoys these-men sat in Macedonia three whole months
ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θρᾴκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος,
until came Philip from Thrace all having-subdued
ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, †ὁμοίως† δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων,
it-being-possible in-days ten likewise and three or four
εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι,
to the Hellespont to-have-arrived and the places to-save
λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ
having-received the oaths before him to-take them not
γὰρ ἂν ἥψατ᾽ αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν
for — would-have-touched them present us or not —
ὡρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει
we-would-have-put-to-oath him so-that of-the peace — he-would-have-missed
καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερ᾽ εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.
and not — both would-have-had and the peace and the places
31 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν
the indeed then in the embassy first theft indeed
Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων
of-Philip bribe and of-the unjust these men
τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
such happened about which both then and now and always
ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον
I-agree both to-war and to-quarrel with-these another
δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε.
but at-once next still than-this greater crime behold
32 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὤμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν
when for swore the peace — Philip having-seized-first
τὴν Θρᾴκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ
— Thrace because-of these-men not having-obeyed the my
ψηφίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἄπιμεν ἐκ
decree again he-buys from them that not we-depart from

Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας
Macedonia until the of-the expedition the against the Phocians
εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μή, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων ἡμῶν
ready he-should-make so-that not here having-reported we
ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιθ'
that he-is-about and is-preparing to-march you-might-go-out
ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας
you and having-sailed-round with-the triremes to Thermopylae
ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ'
as before you-might-close the place but at-the-same-time
ἀκούοιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κἀκεῖνος ἐντὸς
you-might-hear these-things reporting we and-he inside
εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι.
might-be Thermopylae and nothing you-might-have you to-do

V · THE REPORT THAT RUINED THE PHOCIANS

Fearing that Athens would vote to help the Phocians, Philip hired Aeschines to report to the assembly on his own: that Philip's passing Thermopylae was no cause for alarm, that if Athens kept quiet it would hear within days that those he came against as an enemy had found him a friend, and that he would rid Phocians and Athenians alike of Theban insolence. Some listened gladly out of hatred for Thebes. The Phocians perished and their cities were razed, the Athenians carried their goods in from the fields, and Aeschines got gold, while Athens earned the hatred of Thebes and Thessaly and Philip their thanks, as his letter to his allies shows. Now Aeschines bewails the Thebans' sufferings, he who holds property in Boeotia and farms their land, while Demosthenes, whom Philip at once demanded, rejoices.

οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ 33
so and was — Philip in fear and much anxiety lest
καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας
also these-things having-seized-first him if before the the Phocians

ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν,
to-perish you-should-vote to-help should-escape the affairs him
ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ
so-that he-hires the despicable this-here no-longer in-common
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὑτόν, τοιαῦτα
with the other envoys but privately by himself such-things
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο.
to you to-say and to-report through which all perished
34 ἀξιῶ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι
I-ask and O men Athenians and beg this to-remember
παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου
throughout whole the trial that not having-accused Aeschines
μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένʼ
nothing outside the indictment not-even — I speech none
ἐποιούμην ἕτερον· πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις
would-make other all but charges and slanders
ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα
at-the-same-time this-man having-used necessity for-me-too to each
τῶν κατηγορημένων μίκρ' ἀποκρίνασθαι.
of-the accusations briefly to-answer
35 τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ
what then were the from this-man words then spoken and
δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ
through which all perished that not one-must to-be-alarmed by-the
παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ'
to-have-passed Philip inside Thermopylae will-be for all
ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε
as-much-as you-wish you if you-keep quiet and you-will-hear
δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἥκει, φίλον αὐτὸν
in-two or three days to-whom indeed enemy he-came friend him
γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ
having-become to-whom and friend the-opposite enemy not for

τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς
the words the intimacies he-said to-confirm very solemnly
ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ
naming but the the-same to-benefit to-benefit and for-Philip
καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας
and for-Phocians and for-you alike for-all from-the insensibility
καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων.
and the oppressiveness to-be-rid the of-the Thebans
ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' 36
these-things and gladly some heard from-him because-of the then
ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη
underlying hatred toward the Thebans what then happened
μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας
after these-things at-once not into long the indeed Phocians
ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς
to-perish and to-be-razed the cities of-them you
δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν
and quiet having-kept and this-man having-obeyed a-little
ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον
later to-carry-in-goods from the fields this-man and gold
λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν
to-get and still besides these the indeed hatred the
πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν
toward Thebans and Thessalians for-the city to-come the
δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ.
and gratitude the for the things-done to-Philip
ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους 37
that and so these-things are read for-me the both — of-Callisthenes
ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν
decree and the letter the — of-Philip from which
ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.
both these-things all to-you will-be clear read

38 ἆρ᾽ ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ
then on these the hopes the peace you-made or
ταῦτ᾽ ἐπηγγέλλεθ᾽ ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;
these-things announced to-you this-man the hireling
39 λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.
read now the letter which sent Philip after these-things
40 ἀκούεθ᾽ ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
you-hear how clearly he-declares and defines in the to you
ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς αὑτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι ‘ἐγὼ ταῦτα
letter to the his allies that I these-things
πεποίηκ᾽ ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ᾽ εἴπερ
have-done unwilling Athenians and being-grieved so-that if-indeed
εὖ φρονεῖτ᾽, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς
well you-think O Thebans and Thessalians these indeed enemies
ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε᾽ οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν
you-will-regard me but you-will-trust not with-these the words
γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ
having-written these-things but wishing to-show accordingly from
τούτων ᾤχετ᾽ ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν
these he-went-off them having-taken into the not-even anything-at-all
προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ᾽ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐᾶσαι
to-foresee of-the after these-things nor to-perceive but to-allow
πάντα τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ
all the affairs him under himself to-make from
ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται.
which the present misfortunes the wretched have-met
41 ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς
the and of-this the trust to-him fellow-worker and fellow-contender
καὶ ὁ δεῦρ᾽ ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας
and the-one hither having-reported the false-things and having-cheated
ὑμᾶς, οὗτός ἐσθ᾽ ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη
you this-man is the-one the of-Thebans bewailing now sufferings

καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι
and recounting how pitiable and of-these and of-the among Phocians
κακῶν καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἁπάντων
evils and as-many-as other have-suffered the Greeks of-all
αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς
himself being cause clear for that you indeed grieve at the
συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ᾽
having-happened(-things) Aeschines and the Thebans pity possessions
ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ
having in — Boeotia and farming the their-things I but
χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.
rejoice who at-once was-demanded by the these-things having-done

VI · TRAITORS SOLD FIRST

After the peace, Demosthenes says, the Thessalians and Thebans hailed Philip as benefactor and savior, and Athens and the other Greeks kept a peace that was already war on them. As Philip subdued Illyrians, Triballians, and some Greeks, men went from the cities to his court and were corrupted, Aeschines among them. Demosthenes warned everywhere, but the cities were sick, their politicians bribed, and their people each sure the danger would fall elsewhere. The traitors sold themselves first, and Lasthenes, Timolaus, Eudicus, Simus, Aristratus, and Perillus were cast aside once their cities were sold. Aeschines calls his hire friendship and guest-friendship, and taunts Demosthenes with Alexander's; Demosthenes calls him Philip's hireling and now Alexander's, and asks the jurors which they think him.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκ᾽ εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως 42
but for I-have-fallen into words which presently rather perhaps
ἁρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις,
it-will-suit to-say I-return now again to the proofs

ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων
that the of-these wrongs of-the now present affairs
γέγον᾽ αἴτια.
have-become causes
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ
when for were-deceived indeed you by — Philip through
τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς
these the in the embassies having-hired-out themselves
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δ᾽ οἱ
and nothing true to-you having-reported were-deceived and the
ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῄρηνθ᾽ αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί
wretched Phocians and were-destroyed the cities of-them what
ἐγένετο;
happened
43 οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι
the indeed despicable Thessalians and senseless Thebans
φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ᾽
friend benefactor savior — Philip considered all
ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι
he was to-them not-even voice they-heard if anyone other anything
βούλοιτο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα
should-wish to-say you but suspecting the things-done
καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
and being-vexed kept the peace nevertheless not for was
ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ᾽ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως
what ever — you-could-do and the other and Greeks alike
ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἤλπισαν, ἦγον
to-you having-been-cheated and having-missed what they-hoped kept
τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τιν᾽ ἐκ πολλοῦ
the peace gladly also themselves in-a-way some for long
πολεμούμενοι.
being-warred-upon

ὅτε γὰρ περιὼν Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, 44
when for going-round Philip Illyrians and Triballians
τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις
some and also of-the Greeks was-subduing and forces
πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν
many and great was-making under himself and some of-the
ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες
from the cities on the of-the peace freedom going
ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες ἐφ'
there were-corrupted of-whom one this-man was then all against
οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ
whom these-things was-preparing he were-being-warred-upon if but
μὴ ᾐσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ.
not they-perceived another matter this not toward me
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν 45
I indeed for foretold and protested and among you
ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν, τῶν
always and wherever I-was-sent the but cities were-sick of-the-ones
μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων
indeed in the to-be-in-politics and to-act taking-bribes
καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δ' ἰδιωτῶν καὶ
and being-corrupted for money of-the and private-men and
πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν
many the indeed not foreseeing the but by-the per day
ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος
ease and leisure being-baited and such-a some affliction
πεπονθότων ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων
having-suffered of-all except not to themselves each
οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων
thinking the danger to-be-going-to-come and through the others'
κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν ὅταν βούλωνται.
dangers the their-own safely to-be-going-to-hold whenever they-wish

46 εἶτ', οἶμαι, συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς
then I-think it-has-happened to-the indeed masses instead-of the much
καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς
and unseasonable indolence the freedom to-have-lost to-the
δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἄλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν
and leaders and the-rest except themselves thinking to-sell
πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων
first themselves having-sold to-perceive instead-of for friends
καὶ ξένων ἃ τότ' ὠνομάζοντο ἡνίκ' ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν
and guest-friends which then they-were-called when they-took-bribes now
κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἄλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ'
flatterers and to-gods hateful and the-rest which befits all
ἀκούουσιν.
they-hear

47 οὐδεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον
no-one for men Athenians the of-the betrayer advantage
ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν ἂν πρίηται κύριος
seeking money spends nor when what — he-buys master
γένηται τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται·
he-becomes to-the traitor as-adviser about the remaining still uses
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ
nothing for — would-be more-fortunate than-a-traitor but not
ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν
is these-things whence much at-least and-indeed it-lacks but when
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ
of-the affairs master the-one seeking to-rule is-established and
τῶν ταῦτ' ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν
of-the these-things having-sold master is the and baseness
εἰδὼς τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει.
knowing then indeed then both he-hates and distrusts and insults

σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθ᾽ ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων 48
consider and and for if has-passed the of-the affairs
καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γ᾽ εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι
moment the of-the at-least to-know the such-things moment always is-present
τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο,
to-the well thinking until this Lasthenes friend was-called
ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὄλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως
until he-betrayed Olynthus until this Timolaus until
ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος καὶ Σῖμος ὁ
he-destroyed Thebes until this Eudicus and Simus the
Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἶτ᾽
Larisaean until Thessaly under Philip they-made then
ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων
being-driven-out and being-insulted and what evil not suffering
πᾶσ᾽ ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ᾽ Ἀρίστρατος ἐν
all the inhabited-world full has-become what and Aristratus in
Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Πέριλλος ἐν Μεγάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι;
Sicyon and what Perillus in Megara not cast-away
ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ᾽ ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα 49
from which also most-clearly — anyone could-see that the-one most
φυλάττων τὴν αὑτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστ᾽ ἀντιλέγων
guarding the his-own fatherland and most speaking-against
τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ
these this-man for-you Aeschines the betrayers and
μισθαρνοῦσιν τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ,
hirelings the to-have on what you-will-take-bribes secures
καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους
and because-of the many of-these-here and the-ones opposing
τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι,
the your wishes you are safe and in-pay
ἐπεὶ διά γ᾽ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλειτε.
since through at-least you yourselves long-ago — you-would-have-perished

50 καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ
and about indeed the then done(-things) having still much
λέγειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι.
to-say even these-things I-think more than-the sufficient to-have-been-said
αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς
cause and this-man as-if dregs some of-me the
πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας,
baseness the his-own and the wrongs having-splashed
ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων
which necessary was before the younger-ones of-the things-done
ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δ' ἴσως οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἔμ'
to-clear-off you-have-been-annoyed and perhaps the-ones even before me
εἰπεῖν ὁτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν.
to-say anything-at-all knowing the this-man's then hireling-service
51 καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν
and-yet friendship at-least and guest-friendship it he-names and now
εἶπέ που λέγων 'ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων
he-said somewhere saying the-one the of-Alexander guest-friendship reproaching
ἐμοὶ ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς
to-me I you guest-friendship of-Alexander whence having-got or how
ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
having-been-deemed-worthy neither of-Philip guest-friend nor of-Alexander
φίλον εἴποιμ' ἂν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ
friend would-call — I you not so I-am-mad if not also
τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας
the reapers and the-ones other anything for-wages doing
φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων.
friends and guest-friends one-must to-call of-the having-hired(-them)
52 ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν
but hireling I you of-Philip formerly and now
Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς,
of-Alexander call and these all if but you-disbelieve

ἐρώτησον αὐτούς, μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω.
ask them rather but I this for you will-do
πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης
whether to-you O men Athenians seems hireling Aeschines
ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.
or guest-friend to-be of-Alexander you-hear what they-say

VII · THE INDICTMENT

Turning to the indictment, Demosthenes has it read and promises to answer each clause in the order Aeschines gave it. Whether Ctesiphon wrote truly that he always spoke and acted for the people's good is a question of his policy; so, in part, is whether he deserved to be crowned before his audit and proclaimed in the theater, and for that he will also show the laws that allowed it. Let no one think he strays from the indictment when he speaks of Greek affairs: Aeschines indicted the very statement that his policy was the best, and of all the policies open to him he chose the one toward Greece.

βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς 53
I-wish then now also about the indictment itself
ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα
to-defend-myself and to-go-through the things-done by-myself so-that
καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἅ
although knowing Aeschines nevertheless he-may-hear because-of which-things
φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ
I-claim also these the preliminarily-voted and much
μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρειῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. καί
greater still than-these gifts deserving to-be to-obtain and
μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.
to-me read the indictment itself having-taken

56 ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
what indeed he-prosecutes of-the decree O men Athenians
ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι
these are I but from very these first I-think
δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι·
clear to-you to-be-going-to-make that all justly I-will-defend
τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων
the for same as-this-man having-made of-the written(-clauses)
τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν
order about all I-will-speak by each in-order and nothing
ἑκὼν παραλείψω.
willingly I-will-omit

57 τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά
of-the indeed then to-propose doing and saying the best
με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ
me for-the people to-continue and eager to-be to-do what
τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς
ever — I-can good and to-praise for these in the
πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων
political-acts the judgment to-be I-think from for these
ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτ' ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε
being-examined it-will-be-found whether true about me has-written
Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ·
Ctesiphon these-things and fitting or also false

58 τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα 'ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ'
the and not having-added-in-writing when the audits I-render
στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον
to-crown and to-proclaim in the theater the crown
κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς
to-order to-share indeed I-think also this with-the
πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ' ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς
political-acts whether worthy I-am of-the crown and of-the

ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή· ἔτι μέντοι
proclamation the in these or also not further however
καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς
also the laws to-be-shown to-be to-me it-seems according-to which
ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὑτωσὶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες
these-things to-propose was-permitted for-this-man so indeed O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα
Athenians justly and simply the defense I-have-resolved
ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὖθ' ἃ πέπρακταί μοι.
to-make I-will-go and to themselves which have-been-done by-me
καί με μηδεὶς ἀπαρτᾶν ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, 59
and me no-one to-detach should-suppose the speech from-the indictment
ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ
if into Hellenic actions and speeches I-fall the-one
γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ
for prosecuting of-the decree the to-say and to-do the
ἄριστά με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός
best me and having-indicted these-things as not true this-man
ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων
is the-one the about all the by-me political-acts
λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς.
speeches proper and necessary to-the indictment having-made
εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν
then also many choices being of-the public-life the
περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς
about the Hellenic actions chose I so-that also the
ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.
proofs from these right I-am to-make

Philip had one great advantage, Demosthenes says: a crop of traitors in every Greek city, through whom he set the Greeks against each other. What was Athens to do: help him win the rule of Greece, like the Thessalians and Dolopians, or stand by, like the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives, who have fared worse than Athens? Philip gave an eye, a collarbone, a hand, and a leg for empire and glory; Athens, with its ancestors' memorials before it, could not yield its freedom. When he seized Euboea, attacked Megara, razed Porthmus, set tyrants over Oreus and Eretria, and besieged Byzantium, someone had to stop him, and that was the Athenian people. He broke the peace when he seized the ships.

60 ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν
what indeed then before the to-be-in-politics and to-address-the-people
ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ
me seized-first and occupied Philip I-will-let-pass nothing for
ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
I-think of-these to-be toward me what but from which day
ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω καὶ
to these-things took-my-stand I was-prevented these I-will-recall and
τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημ',
of-these I-will-render account so-much having-premised advantage
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγ' ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ.
men Athenians great belonged to-Philip

61 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισίν, ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως,
among for the Greeks not some but all alike
φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν
crop of-traitors and bribe-takers and to-gods hateful
ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδείς πω
men happened to-come-about so-great as no-one ever
πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ
before remembers having-come-about whom fellow-contenders and

συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
fellow-workers having-taken and before badly the Greeks
ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε,
being toward themselves and factiously still worse he-disposed
τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα
some indeed deceiving to-others and giving others and every
τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλά, ἑνὸς τοῦ
way corrupting and he-split into parts many one the
συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι.
advantage for-all being to-prevent him great to-become
ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτ' ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου 62
in such and condition and still ignorance of-the gathering
καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων,
and growing evil the all Greeks being
δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν
it-is-necessary to-consider you men Athenians what fitting was
ἑλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον
to-choose to-do and to-make the city and of-these account
παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ἑαυτὸν τάξας
from me to-take the-one for there himself having-stationed
τῆς πολιτείας εἶμ' ἐγώ.
of-the public-life am I
πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημ' ἀφεῖσαν καὶ 63
whether her was-needed Aeschines the pride having-dropped and
τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει
the dignity the her-own in the of-Thessalians and Dolopians rank
συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ
to-help-acquire for-Philip the of-the Greeks rule and
τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο
the of-the ancestors noble and just(-deeds) to-destroy or this
μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἑώρα
indeed not to-do dreadful for as truly what but she-saw

συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προῃσθάνεθ', ὡς
being-about-to-happen if no-one will-prevent and foresaw as
ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα;
it-seems from long these-things to-overlook happening
64 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστ' ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
but now I-myself the-one most censuring the things-done
ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν
gladly — would-ask of-the what-sort-of side to-be the
πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν
city he-would-have-wished — whether of-the sharing-in-blame for-the
συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς
having-happened to-the Greeks evils and shames which
ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ
— Thessalians and the-ones with these would-call anyone or
τῆς περιεορακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας
of-the having-overlooked these-things happening on the of-the own
πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ
gain hope which — Arcadians and Messenians and
Ἀργείους θείημεν.
Argives we-would-put
65 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν
but also of-these many rather but all worse than-us
ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος
have-come-off and for if indeed as conquered Philip
ᾤχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε
had-gone at-once departing and after these-things kept quiet neither
τῶν αὑτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα
the his-own allies nor of-the other Greeks no-one
μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων
in-nothing having-vexed would-be — some against the-ones having-opposed
οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δ' ὁμοίως
what was-doing he blame and accusation if but alike

ἁπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
of-all the standing the leadership the freedom
περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων
he-stripped rather but also the constitutions of-as-many-as
ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐνδοξόταθ' ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθ'
he-could how not of-all most-gloriously you deliberated
ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;
me having-obeyed
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε 66
but thither I-return what the city Aeschines befitted
ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ
to-do rule and tyranny of-the Greeks seeing for-himself
κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει
establishing Philip or what the adviser was-needed
λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον
to-say or to-propose the-one at-Athens and for this most
διαφέρει), ὃς συνῄδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι
matters who was-conscious indeed from all the time until
τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ
the day from which I-myself to the platform went-up always
περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν
for first-place and honor and glory contending the
πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματ' ἀνηλωκυῖαν
fatherland and more both money and bodies having-spent
ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν
for ambition and the for-all advantageous(-things) than the
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι,
other Greeks for themselves have-spent each
ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν 67
I-saw and himself — Philip with whom was for-us
ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν
the contest for rule and dominion the eye

ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος
knocked-out the collarbone broken the hand the leg
πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ
maimed every what ever should-wish part the fortune of-the
σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ
body to-take-away this giving-up so-that with-the remaining
μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν;
with honor and glory to-live

68 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι,
and indeed not-even this at-least no-one — to-say would-dare
ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε
that for-the-one indeed in Pella raised a-place inglorious then
γ' ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν
at-least being and small so-great magnanimity befitted
ἐγγενέσθαι ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ
to-be-born-in so-that the of-the Greeks rule to-desire and
τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις
this into the mind to-put to-you but being Athenians
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις
and on the day each in all both words
καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ'
and spectacles of-the of-the ancestors virtue reminders
ὁρῶσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας
seeing so-great baseness to-belong so-that the freedom
αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ.
self-offered volunteers to-yield to-Philip

69 οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ
not-even — one these-things would-say remaining then was and
ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπρατ' ἀδικῶν
necessary at-the-same-time all what he was-doing wronging
ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς
you to-oppose justly this did indeed you

ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ
from beginning reasonably and fittingly proposed and and
συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμην χρόνους.
advised also I in which I-was-in-politics times
ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ
I-admit but what was-needed me to-do now for you I-ask
πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτείδαιαν,
all the-rest having-dropped Amphipolis Pydna Potidaea
Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι·
Halonnesus none of-these I-mention
Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν 70
Serrium and and Doriscus and the of-Peparethus sacking
καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλ' ἡ πόλις ἠδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν
and as-many other-things the city was-wronged not-even if has-happened
οἶδα. καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντ' εἰς
I-know and-yet you at-least said me these-things saying into
ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος
enmity to-have-thrown these-here of-Eubulus and of-Aristophon
καὶ Διοπείθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ
and of-Diopeithes the about these decrees being not
ἐμῶν, ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῇς.
mine O saying readily what ever — you-wish
οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὔβοιαν 71
not-even now about these I-will-speak but the-one — Euboea
ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμ' ἐπὶ
he appropriating and building a-fortress against
τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων
— Attica and Megara attempting and seizing
Ὠρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν
Oreus and razing Porthmus and establishing in indeed
Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρχον,
Oreus Philistides tyrant in and Eretria Cleitarchus

καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ᾽ αὑτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον
and the Hellespont under himself making and Byzantium
πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας τὰς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς
besieging and cities Greek some indeed destroying into
τὰς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα ποιῶν
others and the exiles bringing-back whether these-things doing
ἠδίκει καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυε τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὔ;
was-be-wronging and breaking-the-treaty and dissolving the peace or not
καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα
and whether to-appear someone of-the Greeks the-one these-things
κωλύσοντα ἐχρῆν, ἢ μή;
going-to-prevent was-needed or not

72 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην
if indeed for not was-needed but the of-Mysians booty called
τὴν Ἑλλάδ᾽ οὖσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων,
— Greece being to-be-seen living and being Athenians
περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπών, περιείργασται
have-meddled indeed I about these having-spoken has-meddled
δ᾽ ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσ᾽ ἐμοί, ἔστω δ᾽ ἀδικήματα πάνθ᾽
and the city the having-obeyed me let-be and wrongs all
ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματ᾽ ἐμά. εἰ δ᾽ ἔδει τινὰ
which have-been-done and errors mine if but was-necessary someone
τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίν᾽ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων
of-these preventer to-appear whom other than the of-Athenians
δῆμον προσῆκε γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ,
people befitted to-become these-things then I-did-in-politics I
καὶ ὁρῶν καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον
and seeing enslaving all men him
ἠναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προΐεσθαι
I-opposed and foretelling and teaching not to-give-up

διετέλουν. καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ
I-continued and indeed the peace at-least he broke the
πλοῖα λαβών, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη.
ships having-seized not the city Aeschines

IX · THE DECREES AND THE CROWNS

The decrees passed when Philip seized the ships and the war began, Demosthenes shows, were moved by Eubulus, Aristophon, Hegesippus, Philocrates, and Cephisophon, not by him, and Philip's letter blames others and never names him. He proposed the embassies to the Peloponnese and Euboea, the expeditions against Oreus and Eretria, and the forces that saved the Chersonese and Byzantium, which brought Athens crowns and thanks. The envoys of Philistides and Cleitarchus lodged with Aeschines. When Aristonicus proposed a crown for him in the same words Ctesiphon uses, Aeschines neither objected nor indicted it, and no disgrace came of it. Driven from Euboea, Philip looked for another way at Athens, its imported grain, and besieged Byzantium.

φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ 73
bring and themselves the decrees and the letter the —
Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγ' ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τίς τίνος
of-Philip and read in-order from for these who of-what
αἴτιός ἐστι γενήσεται φανερόν.
cause is will-become clear
τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμ' Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, 75
this indeed then the decree Eubulus proposed not I
τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν
the and next Aristophon then Hegesippus then Aristophon
πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες·
again then Philocrates then Cephisophon then all
ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. λέγε.
I but nothing about these read

76 ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω καὶ
as then I these show the decrees so also
σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός
you show Aeschines what-sort-of I having-proposed decree cause
εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν
am of-the war but not — could-you if for you-had nothing
ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ'
— of-it earlier now you-would-have-produced and indeed not-even
ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἔμ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις
— Philip nothing blames me about the war others
ἐγκαλῶν. λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.
accusing read and itself the letter the — of-Philip
79 ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν
here nowhere Demosthenes he-has-written nor charge none
κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ
against me why ever then the others accusing of-the by-me
πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν
done(-things) not he-mentions because the wrongs —
ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ
he-would-have-mentioned the his-own these for held-to I
καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς
and these opposed and first indeed the to
Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος
Peloponnese embassy I-proposed when first he
εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ'
into Peloponnese was-slipping then the to Euboea when
Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι
Euboea he-was-touching then the against Oreus expedition no-longer
πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος
embassy and the to Eretria when tyrants he
ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσιν κατέστησεν.
in these the cities established

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, 80
after these-things and the expeditions all I-sent
καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες
according-to which Chersonese was-saved and Byzantium and all
οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι,
the allies from which for-you indeed the finest praises glories
τιμαί, στέφανοι, χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον·
honors crowns thanks from the well having-been-treated belonged
τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ
of-the and wronged to-the-ones indeed you then having-obeyed the
σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις
safety resulted to-the-ones and having-neglected the often
ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ
what you foretold to-remember and to-think you not
μόνον εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους
only well-disposed to-themselves but also wise men
καὶ μάντεις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηχ' ἃ προείπατε.
and prophets to-be all for has-come-out which you-foretold
καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης 81
and indeed that much indeed — money would-have-given Philistides
ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν
so-that to-hold Oreus much and Cleitarchus so-that to-hold
Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ'
Eretria much and himself — Philip so-that these-things
ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν
to-be-available against you for-him and about the other(-things) nothing
ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδέν' ἐξετάζειν
to-be-exposed nor what doing he-wronged no-one to-examine
πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ·
everywhere no-one is-ignorant and of-all least you

82 οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε
the for from — Cleitarchus and — Philistides then
πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη,
envoys hither arriving with you lodged Aeschines
καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
and you were-host of-them whom the indeed city as enemies and
οὔτε δίκαι' οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ'
neither just-things nor advantageous-things saying drove-away to-you but
ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν
were friends not then was-done of-these nothing O slandering
περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ'
about me and saying that I-am-silent indeed having-taken I-shout but
ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δ'
having-spent but not you but you-shout indeed holding you-will-stop but
οὐδέποτ' ἐὰν μή σ' οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.
never if not you these-men stop having-disenfranchised today
83 στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἔμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ
having-crowned then you me for these then and
γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἅσπερ οὑτοσὶ
having-proposed Aristonicus the same syllables which this-here
Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
Ctesiphon now has-proposed and having-been-proclaimed in the theater
τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου
the crown and second proclamation already for-me this
γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντ'
happening neither spoke-against Aeschines being-present nor the proposer
ἐγράψατο. καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.
indicted and to-me read also this the decree having-taken
85 ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τιν' αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει
is-there then anyone-who of-you knows some disgrace to-the city
συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ
having-befallen because-of this the decree or mockery or

γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἂν ἐγὼ
laughter which now this-man said to-be-going-to-befall if I
στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾖ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι
am-crowned and indeed whenever are new and known to-all
τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν
the affairs if both well they-are gratitude it-meets if
θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος
and as otherwise punishment I-appear then I gratitude
τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.
having-met then and not blame nor punishment
οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' 86
therefore until indeed the times those in which these-things
ἐπράχθη, πάντ' ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ
were-done all I-am-acknowledged the best to-do for-the
πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ
city by-the to-prevail when you-were-deliberating saying and proposing by-the
καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ
to-be-accomplished the proposals and crowns from them for-the
πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς
city and for-me and for-all to-come by-the sacrifices to-the gods
καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.
and processions as goods these being you to-have-made
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν 87
when then from — Euboea — Philip by you
ἐξηλάθη τοῖς ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς
was-driven-out with-the arms by-the and policy and the
ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,
decrees even-if burst some of-these by me
ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ'
another against the city fortress he-sought seeing and
ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ,
that grain of-all men most we-use imported

βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν
wishing of-the grain-transport master to-become having-advanced
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν
to Thrace Byzantines allies being to-him the indeed
πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς
first he-asked to-join-in-war the against you war when
δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν
but not they-wished nor on these-terms they-said the alliance
πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς
to-have-made saying true(-things) a-stockade having-thrown-up by
τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει.
the city and engines having-set-up he-besieged

X · BYZANTIUM SAVED

Who saved Byzantium and kept the Hellespont from falling to Philip? The Athenians, Demosthenes says, and he was the one who spoke, proposed, and acted for them, giving himself to it without reserve. That war kept Athens in greater plenty and cheapness than the present peace, and Byzantium, Perinthus, and the Chersonese crowned the city for it. It showed all men Athens' nobility and Philip's baseness, besieging the allies he professed, while Athens saved peoples who had wronged it. No one, he says, can name another adviser or speaker for whom the city has been crowned.

88 τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς,
these and happening what ever indeed befitted to-do you
οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν
not I-will-ask clear for is to-all but who was
ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς
the-one having-helped the Byzantines and having-saved them who
ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ'
the-one having-prevented the Hellespont to-be-alienated at

ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ'
those the times you men Athenians the and
ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ
you when I-say the city I-say who and the-one for-the
πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἁπλῶς ἑαυτὸν
city speaking and proposing and acting and simply himself
εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ.
to the affairs unsparingly having-given I
ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ 89
but indeed how-great these-things benefited all no-longer from
τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ
the speech one-must to-learn but by-deed you-have-experienced the
γὰρ τότ' ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν
for then having-set-in war apart-from the fine reputation
ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις
to-bring in all the-things for the life more-abundant
καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν
and cheaper kept you than-the present peace which
οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοί, ἐπὶ ταῖς
these-men against the fatherland keep-up the good on the
μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν
coming hopes which may-they-miss and may-they-share of-what
ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε,
you the-ones the best wishing the gods ask
μὴ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. λέγε δ'
not may-they-give-a-share to-you of-what themselves have-chosen read and
αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν
to-them also the of-the Byzantines crowns and the of-the
Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.
Perinthians with-which they-crowned from these the city
λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους. 92
read also the from the in Chersonese crowns

93 οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι,
therefore not only the Chersonese and Byzantium to-save
οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι
nor the to-prevent the Hellespont under Philip to-come
τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαίρεσις
then nor the to-be-honored the city from these the choice
ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν
the my and the policy accomplished but also to-all
ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τήν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ
showed men the both of-the city nobility and
τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς
the of-Philip baseness he indeed for ally being to-the
Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἑωρᾶθ' ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ
Byzantines besieging them was-seen by all than-which
τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον ἢ μιαρώτερον;
what could-be — more-shameful or more-abominable
94 ὑμεῖς δ', οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἂν
you and the-ones also having-blamed many and just-things —
ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν
them reasonably about what they-had-been-unfeeling toward you in
τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες
the former times not only not bearing-grudges
οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σῴζοντες
nor abandoning the wronged but also saving
ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὔνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε.
appeared from which reputation goodwill from all you-acquire
καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν
and indeed that indeed many you-have-crowned already of-the
πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ
politicians all know through whom but other the

πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν
city has-been-crowned adviser I-mean and orator except
δι᾽ ἐμέ, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.
through me not-even — one to-say could

XI · NO GRUDGES

Even if the Euboeans and Byzantines had once wronged Athens, Demosthenes argues, helping them was right, and it was Athens' way. When Sparta ruled land and sea, Athens marched to Haliartus and to Corinth for peoples who had wronged it in the Decelean war; it saved the Spartans themselves after Leuctra, and the Euboeans from Thebes, with volunteer trierarchs, of whom he was one, and gave the island back. Death is the end for all men, even one who shuts himself in a closet, and good men attempt the noble and bear what the god gives. Should he have advised the city to bear grudges against those who wished to be saved?

ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων 95
so-that then also the slanders which against the Euboeans
καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς
and the Byzantines he-made if anything unpleasant by-them
ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας
had-been-done toward you reminding false-accusations being
ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
I-may-show not only by-the false to-be this indeed for
ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ
to-be-the-case you knowing I-think but also by-the if the
μάλιστ᾽ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς
most they-were true so as I have-handled the
πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι τῶν
affairs to-be-advantageous to-have-handled one or two I-wish of-the
καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν,
in your-time done fine-things for-the city to-go-through

καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν βραχέσι· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρ᾽ ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν
and these in brief and for a-man privately and a-city
κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ
publicly toward the finest of-the existing(-things) always it-is-necessary
πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν.
to-try the rest to-do

96 ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ
you then men Athenians Lacedaemonians of-land and
θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων
of-sea ruling and the around — of-Attica holding
ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν
with-harmosts and garrisons Euboea Tanagra — Boeotia
ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κέω, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς,
all Megara Aegina Ceos the other islands not ships
οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετ᾽ εἰς Ἁλίαρτον
not walls the city then possessing went-out to Haliartus
καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον,
and again not many days later to Corinth
τῶν τότ᾽ Ἀθηναίων πόλλ᾽ ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ
the then Athenians much — having to-bear-grudges both
Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν
against-Corinthians and against-Thebans of-the about the Decelean
πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ᾽ ἐγγύς.
war done(-things) but not they-did this nor near

97 καίτοι τότε ταῦτ᾽ ἀμφότερ᾽, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ᾽ ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν
and-yet then these-things both Aeschines neither for benefactors
ἐποίουν οὔτ᾽ ἀκίνδυν᾽ ἑώρων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ διὰ ταῦτα
they-did nor safe-things saw but not because-of these-things
προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ
they-abandoned the-ones fleeing to themselves but for
εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὑτοὺς διδόναι,
good-repute and honor they-were-willing to-the dangers themselves to-give

ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν
rightly and nobly deliberating end indeed for to-all
ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν
men is of-the life death even-if in a-closet anyone himself
καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν
having-shut-up guards it-is-necessary but the good men to-attempt
μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους
indeed all always the noble(-things) the good holding-before
ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως.
hope to-bear and whatever the god gives nobly
ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ 98
these-things did the your ancestors these-things you the
πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ'
elder who Lacedaemonians not friends being nor
εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ
benefactors but much the city our having-wronged and
μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν
greatly when Thebans having-conquered at Leuctra to-destroy
ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις
attempted prevented not having-feared the then for-Thebans
ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα
strength and reputation belonging nor for what-sort-of-things
πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι.
having-done men you-will-run-risk having-reckoned
καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατ' ἐκ τούτων ὅτι, 99
and for surely to-all the Greeks you-showed from these that
κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτῃ, τούτων τὴν
even-if anything-at-all anyone toward you errs of-these the
ὀργὴν εἰς τἄλλ' ἔχετε, ἐὰν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας
anger for the-rest you-have if but for safety or freedom
κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετ' οὔθ'
danger some them overtakes neither you-will-bear-grudges nor

ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε,
you-will-count-it and not in these only so you-have-behaved
ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὔβοιαν οὐ
but again appropriating Thebans — Euboea not
περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ
you-overlooked nor what by Themison and Theodorus about
Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθ' ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε
Oropus you-had-been-wronged you-recalled but you-helped
καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον
also them of-the volunteer then trierarchs first
γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ.
having-become for-the city of-whom one was I
100 ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ
but not-yet about these and fine indeed you-did both
τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ
the to-save the island much but still than-this finer the
καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων
having-become masters both of-the bodies and of-the cities
ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν
to-give-back these-things justly to-them the-very having-erred
εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε
against you nothing of-what you-had-been-wronged in what you-were-trusted
ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων
having-taken-into-account countless then other-things to-say having
παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ
I-pass-over sea-battles expeditions both long-ago having-happened and
νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν
now in us ourselves which all the city of-the of-the
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται.
other Greeks freedom and safety has-made

εἶτ᾽ ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν 101
then I having-seen in so-many and such the
πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν
city for the for-the others advantageous(-things) willing
ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης
to-contend for herself in-a-way some the deliberation being
τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν;
what was-I-going to-urge or what to-advise her to-do
μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σῴζεσθαι, καὶ
to-bear-grudges by Zeus against the-ones wishing to-be-saved and
προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι᾽ ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς
pretexts to-seek through which all we-will-give-up and who
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέν με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
not — would-have-killed me justly if anything of-the existing
τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα;
for-the city fine(-things) by-word only to-disgrace I-attempted
ἐπεὶ τό γ᾽ ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ᾽
since the at-least deed not — would-have-done you exactly know
ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἐξῆν;
I if for you-wished what was in-the-way not was-it-possible
οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ᾽ ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;
not were-there the-ones these-things going-to-say these-men

XII · THE TRIERARCHY LAW

Seeing the navy failing, the rich paying little, and citizens of moderate means losing everything, Demosthenes carried a law that rated each by his property, so that a man who had once paid a sixteenth share of a ship might now equip two. He was indicted and acquitted, and the leaders of the tax groups offered him more than he cares to say to drop it. Under his law no trierarch sat as a suppliant at Munichia, none was jailed, and no ship was lost abroad or left behind in harbor unable to put to sea. The same character, he says, guided his Greek policy: he never preferred the favors of the rich, or Philip's gifts, to what was just.

102 βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἑξῆς
I-wish then to-return to what after-these next
ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτ' ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ
I-did-in-politics and consider in these again in-turn what the
τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
for-the city best was seeing for O men Athenians
τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους
the navy your being-dissolved and the indeed rich
ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ
exempt from small expenditures becoming the and
μέτρι' ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντ'
moderate or small-things possessing of-the citizens the possessions
ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν
losing further and falling-behind from these the city
τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια
of-the opportunities I-enacted a-law according-to which the indeed the just(-things)
ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ'
to-do I-compelled the rich the and poor I-stopped
ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν
being-wronged for-the city and which-very was most-useful in
καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα.
time to-happen the preparations I-made
103 καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον
and indicted the trial this before you I-came
καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων
and was-acquitted and the part of-the votes the prosecutor
οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν
not got and-yet how-much money the leaders of-the
συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι
symmories or the second and third do-you-think to-me
διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον,
to-give so-that preferably indeed not to-enact the law this

εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντ' ἐᾶν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ',
if but not dropping-it to-let-lie in sworn-postponement so-much
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσ' ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν.
O men Athenians as I-would-hesitate — to you to-say
καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς 104
and these-things reasonably did they was for for-them
ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λητουργεῖν,
from indeed the former laws in-sixteens to-perform-liturgies
αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους
themselves indeed small and nothing spending the and needy
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ
of-the citizens crushing from but the my law the
γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν
falling according-to the property each to-contribute and of-two
ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον
appeared trierarch the of-the one sixth and tenth formerly
συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτ' ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς,
contributor not-even for trierarchs any-longer they-called themselves
ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ
but contributors so-that indeed these-things to-be-repealed and not the
δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.
just(-things) to-do to-be-compelled not is what ever not they-were-giving
καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ 105
and to-me read first indeed the decree according-to which
εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τ' ἐκ
I-came-to the indictment then the registers the both from
τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.
the former law and the according-to the mine read
φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον. 106
bring now also the fine register
Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.
bring now beside this the from the my law register

107 ἆρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μίκρ᾽
then small to-have-helped the poor of-you do-I-seem or little
ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ
to-have-spent — so-as not the just(-things) to-do the rich not
τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι,
then only by-the not to-have-compromised these-things I-pride-myself
οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα
nor by-the indicted to-be-acquitted but also by-the advantageous
θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι.
to-have-enacted the law and by-the proof by-deed to-have-given
πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων
all for the war of-the expeditions being-made
κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμόν, οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε
according-to the law the mine not a-suppliant's-branch laid
τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποθ᾽ ὡς ἀδικούμενος παρ᾽ ὑμῖν,
trierarch no-one ever as being-wronged among you
οὐκ ἐν Μουνιχίας ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων
not in Munichia's sat not by the dispatchers
ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὔτ᾽ ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσ᾽ ἀπώλετο
was-imprisoned not trireme neither outside left-behind was-lost
τῇ πόλει, οὔτ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι.
for-the city nor here was-left-behind not being-able to-put-to-sea
108 καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο.
and-yet under the former laws all these-things happened
τὸ δ᾽ αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λῃτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὴ
the and cause in the poor was the to-perform-liturgies much indeed
τἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς
impossible-things happened I but from the needy to the
εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ᾽ οὖν τὰ δέοντ᾽
well-off transferred the trierarchies all then the needful(-things)
ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ἄξιός εἰμ᾽ ἐπαίνου
happened and indeed also for itself this worthy I-am praise

τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ'
to-obtain that all the such I-chose measures from
ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον
which at-the-same-time glories and honors and powers came-about
τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι
for-the city spiteful but and bitter and malicious none is
πολίτευμ' ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον.
measure mine nor mean nor of-the city unworthy
ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 109
the-same then character having in both the within the city
πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ
measures and in the Hellenic I-will-appear neither for
ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ
in the city the from the rich favors rather than
τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαι' εἱλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς
the of-the many just(-things) I-chose nor in the Hellenic
τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ
the of-Philip gifts and the guest-friendship I-loved instead-of
τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.
the in-common for-all the Greeks advantageous(-things)

XIII · GIFTS AND AUDITS

On the audit, Demosthenes grants that he is accountable all his life for whatever he handled or administered, but not for what he gave the people from his own property. He was praised for the money he added as commissioner of the festival fund and as wall-builder, not for the funds he managed, and for those he gave account. Nausicles, Diotimus, Charidemus, and Neoptolemus were crowned for their gifts while holding office, and no law forbids it. Aeschines' own indictment leaves the gifts unchallenged and attacks only the thanks for them.

110 ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος
I-think then remaining to-be for-me about the proclamation
εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τἄριστά τ᾽ ἔπραττον
to-speak and the audits the for that the-best both I-did
καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς,
and through all well-disposed am and eager well to-do you
ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι
sufficiently from the things-said to-have-been-shown by-me I-think and-yet
τὰ μέγιστά γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων
the greatest at-least of-the political-acts and things-done
ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς
by-myself I-pass-over supposing first indeed in-order the
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν,
about itself the illegality speeches to-render me to-be-necessary
εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων,
then even-if nothing I-say about the remaining measures
ὁμοίως παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.
alike from you each the consciousness to-be-present for-me
111 τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκῶν
of-the indeed then words which this-man up and down stirring-about
ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ
said about the cited laws neither by
τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς οἶμαι μανθάνειν οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην
the gods you I-think to-understand nor myself could
συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν
to-understand the many simply but the straight about the
δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ
just(-claims) I-will-discuss so-much for I-lack to-say that not
εἴμ᾽ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο,
am accountable which now this-man slandered and defined

ὥσθ᾽ ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν
so-that all the life accountable to-be I-agree of-what
ἢ διακεχείρικ᾽ ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν.
either I-have-handled or administered among you
ὧν μέντοι γ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος 112
of-what however at-least from the private property having-promised
δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι
I-have-given to-the people no day accountable to-be I-say
(ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ᾽ ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τῶν
you-hear Aeschines nor other no-one not-even if of-the
ἐννέ᾽ ἀρχόντων τις ὢν τύχῃ. τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος
nine archons someone being he-happen-to-be what for is law
τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστὸς ὥστε τὸν
of-so-much injustice and misanthropy full so-that the
δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα
having-given something of-the private(-things) and having-done deed
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν,
humane and generous of-the gratitude indeed to-deprive
εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ᾽ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς
to the informers and to-bring and these over the
εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ δέ φησιν
audits of-what he-gave to-set not-even one if but says
οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι.
this-man let-him-show and-I will-be-content and will-be-silent
ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, 113
but not is men Athenians but this-man playing-the-informer
ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότ᾽ ὢν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ‘ἐπῄνεσεν
that over the festival-fund then being I-contributed the money praised
αὐτό᾽ φησίν ‘ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα᾽ οὐ περὶ τούτων γ᾽ οὐδενὸς
it he-says accountable being not about these at-least none
ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ συκοφάντα.
of-what accountable I-was but for what I-contributed O informer

‘ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα’ καὶ διά γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς
but also wall-builder you-were and because-of at-least this rightly
ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τἀνηλωμέν’ ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην.
I-was-praised that the-sums-spent I-gave and not I-charged-to-account
ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων
the indeed for account of-audits and of-the-ones going-to-examine
προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρειὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ
has-need the but gift gratitude and praise just is
τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ’ ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ.
to-obtain wherefore these-things proposed this-man about me
114 ὅτι δ’ οὕτω ταῦτ’ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
that and so these-things not only in the laws but also
ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν
in the your customs is-defined I easily from-many-places
δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἀπὸ
will-show first indeed for Nausicles being-general for what from
τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ’ ὑμῶν·
the private(-means) he-gave-up often has-been-crowned by you
εἶθ’ ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος,
then when the shields Diotimus gave and again Charidemus
ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ’ οὑτοσὶ Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων
they-were-crowned then this-here Neoptolemus of-many works
ἐπιστάτης ὤν, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπέδωκε τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ
superintendent being for what he-contributed has-been-honored outrageous for
ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τιν’ ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι
— would-be this at-least if to-the some office holding either to-give
τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν
to-the city the his-own because-of the office not will-be-permitted or of-the
δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει.
given instead-of the to-receive gratitude audits he-will-undergo

ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι 115
that then these-things true I-say read the decrees to-me
τὰ τούτοις γεγενημέν᾽ αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.
the to-these having-been-made themselves having-taken read
τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν 117
of-these each Aeschines of-the indeed office which he-held
ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς δ᾽ ἐστεφανοῦτο οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος.
accountable was for what but he-was-crowned not accountable
οὐκοῦν οὐδ᾽ ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαι᾽ ἐστί μοι περὶ
therefore not-even I the-same for just(-claims) are for-me about
τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι
the same(-things) as-for-the others surely I-contributed I-am-praised
διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὧν ἔδωχ᾽ ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ
for these-things not being of-what I-gave accountable I-held-office and
δέδωκά γ᾽ εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ
I-have-rendered at-least audits of-those not of-what I-contributed by
Δί᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδίκως ἦρξα. εἶτα παρών, ὅτε μ᾽ εἰσῆγον
Zeus but unjustly I-held-office then being-present when me brought-in
οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;
the auditors not you-were-accusing
ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδηθ᾽ ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ᾽ 118
so-that then you-may-see that himself this-man to-me bears-witness for
οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι
what not accountable I-was to-have-been-crowned having-taken read-out
τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο
the decree whole the proposed for-me for-what for not he-indicted
τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἃ διώκει συκοφαντῶν
of-the preliminary-decree by-these what he-prosecutes playing-the-informer
φανήσεται. λέγε.
will-appear read

119 οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ
therefore what indeed I-contributed these are of-which none you
γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ
have-indicted what but says the council to-be-necessary in-return-for
τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν
these to-be-given to-me these are what you-prosecute the to-receive
οὖν τὰ διδόμεν' ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν
then the given(-things) admitting lawful to-be the gratitude
τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος
for-these to-return for-illegality he-indicts the and utterly-wicked
ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός
man and to-gods hateful and spiteful really what-sort
τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;
some — would-be before gods not the such

XIV · THE PROCLAMATION

Crowns, Demosthenes says, have been proclaimed in the theater countless times, and the proclamation serves the city, since all who hear it are spurred to serve; the law itself excepts those whom the people or the council vote to honor, and Aeschines quotes laws by halves. Accusation charges crimes the laws punish, abuse is what enemies say of each other, and the courts were not built for abuse. Aeschines never prosecuted him at his audits or by indictment when he could; he comes now, when every limit protects Demosthenes, and so shows himself the city's enemy rather than his.

120 καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ
and indeed about the at-least in the theater to-be-proclaimed the
μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ
indeed countless-times thousands have-been-proclaimed I-pass-over and the
πολλάκις αὐτὸς πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς
often myself before but before gods so stupid

εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ᾽ οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι
are-you and senseless Aeschines that not you-can to-reckon
ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ
that for-the indeed one-being-crowned the same has glory the
στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων
crown wherever — it-is-proclaimed of-the but of-the crowning
εἵνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα;
for-the-sake advantage in the theater happens the proclamation
οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν
the for having-heard all to the to-do well the city
προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον
are-urged and the-ones returning the gratitude rather
ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
they-praise than-the one-being-crowned wherefore the law this
ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. λέγε δ᾽ αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.
the city has-written read and it to-me the law having-taken
ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, ‘πλὴν 121
you-hear Aeschines the law saying clearly except
ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δ᾽
if some the people or the council vote these but
ἀναγορευέτω᾽ τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί
let-him-proclaim why then O wretch do-you-play-the-informer why
λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ
words do-you-fabricate why yourself not do-you-dose-with-hellebore for
τούτοις; ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αἰσχύνει φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγων,
these but not-even are-you-ashamed of-envy suit bringing
οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ᾽
not of-wrong none and laws altering of-some and
ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι
taking-away parts which whole just was to-be-read
τοῖς γ᾽ ὀμωμοκόσιν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι;
to-the-ones at-least having-sworn according-to the laws to-vote

122 ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις πόσα δεῖ προσεῖναι
then such-things doing you-say how-many-things it-is-necessary to-belong
τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντ' ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ
to-the democrat as-if a-statue having-contracted-for by
συγγραφήν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχονθ' ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς
contract then not having what befitted from the
συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' οὐ
contract receiving or by-word the democrats but not
τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ
by-the deeds and the measures being-known and
βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητ' ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης,
you-shout sayable and unsayable-things naming as-if from a-wagon
ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι
which to-you and to-the your family belong not to-me and-yet
καὶ τοῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
also this O men Athenians

123 ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ
I abuse from-accusation in-this to-differ think in-the
τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
the indeed accusation wrongs to-have of-which in the laws
εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς
are the penalties the but abuse slanders which
κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων
according-to the their-own nature to-the enemies about one-another
συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ
happens to-say to-have-built and the ancestors these-here
τὰ δικαστήρι' ὑπείληφα, οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς
the courts I-suppose not so-that having-gathered you to
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν
these from the private(-matters) badly the-unspeakable-things we-may-say

ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἐξελέγχωμεν ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς
one-another but so-that we-may-convict if anyone having-wronged
τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν.
in-anything happens the city
ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ 124
these-things then knowing Aeschines nothing less than-me
πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽
to-play-the-reveler instead-of the to-accuse chose not indeed not-even
ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ᾽ ἐπὶ
here less having right is to-go-away now but to
ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ
these-things I-will-proceed so-much him having-asked whether you
τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν
anyone Aeschines of-the city enemy or mine to-be should-say mine
δῆλον ὅτι. εἶθ᾽ οὗ μὲν ἦν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ
clear that then where indeed it-was-possible from me justice according-to
τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες,
the laws for these-things to-take if-indeed I-did-wrong you-left-it
ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν·
in the audits in the indictments in the other trials
οὗ δ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, 125
where but I indeed exempt by-all the laws by-the time
τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις
by-the limitation by-the to-have-been-judged about all often
πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτ᾽ ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς
before by-the never to-have-been-convicted in-nothing you
ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ᾽ ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν
wronging for-the city but either more or less necessity of-the
γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθ᾽
at-least publicly done(-things) to-share in-the glory there

ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦς, ἐμοὶ δὲ
you-have-met see lest of-these indeed enemy you-be to-me but
προσποιῇ.
you-pretend

XV · AESCHINES' PARENTS

Driven by Aeschines' abuse, Demosthenes turns to his own life. Had Aeacus, Rhadamanthys, or Minos accused him, and not this market hack and clerk shouting "O earth and sun and virtue" like a tragic actor, he would not be spoken of so. Aeschines' father Tromes was a slave in fetters at a schoolmaster's near the Theseum; his mother plied her daytime trade in a shed by the shrine of the hero Calamites. Lately become an Athenian and an orator, Aeschines added two syllables and made his father Atrometus and his mother Glaucothea, whom all call Empusa. Made free and rich by the people, he hires himself out against them.

126 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι
since then the indeed pious and just vote for-all
δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ μ', ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοίδορον
has-been-shown it-is-necessary and me as it-seems although not abuse-loving
ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ
being because-of the by this-man slanders spoken instead-of
πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ,
many and false-things themselves the-most-necessary-things to-say about him
καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν κἀκ τίνων ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ
and to-show who being and-from whom readily so he-begins the
κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ
badly to-speak and words some he-mocks himself having-said what
τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησεν τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι;
who not — would-have-shrunk of-the moderate men to-utter

— εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ 127
if for Aeacus or Rhadamanthys or Minos were the
κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμ᾽ ἀγορᾶς,
accuser but not a-seed-picker back of-the-market
ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν
ruin clerk not — him I-think these-things to-say
οὐδ᾽ ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν
nor — so offensive words to-provide as-if in
τραγῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ‘ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ’ καὶ τὰ
tragedy shouting O earth and sun and virtue and the
τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν ‘σύνεσιν καὶ παιδεία’ ἐπικαλούμενον,
such-things and again intelligence and education invoking
‘ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται.’ ταῦτα
by-which the noble and the shameful are-distinguished these-things
γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ᾽ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος.
for surely you-heard him saying
σοὶ δ᾽ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; 128
to-you and of-virtue O scum or to-the yours what share
ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς
or of-noble or not such what discernment whence or how
ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοὶ θέμις μνησθῆναι; ἧς
having-been-deemed-worthy where and of-education for-you right to-mention which
τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ
of-the indeed as truly having-obtained not-even — one would-say about
αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε,
himself such anything but even-if another saying would-blush
τοῖς δ᾽ ἀπολειφθεῖσι μέν, ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις
to-the but having-been-left-behind indeed as you pretending
δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν
and from insensibility the the hearers to-pain to-make
ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.
whenever they-speak not the to-seem such to-be results

129 οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν
not being-at-a-loss and what ever one-must about you and the yours
εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ
to-say I-am-at-a-loss of-the first should-I-mention whether that the
πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ
father your Tromes was-a-slave with Elpias the-one by the
Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ
Theseum teaching letters fetters thick having and
ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ
a-collar or that the mother the daytime weddings in the
κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν
hut the by the calamites hero using the fine
ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλὰ
statue and tritagonist extreme reared you but
πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ
all know these-things even-if I not say but that the
τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος,
trireme-piper Phormion the of-Dion the Phrearrian slave
ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ
raised her from this the fine business but by
τὸν Δία καὶ θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων
— Zeus and gods I-shrink lest about you the fitting-things saying
αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προῃρῆσθαι λόγους.
myself not fitting to-myself I-should-seem to-have-chosen words
130 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν
these-things indeed then I-will-let-go from them but what himself has-lived
ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ
I-will-begin not-even for of-the ordinary-ones he-was but whom the
δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε — ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς
people curses late for at-some-time late I-say yesterday
μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ
indeed then and the-day-before at-the-same-time Athenian and orator

γέγονεν, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρ᾽
he-has-become and two syllables having-added the indeed father
ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα
instead-of Tromes he-made Atrometus the and mother
σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι
grandly very Glaucothea whom Empusa all know
καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν δηλονότι
being-called from the all-things to-do and to-suffer evidently
ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν;
this the nickname having-obtained whence for else
ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει 131
but nevertheless so ungrateful are-you and wicked by-nature
ὥστ᾽ ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ
that free from slave and rich from beggar
διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις,
because-of these-here having-become not only gratitude to-them you-have
ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ
but having-hired-out yourself against these-here you-act-in-politics and
περὶ ὧν μὲν ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρ᾽ ὑπὲρ
about what indeed is some dispute that then for
τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
the city he-has-spoken I-will-let-go what but for the enemies
φανερῶς ἀπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτ᾽ ἀναμνήσω.
openly he-was-shown doing these-things I-will-recall

Aeschines' public acts match. When Demosthenes caught Antiphon, who had promised Philip to burn the dockyards, hiding in the Piraeus, Aeschines cried outrage in a democracy and got him released; the Areopagus rearrested him, and he was racked and put to death. The same council struck Aeschines from the advocacy for the Delian temple as a traitor and chose Hypereides. When Philip sent Python of Byzantium to shame Athens, Demosthenes answered him, and Aeschines spoke on Philip's side; later he was caught meeting the spy Anaxinus in Thraso's house. The Athenians, Demosthenes complains, give such men license for the pleasure of hearing abuse.

132 τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντ' Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς
who for of-you not knows the struck-off Antiphon who
ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρι' ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν
having-promised to-Philip the dockyards to-be-going-to-burn into the
πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ
city came whom having-caught me hidden in Piraeus
καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος
and having-brought into the assembly shouting the spiteful
οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ
this-man and having-bawled that in a-democracy dreadful-things I-do
τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας
the unfortunate of-the citizens insulting and to houses
βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν.
going without decree to-be-released he-caused
133 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμ'
and if not the council the from Ares' hill the matter
αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι
having-perceived and the your ignorance in not needful(-time)
συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπεζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
having-occurred having-seen sought the man and

συλλαβοῦσ᾽ ἐπανήγαγεν ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ᾽ ἂν ὁ
having-arrested brought-back to you would-have-been-snatched-away — the
τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέπεμπτ᾽ ἂν
such and the justice to-give having-slipped would-have-been-sent-away —
ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτού· νῦν δ᾽ ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες
by the solemn-talker this-here now but you having-racked
αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.
him killed as was-needed at-least also this-man
τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦθ᾽ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε 134
accordingly knowing these-things the council the from Ares' hill then
τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον
by-this-man done having-elected him you advocate
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας
for the temple the in Delos from the same ignorance
ἥσπερ πολλὰ προΐεσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προσείλεσθε
by-which-very many-things you-give-up of-the public(-things) as you-took-in-addition
κἀκείνην καὶ τοῦ πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον
and-it and of-the matter master you-made this-man
μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπήλασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν
indeed at-once drove-away as traitor to-Hypereides and to-speak
προσέταξε· καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον
assigned and these-things from the altar carrying the vote
ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιαρῷ τούτῳ.
did and no vote was-cast for-the abominable this-man
καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. 135
and that these-things true I-say call of-these the witnesses
οὐκοῦν ὅτε τοῦτον τοῦ λέγειν ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ 136
therefore when this-man from-the speaking drove-away the council and
προσέταξ᾽ ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν
assigned to-another then both traitor to-be and ill-disposed
ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.
to-you declared

ἓν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου
one indeed then this such political-act of-the youngster
τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ·
this like at-least not for to-what of-me he-accuses
ἕτερον δ' ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος
another and recall when for Python Philip
ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὑτοῦ συμμάχων
sent the Byzantine and from the his-own allies
πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων
all sent-with envoys as in shame going-to-put
τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότ' ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ
the city and going-to-show wronging then I indeed —
Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν
to-Python being-bold and much flowing against you
οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς
not gave-way but having-stood-up spoke-against and the of-the
πόλεως δίκαι' οὐχὶ προὔδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον
city just(-claims) not I-betrayed but wronging Philip
ἐξήλεγξα φανερῶς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους
I-convicted openly so that the his allies
αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο
themselves standing-up to-agree this-man but helped-the-other-side
καὶ τἀναντί' ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.
and the-opposite bore-witness against-the fatherland and these false
137 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον
and not sufficed these-things but again after these-things later
Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιὼν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν
with-Anaxinus the spy meeting at the of-Thraso house
ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι
he-was-caught and-yet whoever with-the by the enemies having-been-sent
μόνος μόνῳ συνήει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε
alone with-alone met and conferred this-man himself was

τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ ὅτι
by-the nature spy and enemy to-the fatherland and that
ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.
these-things true I-say call for-me of-these the witnesses
μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. 138
countless then other-things to-say having about him I-pass-over
καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πόλλ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων
and for so somehow it-is many — I further than-these
ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς
could to-show of-which this-man at those the times to-the
μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ᾽
indeed enemies serving me but abusing was-found but
οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ᾽ ἦν
not is-laid-up these-things among you into exact memory nor which
προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατ᾽ ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν
befitted anger but you-have-given by-habit some bad much
ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν
license to-the-one wishing the speaker anything of-the to-you
συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς
advantageous(-things) to-trip-up and to-slander of-the at the
λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον
abuses pleasure and gratification the of-the city advantage
ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ
exchanging wherefore easier it-is and safer always
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
the enemies serving to-take-pay than the for you
ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.
having-chosen post to-be-in-politics

Since the war began, Demosthenes says, Aeschines has not one decree for the city to show, but he did one thing that crowned all his others. Philip could end the war only by making Thebes and Thessaly Athens' enemies, and he needed a common Amphictyonic pretext, which would be suspect if one of his own men raised it. So he hired Aeschines, elected pylagoras by three or four hands, who told the Amphictyons tales of the sacred Cirrhaean land and persuaded them to tour the land the Amphissians farmed; Demosthenes cried out that he was bringing an Amphictyonic war into Attica and was shouted down. The Locrians attacked the Amphictyons, Cottyphus led an army to no effect, and Philip's partisans had Philip made leader. He gathered an army, marched as if on Cirrha, bade the Cirrhaeans and Locrians a long farewell, and seized Elatea.

139 καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συναγωνίζεσθαι
and the indeed then before the to-make-war openly to-help
Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; κατὰ
Philip dreadful indeed O earth and gods how for not against
τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότ' αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ'
the fatherland grant but if you-wish grant him this but
ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖ' ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος
when openly already the ships had-been-plundered Chersonese
ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἅνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν
was-being-ravaged to — Attica was-marching the-man no-longer in
ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος,
disputable the affairs were but had-set-in war
ὅ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἔπραξ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος
what ever indeed ever he-did for you the spiteful this-man
ἰαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον
iambic-eater not — could to-show nor is neither greater
οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμ' οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων
nor smaller decree none for-Aeschines about the advantageous(-things)

τῇ πόλει. εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ᾽
for-the city if but he-says now let-him-show in the my water but
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ
not is nothing and-yet of-two him necessity the-other either
μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ τότ᾽ ἔχοντ᾽ ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ
nothing the things-done by me then having to-blame not
γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον
to-propose besides these-things other-things or the of-the enemies advantage
ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.
seeking not to-bring into the-middle the than-these better(-things)
ἆρ᾽ οὖν οὐδ᾽ ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκ᾽ 140
then then not-even did-he-speak as not-even he-proposed when
ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν
to-work some was-needed evil not indeed then was-it to-speak
ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἐδύναθ᾽, ὡς ἔοικεν,
for-another and the indeed other(-things) both to-bear could as it-seems
ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἓν δ᾽ ἐπεξειργάσατ᾽,
the city and doing this-man to-escape-notice one but he-worked-out-besides
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε
men Athenians such which to-all the former put
τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν
end about which the many he-spent words the of-the
Ἀμφισσέων διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές.
Amphissians recounting decrees as going-to-distort the-truth
τὸ δ᾽ οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ᾽ ἐκνίψει σὺ
the but not such is whence never you-will-wash-off you
τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πόλλ᾽ ἐρεῖς.
the-things-there done by-yourself not so many-things you-will-say
καλῶ δ᾽ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς θεοὺς 141
I-call and before you men Athenians the gods
πάντας καὶ πάσας ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν
all and all(-goddesses) as-many-as the land hold —

Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός
Attica and — Apollo the Pythian who ancestral
ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν
is to-the city and I-pray to-all these if indeed
ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν
true-things to you I-should-say and said also then at-once in
τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιαρὸν τούτου
the people when first I-saw this-here the abominable this
τοῦ πράγματος ἁπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων),
the matter touching I-recognized for at-once I-recognized
εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ
good-fortune to-me to-give and safety if but for enmity or
φιλονικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ,
rivalry private for-the-sake charge I-bring against-this-man false
πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.
of-all the goods without-enjoyment me to-make
142 τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτωσὶ
why then these-things have-I-imprecated and strained so
σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ
vehemently because also documents having in the public-archive
κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς
lying from which these-things I-will-show clearly and you knowing
τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν
the things-done remembering that I-fear lest of-the
εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν οὗτος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῇ·
worked by-him evils this-man less should-be-supposed
ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας
which-very before happened when the wretched Phocians
ἐποίησ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.
he-caused to-perish the false-things hither having-reported

τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι᾽ ὃν εἰς Ἐλάτειαν 143
the for at Amphissa war because-of which to Elateia
ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι᾽ ὃν ᾑρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
came Philip and because-of which was-chosen of-the Amphictyons
ἡγεμών, ὃς ἅπαντ᾽ ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν
leader who all overturned the of-the Greeks this-man is
ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἷς ἀνὴρ μεγίστων
the-one having-helped-to-contrive and of-all one man greatest
αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου
cause evils and then at-once me protesting
καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ‘πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
and shouting in the assembly war into — Attica
εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐκ
you-bring Aeschines war Amphictyonic the-ones indeed by
παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ
summons sitting-together not allowed me to-speak the-ones
δ᾽ ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν
and wondered and empty charge because-of the private enmity
ἐπάγειν μ᾽ ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ.
to-bring me supposed against-him
ἥτις δ᾽ ἡ φύσις, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονεν τούτων τῶν 144
what-very and the nature men Athenians has-been of-these the
πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ
affairs and of-what for-the-sake these-things were-contrived and
πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότ᾽ ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ
how they-were-done now hear since then you-were-prevented and
γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλ᾽ ὠφελήσεσθε
for well matter put-together you-will-see and greatly you-will-be-benefited
πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν
toward knowledge of-the public(-affairs) and how-great cleverness was in
τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.
— Philip you-will-behold

145 οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ
not was of-the against you war end nor release
Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε
for-Philip if not Thebans and Thessalians enemies he-should-make
τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν
to-the city but although wretchedly and badly the generals
τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ, ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
the your making-war against-him nevertheless by itself
τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρί' ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε
the war and the pirates countless he-suffered evils neither
γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ'
for was-exported of-the from the land produced nothing nor
εἰσήγετ' ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ·
was-imported of-what he-needed for-him

146 ἦν δ' οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν οὔτ' εἰς
he-was and neither on the sea then stronger than-you nor into
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων
— Attica to-come able neither Thessalians following
μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ
nor Thebans letting-through it-happened and to-him in-the war
κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς
prevailing the whatever-kind-ever you sent-out generals
(ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ
I-let-pass for this at-least very by-the nature of-the place and
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν.
the existing for-each-side to-suffer-hardship

147 εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς
if indeed then the private for-the-sake enmity either the Thessalians
ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν'
or the Thebans he-should-persuade to-march against you no-one
ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων
he-thought to-be-going-to-pay to-him the attention if but the their

κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ, ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε
common pretexts having-taken leader he-be-chosen more-easily he-hoped
τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί
the indeed to-be-going-to-deceive the and to-be-going-to-persuade what
οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς
then he-attempts behold how well war to-make for-the
Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ'
Amphictyons and about the Pylaea disturbance to for these
εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὑτοῦ δεήσεσθαι.
at-once them he-supposed of-him to-be-going-to-need
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων 148
if indeed then this either of-the from himself sent
ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις,
hieromnemons or of-the his allies should-propose someone
ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ
to-be-going-to-suspect the matter he-thought both the Thebans and
τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ'
the Thessalians and all to-be-going-to-be-on-guard if but
Ἀθηναῖος ᾖ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο
Athenian be and from you the opponents the-one this
ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς
doing easily to-be-going-to-escape-notice which-very happened how
οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί.
then these-things did-he he-hires this-here
οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, 149
nobody and foreseeing I-think the matter nor guarding
ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς
as is-wont the such-things among you to-happen nominated
πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων
pylagoras this-man and three or four having-voted-for
αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν
him was-proclaimed when and the of-the city prestige having-taken

ἀφίκετ᾽ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τἄλλ᾽ ἀφεὶς
he-arrived at the Amphictyons all the-rest having-dropped
καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους
and having-disregarded he-accomplished for what he-was-hired and words
εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη,
plausible and tales whence the Cirrhaean land was-consecrated
συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων
having-composed and having-gone-through men inexperienced of-speeches
καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας,
and the future not foreseeing the hieromnemons
150 πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ μὲν
he-persuades to-vote to-go-round the land which the indeed
Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος
Amphissians of-them selves being to-farm said this-man
δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ᾐτιᾶτ᾽ εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν
but of-the sacred land charged to-be no suit the
Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἃ νῦν προφασίζεται
Locrians bringing against-us nor what now he-pretends
λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν
saying not true(-things) you-will-know and from-this not it-was-possible
ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην
without the to-summon surely for-the Locrians suit
κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς;
against the city to-conclude who then summoned us
ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν
in what-kind archonship tell the-one knowing show but not —
ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.
could-you but empty pretext this you-misused and false
151 περιιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ
going-round then the land the Amphictyons according-to
τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ
the guidance the his having-fallen-on the Locrians nearly

κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν
shot-down all some and also seized of-the
ἱερομνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ
hieromnemons when and once from these charges and
πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
war against the Amphissians was-stirred-up the indeed first
ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν,
— Cottyphus themselves the Amphictyons led an-army
ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν
when but the-ones indeed not came the-ones but having-come nothing
ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς
did to the next pylaea to — Philip at-once
ἡγεμόν' ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ
as-leader they-led the-ones having-been-prepared and long-ago wicked
τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι.
of-the Thessalians and of-the in the other cities
καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἢ γὰρ αὐτοὺς 152
and pretexts plausible they-had-got either for themselves
εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ
to-contribute and mercenaries to-maintain they-said to-be-necessary and
ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ 'κεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι.
to-fine the-ones not these-things doing or him to-choose
τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ᾑρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων
what need the many-things to-say he-was-chosen for from these
ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ
leader and after these-things at-once force having-collected and
παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας
having-advanced as against the Cirrhaean-land farewell having-said
πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει.
much to-Cirrhaeans and to-Locrians — Elateia seizes

Had the Thebans not changed their minds at once and joined Athens, Demosthenes says, the whole affair would have broken on the city like a torrent; that they did was the gods' goodwill and, as far as one man could, his doing. The Amphictyonic resolutions, their dates, and Philip's letter to his Peloponnesian allies, which hides his real aims behind the Amphictyons, show who gave him his pretexts: Aeschines. Greece was ruined not by one man but by wicked men in every city, and of these Aeschines is the common curse of all that perished after, since he sowed the seed of the harvest.

153 εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον,
if indeed then not had-changed-their-minds at-once when this saw
οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους
the Thebans and with us had-become as a-torrent
ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε·
— all this the matter into the city would-have-fallen
νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μέν,
now but the at-least suddenly checked they most indeed
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα
O men Athenians of-gods some by-goodwill toward you then
μέντοι καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕν' ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. δὸς
however also as-much-as by one man also through me give
δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς
and to-me the resolutions these and the dates in which
ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ἡλίκα πράγματ' ἡ
each-thing has-been-done so-that you-may-know how-great affairs the
μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασ' αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε.
abominable head having-stirred-up this justice not paid
154 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.
read to-me the resolutions

λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ᾽ ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ 155
read now also the dates in which these-things happened they-are
γὰρ καθ᾽ οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.
for in which was-pylagoras this-man read
δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, 156
give now the letter which when not obeyed the Thebans
πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος,
he-sends to the in Peloponnese allies — Philip
ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ
so-that you-may-know also from this clearly that the indeed true
πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
reason of-the affairs the these-things against — Greece
καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ
and the Thebans and you to-do he-concealed common
δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο·
but and to-the Amphictyons resolved to-do he-pretended
ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ
the-one and the occasions these and the pretexts to-him
παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.
having-provided this-man was read
ὁρᾶθ᾽ ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ 158
you-see that he-shuns indeed the private pretexts to but
τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα
the Amphictyonic flees-for-refuge who then the-one these-things
συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας
having-helped-to-prepare for-him who the-one the pretexts these
ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστ᾽
having-provided who the-one of-the evils the having-happened most
αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
cause not this-man not then say O men Athenians
περιόντες ὡς ὑφ᾽ ἑνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς
going-about that by one such-things has-suffered — Greece

ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν
man not by one but by many and wicked
τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί·
the among each O earth and gods
159 ὧν εἷς οὑτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν
of-whom one this-here whom if nothing being-cautious the-truth to-speak
δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλειτήριον τῶν
were-needed not — I-would-hesitate I common curse of-the
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολωλότων ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων,
after these-things having-perished all to-call men
τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος
places cities the-one for the seed having-provided this-man
τῶν φύντων αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως ποτ' οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες
of-the grown(-crop) cause whom how ever not at-once having-seen
ἀπεστράφητε θαυμάζω. πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν,
you-turned-away I-wonder except much some darkness as it-seems
ἐστὶν παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.
is among you before the truth

XIX · THEBES AND ATHENS DIVIDED

Demosthenes worked throughout to keep Philip's partisans from setting Thebes and Athens against each other while both overlooked his growth, and in this he followed Aristophon and Eubulus, who always wanted that friendship, men Aeschines flattered while they lived and accuses now that they are dead. The war at Amphissa, made by Aeschines, and the enmity with Thebes, finished by his fellow-workers, brought Philip against Athens, and only Athens' rising first kept the city from being past recovery. The decrees and answers of that time show how far apart the cities stood; elated by them, Philip came with his army and seized Elatea.

συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ 160
it-has-happened then to-me of-the against the fatherland by-this-man
πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς
done(-things) having-touched to what these opposing myself
πεπολίτευμαι ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν εἵνεκ᾽ ἂν εἰκότως
have-acted-in-politics to-have-arrived which for-many indeed reasons — reasonably
ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες
you-would-hear me most and because shameful it-is O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων
Athenians if I indeed the deeds of-the for you labors
ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.
endured you but not-even the words of-them will-tolerate
ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ 161
seeing for I Thebans nearly and also you by
τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ᾽
the-ones the-cause of-Philip favoring and corrupted among
ἑκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς
each-side what indeed was to-both fearful and of-guard
πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι,
much needing the — Philip to-allow to-grow
παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ᾽ ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς
overlooking and not-even in one(-thing) guarding into
ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας,
enmity but and the to-collide with-one-another readily being-disposed
ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς
so-that this not might-happen watching I-continued not from the
ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων,
my-own judgment only these-things to-be-advantageous supposing
ἀλλ᾽ εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὔβουλον πάντα 162
but knowing Aristophon and again Eubulus all
τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ
the time wishing to-effect this the friendship and

περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ'
about the other(-things) often contradicting each-other this
ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίναδος,
agreeing-on always whom you living indeed O fox
κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει
flattering followed-about dead but not you-perceive
κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾷς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων
accusing what for about Thebans you-censure me them
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ
much rather than me you-accuse the-ones before than
ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων.
I this the alliance having-approved
163 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου
but thither I-return that the at Amphissa war this-man
μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
indeed having-made having-helped-complete and the others the
συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη
fellow-workers with-him the against Thebans enmity it-happened
τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὗπερ εἵνεκα τὰς
— Philip to-come against us of-which-very for-the-sake the
πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν
cities these-men knocked-together and if not we-had-roused-ourselves-first
μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι
a-little not-even to-recover — we-could-have-been-able so to
πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτ' ἤδη τὰ πρὸς
far led-on these-men in what and you-were already the toward
ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν
one-another these-here the decrees having-heard and the
ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.
answers you-will-know and to-me read these-things having-taken
166 λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.
read now also the answers

οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας 168
so having-disposed — Philip the cities toward one-another
διὰ τούτων καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν
through these-men and by-these elated the decrees
καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν
and the answers he-came having the force and —
Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτ'
Elateia seized as not-even — if anything should-happen
ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ
any-longer would-agree — we and the Thebans but
μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντ' ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν
indeed the then having-occurred in the city commotion you-know indeed
ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσαθ' ὅμως αὐτὰ ταναγκαιότατα.
all little but hear nevertheless themselves the-most-necessary-things

XX · ELATEA HAS FALLEN

It was evening when a messenger told the prytaneis that Elatea had fallen. Some rose from dinner, cleared the booths in the agora and burned the wicker screens; others sent for the generals and called the trumpeter. At dawn the whole people sat on the hill before the council could prepare business. The herald asked who wished to speak, again and again, and no one rose; Demosthenes did. Philip, he told them, held only the Thebans he had bought and had come to Elatea to embolden them and frighten the rest. Athens must forget old grievances, march to Eleusis in arms, and send ten envoys to offer Thebes help without asking anything. He proposed it, went as envoy, and persuaded the Thebans.

ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς 169
evening indeed for it-was came and reporting someone to the
πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ
prytaneis that Elateia has-been-seized and after these-things the-ones
μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ
indeed at-once having-risen-up in-the-middle dining the both from

τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ᾽
the booths the in the agora drove-out and the wicker-screens
ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ
set-on-fire the-ones and the generals sent-for and
τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.
the trumpeter called and of-commotion full was the city
τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις
on-the and next(-day) together-with the day the indeed prytaneis
τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εἰς
the council called to the council-house you and to
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι
the assembly went and before it to-transact-business
καὶ προβουλεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο.
and to-pass-a-preliminary-decree all the people up sat
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν
and after these-things when came the council and reported
οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμέν᾽ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα
the prytaneis the announced(-things) to-themselves and the having-come
παρήγαγον κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ ‘τίς
brought-forward and-he spoke asked indeed the herald who
ἀγορεύειν βούλεται᾽ παρῄει δ᾽ οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ
to-address wishes came-forward but no-one often and
τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ᾽ οὐδείς,
the herald asking nothing more stood-up no-one
ἁπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν
all indeed the generals being-present all and the
ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν ἐροῦνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ
orators calling and the fatherland the-one going-to-speak for
σωτηρίας· ἣν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν
safety which for the herald according-to the laws voice
ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι.
sends-forth this common of-the fatherland just to-consider

καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους 171
and-yet if indeed the to-be-saved the city wishing
παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
to-come-forward had-been-needed all — you and the other
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες
Athenians having-stood-up to the platform would-have-gone all
γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς
for I-know that to-be-saved her you-wished if but the
πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα,
richest the three-hundred if but the both these-things
καὶ εὖνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα
both well-disposed to-the city and rich the-ones after these-things
τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ
the large contributions having-contributed and for by-goodwill and
πλούτῳ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν.
by-wealth this they-did
ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα 'κείνη 172
but as it-seems that the crisis and the day that
οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρ' ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ
not only well-disposed and rich man called but
καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ
also having-followed the affairs from beginning and
συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ
having-reckoned rightly for-what reason these-things was-doing —
Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς
Philip and what wishing the-one for not these-things knowing
μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ εὔνους ἦν οὔτ'
nor having-examined from-afar neither if well-disposed he-was nor
εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔμελλ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν
if rich nothing more was-going what ever one-must to-do
εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν.
to-know nor for-you to-be-able to-advise

173 ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ καὶ
appeared then this-one on that the day I and
παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν εἵνεκ᾽ ἀκούσατε
having-come-forward I-spoke to you what of-me for-two reasons hear
προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆθ᾽ ὅτι μόνος
having-applied the mind of-one indeed so-that you-may-know that alone
τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας
of-the speakers and politicians I the of-the goodwill
τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ
post in the dangers not deserted but both saying and
γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέονθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς
proposing was-found the needful(-things) for you in very the
φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ
fearful(-times) of-another and that little having-spent time much
πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ᾽ ἐμπειρότεροι.
for the rest of-the whole public-life you-will-be more-experienced
174 εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι ‘τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων
I-said then that the-ones indeed as being-at-the-disposal Thebans
Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα
to-Philip excessively alarmed to-be-ignorant-of the present
πράγματ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ᾽ οὕτως
affairs I-think well for I-know that if this so
ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα,
happened being not — him we-would-hear in Elateia being
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν᾽ ἕτοιμα
but on the our borders that however so-that ready
ποιήσηται τἀν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὡς
he-may-make the-things-in Thebes he-has-come clearly I-know as
δ᾽ ἔχει᾽ ἔφην ‘ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου.’
and it-stands I-said these-things hear me

‘ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασιν Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι 175
he as-many-as either to-persuade with-money of-Thebans or to-deceive
ἐνῆν ἅπαντας ηὐτρέπισται· τοὺς δ’ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
it-was-possible all he-has-prepared the-ones and from beginning
ἀνθεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πεῖσαι
having-resisted him and now opposing in-no-way to-persuade
δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα τὴν Ἐλάτειαν
he-is-able what then does-he-want and for-what reason — Elateia
κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ
has-he-seized near force having-shown and having-brought-up the
ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι,
arms the indeed his-own friends to-elate and bold to-make
τοὺς δ’ ἐναντιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν’ ἢ συγχωρήσωσι
the but opposing to-terrify so-that either they-may-concede
φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν.’
having-been-frightened what now not they-are-willing or they-may-be-forced
‘εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ’ ἡμεῖς’ ἔφην ‘ἐν τῷ παρόντι, 176
if indeed then will-choose we I-said in the present
εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου
if anything unpleasant has-been-done by-Thebans toward us this
μεμνῆσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσιν
to-remember and to-distrust them as in the of-the enemies being
μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν,
portion first indeed what-things would-pray Philip we-will-do
εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων
then I-fear lest having-received-him the now having-resisted
αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν
him and with-one judgment all having-philippized into —
Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῆτ’ ἐμοὶ
Attica they-come both if however you-are-persuaded by-me
καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν
and to the to-consider but not to-wrangle about what —

λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν
I-say you-become I-think both the needful(-things) to-say to-be-going-to-seem
καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν.'
and the impending danger for-the city to-be-going-to-dissolve
177 τί οὖν φημὶ δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντ' ἐπανεῖναι
what then do-I-say to-be-necessary first indeed the present to-relax
φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων·
fear then to-change and to-fear all for Thebans
πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις
much for of-the dangers they-are than-us nearer and first
αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς
for-them is the danger then having-gone-out to-Eleusis the-ones
ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς
in age and the cavalry to-show to-all you yourselves in the
ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα
arms being so-that to-the-ones in Thebes favoring the your(-cause)
ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων,
on equal(-terms) may-come the to-speak-freely about the just(-claims)
ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα
seeing that as for-the-ones selling to-Philip the fatherland
πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς
is-at-hand the going-to-help force at Elateia so to-the-ones
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ'
for the freedom to-contend wishing are-at-hand
ὑμεῖς ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετε, ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ.
you ready and will-help if anyone against them goes
178 'μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ
after these-things to-elect I-bid ten envoys and
ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε
to-make these masters with the generals both of-the when
δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ
one-must to-march there and of-the expedition when and come the

πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ;
envoys to Thebes how to-handle the matter I-advise
τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων
to-this very to-me apply the mind not to-ask Thebans
μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός), ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι
nothing shameful for the crisis but to-promise
βοηθήσειν, ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς
to-be-going-to-help if they-bid as they being in the
ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δ' ἄμεινον ἢ 'κεῖνοι προορωμένων· ἵν' ἐὰν
extremities we and better than they foreseeing so-that if
μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθ'
indeed they-accept these-things and are-persuaded by-us both what we-wish
ὦμεν διῳκημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς
we-may-be having-achieved and with pretext worthy of-the
πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν,
city these-things we-may-do if but then not it-happen to-succeed
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὑτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν,
they indeed themselves may-blame if anything now they-err
ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ πεπραγμένον.'
by-us but nothing shameful nor mean be done
ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. 179
these-things and similar to-these having-said I-stepped-down
συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον
having-joined-in-praising and all and no-one having-said opposed
οὐδέν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα
nothing not I-spoke indeed these-things not proposed but nor proposed
μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ
indeed not went-as-envoy but nor went-as-envoy indeed not persuaded but
Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον,
Thebans but from the beginning until the end I-went-through

καὶ ἔδωκ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ
and gave myself to-you simply to the surrounding the
πόλει κινδύνους. καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.
city dangers and to-me bring the decree the then made

XXI · THE ADVISER AND THE INFORMER

On that day, Demosthenes says, Battalus of Paeania, as Aeschines calls him, proved worth more to the city than Aeschines, "Oenomaus of Cothocidae," a part he once murdered on stage at Collytus. His decree began the alliance with Thebes and made the danger pass like a cloud. The adviser and the informer differ in this: one gives his judgment before the event and stands accountable for it, the other keeps silent and carps when things go wrong. The herald asked who wished to speak, not who would blame the past; if Aeschines can now name a better course, Demosthenes admits guilt. The end lies with the god: a shipowner is not blamed when the storm wrecks a ship he fitted well.

180 καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίν᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην
and-yet whom do-you-wish you Aeschines and whom myself that
τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ
the day to-be shall-I-put do-you-wish myself indeed whom — you
λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ᾽
abusing and mocking would-call Battalus you and not-even
ἥρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς,
hero the ordinary but of-these some of-the from the stage
Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτ᾽ Οἰνόμαον
Cresphontes or Creon or whom in Collytus once Oenomaus
κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ
badly you-murdered then then at that the crisis the
Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ
Paeanian I Battalus than-Oenomaus the Cothocid of-you
πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γ᾽ οὐδὲν
of-more worth being appeared to-the fatherland you indeed at-least in-nothing

οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα προσῆκε
nowhere useful were I but all as-much-as befitted
τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.
the good citizen did read the decree to-me
αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ 188
this of-the about Thebes was affairs beginning and
κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ
establishment first the-things before these into enmity and
μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων.
hatred and distrust of-the cities having-been-led by these-men
τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα
this the decree the then to-the city having-surrounded
κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν
danger to-pass-by made as-if a-cloud it-was indeed
τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι
then of-the just citizen then to-show to-all if anything
τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν.
than-these he-had better not now to-censure
ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων 189
the for adviser and the informer not-even in-the other(-things)
οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν·
nothing being-like in this most from-one-another differ
ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται,
the-one indeed at-least before the events opinion declares
καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ,
and gives himself accountable to-the-ones having-obeyed to-the fortune
τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ'
to-the moment to-the wishing the-other but having-kept-silent when
ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει.
it-was-needed to-speak if something unpleasant happens this he-carps-at

190 ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε
it-was indeed then as I-said that the crisis of-the at-least
φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων·
caring man for-the city and of-the just words
ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ
I but so-great excess make so-that if now has
τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλ' ἐνῆν
anyone to-show something better or at-all if anything other was-possible
πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ
except what I chose to-do-wrong I-admit if for
ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑόρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε
there-is what ever anyone now has-seen which would-have-benefited — then
πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ
done this I say to-be-necessary me not to-escape if but
μήτ' ἔστι μήτ' ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω
neither is nor was nor — to-say could no-one not-yet
καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν
even today what the adviser was-needed to-do not of-the
φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτισθ' ἑλέσθαι;
appearing and possible(-courses) the best to-choose
191 τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη,
this then I-did the herald asking Aeschines
'τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται,' οὐ 'τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν
who to-address wishes not who to-accuse about the
παρεληλυθότων,' οὐδὲ 'τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι';
past nor who to-guarantee the going to-be
σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς
you but voiceless at those the times in the
ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ
assemblies sitting I coming-forward spoke since but not
τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἢ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν
then but now show tell what either speech which was-needed

εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ
to-have-at-hand or opportunity advantageous by me was-neglected for-the
πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ᾽ ἣν μᾶλλον
city what and alliance what action to which rather
ἔδει μ᾽ ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;
was-needed me to-lead these-here
ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, 192
but indeed the indeed past always among all is-let-go
καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ
and no-one about this proposes anywhere deliberation the
δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ.
but future or the present the of-the adviser post demands
τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν,
then then the indeed were-going as it-seemed of-the dangers
τὰ δ᾽ ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει
the but already were-present in which the choice of-me consider
τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
of-the public-life not the outcomes slander the indeed for
πέρας ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ
end as — the deity wishes of-all comes-about the
δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ.
but choice itself the of-the adviser mind shows
μὴ δὴ τοῦθ᾽ ὡς ἀδίκημ᾽ ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη 193
not indeed this as wrong mine put if to-prevail happened
Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος
to-Philip in-the battle in for the god the of-this end
ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οὐχ ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐνῆν κατ᾽
was not in-me but that not all as-many-as were-possible by
ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἱλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ
human reckoning I-chose and justly these-things and
ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ
carefully did and industriously beyond strength or that not

καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματ᾽ ἐνεστησάμην καὶ
noble and of-the city worthy actions I-undertook and
ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ᾽ ἤδη κατηγόρει μου.
necessary these to-me show and then already accuse me
194 εἰ δ᾽ ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ
if but the having-fallen thunderbolt not only of-us but also
πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ
of-all the other Greeks greater has-become what one-must
ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ᾽ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ
to-do as-if — if anyone a-shipowner all-things for safety
πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ᾽ ὧν
having-done and having-equipped the boat with which
ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ
he-supposed to-be-going-to-be-saved then storm having-met and
πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως,
having-been-strained for-him the tackle or even having-been-shattered at-all
τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
of-the shipwreck should-blame but neither I-was-piloting the ship
φήσειεν ἄν (ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ), οὔτε τῆς
he-would-say — as nor I-was-general I nor of-the
τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.
fortune master was but it of-the all

XXII · BY THOSE WHO FELL AT MARATHON

Had the Thebans joined Philip, the danger would have stood far nearer Athens. Even had every man foreseen the outcome, Demosthenes says, Athens could not have abandoned the Greeks without shame; it could have kept its own by obeying, as Thebes, Sparta, and the Persian king would gladly have allowed, but that was never Athenian. The ancestors left their land for the ships rather than obey, made Themistocles general and stoned Cyrsilus. To condemn Ctesiphon would

be to say the city erred in its choice. It did not, he swears, by those who fought at Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium, whom the city buried alike, victors and defeated, since all had done a good man's part.

ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν 195
but that reckon and see if with Thebans for-us
ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν
contending so it-was-fated to-fare what was-needed
προσδοκᾶν εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλὰ
to-expect if not-even these we-had allies but
Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ᾽ ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε
to-Philip they-had-joined for which then he all let-loose
φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν
voices and if now three days from — Attica journey
τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος
the battle having-taken-place so-great danger and fear
περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ
surrounded the city what — if somewhere of-the land the-same
τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἆρ᾽ οἶσθ᾽
this suffering had-happened to-expect was-needed then do-you-know
ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μί᾽
that now indeed to-stand to-come-together to-breathe many-things one
ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν
day and two and three gave of-the toward safety
τῇ πόλει, τότε δ᾽ — οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε μηδὲ
to-the city then but not worth to-say what at-least not-even
πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβαλέσθαι
trial gave of-gods some by-goodwill and by-the to-have-put-before
τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.
the city this the alliance which you accuse

196 ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, τὰ πολλά, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
is and these-here all for-me the many(-words) toward you men
δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους,
jurors and the-ones standing-around outside and listening
ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ
since toward at-least this the despicable short and
σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα τὰ
clear sufficed speech if indeed for was to-you foreseen the
μέλλοντ', Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ
future Aeschines alone of-the others when was-deliberating the
πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ
city about these then it-was-needed to-foretell if but not
προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,
you-foresaw of-the same ignorance accountable you-are with-the others
ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ;
so-that why more me you these-things accuse than I you
197 τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγον' εἰς
so-much for better I than-you citizen have-been for
αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
these-very things which I-speak and not-yet about the others
διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ
I-am-discussing as-much-as I indeed gave myself to the
πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας
to-all seeming to-be-advantageous no danger having-shrunk-from
ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δ' οὔθ' ἕτερ' εἶπες
private nor having-taken-into-account you but neither other-things said
βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὔτ'
better than-these not for — these they-would-have-used nor
εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν
for these useful nothing yourself provided what-very but —
ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει,
the meanest and most-hostile man to-the city

τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ
this having-done in-view-of the outcomes you-have-been-found-out and
ἅμ᾽ Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ,
at-the-same-time Aristratus in Naxos and Aristoleos in Thasos
οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι
the-ones utterly enemies of-the city the of-Athenians try
φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ.
friends and at-Athens Aeschines Demosthenes accuses
καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματ᾽ ἐνευδοκιμεῖν 198
and-yet to-whom the of-the Greeks misfortunes to-win-glory-in
ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ
were-reserved to-have-perished rather this-man is right than
κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ
to-accuse another and to-whom have-been-advantageous the same
καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον
occasions also to-the of-the city enemies not it-is-possible this-man
εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς
well-disposed to-be to-the fatherland you-show and also from what you-live
καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύει καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεταί
and do and act-in-politics and again not act-in-politics is-done
τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν· ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης.
anything of-the to-you seeming to-be-advantageous voiceless Aeschines
ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγον᾽ οἷον οὐκ ἔδει· πάρεστιν
it-has-met-a-check anything and has-happened such-as not was-needed is-present
Αἰσχίνης. ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν
Aeschines as the ruptures and the sprains whenever
τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.
some evil the body takes then are-stirred
ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι 199
since and much on-the outcomes be-presses I-wish something
καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς
even paradoxical to-say and me by Zeus and gods no-one

τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω
the excess should-wonder-at but with goodwill what I-say
θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα
let-him-consider if for were to-all foreseen the-things going
γενήσεσθαι καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη,
to-happen and foreknew all and you foretold Aeschines
καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ᾽ ἐφθέγξω,
and protested shouting and bawling who not-even uttered
οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ
not-even so to-stand-aloof for-the city from-these was if-indeed either
δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον.
of-glory or of-ancestors or of-the coming age she-had regard
200 νῦν μέν γ᾽ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι
now indeed at-least to-have-failed she-seems of-the affairs which to-all
κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε
common is men whenever to-the god these-things seems then
δ᾽ ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ᾽ ἀποστᾶσα τούτου
but claiming to-lead the others then having-stood-aloof from-this
Φιλίππῳ, προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ
to-Philip to-have-betrayed all — she-would-have-had blame if
γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτ᾽ ἀκονιτεί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον
for these-things she-had-given-up without-dust for which no danger
ὄντιν᾽ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν
which not endured the ancestors who not would-have-spat-upon
ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ᾽ ἐμοῦ.
— you not for the city at-least nor me
201 τίσι δ᾽ ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς
with-what and eyes by Zeus would-we-have-looked — on-the
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν
to the city men arriving if the indeed
πράγματ᾽ εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ
affairs to which-very now have-come-round leader but and

κύριος ἠρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
master had-been-chosen Philip of-all the but for the
μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν
not to-happen these-things contest others without us had
πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς
made and that never the city in the
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
former times safety inglorious rather than the
ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἠρημένης.
for the noble(-things) danger having-chosen
τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ 202
who for not knows of-Greeks who and of-barbarians that both
παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον
from Thebans and from the further than-these before
ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν
strong having-been Lacedaemonians and from the of-Persians
βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως
king with much gratitude this — gladly
ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ
would-have-been-given to-the city what ever she-wishes having-taken and
τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐᾶν ἕτερον
the her-own keeping the bidden to-do and to-allow another
τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι;
of-the Greeks to-lead
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια 203
but not were these-things as it-seems for-the Athenians ancestral
οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν
nor tolerable nor inborn nor was-able ever the city
οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι
no-one from all the time to-persuade to-the strong
μέν, μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς
indeed not just-things but doing having-attached-herself safely

δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ
to-be-a-slave but contending for first-place and honor and
δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.
glory running-risks all the age she-has-continued
204 καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις
and these-things so august and befitting the your
ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων
characters you suppose to-be that also of-the ancestors
τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως· τίς
the-ones these-things having-done most you-praise reasonably who
γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς,
for not — would-admire of-the men those the virtue
οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν
who both the land and the city to-leave endured
εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον
into the triremes having-embarked for the not the bidden
ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα
to-do the indeed these-things having-advised Themistocles
στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς
general having-chosen the-one but to-obey having-declared the
ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν,
orders Cyrsilus having-stoned not only him
ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ.
but also the women the your the wife his
205 οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορ' οὔτε
not for sought the then Athenians neither orator nor
στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
general through whom they-will-be-slaves fortunately but not-even
ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο
to-live they-deemed-worthy if not with freedom it-will-be-possible this
ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ
to-do thought for of-them each not to-the father and to-the

μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει
mother only to-have-been-born but also to-the fatherland differs
δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι
but what that the-one indeed to-the parents only to-have-been-born
νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον
thinking the of-the fate and the natural death
περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
awaits the-other but also for-the fatherland for the not
ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ
her to-see enslaved to-die will-be-willing and
φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς
more-fearful will-think the insults and the dishonors which
ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.
in being-enslaved the city to-bear is-necessary than-the death
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ᾽ ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον 206
if indeed then this I-attempted to-say that I led-on
ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὅστις οὐκ
you worthy-things of-the ancestors to-think not is whoever not
ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας
— reasonably would-rebuke me now but I indeed yours
τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμ᾽ ὅτι καὶ
the such choices declare and show that even
πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ᾽ εἶχεν τὸ φρόνημ᾽ ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι
before me this had the spirit the city of-the however
διακονίας τῆς ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ
service the in each of-the things-done also for-myself
μετεῖναί φημι·
to-have-a-share I-claim
οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ 207
this-man but of-the whole accusing and bidding you toward-me
πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει,
bitterly to-be-disposed as of-fears and dangers cause to-the city

τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἔμ᾽ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται,
of-the indeed for the present honor me to-deprive is-eager
τὰ δ᾽ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμι᾽ ὑμῶν
the but for all the remaining time praises from-you
ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου
he-takes-away if for as not the best me having-acted-in-politics
τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς
this-man you-will-condemn to-have-erred you-will-seem not by-the of-the
τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν.
fortune unkindness the outcomes to-have-suffered
208 ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετ᾽, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
but not is not is how you-erred men Athenians
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον
the for the of-all freedom and safety danger
ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν
having-taken-up by the at-Marathon having-fought-in-front of-the
προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ
ancestors and the at Plataea having-stood-in-line and
τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ,
the at Salamis having-fought-at-sea and the at Artemisium
καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασιν
and many others the in the public tombs
κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις
lying good men whom all alike the city
τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ
of-the same having-deemed-worthy honor buried Aeschines not
τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας
the-ones having-succeeded of-them nor the-ones having-conquered
μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον
only justly what indeed for was of-men good work

ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν
by-all has-been-done the fortune but which the deity allotted
ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται.
to-each this they-have-met
ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ 209
then O accursed and clerk-stooper you indeed of-the from
τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος
these-here honor and kindness me to-deprive wishing
τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαι' ἔργ' ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος
trophies and battles and ancient deeds you-told of-which of-what
προσεδεῖθ' ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ δ', ὦ τριταγωνιστά,
had-need the present trial this-here me but O tritagonist
τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ
the about the first-place adviser to-the city coming-forward the
τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ
of-what spirit having-taken to-go-up to the platform was-needed the
τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξι' ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντἂν ἀπέθανον.
of-the of-these unworthy-things going-to-say justly however I-would-have-died
ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας 210
since not-even you men Athenians from the same mind
δεῖ τάς τ' ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν,
it-is-necessary the both private suits and the public to-judge
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ
but the indeed of-the by day life contracts by
τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς
the private laws and deeds examining the but common
προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματ' ἀποβλέποντας.
choices to the of-the ancestors dignities looking
καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γ' ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ
and to-take-over at-least together-with the staff and the
συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον
token the spirit the of-the city to-think each

ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσι᾽ εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες,
of-you it-is-necessary whenever the public(-cases) you-go-in going-to-judge
εἴπερ ἄξι᾽ ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.
if-indeed worthy of-them to-do you-think to-be-needful

XXIII · THE EMBASSY TO THEBES

At Thebes the Athenian envoys found Philip's envoys and those of his allies, praising him, reminding the Thebans of every wrong Athens had done them, and promising them Attica's cattle and slaves if they joined the invasion. Athens' answer he will not rehearse now that the moment is past, but the Thebans called Athens' army in and lodged it in their houses among their wives and children, and in the battle by the river and the winter battle the Athenians won praise from all. Athens sacrificed in thanks; where was Aeschines then? Other orators either proposed or went as envoy; Demosthenes did both. Aeschines never challenged the identical decrees of Aristonicus, Demomeles, and Hypereides, and Diondas, who indicted one, failed to win a fifth of the votes.

211 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν
but for having-fallen into the things-done by-the ancestors your
ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων.
there-are which of-the decrees I-passed-over and of-the done(-things)
ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐξέβην βούλομαι.
to-return then whence here I-digressed I-wish
ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ᾽ εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν
when for we-arrived at — Thebes we-found
Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων
of-Philip and of-Thessalians and of-the other allies
παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν
present envoys and the indeed our friends in
φόβῳ, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐ νῦν ταῦτα
fear the but his bold that but not now these-things

λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος εἵνεκ᾽ ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν
I-say of-the advantage for-the-sake for-myself read to-me the
ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ᾽ ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις.
letter which then we-sent at-once the envoys
καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ᾽ ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται 212
and-yet so-great at-least excess of-false-accusation this-man has-used
ὥστε, εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ
that if indeed anything of-the needful(-things) was-done the occasion not
ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ᾽ ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων
me he-says cause to-have-been of-the but as otherwise having-happened
ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι· καί, ὡς
all me and the my fortune cause to-be and as
ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου
it-seems the adviser and orator I of-the indeed from speech
καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος
and the to-deliberate done(-things) in-nothing to-him jointly-responsible
εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν
to-be seem of-the but in the arms and in the generalship
ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος
having-been-unfortunate alone cause to-be how — more-savage
συκοφάντης γένοιτ᾽ ἢ καταρατότερος; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.
informer could-be or more-accursed read the letter
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους 213
when then they-held the assembly they-brought-in them
προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους
first because-of the the of-the allies position them
ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον
to-have and having-come-forward they-harangued much indeed Philip
ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ᾽ ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ᾽ ὅσα
praising much but you accusing all as-many-as
πώποτ᾽ ἐναντί᾽ ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμμνήσκοντες. τὸ
ever opposed-things you-did to-Thebans reminding the

δ᾽ οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ ᾽πεπόνθεσαν
but then sum they-asked for-what indeed well they-had-been-treated
ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ᾽ ὑφ᾽
by Philip thanks them to-return for-what but by
ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται,
you they-had-been-wronged justice to-take whichever-way they-wish
ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς
either having-let-through them against you or having-joined-the-invasion into
τὴν Ἀττικήν· καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν
— Attica and they-showed as they-thought from indeed what
αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τἀκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ
themselves advised the-from — Attica cattle and
ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἄλλ᾽ ἀγάθ᾽ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα,
slaves and the-other goods into — Boeotia going-to-come
ἐκ δ᾽ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τἀν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ
from but what us to-be-going-to-say they-said the-things-in — Boeotia
διαρπασθησόμεν᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ
going-to-be-plundered by the war and other-things many
πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ᾽ ἔλεγον.
besides these to the-same and all tending they-spoke
214 ἃ δ᾽ ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ᾽ ἕκαστ᾽ ἐγὼ μὲν
what and we to these the indeed in detail I indeed
ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς
in-exchange-for all — would-value to-tell the life you
δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ
but I-fear lest having-passed the occasions as-if — if
καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι,
even a-flood to-have-happened of-the affairs thinking
μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε·
vain noise the about these speeches you-should-think

ὅ τι δ᾽ οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο,
what ever but then we-persuaded we and to-us they-answered
ἀκούσατε. λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.
hear read these-here having-taken
μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. 215
after these-things then they-called you and summoned
ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τἀν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως
you-went-out you-helped so-that the-things-in between I-may-pass-over so
οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο ὥστ᾽ ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν
intimately you they-received so-that outside the hoplites and the
ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν
cavalry being into the houses and the town to-receive the
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα.
army to children and wives and the most-precious(-things)
καίτοι τρῖ᾽ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν
and-yet three on that the day to-all men showed
ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ᾽ ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἓν μὲν ἀνδρείας,
praises Thebans of you the finest one indeed of-courage
ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ
another and of-justice third and of-self-control and for
τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι
the contest with you rather than against you having-chosen
ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ᾽ ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς
to-make both better to-be and juster-things to-claim you
ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι
they-judged than-Philip and the among them and among all
δ᾽ ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν
but in greatest guard children and wives with you
ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν.
having-put of-self-control trust about you having they-showed

216 ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' ὑμᾶς
in which all men Athenians in-respect-of at-least you
ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν
rightly appeared having-judged neither for into the city
εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀδίκως
having-entered the army no-one in-nothing not-even unjustly
ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχεθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς·
you accused so self-controlled you-showed you selves
δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ
twice and having-stood-in-line-with the first battles the both by
τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον
the river and the winter(-one) not blameless only
ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ,
you selves but also admirable you-showed by-the discipline
ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν
by-the preparations by-the zeal for which from indeed the
ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντ' ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ
others to-you came praises from but you sacrifices and
πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.
processions to-the gods

217 καὶ ἔγωγ' ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ'
and I-myself gladly — would-ask Aeschines when these-things
ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις
were-being-done and of-emulation and joy and praises the city
ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς
was full whether he-joined-in-sacrificing and joined-in-rejoicing with-the
πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς
many or grieving and groaning and being-hostile to-the
κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ
common goods at-home he-sat if indeed for he-was-present and
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ,
with the others was-reviewed how not dreadful-things does-he

μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς
rather but not-even pious if of-what as best himself the
θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν
gods he-made witnesses these-things as not best now
ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς;
you he-asks to-vote the-ones having-sworn the gods
εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ
if but not he-was-present how not to-have-perished many-times is-he
δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτ' ἐλυπεῖθ'
right if at what rejoiced the others these-things he-grieved
ὁρῶν; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.
seeing read now also these the decrees to-me
οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' 218
therefore we indeed in sacrifices were then Thebans and
ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει
in the through us to-have-been-saved to-think and it-had-come-round
τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον
for-the-ones help to-be-going-to-need seeming from what were-doing
οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί.
these-men themselves to-help others from what you-were-persuaded by-me
ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἀφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν
but indeed what-sort-of then he-let-out cries — Philip and in
οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
what-sort-of he-was disturbances at these from the letters
τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν.
the his you-will-learn which to Peloponnese he-sent
καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ
and to-me read these having-taken so-that you-may-know the my
συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
persistence and wanderings and hardships and the many
ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.
decrees which now this-man ridiculed what accomplished

καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι
and-yet many among you men Athenians have-been
ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος
orators famous and great before me Callistratus
ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι·
that Aristophon Cephalus Thrasybulus others countless
ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν
but nevertheless no-one ever of-these through all gave
ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ
himself into nothing for-the city but the-one indeed proposing not
ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν.
— would-go-as-envoy the-other but going-as-envoy not — would-propose
ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν
left for of-them each to-himself at-the-same-time indeed
ῥᾳστώνην, ἅμα δ᾽ εἴ τι γένοιτ᾽ ἀναφοράν.
ease at-the-same-time but if anything should-happen recourse
τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦθ᾽ ὑπερῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ
what then would-say someone — you so-much did-you-excel in-strength and
τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ᾽
in-daring that all-things to-do yourself not these-things I-say but
οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον
so I-had-been-persuaded great to-be the having-seized danger
τὴν πόλιν ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν
the city that not it-seemed to-me room nor forethought
οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπητὸν
any of-the private safety to-give but welcome
εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλιπών τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν.
to-be if nothing having-left-out anyone what one-must should-do
ἐπεπείσμην δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν,
I-had-been-persuaded and about myself perhaps indeed being-insensible
ὅμως δ᾽ ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ᾽ ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι
nevertheless but I-had-been-persuaded neither proposing — than-me to-propose

μηδένα μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι μήτε πρεσβεύοντα
no-one nor acting to-act nor going-as-envoy
πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτ'
to-go-as-envoy more-zealously nor more-justly because-of these-things
ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ
in all myself I-posted read the letters the —
Φιλίππου.
of-Philip
εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνη· 222
into these-things brought Philip the my policy Aeschines
ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς
this the cry he let-out many and bold
τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει λόγους ἐπαιρόμενος. ἀνθ'
the-things before these against-the city words lifting-himself-up in-return
ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν
for-which justly I-was-crowned by these-here and you being-present
οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος
not did-speak-against the-one and having-indicted Diondas the part
τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα
of-the votes not got and to-me read these the decrees
τὰ ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.
the having-been-acquitted by this-man but not-even indicted
ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς 223
these-here the decrees men Athenians the same
συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν
syllables and the-same words have which-very before indeed
Ἀριστόνικος, νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί. καὶ
Aristonicus now and Ctesiphon has-proposed this-here and
ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ
these-things Aeschines neither prosecuted himself nor with-the-one
γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν
indicting joined-in-accusing and-yet then — Demomeles the

ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου
these-things proposing and — Hypereides if-indeed true-things of-me
νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν.
now he-accuses rather — reasonably than this-man would-have-prosecuted
224 διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ'
because-of what because for-this-man indeed it-is-possible to-refer to
ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον
them and the of-the courts verdicts and the this-man
αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ γραψάντων ἅπερ
himself them not to-have-accused the-same having-proposed which-very
οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἐᾶν περὶ τῶν
this-man now and the the laws no-longer to-allow about the
οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· τότε δ'
so done(-things) to-accuse and many other-things then but
αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετ' ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι
itself the matter — would-have-been-judged on its-own before anything
τούτων προλαβεῖν.
of-these to-anticipate
225 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, τόθ' ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν
but not was-it I-think then what now to-do from ancient
χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε
times and decrees many having-picked-out what neither
προῄδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι,
foreknew no-one nor — would-have-thought today to-be-spoken
διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις
to-slander and having-transferred the dates and pretexts
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
instead-of the true false having-substituted for-the things-done
δοκεῖν τι λέγειν.
to-seem something to-say

οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν 226
not was then this but in the truth near the
ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς
deeds still remembering you and only not in the
χερσὶν ἕκαστ' ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι.
hands each-thing having all would-have-been — the words
διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν
wherefore the at very the events tests having-fled now
ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ
he-comes of-orators contest thinking as at-least to-me it-seems and
οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ
not of-the political-acts examination to-be-going-to-make you and
λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.
of-speech judgment not of-the for-the city advantage to-be-going-to-be

XXIV · THE TRUE RECKONING

Aeschines asks the jurors to set aside what they believed of both men, as they would a sum the counters prove wrong, and so admits that they know Demosthenes speaks for Athens and Aeschines for Philip. The true account is this: the Thebans fought beside Athens instead of invading with Philip; the war was fought seven hundred stades away on the Boeotian border; pirates from Euboea did not raid Attica; Byzantium fought on Athens' side. Athens began with the weakest islanders and forty-five talents, against an absolute king; Demosthenes won it the Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans, fifteen thousand mercenaries and two thousand horse. To haggle over shares then would have sent the cities to Philip; Aeschines is the doctor who lectures at the grave.

εἶτα σοφίζεται καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν 227
then he-plays-the-sophist and says it-befits which indeed from-home
ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι, ὥσπερ δ',
you-came having opinion about us to-neglect as but

ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογίζησθε, ἂν
when thinking to-be-left-over money for-someone you-reckon if
καθαραὶ ὦσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε,
clear are the counters and nothing is-left-over you-concede
οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι.
so also now to-the from the speech appearing(-things) to-assent
θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν
behold then how rotten as it-seems is by-nature all
ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πεπραγμένον.
what ever — not justly be done

228 ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε
from for itself the clever this example he-has-admitted
νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν
now at-least us to-be-the-case being-known me indeed to-speak
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ
for the fatherland himself but for Philip not for
ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς
— to-persuade-otherwise you he-would-seek not such being the
ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου.
existing supposition about each

229 καὶ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην
and indeed that at-least not just-things he-says to-change this
τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους
the opinion claiming I will-teach easily not putting counters
(οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός), ἀλλ'
not for is the of-the affairs this reckoning but
ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστ' ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ
reminding each-thing in brief as-auditors at-the-same-time and
μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία,
witnesses the hearers you using the for my policy
ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ
which this-man accuses instead-of indeed the Thebans with

Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο,
Philip to-join-in-invading into the land which all thought
μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν·
with us having-stood-in-line him to-prevent made
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἑπτακόσια 230
instead-of and the in — Attica the war to-be seven-hundred
στάδι' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι·
stades from the city at the of-Boeotians borders to-come-about
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ
instead-of and the the pirates us to-plunder and to-ravage from
τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι
— Euboea in peace — Attica from sea to-be
πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
all the war instead-of and the the Hellespont
ἔχειν Φίλιππον λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς
to-hold Philip having-taken Byzantium to-join-in-war the
Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.
Byzantines with us against him
ἆρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; 231
then to-you to-counters like the of-the deeds reckoning appears
ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα
or to-be-necessary to-cancel these-things but not how the all
χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι
time will-be-remembered to-consider and no-longer I-add
ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κατέστη
that of-the indeed cruelty which in what once-for-all some became
κύριος Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη,
master Philip it-is-possible to-see others to-experience happened
τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
of-the and kindness which the rest of-the affairs

ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες
he putting-around-himself feigned you rightly doing
τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.
the fruits have-gathered but I-let-pass these-things
232 καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα
and indeed not-even this to-say I-will-shrink that the-one the orator
βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν
wishing justly to-examine and not to-slander not —
οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα
what-sort you now said such-things would-accuse examples
πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ
fabricating and words and gestures imitating very for
παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονεν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ
because-of this not you-see has-happened the of-the Greeks if this-here
τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα,
the word but not this-here I-used I or here the hand
233 ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων
but not here I-moved but in themselves the deeds
ἂν ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας
— he-would-consider what had resources the city and what
δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῄειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον
forces when into the affairs I-entered and what I-gathered
αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ
for-her after these-things having-taken-charge I and how were the
τῶν ἐναντίων. εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις,
of-the opponents then if indeed fewer I-made the forces
παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μείζους,
with me the-wrong — he-would-show being if but much greater
οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ
not — he-would-slander since but you this have-shunned I
ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτ' εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.
will-do and consider if justly I-will-use the argument

δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ 234
force indeed then had the city the islanders not
ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε
all but the weakest neither for Chios nor
Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν
Rhodes nor Corcyra with us was of-money and contribution
εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν
to five and forty talents and these were
προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δ' ἢ ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων
collected-in-advance hoplite and or horseman except the domestic
οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ
none what but of-all also most-fearful and most for
τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς περιχώρους
the enemies these-men had-prepared the neighbors
πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους,
all enmity than friendship nearer Megarians Thebans
Εὐβοέας.
Euboeans
τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν 235
the indeed of-the city so were being and no-one —
ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου,
could besides these-things to-say other nothing the but — of-Philip
πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν
against whom was for-us the contest consider how first indeed
ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃ τῶν
he-commanded the following himself absolute which of-the
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάντων· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ
for the war greatest is of-all then these-men the
ὅπλ' εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων ηὐπόρει
arms had in the hands always then of-money he-had-plenty
καὶ ἔπραττεν ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς
and did what seemed-good to-him not announcing in the

ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ
decrees nor in the open deliberating nor by
τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
the informers being-tried nor indictments defending
παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς
of-illegality nor accountable being to-no-one but simply himself
δεσπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων.
master leader lord of-all

236 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ'
I and the-one against this-man ranged and for this
ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ
to-examine just of-what master was-I of-nothing itself for
τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ
the to-address-the-people first in-which alone I-had-a-share I on
ἴσου προὐτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι
equal(-terms) proposed you to-the-ones from him hired
καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσ' οὗτοι περιγένοιντ' ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ
and to-me and as-many-things-as these-men prevailed-over me many
δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν),
and happened these through what each happened pretext
ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι.
these-things for the enemies you-went-away having-deliberated

237 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους
but nevertheless from such disadvantages I allies
μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους,
indeed for-you made Euboeans Achaeans Corinthians Thebans
Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν
Megarians Leucadians Corcyraeans from whom ten-thousand indeed
καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν
and five-thousand mercenaries two-thousand and cavalry apart-from the

πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δ' ὅσων
citizen forces were-gathered of-money and as-much-as
ἐδυνήθην ἐγὼ πλείστων συντέλειαν ἐποίησα.
I-was-able I most contribution I-made
εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαι', Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ 238
if but you-mention either the toward Thebans just(-terms) Aeschines or the
πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων
toward Byzantines or the toward Euboeans or about the equal(-shares)
νυνὶ διαλέγει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον
now you-discuss first indeed you-are-ignorant that also before
τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων,
of-the for the Greeks those having-contended triremes
τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις
three-hundred being the all the two-hundred the city
παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα
provided and not to-be-worsted thinking nor trying
τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδ' ἀγανακτοῦσ' ἐπὶ τούτοις
the these-things having-advised nor being-indignant at these
ἑωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ
was-seen shameful for but to-the gods having gratitude if
κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια
common danger for-the Greeks having-surrounded she-herself double
τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο.
the others for the of-all safety provided
εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζει χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ 239
then empty you-offer favors to-these-here slandering me why for
νῦν λέγεις οἵ' ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ
now you-say what-sort was-needed to-do but not then being in the
πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ
city and being-present these-things you-proposed if-indeed it-was-admissible in
τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσ' ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀλλ'
the present occasions in which not as-much-as we-wished but

ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ
as-much-as might-grant the affairs it-was-needed to-accept the-one for
ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους
bidding-against and quickly the from us driven-away
προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.
going-to-receive and money going-to-add was ready
240 ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί
but if now for the things-done accusations I-have what
ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου,
— do-you-think if then me about these being-precise
ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμ'
had-gone-away the cities and joined Philip and at-the-same-time
Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί
Euboea and Thebes and Byzantium master had-become what
ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί;
to-do — or what to-say the impious men these-here
241 οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι
not that they-were-surrendered not that they-were-driven-away wishing
μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα 'τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ
with you to-be then of-the indeed Hellespont through
Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς
Byzantines master he-has-become and of-the grain-transport the
τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν
of-the Greeks lord war but neighboring and heavy into —
Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα
Attica through Thebans has-been-brought unsailable and the sea
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων λῃστῶν γέγονεν·' οὐκ
by the from — Euboea setting-out pirates has-become not
ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα;
— these-things they-would-say and many-things at-least besides these other-things

πονηρόν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ 242
wicked men Athenians wicked the informer always
καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ
and from-every-side spiteful and fault-finding this and also
φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς
by-nature a-fox the-manikin is nothing from beginning sound
πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος
having-done nor free self-tragic ape rustic
Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς
Oenomaus counterfeit orator what for the your cleverness to
ὄνησιν ἥκει τῇ πατρίδι;
benefit has-come for-the fatherland
νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν 243
now to-us you-speak about the past as-if —
εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ
if some doctor being-sick indeed to-the patients visiting not
λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον,
should-say nor show through what they-will-escape the disease
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμεν' αὐτῷ
when but should-die one of-them and the customary-rites for-him
φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα διεξίοι 'εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ
were-carried following to the tomb should-recount if this and that
ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.' ἐμβρόντητε,
had-done the-man this-here not — would-have-died thunderstruck
εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;
then now you-speak

Philip's envoys never beat Demosthenes in argument anywhere, in Thessaly, Ambracia, Illyria, Thrace, Byzantium, or at last Thebes; what Philip lost in words he took by arms. An orator answers for seeing events coming, warning of them, and curbing the cities' delays, ignorance, and rivalries, and in all this he did his part. Philip won by his army and by bribes; Demosthenes commanded no army, and no bribe bought him, so for his part the city was unconquered. After the battle the people voted his measures for its defense and made him grain commissioner, and through daily prosecutions the jurors acquitted him. Aeschines never once indicted him.

244 οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἧτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς ἐφ' ᾗ
not then not-even the defeat if in-this you-exult at which
στένειν σ', ὦ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ'
to-groan you O accursed befitted in none of-the on
ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὑτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε.
my-part having-happened you-will-find for-the city thus but reckon
οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν
nowhere ever where envoy I-was-sent by you
ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων,
I defeated came-away of-the from Philip envoys
οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας οὐδ' ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν
not from Thessaly nor from Ambracia not from Illyrians
οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου,
nor from the Thracian kings not from Byzantium
οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖ' ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ'
not elsewhere from-nowhere not the last from Thebes but
ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα
in what were-beaten the envoys his by-the speech these-things
τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο.
with-the arms advancing he-subdued

ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν
these-things then you-demand from me and not are-you-ashamed the
αὐτὸν εἴς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως
same for both cowardice mocking and of-the of-Philip force
ἀξιῶν ἕν᾽ ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις;
claiming one being stronger to-become and these-things by-the words
τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γ᾽ ἑκάστου
of-what for other master was I not for of-the at-least of-each
ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς
soul nor of-the fortune of-the having-stood-in-line nor of-the
στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ᾽ ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ.
generalship of-which me you-demand accounts so stupid are-you
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ᾽ ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν
but indeed of-what at-least — the orator accountable might-be every
ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίν᾽ οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα;
examination take not I-decline what then is these
ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν
to-see the affairs beginning and to-perceive-beforehand and to-foretell
τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ
to-the others these-things have-been-done by-me and further the everywhere
βραδυτῆτας, ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ
slownesses hesitations ignorances rivalries which political
ταῖς πόλεσιν πρόσεστιν ἁπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖ᾽ ἁμαρτήματα,
to-the cities belong to-all and necessary failings
ταῦθ᾽ ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰς
these as into least to-contract and the-opposite into
ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν
concord and friendship and the of-the the needful(-things) to-do
ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ
impulse to-urge and these-things by-me all have-been-done and
οὐδεὶς μήποθ᾽ εὕρῃ κατ᾽ ἔμ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν.
no-one ever may-find on my-part nothing left-undone

247 εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιθ' ὁντινοῦν τίσιν τὰ πλεῖστα
if then someone should-ask anyone-whatever by-what-means the most
Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ
Philip of-what be-accomplished managed all — would-say by-the
στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ
army and by-the to-give and to-corrupt the-ones in-charge
τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ'
of-the affairs therefore of-the indeed forces neither master nor
ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστ' οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα
leader was I so-that not-even the account of-the in-respect-of these
πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ
done(-things) toward me and indeed in-the to-be-corrupted with-money or
μὴ κεκράτηκα Φίλιππον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε
not I-have-beaten Philip as for the buyer has-conquered
τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν νενίκηκε
the taker if he-buys so the not taking has-conquered
τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστ' ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.
the buyer so-that unconquered the city the as-regards me
248 ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα
what indeed then I furnished toward the justly such-things
γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ
to-propose this-man about me besides many others these-things and
παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ'
similar to-these are what but the-ones all you these-things
ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ
now I-will-say after for the battle at-once the people knowing and
ἑορακὼς πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς
having-seen all as-many-as did I in themselves the dangers
καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι
and fearful(-times) having-stepped-in when not-even to-be-unkind somewhat
θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ
surprising was the many toward me first indeed about

σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ
safety of-the city the my proposals voted and
πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς εἵνεκ' ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις
all as-many-as the guard for-the-sake were-done the disposition
τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα,
of-the guards the ditches the for the walls money
διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἱρούμενος
through the my decrees came-about then choosing
σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος.
grain-commissioner from all me elected the people
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς 249
and after these-things having-combined to-whom was a-care badly
ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφάς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ'
me to-do and indictments audits impeachments all these
ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ
bringing against-me not through themselves the at-least first but
δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε
through whom most they-supposed to-be-going-to-be-unrecognized you-know
γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθ' ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ
for surely and remember that the first times by
τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπόνοια
the day each was-tried I and neither desperation
Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου
of-Sosicles nor false-accusation of-Philocrates nor of-Diondas
καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις
and of-Melantus madness nor other nothing untried was by-these
κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς
against me in then these all most indeed through the
θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους
gods second and through you and the other Athenians

ἐσῳζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
I-was-saved justly this for both true is and for the
ὀμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν.
having-sworn and having-decided the in-accord-with-their-oath jurors
250 οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου
therefore in indeed what I-was-impeached when you-acquitted me
καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε,
and the part of-the votes to-the prosecutors not gave
τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς
then you-voted the-best me to-do in what but the
γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν
indictments I-escaped lawful-things both to-propose and to-say
ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως
I-was-shown in what but the audits you-sealed justly
καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε.
and incorruptibly all to-have-been-done by-me you-acknowledged
τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν
these then so being what befitted or what just was
τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντ' ὄνομα;
to-the by me done(-things) to-give — Ctesiphon name
οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας
not which the people he-saw giving not which the having-sworn
δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;
jurors not which the truth among all confirming
251 ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν
yes he-says but the — of-Cephalus fine the no
γραφὴν φυγεῖν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί
indictment to-have-defended and by Zeus fortunate at-least but why
μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγών, μηδεπώποτε δ'
more the-one often indeed having-defended never but
ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ
having-been-convicted doing-wrong in reproach would-be — because-of

τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
this justly and-yet toward at-least this-man men Athenians
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ
also the — of-Cephalus fine to-say is for-me none for
πώποτ' ἐγράψατό μ' οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ σοῦ
ever indicted me nor prosecuted indictment so-that by you
γ' ὡμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.
at-least I-am-acknowledged nothing to-be — than-Cephalus worse citizen

XXVI · TWO FORTUNES

To reproach a man with his fortune, Demosthenes says, is folly in a mortal. Athens' fortune he thinks good, as Zeus of Dodona tells it; the fortune of all mankind now is hard, and the city has shared in it. Let Aeschines compare their private fortunes: Demosthenes went to the proper schools, served as choregus and trierarch, and was often crowned; Aeschines as a boy ground the ink and swept the schoolroom, read the books at his mother's initiations, daubed the initiates with clay and led the revelers through the streets with snakes, crying "euoi saboi," then clerked for petty officials and was hissed off the stage as a third actor. "You taught letters," Demosthenes says, "I went to school; you were hissed, I hissed."

παντα χόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην 252
from-every-side indeed then — anyone could-see the unkindness
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς
his and the spite not least but from what about the
τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν
fortune he-discoursed I but altogether indeed whoever man being
ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἣν γὰρ ὁ
to-a-man fortune casts-up senseless I-think which for the-one
βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ
best to-fare thinking and best to-have supposing not
οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ
knows if it-will-remain such until the evening how one-must

περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ'
about this to-speak or how to-reproach another since but
οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως
this-man besides many others also about these arrogantly
χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
uses the speech consider O men Athenians and
θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον
observe by-how-much both more-truly and more-humanely
ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι.
I about the fortune than-this-man will-discourse
253 ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ'
I the of-the city fortune good think and this
ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν
I-see also — Zeus the Dodonaean to-you prophesying the
μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν
however of-the all men which now prevails hard
καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν
and dreadful who for of-Greeks or who of-barbarians not many
κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται;
evils in the present has-experienced
254 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν
the indeed then to-have-chosen the noblest(-course) and the of-the
οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ προοῖνθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ
having-thought Greeks if they-should-abandon us in prosperity
διάξειν αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς
to-be-going-to-live than-them better to-fare of-the good fortune of-the
πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὡς
city to-be I-set-down the but to-have-collided and not all as
ἐβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι, τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης
we-wished for-us to-have-happened of-the of-the other men fortune
τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν.
the falling on us share to-have-taken I-think the city

τὴν δ᾽ ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου 255
the but private fortune the mine and the of-one of-us each
ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ
in the private(-affairs) to-examine just to-be I-think I
μὲν οὑτωσὶ περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς
indeed thus about the fortune I-claim rightly and justly as
ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην
to-myself I-seem I-think and also to-you he but the private fortune
τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι,
the mine than-the common the city's more-sovereign to-be says
τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ
the small and mean than-the good and great and
πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;
how is-it-possible this to-happen
καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, 256
and indeed if at-least the my fortune by-all-means to-examine
Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σεαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν εὕρῃς
Aeschines you-choose against the your-own consider and-if you-find
τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ.
the mine better than-the yours stop abusing it
σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς
consider then at-once from beginning and me by Zeus
μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ᾽ εἴ
no frigidity let-condemn no-one I for neither if
τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὔτ᾽ εἴ
anyone poverty insults sense to-have think nor if
τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ
anyone in plenty raised for this prides-himself but by
τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας
the of-this-here the harsh(-man) slander and false-accusation

εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν
into such words to-fall I-am-compelled which from the
ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.
possible(-ones) as — I-can most-moderately I-will-use
257 ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν
to-me indeed then it-was-given Aeschines boy indeed being to-go
εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ
to the fitting schools and to-have as-much-as it-is-necessary
τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι
the-one nothing shameful going-to-do through want having-come-out
δ' ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν,
and from boyhood consistent-things with-these to-do to-be-choregus
τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτ' ἰδίας μήτε
to-be-trierarch to-contribute of-no ambition neither private nor
δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις
public to-fall-short but both to-the city and to-the friends
χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν
useful to-be when but to the public(-affairs) to-come
ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' ἑλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ
it-seemed-good to-me such measures to-choose so-that both by
τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις
the fatherland and by other Greeks many often
ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά
to-have-been-crowned and not-even the enemies you that not noble
γ' ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν.
at-least were what I-chose to-attempt to-say
258 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν
I indeed then in-such have-lived fortune and many-things —
ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος
having other to-say about it I-pass-over guarding-against
τὸ λυπῆσαί τιν' ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς
the to-pain someone in what I-pride-myself you but the august

ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην
man and spitting-on the others consider against this
ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν
in-what-sort some you-have-lived fortune through which boy indeed being
μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ
with much the want you-were-reared together-with the father
πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ
at the school attending the ink grinding and
τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν,
the benches sponging and the paedagogues'-room sweeping
οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος 259
of-a-servant position not of-a-free boy having man and having-become
τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἄλλα
to-the mother initiating the books you-read-out and the-rest
συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων
helped-contrive the indeed night fawn-skinning and bowl-mixing
καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ
and purifying the initiates and wiping-off with-the clay
καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων
and the bran and raising from the purification bidding
λέγειν 'ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον,' ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε
to-say I-fled evil I-found better at the no-one ever
τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω·
so-loudly to-have-howled priding-yourself and I-myself think
μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν 260
not for think him to-speak indeed so loudly to-howl
δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς
but not very-brilliantly in and the days the fine
θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ
bands leading through the streets the crowned with-the
μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων
fennel and the white-poplar the snakes the fat-cheeked squeezing

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν ‘εὐοῖ σαβοῖ,’
and over the head swinging and shouting euoi saboi
καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ‘ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς,’ ἔξαρχος καὶ
and dancing hyes attes attes hyes leader-of-the-dance and
προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ’ ὑπὸ
front-leader and ivy-bearer and winnow-bearer and such-things by
τῶν γρᾳδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων
the old-women being-called wages taking from-these
ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ
sops and twists and fresh-cakes for which who not
ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὑτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ τύχην;
— as truly himself would-call-happy and the his-own fortune
261 ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε,
when and into the demesmen you-were-enrolled somehow-or-other
(ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο,) ἐπειδή γ’ ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ
I-let-pass for this when at-least you-were-enrolled at-once the
κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν
finest you-picked of-the works to-be-clerk and to-serve
τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ’ ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου,
the petty-officials when and you-were-rid at-some-time also of-this
πάνθ’ ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας,
all which the others you-accuse yourself having-done
262 οὐ κατῄσχυνας μὰ Δί’ οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ
not you-disgraced by Zeus none of-the previous by-the after
ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις
these-things life but having-hired-out yourself to-the groaning
ἐπικαλουμένοις ὑποκριταῖς Σιμύκᾳ καὶ Σωκράτει,
nicknamed actors Simycas and Socrates
ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ
you-played-tritagonist figs and grapes and olives collecting as-if
ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων
a-fruiterer from the others’ farms more getting

ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
from these than from-the contests which you about the life
ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς
contested was for truceless and unheralded for-you against the
θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως
spectators war by whom many wounds having-received reasonably
τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις.
the inexperienced of-the such dangers as cowards you-mock
ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἄν τις, 263
but for passing-over what the poverty would-blame — anyone
πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα.
to themselves the of-the character your I-will-go charges
τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ
such for you-chose policy when ever also this occurred
σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ
to-you to-do through which prospering indeed the fatherland a-hare's
βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι
life you-lived fearing and trembling and always to-be-going-to-be-struck
προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ'
expecting for what with-yourself you-were-conscious doing-wrong in what but
ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὤψαι.
were-unfortunate the others bold being by all you-have-been-seen
καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί 264
and-yet whoever a-thousand citizens having-died took-courage what
οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ
this-man to-suffer by the living right is many
τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ
then other-things to-say having about him I-will-pass-over not
γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ
for as-many-as — I-could-show belonging shameful-things to-this-man and

ὀνείδη, πάντ᾽ οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα
reproaches all I-think to-be-necessary readily to-say but as-many-as
μηδὲν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.
nothing shameful is to-say for-me
265 ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ᾽ ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ βεβιωμένα,
examine then beside one-another the by-you and-me lived(-lives)
πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ᾽ ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν
gently not bitterly Aeschines then ask these-here the
ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ᾽ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες
of-which fortune — would-choose each of-them you-taught
γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐτελούμην.
letters I and went-to-school you-initiated I and was-initiated
ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις,
you-were-clerk I and attended-assembly you-played-tritagonist
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ
I and watched you-were-hissed-off I and hissed for
τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς
the enemies you-have-acted-in-politics all I but for the
πατρίδος.
fatherland
266 ἐῶ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
I-let-pass the-rest but now today I indeed for the
στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν
to-be-crowned am-being-scrutinized the but not-even anything-at-all
ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν
to-do-wrong am-acknowledged to-you and informer indeed
εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δ᾽ εἴτε δεῖ
to-be to-seem belongs you-run-the-risk and whether it-is-necessary
σ᾽ ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ᾽ ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ
you still this to-do or already to-have-stopped not
μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ
having-got the fifth part of-the votes with-good

γ', οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς
at-least not you-see fortune having-lived the mine
κατηγορεῖς.
you-accuse

XXVII · THE COMMON FORTUNE

Demosthenes has his liturgies read against Aeschines' speeches from the stage, the lines he used to murder. His private kindnesses, ransoms, and dowries he will not list, since the giver should forget and only the receiver remember. If Aeschines can name one man, Greek or barbarian, who has escaped the power of Philip and now Alexander, let the blame be Demosthenes' fortune; since whole cities and nations who never saw him have suffered, it is the common fortune of mankind. Aeschines sat in every assembly and proposed nothing better then. Men pity one who fails while serving the common good; Aeschines makes even misfortunes a charge.

φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λητουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν 267
bring now also the of-the liturgies testimonies which
λελῃτούργηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ
I-have-performed for-you let-me-read beside which read-alongside also
σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,
you to-me the speeches which you-murdered

ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
I-come of-the-dead hiding-place and of-darkness gates

καὶ
and

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,
to-bring-ill-news indeed know not wishing me

καὶ ‘κακὸν κακῶς σε’ μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειθ’
and evil-man evilly you most indeed the gods then
οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ
these-men all may-destroy wicked being both citizen and
τριταγωνιστήν.
tritagonist
λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.
read the testimonies
268 ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν δὲ
in indeed then the toward the city such in but
τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσθ’ ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ
the private(-dealings) if not all you-know that sociable and
φιλάνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ
humane and to-the needy helpful I-am-silent and
οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν
nothing — I-would-say nor I-would-furnish about these no
μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ’ εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ’
testimony neither if some from the enemies I-ransomed nor
εἴ τισιν θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν.
if for-some daughters I-helped-portion nor of-the such-things nothing
269 καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ
and for so somehow I-have-supposed I think the indeed well
παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ
treated to-be-necessary to-remember all the time the but
ποιήσαντ’ εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ,
having-done at-once to-have-forgotten if must the indeed of-a-good
τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ
the but not of-a-petty to-do work man the but
τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ
the private benefits to-remind-of and to-speak little
δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον
lacking like is to-the to-reproach not indeed I-will-do such

οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ποθ᾽ ὑπείλημμαι
nothing nor I-will-be-led-on but however ever I-am-regarded
περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.
about these suffices for-me
βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ 270
I-wish and from-the private(-matters) having-departed still little-things
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις,
to you to-say about the public(-matters) if indeed for you-can
Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων
Aeschines of-the under this the sun to-name men
ὅστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς
anyone exempt from-the of-Philip formerly and now the
Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν
of-Alexander dominion has-been either of-the Greeks or of-the
βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε
barbarians let-it-be I-concede the my whether fortune or
δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι.
misfortune to-call you-wish of-all cause to-have-been
εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ᾽ ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν 271
if but also of-the never having-seen me nor voice
ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι,
having-heard of-me many many and dreadful-things have-suffered
μὴ μόνον κατ᾽ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη,
not only by man but also cities whole and nations
πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἁπάντων, ὡς
how-much juster and truer the of-all as
ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων
it-seems men fortune common and onrush some of-affairs
χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι.
harsh and not such-as was-needed of-these cause to-consider

272 σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ
you then these-things having-dropped me the-one among these-here
πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ
having-acted-in-politics you-blame and these-things knowing that even if not the
ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ
whole a-part at-least falls of-the slander on-all and
μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ
most on-you if indeed for I by myself absolute
περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις
about the affairs was-deliberating it-would-be — for-the other
ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἔμ' αἰτιᾶσθαι·
orators for-you me to-blame

273 εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ'
if but you-were-present indeed in the assemblies all always and
ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προὐτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ
in common the advantage the city proposed to-consider to-all and
ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί (οὐ γὰρ
these-things seemed then best to-be and most to-you not for
ἐπὶ εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ
out-of goodwill at-least to-me you-yielded hopes and emulation and
τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,
honors which all belonged to-the then done(-things) by me
ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν
but by-the truth being-defeated evidently and by-the nothing
ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς
to-have to-say better how not do-you-wrong and dreadful-things do
τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω;
in-these now accusing what then not you-had to-say better

274 παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
among indeed then the others I-myself I-see all men
διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις
defined and ordered somehow the such-things does-wrong someone

ἑκών· ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις
willingly anger and punishment against this-man erred someone
ἄκων· συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὔτ'
unwillingly pardon instead-of the punishment for-this-man neither
ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα
doing-wrong anyone nor erring to the to-all seeming
συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσεν μεθ' ἁπάντων·
to-be-advantageous himself having-given not succeeded with all
οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ
not to-reproach nor to-abuse the such just but
συνάχθεσθαι.
to-share-grief
φανήσεται ταῦτα πάνθ' οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς 275
will-appear these-things all so not only in the
νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις
laws but also the nature itself by-the unwritten customs
καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσιν διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν
and the human characters has-defined Aeschines then
τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὠμότητι
so-much has-surpassed all men in-cruelty
καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων
and false-accusation that also what himself as misfortunes
ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
mentioned also these me he-accuses

Aeschines warns the jurors against Demosthenes' cleverness, calling him wizard and sophist, as if the first to use the names were not what they describe. Whatever skill Demosthenes has was always used for the city, Aeschines' against it. A good citizen keeps his anger for the city's enemies, not his private quarrels; Aeschines, who never prosecuted him for any wrong, comes now against Ctesiphon to display his voice. An orator's worth is to choose what the many choose and to love and hate whom his country does. Aeschines went to Philip as envoy straight after the battle, then claimed friendship and guest-friendship with him: what claim had the son of Glaucothea the tambourine-player to that?

276 καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ μετ'
and besides the other(-things) as-if himself simply and with
εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ
goodwill all having-spoken the words to-guard-against me and
τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω,
to-watch he-bade lest not I-should-mislead nor deceive
δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς
clever and wizard and sophist and the such-things naming as-if
ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου,
if first anyone says the belonging(-things) to-himself about another
καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας
also indeed these-things so being and no-longer the hearers
σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων.
going-to-consider who ever himself is the-one these-things saying
ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ
I but I-know I-know that you-know this-man all and
πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι.
much to-this-man rather than to-me you-think these-things to-belong

κἀκεῖν᾽ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. 277
and-that well I-know that the my cleverness let-it-be for
καίτοι ἔγωγ᾽ ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς
and-yet I-myself see of-the of-the speakers power the
ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς
hearers the most masters as for — you
ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ᾽ εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ
receive and toward each have of-goodwill so the
λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ᾽ οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοί τις
speaker seemed to-be-wise if but then there-is also in me some
ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὑρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς
experience such this indeed you-will-find all in the
κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ᾽
public(-affairs) being-tested for you always and nowhere against
ὑμῶν οὐδ᾽ ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τοὐναντίον οὐ μόνον
you nor privately the but this-man's the-opposite not only
τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ
by-the to-speak for the enemies but also if anyone vexed
τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ
in-anything this-man or collided somewhere against these not
γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται.
for it justly nor for what benefits the city he-uses
οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ οὐδὲν 278
neither for the anger nor the enmity nor other nothing
τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ
of-the such-things the noble and-good citizen it-is-necessary
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν
the for the public(-interests) having-come-in jurors to-ask
αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ
for-him to-confirm nor for these into you to-come but
μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ᾽ ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽
most indeed not to-have these in the nature if but then

ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν
necessity mildly and moderately disposed to-have in what then
σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ;
vehement to-be the politician and the orator it-is-necessary
ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ
in which of-the whole something is-at-risk for-the city and
ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις·
in which against the opponents is for-the people in these
ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου.
these-things for of-a-noble and good citizen
279 μηδενὸς δ' ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ
no and wrong ever public I-will-add and
μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς
not-even private justice having-claimed to-get from me neither for the
πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν
city nor for his-own crown and praise accusation
ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι
to-come having-got-up and so-many-these words to-have-spent
ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον,
of-private enmity and envy and meanness is sign
οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας
of-nothing good the and indeed also the against me himself contests
ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν.
having-let-go now against this-man to-come also all has baseness
280 καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα
and to-me you-seem from these Aeschines of-words display some
καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι
and voice-exercise wishing to-make this to-have-chosen
τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι
the contest not of-wrong none to-get punishment is
δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος
but not the speech of-the orator Aeschines valuable nor the pitch

τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ
of-the voice but the the-same to-choose as-the many and
τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὕσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς.
the the same to-hate and to-love whom-very — the fatherland
ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχήν, οὗτος ἐπ᾽ εὐνοίᾳ πάντ᾽ 281
the-one for so having the soul this-man from goodwill all-things
ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον
will-say the-one but from whom the city foresees some danger
ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ
for-herself these courting not on the same rides-at-anchor
τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν
as-the many not-then nor of-the safety the same
ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ᾽, ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέρονθ᾽
has expectation but you-see I the-same for advantage
εἱλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ᾽ ἴδιον πεποίημαι.
I-chose as-these-here and nothing special nor private I-have-made
ἆρ᾽ οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην 282
then then not-even you and how who at-once after the battle
πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν
envoy you-went to Philip who was of-the in
ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ
those the times misfortunes cause to-the fatherland and
ταῦτ᾽ ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην
these-things denying all the before time this
τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν
the intimacy as all know and-yet who the-one the city
ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ᾽ ὁ
deceiving not the-one not saying what he-thinks for-whom and the
κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μεῖζον
herald curses justly not for-the such(-man) what and greater

ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ
could anyone — to-name wrong against a-man orator than
εἰ μὴ ταὐτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὑρέθης.
if not the-same he-thinks and says you then this-man were-found
283 εἶτα σὺ φθέγγει καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα
then you you-speak and to-look into the of-these faces
τολμᾷς; πότερ᾽ οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ;
you-dare whether not you-think to-know them who you-are
ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ᾽ οὐ
or so-much sleep and forgetfulness all to-have that not
μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ,
to-remember the speeches which you-made in the war
καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ
cursing and swearing nothing to-be for-you and
Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην
for-Philip business but me the charge for-you this
ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ᾽ ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ.
to-bring of-the private for-the-sake enmity not being true
284 ὡς δ᾽ ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ᾽ ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας
as and was-reported most-quickly the battle none of-these having-heeded
εὐθέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν
at-once you-acknowledged and pretended friendship and guest-friendship
εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος
to-be for-you with him by-the hireling-service these changing
τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως
the names from what-sort-of for equal or just pretext
Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος
to-Aeschines the son-of-Glaucothea the tambourine-player guest-friend or friend
ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμισθώθης
or acquaintance was Philip I indeed not see but you-were-hired
ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως,
for the the of-these-here advantages to-ruin but nevertheless

οὕτω φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ
so openly yourself having-been-caught traitor and against
σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν γεγονώς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ
yourself informer at the outcomes having-become me you-abuse
καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.
and reproach these-things for-which all rather causes you-will-find

XXIX · THE FUNERAL SPEECH

When the people chose who should speak over the dead, they chose neither Aeschines, for all his voice, nor Demades, who had just made the peace, nor Hegemon, but Demosthenes, though Aeschines and Pythocles attacked him; they knew his loyalty and the others' joy at the city's fall, and the fathers and brothers of the dead held the funeral feast at his house. The city's epitaph for the fallen says that to fail in nothing belongs to the gods: it gives the power of success to the gods, not to the adviser. Aeschines recalled the disaster in a ringing voice and with no grief. Demosthenes names Philip's traitors city by city, men who have measured happiness by their bellies.

πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλ' ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 285
many and fine and great-things the city Aeschines
καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσεν δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ
both chose and accomplished through me which not
ἠμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν
it-forgot sign and electing for the people the
ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα,
going-to-speak over the dead at very the events
οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὔφωνον
not you elected having-been-nominated although fine-voiced
ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην,
being nor Demades just-now having-made the peace
οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ
nor Hegemon nor other of-you no-one but me and

παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ
having-come-forward you and Pythocles savagely and shamelessly O
Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταὔθ' ἃ καὶ
Zeus and gods and accusing me the-same-things which also
σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ.
you now and abusing still better elected me
286 τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι
the and cause not you-are-ignorant-of indeed nevertheless but I-will-tell you
κἀγώ. ἀμφότερ' ἠδεσαν αὐτοί, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν
I-too both-things knew they-themselves the both my goodwill
καὶ προθυμίαν μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν
and zeal with which the affairs I-conducted and the
ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων
your injustice what for prospering the affairs
ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις
you-denied swearing these-things in what stumbled the city
ὡμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν
you-admitted the-ones then at the public misfortunes what
ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς
they-thought having-taken impunity enemies indeed long-ago open
δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσανθ' αὑτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι·
and then they-considered to-them to-have-become
287 εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι
then also to-befit the-one going-to-speak over the dead
καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον
and the their virtue going-to-adorn neither under-the-same-roof
μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους
nor in-the-same-libation having-been to-be with-the-ones against them
παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν
having-stood-in-line nor there indeed to-revel and to-sing-paeans
ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων
at the of-the Greeks misfortunes with the perpetrators

τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ
of-the murder hither and having-come to-be-honored nor with-the voice
δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ
to-weep acting the their fortune but with-the
ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἑώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ'
soul to-share-grief this and they-saw among themselves and in
ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ.
me in but you not
διὰ ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ 288
because-of these-things me they-elected and not you and not the
μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ
indeed people so the-ones but of-the dead fathers and
ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς
brothers the-ones by the people then chosen for the funerals
ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον
otherwise somehow but it-being-needful to-hold them the funeral-feast
ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἄλλ'
as at the-closest of-the dead as the-other-things
εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει
are-wont to-happen this they-did at me reasonably by-birth
μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ
indeed for each to-each more related was than-me in-common
δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ
but to-all no-one nearer to-whom for them to-be-saved and
κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ
to-succeed most mattered this-man also having-suffered what
μήποτ' ὤφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχεν.
never they-ought of-the for all grief most had-a-share
λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλεθ' 289
read and to-him this-here the epitaph which publicly chose
ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῇς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ
the city for-them to-inscribe so-that you-may-know Aeschines also

ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα
in itself this yourself unfeeling and informer being
καὶ μιαρόν. λέγε.
and abominable read

Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
these fatherland for-the-sake their-own into strife put
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν·
arms and of-the-adversaries insolence scattered
†μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος †οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
fighting and of-valor and of-fear not they-saved
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
lives but Hades common made umpire
οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
for-the-sake of-Greeks so-that not yoke on-neck having-put
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
of-slavery hateful around they-might-have insolence
γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
earth and fatherland holds in-bosom of-the most having-toiled
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις·
bodies since for-mortals from Zeus this judgment
μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
nothing to-fail is of-gods and all to-succeed
ἐν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.
in life fate but not at-all to-escape he-granted

290 ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, 'μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα
you-bear Aeschines nothing to-fail is of-gods and all
κατορθοῦν'; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς
to-succeed not to-the adviser the of-the to-succeed the
ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκεν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν,
contending he-ascribed power but to-the gods why then

ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ
O accursed me about these you-abuse and say what
σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;
for-you and for-the yours the gods may-turn upon head
πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος 291
many then O men Athenians also other-things having-accused
αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ' ἐθαύμασα πάντων ὅτε
he and having-lied most I-wondered of-all when
τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἂν
the having-happened then to-the city having-mentioned not as —
εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν,
well-disposed and just citizen he-had the mind nor he-wept
οὐδ' ἔπαθεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν
nor felt such nothing in-the soul but having-raised the
φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ
voice and rejoicing and trilling he-thought indeed me
κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι
to-accuse evidently proof but he-produced against himself that
τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις.
at-the having-happened sorrows not alike he-felt with-the others
καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα 292
and-yet the-one the laws and the constitution claiming
φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό
to-care-for as this-man now even if nothing else this
γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν
at-least to-have must the-same-things to-grieve and the-same to-rejoice
τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ
as-the many and not by-the choice of-the public(-affairs) in the
τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι· ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ
of-the opponents part to-be-ranged which you now having-done are
φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἔμ' εἰς πράγματα
clear me of-all cause and through me into troubles

φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας
saying to-have-fallen the city not from the my policy
οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν,
nor choice having-begun you the Greeks to-help
293 ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἔμ' ὑμᾶς
since to-me-at-least if this were-granted by you through me you
ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ,
to-have-opposed the against the Greeks rule being-pursued
μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρειὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις
greater — would-be-granted gift than-all which to-the others
δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ
you-have-given but neither — I these-things would-say I-would-wrong for
ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ'
— you nor — you well I-know that you-would-concede this-man and
εἰ δίκαι' ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν εἵνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἔμ' ἔχθρας τὰ
if just-things he-did not — for-the-sake-of the against me enmity the
μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.
greatest of-the your glories would-have-harmed and slandered
294 ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερ' ἄλλα
but why these-things do-I-censure much more-outrageous other-things
κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ
having-accused he and having-lied who for of-me
φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν
philippizing O earth and gods accuses what this-man not —
εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ'
would-say and-yet by — Heracles and all gods if at-least in
ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι'
truth it-were-needed to-consider the to-lie and through
ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς
enmity anything to-say having-removed from the-middle who as truly
εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων
are to-whom — reasonably and justly the of-the having-happened

αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους
blame on the head would-lay all the like
τούτῳ παρ᾽ ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εὕροιτ᾽ ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί·
this-man in each of-the cities you-would-find — not the like-me
οἵ, ὅτ᾽ ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, 295
who when were weak the of-Philip affairs and quite small
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ
often foretelling us and exhorting and
διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ᾽ αἰσχροκερδίας
teaching the best of-the private for-the-sake greed
τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας
the in-common advantageous(-things) gave-up the existing
ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως
each-ones citizens deceiving and corrupting until
δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος, Κινέας, Θρασύδαος·
slaves they-made Thessalians Daochus Cineas Thrasydaus
Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἱερώνυμος, Εὐκαμπίδας· Ἀργείους
Arcadians Cercidas Hieronymus Eucampidas Argives
Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος, Μνασέας· Ἠλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος,
Myrtis Teledamus Mnaseas Eleans Euxitheus Cleotimus
Ἀρίσταιχμος· Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ
Aristaechmus Messenians the of-Philiadas the to-gods hateful
παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος,
sons Neon and Thrasylochus Sicyonians Aristratus
Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρετος· Μεγαρέας
Epichares Corinthians Deinarchus Demaretus Megarians
Πτοιόδωρος, Ἕλιξος, Πέριλλος· Θηβαίους Τιμόλαος,
Ptoeodorus Helixus Perillus Thebans Timolaus
Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας· Εὐβοέας Ἵππαρχος, Κλείταρχος,
Theogeiton Anemoetas Euboeans Hipparchus Cleitarchus
Σωσίστρατος.
Sosistratus

296 ἐπιλείψει με λέγονθ' ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν
will-fail me speaking the day the of-the traitors
ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν
names these all are men Athenians of-the same
βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὗτοι
counsels in the their-own fatherlands of-which-very these
παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες,
among you men abominable and flatterers and avenging-spirits
ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν
having-mutilated the their-own each fatherlands the
ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δ'
freedom having-drunk-away formerly indeed to-Philip now and
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις
to-Alexander by-the belly measuring and by-the most-shameful(-things)
τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδέν' ἔχειν
the happiness the but freedom and the no-one to-have
δεσπότην αὑτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι τῶν
master over-them which to-the earlier Greeks bounds of-the
ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες.
goods were and rules having-overturned

XXX · THE WALLS OF ATTICA

Neither opportunity nor kind words, promises, hope, or fear ever moved Demosthenes to betray what he judged right. His walls and trenches deserve thanks, but his true fortification of Attica was Euboea at sea, Boeotia inland, and the neighbors toward the Peloponnese, a grain route through friendly waters to the Piraeus, Proconnesus, the Chersonese, and Tenedos kept, Byzantium, Abydos, and Euboea won. If a god, fortune, bad generals, or traitors overturned it all, how is Demosthenes at fault? Had each Greek city had one such man, all would be free. Aeschines keeps a quiet that waits for the city's misfortunes and then blows up like a gust; he has no alliance, embassy, or gift to show, though rich enough to give.

ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου 297
of-this then the so shameful and notorious
συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
conspiracy and baseness rather but O men Athenians
προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
betrayal if one-must not to-talk-nonsense of-the of-the Greeks
ἐλευθερίας ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος
freedom the both city among all men blameless
γέγον' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν.
has-become from the my measures and I among you
εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ
then me you-ask for what-sort-of virtue I-claim to-be-honored I
δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
and to-you say that of-the politicians among the Greeks
διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ,
having-been-corrupted all beginning from you
ἔμ' οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν 298
me neither occasion nor kindness of-words nor of-promises
μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπὶς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν
greatness nor hope nor fear nor other nothing incited
οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων
nor induced of-what I-judged just and advantageous
τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα
for-the fatherland nothing to-betray nor as-much-as I-have-advised
πώποτε τουτοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων
ever these-here like you as-if — a-balance inclining
ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
toward the gain I-have-advised but from straight and just
καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων
and incorruptible the soul and greatest indeed affairs

τῶν κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάνθ᾽ ὑγιῶς
of-the in my-time men having-stood-at-the-head all-things soundly
καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι.
and justly I-have-administered
299 διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν
for these-things I-claim to-be-honored the but walling this which
σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ
you of-me ridiculed and the trench-digging worthy indeed of-gratitude and
ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν
praise I-judge how for not far however somewhere from-the
ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν
by-me political-acts I-set not with-stones walled the
πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν
city nor with-bricks I nor for these greatest of-the
ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως
my-own(-deeds) I-think but if the my walling you-wish justly
σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας
to-consider you-will-find arms and cities and places and harbors
καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους·
and ships and horses and the-ones for these defending
300 ταῦτα προὐβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν
these I-set-before I before — Attica as-much-as was
ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν
by-human reckoning possible and with-these I-walled the
χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως.
land not the circuit of-the Piraeus nor of-the town
οὐδέ γ᾽ ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ
nor at-least I-was-beaten I by-the calculations of-Philip much
γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τῶν
at-least and-indeed it-lacks nor by-the preparations but the of-the

συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες
allies generals and the forces by-the fortune what
αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.
the of-these proofs plain and evident consider and
τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301
what was-needed the well-disposed citizen to-do what the-one with
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς
all forethought and zeal and justice for the
πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν
fatherland acting-in-politics not from indeed sea — Euboea
προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν
to-put-forward before — Attica from and the inland —
Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς
Boeotia from and the toward Peloponnese places the
ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν
neighbors to-this not the grain-transport so-that through all
φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι;
friendly(-land) as-far-as the Piraeus will-be-conveyed to-provide-for
καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας 302
and the indeed to-save of-the existing(-possessions) sending-out help
καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον,
and saying and proposing such-things — Proconnesus
τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ
— Chersonese — Tenedos the and so-that friendly and
σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον,
allied will-be to-bring-about — Byzantium — Abydos
τὴν Εὔβοιαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν
— Euboea and of-the indeed for-the enemies existing
δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ
forces the greatest to-take-away what and was-lacking to-the

πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται
city these to-add these then all have-been-done
τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν,
by-the my decrees and the my measures
303 ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμέν', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου
which also deliberated O men Athenians if without envy
τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὑρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα
anyone wishes to-consider rightly he-will-find also done
πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντ' οὐδ'
with-all justice and the of-each occasion not let-slip nor
ἀγνοηθέντ' οὐδὲ προεθένθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσ' εἰς ἑνὸς
unrecognized nor given-up by me and as-much-as into one
ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δ'
man's power and reckoning came nothing left-out if but
ἢ δαίμονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης
either of-deity some or of-fortune strength or of-generals incompetence
ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτ'
or of-the betraying the cities your baseness or all these-things
ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψεν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ;
ruined the whole until it-overturned how Demosthenes does-wrong
304 εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν
if but such-as I among you in the my-own post one in
ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ'
each of-the Greek cities man had-been rather but
εἰ ἕν' ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ ἕν' ἄνδρ' Ἀρκαδία ταὐτὰ
if one man only Thessaly and one man Arcadia the-same
φρονοῦντ' ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδένες οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν
thinking had as-me none neither of-the outside Thermopylae
Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρηντ' ἄν,
Greeks nor of-the inside the present evils would-have-met —

ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ 305
but all — being free and autonomous with
πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν
all security safely in prosperity the their-own would-inhabit
πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ
fatherlands for-the so-many and such goods to-you and
τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ'
to-the other Athenians having gratitude through me so-that and
εἰδῆθ' ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν
you-may-know that much than-the words smaller I-use the
ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ
deeds being-wary-of the envy read to-me these-here and
ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ
read-out having-taken the number of-the relief-expeditions according-to
τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.
the my decrees
ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν 306
these-things and such-things to-do Aeschines the noble and-good
πολίτην ἔδει, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις
citizen was-needed which succeeding indeed greatest
ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς
indisputably it-was-ours to-be and the justly belonged as
ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ
otherwise but having-happened the at-any-rate to-be-well-regarded remains and
τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς,
the no-one to-blame the city nor the choice her
ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν·
but the fortune to-blame the so the affairs having-decided
οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, 307
not by Zeus not having-deserted the advantageous(-things) for-the city
μισθώσαντα δ' αὑτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
having-hired-out and himself to-the opponents the for the enemies

καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν
opportunities instead-of the of-the fatherland to-court nor the-one
μὲν πράγματ' ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ
indeed affairs worthy of-the city having-undertaken to-say and
γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἂν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ
to-propose and to-abide by these to-carp-at if but anyone privately
τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ'
in-something annoys this to-remember and to-watch nor at-least
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις.
quiet to-keep unjust and festering which you do often
308 ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν
is for is quiet just and advantageous to-the city which
οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην
the many of-the citizens you simply keep but not this
οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ'
this-man keeps the quiet much at-least and-indeed it-lacks but
ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις
having-withdrawn whenever to-him it-seems from-the public-life often
δὲ δοκεῖ), φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς
and it-seems he-watches when you-will-be sated with-the continually
λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ
speaking or from the fortune some has-happened reverse or
ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονεν (πολλὰ δὲ τἀνθρώπινα)·
other something unpleasant has-happened many and the-human(-things)
εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας
then at this the moment orator suddenly from the quiet
ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ συνειλοχὼς
like a-wind appeared and having-exercised-his-voice and having-collected
ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστεί,
phrases and words strings these clearly and breathlessly

ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός,
benefit indeed none bringing nor of-good acquisition none
συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην.
disaster but to-the ordinary of-the citizens and common shame
καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ 309
and-yet of-this the training and the diligence Aeschines if-indeed
ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα
from soul just it-came and the of-the fatherland advantages
προῃρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς
having-chosen the fruits was-needed noble and fine
καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους
and to-all beneficial to-be alliances of-cities resources
χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων
of-money of-trade establishment of-laws advantageous
θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα.
enactments to-the declared enemies oppositions
τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ 310
of-these for all was in the earlier times examination and
ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ
gave the past time many proofs to-a-man noble
τε κἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος,
and good in which nowhere you will-appear having-been not first
οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος,
not second not third not fourth not fifth not sixth
οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν ἐπί γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο.
not in-any-place-whatever not-then in at-least what the fatherland was-increased
τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονεν τῇ πόλει; 311
what for alliance you having-brought-about has-come to-the city
τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ
what and help or acquisition of-goodwill or of-glory what and
πρεσβεία, τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα;
embassy what service through which the city more-honored

τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς
what the domestic or the Greek and foreign(-affairs) which
ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη;
you-took-charge-of has-been-set-right what-sort triremes what-sort missiles
ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί
what-sort dockyards what repair of-walls what-sort cavalry what
τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς
of-the all you useful what either to-the well-off or to-the
ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία.
poor public and common help of-money none
312 ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία·
but O good-sir if none of-these goodwill at-least and zeal
ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅθ' ἅπαντες,
where when who O of-all most-unjust not-even when all
ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν
as-many-as ever spoke on the platform for safety
ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον
were-contributing and the last Aristonicus the collected
εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότ' οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας
for the restoration not-even then neither came-forward nor contributed
οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γ' ἐκεκληρονομήκεις
anything not being-at-a-loss how for who at-least had-inherited
μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλεῖν ἢ πέντε
indeed of-the of-Philo the father-in-law money more than five
ταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
talents two-talent and you-had loan from the leaders
τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον.
of-the symmories for which you-damaged the trierarchic law
313 ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν
but so-that not speech from speech saying from-the present myself
ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι'
I-knock-off I-will-pass-over these-things but that at-least not through

ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων
want not you-contributed from these clear but guarding
τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα
the nothing opposed to-happen from you to-these for-whom all
πολιτεύει. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ᾽
you-act-in-politics in what then you young and when brilliant when
ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος,
— against these something be-needed in these most-loud-voiced
μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.
most-retentive actor best tragic Theocrines

XXXI · AGAINST THE LIVING

Aeschines measures Demosthenes against the great men of the past, but the living are envied and no one hates the dead; let him be judged against his rivals, as Philammon won at Olympia by beating those he fought, not Glaucus. While the city could choose the best course, Demosthenes' counsel prevailed; when what should never have happened came, the hirelings and flatterers had their day. A good citizen keeps a noble aim in power and goodwill always, and his never failed, though his surrender was demanded and these accursed men threatened him with suits before the Amphictyons. He ends with a prayer: may the gods give these men better minds, or else destroy them, and give the rest swift release from the fears that hang over them, and a sure safety.

εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν 314
then the earlier having-been good men
μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν,
you-mention and well you-do not however just is
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν
men Athenians the toward the dead goodwill
ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους
existing having-taken-advantage-of from you against them

ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ'
to-examine and to-compare me the-one now living with
ὑμῶν.
you

315 τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι
who for not knows of-the all that to-the indeed living
πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς
all underlies some either more or less envy the
τεθνεῶτας δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ;
dead but not-even of-the enemies no-one any-longer hates
οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ
so then being these by-the nature against the-ones before
ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς·
myself now I am-I-to-be-judged and viewed in-no-way
οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ
neither for just nor equal Aeschines but against you and
ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταὐτά σοι προῃρημένων καὶ
other if any you-wish of-the the-same as-you having-chosen and
ζώντων.
living

316 κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ
and-that consider whether finer and better for-the
πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας
city because-of the of-the earlier-ones benefactions being
ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς
exceeding-great not indeed then would-say anyone — how-great the
ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ
toward the present life occurring into ingratitude and
προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας
insult to-lead or to-all as-many-as anything with goodwill

πράττουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας
do of-the from these honor and kindness
μετεῖναι;
to-share
καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἄρα δεῖ μ᾽ εἰπεῖν, ἡ 317
and indeed if also this then it-is-necessary me to-say the
μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἄν τις σκοπῇ,
indeed my policy and choice if anyone considers
ταῖς τῶν τότ᾽ ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ
to-the of-the then praised men like and
ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν
the-same wishing will-appear the but yours to-those of-the
τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ
the such then slandering clear for
ὅτι καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες, οἳ διασύροντες
that also in their-time there-were some who ridiculing
τοὺς ὄντας τότε τοὺς πρότερον γεγενημένους
the-ones being then the earlier having-been
ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιοῦντες
praised spiteful thing and the-same doing
σοί.
as-you
εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; σὺ 318
then you-say that in-nothing like I-am to-them I you
δ᾽ ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ᾽ ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ
but like Aeschines the and brother the your other and
τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί.
some of-the present orators I indeed for no-one I-say
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ᾽
but against the living O good-sir so-that nothing else
εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντ᾽ ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ᾽ αὑτόν, ὥσπερ
I-may-say the living examine and the-ones of his-time as

τἄλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς
the-other(-things) all the poets the choruses the
ἀγωνιστάς.
contestants

319 ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου
— Philammon not because than-Glaucus the Carystian
καί τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν
and some other earlier having-been athletes
ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας
weaker he-was uncrowned from — Olympia
ἀπῄει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν
went-away but because of-the having-entered against him
ἄριστ' ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο.
best he-fought was-crowned and victor was-proclaimed
καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς
and you against the present see me orators against
σαυτόν, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλει τῶν ἁπάντων· οὐδέν'
yourself against whomever you-wish of-the all no-one
ἐξίσταμαι.
I-yield-to

320 ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτισθ' ἑλέσθαι παρῆν,
of-whom when indeed for-the city the best to-choose was-possible
ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδ' εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ
competitive the for the fatherland goodwill in common
πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ
for-all being-set I best speaking appeared and
τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις
by-the my both decrees and laws and embassies
ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν
all was-administered of-you but no-one was anywhere except
εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἃ
if these to-insult in-anything it-were-needed when but what

μήποτ᾽ ὤφελεν συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ
never it-ought happened and no-longer of-advisers but
τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ
of-the the orders serving and of-the against
τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν
the fatherland to-take-pay ready and of-the to-flatter
ἕτερον βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων
another wishing examination was then you and of-these
ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱπποτρόφος,
each in rank and great and brilliant horse-breeder
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ᾽ εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν
I but weak I-admit but well-disposed more than-you
τουτοισί.
to-these-here
δύο δ᾽, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον 321
two-things and men Athenians the by-nature moderate
πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ
citizen to-have it-is-necessary so for to-me about
ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν
myself speaking least-invidious to-say in indeed
ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου
the powers the of-the noble and of-the first-place
τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ
for-the city choice to-preserve in every but
καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ
occasion and action the goodwill of-this for the
φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα.
nature is-master of-the to-be-able but and to-be-strong other-things
ταύτην τοίνυν παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρήσεθ᾽
this then with me having-remained you-will-find
ἁπλῶς.
simply

322 ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας
see and not being-demanded not to Amphictyons suits
ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων,
bringing not threatening not promising
οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι
not the accursed these like beasts against-me
προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς
setting-on in-no-way I have-betrayed the toward
ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν
you goodwill the for from beginning at-once straight
καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἱλόμην, τὰς
and just the road of-the public-life I-chose the
τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς
honors the powers the glories the of-the
πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων
fatherland to-cherish these to-increase with these
εἶναι.
to-be
323 οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ
not at indeed the others' successes beaming I and
γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν
rejoicing through the agora go-about the right-hand
προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσ᾽
holding-out and bringing-good-news to-these whom — thither
ἀπαγγελεῖν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν
going-to-report I-think of-the but of-the city goods
πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν
shuddering I-hear and groaning and stooping to the
γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν
ground like the impious these who the indeed city
διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὑτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο
ridicule as-if not themselves ridiculing when this

ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων
they-do outside but they-look and in what having-been-unfortunate
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ηὐτύχησ' ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ
the Greeks prospered another these-things they-praise and
ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν
so-that the all time it-will-remain they-say to-be-necessary
τηρεῖν.
to-watch
μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν 324
not indeed O all gods no-one these-things of-you
ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω
may-assent but most indeed also to-these better
τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν
some mind and wits may-you-put-in if but then they-are
ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις
incurably these indeed themselves by themselves utterly-destroyed
καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε,
and destroyed-before-their-time on land and sea make
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν
to-us but the remaining the quickest release
τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν
from-the hanging-over fears grant and safety
ἀσφαλῆ.
secure