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On the False Embassy

Demosthenes · Aeschines

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ

On the False Embassy

Demosthenes' Prosecution and Aeschines' Defense

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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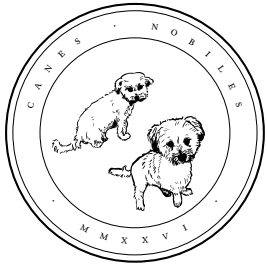

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The Greek text follows Butcher's Oxford Demosthenes and Adams' Loeb Aeschines. Demosthenes XIX.233b and Aeschines II.99 are not printed.

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Words the editors seclude are not printed; words they supply are printed without their brackets; † marks a place they hold corrupt, and ∗∗∗ a lacuna.

CONTENTS

DEMOSTHENES

I · What an Envoy Owes 9
II · The Patriot Who Changed Sides 14
III · The Report Without Praise 25
IV · The Ruin of the Phocians 35
V · The Curse and the Chersonese 46
VI · What the Peace Was Worth 58
VII · Bought, Not Deceived 67
VIII · The Third Embassy 74
IX · What Thebes and Athens Gained 83
X · The Delay Before the Oaths 92
XI · The Prisoners in Pella 101
XII · Words and Feasts 110
XIII · The Clerk and His Accuser 120
XIV · Why Demosthenes Accuses 130

DEMOSTHENES

(continued)

XV · Verses Turned Back 141
XVI · Solon and the Disease of Greece 151
XVII · Arthmius and the Ancestors 165
XVIII · The Friends of Aeschines 176
XIX · The Two Faces of Aeschines 184
XX · The Riddle of the Peace 196

AESCHINES

I · Aeschines Asks a Hearing 211
II · How the Peace Began 217
III · Before Philip 225
IV · Demosthenes Changes Face 235
V · The Assemblies on the Peace 241
VI · War and Peace Remembered 249
VII · Cersobleptes 257
VIII · The Second Embassy 266
IX · The Speeches at Pella 271
X · Promises Called Lies 278
XI · Why the Phocians Fell 286
XII · Rumor and the Family 294
XIII · Character and Calumny 299
XIV · Service and Peace 308

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ

On the False Embassy

I · WHAT AN ENVOY OWES

Demosthenes asks the jurors, after all the canvassing they have seen, to hold nothing above justice and their oath. Other public men accept that they must render account; Aeschines tried to escape his by removing one of his accusers before he came to court. Demosthenes is confident of a conviction and fears only that time has dulled their anger. He sets out what an envoy owes the city: a true report, honest advice, the orders carried out, no time wasted, and no bribes. If he proves that Aeschines reported nothing true, kept the people from hearing the truth, advised against their interest, did nothing he was ordered, and wasted the time in which much could have been saved, all for bribes taken with Philocrates, they must convict him; if not, they should acquit.

ὅση μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σπουδὴ περὶ τουτονὶ 1
how-much indeed O men Athenians zeal about this-here
τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ παραγγελία γέγονε, σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας
the trial and canvassing has-been nearly I-think all
ὑμᾶς ᾐσθῆσθαι, ἑορακότας ἄρτι τοὺς ὅτ' ἐκληροῦσθ'
you to-have-perceived having-seen just-now the-ones when you-were-drawing-lots
ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ προσιόντας ὑμῖν. δεήσομαι δὲ πάντων
troubling and approaching you I-will-ask and all
ὑμῶν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς μὴ δεηθεῖσι δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν,
of-you what even for-the not having-asked just it-is to-be-granted
μηδεμίαν μήτε χάριν μήτ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πλείονος
no neither favor nor man to-hold of more
ἢ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν εἰσελήλυθεν ὑμῶν
than the just and the oath which has-come-in of-you
ἕκαστος ὀμωμοκώς, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐσθ'
each having-sworn reflecting that these-things indeed are
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, αἱ δὲ τῶν παρακλήτων
on-behalf-of you and whole the city the but of-the supporters
αὗται δεήσεις καὶ σπουδαὶ τῶν ἰδίων πλεονεξιῶν εἵνεκα
these entreaties and zeal of-the private advantages for-the-sake

γίγνονται, ἃς ἵνα κωλύηθ' οἱ νόμοι συνήγαγον ὑμᾶς,
come-about which so-that you-may-prevent the laws gathered you
οὐχ ἵνα κυρίας τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι ποιῆτε.
not so-that valid for-the wrongdoers you-may-make

2 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους, ὅσοι πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ
the-ones indeed then others as-many-as to the public-affairs
δικαίως προσέρχονται, κἂν δεδωκότες ὦσιν εὐθύνας, τὴν
justly come even-if having-rendered they-be audits the
ἀεilογίαν ὁρῶ προτεινομένους, τουτονὶ δ' Αἰσχίνην
continual-accountability I-see holding-out this-here but Aeschines
πολὺ τἀναντία τούτου· πρὶν γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ
much the-opposite of-this before for to-come before you and
λόγον δοῦναι τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸν μὲν ἀνῄρηκε
account to-give of-the-things done the-one indeed he-has-destroyed
τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλθόντων, τοῖς δ' ἀπειλεῖ
of-the-ones to the audits having-come the-others but he-threatens
περιών, δεινότατον πάντων ἔθος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσάγων
going-around most-terrible of-all custom into the commonwealth introducing
καὶ ἀσυμφορώτατον ὑμῖν· εἰ γὰρ ὁ πράξας τι τῶν
and most-disadvantageous for-you if for the-one having-done anything of-the
κοινῶν καὶ διοικήσας τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν φόβῳ καὶ μὴ
public-affairs and having-administered by-the on his-own-part fear and not
τῷ δικαίῳ κατασκευάσει μηδέν' εἶναι κατήγορον αὑτοῦ,
by-the just shall-arrange no-one to-be accuser of-himself
παντάπασιν ἄκυροι πάντων ὑμεῖς γενήσεσθε.
utterly without-authority over-all you will-become

3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγξειν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποιηκότα
the indeed then to-be-going-to-convict many and terrible-things having-done
τουτονὶ καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ὄντα τιμωρίας ἄξιον θαρρῶ καὶ
this-here and of-the utmost being punishment worthy I-am-confident and
πάνυ πιστεύω· ὃ δὲ καίπερ ὑπειληφὼς ταῦτα φοβοῦμαι,
very I-trust what but although having-supposed these-things I-fear

φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν
I-will-tell to you and not I-will-conceal that to-me seem
ἅπαντες οἱ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀγῶνες οὐχ ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
all the before you trials not less O men Athenians
τῶν καιρῶν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι, καὶ τὸ χρόνον
of-the occasions than of-the facts to-be and the time
γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν πολὺν δέδοικα, μή τινα
to-have-passed after the embassy much I-fear lest some
λήθην ἢ συνήθειαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑμῖν ἐμπεποιήκῃ.
forgetfulness or familiarity with-the wrongs in-you it-may-have-produced
ὡς δή μοι δοκεῖτ᾽ ἂν ὅμως ἐκ τούτων καὶ γνῶναι τὰ 4
how indeed to-me you-seem — nevertheless from these both to-recognize the
δίκαια καὶ δικάσαι νυνί, τοῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν λέξω· εἰ σκέψαισθε παρ᾽
just-things and to-judge now this to-you I-will-say if you-should-consider among
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ λογίσαισθε τίνων
you yourselves O men jurors and should-reckon of-what-things
προσήκει λόγον παρὰ πρεσβευτοῦ λαβεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν
it-befits account from an-envoy to-take first indeed then
ὧν ἀπήγγειλε, δεύτερον δ᾽ ὧν ἔπεισε, τρίτον δ᾽ ὧν
of-what he-reported second and of-what he-persuaded third and of-what
προσετάξατ᾽ αὐτῷ, μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν χρόνων, ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι δὲ
you-ordered him after these-things of-the times on all and
τούτοις, εἰ ἀδωροδοκήτως ἢ μὴ πάντα ταῦτα πέπρακται.
these whether incorruptibly or not all these-things have-been-done
τί δήποτε τούτων; ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν τὸ 5
why ever of-these because from indeed the reports the
βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐστίν· ἂν μὲν
to-deliberate about the affairs for-you is if indeed
οὖν ὦσιν ἀληθεῖς, τὰ δέοντ᾽ ἔγνωτε, ἂν δὲ μὴ τοιαῦται,
then they-be true the needful-things you-decided if but not such
τἀναντία. τὰς δὲ συμβουλίας πιστοτέρας ὑπολαμβάνετ᾽
the-opposite the and counsels more-trustworthy you-suppose

εἶναι τὰς τῶν πρέσβεων· ὡς γὰρ εἰδότων περὶ ὧν
to-be the of-the envoys as for of-men-knowing about what
ἐπέμφθησαν ἀκούετε· οὐδὲν οὖν ἐξελέγχεσθαι δίκαιός ἐστιν ὁ
they-were-sent you-listen nothing then to-be-convicted just is the
πρεσβευτὴς φαῦλον οὐδ' ἀσύμφορον ὑμῖν συμβεβουλευκώς.
envoy bad nor disadvantageous for-you having-counseled
6 καὶ μὴν περὶ ὧν γε προσετάξατ' εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι καὶ
and truly about what at-least you-ordered to-say or to-do and
διαρρήδην ἐψηφίσασθε ποιῆσαι, προσήκει διῳκηκέναι. εἶεν·
expressly voted to-do it-befits to-have-carried-out well
τῶν δὲ δὴ χρόνων διὰ τί; ὅτι πολλάκις, ὦ ἄνδρες
of-the and indeed times for what because often O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβαίνει πολλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων
Athenians it-happens of-many affairs and great
καιρὸν ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γίγνεσθαι, ὃν ἄν τις ἑκὼν
an-occasion in short time to-arise which — anyone willingly
καθυφῇ τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προδῷ, οὐδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν
should-let-slip to-the opponents and betray not-even if anything-whatever
ποιῇ πάλιν οἷός τ' ἔσται σῶσαι.
he-does again able — he-will-be to-save-it
7 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπέρ γε τοῦ προῖκ' ἢ μή, τὸ μὲν ἐκ
but truly about at-least the without-payment or not the indeed from
τούτων λαμβάνειν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις βλάπτεται, πάντες οἶδ'
these to-take from which the city is-harmed all I-know
ὅτι φήσαιτ' ἂν εἶναι δεινὸν καὶ πολλῆς ὀργῆς ἄξιον· ὁ
that you-would-say — to-be terrible and of-much anger worthy the-one
μέντοι τὸν νόμον τιθεὶς οὐ διώρισεν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς
however the law laying-down not distinguished this but simply
εἶπε μηδαμῶς δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἡγούμενος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
said in-no-way gifts to-take thinking as to-me it-seems

τὸν ἅπαξ λαβόντα καὶ διαφθαρέν᾽ ὑπὸ χρημάτων οὐδὲ
the-one once having-taken and having-been-corrupted by money not-even
κριτὴν ἔτι τῶν συμφερόντων ἀσφαλῆ μένειν τῇ πόλει.
a-judge any-longer of-the advantages safe to-remain for-the city
ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ἐξελέγξω καὶ δείξω σαφῶς Αἰσχίνην 8
if indeed then I-convict and show clearly Aeschines
τουτονὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα καὶ κεκωλυκότ᾽
this-here both nothing true having-reported and having-prevented
ἐμοῦ τὸν δῆμον ἀκοῦσαι τἀληθῆ, καὶ πάντα τἀναντία τῶν
from-me the people to-hear the-truth and all the-opposite of-the
συμφερόντων συμβεβουλευκότα, καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσετάξατ᾽
advantages having-counseled and nothing of-what you-ordered
ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πεποιηκότα, καὶ ἀνηλωκότα τοὺς χρόνους
on the embassy having-done and having-wasted the times
ἐν οἷς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων καιροὶ προεῖνται
in which of-many and great affairs occasions were-thrown-away
τῇ πόλει, καὶ πάντων τούτων δῶρα καὶ μισθοὺς εἰληφότα
for-the city and of-all these gifts and wages having-taken
μετὰ Φιλοκράτους, καταψηφίσασθ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ δίκην ἀξίαν
with Philocrates condemn him and penalty worthy
τῶν ἀδικημάτων λάβετε· ἂν δὲ μὴ δείξω ταῦτα, ἢ μὴ
of-the wrongs take if but not I-show these-things or not
πάντα, ἐμὲ μὲν φαῦλον ἡγεῖσθε τοῦτον δ᾽ ἀφέτε.
all me indeed bad consider this-one but acquit

Aeschines was once the first to warn that Philip was corrupting the Greeks: he brought Ischander before the council and the people and told of his long speeches against Hieronymus before the Ten Thousand at Megalopolis. For that hostility the people made him one of the envoys to Philip, and on the first embassy he was bought. At the assembly on the peace he spoke against Philocrates on the first day, and on the second backed him and urged the people to forget their ancestors' trophies and help no Greek who had not helped them first. Elected for the oaths, he wasted the time. Demosthenes told the council the truth, but at the assembly Aeschines promised that Philip would resettle Thespiae and Plataea, make the Thebans pay for the temple, and give Euboea for Amphipolis, and the people would not hear Demosthenes deny it. He recalls this so the jurors see how they were kept from the truth, and how suddenly Aeschines' distrust of Philip became friendship.

9 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δεινὰ κατηγορεῖν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς
many and also terrible-things to-accuse having still in-addition-to
τούτοις ἕτερ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις
these other-things O men Athenians from which not there-is anyone
ἂν οὐκ εἰκότως μισήσειεν αὐτόν, βούλομαι πρὸ πάντων
— not reasonably would-hate him I-wish before all-the-things
ὧν μέλλω λέγειν μνημονεύοντας ὑμῶν οἶδ' ὅτι τοὺς
which I-am-about to-say remembering of-you I-know that the
πολλοὺς ὑπομνῆσαι, τίνα τάξιν ἑαυτὸν ἔταξεν Αἰσχίνης
many to-remind what post himself he-posted Aeschines
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τίνας λόγους κατὰ τοῦ
in the public-life the first and what speeches against —
Φιλίππου δημηγορεῖν ᾤετο δεῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆθ'
Philip to-make-in-the-assembly he-thought to-be-necessary so-that you-may-know
ὅτι τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πεπραγμένοις καὶ δεδημηγορημένοις
that by-the-things by himself done and spoken-in-assembly
ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστ' ἐξελεγχθήσεται δῶρ' ἔχων.
in beginning most he-will-be-convicted bribes having

ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενος Φίλιππον, 10
is then this-man the first of-Athenians having-perceived Philip
ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ
as then haranguing he-said plotting-against the Greeks and
διαφθείροντά τινας τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ προεστηκότων, καὶ ἔχων
corrupting some of-the in Arcadia leading-men and having
Ἴσχανδρον τὸν Νεοπτολέμου δευτεραγωνιστήν, προσιὼν μὲν
Ischander the of-Neoptolemus second-actor approaching indeed
τῇ βουλῇ, προσιὼν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τούτων, καὶ πείσας
the council approaching and the people about these-things and having-persuaded
ὑμᾶς πανταχοῖ πρέσβεις πέμψαι τοὺς συνάξοντας δεῦρο
you everywhere envoys to-send the-ones to-gather here
τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου,
the-ones to-deliberate about the against Philip war
καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων μετὰ ταῦθ' ἥκων ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας 11
and reporting after these-things having-come from Arcadia
τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακροὺς λόγους, οὓς ἐν τοῖς
the fine those and long speeches which among the
μυρίοις ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ὑπὲρ
ten-thousand in Great City against Hieronymus the-one on-behalf-of
Φιλίππου λέγοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔφη δεδημηγορηκέναι,
Philip speaking on-behalf-of you he-said to-have-delivered
καὶ διεξιὼν ἡλίκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν, οὐχὶ τὰς
and going-through how-greatly — Greece whole not the
ἰδίας ἀδικοῦσι μόνον πατρίδας οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ
own wrong only fatherlands the-ones taking-bribes and
χρήματα λαμβάνοντες παρὰ Φιλίππου.
money taking from Philip
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα πολιτευομένου τούτου τότε καὶ 12
when then these-things pursuing-in-politics this-man then and
τοῦτο τὸ δεῖγμ' ἐξενηνοχότος περὶ αὑτοῦ, τοὺς περὶ τῆς
this the sample having-put-out about himself the about the

εἰρήνης πρέσβεις πέμπειν ὡς Φίλιππον ἐπείσθητε ὑπ᾽
peace envoys to-send to Philip you-were-persuaded by
Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ τῶν
Aristodemus and Neoptolemus and Ctesiphon and the
ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγγελλόντων οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν
others the-ones from-there reporting not-even anything-whatever
ὑγιές, γίγνεται τῶν πρέσβεων τούτων εἷς καὶ οὗτος, οὐχ
sound becomes of-the envoys these one also this-man not
ὡς τῶν ἀποδωσομένων τὰ ὑμέτερα, οὐδ᾽ ὡς τῶν
as of-the-ones going-to-sell the yours nor as of-the-ones
πεπιστευκότων τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τῶν φυλαξόντων
having-trusted — Philip but as of-the-ones going-to-watch
τοὺς ἄλλους· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους καὶ
the others because-of for the aforesaid speeches and
τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπέχθειαν ταύτην εἰκότως περὶ
the toward — Philip hostility this reasonably about
αὐτοῦ πάντες εἴχετε τὴν δόξαν.
him all you-had the opinion

13 προσελθὼν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνετάττετο κοινῇ
having-approached then me after these-things be-arranged jointly
πρεσβεύειν, καὶ ὅπως τὸν μιαρὸν καὶ ἀναιδῆ φυλάξομεν
to-serve-as-envoy and that the foul and shameless we-shall-watch
ἀμφότεροι, τὸν Φιλοκράτην, πολλὰ παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ
both — Philocrates much he-urged and
μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ
until the here to-return from the first embassy me
γοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακὼς
at-any-rate O men Athenians corrupted and having-sold
ἑαυτὸν ἐλάνθανε. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν, ὅπερ
himself he-escaped-notice apart-from for the other-things which as
εἶπον, εἰρήκει πρότερον, ἀναστὰς τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν
I-said he-had-said earlier having-stood-up at-the first of-the

ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν αἷς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε, ἤρξατ'
assemblies in which about the peace you-deliberated he-began
ἀρχήν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἶμαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς
a-beginning which I even in-the words I-think the same
οἷσπερ οὗτος εἶπεν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπομνημονεύσειν.
which this-man said among you to-be-going-to-repeat-from-memory
'εἰ πάνυ πολὺν' ἔφη 'χρόνον ἐσκόπει Φιλοκράτης, ὦ 14
if very long he-said time were-considering Philocrates O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πῶς ἂν ἄριστ' ἐναντιωθείη τῇ εἰρήνῃ,
men Athenians how — best he-might-oppose the peace
οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἄμεινον εὑρεῖν οἶμαι ἢ τοιαῦτα γράφοντα.
not — him better to-find I-think than such-things proposing
ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἂν εἷς Ἀθηναίων
I but this indeed the peace as-long-as — one of-Athenians
λείπηται, οὐδέποτ' ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ
is-left never — I-would-advise to-make for-the
πόλει, εἰρήνην μέντοι φημὶ δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι.' καὶ
city peace however I-say to-be-necessary to-make and
τοιούτους τινὰς εἶπε βραχεῖς καὶ μετρίους λόγους.
such some he-spoke short and moderate words
ὁ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τῇ προτεραίᾳ πάντων ἀκουόντων 15
he and these-things having-said on-the day-before all hearing
ὑμῶν, εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἔδει
of-you on the next-day on which the peace was-needful
κυροῦσθαι, ἐμοῦ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων συνηγοροῦντος
to-be-ratified me the of-the allies supporting
δόγματι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία γενήσεται
resolution and the peace that equal and just will-be
πράττοντος, καὶ ὑμῶν βουλομένων ταῦτα καὶ οὐδὲ
working-for and you wishing these-things and not-even

φωνὴν ἐθελόντων ἀκούειν τοῦ καταπτύστου Φιλοκράτους,
voice being-willing to-hear of-the despicable Philocrates
ἀναστὰς ἐδημηγόρει καὶ συνηγόρει ᾽κείνῳ πολλῶν ἀξίους,
having-stood-up he-harangued and spoke-in-support-of that-man many worth
16 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί, θανάτων λόγους, ὡς οὔτε τῶν
O Zeus and all gods deaths words that neither the
προγόνων ὑμᾶς μεμνῆσθαι δέοι οὔτε τῶν τὰ
ancestors you to-remember it-was-needful nor of-the-ones the
τρόπαια καὶ τὰς ναυμαχίας λεγόντων ἀνέχεσθαι, νόμον
trophies and the sea-battles telling to-tolerate a-law
τε θήσειν καὶ γράψειν μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
both to-be-going-to-lay-down and to-be-going-to-propose to-no-one of-the Greeks
ὑμᾶς βοηθεῖν, ὃς ἂν μὴ πρότερος βεβοηθηκὼς ὑμῖν ᾖ.
you to-help who — not first having-helped you has
καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ σχέτλιος καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὗτος ἐτόλμα λέγειν
and these-things the wretched and shameless this-man dared to-say
ἐφεστηκότων τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ ἀκουόντων, οὓς ἀπὸ
standing-by the envoys and listening whom from
τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεπέμψασθε ὑπὸ τούτου πεισθέντες, ὅτ᾽
the Greeks you-summoned by this-man persuaded when
οὔπω πεπρακὼς αὑτὸν ἦν.
not-yet having-sold himself he-was
17 ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χειροτονησάντων
in-what indeed then way O men Athenians having-elected
ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτὸν πάλιν τούς τε χρόνους
you for the oaths him again the both times
κατέτριψε καὶ τὰ πράγματα πάντ᾽ ἐλυμήνατο τὰ τῆς
he-wasted and the affairs all he-ruined the of-the
πόλεως, καὶ ὅσαι περὶ τούτων ἐμοὶ πρὸς τοῦτον
city and how-many about these-things to-me toward this-man
ἀπέχθειαι συνέβησαν βουλομένῳ κωλύειν, αὐτίκ᾽ ἀκούσεσθε.
hostilities arose wishing to-prevent presently you-will-hear

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἥκομεν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης τῆς
but when again we-came from the embassy this the
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, ἧσπερ εἰσὶν αἱ νῦν εὔθυναι, οὔτε
for the oaths of-which-very are the present audits neither
μικρὸν οὔτε μέγ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν εὑρημένοι τῶν ὅτε
small nor great nor anything-whatever having-obtained of-the-things when
τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε λεχθέντων καὶ προσδοκηθέντων,
the peace you-were-making said and expected
ἀλλὰ πάντ᾽ ἐξηπατημένοι, καὶ τούτων ἕτερ᾽ αὖθις αὖ
but in-all deceived and these-men other-things again in-turn
πεπραχότων καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα πεπρεσβευκότων,
having-done and against itself the decree having-conducted-the-embassy
προσῆμεν τῇ βουλῇ. καὶ ταυτὶ πολλοὶ συνίσασιν ἃ
we-approached the council and these-here-things many know which
μέλλω λέγειν· τὸ γὰρ βουλευτήριον μεστὸν ἦν ἰδιωτῶν.
I-am-about to-say the for council-chamber full was of-private-citizens
παρελθὼν δ᾽ ἐγὼ πάντα τἀληθῆ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν 18
having-come-forward and I all the-truth to the council
ἀπήγγειλα, καὶ κατηγόρησα τούτων, καὶ ἀνηριθμησάμην
reported and I-accused these-men and enumerated
ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐλπίδων ἐκείνων ὧν ὁ Κτησιφῶν καὶ
from the first hopes those which — Ctesiphon and
ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ἀπήγγειλαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα,
— Aristodemus reported to you and after these-things
ὅτε τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἃ οὗτος ἐδημηγόρησε καὶ εἰς
when the peace you-were-making what this-man harangued and into
ἃ προήχασι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων (ταῦτα
what they-have-led the city and about the remaining-matters these
δ᾽ ἦν Φωκεῖς καὶ Πύλαι) μὴ προέσθαι συνεβούλευον, μηδὲ
and were Phocians and Pylae not to-abandon I-advised nor
ταὐτὰ παθεῖν, μηδ᾽ ἀναρτωμένους ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων
the-same-things to-suffer nor hanging-on hopes from hopes

καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν εἰς τοὔσχατον ἐλθεῖν τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐâσαι.
and promises to the-extremity to-come the affairs to-allow
καὶ ἔπεισα ταῦτα τὴν βουλήν.
and I-persuaded these-things the council

19 ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἦκεν ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔδει λέγειν,
when and came the assembly and to you it-was-needful to-speak
παρελθὼν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσὶ πρῶτος ἡμῶν ἁπάντων
having-come-forward Aeschines this-here first of-us all
(καὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν πειρᾶσθε συνδιαμνημονεύειν ἂν
and by Zeus and gods try to-recall-with-me if
ἀληθῆ λέγω· τὰ γὰρ πάντα τὰ πράγματα λυμηνάμεν᾽
true-things I-say the-things for all the affairs having-ruined
ὑμῶν καὶ διαφθείρανθ᾽ ὅλως ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἤδη) τοῦ
of-you and having-destroyed utterly these-things are now the
μὲν ἀπαγγέλλειν τι τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων ἢ περὶ
indeed to-report anything of-the-things done-on-embassy or about
τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ῥηθέντων, εἰ ἄρ᾽ ἠμφεσβήτει μὴ
the-things in the council said if after-all he-disputed not
ἀληθῆ λέγειν ἐμέ, μνησθῆναι πάμπληθες ἀπέσχεν, εἶπε
true-things to-say me to-mention altogether he-abstained he-said
δὲ τοιούτους λόγους καὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτ᾽ ἔχοντας
but such words and so-great and so-many having
ἀγαθά, ὥσθ᾽ ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς λαβὼν ᾤχετο.
goods that all you having-taken he-went-off

20 ἔφη γὰρ ἥκειν πεπεικὼς Φίλιππον ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα
he-said for to-have-come having-persuaded Philip all-things as-many-as
συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ
benefit the city both about the-matters among Amphictyons and
περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, καὶ διεξῆλθε λόγον μακρὸν
about the others all and he-went-through a-speech long
ὑμῖν, ὃν κατὰ Θηβαίων εἰπεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔφη,
to-you which against Thebans to-have-spoken to Philip he-said

καὶ τὰ κεφάλαι᾽ ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀπελογίζετ᾽ ἐκ
and the headings he-reported to you and calculated from
τῶν αὑτῷ πεπρεσβευμένων δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑμᾶς,
the by-himself embassy-done-things two or three days you
μένοντας οἴκοι καὶ οὐ στρατευομένους οὐδ᾽ ἐνοχλουμένους,
staying at-home and not campaigning nor troubled
Θήβας μὲν πολιορκουμένας αὐτὰς καθ᾽ αὑτὰς χωρὶς τῆς
Thebes indeed besieged itself by itself apart-from the
ἄλλης Βοιωτίας ἀκούσεσθαι,
rest-of Boeotia to-be-going-to-hear
Θεσπιὰς δὲ καὶ Πλαταιὰς οἰκιζομένας, τῷ θεῷ δὲ τὰ 21
Thespiae and also Plataea being-resettled for-the god and the
χρήματ᾽ εἰσπραττόμεν᾽ οὐ παρὰ Φωκέων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ
money being-exacted not from Phocians but from
Θηβαίων τῶν βουλευσάντων τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ·
Thebans the-ones having-planned the seizure of-the temple
διδάσκειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφη τὸν Φίλιππον ὅτι οὐδὲν
to-teach for himself he-said — Philip that nothing
ἧττον ἠσεβήκασιν οἱ βεβουλευκότες τῶν ταῖς
less have-committed-impiety the-ones having-planned than-the-ones with-the
χερσὶ πραξάντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρήμαθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοὺς
hands having-done and because-of this money on-himself the
Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι.
Thebans to-have-set-a-price
ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ τῶν Εὐβοέων ἐνίων ἔφη πεφοβημένων 22
to-hear and also from-the Euboeans some he-said having-been-frightened
καὶ τεταραγμένων τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν οἰκειότητα Φιλίππῳ
and alarmed the with the city friendship for-Philip
γεγενημένην, ὅτι ‘οὐ λελήθαθ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες πρέσβεις, ἐφ᾽
having-come-about that not you-have-escaped us O men envoys on
οἷς πεποίησθε τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς Φίλιππον, οὐδ᾽ ἀγνοοῦμεν
what-terms you-have-made the peace with Philip nor we-are-ignorant

ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν δεδώκατ' ἐκείνῳ, Φίλιππος δ' ὑμῖν
that you indeed Amphipolis have-given to-him Philip and to-you
Εὔβοιαν ὡμολόγηκεν παραδώσειν.' εἶναι μέντοι τι
Euboea has-agreed to-be-going-to-hand-over to-be however something
καὶ ἄλλο διῳκημένον αὑτῷ, οὐ μήν πω τοῦτο βούλεσθαι
also other arranged by-himself not however yet this to-wish
λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν φθονεῖν τινὰς αὑτῷ τῶν συμπρέσβεων.
to-say and for now to-envy some him of-the fellow-envoys
ὑπῃνίττετο δ' οὕτω καὶ παρεδήλου τὸν Ὠρωπόν.
he-hinted and thus and indicated — Oropus
23 εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰκότως, καὶ δοκῶν καὶ ῥήτωρ
being-well-regarded and for these-things reasonably and seeming both orator
ἄριστος εἶναι καὶ ἀνὴρ θαυμαστός, κατέβη μάλα σεμνῶς.
best to-be and man wonderful he-stepped-down very solemnly
ἀναστὰς δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτά τ' οὐκ ἔφην εἰδέναι καὶ ἅμ'
having-stood-up and I these-things both not I-said to-know and at-the-same-time
ἐπειρώμην τι λέγειν τούτων ὧν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν
I-tried something to-say of-these-things which to the council
ἀπήγγειλα. καὶ παραστὰς ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἔνθεν,
I-reported and standing-beside the-one indeed on-this-side the-other and on-that-side
οὑτοσὶ καὶ Φιλοκράτης, ἐβόων, ἐξέκρουόν με, τελευτῶντες
this-here and Philocrates shouted they-shouted-down me finally
ἐχλεύαζον. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐγελᾶτε, καὶ οὔτ' ἀκούειν ἠθέλετ' οὔτε
they-mocked you and laughed and neither to-hear were-willing nor
πιστεύειν ἐβούλεσθ' ἄλλα πλὴν ἃ οὗτος ἀπηγγέλκει.
to-believe wished other-things except what this-man had-reported
24 καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰκός τι παθεῖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖτε·
and by the gods natural something to-feel to-me-at-least you-seem
τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠνέσχετο, τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτ' ἔσεσθαι
who for — would-have-endured so-great and so-many to-be-going-to-be
προσδοκῶν ἀγαθά, ἢ ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἔσται λέγοντός
expecting goods either these-things that not will-be saying

τινος, ἢ κατηγοροῦντος τῶν πεπραγμένων τούτοις; πάντα
anyone or accusing the things-done by-these-men all
γὰρ τἄλλ', οἶμαι, τότε δεύτερ' ἦν τῶν ὑποκειμένων
for the-rest I-think then secondary was to-the proposed
προσδοκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων, οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες ὄχλος
expectations and the hopes the-ones and objecting a-nuisance
ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφαίνετο, ταῦτα δὲ θαυμάσι'
merely and malice appeared these-things but marvelously
ἡλίκα καὶ συμφέροντ' ἐδόκει πεπρᾶχθαι τῇ πόλει.
how-great and advantageous seemed to-have-been-done for-the city
τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑπέμνησα πρῶτα νῦν ὑμᾶς 25
of-what for-the-sake indeed these-things I-reminded first now you
καὶ διεξῆλθον τούτους τοὺς λόγους; ἑνὸς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες
and went-through these the speeches of-one indeed O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, μάλιστα καὶ πρώτου, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἐπειδάν
Athenians most and first so-that no-one of-you whenever
τι λέγοντος ἀκούῃ μου τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ δοκῇ
anything saying he-hears me of-the things-done and it-seems
δεινὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπερβάλλον εἶναι, 'εἶτα τότ' οὐκ
terrible to-him and excessive to-be then at-that-time not
ἔλεγες παραχρῆμα ταῦτ' οὐδ' ἐδίδασκες ἡμᾶς;'
did-you-say on-the-spot these-things nor you-informed us
θαυμάζῃ, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένοι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τὰς τούτων, 26
should-wonder but remembering the promises the of-these-men
ἃς ἐφ' ἑκάστων ποιούμενοι τῶν καιρῶν ἐξέκλειον λόγου
which on each making of-the occasions they-shut-out a-hearing
τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἄλλους, καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τὴν τούτου
to-obtain the others and the offer the of-this-man
ταύτην τὴν καλήν, εἰδῆθ' ὅτι πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις
this the fine you-may-know that besides all the other-things
καὶ τοῦτ' ἠδίκησθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τἀληθῆ παραχρῆμα
also this you-have-been-wronged by him that the-truth on-the-spot

καὶ ἡνίκ᾽ ἔδει πυνθάνεσθαι διεκωλύθητ᾽ ἐλπίσι καὶ
and when it-was-needful to-learn you-were-prevented by-hopes and
φενακισμοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐξαπατώμενοι.
cheats and promises deceived

27 πρώτου μὲν τούτου καὶ μάλισθ᾽, ὅπερ εἶπον, εἵνεκα
first indeed this and most as I-said for-the-sake
ταῦτα διεξῆλθον, δευτέρου δὲ τίνος καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος
these-things I-went-through second and of-what and nothing less
ἢ τούτου; ἵνα τὴν ὅτ᾽ ἀδωροδόκητος ὑπῆρχε προαίρεσιν
than this so-that the when incorruptible he-was policy
αὐτοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ἀναμνησθέντες, ὡς προβεβλημένη
of-him of-the public-life having-recalled how guarded
καὶ ἄπιστος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτ᾽
and distrustful it-was toward — Philip the after these-things
ἐξαίφνης γεγονυῖαν πίστιν καὶ φιλίαν σκέψησθε,
suddenly having-arisen trust and friendship you-may-consider

28 εἶτ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἐκβέβηκεν ὅσ᾽ ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὗτος
then if indeed has-turned-out what he-reported to you this-man
καὶ καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πεπραγμένα, διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
and well are the things-done because-of the truth
καὶ τὸ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι νομίσητε, εἰ δὲ
and the advantage for-the city to-have-come-about you-may-think if but
πάντα τἀναντί᾽ ὧν οὗτος εἶπε πέπρακται, καὶ πολλὴν
all the-opposite of-what this-man said has-been-done and much
αἰσχύνην καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει τῇ πόλει,
shame and great dangers these-things hold for-the city
διὰ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ χρημάτων
because-of the greed the his-own and the for-money
ἀποδόσθαι τἀληθῆ μεταβεβλημένον αὐτὸν εἰδῆτε.
to-sell the-truth having-changed-sides him you-may-know

III · THE REPORT WITHOUT PRAISE

Demosthenes turns to how the envoys took the Phocians from Athens. The council's preliminary decree on his report gave the envoys neither praise nor the customary invitation to the prytaneum, a slight no embassy had ever suffered, not even Timagoras, whom the people condemned to death. With Philip already at Pylae, the assembly never heard that decree; Aeschines spoke instead of the great goods Philip would do, and a letter of Philip's, written by Aeschines, defended the envoys but said nothing of the Phocians, Thespiae, or anything Aeschines had promised. Philip, who had once promised to say plainly what good he would do Athens if he had the alliance too, now wrote that he did not know how he could please them. Demosthenes knew Aeschines lied, since the Phocians had been excluded from the treaty when Philip swore. When he tried to speak and was shouted down, he protested that he knew nothing of these promises, and Philocrates jeered that no wonder they disagreed, since Demosthenes drank water and he wine.

βούλομαι δ', ἐπειδήπερ εἰς τούτους προήχθην τοὺς λόγους, 29
I-wish and since-indeed into these I-have-been-led the words
ὃν τρόπον τὰ περὶ τοὺς Φωκέας πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν
in-what way the about the Phocians affairs from-you
παρείλοντο, πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἁπάντων. δεῖ δὲ μηδέν'
they-took-away first to-tell of-all it-is-needful but no-one
ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος
of-you O men jurors at the of-the affairs magnitude
βλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς
having-looked greater the accusations and the charges than-the
τούτου δόξης νομίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ὁρᾶν, ὅτι ὅντιν' ἂν
of-this-man reputation to-think but that to-see that whomever —
ὑμεῖς εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε καὶ τῶν συμβάντων
you into this the post had-appointed and of-the occurring
καιρῶν ἐποιήσατε κύριον, οὗτος, εἴπερ ὥσπερ οὗτος
occasions had-made master this-one if-indeed just-as this-man

ἐβουλήθη μισθώσας αὑτὸν ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς καὶ φενακίζειν,
he-wished having-hired-out himself to-deceive you and to-cheat
τῶν ἴσων αἴτιος ἦν ἂν κακῶν ὅσωνπερ καὶ οὗτος.
of-the equal cause would-have-been — evils as-many-as also this-man
30 οὐ γὰρ εἰ φαύλοις χρῆσθ' ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πολλάκις
not for if worthless use you for the public-affairs often
ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ φαῦλα ὧν ἡ πόλις
men also the affairs are worthless for-which the city
ἀξιοῦται παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. εἶτα καὶ
is-esteemed among the others not-even much is-lacking then and
Φωκέας ἀπολώλεκεν μέν, οἶμαι, Φίλιππος, συνηγωνίσαντο
Phocians has-destroyed indeed I-think Philip helped-in-the-struggle
δ' οὗτοι· τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ ὁρᾶν, εἰ
but these-men this indeed is-needful to-consider and to-see whether
ὅσα τῆς Φωκέων σωτηρίας ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἦκε,
as-much-as of-the of-Phocians safety on the embassy depended
ταῦθ' ἅπαντ' ἀπώλεσαν οὗτοι καὶ διέφθειραν ἑκόντες,
these-things all destroyed these-men and ruined willingly
οὐχ ὡς ὅδε Φωκέας ἀπώλεσεν καθ' ἑαυτόν. πόθεν;
not that this-one Phocians destroyed by himself how-could-he
31 δὸς δέ μοι τὸ προβούλευμα, ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπαγγελίαν
give and me the preliminary-decree which upon the my report
ἐψηφίσαθ' ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος
voted the council and the testimony the of-the-one having-drafted
αὐτὸ τότε, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ τότε σιγήσας
it then so-that you-may-know that I indeed not then having-been-silent
νῦν ἀφίσταμαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κατηγόρουν
now stand-aloof from-the things-done but at-once I-accused
καὶ προεώρων τὰ μέλλοντα, ἡ βουλὴ δέ, ἡ μὴ κωλυθεῖσ'
and foresaw the coming-things the council and the-one not prevented
ἀκοῦσαι τἀληθῆ παρ' ἐμοῦ, οὔτ' ἐπῄνεσε τούτους οὔτ' εἰς τὸ
to-hear the-truth from me neither praised these-men nor to the

πρυτανεῖον ἠξίωσεν καλέσαι. καίτοι τοῦτ', ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν
prytaneum deemed-fit to-invite and-yet this from when has-existed
ἡ πόλις, οὐδεὶς πώποτέ φησι παθεῖν οὐδένας πρέσβεις,
the city no-one ever says to-have-suffered any envoys
οὐδὲ Τιμαγόραν, οὗ θάνατον κατεχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος.
not-even Timagoras whose death voted the people
ἀλλ' οὗτοι πεπόνθασιν. λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτον τὴν 32
but these-men have-suffered read and to-them first the
μαρτυρίαν, εἶτα τὸ προβούλευμα.
testimony then the preliminary-decree
ἐνταῦθ' οὔτ' ἔπαινος οὔτε κλῆσις εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖόν ἐστι
here neither praise nor invitation to the prytaneum is
τῶν πρέσβεων ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω
of-the envoys by the council if but says this-man let-him-show
καὶ παρασχέσθω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν. εἰ
and let-him-produce and-I step-down but not it-is if
μὲν τοίνυν ταὐτὰ πάντες ἐπρεσβεύομεν, δικαίως οὐδέν'
indeed then the-same-things all we-did-as-envoys justly no-one
ἐπῄνεσεν ἡ βουλή· δεινὰ γὰρ τὰ πεπραγμένα πᾶσιν· εἰ δ'
praised the council terrible for the things-done by-all if but
οἱ μὲν τὰ δίκαι' ἔπραττον ἡμῶν, οἱ δὲ τἀναντία,
the-ones indeed the just-things did of-us the-others and the-opposite
διὰ τοὺς πεπονηρευμένους, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι
because-of the-ones having-done-wickedly as it-seems to-the decent
συμβεβηκὸς ἂν εἴη ταύτης τῆς ἀτιμίας μετεσχηκέναι.
having-happened — would-be this the disgrace to-have-shared
πῶς οὖν ῥᾳδίως πάντες εἴσεσθε τίς ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ πονηρός; 33
how then easily all will-you-know who ever is the wicked-one
ἀναμνήσθητε παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἐσθ' ὁ κατηγορῶν
recall among you yourselves who is the-one accusing
τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τῷ
the things-done from the-beginning clear for that for-the-one

μὲν ἠδικηκότι σιγᾶν ἐξήρκει καὶ διακρουσαμένῳ τὸν
indeed having-done-wrong to-be-silent sufficed and having-staved-off the
παρόντα χρόνον μηκέτ᾽ εἰς λόγον περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων
present time no-longer to account about the things-done
αὑτὸν καθιστάναι, τῷ δὲ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδότι
himself to-bring for-the-one but nothing with-himself being-conscious-of
δεινὸν εἰσῄει, εἰ πονηρῶν ἔργων δόξει κοινωνεῖν τῷ
terrible it-occurred if of-wicked deeds he-will-seem to-share by-the
σιωπῆσαι. εἰμὶ τοίνυν ὁ κατηγορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγὼ
being-silent am then the-one accusing from the-beginning I
τούτων, τούτων δ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ.
these-men of-these-men but none of-me

34 ἡ μὲν τοίνυν βουλὴ ταῦτα προὐβεβουλεύκει, τῆς δ᾽
the indeed then council these-things had-resolved-beforehand the and
ἐκκλησίας γιγνομένης καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου παρόντος ἐν
assembly taking-place and — Philip being-present at
Πύλαις ἤδη — ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων τῶν
Pylae already was for this first of-all the
ἀδικημάτων, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι
wrongs the — Philip to-set-over the affairs
τούτοις καὶ δέον ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,
these and it-being-needful you to-hear about the affairs
εἶτα βουλεύσασθαι, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πράττειν ὅ τι
then to-deliberate after these-things and to-act that which
δόξαι, ἅμ᾽ ἀκούειν κἀκεῖνον παρεῖναι καὶ μηδ᾽
might-seem-best at-the-same-time to-hear and-that-man to-be-present and not-even
ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν εἶναι.
that which one-must to-do easy to-say to-be

35 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῦτο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀνέγνω τῷ δήμῳ τὸ
besides and these-things this indeed no-one read to-the people the
προβούλευμα, οὐδ᾽ ἤκουσεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀναστὰς δ᾽ οὗτος
preliminary-decree nor heard the people having-stood-up but this-man

ἐδημηγόρει ταῦθ' ἃ διεξῆλθον ἄρτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγώ, τὰ
harangued these-things which I-went-through just-now to you I the
πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλ' ἀγαθά, ἃ πεπεικὼς ἔφη τὸν Φίλιππον
many and great goods which having-persuaded he-said — Philip
ἥκειν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρήμαθ' ἑαυτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους
to-have-come and because-of this money on-himself the Thebans
ἐπικεκηρυχέναι. ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς, ἐκπεπληγμένους τῇ παρουσίᾳ
to-have-set-a-price so-that you dismayed by-the presence
τὸ πρῶτον τῇ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τούτοις ὀργιζομένους
the first the — of-Philip and with-these-men angry
ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προηγγελκέναι, πραοτέρους γενέσθαι τινός,
at the not to-have-announced-beforehand milder to-become than-anyone
πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐβούλεσθ' ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι προσδοκήσαντας,
all as-much-as you-wished for-you to-be-going-to-be having-expected
καὶ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ μηδ' ἄλλου μηδενός.
and not-even voice to-be-willing to-hear of-me nor other anyone
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀνεγιγνώσκεθ' ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ παρὰ 36
and after these-things was-read the letter the from
τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἣν οὗτος ἔγραψ' ἀπολειφθεὶς ἡμῶν,
— Philip which this-man wrote having-stayed-behind from-us
ἄντικρυς οὕτως καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπολογία γεγραμμένη τῶν
outright thus and expressly a-defense written of-the
τούτοις ἡμαρτημένων. καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεκώλυσεν
by-these-men errors-committed and for that he-himself prevented
αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἰέναι καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους
them wishing to the cities to-go and the oaths
ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἔνεστι, καὶ ὡς, ἵνα συνδιαλλάττωσιν αὐτῷ
to-receive is-in-it and that so-that they-might-reconcile for-him
τοὺς Ἁλέας πρὸς τοὺς Φαρσαλίους, κατέσχεν αὐτούς· καὶ
the Halians with the Pharsalians he-detained them and

πάντ᾽ ἀναδεχόμενος καὶ εἰς αὑτὸν ποιούμενος τὰ τούτων
all-things taking-on and onto himself making the of-these-men
ἁμαρτήματ᾽ ἐστίν.
errors it-is

37 ὑπὲρ δὲ Φωκέων καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἢ ὧν οὗτος ἀπήγγελλε
about but Phocians and Thespiae or of-what this-man reported
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μικρόν. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἀπὸ
to you but not-even a-little and this not by
ταὐτομάτου τοῦτον ἐπράχθη τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν
chance this was-done the way but for indeed
ὧν παρὰ τούτων ὑμᾶς ἔδει δίκην λαμβάνειν οὐ
what from these-men you it-was-needful justice to-exact not
πεποιηκότων οὐδὲ διῳκηκότων οὐδὲν ὧν ὑμεῖς προσετάξατ᾽
having-done nor having-carried-out nothing of-what you ordered
ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐκεῖνος ἐκδέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν, ὃν
in the decree that-man takes-upon-himself the blame whom
οὐκ ἐμέλλεθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι, δυνήσεσθαι κολάσαι·
not were-likely you I-think to-be-going-to-be-able to-punish

38 ἃ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐξαπατῆσαι καὶ προλαβεῖν τῆς πόλεως
what but that-man to-deceive and to-seize-beforehand from-the city
ἐβούλετο, οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, ἵνα μηδ᾽ ἐγκαλέσαι μηδὲ
wished this-man reported so-that not-even to-accuse nor
μέμψασθαι μηδὲν ὕστερον ὑμεῖς ἔχοιτε Φιλίππῳ, μήτ᾽
to-blame in-anything later you might-be-able Philip neither
ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μήτ᾽ ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ τῶν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου
in a-letter nor elsewhere anywhere the from him
τούτων ἐνόντων. λέγε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολήν,
these-things being-in read and to-them itself the letter
ἣν ἔγραψε μὲν οὗτος, ἔπεμψε δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος· καὶ σκοπεῖθ᾽
which wrote indeed this-man sent but that-man and consider
ὅτι τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ὃν διεξελήλυθ᾽ ἐγώ. λέγε.
that this it-has the character which have-gone-through I read

ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς καλὴ καὶ 39
you-hear O men Athenians the letter how fine and
φιλάνθρωπος. περὶ δὲ Φωκέων ἢ Θηβαίων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων
kindly about but Phocians or Thebans or the other-things
ὧν οὗτος ἀπήγγειλεν, οὐδὲ γρῦ. ταύτης τοίνυν οὐδ'
which this-man reported not-even a-grunt of-this then not-even
ὁτιοῦν ἐσθ' ὑγιές. καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλ' ὑμεῖς
anything-whatever is sound and this presently indeed very you
ὄψεσθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἁλεῖς, οὓς ἵνα συνδιαλλάττωσι
will-see the indeed for Halians whom so-that they-might-reconcile
κατασχεῖν φησι τούτους, τοιαύτης τετυχήκασι διαλλαγῆς
to-have-detained he-says these-men such have-obtained reconciliation
ὥστ' ἐξελήλανται καὶ ἀνάστατος ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν
that they-have-been-expelled and destroyed the city of-them
γέγονε· τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ὁ σκοπῶν τί ἂν ὑμῖν
has-become the and prisoners the-one considering what — to-you
χαρίσαιτο οὐδέν' ἐνθυμηθῆναί φησι λύσασθαι.
he-might-favor no-one to-have-thought he-says to-ransom
μεμαρτύρηται δὲ δήπουθεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πολλάκις, 40
it-has-been-testified and surely to-you in the assembly often
ὡς ἐγὼ τάλαντον ἔχων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾠχόμην, καὶ νῦν δὲ
that I a-talent having for them went and now and
μαρτυρηθήσεται· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν φιλοτιμίαν οὗτος
it-will-be-testified wherefore also the my generosity this-man
ἀφαιρούμενος τοῦτ' ἔπεισεν ἐκεῖνον ἐγγράψαι. ὦ τοίνυν
taking-away this persuaded that-man to-write-in what then
μέγιστον ἁπάντων· ὁ γὰρ εἰς τὴν προτέραν γράψας
greatest of-all he for in the earlier having-written
ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἠνέγκαμεν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι 'ἔγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ
letter which brought we that I-would-write and — also
διαρρήδην ἡλίχ' ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσω, εἰ εὖ ᾔδειν καὶ τὴν
expressly how-greatly you well I-shall-do if well I-knew also the

συμμαχίαν μοι γενησομένην,᾽ γεγονυίας τῆς συμμαχίας
alliance for-me going-to-be having-come-about the alliance
οὔ φησιν εἰδέναι τί ἂν ποιῶν χαρίσαιτο, οὐδ᾽ ὃ αὐτὸς
not he-says to-know what — doing he-might-favor not-even what he-himself
ὑπέσχετο· τοῦτο γὰρ ᾔδει δηλονότι, εἴπερ μὴ ἐφενάκιζεν.
promised this for he-knew evidently if-indeed not he-was-cheating
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω τότ᾽ ἔγραψε, λέγε μοι λαβὼν
but truly that these-things so then he-wrote read for-me having-taken
ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἐνθένδε. λέγε.
from the earlier letter itself this from-here read
41 οὐκοῦν πρὶν μὲν εἰρήνης τυχεῖν, εἰ καὶ συμμαχία προσγένοιτ᾽
therefore before indeed peace to-obtain if also alliance should-be-added
αὐτῷ, γράψειν ὡμολόγει ἡλίκα τὴν πόλιν εὖ ποιήσει·
for-him to-be-going-to-write he-agreed how-greatly the city well he-will-do
ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἀμφότερ᾽ αὐτῷ γέγονεν, οὐκ εἰδέναι φησὶ τί
when but both-things for-him have-come-about not to-know he-says what
ἂν ποιῶν χαρίσαιτο, ἂν δ᾽ ὑμεῖς λέγητε, ποιήσειν ὃ
— doing he-might-favor if but you say to-be-going-to-do what
μήτ᾽ αἰσχύνην μήτ᾽ ἀδοξίαν αὐτῷ φέρει, εἰς ταύτας τὰς
neither shame nor disrepute to-him brings to these the
προφάσεις καταφεύγων, κἂν ἄρ᾽ εἴπητέ τι καὶ προαχθῆθ᾽
pretexts fleeing and-if then you-say anything and are-led-on
ὑμεῖς ἐπαγγείλασθαι, ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτῷ καταλείπων.
you to-proclaim a-retreat for-himself leaving
42 ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ πόλλ᾽ ἕτερ᾽ ἐνῆν παραχρῆμα τότ᾽
these-things then and many other-things it-was-possible on-the-spot then
εὐθὺς ἐξελέγχειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὰ
at-once to-expose and to-inform you and not to-abandon the
πράγματ᾽ ἐᾶν, εἰ μὴ Θεσπιαὶ καὶ Πλαταιαὶ καὶ τὸ Θηβαίους
affairs to-allow if not Thespiae and Plataea and the Thebans
αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δώσειν δίκην ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
presently indeed very to-be-going-to-pay penalty had-taken-away the truth

καίτοι ταῦτα, εἰ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ἔδει φενακισθῆναι
and-yet these-things if indeed to-hear indeed it-was-needful to-be-cheated
δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ὀρθῶς ἐλέγετο, εἰ δὲ πραχθῆναι τῷ ὄντι,
but the city rightly they-were-said if but to-be-done in-the reality
σιωπᾶσθαι συνέφερεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ἦν ἤδη
to-be-kept-silent it-was-advantageous if indeed for at-this-point were already
τὰ πράγματ' ὥστε μηδ' αἰσθομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις πλέον
the affairs that not-even having-perceived the Thebans more
εἶναι μηδέν, τί οὐ γέγονεν; εἰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προαισθέσθαι
to-be nothing why not has-it-happened if but because-of the to-perceive-beforehand
κεκώλυται, τίς ὁ ἐκλαλήσας; οὐχ οὗτος;
it-has-been-prevented who the-one having-blurted-it-out not this-man
ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἔμελλεν οὔτ' ἐβουλήθη ταῦτ' οὐδ' ἤλπισεν οὗτος, 43
but neither he-was-going nor he-wished these-things nor hoped this-man
ὥστε τοῦ γ' ἐκλελαληκέναι μηδ' αἰτίαν ἐχέτω· ἀλλὰ
so-that of-the at-least to-have-blurted-it-out not-even blame let-him-have but
φενακισθῆναι τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ὑμᾶς ἔδει, καὶ ἐμοῦ
to-be-cheated by-the words these you it-was-needful and from-me
τἀληθῆ μὴ 'θελῆσαι ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἴκοι καταμεῖναι,
the-truth not to-be-willing to-hear and yourselves at-home to-stay
καὶ ψήφισμα νικῆσαι τοιοῦτο δι' οὗ Φωκεῖς ἀπολοῦνται.
and decree to-prevail such through which Phocians will-perish
διὰ ταῦτ' ἐσπαθᾶτο ταῦτα καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐδημηγορεῖτο.
for these-things was-lavished these-things and for these-things they-were-harangued
ἀκούων τοίνυν ἐγὼ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐπαγγελλομένου 44
hearing then I so-great and such-things promising
τούτου, καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι ψεύδεται, — καὶ ὅθεν,
this-man and accurately knowing that he-lies and from-what
φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ, ὅτε τοὺς
I-will-tell to you first indeed from the when the
ὅρκους ἔμελλε Φίλιππος ὀμνύναι τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,
oaths was-about Philip to-swear the about the peace

ἐκσπόνδους ἀποφανθῆναι τοὺς Φωκέας ὑπὸ τούτων,
excluded-from-the-treaty to-have-been-declared the Phocians by these-men
ὃ σιωπᾶν καὶ ἐᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἴπερ ἔμελλον
which to-be-silent-about and to-let-pass reasonable was if-indeed they-were-going
σῴζεσθαι· ἔπειτ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου
to-be-saved then from the not the from — Philip
πρέσβεις ταῦτα λέγειν μηδὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου,
envoys these-things to-say nor the letter the of-Philip
45 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον — ἐκ τούτων οὖν τεκμαιρόμενος, ἀναστὰς
but this-man from these-things then judging having-stood-up
καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπειρώμην μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, ὡς δ'
and having-come-forward I-tried indeed to-speak-against when but
ἀκούειν οὐκ ἠθέλετε, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον, τοσοῦτο μόνον
to-hear not you-were-willing quiet I-kept so-much only
διαμαρτυράμενος (καὶ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν ἀναμιμνῄσκεσθε)
having-protested and by Zeus and gods remember
ὅτι ταῦτ' οὔτ' οἶδ' οὔτε κοινωνῶ, προσέθηκα δ' ὡς
that these-things neither I-know nor share-in I-added and that
οὐδὲ προσδοκῶ. τραχέως δ' ὑμῶν τῷ μηδὲ προσδοκᾶν
nor I-expect harshly and you at-the not-even to-expect
σχόντων, 'καὶ ὅπως γ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,' ἔφην, 'ἄν
having-taken-it and see-that at-least O men Athenians I-said if
τι τούτων γίγνηται, τούτους ἐπαινέσεσθε καὶ τιμήσετε
any of-these-things happens these-men you-will-praise and honor
καὶ στεφανώσετε, ἐμὲ δὲ μή· καὶ μέντοι κἄν τι τῶν
and crown me but not and however and-if any of-the
ἐναντίων, ὅπως τούτοις ὀργιεῖσθε· ἐγὼ δ' ἀφίσταμαι.'
opposite see-that with-these-men you-will-be-angry I but stand-aloof
46 'μὴ νῦν,' ὑπολαβὼν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί, 'μὴ νῦν ἀφίστασο,'
not now taking-up Aeschines this-here not now stand-aloof
ἔφη, 'ἀλλ' ὅπως τότε μὴ προσποιήσει.' 'νὴ Δί', ἦ
he-said but see-that then not you-claim-a-share by Zeus or

ἀδικήσω γ',' ἔφην. ἐπαναστὰς δ' ὁ Φιλοκράτης μάλ'
I-shall-do-wrong at-least I-said having-stood-up and — Philocrates very
ὑβριστικῶς 'οὐδὲν,' ἔφη, 'θαυμαστόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
insolently nothing he-said surprising O men Athenians
μὴ ταὐτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν· οὗτος μὲν γὰρ
not the-same-things to-me and to-Demosthenes to-seem this-man indeed for
ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δ' οἶνον πίνω.' καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε.
water I but wine drink and you laughed

IV · THE RUIN OF THE PHOCIANS

Philocrates' decree praised Philip, extended the peace and alliance to Philip's descendants, binding Athenians not yet born, and threatened the Phocians with Athens' arms if they did not give up the temple. Trusting these promises, the Athenians stayed at home, and Philip's letters inviting them out came only when they could no longer go. The Phocians, learning of the decree and the report, surrendered: Demosthenes counts the days from the envoys' return on the thirteenth of Scirophorion, with Philip already at Pylae, to Dercylus' news from Chalcis, which came to the assembly in the Piraeus. The Phocian cities were given up by agreement with Philip, not taken by siege. When Demosthenes and others traveled to Delphi, they saw a pitiable sight: houses pulled down, walls destroyed, and no men of military age. The ancestors, he says, would stone the men who abandoned the Phocians, who once voted against enslaving Athens, and the one responsible is Aeschines.

σκέψασθε δὴ τὸ ψήφισμα, ὃ δίδωσι γράψας μετὰ 47
consider indeed the decree which proposes having-drafted after
ταῦθ' ὁ Φιλοκράτης· ἀκοῦσαι μὲν γὰρ οὑτωσὶ παγκάλως
these-things — Philocrates to-hear indeed for thus-here very-finely
ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς συλλογίσηταί τις ἐφ' ὧν
it-is whenever but the occasions reckons-up someone on which
ἐγράφη, καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἃς οὗτος ὑπισχνεῖτο τότε,
it-was-drafted and the promises which this-man was-promising then

οὐδὲν ἄλλο φανήσονται πλὴν παραδόντες Φιλίππῳ καὶ
nothing other they-will-appear except having-handed-over to-Philip and
Θηβαίοις Φωκέας, μόνον οὐκ ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε δήσαντες.
to-Thebans Phocians only not behind the two-hands having-bound
λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.
read the decree

48 ὁρᾶτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ψήφισμα, ὅσων ἐπαίνων
you-see O men Athenians the decree of-how-many praises
καὶ ὅσης εὐφημίας μεστόν ἐστι, καὶ 'τὴν εἰρήνην
and how-much fair-speech full it-is and the peace
εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἥνπερ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις,
to-be the same which-very for-Philip also for-the descendants
καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν,' καὶ 'ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Φίλιππον, ὅτι
and the alliance and to-praise and Philip because
ἐπαγγέλλεται τὰ δίκαια ποιήσειν.' ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνός
he-promises the just-things to-be-going-to-do but nothing that-man
γ' ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλὰ τοσούτου γ' ἔδει ὥστ' οὐδ'
at-least promised but so-much at-least he-lacked that not-even
εἰδέναι φησὶ τί ἂν ποιῶν ὑμῖν χαρίσαιτο.
to-know he-says what — doing to-you he-might-favor

49 ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν ὁ λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπισχνούμενος.
but this-man was the-one speaking on-behalf-of him and promising
πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τούτου λόγους ὡρμηκότας λαβὼν
toward and the from this-man words having-rushed having-caught
ὑμᾶς ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐγγράφει τοῦτ' εἰς τὸ ψήφισμα, 'ἐὰν
you — Philocrates writes-in this into the decree if
δὲ μὴ ποιῶσι Φωκεῖς ἃ δεῖ καὶ παραδιδῶσι τοῖς
and not do Phocians what is-needful and hand-over to-the
Ἀμφικτύοσιν τὸ ἱερόν, ὅτι βοηθήσει ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων
Amphictyons the temple that will-send-help the people the of-Athenians
ἐπὶ τοὺς διακωλύοντας ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.'
against the-ones preventing these-things to-happen

οὐκοῦν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μενόντων μὲν ὑμῶν οἴκοι καὶ 50
therefore men Athenians remaining indeed you at-home and
οὐκ ἐξεληλυθότων, ἀπεληλυθότων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
not having-gone-out having-gone-away and the Lacedaemonians
καὶ προῃσθημένων τὴν ἀπάτην, οὐδενὸς δ' ἄλλου
and having-perceived-beforehand the deceit none and other
παρόντος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων πλὴν Θετταλῶν καὶ Θηβαίων,
being-present of-the Amphictyons except Thessalians and Thebans
εὐφημότατ' ἀνθρώπων τούτοις παραδοῦναι γέγραφεν τὸ
most-fair-spokenly of-men to-these to-hand-over he-has-proposed the
ἱερὸν γράψας τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν παραδοῦναι (ποίοις; οὐ
temple having-written to-the Amphictyons to-hand-over to-what-sort not
γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί), ἀλλ' οὐ
for were there except Thebans and Thessalians but not
'συγκαλέσαι δὲ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας,' οὐδ' 'ἐπισχεῖν ἕως
to-convene and the Amphictyons nor to-wait until
ἂν συλλεγῶσιν,' οὐδὲ 'βοηθεῖν Πρόξενον εἰς Φωκέας,' οὐδ'
— they-assemble nor to-help Proxenus into Phocians nor
'ἐξιέναι Ἀθηναίους,' οὐδὲ τοιοῦτ' οὐδέν.
to-march-out Athenians nor such nothing
καίτοι καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμψ' ὁ Φίλιππος δύο καλούσας 51
and-yet also letters sent — Philip two summoning
ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵν' ἐξέλθητε· πώμαλα· οὐ γὰρ ἄν
you not so-that you-might-march-out by-no-means not for —
ποτε τοὺς χρόνους ἀνελών, ἐν οἷς ἐδυνήθητ'
ever the times having-removed in which you-would-have-been-able
ἂν ἐξελθεῖν, τηνικαῦτ' ἐκάλει· οὐδ' ἂν ἐμέ, ἡνίκα
— to-march-out then he-would-summon nor — me when
δεῦρ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐβουλόμην, κατεκώλυεν· οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα
here to-sail-back I-wished he-would-prevent nor such-things
λέγειν τούτῳ προσέταττεν, ἐξ ὧν ἥκισθ' ὑμεῖς ἐμέλλετ'
to-say to-this-man he-would-order from which least you were-likely

ἐξιέναι· ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα, ἃ ἐβούλεσθ᾽ οἰόμενοι πράξειν
to-march-out but so-that what you-wished thinking to-be-going-to-do
αὐτόν, μηδὲν ἐναντίον ψηφίσησθ᾽ αὐτῷ, μηδ᾽ ἀμύναιντο
him nothing opposed you-might-vote to-him nor might-defend-themselves
μηδ᾽ ἀντέχοιεν οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐλπίσιν,
nor hold-out the Phocians on the from you hopes
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπογνόντες ἅπανθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαιεν. λέγε δ᾽
but having-despaired all themselves might-hand-over read and
αὐτοῖς αὐτὰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.
to-them themselves the letters the — of-Philip
52 αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπιστολαὶ καλοῦσιν αὗται, καὶ νὴ Δί᾽ ἤδη
the indeed then letters summon these and by Zeus at-once
γε· τούτοις δ᾽, εἴπερ ἦν ὑγιές τι τούτων, τί
at-least for-these-men but if-indeed was sound anything of-these-things what
ἄλλο προσῆκεν ἢ συνειπεῖν ὅπως ἐξέλθηθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, καὶ
else was-fitting than to-support that might-march-out you and
τὸν Πρόξενον ὃν περὶ τοὺς τόπους ᾔδεσαν ὄντα γράφειν
— Proxenus whom about the places they-knew being to-propose
εὐθέως βοηθεῖν; πάντα τοίνυν τἀναντία τούτων φαίνονται
immediately to-help all then the-opposite of-these-things they-appear
πεποιηκότες. εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ οἷς ἐπέστελλε προσεῖχον
having-done naturally not for to-what he-wrote they-paid
τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἃ φρονῶν ταῦτ᾽ ἔγραφεν συνῄδεσαν·
the mind but what intending these-things he-wrote they-knew-with-him
τούτοις οὖν συνέπραττον καὶ τούτοις συνηγωνίζοντο.
these then they-cooperated-in and these they-strove-for
53 οἱ μὲν τοίνυν Φωκεῖς, ὡς τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπύθοντ᾽
the indeed then Phocians when the-things from you learned
ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τό τε ψήφισμα τοῦτ᾽ ἔλαβον
from the assembly and the both decree this received
τὸ τοῦ Φιλοκράτους καὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν ἐπύθοντο τὴν
the — of-Philocrates and the report learned the

τούτου καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς τρόπους
of-this-man and the promises in all the ways
ἀπώλοντο. σκοπεῖτε γάρ. ἦσαν ἀπιστοῦντές τινες αὐτόθι
perished consider for there-were distrusting some there
τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες· οὗτοι πιστεύειν ὑπήχθησαν.
— Philip and sense having these-men to-trust were-induced
διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡγοῦντο, οὐδ' εἰ δεκάκις Φίλιππος
because-of what because they-thought not-even if ten-times Philip
αὐτοὺς ἐξηπάτα, οὐδέποτ' ἂν τούς γ' Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις
them deceived never — the at-least of-Athenians envoys
Ἀθηναίους ἐξαπατᾶν τολμῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ
Athenians to-deceive to-dare but to-be these-things true
ἃ οὗτος ἀπήγγελλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις
which this-man reported to you and to-the Thebans
ἥκειν, οὐχ αὑτοῖς ὄλεθρον.
to-be-coming not to-themselves destruction
ἦσαν ἄλλοι τινὲς οἳ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι 54
there-were others some who to-suffer anything-whatever and to-defend-themselves
δεῖν ᾤοντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησε
to-be-necessary thought but also these soft made
τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι, καὶ τὸ
the — Philip to-be-favorable to-them to-have-been-persuaded and the
ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥξειν, οὓς
these-things if not they-will-do you against them to-be-going-to-come whom
βοηθήσειν αὑτοῖς ἤλπιζον ἐκεῖνοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταμέλειν
to-be-going-to-help themselves hoped those but also to-repent
ὑμῖν ᾤοντό τινες πεποιημένοις τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην·
you thought some having-made the with Philip peace
τούτοις ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐψηφίσασθ'
to-these that also for-the descendants the same you-voted

ἐπέδειξαν, ὥστε πανταχῇ τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπογνωσθῆναι.
they-showed so-that in-every-way the-things from you to-be-despaired-of
διόπερ ταῦτα πάντ᾽ εἰς ἓν ψήφισμα συνεσκεύασαν.
for-which-reason these-things all into one decree they-packed-together
55 ὃ καὶ μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἁπάντων ὑμᾶς
which also greatest to-me-at-least they-seem of-all you
ἠδικηκέναι· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἄνδρα θνητὸν καὶ διὰ καιρούς
to-have-wronged the for with a-man mortal and through occasions
τινας ἰσχύοντα γράφοντας εἰρήνην ἀθάνατον συνθέσθαι τὴν
certain powerful proposing peace immortal to-conclude the
κατὰ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχύνην, καὶ ἀποστερῆσαι μὴ μόνον
against the city shame and to-deprive not only
τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς τύχης εὐεργεσιῶν
of-the other-things but also of-the from — fortune benefits
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοσαύτῃ περιουσίᾳ χρήσασθαι πονηρίας
the city and such abundance to-use of-wickedness
ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
that not only the being Athenians but also the-ones
ὕστερόν ποτε μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι πάντας ἠδικηκέναι, πῶς
later ever going to-be all to-have-wronged how
οὐχὶ πάνδεινόν ἐστι;
not all-terrible it-is
56 τοῦτο τοίνυν οὐδέποθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ὑπεμείνατ᾽ ἂν προσγράψαι
this then never you would-have-endured — to-add
πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην, τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, εἰ μὴ ταῖς
to the peace the also for-the descendants if not the
παρ᾽ Αἰσχίνου ῥηθείσαις ὑποσχέσεσιν τότ᾽ ἐπιστεύσατε,
by Aeschines spoken promises then you-trusted
αἵσπερ οἱ Φωκεῖς πιστεύσαντες ἀπώλοντο. καὶ γάρ τοι
which-very the Phocians having-trusted perished and for surely
παραδόντες αὑτοὺς Φιλίππῳ καὶ ἑκόντες ἐγχειρίσαντες
having-handed-over themselves to-Philip and willingly having-entrusted

ἐκείνῳ τὰς πόλεις ἁπάντων τῶν ἐναντίων ὧν πρὸς
to-him the cities all the opposite of-what to
ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλ᾽ ἔτυχον.
you this-man reported they-met-with
ἵνα δ᾽ εἰδῆτε σαφῶς ὅτι ταῦθ᾽ οὕτω καὶ διὰ 57
so-that and you-may-know clearly that these-things so and because-of
τούτους ἀπόλωλε, τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῖν λογιοῦμαι καθ᾽ οὓς
these-men have-been-ruined the dates to-you I-will-reckon in which
ἐγίγνεθ᾽ ἕκαστα. περὶ ὧν δ᾽ ἄν τις ἀντιλέγῃ τούτων,
happened each-thing about which and — anyone objects of-these-things
ἀναστὰς ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι εἰπάτω. ἡ μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνη
having-stood-up in the my water let-him-speak the indeed then peace
ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγένετο, ἀπεδημήσαμεν
of-Elaphebolion on-the-ninth on ten was-made were-abroad
δ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους· καὶ τοῦτον
and we for the oaths three months whole and this
ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἦσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς σῷοι.
all the time were the Phocians safe
ἥκομεν δὲ δεῦρ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους 58
we-came and here from the embassy the for the oaths
τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός, καὶ παρῆν ὁ
on-the-third on ten of-the Scirophorion month and was-present —
Φίλιππος ἐν Πύλαις ἤδη καὶ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἐπηγγέλλετο
Philip at Pylae already and to-the Phocians was-making-promises
ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπίστευον ἐκεῖνοι. σημεῖον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
of-which nothing believed they proof and not for —
δεῦρ᾽ ἦκον ὡς ὑμᾶς. ἡ δ᾽ ἐκκλησία μετὰ ταῦτα,
here they-would-have-come to you the and assembly after these-things
ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἀπώλεσαν οὗτοι ψευσάμενοι
at which all the affairs ruined these-men having-lied

καὶ φενακίσαντες ὑμᾶς, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγίγνετο τοῦ
and having-cheated you on-the sixth on ten took-place of-the
σκιροφοριῶνος.
Scirophorion

59 ἀπὸ τοίνυν ταύτης πεμπταῖα λογίζομαι τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
from then this on-the-fifth-day I-reckon the-things from you
ἐν τοῖς Φωκεῦσι γενέσθαι· παρῆσαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων
among the Phocians to-have-arrived were-present for the of-the Phocians
πρέσβεις ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τί ἀπαγγελοῦσιν
envoys here and was for-them both what will-report
οὗτοι καὶ τί ψηφιεῖσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελές. οὐκοῦν εἰκάς,
these-men and what will-vote you a-concern therefore twentieth
ᾗ τίθεμεν πυθέσθαι τοὺς Φωκέας τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν·
on-which we-put to-have-learned the Phocians the-things from you
ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἕκτης εἰς ταύτην πέμπτη γίγνεται. ὑστέρα
from for the sixth to this fifth it-is later
τοίνυν δεκάτη, ἐνάτη, ὀγδόη· ταύτῃ ἐγίγνονθ᾽ αἱ σπονδαί,
then tenth ninth eighth on-this were-made the truces
καὶ πάντα τἀκεῖ πράγματ᾽ ἀπωλώλει καὶ τέλος εἶχεν.
and all the-there affairs had-been-ruined and end had

60 τῷ τοῦτο δῆλον; τῇ τετράδι φθίνοντος ἠκκλησιάζετε
by-what this clear on-the fourth waning you-held-an-assembly
μὲν τόθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις,
indeed then you in Piraeus about the-things in the docks
ἦκε δὲ Δερκύλος ἐκ Χαλκίδος καὶ ἀπήγγελλεν ὑμῖν ὅτι
came and Dercylus from Chalcis and reported to-you that
πάντα τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐγκεχείρικε Θηβαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος,
all the affairs had-entrusted to-Thebans — Philip
καὶ πέμπτην εἶναι ταύτην ἡμέραν ἀφ᾽ οὗ γεγόνασιν αἱ
and fifth to-be this day from when had-been-made the
σπονδαί. ὀγδόη τοίνυν, ἑβδόμη, ἕκτη, πέμπτη, τετράς· αὐτὸ
truces eighth then seventh sixth fifth fourth exactly

συμβαίνει εἰς ταύτην εἶναι πέμπτην. οὐκοῦν τοῖς χρόνοις,
it-turns-out on this to-be fifth therefore by-the dates
οἷς ἀπήγγελλον, οἷς ἔγραφον, πᾶσιν ἐξελέγχονται
on-which they-reported on-which they-proposed by-all they-are-convicted
συνηγωνισμένοι Φιλίππῳ καὶ συναίτιοι γεγονότες τοῦ τῶν
having-striven-with Philip and joint-causes having-become of-the of-the
Φωκέων ὀλέθρου.
Phocians destruction
ἔτι τοίνυν τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν 61
further then the none of-the cities of-the-ones in Phocis
ἁλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος,
to-have-been-taken by-siege nor from assault by force
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι, μέγιστόν
but from the to-make-truce all utterly to-have-perished greatest
ἐστι σημεῖον τοῦ διὰ τούτους πεισθέντας αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ
is sign of-the because-of these-men persuaded them that by
τοῦ Φιλίππου σωθήσονται ταῦτα παθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν
— Philip they-will-be-saved these-things to-have-suffered not for him
γ' ἠγνόουν. φέρε δή μοι καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν
at-least they-were-ignorant-of come indeed for-me also the alliance the
τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τὰ δόγμαθ' ὑφ' ὧν καθεῖλον αὐτῶν τὰ
of-the Phocians and the resolutions by which they-pulled-down of-them the
τείχη, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' οἵων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν
walls so-that you-may-know what being-theirs to-them from you
οἵων ἔτυχον διὰ τούτους τοὺς θεοῖς ἐχθρούς. λέγε.
what they-met-with because-of these-men the to-gods hateful read
ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρχε παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς, ταῦτ' ἐστί, 62
what indeed then was-theirs from you to-them these-things are
φιλία, συμμαχία, βοήθεια· ὧν δ' ἔτυχον διὰ τοῦτον
friendship alliance help what but they-met-with because-of this-man
τὸν βοηθῆσαι κωλύσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσατε. λέγε.
the-one to-help having-prevented you hear read

ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. 'ὁμολογία Φιλίππου καὶ
you-hear O men Athenians agreement of-Philip and
Φωκέων,' φησίν, οὐχὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Φωκέων, οὐδὲ Θετταλῶν
of-Phocians it-says not of-Thebans and of-Phocians nor of-Thessalians
καὶ Φωκέων, οὐδὲ Λοκρῶν, οὐδ' ἄλλου τῶν παρόντων
and of-Phocians nor of-Locrians nor other of-the present
οὐδενός· καὶ πάλιν 'παραδοῦναι δὲ τὰς πόλεις Φωκέας,' φησί,
none and again to-hand-over and the cities Phocians it-says
'Φιλίππῳ,' οὐχὶ Θηβαίοις οὐδὲ Θετταλοῖς οὐδ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενί.
to-Philip not to-Thebans nor to-Thessalians nor other none
63 διὰ τί; ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀπηγγέλλετο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ
because-of what because Philip was-reported to you by
τούτου ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φωκέων σωτηρίᾳ παρεληλυθέναι. τούτῳ
this-man for the of-the Phocians safety to-have-come this-man
δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστευον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον πάντ' ἐσκόπουν,
indeed in-all they-trusted and to this-man in-all looked
πρὸς τοῦτον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην. λέγε δὴ τἀπίλοιπα.
with this-man they-made the peace read indeed the-rest
καὶ σκοπεῖτε τί πιστεύσαντες τί ἔπασχον. ἆρά γ'
and consider what having-trusted what they-suffered whether at-least
ὅμοι' ἢ παραπλήσι' οἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγελλεν; λέγε.
like or near to-what this-man reported read
64 τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεινότερ' οὐ γέγονεν οὐδὲ μείζω
than-these O men Athenians more-terrible not have-happened nor greater
πράγματ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ'
affairs in-the-time-of us among the Greeks I-think and not-even
ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. τηλικούτων μέντοι καὶ τοιούτων
in the former time so-great however and such
πραγμάτων κύριος εἷς ἀνὴρ γέγονεν διὰ τούτους, οὔσης
affairs master one man has-become because-of these-men being
τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, ᾗ προεστάναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
the of-Athenians city for-which to-lead the Greeks

πάτριον καὶ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον περιορᾶν γιγνόμενον. ὃν
ancestral and nothing such to-overlook happening in-which
μὲν τοίνυν τρόπον οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς ἀπολώλασιν,
indeed then way the wretched Phocians have-perished
οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν δογμάτων τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν,
not only from the resolutions these it-is-possible to-see
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἃ πέπρακται, θέαμα δεινόν, ὦ 65
but also from the deeds which have-been-done a-sight terrible O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐλεινόν· ὅτε γὰρ νῦν ἐπορευόμεθ' εἰς
men Athenians and pitiable when for now we-were-traveling to
Δελφούς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν ὁρᾶν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα, οἰκίας
Delphi of necessity it-was to-see for-us all these-things houses
κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιῃρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν
razed walls stripped-away country empty of-the-ones
ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρι' ὀλίγα καὶ πρεσβύτας
in prime women but and little-children few and old
ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς· οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι τῷ
men pitiable not-even — one could reach in-the
λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι τὴν ἐναντίαν
speech the there evils now being but truly that the opposite
ποτὲ Θηβαίοις ψῆφον ἔθενθ' οὗτοι περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ
once to-Thebans vote cast these-men about us concerning
ἀνδραποδισμοῦ προτεθεῖσαν, ὑμῶν ἔγωγ' ἀκούω πάντων.
enslavement proposed of-you I-at-least hear all
τίν' ἂν οὖν οἴεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους 66
what — then do-you-think O men Athenians the ancestors
ὑμῶν, εἰ λάβοιεν αἴσθησιν, ψῆφον ἢ γνώμην θέσθαι περὶ
of-you if they-should-get perception vote or judgment to-cast about
τῶν αἰτίων τοῦ τούτων ὀλέθρου; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι
the ones-responsible for-the of-these destruction I indeed for I-think
κἂν καταλεύσαντας αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσὶν καθαροὺς
even having-stoned them with-the their-own hands pure

ἔσεσθαι νομίζειν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, μᾶλλον δ' εἴ
to-be-going-to-be to-think how for not shameful rather and if
τις ἔστιν ὑπερβολὴ τούτου, τοὺς σεσωκότας ἡμᾶς τότε
any is excess of-this the-ones having-saved us then
καὶ τὴν σώζουσαν περὶ ἡμῶν ψῆφον θεμένους, τούτους τῶν
and the saving about us vote having-cast these the
ἐναντίων τετυχηκέναι διὰ τούτους, καὶ περιῶφθαι
opposite to-have-met-with because-of these-men and to-have-been-overlooked
τοιαῦτα πεπονθότας οἵ' οὐδένες ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων; τίς οὖν
such-things having-suffered as no other of-the Greeks who then
ὁ τούτων αἴτιος; τίς ὁ ταῦτα φενακίσας; οὐχ οὗτος;
the of-these-things responsible who the-one these-things having-cheated not this-man

V · THE CURSE AND THE CHERSONESE

Philip's peculiar good fortune, Demosthenes says, was to find Athenians more wicked than he needed. Neither he nor his envoys dared lie to Athens, and Antipater and Parmenion, though serving a master, never deceived the people; these Athenian envoys did. He has the curse read that the herald pronounces at every assembly, which Aeschines himself dictated as under-clerk, and asks how the jurors could acquit a man the city prays against. Aeschines will talk of the Lacedaemonians, Proxenus, and Hegesippus, but all that came before his report, and the Phocians fell within five days of it. Phocis and Pylae guarded Attica against Thebes and Philip, and Aeschines threw that away and won Philip the Thebans' gratitude. The jurors should ask not whether Philip has yet entered Attica, but whether these men have given him the power to do so whenever he wishes.

67 πολλὰ τοίνυν ἄν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον
many then — one O men Athenians Philip
εὐδαιμονίσας τῆς τύχης εἰκότως, τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἂν
having-congratulated on-the fortune justly this most —
εὐδαιμονίσειεν ἁπάντων, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς θεὰς
would-congratulate of-all which by the gods and the goddesses

οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ἔγωγ' ἄλλον ὅστις ηὐτύχηκεν ἐφ'
not I-can to-say I-at-least another who has-been-fortunate in-the-time-of
ἡμῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις μεγάλας εἰληφέναι καὶ χώραν
us the indeed for cities great to-have-taken and land
πολλὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποιῆσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα
much under himself to-have-brought and all the such-things
ζηλωτὰ μέν ἐστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ λαμπρά· πῶς γὰρ οὔ; ἔχοι
enviable indeed are I-think and brilliant how for not could
δ' ἄν τις εἰπεῖν πεπραγμένα καὶ ἑτέροις πολλοῖς.
but — one to-say done also by-others many
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἴδιον καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἄλλῳ γεγονὸς 68
but that peculiar and to-no-one of-the all other having-befallen
εὐτύχημα. τὸ ποῖον; τὸ ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὰ
good-fortune the what-sort the that-when wicked men for the
πράγματ' αὐτῷ ἐδέησεν, πονηροτέρους εὑρεῖν ἢ ἐβούλετο.
affairs for-him it-was-needed more-wicked to-find than he-wished
πῶς γὰρ οὐχ οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι δικαίως ὑποληφθεῖεν ἄν, οἵ
how for not these-men such justly would-be-taken-to-be — who
γε, ἃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος τηλικούτων ὄντων αὐτῷ
at-least what about himself Philip so-great being for-him
τῶν διαφόρων οὐκ ἐτόλμα ψεύσασθαι, οὐδ' ἔγραψεν οὔτ' εἰς
the stakes not dared to-lie nor wrote neither in
ἐπιστολὴν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε πρεσβευτὴς οὐδεὶς εἶπε τῶν παρ'
letter any nor envoy any said of-the-ones from
ἐκείνου, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μισθώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτων;
him for these-things having-hired-out themselves you deceived
καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ ὁ Παρμενίων, δεσπότῃ 69
and — indeed Antipater and — Parmenion a-master
διακονοῦντες καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ὑμῖν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐντεύξεσθαι,
serving and not going you after these-things to-be-going-to-meet
ὅμως τοῦθ' εὕροντο, μὴ δι' αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι· οἱ
nevertheless this they-obtained not through them you to-be-deceived these

δέ, Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης πόλεως, πρέσβεις ταχθέντες
but Athenians of-the freest city envoys appointed
ὑμᾶς, οἷς ἀπαντῶντας ἐμβλέπειν, οἷς συζῆν ἀνάγκη
you whom meeting to-look-in-the-face with-whom to-live is-necessary
τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καὶ ἐν οἷς εὐθύνας ἔμελλον δώσειν
the rest-of life and before whom audits they-were-going to-give
τῶν πεπραγμένων, τούτους ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπέστησαν. πῶς ἂν
of-the things-done these to-deceive undertook how —
ἄνθρωποι κακίους ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπονενοημένοι τούτων γένοιντο;
men worse or more desperate than-these could-be
70 ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι καὶ κατάρατός ἐστιν ὑφ' ὑμῶν,
so-that then you-may-know that also accursed he-is by you
καὶ οὐδ' ὅσιον ὑμῖν οὐδ' εὐσεβές ἐστι τοιαῦτ' ἐψευσμένον
and nor holy for-you nor pious it-is such-things having-lied
αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι, λέγε τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὴν
him to-acquit read the curse and read-aloud having-taken the
ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταυτηνί.
from the law this-here
ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καθ' ἑκάστην
these-things on-behalf-of you O men Athenians at each
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ εὔχεται νόμῳ προστεταγμένα,
the assembly the herald prays by-law prescribed
καὶ ὅταν ἡ βουλὴ καθῆται, παρ' ἐκείνῃ πάλιν. καὶ
and whenever the council sits before it again and
ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν τούτῳ ὡς οὐκ εὖ ᾔδει·
these-things not it-is-possible to-say for-this-man that not well he-knew
ὑπογραμματεύων γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτὸς
being-under-clerk for to-you and serving the council he-himself
ἐξηγεῖτο τὸν νόμον τοῦτον τῷ κήρυκι.
dictated the law this to-the herald

πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἂν πεποιηκότες ὑμεῖς 71
how then not absurd and monstrous — having-done you
εἴητε, εἰ ἃ προστάττετε, μᾶλλον δ' ἀξιοῦτε ποιεῖν
would-be if what you-enjoin rather and you-ask to-do
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τοὺς θεούς, ταῦτ' αὐτοὶ κύριοι γεγενημένοι
on-behalf-of you the gods these-things yourselves masters having-become
τήμερον μὴ ποιήσαιτε, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐκείνοις εὔχεσθ' ἐξώλη
today not you-should-do but whom to-them you-pray utterly-destroyed
ποιεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ γένος καὶ οἰκίαν, τοῦτον ἀφείητ'
to-make him and race and house this-one you-should-acquit
αὐτοί; μηδαμῶς· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς λάθῃ, τοῦτον ἀφίετε
yourselves by-no-means who for — you escapes this-one leave
τοῖς θεοῖς κολάζειν· ὃν δ' ἂν αὐτοὶ λάβητε, μηκέτ'
to-the gods to-punish whom but — yourselves you-catch no-longer
ἐκείνοις περὶ τούτου προστάττετε.
them about this-one enjoin
εἰς τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἀναιδείας καὶ τόλμης αὐτὸν ἥξειν 72
to then this of-shamelessness and daring him to-be-going-to-come
ἀκούω, ὥστε πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐκστάντα, ὧν
I-hear that all the things-done having-left-aside which
ἀπήγγειλεν, ὧν ὑπέσχετο, ὧν πεφενάκικε τὴν πόλιν,
he-reported which he-promised by-which he-has-cheated the city
ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ κρινόμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν
as-if before others some being-tried and not before you
τοῖς ἅπαντ' εἰδόσι, πρῶτον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶτα
the-ones all-things knowing first indeed Lacedaemonians then
Φωκέων, εἶθ' Ἡγησίππου κατηγορήσειν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα
Phocians then Hegesippus to-be-going-to-accuse is but these-things
γέλως, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναισχυντία δεινή.
laughter rather and shamelessness terrible

73 ὅσα γὰρ νῦν ἐρεῖ περὶ τῶν Φωκέων ἢ τῶν
whatever for now he-will-say about the Phocians or the
Λακεδαιμονίων ἢ τοῦ Ἡγησίππου, ὡς Πρόξενον οὐχ
Lacedaemonians or — Hegesippus that Proxenus not
ὑπεδέξαντο, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς εἰσίν, ὡς — ὅ τι ἂν δήποτ᾽
they-received that impious they-are that that which — ever
αὐτῶν κατηγορῇ, πάντα δήπου ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς
them he-accuses all surely these-things before the the
πρέσβεις τούτους δεῦρ᾽ ἥκειν ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ οὐκ ἦν
envoys these here to-come had-been-done and not was
ἐμποδὼν τῷ τοὺς Φωκέας σῴζεσθαι, ὡς τίς φησιν;
in-the-way of-the the Phocians to-be-saved as who says
74 Αἰσχίνης αὐτὸς οὑτοσί. οὐ γὰρ ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ
Aeschines himself this-here not for that if not because-of
Λακεδαιμονίους, οὐδ᾽ ὡς εἰ μὴ Πρόξενον οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο,
Lacedaemonians nor that if not Proxenus not they-received
οὐδ᾽ ὡς εἰ μὴ δι᾽ Ἡγήσιππον, οὐδ᾽ ὡς εἰ μὴ διὰ
nor that if not because-of Hegesippus nor that if not because-of
τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐσώθησαν ἂν οἱ Φωκεῖς, οὐχ οὕτω τότ᾽
this and that would-have-been-saved — the Phocians not so then
ἀπήγγειλεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦθ᾽ ὑπερβὰς διαρρήδην
he-reported but all these-things having-passed-over expressly
ἥκειν πεπεικὼς ἔφη Φίλιππον Φωκέας σῴζειν, τὴν
to-have-come having-persuaded he-said Philip Phocians to-save —
Βοιωτίαν οἰκίζειν, ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματ᾽ οἰκεῖα ποιεῖν· ταῦτα
Boeotia to-resettle for-you the affairs favorable to-make these-things
πεπράξεσθαι δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν· διὰ ταῦτα
to-be-going-to-be-done in-two or three days because-of these-things
χρήμαθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπικεκηρυχέναι.
money on-himself the Thebans to-have-set-a-price

μὴ τοίνυν ἃ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦτον ἀπαγγεῖλαι ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτ' 75
not then what before the this-man to-report these-things had-been-done
ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ Φωκεῦσιν ἀκούετε μηδ' ἀνέχεσθε,
either by-Lacedaemonians or by-Phocians listen-to nor tolerate
μηδὲ κατηγορεῖν ἐᾶτε Φωκέων ὡς πονηροί. οὐδὲ γὰρ
nor to-accuse allow Phocians as wicked not-even for
Λακεδαιμονίους διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ποτ' ἐσώσατε, οὐδὲ
Lacedaemonians because-of the virtue of-them ever you-saved nor
τοὺς καταράτους Εὐβοέας τουτουσί, οὐδ' ἄλλους πολλούς,
the accursed Euboeans these-here nor others many
ἀλλ' ὅτι συμφέρον ἦν σῶς εἶναι τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ
but because advantageous it-was safe to-be for-the city just-as
Φωκέας νυνί. καὶ τί τῶν Φωκέων ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
Phocians now and what of-the Phocians or of-the Lacedaemonians
ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοὺς παρὰ τούτου
or of-you or other any of-men after the from this-man
λόγους ἐξαμαρτόντος οὐκ ἀπέβη τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ
words having-erred not turned-out the-things to you by
τούτου τότε ῥηθέντα; τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾶτε· οὐ γὰρ ἕξει δεῖξαι.
this-man then said this ask not for he-will-be-able to-show
πέντε γὰρ ἡμέραι γεγόνασι μόναι, ἐν αἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε 76
five for days have-passed only in which this-man reported
τὰ ψευδῆ, ὑμεῖς ἐπιστεύσατε, οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπύθοντο, ἐνέδωκαν
the lies you believed the Phocians learned surrendered
ἑαυτούς, ἀπώλοντο. ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ δῆλόν ἐστι σαφῶς, ὅτι
themselves perished whence I-think also clear it-is plainly that
πᾶσ' ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας
all deceit and craft was-contrived for-the about Phocians
ὀλέθρου. ὃν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐλθεῖν
destruction which indeed for time not able — was to-come
ὁ Φίλιππος διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ,
— Philip because-of the peace but was in preparation

τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετεπέμπετο, πάντα τὰ πράγμαθ'
the Lacedaemonians he-summoned all the affairs
ὑποσχόμενος πράξειν ἐκείνοις, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὑμῶν
having-promised to-be-going-to-manage for-them so-that not through you
αὐτοὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ὑποποιήσωνται.
them the Phocians might-win-over
77 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦκεν εἰς Πύλας, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αἰσθόμενοι
when but he-came to Pylae the Lacedaemonians and having-perceived
τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπεχώρησαν, τοῦτον αὖ προκαθῆκεν
the ambush withdrew this-man in-turn he-sent-ahead
ἐξαπατᾶν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν, ὑμῶν αἰσθομένων ὅτι
to-deceive you so-that not again you perceiving that
Θηβαίοις τὰ πράγματα πράττει, εἰς χρόνους καὶ πόλεμον
for-Thebans the affairs he-manages into delays and war
καὶ τριβὴν ἐμπέσῃ, τῶν μὲν Φωκέων ἀμυνομένων, ὑμῶν
and waste he-should-fall the indeed Phocians defending-themselves you
δὲ βοηθούντων, ἀλλ' ἀκονιτεὶ πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσηται·
and helping but without-dust all under himself he-might-bring
ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. μὴ οὖν ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ
which-very also has-happened not then because also Lacedaemonians and
Φωκέας ἐξηπάτησε Φίλιππος, διὰ ταῦθ' ὧν ὑμᾶς
Phocians deceived Philip because-of these-things for-what you
οὗτος ἐξηπάτησε μὴ δότω δίκην· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον.
this-man deceived not let-him-pay penalty not for just
78 ἂν τοίνυν ἀντὶ Φωκέων καὶ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
if then instead-of Phocians and Pylae and the other the
ἀπολωλότων Χερρόνησος ὡς περίεστι τῇ πόλει λέγῃ,
lost Chersonese that is-left for-the city he-says
πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μὴ ἀποδέξησθ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί,
by Zeus and gods not accept O men jurors
μηδ' ὑπομείνητε, πρὸς οἷς ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ἠδίκησθε,
nor endure besides what from the embassy you-have-been-wronged

καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὄνειδος προσκατασκευασθῆναι
also from the defense a-reproach to-be-fastened-besides
τῇ πόλει, ὡς ἄρ᾽ ὑμεῖς τῶν ἰδίων τι κτημάτων
on-the city that after-all you of-the own something possessions
ὑπεξαιρούμενοι τὴν τῶν συμμάχων σωτηρίαν προήκασθε.
saving-out the of-the allies safety sacrificed
οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας
not for you-did this but already the peace having-been-made
καὶ τῆς Χερρονήσου σῴας οὔσης τέτταρας μῆνας ὅλους
and — Chersonese safe being four months whole
ἐσῴζονθ᾽ οἱ Φωκεῖς τοὺς ὕστερον, ἡ δὲ τούτου ψευδολογία
were-safe the Phocians the later the but of-this-man lying
μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὕστερον αὐτοὺς ἀπώλεσεν, ἐξαπατήσασ᾽ ὑμᾶς.
after these-things later them destroyed having-deceived you
εἶτα καὶ νῦν ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ τὴν Χερρόνησον οὖσαν 79
then also now in greater danger — Chersonese being
εὑρήσετ᾽ ἢ τότε. πότερον γὰρ εὐπορώτερον ἂν δίκην
you-will-find than then whether for more-easily — penalty
ἔδωκε Φίλιππος ἐξαμαρτὼν εἰς αὐτὴν πρὶν τούτων
would-have-paid Philip having-offended against it before of-these-things
τι τῆς πόλεως προλαβεῖν, ἢ νυνί; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι,
anything from-the city to-have-seized or now I indeed think
τότε πολλῷ. τίς οὖν ἡ ταύτης περιουσία, τῶν φόβων
then by-much what then the of-this advantage the fears
ἀφῃρημένων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν τοῦ βουληθέντος
removed and the dangers the of-the-one having-wished
ἂν αὐτὴν ἀδικῆσαι;
— it to-wrong
ἔτι τοίνυν τοιοῦτό τι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀκούω λέγειν, 80
further then such something to-intend him I-hear to-say
ὅτι θαυμάζει τί δήποτε Δημοσθένης αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ,
that he-wonders why ever Demosthenes him accuses

Φωκέων δ᾽ οὐδείς. ὡς δὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἔχει, βέλτιον προακοῦσαι
of-Phocians but none how indeed this is better to-hear-beforehand
παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ. Φωκέων τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων οἱ μὲν
from me of-Phocians the-ones exiled the-ones indeed
οἶμαι βέλτιστοι καὶ μετριώτατοι φυγάδες γεγενημένοι καὶ
I-think best and most-moderate exiles having-become and
τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν
such-things having-suffered quiet keep and no-one — of-them
ἐθελήσειεν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν συμφορῶν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν
would-wish for-the-sake-of the common misfortunes private enmity
ἀνελέσθαι· οἱ δ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἀργυρίου ποιήσαντες
to-take-up the-others and anything-whatever — for-silver having-done
τὸν δώσοντ᾽ οὐκ ἔχουσιν αὑτοῖς.
the-one going-to-give not have themselves

81 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽ ἂν ἔδωκ᾽ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ὥστε μοι
not for I-at-least — would-have-given to-anyone anything so-that for-me
παραστάντας ἐνταυθὶ βοᾶν οἷα πεπόνθασιν· ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια
standing-beside here to-shout what they-have-suffered the for truth
καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν᾽ αὐτὰ βοᾷ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅ γε δῆμος
and the things-done themselves shouts but truly the at-least people
ὁ τῶν Φωκέων οὕτω κακῶς καὶ ἐλεινῶς διάκειται ὥστε
the of-the Phocians so badly and pitiably is-placed that
μὴ περὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἑκάστῳ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν εὐθύνας
not about the to-accuse for-each the at-Athens audits
εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ δουλεύειν καὶ τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ
to-be the question but to-be-slaves and to-be-dead with-the fear
Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, οὓς ἀναγκάζονται
Thebans and the of-Philip mercenaries whom they-are-forced
τρέφειν, διῳκισμένοι κατὰ κώμας καὶ παῤῥημένοι τὰ ὅπλα.
to-feed scattered by villages and stripped-of the arms

μὴ δὴ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐᾶτε, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἀπολώλασι 82
not indeed these-things to-say him allow but that not have-perished
Φωκεῖς δεικνύναι, ἢ ὡς οὐχ ὑπέσχετο σώσειν αὐτοὺς
Phocians to-show or that not be-promised to-be-going-to-save them
Φίλιππον. τοῦτο γάρ εἰσι πρεσβείας εὔθυναι, τί πέπρακται;
Philip this for are of-an-embassy audits what has-been-done
τί ἀπήγγειλας; εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ, σῴζου· εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ, δίκην
what did-you-report if indeed true be-saved if but false penalty
δός. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάρεισι Φωκεῖς, τί τοῦτο; οὕτω γὰρ
pay if but not are-present Phocians what this so for
διέθηκας αὐτούς, οἶμαι, τὸ μέρος σύ, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς
you-disposed them I-think for-the share you that neither the
φίλοις βοηθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι δύνασθαι.
friends to-help nor the enemies to-repel to-be-able
καὶ μὴν ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης αἰσχύνης καὶ ἀδοξίας, ἣν 83
and truly that apart-from the other shame and disrepute which
τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἔχει, καὶ μεγάλοι κίνδυνοι περιεστᾶσιν ἐκ
the things-done hold also great dangers surround from
τούτων τὴν πόλιν, ῥᾴδιον δεῖξαι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὑμῶν
these-things the city easy to-show who for not knows of-you
ὅτι τῷ Φωκέων πολέμῳ καὶ τῷ κυρίους εἶναι Πυλῶν
that by-the of-Phocians war and by-the masters to-be of-Pylae
Φωκέας ἥ τ' ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἄδει' ὑπῆρχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ
Phocians the both from Thebans security was-available for-us and the
μηδέποτ' ἐλθεῖν ἂν εἰς Πελοπόννησον μηδ' εἰς Εὔβοιαν
never to-come — into Peloponnese nor into Euboea
μηδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Φίλιππον;
nor into — Attica Philip
ταύτην μέντοι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων 84
this however the from the place and the affairs
αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει ταῖς τούτων
themselves security belonging to-the city by-the of-these-men

ἀπάταις καὶ ψευδολογίαις πεισθέντες προήκασθ' ὑμεῖς, καὶ
deceits and lies persuaded sacrificed you and
τετειχισμένην ὅπλοις καὶ πολέμῳ συνεχεῖ καὶ πόλεσιν
walled with-arms and war continuous and cities
μεγάλαις συμμάχων ἀνδρῶν καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ περιείδετ'
great of-allied men and land much you-allowed
ἀνασταθεῖσαν. καὶ ματαία μὲν ἡ πρότερον βοήθει' εἰς Πύλας
destroyed and vain indeed the earlier expedition to Pylae
ὑμῖν γέγονεν, ἣν μετὰ πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων ταλάντων
for-you has-been which with more than two-hundred talents
ἐποιήσασθε, ἂν λογίσησθε τὰς ἰδίας δαπάνας τὰς τῶν
you-made if you-reckon the private expenses the of-the
στρατευσαμένων, μάταιαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐλπίδες.
having-served vain and also the against Thebans hopes
85 ὃ δέ, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ δεινῶν ὧν οὗτος ὑπηρέτηκε
what but many being and terrible in-which this-man has-served
Φιλίππῳ, πλείστην ὕβριν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔχει κατὰ τῆς
Philip most outrage as truly holds against the
πόλεως καὶ ἁπάντων ὑμῶν, τοῦτ' ἀκούσατέ μου, ὅτι τοῖς
city and all of-you this hear from-me that for-the
Θηβαίοις ἐγνωκότος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου πάνθ' ἃ
Thebans having-decided from the-beginning — Philip all-things which
πεποίηκε ποιεῖν, οὗτος ἀπαγγείλας τἀναντία καὶ φανεροὺς
he-has-done to-do this-man having-reported the-opposite and manifest
ἐπιδείξας ὑμᾶς οὐχὶ βουλομένους, ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν
having-shown you not wishing for-you indeed the enmity the
πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν.
toward Thebans greater for-Philip but the gratitude has-made
πῶς ἂν οὖν ὑβριστικώτερον ἄνθρωπος ὑμῖν ἐχρήσατο;
how — then more-insolently a-man you would-have-treated

λέγε δὴ τὸ ψήφισμα λαβὼν τὸ τοῦ Διοφάντου καὶ 86
read indeed the decree having-taken the — of-Diophantus and
τὸ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, ἵν' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι, ὅτε μὲν τὰ
the — of-Callisthenes so-that you-may-know that when indeed the
δέοντ' ἐποιεῖτε, θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπαίνων ἠξιοῦσθε
needful-things you-did of-sacrifices and praises you-were-deemed-worthy
παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὸ
among you yourselves and among the others when but by
τούτων παρεκρούσθητε, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν
these-men you-were-misled children and women from the
ἀγρῶν κατεκομίζεσθε καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλει' ἐντὸς τείχους
fields you-brought-in and the Heracleia within wall
θύειν ἐψηφίζεσθε, εἰρήνης οὔσης. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω, εἰ
to-sacrifice you-voted peace being which also I-wonder if
τὸν μηδὲ τοὺς θεούς, καθ' ὃ πάτριον ἦν, τιμᾶσθαι
the-one not-even the gods according-to what ancestral was to-be-honored
ποιήσαντα, τοῦτον ἀτιμώρητον ἀφήσετε. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.
having-caused this-one unpunished you-will-let-go read the decree
ταῦτα μὲν τότ' ἄξι', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πεπραγμένων
these-things indeed then worthy O men Athenians of-the things-done
ἐψηφίσασθε. λέγε δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα.
you-voted read indeed the-things after these-things
ταῦτα τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθ' ὑμεῖς διὰ τούτους, οὐκ ἐπὶ ταύταις 87
these-things then voted you because-of these-men not on these
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὔτε κατ' ἀρχὰς ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
the hopes neither at first having-made the peace and
τὴν συμμαχίαν, οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐγγράψαι πεισθέντες εἰς αὐτὴν
the alliance nor later to-write-in persuaded into it
'καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις,' ἀλλ' ὡς θαυμάσι' ἡλίκα πεισόμενοι
also for-the descendants but as marvelously how-great going-to-experience
διὰ τούτους ἀγαθά. καὶ μὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁσάκις
because-of these-men goods and truly also after these-things how-often

πρὸς Πορθμῷ ἢ πρὸς Μεγάροις ἀκούοντες δύναμιν Φιλίππου
at Porthmus or at Megara hearing-of force of-Philip
καὶ ξένους ἐθορυβεῖσθε, πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὐ τοίνυν
and mercenaries you-were-alarmed all you-know not then
εἰ μήπω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβαίνει, δεῖ σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ
whether not-yet — Attica he-sets-foot-on one-must to-consider nor
ῥᾳθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ τούτους ἐξουσία γέγονεν αὐτῷ
to-be-easy but whether because-of these-men power has-come for-him
τοῦθ' ὅταν βούληται ποιῆσαι, τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο
this whenever he-wishes to-do this to-see and to that
τὸ δεινὸν βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον καὶ παρασκευάσαντα
the danger to-look and the-one responsible and having-prepared
τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι.
the power this for-him to-hate and to-punish

VI · WHAT THE PEACE WAS WORTH

Aeschines will try to lead the jurors away from the charges and claim that the peace kept three hundred triremes, their gear, and the city's money. No one blames Aeschines for the war, whose faults are the generals', or for the decision to make peace; the charge is that he backed Philocrates' kind of peace and did nothing he was ordered on the embassy for the oaths. Demosthenes fears that Athens, like a man borrowing at high interest, has paid for its peace with its security, since the envoys betrayed the Phocians and Pylae. If Aeschines erred from simplicity, they may forgive him; if he took bribes, they must put him to death or make him an example.

88 οἶδα τοίνυν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηγορημένων
I-know then that the indeed about the accusations
αὐτῶν λόγους Αἰσχίνης φεύξεται, βουλόμενος δ' ὑμᾶς
themselves speeches Aeschines will-avoid wishing but you
ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπάγειν διέξεισιν
as far-as-possible from-the things-done to-lead-away he-will-go-through

ἡλίκα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγάθ᾽ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γίγνεται
how-great for-all men goods from the peace come
καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κακά, καὶ ὅλως ἐγκώμι᾽
and conversely from the war evils and in-short praises
εἰρήνης ἐρεῖ, καὶ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀπολογήσεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
of-peace he-will-speak and such-things will-plead are but also
ταῦτα κατηγορήματα τούτου. εἰ γὰρ ἡ τοῖς ἄλλοις
these-things charges against-him if for the-thing for-the others
ἀγαθῶν αἰτία τοσούτων πραγμάτων καὶ ταραχῆς ἡμῖν
of-goods cause of-so-many troubles and confusion for-us
αἰτία γέγονε, τί τις εἶναι τοῦτο φῇ πλὴν ὅτι δῶρα
cause has-become what one to-be this could-say except that bribes
λαβόντες οὗτοι καλὸν πρᾶγμα φύσει κακῶς διέθηκαν;
having-taken these-men a-fine thing by-nature badly have-handled
‘τί δ’; οὐ τριήρεις τριακόσιαι καὶ σκεύη ταύταις καὶ χρήμαθ᾽ 89
what but not triremes three-hundred and tackle for-these and money
ὑμῖν περίεστι καὶ περιέσται διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην;’ ἴσως
for-you remain and will-remain because-of the peace perhaps
ἂν εἴποι. πρὸς δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν
— he-might-say to indeed these-things that you to-reply
δεῖ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματ᾽ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης
one-must that also the of-Philip affairs from the peace
γέγονεν εὐπορώτερα πολλῷ, καὶ κατασκευαῖς ὅπλων καὶ
have-become more-prosperous by-much both in-supplies of-arms and
χώρας καὶ προσόδων αἷ γεγόνασιν ἐκείνῳ μεγάλαι.
of-land and of-revenues which have-become for-him great
γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τινές. ἡ δέ γε τῶν πραγμάτων 90
have-come and also to-us some the but at-least of-the affairs
κατασκευὴ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, δι᾽ ἣν ἢ αὑτοῖς
arrangement and of-the allies because-of which either for-themselves
ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι τἀγαθὰ πάντες κέκτηνται, ἡ μὲν
or for-the stronger the-goods all have-acquired the indeed

ἡμετέρα πραθεῖσ᾽ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπόλωλε καὶ γέγονεν
ours having-been-sold by these-men has-perished and has-become
ἀσθενής, ἡ δ᾽ ἐκείνου φοβερὰ καὶ μείζων πολλῷ. οὐ δὴ
weak the but his formidable and greater by-much not indeed
δίκαιον ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἀμφότερ᾽ ηὐξῆσθαι διὰ τούτους
just for-him indeed both to-have-increased because-of these-men
καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τὰ τῶν προσόδων, ἃ δ᾽
both the of-the allies and the of-the revenues what but
ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης, ταῦτ᾽
for-us even so — would-have-been from the peace these-things
ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἀπέδοντ᾽ αὐτοὶ λογίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ᾽
in-return-for what they-sold themselves to-reckon not for these-things
ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων γέγονεν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
in-return-for those have-come nor much is-lacking but these-things
μὲν ἦν ἂν ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ τούτοις ἂν
indeed would-have-been — alike for-us those but to-these —
προσῆν εἰ μὴ διὰ τούτους.
would-have-been-added if not because-of these-men

91 ὅλως δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δίκαιον δήπου φήσαιτ᾽ ἂν
in-short and O men Athenians just surely you-would-say —
εἶναι, μήτ᾽ εἰ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότ᾽ ἐστὶ τῇ
to-be neither if many and terrible the happenings are for-the
πόλει, μηδενὸς δ᾽ Αἰσχίνης αἴτιος τούτων, εἰς τοῦτον
city of-none but Aeschines cause of-these-things onto this-man
ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὀργήν, μήτ᾽ εἴ τι τῶν δεόντων πέπρακται
to-come the anger nor if anything of-the needful-things has-been-done
δι᾽ ἄλλον τινά, τοῦτο σῶσαι τουτονί· ἀλλ᾽ ὅσων
through other someone this to-save this-here but of-how-many
οὗτος αἴτιος σκεψάμενοι καὶ χάριν, ἂν ταύτης ἄξιος ᾖ,
this-man cause having-considered and gratitude if for-this worthy he-be
καὶ τοὐναντίον ὀργήν, ἂν τοιαῦτα φαίνηται, ποιεῖσθε.
and conversely anger if such-things he-appears make

πῶς οὖν εὑρήσετε ταῦτα δικαίως; ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' ἅμ' 92
how then will-you-find these-things justly if not all-things together
ἐᾶτε ταράττειν αὐτόν, τὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀδικήματα,
you-allow to-confuse him the of-the generals wrongs
τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον, τἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης
the war the against Philip the-things-from the peace
ἀγαθά, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐφ' αὑτοῦ σκοπῆτε. οἷον, ἦν
goods but each by itself you-consider for-example there-was
ἡμῖν πόλεμος πρὸς Φίλιππον; ἦν. ἐνταῦθ' ἐγκαλεῖ τις
for-us war against Philip there-was in-this charges anyone
Αἰσχίνῃ; βούλεταί τις τούτου κατηγορεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ
Aeschines wishes anyone him to-accuse about the-things in the
πολέμῳ πραχθέντων; οὐδὲ εἷς. οὐκοῦν περὶ τούτων γ'
war done not-even one therefore about these-things at-least
ἀφεῖται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν δεῖ λέγειν· περὶ γὰρ τῶν
he-is-acquitted and nothing him is-needful to-say about for the-things
ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ
disputed both the witnesses to-produce and the
τεκμήρια δεῖ λέγειν τὸν φεύγοντα, οὐ τὰ ὁμολογούμεν'
proofs it-is-needful to-state the defendant not the things-agreed
ἀπολογούμενον ἐξαπατᾶν. ὅπως τοίνυν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
defending to-deceive see-that then about the war
μηδὲν ἐρεῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται περὶ αὐτοῦ σε.
nothing you-will-say no-one for nothing charges about it you
μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰρήνην τινὲς ἡμᾶς ἔπειθον ποιήσασθαι· 93
after these-things peace some us persuaded to-make
ἐπείσθημεν· πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν· ἤγαγον οὗτοι δεῦρο
we-were-persuaded envoys we-sent brought these-men here
τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν εἰρήνην. πάλιν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τούτου
the-ones going-to-make the peace again here about this
μέμφεταί τις Αἰσχίνῃ; φησί τις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῦτον
blames anyone Aeschines says anyone to-have-proposed this-man

εἰρήνην, ἢ ἀδικεῖν ὅτι δεῦρ' ἤγαγε τοὺς ποιησομένους;
peace or to-do-wrong because here he-brought the-ones going-to-make
οὐδὲ εἷς. οὔκουν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν
not-even one not-therefore not-even about itself the to-make the
πόλιν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ λεκτέον· οὐ γὰρ οὗτος αἴτιος.
city peace nothing for-him must-be-said not for this-man cause
94 'τί οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, λέγεις,' εἴ τις ἔροιτό με, 'καὶ
what then man do-you-say if anyone should-ask me and
πόθεν ἄρχει κατηγορεῖν;' ὅθεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
from-where do-you-begin to-accuse from-where O men Athenians
βουλευομένων ὑμῶν, οὐ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ποιητέον εἰρήνην ἢ
deliberating you not about the whether must-be-made peace or
μή (ἐδέδοκτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποίαν
not had-been-decided for already this at-least but about the what-kind
τινά, τοῖς τὰ δίκαια λέγουσιν ἀντειπὼν τῷ
some to-the-ones the just-things saying having-spoken-against with-the-one
μισθοῦ γράφοντι συνεῖπε δῶρα λαβών, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
for-pay proposing he-supported bribes having-taken and after these-things
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αἱρεθείς, ὧν μὲν ὑμεῖς προσετάξατε,
for the oaths chosen of-what indeed you ordered
οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐποίησε, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου
not-even anything-whatever he-did the-ones but in the war
διασωθέντας ἀπώλεσε τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ τηλικαῦτα
having-come-through-safe he-destroyed of-the allies and so-great
καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐψεύσαθ' ἡλίκ' οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων
and such-things lied as-great-as no ever other of-men
οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι
neither before nor after the indeed for from beginning until
τοῦ λόγου τυχεῖν Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, Κτησιφῶν καὶ
the hearing to-obtain Philip about the peace Ctesiphon and
Ἀριστόδημος τὴν πρώτην ἔφερον τοῦ φενακισμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ
Aristodemus the first carried of-the cheating when

δ᾽ εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἤδη τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἦκεν, Φιλοκράτει καὶ
but to the to-act already the affairs came to-Philocrates and
τούτῳ παρέδωκαν, δεξάμενοι δ᾽ οὗτοι πάντ᾽ ἀπώλεσαν.
to-this-man they-handed-over having-received and these-men all ruined
εἶτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ δεῖ λόγον καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν τῶν 95
then since it-is-needful account and trial to-submit-to for-the
πεπραγμένων, ὤν, οἶμαι, πανοῦργος οὗτος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς
things-done being I-think a-knave this-man and to-gods hateful
καὶ γραμματεύς, ὡς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης κρινόμενος ἀπολογήσεται,
and a-clerk as about peace being-tried he-will-defend-himself
οὐχ ἵνα πλειόνων ἢ κατηγορεῖ τις αὐτοῦ δῷ
not so-that for-more than accuses anyone him he-may-give
λόγον· μανία γὰρ τοῦτό γε· ἀλλ᾽ ὁρᾷ τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι ἐν μὲν
account madness for this at-least but he-sees this that in indeed
τοῖς ὑφ᾽ αὑτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν,
the-things by himself done good indeed nothing is
ἅπαντα δὲ τἀδικήματα, ἡ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολογία,
all but the-wrongs the but about the peace defense
καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοὔνομα γοῦν ἔχει φιλάνθρωπον.
even if nothing else the-name at-any-rate has kindly
ἣν δέδοικα μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δέδοικα, μὴ 96
which I-fear indeed O men Athenians I-fear lest
λελήθαμεν ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ἐπὶ πολλῷ
we-have-escaped-notice like the-ones borrowing at much
ἄγοντες· τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ βέβαιον οὗτοι
keeping the for security of-it and the stability these-men
προὔδοσαν, Φωκέας καὶ Πύλας· οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτόν γ᾽
betrayed Phocians and Pylae not however through this-man at-least
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποιησάμεθα, ἀλλ᾽ ἄτοπον μέν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω
from the-start we-made-it but strange indeed is what I-am-about
λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δὲ πάνυ· εἰ γάρ τις ὡς ἀληθῶς χαίρει
to-say true but very if for anyone as truly rejoices-in

τῇ εἰρήνῃ, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ὧν κατηγοροῦσιν ἅπαντες,
the peace to-the generals whom accuse all
χάριν αὐτῆς ἐχέτω· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐβούλεσθ'
thanks for-it let-him-have if for those as you wished
ἐπολέμουν, οὐδ' ὄνομ' εἰρήνης ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠνέσχεσθε.
had-fought not-even name of-peace — you would-have-endured
97 εἰρήνη μὲν οὖν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπικίνδυνος δὲ καὶ σφαλερὰ
peace indeed then through those dangerous but and precarious
καὶ ἄπιστος διὰ τούτους γέγονεν δωροδοκήσαντας.
and untrustworthy because-of these-men has-become having-taken-bribes
εἴργετ' οὖν, εἴργετ' αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγων, εἰς
keep then keep him from-the about the peace speeches into
δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμβιβάζετε. οὐ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης
but the-ones about the things-done put not for Aeschines
ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης κρίνεται, οὔ, ἀλλ' ἡ εἰρήνη δι' Αἰσχίνην
about the peace is-tried no but the peace through Aeschines
διαβέβληται. σημεῖον δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη ἐγεγόνει,
has-been-discredited proof and if for the indeed peace had-been-made
μηδὲν δ' ὕστερον ἐξηπάτησθ' ὑμεῖς μηδ' ἀπωλώλει τῶν
nothing but later had-been-deceived you nor had-perished of-the
συμμάχων μηδείς, τίν' ἀνθρώπων ἐλύπησεν ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη,
allies none whom of-men would-have-grieved — the peace
ἔξω τοῦ ἄδοξος γεγενῆσθαι; καίτοι καὶ τούτου συναίτιος
besides the inglorious to-have-been and-yet also of-this joint-cause
οὗτος συνειπὼν Φιλοκράτει. ἀλλ' ἀνήκεστόν γ' οὐδὲν ἂν
this-man having-supported Philocrates but irreparable at-least nothing —
ἦν γεγονός. νῦν δ', οἶμαι, πόλλ', ὧν αἴτιος οὗτος.
would-have-been having-happened now but I-think much of-which cause this-man
98 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπὸ
that indeed then shamefully and badly all these-things by
τούτων ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθαρται, οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς
these-men have-perished and been-ruined I-think all you

εἰδέναι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχω τοῦ
to-know I but O men jurors so-far am-from the
συκοφαντίαν τινὰ τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις προσάγειν ἢ
false-charge any to-the affairs these to-bring or
ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν, ὥστ' εἰ ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἀβελτερίας ἢ δι'
you to-ask that if these-things through stupidity or through
εὐήθειαν ἢ δι' ἄλλην ἄγνοιαν ἡντινοῦν οὕτω πέπρακται,
simplicity or through other ignorance whatever so have-been-done
αὐτός τ' ἀφίημ' Αἰσχίνην καὶ ὑμῖν συμβουλεύω.
myself both I-acquit Aeschines and to-you I-advise
καίτοι τῶν σκήψεων τούτων οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ πολιτικὴ οὐδὲ 99
and-yet of-the excuses these none is fit-for-a-citizen nor
δικαία. οὐδένα γὰρ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ὑμεῖς κελεύετε
just no-one for the public-affairs to-manage you order
οὐδ' ἀναγκάζετε· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις ἑαυτὸν πείσας
nor compel but whenever anyone himself having-persuaded
δύνασθαι προσέλθῃ, πρᾶγμα ποιοῦντες ἀνθρώπων χρηστῶν
to-be-able comes-forward a-thing doing of-men good
καὶ φιλανθρώπων, εὐνοϊκῶς δέχεσθε καὶ οὐ φθονερῶς,
and kindly benevolently you-receive and not enviously
ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονεῖτε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίζετε.
but also you-elect and the yours own you-entrust
ἐὰν μὲν οὖν κατορθοῖ τις, τιμήσεται καὶ πλέον ἕξει 100
if indeed then succeeds anyone he-will-be-honored and more will-have
τῶν πολλῶν κατὰ τοῦτο· ἂν δ' ἀποτυγχάνῃ, σκήψεις
than-the many in this if but he-fails excuses
καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεῖ; ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν
and pretexts will-he-speak but not just not for —
ἐξαρκέσειε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσι συμμάχοις οὐδὲ τοῖς παισὶν
it-would-suffice for-the lost allies nor for-the children
αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ τὴν
of-them nor the wives nor the others because-of the

ἀβελτερίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τούτου λέγω, τοιαῦτα
stupidity the my so-that not the of-this-man I-say such-things
πεπονθέναι· πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ.
to-have-suffered much at-least indeed is-lacking
101 ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑμεῖς ἄφετ' Αἰσχίνῃ τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα καὶ
but nevertheless you forgive Aeschines the terrible these and
ὑπερβάλλοντα, ἂν δι' εὐήθειαν ἢ δι' ἄλλην ἄγνοιαν
excessive if through simplicity or through other ignorance
ἡντινοῦν λελυμασμένος φανῇ. ἂν μέντοι διὰ πονηρίαν
whatever having-ruined be-appears if however through wickedness
ἀργύριον λαβὼν καὶ δῶρα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξελεγχθῇ σαφῶς
silver having-taken and bribes and this is-proved clearly
ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πεπραγμένων, μάλιστα μέν, εἰ οἷόν τ',
by themselves the things-done most indeed if possible —
ἀποκτείνατε, εἰ δὲ μή, ζῶντα τοῖς λοιποῖς παράδειγμα
kill if but not living for-the rest an-example
ποιήσατε. σκοπεῖτε δὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔλεγχον, ὡς
make consider indeed the about these-things proof how
δίκαιος ἔσται, μεθ' ὑμῶν.
just it-will-be with you

If Aeschines had been deceived by Philip he would now hate him; yet no one has heard him accuse Philip or say "I was deceived; beware the man," and this proves he was hired. He reported that Philip would wall Thespiae and Plataea, spare the Phocians, and humble Thebes; Philip did the opposite, and Aeschines said nothing. Recently he alone of all Athenians supported the envoys of Philip and the Thessalians who asked that Philip be made an Amphictyon, which not even Philocrates dared, and he mocked the people who shouted him down. Philocrates openly sold wheat, built a house, brought in timber, and changed gold at the banks. When Hyperides impeached Philocrates, Demosthenes objected that he alone was charged and the other nine envoys not, and invited any envoy who disowned Philocrates' acts to come forward and be cleared; no one did. Aeschines has no excuse, and he chooses to share Philocrates' danger rather than displease Philip.

ἀνάγκη δή που τοὺς λόγους τούτους Αἰσχίνην πρὸς 102
necessity indeed surely the words these Aeschines to
ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν τουτονί, τοὺς περὶ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν
you to-have-spoken this-here the about the Phocians and —
Θεσπιῶν καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας, εἴπερ μὴ πεπρακὼς αὑτὸν
Thespiae and — Euboea if-indeed not having-sold himself
ἑκὼν ἐξηπάτα, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ διαρρήδην ἀκούσανθ'
willingly he-deceived of-two the-one either expressly having-heard
ὑποσχομένου Φιλίππου ὅτι πράξει ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσει,
promising Philip that he-will-do these-things and he-will-accomplish
ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, γοητευθέντα καὶ φενακισθέντα τῇ περὶ
or if not this bewitched and cheated by-the in
τἄλλα φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλπίσαντα παρ' αὐτοῦ.
the-rest kindness and these-things having-hoped from him
οὐκ ἔνεστι τούτων οὐδὲ ἓν χωρίς.
not is-possible of-these not-even one apart

103 ἐκ τοίνυν τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων
from then these both most of-all men
μισεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκει Φίλιππον. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸ μὲν
to-hate for-him it-befits Philip because-of what because the indeed
ἐκείνου μέρος πάντ' αὐτῷ γέγονεν τὰ δεινότατα καὶ τὰ
that-man's part all to-him have-happened the most-terrible and the
αἴσχιστα. ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτηκεν, ἀδοξεῖ, κρίνεται· καὶ εἴ γέ
most-shameful you he-has-deceived he-is-disgraced is-on-trial and if at-least
τι τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγίγνετο, ἐν εἰσαγγελίᾳ πάλαι ἂν
anything of-the fitting-things were-happening in impeachment long-ago —
ἦν· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐήθειαν καὶ πραότητ'
he-would-be now but because-of the your good-nature and mildness
εὐθύνας δίδωσι, καὶ ταύτας ὁπηνίκα βούλεται. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις
audits he-gives and these whenever he-wishes is-there then anyone
ὑμῶν φωνὴν ἀκήκοεν Αἰσχίνου κατηγοροῦντος Φιλίππου;
of-you voice has-heard of-Aeschines accusing Philip
τί δ'; ἐξελέγχοντ' ἢ λέγοντά τι τοῦτον ἑόρακεν;
what and exposing or saying anything this-man has-seen
109 οὐδὲ εἷς· ἀλλὰ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον κατηγοροῦσι
not-even one but all Athenians sooner accuse
Φιλίππου, καὶ ὁ τυχὼν ἀεί, ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς
Philip and the chance-man always of-whom in-nothing no-one
ἠδίκηται, ἰδίᾳ δήπου. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους
has-been-wronged privately surely I but those the words
ἐζήτουν παρὰ τούτου, εἴπερ μὴ πεπρακὼς αὑτὸν
was-looking-for from this-man if-indeed not having-sold himself
ἦν, 'ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν χρήσασθ' ὅ τι
he-was men Athenians me indeed treat that which
βούλεσθε· ἐπίστευσ', ἐξηπατήθην, ἥμαρτον, ὁμολογῶ. τὸν
you-wish I-trusted I-was-deceived I-erred I-confess the
δ' ἄνθρωπον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φυλάττεσθε· ἄπιστος, γόης,
but man men Athenians beware faithless sorcerer

πονηρός. οὐχ ὁρᾶθ᾽ οἷα πεποίηκεν ἐμέ; οἵ᾽ ἐξηπάτηκεν;᾽
wicked not you-see what he-has-done me how he-has-deceived
τούτων οὐδέν᾽ ἀκούω τῶν λόγων, οὐδ᾽ ὑμεῖς.
of-these none I-hear the words nor you
διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ παρακρουσθεὶς οὐδ᾽ ἐξαπατηθείς, ἀλλὰ 110
because-of what because not misled nor deceived but
μισθώσας αὑτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον ταῦτ᾽ εἶπε καὶ
having-hired-out himself and having-taken silver these-things he-said and
προὔδωκεν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ γέγονεν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος
betrayed to-him and has-become fine and-good and just
μισθωτὸς ἐκείνῳ, πρεσβευτὴς μέντοι καὶ πολίτης ὑμῖν
a-hireling for-him an-envoy however and citizen for-you
προδότης καὶ τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος.
a-traitor and thrice not once to-perish deserving
οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων μόνον δῆλός ἐσθ᾽ ὅτι χρημάτων 111
not then from these-things only clear he-is that for-money
ἅπαντ᾽ εἶπεν ἐκεῖνα· ἀλλ᾽ ἦκον ὡς ὑμᾶς ἔναγχος Θετταλοὶ
all he-said those-things but came to you recently Thessalians
καὶ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀξιοῦντες ὑμᾶς
and of-Philip envoys with them asking you
Φίλιππον Ἀμφικτύον᾽ εἶναι ψηφίσασθαι. τῷ προσῆκεν
Philip an-Amphictyon to-be to-vote for-whom was-it-fitting
οὖν ἀντειπεῖν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων; Αἰσχίνῃ
then to-oppose these most of-all men for-Aeschines
τουτῳί. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς
this-here because-of what because to-what this-man reported to
ὑμᾶς, τούτοις τἀναντί᾽ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνος.
you to-these-things the-opposite did that-man
οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἔφη Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς αὐτὸν 112
this-man indeed for said Thespiae and Plataea him
τειχιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας οὐκ ἀπολεῖν, τὴν
to-be-going-to-wall and the indeed Phocians not to-destroy the

δὲ Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσειν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν
but of-Thebans insolence to-be-going-to-put-down he but the indeed
Θηβαίους μείζους ἢ προσῆκε πεποίηκε, τοὺς δὲ Φωκέας
Thebans greater than was-fitting has-made the and Phocians
ἄρδην ἀπολώλεκε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς
utterly has-destroyed and — indeed Thespiae and Plataea
οὐ τετείχικε, τὸν δ' Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν
not has-walled — but Orchomenus and — Coronea
προσεξηνδραπόδισται. πῶς ἂν ἐναντιώτερα πράγμαθ'
has-enslaved-besides how — more-opposite things
ἑαυτοῖς τούτων γένοιτο; οὐ τοίνυν ἀντεῖπεν, οὐδὲ διῆρε
to-each-other than-these could-be not then he-opposed nor opened
τὸ στόμα, οὐδ' ἐφθέγξατ' ἐναντίον οὐδέν.
the mouth nor uttered against nothing
113 καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό πω δεινόν, τηλικοῦτον ὄν. ἀλλὰ καὶ
and not this yet terrible so-great being but also
συνεῖπε μόνος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καίτοι
he-supported alone of-the in the city all men and-yet
τοῦτό γ' οὐδὲ Φιλοκράτης ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι ὁ μιαρός,
this at-least not-even Philocrates dared to-do the foul
ἀλλ' Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί. καὶ θορυβούντων ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ
but Aeschines this-here and clamoring you and not
ἐθελόντων ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ, καταβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος,
being-willing to-hear him stepping-down from the platform
ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου
showing-off to-the envoys the-ones from — Philip
παροῦσι, πολλοὺς ἔφη τοὺς θορυβοῦντας εἶναι, ὀλίγους
present many he-said the-ones clamoring to-be few
δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ὅταν δέῃ, (μέμνησθε γὰρ
but the-ones serving whenever it-is-needful you-remember for
δήπου,) αὐτὸς ὤν, οἶμαι, θαυμάσιος στρατιώτης, ὦ Ζεῦ.
surely himself being I-think a-wonderful soldier O Zeus

ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδένα μηδὲν ἔχοντ᾽ εἴχομεν δεῖξαι 114
further then if indeed none anything having we-could show
τῶν πρέσβεων, μηδ᾽ ἦν ὥστ᾽ ἰδεῖν ἅπαντας,
of-the envoys nor it-was-possible so-that to-see all
βασάνους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦθ᾽ ὑπόλοιπον ἂν ἦν σκοπεῖν.
tortures and the such-things left — would-be to-consider
εἰ δὲ Φιλοκράτης μὴ μόνον ὡμολόγει παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ
if but Philocrates not only admitted before you in the
δήμῳ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδείκνυεν ὑμῖν, πυροπωλῶν,
assembly often but also showed to-you selling-wheat
οἰκοδομῶν, βαδιεῖσθαι φάσκων κἂν μὴ χειροτονῆθ᾽ ὑμεῖς,
building to-be-going-to-go saying even-if not elect you
ξυληγῶν, τὸ χρυσίον καταλλαττόμενος φανερῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς
bringing-timber the gold exchanging openly at the
τραπέζαις, οὐκ ἔνι δήπου τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ
bankers'-tables not it-is-possible surely for-this-man to-say that not
εἴληφε, τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα καὶ δεικνύντα.
he-has-taken the-one himself admitting and showing
ἔστιν οὖν οὕτω τις ἀνθρώπων ἀνόητος ἢ κακοδαίμων, ὥσθ᾽ 115
is-there then so any of-men foolish or ill-starred that
ἵνα λαμβάνῃ μὲν Φιλοκράτης, ἀδοξῇ δ᾽ αὐτὸς καὶ
so-that may-take indeed Philocrates may-be-disgraced but himself and
κινδυνεύῃ, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων
be-in-danger it-being-possible for-him with the-ones nothing having-done-wrong
ἐξετάζεσθαι, τούτοις μὲν πολεμεῖν, πρὸς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐλθὼν
to-be-ranked with-these indeed to-war to but that-man having-gone
κρίνεσθαι βούλεται; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν᾽ οἶμαι. ἀλλὰ πάντα
to-be-tried he-wishes I indeed no-one think but all
ταῦτ᾽, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς σκοπῆτε, εὑρήσετε μεγάλ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες
these-things if rightly you-consider you-will-find great O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐναργῆ σημεῖα τοῦ χρήματα τοῦτον ἔχειν.
Athenians and plain signs of-the money this-man to-have

116 ὃ τοίνυν ὕστατον μὲν γέγονεν, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐστὶν
what then last indeed has-happened than-nothing but is
ἔλαττον σημεῖον τοῦ πεπρακέναι τοῦτον ἑαυτὸν Φιλίππῳ,
less a-sign of-the to-have-sold this-man himself to-Philip
θεάσασθε. ἴστε δήπου πρώην, ὅτ' εἰσήγγελλεν Ὑπερείδης
behold you-know surely lately when impeached Hyperides
Φιλοκράτην, ὅτι παρελθὼν ἐγὼ δυσχεραίνειν ἔφην ἕν
Philocrates that having-come-forward I to-be-displeased I-said one
τι τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, εἰ μόνος Φιλοκράτης τοσούτων
thing of-the impeachment that alone Philocrates of-so-many
καὶ τοιούτων ἀδικημάτων αἴτιος γέγονεν, οἱ δ' ἐννέα
and such wrongs cause has-been the but nine
τῶν πρέσβεων μηδενός. καὶ οὐκ ἔφην τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν·
of-the envoys of-none and not I-said this so to-be
οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν φανῆναι καθ' αὑτὸν ἐκεῖνον, εἰ μὴ
nowhere for — to-have-appeared by himself him if not
τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους τούτων τινὰς εἶχεν.
the-ones helping of-these some he-had

117 ἵν' οὖν μήτ' ἀφῶ μήτ' αἰτιάσωμαι μηδέν', ἔφην,
so-that then neither I-may-acquit nor I-may-accuse anyone said
ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτὸ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους εὕρῃ, τοὺς
I but the fact itself the indeed guilty may-find the
δὲ μὴ μετεσχηκότας ἀφῇ, ἀναστὰς ὁ βουλόμενος
and not having-taken-part may-acquit having-stood-up the-one wishing
καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀποφηνάσθω μὴ μετέχειν μηδ'
and having-come-forward before you let-him-declare not to-share nor
ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοκράτους πεπραγμένα. καὶ τὸν
to-please him the-things by Philocrates done and the-one
τοῦτο ποιήσαντ' ἀφίημ' ἔγωγ', ἔφην. ταῦτα μνημονεύεθ',
this having-done I-acquit I-at-least I-said these-things you-remember
ὡς ἐγῷμαι. οὐ τοίνυν παρῆλθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν.
as I-think not then came-forward anyone nor showed himself

καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔσθ' ἑκάστῳ τις πρόφασις· ὁ 118
and of-the indeed others is for-each some excuse the-one
μὲν οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ὁ δ' οὐχὶ παρῆν ἴσως,
indeed not accountable was the-other and not was-present perhaps
τῷ δὲ κηδεστής ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος· τούτῳ δ' οὐδὲν
to-another and relative-by-marriage is that-man to-this-man but none
τούτων. ἀλλ' οὕτω καθάπαξ πέπρακεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐκ
of-these but so once-for-all he-has-sold himself and not
ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσιν μεμισθάρνηκεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
for the past-things has-taken-pay only but also
μετὰ ταῦτα δῆλός ἐστιν, ἄν περ ἐκφύγῃ νῦν, καθ' ὑμῶν
after these-things clear he-is if indeed he-escapes now against you
ὑπάρξων ἐκείνῳ, ὥσθ' ἵνα μηδὲν ἐναντίον μηδὲ ῥῆμα
going-to-serve that-man so-that in-order-that no opposing not-even word
πρόηται Φιλίππῳ οὐδ' ἀφιέντων ἀφίεται, ἀλλ' ἀδοξεῖν,
he-may-let-slip to-Philip nor releasing he-is-released but to-be-disgraced
κρίνεσθαι, πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν αἱρεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν μᾶλλον
to-be-tried to-suffer anything-whatever he-chooses among you rather
ἢ Φιλίππῳ τι ποιῆσαι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονήν.
than for-Philip anything to-do not to pleasure
καίτοι τίς ἡ κοινωνία, τίς ἡ πολλὴ πρόνοι' ὑπὲρ 119
and-yet what the partnership what the great forethought for
Φιλοκράτους αὕτη; ὃς εἰ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πάντα τὰ
Philocrates this who if the finest and all the
συμφέροντ' ἐπεπρεσβεύκει, χρήματα δ' ὡμολόγει λαβεῖν
advantageous-things had-done-as-envoy money but admitted to-have-taken
ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ὥσπερ ὡμολόγει, τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ
from the embassy as he-did-admit this at-least itself
φυγεῖν καὶ διευλαβηθῆναι τῷ προῖκα πρεσβεύοντι
to-shun and to-be-on-guard-against for-the-one for-nothing being-envoy
προσῆκε, καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι τὸ καθ' αὑτόν. οὐ τοίνυν
it-was-fitting and to-protest the for himself not then

πεποίηκε τοῦτ' Αἰσχίνης. ταῦτ' οὐ φανέρ', ἄνδρες
has-done this Aeschines these-things not plain men
Ἀθηναῖοι; ταῦτ' οὐχὶ βοᾷ καὶ λέγει ὅτι χρήματ' εἴληφεν
Athenians these-things not shout and say that money has-taken
Αἰσχίνης καὶ πονηρός ἐστιν ἀργυρίου συνεχῶς, οὐ δι'
Aeschines and wicked is for-silver continuously not through
ἀβελτερίαν οὐδὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν, οὐδ' ἀποτυγχάνων;
stupidity nor through ignorance nor failing

VIII · THE THIRD EMBASSY

Aeschines will ask who testifies that he took bribes; the facts do, Demosthenes answers. When Athens elected the same envoys for a third embassy to Philip, Demosthenes declined on oath at once. The others left Aeschines behind so that the people would not hear the truth and save the Phocians, and he declined through his brother, who brought the doctor Execestus and swore before the council that he was ill. When the Phocians had perished and Dercylus reported it from Chalcis, Aeschines went to Philip though no one had elected him, against a law that punishes this with death. There, while Athens mourned the Phocians and sent no sacred envoys to the Pythian games, he joined the victory feast of Philip and the Thebans, sang the paean, and drank pledges. It would be shameful to condemn the peace and acquit its makers, and if condemning them would begin enmity with Philip, that is the gravest charge of all.

120 καὶ τίς μου καταμαρτυρεῖ, φήσει, δῶρα λαβεῖν; τὰ
and who against-me testifies he-will-say bribes to-have-taken the
πράγματ', Αἰσχίνη, ἅπερ πιστότατ' ἐστὶν ἁπάντων, καὶ
facts Aeschines which-very most-trustworthy are of-all and
οὐκ ἔνεστ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' αἰτιάσασθαι ὡς ἢ πεπεισμέν' ἢ
not it-is-possible to-say nor to-allege that either persuaded or
χαριζόμενά τῳ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' οἷάπερ αὐτὰ προδοὺς
favoring someone are such but such-as them having-betrayed

καὶ διαφθείρας σὺ πεποίηκας, τοιαῦτ' ἐξεταζόμενα φαίνεται.
and having-ruined you have-made such being-examined they-appear
πρὸς δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς αὐτίκα δὴ σὺ σαυτοῦ.
besides and the facts yourself presently indeed you against-yourself
ἀπόκριναι γὰρ δεῦρ' ἀναστάς μοι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ δι'
answer for here having-stood-up to-me not for indeed through
ἀπειρίαν γ' οὐ φήσεις ἔχειν ὅ τι εἴπῃς· ὃς γὰρ
inexperience at-least not you-will-say to-have that which you-may-say who for
ἀγῶνας καινοὺς ὥσπερ δράματα, καὶ τούτους ἀμαρτύρους,
suits new like dramas and these without-witnesses
πρὸς διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν αἱρεῖς διώκων, δῆλον
against measured-out the day you-win prosecuting clear
ὅτι πάνδεινος εἶ τις.
that very-clever you-are someone
πολλῶν τοίνυν καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων τῶν πεπραγμένων 121
many then and terrible being the things-done
Αἰσχίνῃ τουτῳί, καὶ πολλὴν κακίαν ἐχόντων, ὡς καὶ ὑμῖν
by-Aeschines this-here and much wickedness having as also to-you
οἴομαι δοκεῖν, οὐδέν ἐστιν οὗ μέλλω λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ
I-think to-seem nothing is than-what I-am-about to-say as I
κρίνω, δεινότερον, οὐδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ
judge more-terrible nor that which more in the-act
δεδωροδοκηκότ' αὐτὸν καὶ πεπρακότα πάντ' ἐξελέγξει.
having-taken-bribes him and having-sold all will-convict
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπεστέλλετ' αὖθις αὖ τὸ τρίτον τοὺς
when for you-were-sending again in-turn the third-time the
πρέσβεις ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις
envoys to — Philip on the fine and great
ἐλπίσι ταύταις αἷς οὗτος ὑπέσχητο, ἐχειροτονήσατε καὶ
hopes these which this-man had-promised you-elected both
τοῦτον κἀμὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους τοὺς αὐτούς.
this-man and-me and of-the others the most the same

122 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ παρελθὼν ἐξωμοσάμην εὐθέως, καὶ
I indeed then having-come-forward declined-on-oath at-once and
θορυβούντων τινῶν καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν οὐκ ἂν ἔφην
clamoring some and bidding to-go not — I-said
ἐλθεῖν· οὗτος δ' ἐκεχειροτόνητο. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνέστη μετὰ
to-go this-man but had-been-elected when and rose after
ταῦθ' ἡ ἐκκλησία, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύονθ' οὗτοι τίν'
these-things the assembly having-met-together deliberated these-men whom
αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν. ἔτι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων
here they-would-leave still for the affairs being
μετεώρων καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου, σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι
in-suspense and the future uncertain gatherings and talk
παντοδαποὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίγνοντο τότε·
of-all-kinds in the marketplace took-place then
123 ἐφοβοῦντο δὴ μὴ σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία γένοιτ' ἐξαίφνης,
they-feared indeed lest a-specially-summoned assembly be-held suddenly
εἶτ' ἀκούσαντες ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ ψηφίσαισθέ τι
then having-heard you from-me the-truth might-vote something
τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ τῶν Φωκέων, καὶ τὰ πράγματ'
of-the needful-things for the Phocians and the affairs
ἐκφύγοι τὸν Φίλιππον. εἰ γὰρ ἐψηφίσασθε μόνον καὶ
escape — Philip if for you-had-voted only and
μικρὰν ὑπεφήνατ' ἐλπίδ' ἡντινοῦν αὐτοῖς, ἐσώθησαν
small had-shown hope any to-them they-would-have-been-saved
ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν, οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ παρακρουσθέντων
— not for it-was-possible not it-was-possible not misled
ὑμῶν μεῖναι Φιλίππῳ. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
you to-stay for-Philip neither for grain was in the country
ἀσπόρῳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γεγονυίᾳ, οὔθ' ἡ σιτοπομπία
unsown because-of the war having-become nor the grain-transport
δυνατὴ τριήρων οὐσῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης
possible triremes being yours there and the sea

κρατουσῶν, αἵ τε πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ χαλεπαὶ λαβεῖν αἱ
controlling the and cities many and hard to-take the
τῶν Φωκέων, μὴ οὐ χρόνῳ καὶ πολιορκίᾳ· εἰ γὰρ ἐν
of-the Phocians not except by-time and by-siege if for in
ἡμέρᾳ πόλιν ᾕρει, δύο καὶ εἴκοσίν εἰσιν ἀριθμῷ.
a-day a-city he-took two and twenty they-are in-number
διὰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα, ἵνα μηδὲν μετάθησθ' ὧν 124
because-of indeed these-things all so-that nothing you-might-change of-what
ἐξηπάτησθε, τοῦτον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ἐξομόσασθαι μὲν
you-had-been-deceived-in this-man here they-left to-decline-on-oath indeed
δὴ μὴ μετ' αἰτίας τινὸς δεινὸν ἦν καὶ ὑποψία μεγάλη·
then not with reason some dangerous was and suspicion great
'τί λέγεις; ἐπὶ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἀγαθὰ οὐχὶ βαδίζεις
what do-you-say to so-great and such goods not you-go
ἀπαγγείλας οὐδὲ πρεσβεύεις;' ἔδει δὲ μένειν. πῶς
having-announced nor serve-as-envoy it-was-needful but to-stay how
οὖν; ἀρρωστεῖν προφασίζεται, καὶ λαβὼν Ἐξήκεστον τὸν
then to-be-ill he-pretends and having-taken Execestus the
ἰατρὸν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν τῇ βουλῇ ἐξώμοσεν
doctor the-brother of-him and having-approached the council swore
ἀρρωστεῖν τουτονὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχειροτονήθη.
to-be-ill this-man and himself was-elected
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπωλώλεσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις πέντ' 125
when but had-perished the Phocians later by-days five
ἢ ἕξ, καὶ τέλος εἶχε τὸ μίσθωμ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλο
or six and end had the hire as — other
τι τούτῳ, καὶ ὁ Δερκύλος ἐκ τῆς Χαλκίδος ἦκεν
anything for-this-man and — Dercylus from — Chalcis came
ἀναστρέψας καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν ὑμῖν ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ
having-returned and reported to-you holding-an-assembly in Piraeus
ὅτι Φωκεῖς ἀπολώλασι, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
that Phocians have-perished and you O men Athenians

ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες εἰκότως κἀκείνοις συνήχθεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ
these-things having-heard naturally both-with-them grieved and yourselves
ἐξεπέπληχθε, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν
were-dismayed and children and women from the fields
κατακομίζειν ἐψηφίζεσθε καὶ τὰ φρούρι᾽ ἐπισκευάζειν καὶ
to-bring-in you-voted and the forts to-repair and
τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίζειν καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλει᾽ ἐν ἄστει θύειν, —
— Piraeus to-wall and the Heracleia in town to-sacrifice
126 ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἦν καὶ τοιαύτη ταραχὴ καὶ τοιοῦτος θόρυβος
when these-things were and such confusion and such uproar
περιειστήκει τὴν πόλιν, τηνικαῦθ᾽ ὁ σοφὸς καὶ δεινὸς οὗτος
had-surrounded the city then the clever and formidable this-man
καὶ εὔφωνος, οὔτε βουλῆς οὔτε δήμου χειροτονήσαντος
and fine-voiced neither council nor people having-elected
αὐτόν, ᾤχετο πρεσβεύων ὡς τὸν ταῦτα πεποιηκότα, οὔτε
him went serving-as-envoy to the-one these-things having-done neither
τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ἐφ᾽ ᾗ τότ᾽ ἐξωμόσαθ᾽ ὑπολογισάμενος,
the illness on which then he-had-sworn-off taking-into-account
οὔθ᾽ ὅτι πρεσβευτὴς ἄλλος ἤρητ᾽ ἀνθ᾽ αὑτοῦ, οὔθ᾽ ὅτι
nor that envoy another had-been-chosen instead-of himself nor that
τῶν τοιούτων ὁ νόμος θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι κελεύει,
for-the such-things the law death the penalty to-be orders
127 οὔθ᾽ ὅτι πάνδεινόν ἐστιν ἀπηγγελκόθ᾽ ὡς ἐπικεκήρυκται
nor that most-terrible it-is having-reported that has-been-set
χρήματ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τῷ τὴν
money on-him in Thebes when Thebans besides the —
Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ἔχειν καὶ τῆς Φωκέων χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς
Boeotia whole to-hold also of-the of-Phocians land masters
γεγόνασι, τηνικαῦτ᾽ εἰς μέσας τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὸ τῶν
have-become then into middle-of — Thebes and the of-the
Θηβαίων στρατόπεδον βαδίζειν· ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως ἔκφρων
Thebans camp to-go but so out-of-his-mind

ἦν καὶ ὅλος πρὸς τῷ λήμματι καὶ τῷ δωροδοκήματι
he-was and wholly toward the gain and the bribe
ὥστε πάντα ταῦτ᾽ ἀνελὼν καὶ παριδὼν ᾤχετο.
that all these-things having-dismissed and having-overlooked he-went
καὶ τοιούτου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος, ἔτι πολλῷ δεινότερ᾽ 128
and such the matter being still by-much more-terrible
ἐστὶν ἃ ἐκεῖσ᾽ ἐλθὼν διεπράξατο. ἁπάντων γὰρ ὑμῶν
are what there having-gone he-did all for you
τουτωνὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων οὕτω δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλι᾽
these-here and the other Athenians so terrible and cruel
ἡγουμένων τοὺς ταλαιπώρους πάσχειν Φωκέας ὥστε μήτε
thinking the wretched to-suffer Phocians that neither
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς μήτε τοὺς θεσμοθέτας
the from the council sacred-envoys nor the thesmothetae
εἰς τὰ Πύθια πέμψαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποστῆναι τῆς πατρίου
to the Pythian-games to-send but to-abstain-from the ancestral
θεωρίας, οὗτος εἰς τἀπινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ
sacred-embassy this-man to the-victory-feast of-the affairs and of-the
πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθυον, εἱστιᾶτ᾽
war which Thebans and Philip were-sacrificing feasted
ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς
having-gone and libations shared and prayers which over the
τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ
of-the allies the your walls and land and
ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν ηὔχετ᾽ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο
arms perished prayed that-man and wore-garlands-with
καὶ συνεπαιώνιζεν Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προὔπινεν.
and sang-paeans-with Philip and loving-cups drank-in-pledge
καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὕτω, τούτῳ δ᾽ 129
and these-things not it-is-possible for-me indeed thus for-this-man but
ἄλλως πως εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἐν
otherwise somehow to-tell but about indeed the swearing-off in

τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῖς ὑμετέροις γράμμασιν ἐν τῷ μητρῴῳ
the public the your records in the Metroön
ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δημόσιος τέτακται, καὶ ψήφισμ'
these-things are over which the public-slave is-set and a-decree
ἄντικρυς περὶ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος γέγραπται· ὑπὲρ δ'
outright about this the name has-been-written about and
ὧν ἐκεῖ διεπράξατο, οἱ συμπρεσβεύοντες καὶ παρόντες
what there he-did the fellow-envoys and present
καταμαρτυρήσουσιν, οἵπερ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα διηγοῦντο· οὐ γὰρ
will-testify-against-him who-very to-me these-things related not for
ἔγωγ' αὐτοῖς συνεπρέσβευσα, ἀλλ' ἐξωμοσάμην.
I-at-least with-them went-as-envoy but I-swore-off
130 καί μοι λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας κάλει.
and to-me read the decree and the witnesses call
τίνας οὖν εὐχὰς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εὔχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν
what then prayers do-you-suppose to-pray to-the gods —
Φίλιππον, ὅτ' ἔσπενδεν, ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους; ἆρ' οὐ
Philip when he-poured-libation or the Thebans is-it not
κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην αὑτοῖς καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις
mastery of-war and victory for-themselves and for-the allies
διδόναι, καὶ τἀναντία τοῖς τῶν Φωκέων; οὐκοῦν ταῦτα
to-grant and the-opposite to-the of-the Phocians therefore these-things
συνηύχεθ' οὗτος καὶ κατηρᾶτο τῇ πατρίδι, ᾗ νῦν εἰς
joined-in-praying this-man and cursed the fatherland which now onto
κεφαλὴν ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ δεῖ τρέψαι.
head you for-him must turn
131 οὐκοῦν ᾤχετο μὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς θάνατον κελεύει
therefore he-went indeed against the law which death orders
τούτων τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι· ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖσε ἑτέρων
for-these-things the penalty to-be having-gone and there of-other
θανάτων ἄξια ποιῶν πέφανται· τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν
deaths worthy-things doing he-has-been-shown the and earlier

πεπραγμένα καὶ πεπρεσβευμέν' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν
things-done and done-as-envoy for these would-kill —
αὐτὸν δικαίως. σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν τί ἔσται τίμημα, ὃ ταύτην
him justly consider then what will-be the-penalty which this
ἕξει τὴν ἀξίαν ὥστε τοσούτων ἀξιόχρεων φαίνεσθαι.
will-have the worth so-as of-so-many adequate to-appear
πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοσίᾳ μὲν 132
how for not shameful O men Athenians publicly indeed
ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅλον τὸν δῆμον πᾶσι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
all you and whole the people all the things-done
ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιτιμᾶν, καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι
from the peace to-censure and neither the-things among Amphictyons
κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλειν, δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως
to-share to-be-willing with-disfavor and to-be and suspiciously
πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς ἀσεβῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων τῶν
toward — Philip as impious and terrible being the
πεπραγμένων καὶ οὔτε δικαίων οὔθ' ὑμῖν συμφερόντων, εἰς
things-done and neither just nor for-you advantageous into
δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντας τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων εὐθύνας
but the court having-entered the about these-things audits
δικάσοντας, ὅρκον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὀμωμοκότας, τὸν
going-to-judge an-oath on-behalf-of the city having-sworn the
ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον καὶ ὃν εἰλήφατ' ἐπ'
of-all the evils cause and whom you-have-caught in
αὐτοφώρῳ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα, τοῦτον ἀφεῖναι;
the-act such-things having-done this-man to-acquit
καὶ τίς οὐ δικαίως ἂν ὑμῖν ἐγκαλέσειε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, 133
and who not justly — you would-charge of-the other citizens
μᾶλλον δ' ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶν Φιλίππῳ μὲν
rather and of-all the Greeks seeing with-Philip indeed
ὑμᾶς ὀργιζομένους, ὃς ἐκ πολέμου ποιούμενος εἰρήνην παρὰ
you angry who from war making peace from

τῶν πωλούντων τὰς πράξεις ἐωνεῖτο, πρᾶγμα πολλὴν
the-ones selling the deals bought a-thing much
συγγνώμην ἔχον διαπραττόμενος, τουτονὶ δ' ἀφιέντας,
pardon having accomplishing this-man but acquitting
ὃς τὰ ὑμέτερ' οὕτως αἰσχρῶς ἀπέδοτο, τῶν νόμων τὰ
who the yours so shamefully sold the laws the
ἔσχατα ταττόντων ἐπιτίμια, ἐάν τις ταῦτα ποιῇ;
utmost appointing penalties if anyone these-things does
134 τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως καὶ τοιοῦτος ἥξει τις λόγος παρὰ
soon then perhaps also such will-come some argument from
τούτων, ὡς ἀρχὴ γενήσεται πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας, εἰ
these-men that a-beginning will-be toward Philip of-enmity if
τῶν πρεσβευσάντων τὴν εἰρήνην καταψηφιεῖσθε. ἐγὼ δ',
the-ones having-negotiated the peace you-will-condemn I but
εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἔχω σκοπούμενος εὑρεῖν ὅ τι
if this is true not can considering to-find that which
μεῖζον τούτου κατηγορήσω. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήματ'
greater than-this I-shall-charge if for the-one the peace money
ἀναλώσας ὥστε τυχεῖν, οὗτος οὕτω γέγονεν φοβερὸς καὶ
having-spent so-as to-obtain this-one so has-become fearsome and
μέγας ὥστε τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀμελήσαντας ὑμᾶς
great that the oaths and the just having-neglected you
ἤδη τί Φιλίππῳ χαριεῖσθε σκοπεῖν, τί παθόντες ἂν οἱ
already what Philip you-will-please to-consider what having-suffered — the
τούτων αἴτιοι τὴν προσήκουσαν δίκην δεδωκότες εἶεν;
of-these-things responsible the fitting penalty having-paid would-be

Condemning the envoys, Demosthenes argues, would rather begin a useful friendship with Philip. Philip does not despise Athens; these envoys taught him that its people is as unstable as a wave at sea and that he needs friends there to manage it. Theban envoys refused Philip's money and gold cups and asked him instead to do something worthy for their city, and he did. Thebes gained peace, the Phocians' destruction, Orchomenus, Coronea, and as much Phocian land as it wanted. Athens gave up its possessions and allies and swore to treat anyone who would save them as an enemy, while Philocrates and Aeschines took estates in the ruined allies' land.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφερούσης ὑμῖν 135
not however but that also of-friendship a-beginning advantageous for-you
μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων γενήσεται, καὶ τοῦτ' οἴομαι
rather from the probabilities will-come-about also this I-think
δείξειν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐ καταφρονεῖ
to-be-going-to-show well for to-know one-must this that not despises
Φίλιππος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας,
Philip O men Athenians the city the your
οὐδ' ἀχρηστοτέρους ὑμᾶς νομίσας Θηβαίων ἐκείνους
nor more-useless you having-thought than-Thebans them
εἵλετ' ἀνθ' ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἐδιδάχθη καὶ ταῦτ'
chose instead-of you but by these-men he-was-taught and these-things
ἤκουσεν, ἃ καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' εἶπον ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
heard which also earlier once said I to you
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν,
in the assembly and of-these-men no-one contradicted
ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμός ἐστιν ἀσταθμητότατον πρᾶγμα τῶν 136
that the indeed people is most-unstable thing of-the
πάντων καὶ ἀσυνθετώτατον, ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ κῦμ'
all and most-faithless like in sea a-wave
ἀκατάστατον, ὡς ἂν τύχῃ κινούμενον. ὁ μὲν

ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν· μέλει δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν κοινῶν,
came the-other and went-away it-concerns and to-no-one of-the public-affairs
οὐδὲ μέμνηται. δεῖ δέ τινας φίλους ὑπάρχειν τοὺς
nor he-remembers is-needful but some friends to-be-there the-ones
ἕκαστα πράξοντας ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικήσοντας, οἷον
each-thing going-to-do among you for-him and going-to-manage such-as
αὐτὸς δή· κἄνπερ αὐτῷ τοῦτο κατασκευασθῇ, πᾶν ὅ
himself indeed and-if-indeed for-him this is-arranged all that
τι ἂν βούληται παρ' ὑμῖν ῥᾳδίως διαπράξεται.
which — he-wishes among you easily he-will-accomplish
137 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἤκουσεν, οἶμαι, τοὺς τότε ταῦτα πρὸς
if indeed then he-had-heard I-think the-ones then these-things to
αὐτὸν εἰπόντας παραχρῆμα, ὡς δεῦρ' ἐπανῆλθον,
him having-said immediately when here they-returned
ἀποτετυμπανισμένους, ἐποίησεν ἂν ταὐτὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ.
cudgeled-to-death he-would-have-done — the-same-as the king
τί δ' ἦν ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν; ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ
what and was that-which he did having-been-deceived by
Τιμαγόρου καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς λέγεται,
Timagoras and forty talents as is-said
δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπύθετ' αὐτὸν τεθνεῶτα
having-given him when among you he-learned him dead
καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ὄντα κύριον αὑτῷ βεβαιῶσαι, μή
and not-even of-the living being master for-himself to-secure much
τί γ' ἃ ἐκείνῳ τόθ' ὑπέσχετο πρᾶξαι, ἔγνω τὴν
less — what to-him then he-had-promised to-do he-realized the
τιμὴν οὐχὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν πραγμάτων δεδωκώς. καὶ γάρ
honor not to-the master of-the affairs having-given and for
τοι πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν πάλιν ὑμετέραν κατέπεμψεν,
surely first indeed Amphipolis again yours he-sent-word

ἣν τότε σύμμαχον αὑτοῦ καὶ φίλην ἔγραψεν· εἶτ᾽ οὐδενὶ
which then ally of-his and friend he-had-written then to-no-one
πώποτ᾽ ἔδωκε χρήματα τοῦ λοιποῦ.
ever gave money of-the future
ταὐτὸ τοίνυν τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἐποίησε Φίλιππος, εἴ τινα τούτων 138
the-same then this — would-have-done Philip if any of-these-men
εἶδε δίκην δόντα, καὶ νῦν, ἂν ἴδῃ, ποιήσει. ἐπειδὰν δ᾽
he-had-seen penalty having-paid and now if he-sees he-will-do when but
ἀκούῃ λέγοντας, εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν, ἑτέρους κρίνοντας,
he-hears speaking being-well-regarded among you others prosecuting
τί καὶ ποιήσῃ; ζητῇ πόλλ᾽ ἀναλίσκειν, ἐξὸν
what indeed should-he-do should-he-seek much to-spend it-being-possible
ἐλάττω, καὶ πάντας θεραπεύειν βούληται, δύ᾽ ἢ τρεῖς
less and all to-court should-he-wish two or three
ἐξόν; μαίνοιτο μέντἄν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων
it-being-possible he-would-be-mad surely not-even for the of-the Thebans
πόλιν εἵλετο δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖν ὁ Φίλιππος εὖ, πολλοῦ γε
city chose publicly to-do — Philip well much at-least
καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπείσθη.
indeed is-lacking but by the envoys he-was-persuaded
ὃν δὲ τρόπον, φράσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγώ. ἦλθον ὡς αὐτὸν 139
in-what and way I-will-tell to you I came to him
πρέσβεις ἐκ Θηβῶν ὅτε περ καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἡμεῖς ἦμεν ἐκεῖ.
envoys from Thebes when indeed also from you we were there
τούτοις χρήματ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο δοῦναι, καὶ πάνυ γ᾽, ὡς
to-these money he wished to-give and very at-least as
ἔφασαν, πολλά. οὐκ ἐδέξαντ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἔλαβον ταῦθ᾽ οἱ τῶν
they-said much not accepted nor took these-things the of-the
Θηβαίων πρέσβεις. μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν θυσίᾳ τινὶ καὶ δείπνῳ
Thebans envoys after these-things at sacrifice some and dinner
πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Φίλιππος
drinking and being-friendly toward them — Philip

ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλά, οἷον αἰχμάλωτα καὶ τοιαῦτα, καὶ
other-things both indeed many such-as captives and such-things and
τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ᾽ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς.
finally cups silver and gold he-pledged to-them
πάντα ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι διεωθοῦντο καὶ οὐδαμῇ προΐενθ᾽ αὑτούς.
all these-things they pushed-away and in-no-way gave-up themselves
140 τελευτῶν δὲ Φίλων, εἷς τῶν πρέσβεων, εἶπεν, ὦ ἄνδρες
finally and Philo one of-the envoys said O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγον οὐχ ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
Athenians a-speech not on-behalf-of Thebans but on-behalf-of you
ἄξιον εἰρῆσθαι. ἔφη γὰρ τὸν Φίλιππον ὁρῶν καὶ
worthy to-have-been-spoken he-said for — Philip seeing both
μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς
magnanimously and kindly disposed toward them
ἥδεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν· αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ φίλοι
to-be-pleased and to-rejoice themselves indeed then to-be for-him friends
καὶ ξένοι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν δώρων τούτων, εἰς δὲ τὰ τῆς
and guest-friends even without the gifts these to but the of-the
πόλεως πράγματ᾽, ἐν οἷς ἦν τότε, τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν
city affairs in which it-was then the kindness
αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ταύτην προσθέντ᾽ ἄξιόν τι καὶ αὑτοῦ
him they-asked this having-applied worthy something both of-himself
καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων πρᾶξαι, καὶ ὅλην τε τὴν πόλιν οὕτω
and of-the Thebans to-do and whole both the city so
καὶ σφεῖς ὡμολόγουν ὑπάρξειν αὐτῷ.
and themselves they-promised to-be-going-to-be his
141 καὶ γάρ τοι σκέψασθε τί τοῖς Θηβαίοις γέγονεν ἐκ
and for surely consider what for-the Thebans has-come from
τούτων καὶ τί συμβέβηκε, καὶ θεάσασθ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς
these-things and what has-happened and behold in itself the
ἀληθείας ἡλίκον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως.
truth how-great is the not to-sell the-things of-the city

πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνη γέγονεν αὐτοῖς πονοῦσι καὶ
first indeed then peace has-come to-them toiling and
ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἡττωμένοις, εἶτα
distressed already by-the war and being-beaten then
τῶν ἐχθρῶν Φωκέων ἄρδην ὄλεθρος καὶ ὅλων τῶν τειχῶν
of-the enemy Phocians utter destruction and of-all the walls
καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀναίρεσις. ἆρα καὶ μόνα ταῦτα; οὐ μὰ Δί᾽,
and the cities removal is-it also only these-things no by Zeus
ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις Ὀρχομενός, Κορώνεια, Κορσιά, τὸ
but still besides these Orchomenus Coronea Corsia —
Τιλφωσαῖον, τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας ὁπόσην βούλονται.
Tilphosaeum of-the of-the Phocians land as-much-as they-wish
τοῖς μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις ταῦτ᾽ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν, 142
for-the indeed then Thebans these-things from the peace have-come
ὧν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εὔξαιντο δήπου μείζονα· τοῖς δὲ
than-which not-even — they-could-pray surely greater for-the but
πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Θηβαίων τί; οὐδὲν πλὴν τὸ τούτων
envoys the of-the Thebans what nothing except the of-these-things
αἰτίοις γεγενῆσθαι τῇ πατρίδι· τοῦτο δὲ καλόν, ὦ
causes to-have-become for-the fatherland this but fine O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον καὶ δόξης,
men Athenians and noble for of-virtue account and of-glory
ἣν οὗτοι χρημάτων ἀπέδοντο. ἀντιθῶμεν δὴ τί
which these-men for-money sold let-us-set-against-it indeed what
τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλει γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ
for-the of-the Athenians city has-come from the peace and
τί τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ θεωρεῖτ᾽ εἰ
what for-the envoys the of-the Athenians and see whether
παραπλήσια τῇ πόλει καὶ τούτοις αὐτοῖς.
alike for-the city and for-these themselves

143 τῇ πόλει μὲν τοίνυν ἀφεστηκέναι μὲν ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν
for-the city indeed then to-have-given-up indeed all both the
κτημάτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὁμωμοκέναι δὲ Φιλίππῳ,
possessions and the allies to-have-sworn and to-Philip
κἂν ἄλλος τις ἴῃ ποτ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ βουλόμενος σῴζειν,
and-if other anyone goes ever against them wishing to-save
ὑμᾶς κωλύσειν καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑμῖν βουλόμενον
you to-be-going-to-prevent and the-one indeed for-you wishing
παραδοῦναι ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσεσθαι καὶ πολέμιον, τὸν δ'
to-hand-over enemy to-be-going-to-regard and foe the-one but
ἀπεστερηκότα σύμμαχον καὶ φίλον.
having-robbed ally and friend
144 ταῦτα γάρ ἐσθ' ἃ συνεῖπε μὲν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί, ἔγραψε
these-things for are which supported indeed Aeschines this-here proposed
δ' ὁ τούτου συνεργὸς Φιλοκράτης· καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐμοῦ
and the of-this-man accomplice Philocrates and prevailing me
τὴν προτέραν ἡμέραν, καὶ πεπεικότος ὑμᾶς τὸ τῶν
on-the first day and having-persuaded you the of-the
συμμάχων δόγμα κυρῶσαι καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς
allies resolution to-ratify and to-summon the envoys the
τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐκκρούσας οὗτος εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν
— of-Philip having-put-off this-man to the next-day the
Φιλοκράτους γνώμην ἔπεισεν ἑλέσθαι, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ταῦτα
of-Philocrates motion he-persuaded(-you) to-choose in which also these-things
καὶ πόλλ' ἄλλ' ἔτι τούτων δεινότερ' ἐστὶ γεγραμμένα.
and many other-things still than-these more-terrible are written
145 τῇ μὲν δὴ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν,
for-the indeed then city these-things from the peace have-come
ὧν οὐδ' εὑρεῖν αἰσχίω ῥᾴδιον· τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν
than-which not-even to-find more-shameful easy for-the but envoys
τί τοῖς ταῦτα πράξασιν; τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ πάνθ',
what the-ones these-things having-done the indeed other-things I-pass-over all

ὅσ᾽ ἑοράκαθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, οἰκίας, ξύλα, πυρούς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ
as-many-as have-seen you houses timber wheat but in the
τῶν ἀπολωλότων συμμάχων χώρᾳ κτήματα καὶ γεωργίαι
of-the ruined allies land estates and farms
παμπληθεῖς, Φιλοκράτει μὲν τάλαντον ἔχουσαι πρόσοδον,
very-large for-Philocrates indeed a-talent having income
τούτῳ δὲ τριάκοντα μνᾶς.
for-this-man and thirty minas
καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχέτλιον 146
and-yet how not terrible O men Athenians and cruel
τὰς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων συμφορὰς προσόδους τοῖς
the of-the your allies misfortunes revenues for-the
πρέσβεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην
envoys the your to-have-become and the same peace
τῇ μὲν ἐκπεμψάσῃ πόλει τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὄλεθρον,
for-the indeed having-sent city of-the indeed allies destruction
τῶν δὲ κτημάτων ἀπόστασιν, ἀντὶ δὲ δόξης αἰσχύνην
of-the and possessions surrender instead-of and glory shame
γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως
to-have-become of-the but envoys for-the-ones against the city
ταῦτα πράξασι προσόδους, εὐπορίας, κτήματα, πλοῦτον
these-things having-done revenues plenty estates wealth
ἀντὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀποριῶν εἰργάσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι
instead-of the utmost want to-have-produced but truly that
ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους μάρτυρας.
these-things true I-say call for-me the Olynthian witnesses
οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαιμ᾽ ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιοῦτό τι τολμήσει 147
not then I-would-wonder — if also such something he-will-dare
λέγειν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν καλὴν οὐδ᾽ οἵαν ἠξίουν ἐγὼ τὴν
to-say that not it-was-possible fine nor such-as asked I the
εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, κακῶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν
peace to-make badly the war the generals

κεχρημένων. ἂν δὴ ταῦτα λέγῃ, πρὸς θεῶν ἐρωτήσατ᾽
having-managed if indeed these-things he-says by gods ask
αὐτὸν μεμνημένοι, πότερ᾽ ἐξ ἑτέρας ᾤχετο πρεσβεύων
him remembering whether from another he-went as-envoy
πόλεως ἢ ταύτης αὐτῆς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἑτέρας, ἣν
city or this itself if indeed for from another which
κεκρατηκέναι τε τῷ πολέμῳ φήσει καὶ χρηστοὺς ἔχειν
to-have-won both in-the war he-will-say and good to-have
στρατηγούς, εἰκότως χρήματ᾽ εἴληφεν· εἰ δ᾽ ἐκ ταύτης
generals reasonably money he-has-taken if but from this
αὐτῆς, τίνος εἵνεκ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἡ πέμψασα πόλις τῶν
itself of-what for-the-sake on what-terms the having-sent city of-the
αὑτῆς ἀπέστη, ἐπὶ τούτοις οὗτος δωρειὰς προσλαβὼν
its-own gave-up on these this-man gifts having-received-besides
φαίνεται; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔδει τήν τε πέμψασαν
appears the for same it-was-needful the both having-sent
πόλιν τυγχάνειν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης πρέσβεις, εἴπερ
city to-get and the-ones from it envoys if-indeed
τι τῶν δικαίων ἐγίγνετο.
anything of-the just-things were-happening

148 ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκέψασθ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί.
further then and-that consider O men jurors
πότερ᾽ οἴεσθε πλέον Φωκέας Θηβαίων ἢ Φίλιππον ὑμῶν
whether you-think more Phocians over-Thebans or Philip over-you
κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι Φωκεῖς
to-prevail in-the war I indeed for well know that Phocians
Θηβαίων. εἶχόν γ᾽ Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ τὸ
over-Thebans held at-least Orchomenus and Coronea and —
Τιλφωσαῖον, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Νέωσιν ἀπειλήφεσαν αὐτῶν,
Tilphosaeum and the-ones at Neones they-had-cut-off of-them
καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἀπεκτόνεσαν ἐπὶ τῷ
and seventy and two-hundred they-had-killed at —

Ἡδυλείῳ, καὶ τρόπαιον εἱστήκει, καὶ ἱπποκράτουν,
Hedyleum and a-trophy stood and they-were-superior-in-cavalry
καὶ κακῶν Ἰλιὰς περιειστήκει Θηβαίους.
and of-evils an-Iliad had-surrounded Thebans
ὑμῖν δὲ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἦν μήτε γένοιτο τοῦ 149
to-you but such indeed nothing neither was nor may-it-be in-the
λοιποῦ, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ δεινότατον τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον
future this but was the most-terrible of-the against Philip
πολέμου· οὐκ ἐδύνασθε κακῶς ἡλίκ' ἐβούλεσθε ποιεῖν
war not you-could badly as-much-as you-wished to-do
ἐκεῖνον· τοῦ δὲ μὴ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἤγετε.
him the but not to-suffer yourselves every security you-had
τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς εἰρήνης τοῖς μὲν Θηβαίοις,
why ever then from the same peace for-the indeed Thebans
τοῖς τοσοῦτο κρατουμένοις τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
the-ones so-much beaten in-the war both the their-own
κομίσασθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προσλαβεῖν γέγονε, τοῖς
to-recover and the of-the enemies to-gain-besides has-come for-the
δ' Ἀθηναίοις ὑμῖν, καὶ ἃ τῷ πολέμῳ διεσῴζετο, ταῦτ'
but Athenians you even what in-the war was-kept-safe these-things
ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπολωλεκέναι; ὅτι τἀκείνων μὲν οὐκ
in the peace to-have-lost because the-things-of-those indeed not
ἀπέδονθ' οἱ πρέσβεις, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' οὗτοι πεπράκασιν.
sold the envoys the but yours these-men have-sold
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπειρηκέναι φήσει τῷ
but by Zeus the allies to-have-given-out he-will-say with-the
πολέμῳ *** ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτω πέπρακται, καὶ ἐκ
war (lacuna) that for these-things so have-been-done also from
τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἔτι μᾶλλον εἴσεσθε.
the remaining-things still more you-will-know

X · THE DELAY BEFORE THE OATHS

After the peace was voted, Demosthenes urged the envoys to sail at once to the Hellespont and take Philip's oath before he seized the places in Thrace, and as a councilor he carried a decree ordering them to go by the quickest way. They went unwillingly: from Oreus they traveled round by land, spent twenty-three days reaching Macedonia, and sat in Pella until Philip came, fifty days in all, while he took Doriscus, the Sacred Mountain, and the forts. The oaths were finally taken in an inn at Pherae as he marched on Pylae, and from none of his allied cities, since Philip wanted none of his allies sworn or witness to his promises. Euclides' testimony, and their haste on the first embassy set against their delay now, when they were ordered to hurry, show that everything was done for Philip.

150 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη τέλος εἶχεν αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ
when for the indeed peace completion had this the —
Φιλοκράτους, ᾗ συνεῖπεν οὗτος, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήρκεσαν
of-Philocrates which supported this-man the and envoys had-departed
οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου λαβόντες τοὺς ὅρκους (καὶ μέχρι τούτου
the — of-Philip having-taken the oaths and up-to this
γ' οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἦν τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ
at-least nothing irreparable was of-the things-done but shameful
μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀναξία τῆς πόλεως, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων
indeed the peace and unworthy of-the city in-return-for but these
δὴ τὰ θαυμάσι' ἀγάθ' ἡμῖν ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι), ἠξίουν ἐγὼ
indeed the wonderful goods for-us were-going to-be I-urged I
καὶ τούτοις ἔλεγον πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου,
and to-these-men I-said to-sail the quickest-way to Hellespont
καὶ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἐᾶσαι κατασχεῖν Φίλιππον μηδὲν
and not to-abandon nor to-allow to-seize Philip anything
ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ χωρίων.
in the between time of-the there places

ᾔδειν γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν ἐκ πολέμου 151
I-knew for exactly that all as-much-as — from war
γιγνομένης εἰρήνης προεθῇ, ταῦτα τοῖς ἀμελήσασιν
coming-about peace is-given-up these-things for-the-ones having-neglected
ἀπόλλυται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων πεισθεὶς
are-lost no-one for ever for the whole persuaded
εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων ἐξ ἀρχῆς
peace to-keep for the-things left-behind from the-start
ἠθέλησεν πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ προλαβόντες ἔχουσιν.
was-willing to-make-war but these-things the-ones having-seized-first hold
χωρὶς δὲ τούτων δυοῖν χρησίμοιν οὐ διαμαρτήσεσθαι τὴν
apart-from and these-things of-two advantages not to-be-going-to-miss the
πόλιν ἡγούμην πλευσάντων ἡμῶν· ἢ γὰρ παρόντων καὶ
city I-thought having-sailed we either for being-present and
κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξορκωσάντων, ἃ μὲν εἰλήφει
according-to the decree him having-put-to-oath what indeed he-had-taken
τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδώσειν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀφέξεσθαι,
of-the city to-be-going-to-give-back from-the but rest to-be-going-to-keep-off
ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντος ταῦτα ἀπαγγελεῖν ἡμᾶς εὐθέως 152
or not doing these-things to-be-going-to-report us at-once
δεῦρο, ὥστ᾽ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττοσι τὴν
here so-that in those the far-off and lesser the
πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἰδόντας ὑμᾶς περὶ τῶνδε
greed and the faithlessness having-seen you about these
τῶν ἐγγὺς καὶ μειζόνων, λέγω δὲ Φωκέων καὶ Πυλῶν, οὐ
the near and greater I-mean and Phocians and Pylae not
προήσεσθαι· μὴ προλαβόντος δ᾽ ἐκείνου ταῦτα μηδ᾽
to-be-going-to-abandon not having-seized-first and him these-things nor
ὑμῶν ἐξαπατηθέντων ἅπαντ᾽ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ πράγματ᾽ ὑμῖν
you deceived all in safety the affairs for-you
ἔσεσθαι, καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκόντος ὑπάρξειν αὐτοῦ τὰ δίκαια.
to-be-going-to-be and from willing to-be-going-to-be-yours him the just-things

153 καὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκότως οὕτως ὑπελάμβανον ἕξειν. εἰ
and these-things reasonably so I-supposed to-be-going-to-be if
γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς ἦσαν τότε, Φωκεῖς σῷοι καὶ Πύλας εἶχον,
for were as they-were then Phocians safe and Pylae held
ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχ᾽ ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν,
he indeed nothing — to-you could to-hold-up fearful
δι᾽ ὃ τῶν δικαίων ἄν τι παρεῖδετε· οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ
because-of which of-the just-things — any you-would-overlook neither for by
γῆν παρελθὼν οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
land having-passed nor with-ships having-prevailed into — Attica
ἤξειν ἔμελλεν· ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἐκείνου παραχρῆμα, εἰ μὴ
to-be-going-to-come he-was-likely you but his immediately if not
τὰ δίκαια ποιοίη, κλείσειν τὰ ἐμπόρια, καὶ χρημάτων
the just-things he-should-do to-be-going-to-close the ports and of-money
τ᾽ ἐν σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν πολιορκίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν
both in shortage and of-the other-things in siege again him
καταστήσειν, ὥστ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ὁ δουλεύσων ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι
to-be-going-to-put so-that he the-one going-to-be-slave was-going to-be
τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης λυσιτελοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑμεῖς.
to-the from the peace advantages not you
154 καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι νῦν πλάττομαι
and these-things that not upon the things-happened now I-fabricate
καὶ προσποιοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ τότ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐγνώκειν καὶ
and pretend but then at-once I-had-recognized and
προεωρώμην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τούτοις ἔλεγον, ἐκεῖθεν
foresaw on-behalf-of you and to-these-men said from-this
εἴσεσθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκκλησία μὲν οὐκέτ᾽ ἦν ὑπόλοιπος
you-will-know when for assembly indeed no-longer was remaining
οὐδεμία διὰ τὸ προκατακεχρῆσθαι, οὗτοι δ᾽ οὐκ
none because-of the to-have-been-used-up these-men but not
ἀπῇσαν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ διέτριβον, γράφω ψήφισμα βουλεύων,
were-departing but here lingered I-propose a-decree being-councilor

τὴν βουλὴν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν, ἀπιέναι τοὺς
the council having-made the people authorized to-depart the
πρέσβεις τὴν ταχίστην, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Πρόξενον
envoys the quickest-way the and general Proxenus
κομίζειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον
to-convey them to the places in which — being Philip
πυνθάνηται, γράψας ὥσπερ νῦν λέγω, τοῖς ῥήμασιν
he-learns having-written as now I-say in-the words
οὕτως ἄντικρυς. καί μοι λέγε τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.
so expressly and for-me read this the decree having-taken
ἐνθένδε μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον οὕτως ἄκοντας, ὡς 155
from-here indeed then them I-brought-out so unwilling as
καθαρῶς οἷς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν εἴσεσθε. ἐπειδὴ
clearly by-what after these-things they-did you-will-know when
δ' ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς Ὠρεὸν καὶ συνεμείξαμεν τῷ Προξένῳ,
but we-arrived at Oreus and joined — Proxenus
ἀμελήσαντες οὗτοι τοῦ πλεῖν καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα
having-neglected these-men the to-sail and the orders
πράττειν ἐπορεύοντο κύκλῳ, καὶ πρὶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν
to-carry-out traveled round-about and before into Macedonia
ἐλθεῖν, τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀνηλώσαμεν· τὰς δ'
to-come three and twenty days we-spent the and
ἄλλας πάσας καθήμεθ' ἐν Πέλλῃ, πρὶν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν,
other all we-sat in Pella before Philip to-come
σὺν αἷς ἐπορεύθημεν ὁμοῦ πεντήκονθ' ὅλας.
with which we-traveled together fifty whole
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Δορίσκον, Θρᾴκην, τἀπὶ τειχῶν, Ἱερὸν 156
in and this Doriscus Thrace the-places-at the-forts Sacred
ὄρος, πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ σπονδαῖς
Mountain all the affairs in peace and truce
ἥρει καὶ διῳκεῖθ' ὁ Φίλιππος, πολλὰ λέγοντος ἐμοῦ
seized and arranged — Philip much saying me

καὶ θρυλοῦντος ἀεί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ἂν εἰς κοινὸν
and harping always the indeed first as — to common
γνώμην ἀποφαινομένου, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀγνοοῦντας
opinion declaring after these-things and as ignorant-men
διδάσκοντος, τελευτῶντος δ' ὡς ἂν πρὸς πεπρακότας
instructing finally and as — to having-sold
αὑτοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲν ὑποστελλομένου.
themselves and most-unholy men nothing holding-back
157 ὁ δὲ τούτοις ἀντιλέγων φανερῶς καὶ ἅπασιν
the-one and to-these-things speaking-against openly and to-all
ἐναντιούμενος οἷς ἔλεγον μὲν ἐγώ, ἐψήφιστο δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν,
opposing which said indeed I had-been-voted and by you
οὗτος ἦν. εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις
this-man was whether and also all pleased these-things the other
πρέσβεσιν, αὐτίκ' εἴσεσθε. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν πω λέγω
envoys presently you-will-know I indeed for nothing yet say
περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' αἰτιῶμαι, οὐδ' ἀναγκασθέντ' αὐτῶν οὐδένα
about anyone nor accuse nor compelled of-them anyone
δεῖ δοκεῖν χρηστὸν εἶναι τήμερον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὑτὸν καὶ τὸ
must seem good to-be today but through himself and the
μὴ κεκοινωνηκέναι τῶν ἀδικημάτων. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὰ καὶ
not to-have-shared the wrongs that indeed for shameful and
δεινὰ καὶ οὐ προῖκα τὰ πεπραγμένα, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἑοράκατε·
terrible and not for-nothing the things-done all you have-seen
οἵτινες δ' οἱ τούτων μετεσχηκότες, αὐτὸ δηλώσει.
who but the-ones in-these having-shared itself will-show
158 ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλαβον
but by Zeus in this the time the oaths they-took
παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ἢ τἄλλ' ἃ προσῆκεν ἐποίησαν.
from the allies or the-other-things which was-fitting they-did
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους
much at-least indeed is-lacking but three months whole

ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ χιλίας λαβόντες δραχμὰς ἐφόδιον παρ'
having-been-abroad and thousand having-taken drachmas for-travel from
ὑμῶν, παρ' οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως, οὔθ' ὅτ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπορεύοντο
you from no city neither when there they-were-going
οὔθ' ὅτ' ἐκεῖθεν δεῦρο, τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλαβον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
nor when from-there here the oaths they-took but in the
πανδοκείῳ τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Διοσκορείου (εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς
inn the before — Dioscurium if any of-you to
Φερὰς ἀφῖκται, οἶδ' ὃ λέγω), ἐνταῦθ' ἐγίγνονθ' οἱ ὅρκοι,
Pherae has-come knows what I-mean there were-taken the oaths
ὅτε δεῦρ' ἤδη τὸ στράτευμ' ἄγων ἐβάδιζε Φίλιππος,
when here already the army leading was-marching Philip
αἰσχρῶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀναξίως ὑμῶν.
shamefully men Athenians and unworthily of-you
καίτοι τοῦτο Φίλιππος ἁπάντων ἂν ἐτιμήσατο πλείστου 159
and-yet this Philip of-all — would-have-valued most
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πραχθῆναι. τήν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην οὐχὶ
this the way to-be-done the both for peace not
δυνηθέντων ὡς ἐπεχείρησαν οὗτοι, 'πλὴν Ἁλέων καὶ
having-been-able as tried these-men except Halians and
Φωκέων,' γράψαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ
Phocians to-write but compelled by you —
Φιλοκράτους ταῦτ' ἀπαλεῖψαι, γράψαι δ' ἄντικρυς,
Philocrates these-words to-erase to-write and expressly
'Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους,' οὐκ ἐβούλετο
Athenians and the of-Athenians allies not he-wished
τοῦτον ὀμωμοκέναι τὸν ὅρκον οὐδένα τῶν αὑτοῦ συμμάχων
this to-have-sworn the oath any of-the his-own allies
(οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ συστρατεύσειν ἐφ' ἃ νῦν ἔχει τῶν
not for with-him to-be-going-to-campaign against what now he-holds of-the

ὑμετέρων ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ἕξειν πρόφασιν τοὺς
yours they-were-likely but to-be-going-to-have pretext the
ὅρκους),
oaths
160 οὔτε μάρτυρας γενέσθαι τῶν ὑποσχέσεων, ἐφ' αἷς
nor witnesses to-become of-the promises on which
εὑρίσκετο τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τοῦτο δειχθῆναι πᾶσιν, ὅτι
he-was-obtaining the peace nor this to-be-shown to-all that
οὐκ ἄρ' ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἥττητο τῷ
not after-all the city the of-the Athenians had-been-beaten in-the
πολέμῳ, ἀλλὰ Φίλιππός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν
war but Philip is the-one the peace desiring
καὶ ὁ πόλλ' ὑπισχνούμενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἂν τύχῃ
and the-one much promising to-the Athenians if he-obtains
τῆς εἰρήνης. ἵνα δὴ μὴ γένοιτο ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω
the peace so-that indeed not might-become these-things which I-say
φανερά, διὰ ταῦτ' οὐδαμόσ' ᾤετο δεῖν τούτους
evident because-of these-things nowhere he-thought to-be-necessary these-men
βαδίζειν. οὗτοι δ' ἐχαρίζοντο πάντα, ἐνδεικνύμενοι καὶ
to-go these-men and obliged in-all showing-off and
ὑπερκολακεύοντες ἐκεῖνον.
over-flattering him
161 καίτοι ταῦθ' ὅταν ἐξελέγχωνται πάντα, τοὺς χρόνους
and-yet these-things whenever they-are-proved all the times
ἀνηλωκότες, τἀν Θρᾴκῃ προειμένοι, μηδὲν ὧν
having-wasted the-things-in Thrace having-abandoned nothing of-what
ἐψηφίσασθε πεποιηκότες μηδ' ὧν συμφέρον ἦν, τὰ ψευδῆ
you-voted having-done nor of-what advantageous was the lies
δεῦρ' ἀπηγγελκότες, πῶς ἔνεστι παρ' εὖ φρονοῦσι δικασταῖς
here having-reported how is-it-possible before well thinking jurors
καὶ βουλομένοις εὐορκεῖν τούτῳ σῴζεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν
and wishing to-keep-their-oath for-this-man to-be-saved but truly

ὅτι ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα, ὡς
that these-things true I-say read first indeed the decree how
ὁρκοῦν προσῆκεν ἡμῖν, εἶτα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ
to-administer-the-oath it-befitted us then the letter the —
Φιλίππου, εἶτα τὸ Φιλοκράτους ψήφισμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.
of-Philip then the of-Philocrates decree and the of-the people
καὶ μὴν ὅτι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ κατελάβομεν ἄν, 162
and truly that — Philip in Hellespont we-would-have-caught —
εἴ τις ἐπείθετό μοι καὶ τὰ προστεταγμέν᾽ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐποίει
if anyone had-obeyed me and the orders by you carried-out
κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα, κάλει τοὺς ἐκεῖ παρόντας μάρτυρας.
according-to the decrees call the there present witnesses
λέγε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν μαρτυρίαν, ἃ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην
read indeed also the other testimony what to Euclides
ὕστερον ἐλθόντα τουτονὶ ἀπεκρίνατο Φίλιππος.
later having-come this-here answered Philip
ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ᾽ ἄρνησίς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ ταῦθ᾽ 163
that then not-even denial is for-them the not these-things
ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττειν, ἀκούσατέ μου. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν
for Philip to-do hear me when for the
προτέραν ἀπῄρομεν πρεσβείαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,
first we-set-out embassy the about the peace
κήρυχ᾽ ὑμεῖς προαπεστείλαθ᾽ ὅστις ἡμῖν σπείσεται. τότε
a-herald you sent-ahead who for-us will-get-a-truce then
μὲν τοίνυν, ὡς τάχιστ᾽ εἰς Ὠρεὸν ἦλθον, οὐκ
indeed then as quickly-as-possible to Oreus they-came not
ἀνέμειναν τὸν κήρυκα οὐδ᾽ ἐνεποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα,
they-waited-for the herald nor caused delay any
Ἅλου δὲ πολιορκουμένου διέπλευσαν εἰς τοῦτον, καὶ πάλιν
Halus but being-besieged they-sailed-across to it and again
ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς Παρμενίωνα τὸν πολιορκοῦντ᾽ ἐξελθόντες
from-there to Parmenion the-one besieging having-gone-out

ἀπῆραν διὰ τοῦ πολεμίου στρατεύματος εἰς Παγασάς,
they-set-out through the enemy army to Pagasae
καὶ προϊόντες ἀπήντων ἐν Λαρίσῃ τῷ κήρυκι· τοσαύτῃ
and going-on met at Larisa the herald with-such
σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ τότ' ἐχώρουν.
haste and eagerness then they-went
164 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰρήνη μὲν ἦν, ἅπασα δ' ἀσφάλει' ἰέναι καὶ
when but peace indeed was full and security to-go and
πρόσταγμα παρ' ὑμῶν σπεύδειν, τηνικαῦτ' οὔτ' ἐπείγεσθαι
order from you to-hurry then neither to-hasten
βαδίζουσιν οὔτε πλεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπῄει. τί δήποτε; ὅτι
marching nor to-sail to-them it-occurred why ever because
τότε μὲν τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς τάχιστα γενέσθαι, τοῦτ'
then indeed the the peace as quickly-as-possible to-be-made this
ἦν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, νῦν δὲ τὸ ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ
was for Philip now but the as long-as-possible the between
χρόνον διατριφθῆναι τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν.
time to-be-wasted of-the the oaths to-receive
165 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι καὶ
but truly that also these-things true I-say take for-me also
ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν.
this the testimony
ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
is-there then how — more men all-things for Philip
πράττοντες ἐξελεγχθεῖεν, ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἡνίκα μὲν
doing could-be-convicted than the same road when indeed
σπεύδειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔδει καθήμενοι, ὅτε δ' οὐδὲ
to-hurry for you it-was-needful sitting when but not-even
βαδίζειν προσῆκε πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐπειγόμενοι;
to-march it-befitted before to-come the herald hastening

While the envoys waited in Pella, Demosthenes spent his own money seeking out and ransoming the prisoners. Philip sounded out each envoy privately with gold, then offered a common gift; when Demosthenes blocked it the others divided it, and Demosthenes asked Philip to spend it on the prisoners, which he promised for the Panathenaea. Demosthenes lent some prisoners their ransoms and then made the loans a gift; for their sake he went on the second embassy, and he twice declined the third. His colleagues outvoted him, excluded the Phocians and Cersobleptes, and enrolled the Cardians as Philip's allies, while Aeschines claimed Demosthenes had promised Philip to overthrow the democracy and himself met Philip privately. Demosthenes sums up what he has proved: Aeschines' promises kept the people from the truth, and he betrayed Phocis and Thrace, giving up Pylae and the Hellespont, the two places most useful to the city by land and by sea.

ὃν τοίνυν χρόνον ἦμεν ἐκεῖ καὶ καθήμεθ' ἐν Πέλλῃ, 166
during-which then time we-were there and sat in Pella
σκέψασθε τί πράττειν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν προείλετο. ἐγὼ
consider what to-do each of-us chose I
μὲν τοίνυν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀνασῴζειν καὶ ζητεῖν, καὶ
indeed then the prisoners to-rescue and to-seek-out and
παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ τε χρήματ' ἀναλίσκειν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀξιοῦν,
from myself both money to-spend and Philip to-ask
ὧν ἡμῖν ἐδίδου ξενίων, τούτους λύσασθαι· οὗτος
with-what to-us be-was-giving guest-gifts these to-ransom this-man
δὲ αὐτίκ' ἀκούσεσθε τί ποιῶν διετέλεσεν. τί οὖν ἦν
but presently you-will-hear what doing he-continued what then was
τοῦτο τὸ κοινῇ χρήμαθ' ἡμῖν τὸν Φίλιππον διδόναι;
this the in-common money to-us — Philip to-give
ἵνα μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἀγνοῆτε, ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς διεκωδώνιζεν 167
so-that not-even this you-may-be-ignorant-of he us was-sounding-out
ἅπαντας· τίνα τρόπον; ἑκάστῳ προσπέμπων ἰδίᾳ καὶ
all what way to-each sending privately and

πολύ γ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διδοὺς χρυσίον. ὡς δ'
much at-least O men Athenians giving gold when but
ἀπετύγχαν' ὁτουδήποτε (οὐ γὰρ ἐμέ γ' εἰπεῖν ἐμαυτὸν
he-failed with-anyone-whatever not for me at-least to-speak-of myself
δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τἄργα καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν' αὐτὰ δηλώσει),
is-needful but the-deeds and the things-done themselves will-show
τὰ κοινῇ δοθέντα πάντας ἡγεῖτ' εὐήθως λήψεσθαι·
the-things in-common given all he-thought innocently to-be-going-to-take
ἀσφάλειαν οὖν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἰδίᾳ πεπρακόσιν
security then to-be-going-to-be for-the-ones privately having-sold
αὑτούς, εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν τοῦ λαβεῖν κοινῇ πάντες
themselves if even in small the to-take in-common all
μετάσχοιμεν. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐδίδοτο, ξένια δὴ πρόφασιν.
we-should-share for these-reasons was-given guest-gifts indeed in-pretext
168 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκώλυσ' ἐγώ, πάλιν προσδιενείμαντο τοῦθ' οὗτοι.
when but prevented I again divided-up-besides this these-men
τῷ Φιλίππῳ δ', ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
— Philip but when these-things on the prisoners
ἠξίουν αὐτὸν ἀναλίσκειν ἐγώ, οὔτε κατειπεῖν τούτων εἶχε
asked him to-spend I neither to-denounce these-men he-could
καλῶς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'ἀλλ' ἔχουσιν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα,'
well nor to-say that but have the so-and-so and the so-and-so
οὔτε φυγεῖν τἀνάλωμα· ὡμολόγησε μὲν δή, διεκρούσατο δ'
nor to-escape the-expense he-agreed indeed then put-off but
εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια φήσας ἀποπέμψειν. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν
to the Panathenaea saying to-be-going-to-send read the testimony
τὴν Ἀπολλοφάνους, εἶτα τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρόντων.
the of-Apollophanes then the of-the others the present
169 φέρε δὴ καὶ ὅσους αὐτὸς ἐλυσάμην τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
come indeed also how-many myself I-ransomed of-the prisoners
εἴπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ παρόντος πω
let-me-tell to you during the-time for not being-present yet

Φιλίππου διετρίβομεν ἐν Πέλλῃ, ἔνιοι τῶν ἑαλωκότων,
Philip we-were-staying in Pella some of-the captured
ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἐξηγγυημένοι, ἀπιστοῦντες, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μὴ
as-many-as were released-on-bail distrusting as to-me it-seems not
δυνήσεσθαί με ταῦτα πεῖσαι τὸν Φίλιππον, ἑαυτοὺς
to-be-going-to-be-able me these-things to-persuade — Philip themselves
ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι λύσεσθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν τούτου χάριν
they-said to-wish to-be-going-to-ransom and no for-this gratitude
ἔχειν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἐδανείζοντο ὁ μὲν τρεῖς μνᾶς,
to-owe — Philip and they-were-borrowing the-one indeed three minas
ὁ δὲ πέντε, ὁ δ' ὅπως συνέβαινεν ἑκάστῳ τὰ λύτρα.
the-other and five the-other and as it-came for-each the ransom
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὡμολόγησ' ὁ Φίλιππος τοὺς λοιποὺς 170
when then agreed — Philip the rest
λύσεσθαι, συγκαλέσας ἐγὼ τούτους οἷς αὐτὸς
to-be-going-to-ransom having-called-together I these to-whom myself
ἔχρησα τἀργύριον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν' ὑπομνήσας, ἵνα μὴ
I-had-lent the-silver and the things-done having-reminded so-that not
δοκοῖεν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐπειχθέντες μηδ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
they-might-seem less to-have having-hurried nor from the own
λελυτρῶσθαι πένητες ἄνθρωποι, τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ
to-have-been-ransomed poor men the others by —
Φιλίππου προσδοκωμένων ἀφεθήσεσθαι, ἔδωκα δωρειὰν
Philip being-expected to-be-going-to-be-released I-gave as-a-gift
τὰ λύτρα. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε ταύτας τὰς
the ransoms and that these-things true I-say read these the
μαρτυρίας.
testimonies
ὅσα μὲν τοίνυν ἀφῆκα χρήματα καὶ δωρειὰν ἔδωκα τοῖς 171
how-much indeed then I-remitted money and as-a-gift I-gave to-the
ἀτυχήσασι τῶν πολιτῶν, ταῦτ' ἔστιν. ὅταν δ' οὗτος αὐτίκα
unfortunate of-the citizens this is whenever but this-man presently

δὴ λέγῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ‘τί δήποθ’, ὡς φῄς, ὦ Δημόσθενες,
indeed says to you why ever as you-say O Demosthenes
ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειπεῖν ἐμὲ Φιλοκράτει γνοὺς οὐδὲν
from the to-have-supported me Philocrates having-recognized nothing
ἡμᾶς ὑγιὲς πράττοντας, τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβείαν τὴν
us sound doing the after these-things embassy the
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους συνεπρέσβευσας πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐξωμόσω;’
for the oaths you-joined-the-embassy again and not declined-on-oath
ταῦτα μέμνησθε, ὅτι τούτοις ὡμολογήκειν οὓς ἐλυσάμην
these-things remember that to-these I-had-promised whom I-ransomed
καὶ κομιεῖν λύτρα καὶ σώσειν εἰς δύναμιν.
both to-be-going-to-bring ransom and to-be-going-to-save to my-power
172 δεινὸν οὖν ψεύσασθαι καὶ προέσθαι δυστυχοῦντας ἀνθρώπους
terrible then to-lie and to-abandon unfortunate men
πολίτας· ἰδίᾳ δ’, ἐξομοσάμενον, οὐ πάνυ καλὸν οὐδ’
citizens privately but having-declined-on-oath not very fine nor
ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ἐκεῖσε πλανᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ
safe was there to-wander since if not because-of the
τούτους βούλεσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης,
these to-wish to-save utterly may-I-perish and root-and-branch
εἰ προσλαβών γ’ ἂν ἀργύριον πάνυ πολὺ μετὰ
if having-received-besides at-least — silver very much with
τούτων ἐπρέσβευσα. σημεῖον δέ· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τρίτην
these-men I-would-have-gone-as-envoy proof and on for the third
πρεσβείαν δίς με χειροτονησάντων ὑμῶν δὶς ἐξωμοσάμην.
embassy twice me having-elected you twice I-declined-on-oath
καὶ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀποδημίαν πάντα τἀναντί’ ἔπραττον.
and during this the journey all the-opposite I-did
173 ὧν μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοκράτωρ ἦν ἐγὼ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν,
of-what indeed then in-sole-charge was I on the embassy
τοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν· ἃ δ’ οὗτοι πλείους ὄντες
this had the way for-you what but these-men more being

ἐνίκων, ἅπαντ᾽ ἀπόλωλεν. καίτοι καὶ τἄλλ᾽ ἂν ἅπαντ᾽
carried all has-perished and-yet also the-rest — all
ἀκολούθως τούτοις ἐπέπρακτο, εἴ τις ἐπείθετό μοι.
consistently with-these would-have-been-done if anyone had-obeyed me
οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽ οὕτως ἄθλιος οὐδ᾽ ἄφρων ὥστε χρήματα
not for I-at-least so wretched nor senseless that money
μὲν διδόναι, λαμβάνοντας ὁρῶν ἑτέρους, ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς
indeed to-give taking seeing others for the toward
ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίας, ἃ δ᾽ ἄνευ μὲν δαπάνης οἷά τ᾽ ἦν
you generosity what but without indeed expense possible — was
πραχθῆναι, πολλῷ δὲ μείζονας εἶχεν ὠφελείας πάσῃ τῇ
to-be-done by-much but greater had benefits for-all the
πόλει, ταῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἐβουλόμην γίγνεσθαι. καὶ σφόδρα γ᾽,
city these-things not I-wished to-happen and vehemently at-least
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι περιῆσαν οὗτοί μου.
O men Athenians but I-think prevailed these-men over-me
φέρε δή, τί τούτῳ πέπρακται παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ τί τῷ 174
come indeed what by-this-man has-been-done beside these-things and what —
Φιλοκράτει θεάσασθε· παρ᾽ ἄλληλα γὰρ ἔσται φανερώτερα.
by-Philocrates behold beside each-other for they-will-be clearer
πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους καὶ Ἁλέας
first indeed then Phocians excluded-from-the-treaty and Halians
ἀπέφηναν καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ
they-declared and Cersobleptes contrary-to the decree and the-things
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρημένα· εἶτα τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ ἐπεχείρησαν κινεῖν
to you said then the decree they-tried to-tamper-with
καὶ μεταίρειν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ πρεσβεύοντες ἥκομεν· εἶτα Καρδιανοὺς
and to-alter on which as-envoys we-had-come then Cardians
Φιλίππῳ συμμάχους ἐνέγραψαν καὶ τὴν μὲν γραφεῖσαν
as-Philip's allies they-enrolled and the indeed written

ἐπιστολὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ πέμπειν,
letter by me to you they-voted not to-send
αὐτοὶ δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ὑγιὲς γράψαντες ἔπεμψαν.
themselves but not-even anything-whatever sound having-written they-sent
175 εἶθ᾽ ὁ γενναῖος οὑτοσὶ ἐμὲ μὲν τὸν δῆμον ἔφη τὸν
then the noble this-here me indeed the people he-said the
ὑμέτερον καταλύσειν ἐπηγγέλθαι Φιλίππῳ, ὅτι ταῦτ᾽
your to-be-going-to-overthrow to-have-promised to-Philip because these-things
ἐπέπληττον, οὐ μόνον αἰσχρὰ νομίζων ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ
I-rebuked not only shameful thinking but also fearing lest
συμπαραπόλωμαι διὰ τούτους, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἰδίᾳ πάντα
I-perish-along-with because-of these-men he-himself but privately all
τὸν χρόνον ἐντυγχάνων οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἐπαύσατο Φιλίππῳ.
the time meeting not-even at-all ceased with-Philip
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, Δερκύλος δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν Φεραῖς
and the indeed other-things I-pass-over Dercylus but him in Pherae
τὴν νύκτ᾽ ἐφύλαττεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸν παῖδ᾽ ἔχων τὸν ἐμὸν
the night watched not I the slave having the my
τουτονί, καὶ λαβὼν ἐξιόντ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου σκηνῆς
this-here and having-caught going-out from the of-Philip tent
ἐμοὶ τὸν παῖδ᾽ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι,
to-me the slave he-ordered to-report and himself to-remember
καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὑτοσὶ νύκτα
and the last the loathsome and shameless this-here night
καὶ ἡμέραν ἀπιόντων ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη παρὰ Φιλίππῳ.
and day departing us was-left-behind with Philip
176 καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς
and these-things that true I-say first indeed myself
ἐγὼ συγγραψάμενος καὶ καταστήσας ἐμαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον
I having-written-it-down and having-made myself liable
μαρτυρήσω, εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἕκαστον καλῶ, καὶ
I-will-testify then of-the other envoys each I-call and

δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ μαρτυρεῖν ἢ ἐξόμνυσθαι ἀναγκάσω. ἂν
of-two the-one either to-testify or to-swear-ignorance I-will-compel if
δ' ἐξομνύωσιν, ἐπιορκοῦντας ἐξελέγξω παρ' ὑμῖν φανερῶς.
but they-swear-ignorance perjuring I-will-prove before you plainly
οἵοις μὲν τοίνυν κακοῖς καὶ πράγμασι τὴν ἀποδημίαν 177
in-what indeed then evils and troubles the journey
πᾶσαν συνειχόμην ἑοράκατε. τί γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἴεσθ' ἐκεῖ
whole I-was-held you-have-seen what for them do-you-think there
ποιεῖν ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦ διδόντος, ὅθ' ὑμῶν ὁρώντων,
to-do near being the-one giving when you watching
τῶν καὶ τιμῆσαι κυρίων ὄντων καὶ τοὐναντίον κολάσαι,
the-ones both to-honor empowered being and conversely to-punish
τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν;
such-things they-do
συλλογίσασθαι δὴ βούλομαι τὰ κατηγορημέν' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
to-sum-up indeed I-wish the accusations from the-beginning
ἵν' ὅσ' ὑμῖν ὑπεσχόμην ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου δείξω
so-that as-much-as to-you I-promised beginning the speech I-may-show
πεποιηκώς. ἐπέδειξ' οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἀπηγγελκότα, ἀλλὰ
having-done I-showed nothing true having-reported but
φενακίσανθ' ὑμᾶς, μάρτυσι τοῖς γεγενημένοις αὐτοῖς, οὐ
having-cheated you with-witnesses the events themselves not
λόγοις χρώμενος.
words using
ἐπέδειξ' αἴτιον γεγενημένον τοῦ μὴ 'θέλειν ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν 178
I-showed cause having-become of-the not to-be-willing you to-hear
ἐμοῦ τἀληθῆ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασι
from-me the-truth by-the promises and the offers
τοῖς τούτου καταληφθέντας τότε, πάντα τἀναντία
the of-this-man captivated then all the-opposite
συμβουλεύσαντ' ἢ ἔδει, καὶ τῇ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων
having-advised than was-needful and the indeed of-the allies

ἀντειπόντ᾽ εἰρήνῃ, τῇ δὲ Φιλοκράτους συνηγορήσαντα, τοὺς
having-opposed peace the and of-Philocrates having-supported the
χρόνους κατατρίψαντα, ἵνα μηδ᾽ εἰ βούλοισθε δύναισθ᾽
times having-wasted so-that not-even if you-wished you-could
ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Φωκέας, καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας πολλὰ
to-march-out to Phocians and other-things on the journey many
καὶ δεί᾽ εἰργασμένον, προδεδωκότα πάντα, πεπρακότα,
and terrible having-done having-betrayed all having-sold
δῶρ᾽ ἔχοντα, οὐδὲν ἐλλελοιπότα μοχθηρίας. οὐκοῦν ταῦθ᾽
bribes having nothing having-left-out of-villainy therefore these-things
ὑπεσχόμην ἐν ἀρχῇ, ταῦτ᾽ ἐπέδειξα.
I-promised at the-beginning these-things I-showed

179 ὁρᾶτε τοίνυν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα· ἁπλοῦς γάρ ἐσθ᾽
see then the-things after these-things simple for is
ὁ μέλλων λόγος οὑτοσὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη. ὀμωμόκατε
the coming argument this-here to you already you-have-sworn
ψηφιεῖσθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ
to-be-going-to-vote according-to the laws and the decrees the
τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων· φαίνεται δ᾽
of-the people and of-the council of-the five-hundred appears and
οὗτος πάντα τἀναντία τοῖς νόμοις, τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, τοῖς
this-man all the-opposite to-the laws the decrees the
δικαίοις πεπρεσβευκώς· οὐκοῦν ἑαλωκέναι προσήκει παρά
just having-gone-as-envoy therefore to-be-convicted it-befits before
γε νοῦν ἔχουσι δικασταῖς. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἠδίκει,
at-least sense having jurors if for other nothing he-had-done-wrong
δύο τῶν πεπραγμένων ἔσθ᾽ ἱκάν᾽ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι· οὐ γὰρ
two of-the things-done are enough him to-kill not for
μόνον Φωκέας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρᾴκην προδέδωκε Φιλίππῳ.
only Phocians but also Thrace he-has-betrayed to-Philip

καίτοι δύο χρησιμωτέρους τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης οὐδ' 180
and-yet two more-useful places of-the inhabited-world not-even
ἂν εἷς ἐπιδείξαι τῇ πόλει, κατὰ μὲν γῆν Πυλῶν, ἐκ
— one could-show for-the city by indeed land than-Pylae from
θαλάττης δὲ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· ἃ συναμφότερ' οὗτοι
sea and — than-Hellespont which both-together these-men
πεπράκασιν αἰσχρῶς καὶ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκεχειρίκασι Φιλίππῳ.
have-sold shamefully and against you have-handed-over to-Philip
τοῦτο τοίνυν αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ἡλίκον ἔστ' ἀδίκημα, τὸ
this then itself without the others how-great is a-wrong the
Θρᾴκην καὶ τὰ τείχη προέσθαι, μυρί' ἂν εἴη
Thrace and the forts to-abandon countless-things — it-would-be-possible
λέγειν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολώλασι παρ' ὑμῖν,
to-say and how-many because-of these-things have-perished among you
οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν, οὐ χαλεπὸν
the-others and money very-much have-been-fined not hard
δεῖξαι, Ἐργόφιλος, Κηφισόδοτος, Τιμόμαχος, τὸ παλαιόν
to-show Ergophilus Cephisodotus Timomachus the of-old
ποτ' Ἐργοκλῆς, Διονύσιος, ἄλλοι, οὓς ὀλίγου δέω
once Ergocles Dionysius others whom almost I-come-short
σύμπαντας εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τὴν πόλιν βεβλαφέναι τούτου.
all to-say less the city to-have-harmed than-this-man

Athens now overlooks whatever does not trouble it daily and votes decrees in vain, none of which would be needed had Aeschines sailed as he should. An envoy is accountable for his words and for the time he spends, since in a democracy governed by speeches the council and the assembly act on what they hear. Aeschines will ask what can be said of Demosthenes, who accuses his fellow envoys and messmates; but Leon accused Timagoras after four years as fellow envoys, Eubulus his messmates Tharrex and Smicythus, and the famous Conon his fellow general Adeimantus. At Philip's festival after taking Olynthus, Satyrus the comic actor asked only for the freedom of two captive girls, daughters of a murdered friend, so that he could give them dowries and marry them off. At Xenophron's feast in Macedonia, Aeschines and Phryno had an Olynthian captive woman stripped and whipped when she would not sing, until Iatrocles rescued her.

181 ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι γὰρ τότ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκ λογισμοῦ
but still for then O men Athenians from reasoning
τὰ δείν᾽ ἐφυλάττεσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς καὶ προεωρᾶσθε· νῦν δ᾽ ὅ
the dangers guarded-against you and foresaw now but that
τι ἂν μὴ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὑμᾶς ἐνοχλῇ καὶ παρὸν λυπῇ,
which — not by day you troubles and being-present pains
παρορᾶτε, εἶτα τὴν ἄλλως ἐνταῦθα ψηφίζεσθε, ‘ἀποδοῦναι
you-overlook then the idly here you-vote to-give
δὲ καὶ Κερσοβλέπτῃ Φίλιππον τοὺς ὅρκους,’ ‘μὴ μετέχειν
and also to-Cersobleptes Philip the oaths not to-take-part
δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν,’ ‘ἐπανορθώσασθαι δὲ τὴν
and in-the-things among Amphictyons to-amend and the
εἰρήνην.’ καίτοι τούτων οὐδενὸς ἂν τῶν ψηφισμάτων
peace and-yet of-these none — of-the decrees
ἔδει, εἰ πλεῖν οὗτος ἤθελεν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα
would-be-needed if to-sail this-man had-been-willing and the fitting-things

ποιεῖν· νῦν δ' ἃ μὲν ἦν πλεύσασι σῶσαι, βαδίζειν
to-do now but what indeed it-was-possible for-men-sailing to-save to-march
κελεύων ἀπολώλεκεν, ἃ δ' εἰποῦσι τἀληθῆ, ψευδόμενος.
urging he-has-lost what and for-men-speaking the-truth lying
ἀγανακτήσει τοίνυν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, 182
he-will-be-indignant then presently indeed very as I learn
εἰ μόνος τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λεγόντων λόγων εὐθύνας
if alone of-the-ones in the assembly speaking for-words audits
ὑφέξει. ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν πάντες ἂν εἰκότως ὧν
he-will-submit-to I but that indeed all — reasonably for-what
λέγουσι δίκην ὑπέχοιεν, εἴπερ ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ τι λέγοιεν,
they-say penalty would-pay if-indeed for silver anything they-said
παραλείψω, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λέγω· εἰ μὲν Αἰσχίνης ἰδιώτης ὢν
I-will-pass-over but that I-say if indeed Aeschines a-private-man being
ἀπελήρησέ τι καὶ διήμαρτε, μὴ σφόδρ' ἀκριβολογήσησθε,
talked-nonsense something and erred not very be-exacting
ἐάσατε, συγγνώμην ἔχετε· εἰ δὲ πρεσβευτὴς ὢν ἐπὶ
let-it-go pardon have if but envoy being for
χρήμασιν ἐπίτηδες ἐξηπάτηκεν ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἀφῆτε, μηδ'
money deliberately he-has-deceived you not acquit nor
ἀνάσχησθ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ δίκην ὧν εἶπεν ὑποσχεῖν.
tolerate that not it-is-needful penalty for-what he-said to-pay
τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου δεῖ δίκην παρὰ πρέσβεων ἢ λόγων 183
for-what for other is-it-needful penalty from envoys than words
λαμβάνειν; εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πρέσβεις οὐ τριήρων οὐδὲ τόπων
to-exact are for the envoys not of-triremes nor of-places
οὐδ' ὁπλιτῶν οὐδ' ἀκροπόλεων κύριοι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ πρέσβεσι
nor of-hoplites nor of-citadels masters no-one for to-envoys
ταῦτ' ἐγχειρίζει), ἀλλὰ λόγων καὶ χρόνων. τοὺς μὲν
these-things entrusts but of-words and of-times the indeed
τοίνυν χρόνους εἰ μὲν μὴ προανεῖλε τῆς πόλεως,
then times if indeed not he-took-away-beforehand from-the city

οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, εἰ δ' ἀνεῖλεν, ἠδίκηκε· τοὺς δὲ λόγους
not he-does-wrong if but he-took-away he-has-done-wrong the and words
εἰ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἀπήγγελκεν ἢ συμφέροντας, ἀποφευγέτω,
if indeed true he-has-reported or advantageous let-him-be-acquitted
εἰ δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ μισθοῦ καὶ ἀσυμφόρους, ἁλισκέσθω.
if but both false and for-pay and disadvantageous let-him-be-convicted
184 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι μεῖζον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσειέ τις ἢ
nothing for is that which greater — you could-wrong anyone than
ψευδῆ λέγων. οἷς γάρ ἐστ' ἐν λόγοις ἡ πολιτεία, πῶς,
false-things saying for-whom for is in words the constitution how
ἂν οὗτοι μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι;
if these not true be safely is-it-possible to-live-as-citizens
ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἃ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμφέρει δῶρά
if and indeed also toward what to-the enemies is-advantageous bribes
τις λαμβάνων λέγῃ, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ κινδυνεύσετε; οὐδέ
anyone taking speaks how not also you-will-be-in-danger nor
γε τοὺς χρόνους ἴσον ἔστ' ἀδίκημ' ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ
at-least the times equal is a-wrong from-an-oligarchy or
τυράννου παρελέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν· οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖ.
a-tyrant to-take-away and from-you not-even by-a-little it-lacks
185 ἐν ἐκείναις μὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις πάντ' ἐξ
in those indeed for I-think the constitutions all-things from
ἐπιτάγματος ὀξέως γίγνεται· ὑμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
command swiftly happen for-you but first indeed the
βουλὴν ἀκοῦσαι περὶ πάντων καὶ προβουλεῦσαι δεῖ,
council to-hear about all-things and to-resolve-beforehand it-is-needful
καὶ τοῦθ' ὅταν ᾖ κήρυξι καὶ πρεσβείαις προγεγραμμένον,
and this when it-is for-heralds and embassies posted-beforehand
οὐκ ἀεί· εἶτ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ταύτην ὅταν ἐκ τῶν
not always then an-assembly to-hold and this when from the
νόμων καθήκῃ. εἶτα κρατῆσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι δεῖ
laws it-falls-due then to-prevail and to-win it-is-needful

τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας τῶν ἢ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν
the-ones the best-things saying over-the-ones either through ignorance
ἢ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀντιλεγόντων.
or through villainy opposing
ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις, ἐπειδὰν καὶ δεδογμένον ᾖ καὶ 186
after all and these-things when also decided it-is and
συμφέρον ἤδη φαίνηται, χρόνον δεῖ δοθῆναι τῇ τῶν
advantageous already it-appears time is-needful to-be-given to-the of-the
πολλῶν ἀδυναμίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πορισοῦνται ταῦθ᾽ ὧν ἂν
many incapacity in which also they-will-provide these-things which —
δέωνται, ὅπως τὰ δόξαντα καὶ δυνηθῶσι ποιῆσαι. ὁ
they-need so-that the things-decided also they-may-be-able to-do the-one
δὴ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ἀναιρῶν τῆς οἵα παρ᾽ ἡμῖν
indeed the times these taking-away from-the such-as among us
ἐστι πολιτείας, οὐ χρόνους ἀνῄρηκεν οὗτος, οὔ, ἀλλὰ
is constitution not times has-taken-away this-man no but
τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἁπλῶς ἀφῄρηται.
the affairs simply he-has-taken-away
ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξαπατᾶν 187
there-is then some ready phrase for-all the-ones to-deceive
ὑμᾶς βουλομένοις, ‘οἱ ταράττοντες τὴν πόλιν, οἱ
you wishing the-ones troubling the city the-ones
διακωλύοντες Φίλιππον εὖ ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν.’ πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ
preventing Philip well to-do the city to whom I
λόγον μὲν οὐδέν᾽ ἐρῶ, τὰς δ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι
word indeed none I-will-say the but letters to-you I-will-read
τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἕκαστ᾽
the — of-Philip and the occasions on which each-time
ἐξηπάτησθ᾽ ὑπομνήσω, ἵν᾽ εἰδῆθ᾽ ὅτι τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτ᾽
you-were-deceived I-will-recall so-that you-may-know that the frigid this
ὄνομα, τὸ ‘ἄχρι κόρου,’ παρελήλυθ᾽ ἐκεῖνος φενακίζων ὑμᾶς.
word the to satiety has-passed he cheating you

188 οὕτω τοίνυν αἰσχρὰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πάντα καθ' ὑμῶν
so then shameful and many and all against you
πεπρεσβευκὼς περιιὼν λέγει, 'τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ
having-gone-as-envoy going-around he-says what and — could-you-say about
Δημοσθένους, ὃς τῶν συμπρέσβεων κατηγορεῖ;' νὴ Δί',
Demosthenes who the fellow-envoys accuses by Zeus
εἴτε βούλομαί γ' εἴτε μή, παρ' ὅλην μὲν τὴν
whether I-wish at-least or not through whole indeed the
ἀποδημίαν ὑπὸ σοῦ τοιαῦτ' ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, δυοῖν δ'
journey by you such-things having-been-plotted-against of-two and
αἱρέσεως οὔσης μοι νυνί, ἢ τοιούτων ὄντων τῶν
choice being for-me now either such being the
πεπραγμένων δοκεῖν κοινωνεῖν ὑμῖν, ἢ κατηγορεῖν.
things-done to-seem to-share with-you or to-accuse
189 ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲ συμπεπρεσβευκέναι φημί σοι, πρεσβεύειν
I but not-even to-have-been-fellow-envoy say with-you to-be-envoy
μέντοι σὲ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, ἐμαυτὸν δ'
however you indeed many and terrible-things myself but
ὑπὲρ τουτωνὶ τὰ βέλτιστα. ἀλλὰ Φιλοκράτης σοι
on-behalf-of these-here the best-things but Philocrates with-you
συμπεπρέσβευκε, κἀκείνῳ σύ, καὶ Φρύνων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ
has-been-fellow-envoy and-with-him you and Phryno you for
ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, καὶ ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἤρεσκεν.
the-same-things did and the-same-things all you pleased
'ποῦ δ' ἅλες; ποῦ τράπεζα; ποῦ σπονδαί;' ταῦτα γὰρ
where but salt where table where libations these-things for
τραγῳδεῖ περιιών, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τούτων
he-declaims going-around as-if not the-ones doing-wrong of-these
ὄντας προδότας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας.
being betrayers but the-ones the just-things doing

ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρυτάνεις θύουσιν ἑκάστοτε 190
I but know that all the prytanes sacrifice each-time
κοινῇ καὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συσπένδουσιν· καὶ
in-common and dine-together with-each-other and pour-libations-together and
οὐ διὰ ταῦθ᾽ οἱ χρηστοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς μιμοῦνται,
not because-of these-things the good the wicked imitate
ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν ἀδικοῦντα λάβωσί τιν᾽ αὑτῶν, τῇ βουλῇ καὶ
but if doing-wrong they-catch any of-themselves to-the council and
τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῦσιν. ἡ βουλὴ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα, εἰσιτητήρι᾽
to-the people they-reveal the council the-same these-things inaugural-sacrifices
ἔθυσε, συνειστιάθη, σπονδῶν, ἱερῶν ἐκοινώνησεν· οἱ
sacrificed feasted-together libations rites shared the
στρατηγοί, σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι. ἆρ᾽ οὖν
generals nearly as to-speak the magistracies all — then
διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἑαυτῶν ἔδωκαν ἄδειαν;
because-of these-things to-the wrongdoers among-themselves have-they-given impunity
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ.
much at-least indeed is-lacking
Λέων Τιμαγόρου κατηγόρει συμπεπρεσβευκὼς τέτταρ᾽ ἔτη, 191
Leon Timagoras accused having-been-fellow-envoy four years
Εὔβουλος Θάρρηκος καὶ Σμικύθου συσσεσιτηκώς, Κόνων
Eubulus Tharrex and Smicythus having-messed-with Conon
ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος Ἀδειμάντου συστρατηγήσας. πότερ᾽
the old that-famous Adeimantus having-been-fellow-general whether
οὖν τοὺς ἅλας παρέβαινον καὶ τὰς σπονδάς, Αἰσχίνη,
then the salt transgressed and the libations Aeschines
οἱ προδιδόντες καὶ οἱ παραπρεσβεύοντες καὶ οἱ
the-ones betraying and the-ones misconducting-embassies and the-ones
δωροδοκοῦντες, ἢ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες; οἱ ἀδικοῦντες
taking-bribes or the-ones accusing the-ones doing-wrong

δηλονότι τὰς ὅλης γε τῆς πατρίδος σπονδάς, ὥσπερ
evidently the of-whole at-least the fatherland libations just-as
σύ, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἰδίας.
you not only the private

192 ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι οὐ μόνον τῶν δημοσίᾳ πώποτ'
so-that then you-may-know that not only of-the-ones publicly ever
ἐληλυθότων ὡς Φίλιππον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
having-gone to Philip men but also of-the-ones
ἰδίᾳ καὶ πάντων οὗτοι φαυλότατοι καὶ πονηρότατοι
privately and of-all these-men most-worthless and most-wicked
γεγόνασι, μικρὸν ἀκούσατέ μου ἔξω τι τῆς πρεσβείας
have-been a-little hear me outside somewhat of-the embassy
ταύτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὄλυνθον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπι'
this when for took Olynthus Philip Olympia
ἐποίει, εἰς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν
he-held to and the sacrifice this and the festival
πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας συνήγαγεν.
all the artists he-gathered

193 ἑστιῶν δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶν τοὺς νενικηκότας ἤρετο
feasting and them and crowning the victors he-asked
Σάτυρον τουτονὶ τὸν κωμικὸν ὑποκριτήν, τί δὴ μόνος οὐδὲν
Satyrus this-here the comic actor why indeed alone nothing
ἐπαγγέλλεται; ἤ τιν' ἐν αὐτῷ μικροψυχίαν ἢ πρὸς αὑτὸν
he-asks whether some in him meanness or toward himself
ἀηδίαν ἐνεορακώς; εἰπεῖν δή φασι τὸν Σάτυρον ὅτι, ὧν
dislike having-seen to-have-said then they-say — Satyrus that of-what
μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι δέονται, οὐδενὸς ὢν ἐν χρείᾳ τυγχάνει, ἃ
indeed the others ask of-nothing being in need he-happens what
δ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγείλαιθ' ἡδέως, ῥᾷστα μέν ἐστιν Φιλίππῳ
but — he-himself would-ask gladly easiest indeed is for-Philip
δοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι πάντων, δέδοικε δὲ μὴ διαμάρτῃ.
to-give and to-grant of-all he-fears but lest he-fail

κελεύσαντος δ' ἐκείνου λέγειν καί τι καὶ νεανιευσαμένου 194
having-bidden and him to-speak and something also having-spoken-boldly
τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ποιήσει, εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν
such as nothing that which not he-will-do to-have-said they-say him
ὅτι ἦν αὐτῷ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Πυδναῖος ξένος καὶ φίλος,
that was to-him Apollophanes the Pydnaean guest-friend and friend
ἐπειδὴ δὲ δολοφονηθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖνος, φοβηθέντες οἱ
when and murdered died he having-been-afraid the
συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπεξέθεντο τὰς θυγατέρας παιδί' ὄντ' εἰς
kinsmen of-him sent-away-secretly the daughters children being to
Ὄλυνθον. 'αὗται τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης αἰχμάλωτοι
Olynthus these then the city having-been-taken captives
γεγόνασι καὶ εἰσὶν παρὰ σοί, ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι γάμου.'
have-become and are with you age having of-marriage
'ταύτας, αἰτῶ σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι. βούλομαι δέ σ' 195
these I-ask you and I-beg give to-me I-wish but you
ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν οἵαν μοι δώσεις δωρειάν, ἂν
to-hear and to-learn what-sort to-me you-will-give gift if
ἄρα δῷς· ἀφ' ἧς ἐγὼ κερδανῶ μὲν οὐδέν, ἂν λάβω,
then you-give from which I shall-gain indeed nothing if I-get-them
προῖκα δὲ προσθεὶς ἐκδώσω, καὶ οὐ περιόψομαι
a-dowry but having-added I-will-give-in-marriage and not I-will-allow
παθούσας οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον οὔθ' ἡμῶν οὔτε τοῦ πατρός.' ὡς
having-suffered anything unworthy either of-us or of-the father when
δ' ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τοσοῦτον
and to-have-heard the-ones present at the drinking-party such
κρότον καὶ θόρυβον καὶ ἔπαινον παρὰ πάντων γενέσθαι
clapping and uproar and praise from all to-have-arisen
ὥστε τὸν Φίλιππον παθεῖν τι καὶ δοῦναι.
that — Philip to-have-been-moved somewhat and to-have-given

καίτοι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἦν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
and-yet of-the-ones having-killed was — Alexander the
ἀδελφὸν τὸν Φιλίππου οὗτος ὁ Ἀπολλοφάνης.
brother the of-Philip this — Apollophanes
196 ἐξετάσωμεν δὴ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Σατύρου τοῦτο συμπόσιον
let-us-compare indeed with the — of-Satyrus this drinking-party
τὸ τούτων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ γενόμενον, καὶ θεάσασθ᾽
the of-these-men in Macedonia having-taken-place and see
ὡς παραπλήσιον τούτῳ καὶ ὅμοιον. κληθέντες γὰρ
how closely-resembling to-this and like having-been-invited for
οὗτοι πρὸς Ξενόφρονα τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φαιδίμου, τοῦ τῶν
these-men to Xenophron the son the of-Phaedimus the-one of-the
τριάκοντα, ᾤχοντο· ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπορεύθην. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἦκον
thirty went I but not went when and they-came
εἰς τὸ πίνειν, εἰσάγει τιν᾽ Ὀλυνθίαν γυναῖκα, εὐπρεπῆ
to the drinking he-brings-in an Olynthian woman good-looking
μέν, ἐλευθέραν δὲ καὶ σώφρονα, ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐδήλωσεν.
indeed free but and modest as the event showed
197 ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὑτωσὶ πίνειν ἡσυχῇ καὶ τρώγειν
her the indeed first thus to-drink quietly and to-nibble
ἠνάγκαζον οὗτοί μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς διηγεῖτ᾽ Ἰατροκλῆς ἐμοὶ
compelled these-men to-me it-seems as related Iatrocles to-me
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· ὡς δὲ προῄει τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ διεθερμαίνοντο,
on-the next-day as but went-on the affair and they-grew-heated
κατακλίνεσθαι καί τι καὶ ᾄδειν ἐκέλευον. ἀδημονούσης
to-recline and something also to-sing they-bade being-distressed
δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὔτ᾽ ἐθελούσης οὔτ᾽ ἐπισταμένης,
and the woman and neither willing nor knowing-how
ὕβριν τὸ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἔφασαν οὑτοσὶ καὶ ὁ Φρύνων καὶ
insolence the thing called this-here and — Phryno and
οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι, τῶν θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, τῶν ἀλειτηρίων
not tolerable to-be of-the to-gods hateful the accursed

Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν τρυφᾶν· καὶ ‘κάλει παῖδα,’
of-Olynthians captive being to-give-herself-airs and call a-slave
καὶ ‘ἱμᾶντά τις φερέτω.’ ἦκεν οἰκέτης ἔχων ῥυτῆρα, καὶ
and a-strap someone let-bring came a-servant having a-whip and
πεπωκότων, οἶμαι, καὶ μικρῶν ὄντων τῶν παροξυνόντων,
having-drunk I-think and small being the-things provoking
εἰπούσης τι καὶ δακρυσάσης ἐκείνης περιρρήξας τὸν
having-said something and having-wept her having-torn-off the
χιτωνίσκον ὁ οἰκέτης ξαίνει κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολλάς.
little-tunic the servant lashes on the back many
ἔξω δ’ αὐτῆς οὖσ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος 198
outside and herself being from the suffering and the affair
ἡ γυνή, ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει πρὸς τὰ γόνατα τῷ
the woman having-leapt-up falls before the knees —
Ἰατροκλεῖ, καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέπει. καὶ εἰ μὴ ’κεῖνος
of-Iatrocles and the table overturns and if not he
ἀφείλετο, ἀπώλετ’ ἂν παροινουμένη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ
had-rescued-her she-would-have-perished — drunkenly-abused and for the
παροινία τοῦ καθάρματος τουτουὶ δεινή. καὶ περὶ ταύτης
drunken-violence of-the scum this-here terrible and about this
τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λόγος ἦν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις,
the woman both in Arcadia talk was among the ten-thousand
καὶ Διόφαντος ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλεν ἃ νῦν μαρτυρεῖν αὐτὸν
and Diophantus before you reported what now to-testify him
ἀναγκάσω, καὶ κατὰ Θετταλίαν πολὺς λόγος καὶ πανταχοῦ.
I-will-compel and throughout Thessaly much talk and everywhere

Aeschines will dare to look the jurors in the face, though he grew up helping his mother at her rites and served the magistrates as an under-clerk for two or three drachmas. He cannot show that what he did never happened or that it helped the city, so he will say Demosthenes shared in everything. But Demosthenes accused the envoys of bribery in every assembly, and neither Philocrates, the most shameless man in the city, nor Aeschines, the loudest, ever answered him. When the people would not let Aeschines go as envoy, he shouted in the Piraeus that he would impeach and indict Demosthenes, yet did nothing. Demosthenes asked to render account twice; Aeschines kept him from it. The jurors should judge by what they know, not by speeches.

199 καὶ τοιαῦτα συνειδὼς αὑτῷ πεπραγμένα ὁ ἀκάθαρτος
and such-things being-conscious-of by-himself done the unclean
οὗτος τολμήσει βλέπειν εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὸν βεβιωμένον αὑτῷ
this-man will-dare to-look at you and the having-been-lived by-him
βίον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλ' ἐρεῖ λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ· ἐφ' οἷς
life presently indeed very he-will-tell with-ringing the voice at which
ἔγωγ' ἀποπνίγομαι. οὐκ ἴσασιν οὗτοι τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰς
I-at-least choke not know these the indeed from the-beginning the
βίβλους ἀναγιγνώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ, καὶ
books reading-aloud you for-the mother performing-initiations and
παῖδ' ὄντ' ἐν θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις καλινδούμενον;
a-boy being in revel-bands and drunken men rolling-about
200 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπογραμματεύοντα καὶ
after these-things and for-the magistrates serving-as-under-clerk and
δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν δραχμῶν πονηρὸν ὄντα; τὰ τελευταῖα δ'
for-two or three drachmas a-knave being the last and
ἔναγχος ἐν χορηγίοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπὶ τῷ τριταγωνιστεῖν
lately in choral-houses of-others on the playing-third-parts
ἀγαπητῶς παρατρεφόμενον; ποῖον οὖν ἐρεῖς βίον; ὃν
contentedly being-fed-at-the-side what-sort then will-you-tell life which

ποῦ βεβίωκας; ἐπεὶ ὅ γε βεβιωμένος σοι τοιοῦτος
where have-you-lived since the at-least having-been-lived by-you such
φαίνεται. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας· οὗτος ἄλλον
appears but indeed the-things of-the license this-man another
ἔκρινε παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ. ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ
prosecuted before you for prostitution but not-yet these-things but
τὰς μαρτυρίας μοι λέγε πρῶτον ταυτασί.
the testimonies for-me read first these-here
τοσούτων τοίνυν καὶ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, 201
so-many then and such being O men jurors
ὧν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐξελήλεγκται, ἐν οἷς τί κακὸν οὐκ
in-which wronging you he-has-been-convicted in which what evil not
ἔνι; δωροδόκος, κόλαξ, ταῖς ἀραῖς ἔνοχος, ψεύστης, τῶν
is-in-it bribe-taker flatterer to-the curses liable liar of-the
φίλων προδότης, πάντ᾽ ἔνεστι τὰ δεινότατα· πρὸς ἓν
friends betrayer all are-in-it the most-terrible-things to one
οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν τούτων ἀπολογήσεται, οὐδ᾽ ἕξει
not-even anything-whatever of-these he-will-defend-himself nor he-will-be-able
δικαίαν οὐδ᾽ ἁπλῆν εἰπεῖν ἀπολογίαν οὐδεμίαν. ἃ δ᾽
just nor straightforward to-speak defense any what but
ἐγὼ πέπυσμαι μέλλειν αὐτὸν λέγειν, ἔστι μὲν ἐγγυτάτω
I have-learned to-intend him to-say is indeed nearest
μανίας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως τῷ μηδὲν ἔχοντι δίκαιον
to-madness not however but perhaps for-the-one nothing having just
ἄλλ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη πάντα μηχανᾶσθαι.
other to-say necessary all-things to-contrive
ἀκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν ὡς ἄρ᾽ ἐγὼ πάντων 202
I-hear for him to-be-going-to-say that after-all I of-all
ὧν κατηγορῶ κοινωνὸς γέγονα, καὶ συνήρεσκε ταῦτά
which I-accuse partner have-been and pleased-too these-things
μοι καὶ συνέπραττον αὐτῷ, ἔπειτ᾽ ἐξαίφνης μεταβέβλημαι
me and I-cooperated with-him then suddenly I-have-changed-sides

καὶ κατηγορῶ. ἔστι δ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων
and accuse is but for indeed the things-done
οὔτε δικαία οὔτε προσήκουσ' ἡ τοιαύτη ἀπολογία, ἐμοῦ
neither just nor fitting the such defense of-me
μέντοι τις κατηγορία· ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, εἰ ταῦτα πεποίηκα,
however some accusation I indeed for if these-things I-have-done
φαῦλός εἰμ' ἄνθρωπος, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' οὐδὲν βελτίω
worthless am a-man the but affairs nothing better
διὰ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ.
because-of this nor much is-lacking
203 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' οἶμαί μοι προσήκειν ἀμφότερ'
not however but I-at-least think for-me to-be-fitting both
ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, καὶ ὅτι ψεύσεται, ταῦτ' ἐὰν λέγῃ, καὶ
to-you to-show both that he-will-lie these-things if he-says and
τὴν δικαίαν ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀπολογία. ἡ μὲν τοίνυν δικαία
the just what is defense the indeed then just
καὶ ἁπλῆ, ἢ ὡς οὐ πέπρακται τὰ κατηγορημένα
and straightforward either that not have-been-done the things-charged
δεῖξαι, ἢ ὡς πεπραγμένα συμφέρει τῇ πόλει. τούτων δ'
to-show or that having-been-done they-benefit the city of-these but
οὐδέτερον δύναιτ' ἂν οὗτος ποιῆσαι.
neither could — this-man do
204 οὔτε γὰρ ὡς συμφέρει δήπου Φωκέας ἀπολωλέναι καὶ
neither for that it-benefits surely Phocians to-have-perished and
Πύλας Φίλιππον ἔχειν καὶ Θηβαίους ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐν
Pylae Philip to-hold and Thebans to-be-strong and in
Εὐβοίᾳ στρατιώτας εἶναι καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ
Euboea soldiers to-be and against-Megara to-plot and
ἀνώμοτον εἶναι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔνεστι λέγειν αὐτῷ, οἷς
unsworn to-be the peace it-is-possible to-say for-him to-which
τότ' ἐναντί' ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς συμφέροντα καὶ
then opposite-things he-reported to you as advantageous and

γενησόμενα· οὔθ' ὡς οὐ πέπρακται ταῦτα, δυνήσεται
going-to-happen nor that not have-been-done these-things he-will-be-able
πεῖσαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑορακότας ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ εἰδότας.
to-persuade the-ones yourselves having-seen you and well knowing
οὐκοῦν ὡς οὐ κεκοινώνηκα τούτοις οὐδενός, λοιπόν 205
therefore that not I-have-shared with-these-men in-anything remaining
μοι δεῖξαι. βούλεσθ' οὖν ὑμῖν, πάντα τἄλλ' ἀφείς, ἃ
for-me to-show do-you-wish then to-you all the-rest having-let-go what
παρ' ὑμῖν ἀντεῖπον, ἃ ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ προσέκρουον, ὡς
before you I-opposed what on the journey I-clashed-over how
ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἠναντίωμαι, αὐτοὺς παράσχωμαι
all the time I-have-opposed them-themselves I-produce
μάρτυρας τούτους ὅτι πάντα τἀναντί' ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις
witnesses these-men that all the-opposite by-me and by-these-men
πέπρακται, καὶ χρήμαθ' οὗτοι μὲν ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν,
has-been-done and money these-men indeed have against you
ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησα λαβεῖν; θεάσασθε δή.
I but not was-willing to-take see indeed
τίνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φήσαιτ' ἂν βδελυρώτατον εἶναι καὶ 206
whom of-the-ones in the city would-you-say — most-loathsome to-be and
πλείστης ἀναιδείας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας μεστόν; οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν
of-most shamelessness and contempt full no-one not-even —
ἁμαρτὼν ὑμῶν ἄλλον εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φήσειεν ἢ Φιλοκράτην.
having-erred of-you another well I-know that would-say than Philocrates
τίνα δὲ φθέγγεσθαι μέγιστον ἁπάντων καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν
whom and to-speak loudest of-all and most-clearly —
εἰπεῖν ὅ τι βούλοιτο τῇ φωνῇ; Αἰσχίνην οἶδ' ὅτι
to-say that which he-might-wish with-the voice Aeschines I-know that
τουτονί. τίνα δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἄτολμον καὶ δειλὸν πρὸς τοὺς
this-here whom and these-men indeed timid and cowardly before the

ὄχλους φασὶν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' εὐλαβῆ; ἐμέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ πώποτ'
crowds say to-be I but cautious me in-nothing for ever
οὔτ' ἠνώχλησα οὔτε μὴ βουλομένους ὑμᾶς βεβίασμαι.
either I-troubled nor not wishing you I-have-forced
207 οὐκοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὁσάκις λόγος γέγονεν
therefore in all the assemblies as-often-as talk has-arisen
περὶ τούτων, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ἀκούετέ μου καὶ
about these-things both accusing you-hear me and
ἐλέγχοντος ἀεὶ τούτους καὶ λέγοντος ἄντικρυς ὅτι
convicting always these-men and saying outright that
χρήματ' εἰλήφασι καὶ πάντα πεπράκασι τὰ πράγματα
money they-have-taken and all have-sold the affairs
τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀκούων ταῦτ'
of-the city and of-these-men no-one ever hearing these-things
ἀντεῖπεν οὐδὲ διῆρε τὸ στόμα, οὐδ' ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν.
contradicted nor opened the mouth nor showed himself
208 τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι οἱ βδελυρώτατοι τῶν ἐν
what ever then is the cause that the most-loathsome of-the-ones in
τῇ πόλει καὶ μέγιστον φθεγγόμενοι τοῦ καὶ ἀτολμοτάτου
the city and loudest speaking by-the both most-timid
πάντων ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδενὸς μεῖζον φθεγγομένου τοσοῦτον
of-all me and than-no-one louder speaking so-much
ἡττῶνται; ὅτι τἀληθὲς ἰσχυρόν, καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀσθενὲς
are-beaten because the-truth is-strong and conversely weak
τὸ συνειδέναι πεπρακόσιν αὑτοῖς τὰ πράγματα. τοῦτο
the consciousness having-sold themselves the affairs this
παραιρεῖται τὴν θρασύτητα τὴν τούτων, τοῦτ' ἀποστρέφει
takes-away the boldness the of-these-men this turns-back
τὴν γλῶτταν, ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ.
the tongue blocks the mouth chokes to-be-silent makes

τὸ τοίνυν τελευταῖον ἴστε δήπου πρώην ἐν Πειραιεῖ, 209
the then last you-know surely lately in Piraeus
ὅτ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰᾶτε πρεσβεύειν, βοῶνθ᾽ ὡς εἰσαγγελεῖ
when him not you-allowed to-be-envoy shouting that he-will-impeach
με καὶ γράψεται καὶ ἰοὺ ἰού. καίτοι ταῦτα μέν ἐστι
me and will-indict and oh oh and-yet these-things indeed are
μακρῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ λόγων ἀρχή, ἐκεῖνα
of-long and many trials and speeches the-beginning those
δ᾽ ἁπλᾶ καὶ δύ᾽ ἢ τρί᾽ ἴσως ῥήματα, ἃ κἂν ἐχθὲς
but simple and two or three perhaps words which even yesterday
ἐωνημένος ἄνθρωπος εἰπεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ‘ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
bought a-man to-say could-have men Athenians
τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα πάνδεινόν ἐστιν· οὑτοσὶ κατηγορεῖ
this-here the thing all-terrible is this-here accuses
ταῦτ᾽ ἐμοῦ ὢν αὐτὸς κοινωνὸς γέγονε, καὶ χρήματ᾽
these-things of-me of-which himself partner has-been and money
εἰληφέναι φησὶν ἐμέ, αὐτὸς εἰληφὼς ἢ μετειληφώς.᾽
to-have-taken says me himself having-taken or having-shared
τούτων μὲν τοίνυν οὐδὲν εἶπεν οὐδ᾽ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ᾽ 210
of-these indeed then nothing he-said nor uttered nor
ἤκουσεν ὑμῶν οὐδείς, ἄλλα δ᾽ ἠπείλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι
heard of-you anyone other-things but he-threatened because-of what because
ταῦτα μὲν αὑτῷ συνῄδει πεπραγμένα, καὶ δοῦλος
these-things indeed with-himself he-knew done and slave
ἦν τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων. οὔκουν προσῄει πρὸς ταῦθ᾽
he-was of-the words these not-therefore approached to these-things
ἡ διάνοια, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεδύετο· ἐπελαμβάνετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ
the mind but shrank-back took-hold-of for it the
συνειδέναι. λοιδορεῖσθαι δ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἄττ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν
consciousness to-rail but other some-things nothing prevented
αὐτὸν οὐδὲ βλασφημεῖν.
him nor to-slander

211 ὃ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἁπάντων, καὶ οὐ λόγος ἀλλ' ἔργον·
what then greatest of-all and not word but deed
βουλομένου γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια, ὥσπερ ἐπρέσβευσα δίς, οὕτω
wishing for me the just-things as I-went-as-envoy twice so
καὶ λόγον ὑμῖν δοῦναι δίς, προσελθὼν Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσὶ τοῖς
also account to-you to-give twice having-come-forward Aeschines this-here to-the
λογισταῖς ἔχων μάρτυρας πολλοὺς ἀπηγόρευε μὴ καλεῖν
auditors having witnesses many forbade not to-summon
ἔμ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δεδωκότ' εὐθύνας καὶ οὐκ ὄνθ'
me into the court as having-given audits and not being
ὑπεύθυνον· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν ὑπεργέλοιον. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο;
liable and the thing was very-ridiculous what then was this
τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης πρεσβείας, ἧς οὐδεὶς κατηγόρει,
the first that embassy of-which no-one accused
δοὺς λόγον οὐκέτ' ἐβούλετ' αὖθις εἰσιέναι περὶ ταύτης
having-given account no-longer he-wished again to-come-to-court about this
ἧς νῦν εἰσέρχεται, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τἀδικήματ' ἐνῆν·
for-which now he-comes-to-court in which all the-wrongs were
212 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δὶς ἔμ' εἰσελθεῖν ἀνάγκη περιίστατο καὶ
from but the twice me to-come-to-court necessity was-coming-round also
τούτῳ πάλιν εἰσιέναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἶα
for-this-man again to-come-to-court because-of these-things not he-allowed
καλεῖν. καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
to-summon and-yet this the deed O men Athenians
ἀμφότερ' ὑμῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι σαφῶς, καὶ κατεγνωκόθ'
both to-you shows clearly both having-condemned
ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτον ὥστε μηδενὶ νῦν ὑμῶν εὐσεβῶς ἔχειν
himself this-man so-that for-no-one now of-you piously to-be-possible
ἀποψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐροῦντα περὶ
to-acquit him and nothing true going-to-say about

ἐμοῦ· εἰ γὰρ εἶχε, τότ᾽ ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ κατηγορῶν
me if for he-had then — both speaking and accusing
ἐξητάζετο, οὐ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐκ ἀπηγόρευε καλεῖν.
he-would-have-been-seen not by Zeus not he-would-be-forbidding to-summon
ὡς τοίνυν ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς 213
as then these-things true I-say call for-me of-these the
μάρτυρας.
witnesses
ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄν γέ τι ἔξω τῆς πρεσβείας βλασφημῇ
but truly if at-least anything outside the embassy he-slanders
περὶ ἐμοῦ, κατὰ πόλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούοιτ᾽
about me for many-reasons not — rightly you-would-listen-to
αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ κρίνομαι τήμερον, οὐδ᾽ ἐγχεῖ μετὰ
him not for I am-on-trial today nor pours after
ταῦθ᾽ ὕδωρ οὐδεὶς ἐμοί. τί οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα πλὴν
these-things water anyone for-me what then are these-things except
δικαίων λόγων ἀπορία; τίς γὰρ ἂν κατηγορεῖν ἕλοιτο
of-just arguments want who for — to-accuse would-choose
κρινόμενος, ἔχων ὅ τι ἀπολογήσεται;
being-tried having that which he-will-say-in-defense
ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖτ᾽, ἄνδρες δικασταί. εἰ ἐκρινόμην 214
further then and-that consider men jurors if were-on-trial
μὲν ἐγώ, κατηγόρει δ᾽ Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί, Φίλιππος δ᾽ ἦν
indeed I accused and Aeschines this-here Philip and was
ὁ κρίνων, εἶτ᾽ ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶ
the-one judging then I nothing having to-say that not I-do-wrong
κακῶς ἔλεγον τουτονὶ καὶ προπηλακίζειν ἐπεχείρουν,
ill spoke-of this-here and to-abuse tried
οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ἀγανακτῆσαι τὸν
not — do-you-think even for itself this to-be-indignant —
Φίλιππον, εἰ παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τοὺς ἐκείνου τις εὐεργέτας
Philip if before him the his anyone benefactors

κακῶς λέγει; μὴ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς χείρους γένησθε Φιλίππου,
ill speaks-of not then you worse be than-Philip
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεται, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζετ'
but for what he-is-on-trial about these-things compel
ἀπολογεῖσθαι. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν.
to-defend-himself read the testimony
215 οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μέν, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέναι, καὶ
therefore I indeed from the nothing with-myself to-be-conscious-of both
λόγον διδόναι καὶ πάντα τἀκ τῶν νόμων ὑπέχειν
account to-give and all the-things-from the laws to-submit-to
ᾤμην δεῖν, οὗτος δὲ τἀναντία. πῶς οὖν ταὔτ' ἐμοὶ
I-thought to-be-necessary this-man but the-opposite how then the-same-things by-me
καὶ τούτῳ πέπρακται; ἢ πῶς ἔνεστι τούτῳ ταῦτα
and by-this-man have-been-done or how is-it-possible for-this-man these-things
πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν, ἃ μηδ' ἠτίαται πρότερον πώποτε;
to you to-say which not-even he-has-charged before ever
οὐδαμῶς δήπου. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρεῖ, καὶ νὴ Δί' εἰκότως γε.
in-no-way surely but nevertheless he-will-say and by Zeus reasonably at-least
ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ
you-know for surely this that from when have-existed men and
κρίσεις γίγνονται, οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν ἑάλω,
trials take-place no-one ever confessing to-do-wrong was-convicted
ἀλλ' ἀναισχυντοῦσιν, ἀρνοῦνται, ψεύδονται, προφάσεις
but they-are-shameless they-deny they-lie excuses
πλάττονται, πάντα ποιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην.
they-invent everything they-do for the not to-pay penalty
216 ὧν οὐδενὶ δεῖ παρακρουσθῆναι τήμερον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ'
of-which by-none it-is-needful to-be-misled today you but
ἀφ' ὧν ἴστ' αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα κρῖναι, μὴ τοῖς
from what you-know yourselves the affairs to-judge not to-the
ἐμοῖς λόγοις μηδὲ τοῖς τούτου προσέχειν, μηδέ γε τοῖς
my words nor to-the of-this-man to-attend nor at-least to-the

μάρτυσιν, οὓς οὗτος ἑτοίμους ἕξει μαρτυρεῖν ὁτιοῦν,
witnesses whom this-man ready will-have to-testify anything-whatever
Φιλίππῳ χορηγῷ χρώμενος· ὄψεσθε δ' ὡς ἑτοίμως
Philip as-paymaster using you-will-see and how readily
αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσουσιν· μηδέ γ' εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγ' οὗτος
for-him they-will-testify nor at-least if fine and loud this-man
φθέγξεται, μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ.
will-speak nor if poorly I
οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥητόρων οὐδὲ λόγων κρίσιν ὑμᾶς τήμερον, 217
nor for of-orators nor of-speeches a-judgment you today
εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων
if-indeed well you-think it-befits to-make but for affairs
αἰσχρῶς καὶ δεινῶς ἀπολωλότων τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αἰσχύνην
shamefully and terribly ruined the existing shame
εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους ἀπώσασθε, τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἃ πάντες
onto the guilty push-off the things-done which all
ἐπίστασθε, ἐξετάσαντες. τί οὖν ἐστι ταῦθ' ἃ ὑμεῖς
you-know having-examined what then are these-things which you
ἴστε καὶ οὐ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ;
know and not from us you to-hear need

If the peace has brought everything the envoys promised, and the jurors admit they made it gladly, knowing beforehand that the allies would perish, Thebes grow strong, and Philip take Thrace, Demosthenes says, they may acquit Aeschines and call Demosthenes mad; if the envoys deceived them in every promise, they must condemn him. He had no feud with Aeschines and gained nothing by accusing him; he could have taken Philip's money too, but he reported the truth and refused the gifts. He fears the jurors, led astray by pity, envy, or anger, will let the guilty go. Of the envoys, Demosthenes ransomed prisoners with his own money, another spent his bribes on harlots and fish, and Phryno sent his son to Philip. Demosthenes did praise his colleagues, invite them to the prytaneum, and entertain Philip's envoys splendidly, but before the city had been wronged.

218 εἰ μὲν ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ὑπέσχονθ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης
if indeed all as-much-as they-promised you from the peace
γέγονε, καὶ τοσαύτης ἀνανδρίας καὶ κακίας ὑμεῖς ὁμολογεῖτ'
has-come and of-such cowardice and baseness you confess
εἶναι μεστοί, ὥστε μήτ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων
to-be full that neither in the country the enemies
ὄντων μήτ' ἐκ θαλάττης πολιορκούμενοι μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ
being nor from sea being-blockaded nor in other
μηδενὶ δεινῷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῖτον εὔωνον
no danger the city being but both grain cheap
ὠνούμενοι καὶ τἄλλ' οὐδὲν χεῖρον πράττοντες ἢ νῦν,
buying and the-rest nothing worse faring than now
219 προειδότες καὶ προακηκοότες παρὰ τούτων καὶ
knowing-beforehand and having-heard-beforehand from these-men both
τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπολουμένους καὶ Θηβαίους ἰσχυροὺς
the allies going-to-perish and Thebans strong
γενησομένους καὶ τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης Φίλιππον ληψόμενον
going-to-become and the-places-toward Thrace Philip going-to-take

καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατασκευασθησόμεν᾽ ὁρμητήρι᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς
and in Euboea going-to-be-prepared bases against you
καὶ πάνθ᾽ ἃ πέπρακται γενησόμενα, εἶτα τὴν εἰρήνην
and all-things which have-been-done going-to-happen then the peace
ἐποιήσασθ᾽ ἀγαπητῶς, ἀποψηφίσασθ᾽ Αἰσχίνου, καὶ μὴ
you-made contentedly acquit Aeschines and not
πρὸς τοσούτοις αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἐπιορκίαν προσκτήσησθε·
besides so-many disgraces also perjury acquire
οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ μαίνομαι καὶ τετύφωμαι
nothing for you be-wrongs but I am-mad and am-deluded
νῦν κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ.
now accusing him
εἰ δὲ πάντα τἀναντία τούτων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπ᾽ 220
if but all the-opposite of-these and many and kindly-things
εἰπόντες, Φίλιππον φιλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, Φωκέας σώσειν,
having-said Philip to-love the city Phocians to-be-going-to-save
Θηβαίους παύσειν τῆς ὕβρεως, ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις
Thebans to-be-going-to-stop from-the insolence still besides these
μείζον᾽ ἢ κατ᾽ Ἀμφίπολιν εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς,
greater than in-respect-of Amphipolis well to-be-going-to-treat you
ἐὰν τύχῃ τῆς εἰρήνης, Εὔβοιαν, Ὠρωπὸν ἀποδώσειν·
if he-obtains the peace Euboea Oropus to-be-going-to-restore
εἰ ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντες καὶ ὑποσχόμενοι πάντ᾽ ἐξηπατήκασι
if these-things having-said and having-promised in-all they-have-deceived
καὶ πεφενακίκασι καὶ μόνον οὐ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὑμῶν
and cheated and only not — Attica of-you
περιῄρηνται, καταψηφίσασθε, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
have-stripped-away condemn and not besides the other-things
οἷς ὕβρισθε (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι χρὴ
in-which you-have-been-outraged not for I-at-least know that which one-must

λέγειν ἄλλο) καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὗτοι δεδωροδοκήκασιν ὑμεῖς
say otherwise also for what these-men have-taken-bribes you
τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν οἴκαδ' εἰσενέγκησθε.
the curse and the perjury home carry
221 ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖτ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τίνος
further then and-that consider O men jurors of-what
εἵνεκ' ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων τούτων κατηγορεῖν ἂν
for-the-sake I nothing having-done-wrong these-men to-accuse —
προειλόμην. οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε. ἡδὺ πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς
would-have-chosen not for you-will-find pleasant many enemies
ἔχειν; οὐδέ γ' ἀσφαλές. ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχέ μοι πρὸς τοῦτον
to-have nor at-least safe but there-was for-me toward this-man
ἀπέχθειά τις; οὐδεμία. τί οὖν; 'ἐφοβοῦ περὶ σαυτοῦ,
hostility any none what then you-feared for yourself
καὶ διὰ δειλίαν ταύτην ἡγήσω σωτηρίαν·' καὶ γὰρ
and through cowardice this you-thought safety and for
ταῦτ' ἀκήκο' αὐτὸν λέγειν. καίτοι μηδενός γ' ὄντος,
these-things I-have-heard him to-say and-yet nothing at-least being
Αἰσχίνη, δεινοῦ μηδ' ἀδικήματος, ὡς σὺ φῄς, εἰ γὰρ
Aeschines dangerous nor wrong as you say if for
αὖ ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ, σκοπεῖτ', ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς
again these-things he-will-say consider men jurors if at what
ὁ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικῶν ἐφοβούμην ἐγὼ μὴ διὰ
the-one not-even in-anything doing-wrong feared I lest because-of
τούτους ἀπόλωμαι, τί τούτους προσήκει παθεῖν τοὺς
these-men I-perish what these-men befits to-suffer the-ones
αὐτοὺς ἠδικηκότας; ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα.
themselves having-done-wrong but not because-of these-things
222 ἀλλὰ διὰ τί σου κατηγορῶ; συκοφαντῶ νὴ Δία,
but because-of what you do-I-accuse I-blackmail by Zeus
ἵν' ἀργύριον λάβω παρὰ σοῦ. καὶ πότερον κρεῖττον
so-that silver I-may-get from you and which better

ἦν μοι παρὰ Φιλίππου λαβεῖν, τοῦ διδόντος πολὺ καὶ
was for-me from Philip to-get the-one giving much and
μηδενὸς τούτων ἔλαττον, καὶ φίλον κἀκεῖνον ἔχειν καὶ
than-none of-these less and as-friend both-him to-have and
τούτους (ἦσαν γὰρ ἄν, ἦσαν φίλοι τῶν αὐτῶν
these-men they-would-have-been for — would-have-been friends of-the same
κεκοινωνηκότι· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἔχθραν πατρικὴν ἔχουσι
having-shared nor for now enmity hereditary they-have
πρός με, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ μετέσχηκα),
toward me but because in-the things-done not I-have-shared
ἢ παρὰ τούτων ἀφ' ὧν εἰλήφασι μεταιτεῖν, κἀκείνῳ τ'
or from these-men from what they-have-taken to-beg-a-share and-to-him both
ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ τούτοις; καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ
hateful to-be and to-these-men and the indeed prisoners from
τῶν ἰδίων τοσούτων χρημάτων λύεσθαι, μικρὰ δ' ἀξιοῦν
the own so-great money to-ransom small-sums but to-claim
παρὰ τούτων αἰσχρῶς μετ' ἔχθρας λαμβάνειν;
from these-men shamefully with enmity to-take
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀπήγγειλα μὲν τἀληθῆ καὶ 223
not is these-things but I-reported indeed the-truth and
ἀπεσχόμην τοῦ λαβεῖν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας
abstained-from the taking for-the justice and the truth
εἵνεκα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου, νομίζων, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινὲς
for-the-sake and of-the rest life thinking just-as others some
παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἐπιεικὴς τιμηθήσεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ
among you also myself being decent to-be-going-to-be-honored and not
ἀνταλλακτέον εἶναί μοι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν οὐδενὸς
to-be-exchanged to-be for-me the toward you good-repute for-no
κέρδους· μισῶ δὲ τούτους, ὅτι μοχθηροὺς καὶ θεοῖς
gain I-hate and these-men because wicked and to-gods
ἐχθροὺς εἶδον ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, καὶ ἀπεστέρημαι καὶ τῶν
hateful I-saw-them on the embassy and I-have-been-robbed also of-the

ἰδίων φιλοτιμιῶν διὰ τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν πρὸς ὅλην
private honors because-of the of-these-men bribe-taking toward whole
δυσχερῶς ὑμῶν τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐσχηκότων· κατηγορῶ δὲ
with-displeasure you the embassy having-been-disposed I-accuse and
νυνὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἥκω τὸ μέλλον προορώμενος,
now and to the audits I-come the future foreseeing
καὶ βουλόμενος ἀγῶνι καὶ δικαστηρίῳ μοι διωρίσθαι
and wishing by-trial and by-court for-me to-have-been-determined
παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ὅτι τἀναντί᾽ ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις πέπρακται.
before you that the-opposite by-me and by-these-men has-been-done
224 καὶ δέδοικα, δέδοικα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ πάνθ᾽ ἃ φρονῶ
and I-fear I-fear it-will-be-said for all-things which I-think
πρὸς ὑμᾶς) μὴ τότε μὲν συνεπισπάσησθ᾽ ἐμὲ τὸν μηδ᾽
to you lest then indeed you-drag-down-with-them me the-one not-even
ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντα, νῦν δ᾽ ἀναπεπτωκότες ἦτε. παντάπασι
in-anything doing-wrong now but having-fallen-slack you-are altogether
γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκλελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ παθεῖν
for men Athenians to-have-gone-slack to-me you-seem and to-suffer
ἀναμένειν τὰ δεινά, ἑτέρους δὲ πάσχοντας ὁρῶντες
to-wait the terrible-things others but suffering seeing
οὐ φυλάττεσθαι, οὐδὲ φροντίζειν τῆς πόλεως πάλαι κατὰ
not to-be-on-guard nor to-care-for the city long-since in
πολλοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς τρόπους διαφθειρομένης.
many and terrible ways being-ruined
225 οὐκ οἴεσθε δεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ὑπερφυές; (καὶ γὰρ
not do-you-think terrible to-be and monstrous and for
εἴ τι σιωπᾶν ἐγνώκειν, λέγειν ἐξάγομαι.) ἴστε
if anything to-keep-silent I-had-resolved to-say I-am-led-on you-know
δήπου Πυθοκλέα τουτονὶ τὸν Πυθοδώρου. τούτῳ πάνυ
surely Pythocles this-here the of-Pythodorus with-him very
φιλανθρώπως ἐκεχρήμην ἐγώ, καὶ ἀηδὲς ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ
kindly I-had-dealt I and unpleasant to-me and to-him

γέγονεν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην οὐδέν. οὗτος ἐκτρέπεταί
has-happened until the day this nothing this-man turns-aside-from
με νῦν ἀπαντῶν, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀφῖκται, κἂν
me now meeting from when to Philip he-has-been and-if
ἀναγκασθῇ που συντυχεῖν, ἀπεπήδησεν εὐθέως, μή τις
he-is-forced somewhere to-meet he-jumped-away at-once lest anyone
αὐτὸν ἴδῃ λαλοῦντ' ἐμοί· μετὰ δ' Αἰσχίνου περιέρχεται
him see chatting with-me with but Aeschines he-goes-around
τὴν ἀγορὰν κύκλῳ καὶ βουλεύεται.
the marketplace round and takes-counsel
οὐκοῦν δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σχέτλιον τοῖς 226
therefore terrible O men Athenians and cruel for-the-ones
μὲν τὰ Φιλίππου πράγμαθ' ἡρημένοις θεραπεύειν οὕτως
indeed the of-Philip affairs having-chosen to-serve so
ἀκριβῆ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἑκάτερ' αἴσθησιν ὑπάρχειν,
exact the from him toward each-of-two perception to-exist
ὥσθ' ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ ἂν παρεστηκότος αὐτοῦ, μηδ' ὧν
that each-man as-if — standing-by him not-even of-what
ἂν ἐνθαδὶ πράξῃ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι λήσειν, ἀλλὰ
— here he-does nothing to-think to-be-going-to-escape-notice but
φίλους τε νομίζειν οὓς ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ καὶ μὴ φίλους
friends both to-consider whom — to-him it-seems and not friends
ὡσαύτως, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ζῶσι καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν
likewise for-the-ones but toward you living and the from you
τιμῆς γλιχομένοις καὶ μὴ προδεδωκόσι ταύτην τοσαύτην
honor craving and not having-betrayed this such
κωφότητα καὶ τοσοῦτο σκότος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντᾶν, ὥστε
deafness and such darkness from you to-meet that
τοῖς ἀλειτηρίοις τούτοις ἐξ ἴσου νῦν ἔμ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι,
with-the accursed these on equal-terms now me to-contend
καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἅπαντ' εἰδόσιν.
and this before you the-ones all-things knowing

227 βούλεσθ᾽ οὖν εἰδέναι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τούτων αἴτιον;
do-you-wish then to-know and to-hear the of-these-things cause
ἐγὼ δὴ φράσω, ἀξιῶ δὲ μηδέν᾽ ἄχθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι
I indeed will-tell I-ask but no-one to-be-vexed with-me telling
τἀληθῆ. ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἕν, οἶμαι, σῶμ᾽ ἔχων καὶ ψυχὴν
the-truth because he indeed one I-think body having and soul
μίαν παντὶ θυμῷ καὶ φιλεῖ τοὺς ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιοῦντας καὶ
one with-all heart both loves the-ones himself well treating and
μισεῖ τοὺς τἀναντία, ὑμῶν δ᾽ ἕκαστος πρῶτον μὲν οὔτε
hates the-ones the-opposite of-you but each first indeed neither
τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα τὴν πόλιν αὑτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν ἡγεῖται,
the-one well treating the city himself well to-treat thinks
228 οὔτε τὸν κακῶς κακῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερ᾽ ἐστὶν ἑκάστῳ
nor the-one badly badly but other-things are for-each
προυργιαίτερα, ὑφ᾽ ὧν παράγεσθε πολλάκις, ἔλεος,
more-important by which you-are-led-astray often pity
φθόνος, ὀργή, χαρίσασθαι τῷ δεηθέντι, ἄλλα μυρία·
envy anger to-gratify the-one having-asked other-things countless
ἂν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἅπαντά τις ἐκφύγῃ, ἀλλὰ τούς γ᾽
if but after-all all-things anyone escapes but the-ones at-least
οὐδένα βουλομένους εἶναι τοιοῦτον οὐ διαφεύξεται. ἡ δ᾽
no-one wishing to-be such not he-will-escape the and
ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου τούτων ἁμαρτία κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέουσα
in each of-these error by little seeping-in
ἀθρόος τῇ πόλει βλάβη γίγνεται.
in-a-mass for-the city harm becomes
229 ὧν μηδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάθητε τήμερον, μηδ᾽
of-which nothing O men Athenians suffer today nor
ἀφῆτε τοῦτον ὃς ὑμᾶς τηλικαῦτ᾽ ἠδίκηκεν. καὶ γὰρ
acquit this-man who you so-greatly has-wronged and for
ὡς ἀληθῶς τίς ἔσται λόγος περὶ ὑμῶν, εἰ τοῦτον
as truly what will-be the-talk about you if this-man

ἀφήσετε; Ἀθήνηθεν ἐπρέσβευσάν τινες ὡς Φίλιππον
you-will-acquit from-Athens went-as-envoys some to Philip
τουτονί, Φιλοκράτης, Αἰσχίνης, Φρύνων, Δημοσθένης. τί
this-here Philocrates Aeschines Phryno Demosthenes what
οὖν; ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας λαβεῖν
then the-one indeed besides the nothing from the embassy to-take
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐλύσατο· ὁ δ'
the prisoners from the own ransomed the-other but
ὧν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα χρημάτων ἀπέδοτο,
with-what the of-the city affairs for-money he-sold
τούτων πόρνας ἠγόραζε καὶ ἰχθῦς περιών.
with-that harlots bought and fish going-around
καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψε Φιλίππῳ, πρὶν εἰς 230
and the-one indeed the son sent to-Philip before among
ἄνδρας ἐγγράψαι, ὁ μιαρὸς Φρύνων· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν
men to-enroll the foul Phryno the-other but nothing
ἀνάξιον οὔτε τῆς πόλεως οὔθ' αὑτοῦ διεπράξατο. καὶ
unworthy either of-the city or of-himself did and
ὁ μὲν χορηγῶν καὶ τριηραρχῶν ἔτι καὶ ταῦτ'
the-one indeed serving-as-choregus and as-trierarch still also these-sums
ᾤετο δεῖν ἐθελοντὴς ἀναλίσκειν, μηδέν' ἐν συμφορᾷ
thought to-be-necessary voluntarily to-spend no-one in misfortune
τῶν πολιτῶν δι' ἔνδειαν περιορᾶν· ὁ δὲ τοσούτου
of-the citizens through want to-overlook the-other but so-far
δεῖ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τιν' αἰχμάλωτον σῶσαι, ὥσθ'
he-lacks of-the existing any captive to-save that
ὅλον τόπον καὶ πλεῖν ἢ μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας, ὁμοῦ
whole a-region and more than ten-thousand indeed hoplites together
δὲ χιλίους ἱππέας τῶν ὑπαρχόντων συμμάχων ὅπως
and a-thousand horsemen of-the existing allies so-that
αἰχμάλωτοι γένωνται Φιλίππῳ, συμπαρεσκεύασεν.
captives they-might-become to-Philip he-helped-contrive

231 τί οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα; Ἀθηναῖοι λαβόντες, ᾔδεσαν μὲν γὰρ
what then after these-things Athenians having-caught knew indeed for
πάλαι· τί δέ; τοὺς μὲν χρήματ᾽ εἰληφότας καὶ δῶρα
long-ago what but the-ones indeed money having-taken and bribes
καὶ καταισχύναντας ἑαυτούς, τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
and having-disgraced themselves the city the their-own
παῖδας, ἀφεῖσαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν
children they-acquitted and sense to-have thought and the city
εὐθενεῖσθαι· τὸν δὲ κατηγοροῦντα τί; ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι,
to-prosper the-one but accusing what to-be-thunderstruck
τὴν πόλιν ἀγνοεῖν, οὐκ ἔχειν ὅποι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ῥίπτῃ.
the city not-to-know not to-have where the his-own he-may-throw
232 καὶ τίς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ᾽ ἰδὼν τὸ παράδειγμα,
and who O men Athenians this having-seen the example
δίκαιον αὑτὸν παρασχεῖν ἐθελήσει; τίς προῖκα πρεσβεύειν,
just himself to-show will-be-willing who for-nothing to-be-envoy
εἰ μήτε λαβεῖν μήτε τῶν εἰληφότων ἀξιοπιστότερον
if neither to-take nor than-the-ones having-taken more-trustworthy
παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρξει; οὐ μόνον κρίνετε τούτους
among you to-be to-seem shall-be-his not only you-judge these-men
τήμερον, οὔ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόμον τίθεσθ᾽ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν
today no but also a-law you-lay-down for all the
μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον, πότερον χρημάτων αἰσχρῶς ὑπὲρ
after these-things time whether for-money shamefully for
τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρεσβεύειν ἅπαντας προσήκει ἢ προῖχ᾽ ὑπὲρ
the enemies to-be-envoys all is-fitting or for-nothing for
ὑμῶν τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἀδωροδοκήτως.
you the best-things incorruptibly

ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς προσδεῖσθε 233
but truly about indeed the other-things nothing you-need-besides
μάρτυρος· ὡς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν ὁ Φρύνων, κάλει μοι
witness that but the son sent — Phryno call for-me
τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.
of-these the witnesses
φέρε δὴ περὶ τῆς ἑστιάσεως καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος εἴπω· 234
come indeed about the entertainment and the decree let-me-speak
μικροῦ γ', ἃ μάλιστά μ' ἔδει πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν,
nearly at-least what most me it-was-needful to you to-say
παρῆλθεν. τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης πρεσβείας γράφων τὸ
escaped-me of-the first that embassy proposing the
προβούλευμ' ἐγὼ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις,
preliminary-decree I and again in the assembly at-the assemblies
ἐν αἷς ἐμέλλετε βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὐδενὸς
in which you-were-going to-deliberate about the peace no
οὔτε λόγου πω παρὰ τούτων οὔτ' ἀδικήματος ὄντος
either word yet from these-men nor wrong being
φανεροῦ, τὸ νόμιμον ποιῶν, καὶ ἐπῄνεσα τούτους καὶ
evident the customary-thing doing both I-praised these-men and
εἰς πρυτανεῖον ἐκάλεσα.
to prytaneum invited
καὶ νὴ Δί' ἔγωγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις 235
and by Zeus I-at-least also the from — Philip envoys
ἐξένισα, καὶ πάνυ γ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λαμπρῶς·
entertained and very at-least O men Athenians splendidly
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἑώρων αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις
since for I-saw them also on the such-things
ἐκεῖ σεμνυνομένους ὡς εὐδαίμονας καὶ λαμπρούς, εὐθὺς
there priding-themselves as prosperous and splendid at-once
ἡγούμην ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν
I-thought in these-things first to-surpass to-be-necessary them

καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερος φαίνεσθαι. ταῦτα δὴ παρέξεται
and more-magnanimous to-appear these-things indeed will-produce
νῦν οὗτος λέγων ὡς ‘αὐτὸς ἐπῄνεσεν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς εἱστία
now this-man saying that himself praised us himself entertained
τοὺς πρέσβεις,’ τὸ πότ’ οὐ διορίζων.
the envoys the when not distinguishing
236 ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἠδικῆσθαί τι καὶ
are but these-things before the the city to-have-been-wronged at-all and
φανεροὺς τούτους πεπρακότας αὑτοὺς γενέσθαι, ὅτ’ ἄρτι
evident these-men having-sold themselves to-have-become when just
μὲν ἦκον οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πρῶτον, ἔδει δ’ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν
indeed had-come the envoys the first it-was-needful and to-hear the
δῆμον τί λέγουσιν, οὐδέπω δ’ οὔθ’ οὗτος συνερῶν δῆλος
people what they-say not-yet and either this-man going-to-support plain
ἦν τῷ Φιλοκράτει οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνος τοιαῦτα γράψων. ἂν δὴ
was — Philocrates or he such-things going-to-propose if indeed
ταῦτα λέγῃ, μέμνησθε τοὺς χρόνους ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων
these-things he-says remember the dates that than-the wrongs
εἰσὶ πρότεροι. μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τούτους
they-are earlier after these-things and nothing for-me with these-men
οἰκεῖον οὐδὲ κοινὸν γέγονεν. λέγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν.
intimate nor common has-been read the testimony

Aeschines' brothers, Philochares and Aphobetus, may plead for him, but the jurors' oath binds them to the laws. Against Timarchus Aeschines quoted Hesiod on rumor that never dies and Euripides on the man known by his company; Demosthenes turns both back on him, since rumor says he took money on the embassy and he keeps company with Philocrates. He quotes the speech of Creon from Sophocles' Antigone, which Aeschines often played as third actor, on the man who prefers a friend to his fatherland. Aeschines never recited it to himself on the embassy: he put Philip's friendship above the city that is the ship of all its citizens, and sank it.

ἴσως τοίνυν ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ συνερεῖ Φιλοχάρης καὶ Ἀφόβητος· 237
perhaps then brother for-him will-plead Philochares and Aphobetus
πρὸς οὓς ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῖν πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.
to whom both for-you many and just-things it-is-possible to-say
ἀνάγκη δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ παρρησίας διαλεχθῆναι,
it-is-necessary and O men Athenians with frankness to-speak
μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον. ἡμεῖς, Ἀφόβητε καὶ σὺ Φιλόχαρες, σὲ
nothing holding-back we Aphobetus and you Philochares you
μὲν τὰς ἀλαβαστοθήκας γράφοντα καὶ τὰ τύμπανα, τούτους
indeed the alabaster-boxes painting and the drums these
δ' ὑπογραμματέας καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους (καὶ
but under-clerks and the ordinary men and
οὐδεμιᾶς κακίας ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγίας γ' ἄξια)
of-no baseness these-things but not-even of-generalship at-least worthy
πρεσβειῶν, στρατηγιῶν, τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἠξιώσαμεν.
of-embassies of-generalships of-the highest honors we-deemed-worthy
εἰ τοίνυν μηδὲν ὑμῶν ἠδίκει μηδείς, οὐχ ἡμεῖς χάριν ὑμῖν 238
if then in-nothing of-you did-wrong anyone not we gratitude to-you
οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν δικαίως ἂν ἔχοιτε τούτων· πολλοὺς
for-anything but you to-us justly — would-owe for-these-things many
γὰρ ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι παρέντες ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς
for than-you more worthy to-be-honored having-passed-over we you

ἐσεμνύνομεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐτιμᾶσθ᾽
exalted if but indeed even in the-very-things in-which you-were-honored
ἠδίκηκέ τις ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα, πόσῳ μᾶλλον
has-done-wrong any of-you and these-things such by-how-much more
ἂν μισοῖσθε δικαίως ἢ σῴζοισθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι
— *would-you-be-hated justly than be-saved I indeed think*
πολλῷ. βιάσονται τοίνυν ἴσως, μεγαλόφωνοι καὶ ἀναιδεῖς
by-much they-will-press then perhaps loud-voiced and shameless
ὄντες, καὶ τὸ ‘συγγνώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν’ προσειληφότες.
being and the pardon for-a-brother to-help having-taken-up-besides
239 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἡττᾶσθε, ἐκεῖν᾽ ἐνθυμούμενοι, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν
you but not give-way that bearing-in-mind that for-these indeed
τούτου· προσήκει φροντίζειν, ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν νόμων καὶ ὅλης
for-him it-befits to-care for-you but for-the laws and whole
τῆς πόλεως καὶ παρὰ πάντα τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς αὐτοὶ κάθησθ᾽
the city and above all the oaths which yourselves you-sit
ὀμωμοκότες. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινῶν δεδέηνται τουτονὶ σῴζειν,
having-sworn and for if of-some they-have-begged this-man to-save
πότερ᾽ ἂν μηδὲν ἀδικῶν φαίνηται τὴν πόλιν ἢ κἂν
whether if in-nothing doing-wrong he-appears the city or even-if
ἀδικῶν, σκοπεῖτε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν μή, κἀγώ φημι δεῖν,
doing-wrong consider if indeed for if not I-too say to-be-necessary
εἰ δ᾽ ὅλως κἂν ὁτιοῦν, ἐπιορκεῖν δεδέηνται. οὐ γὰρ εἰ
if but at-all even-if anything-whatever to-forswear they-have-begged not for if
κρύβδην ἐστὶν ἡ ψῆφος, λήσει τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
secret is the vote it-will-escape the gods but this
καὶ πάντων ἄρισθ᾽ ὁ τιθεὶς τὸν νόμον εἶδε, ὅτι τούτων
also of-all best the-one laying-down the law saw that of-these
μὲν οὐδεὶς εἴσεται τὸν ἑαυτῷ κεχαρισμένον ὑμῶν, οἱ θεοὶ δ᾽
indeed none will-know the-one to-himself having-done-a-favor of-you the gods but
εἴσονται καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸν μὴ τὰ δίκαια ψηφισάμενον.
will-know and the divine the-one not the just-things having-voted

παρ᾽ ὧν κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας 240
from whom better it-is for-each the good hopes
τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, τὰ δίκαια γνόντα καὶ τὰ
for-the children and himself the just-things having-judged and the
προσήκοντα, περιποιήσασθαι ἢ τὴν ἀφανῆ καὶ ἄδηλον
fitting-things to-secure than the hidden and unknown
τούτοις χάριν καταθέσθαι, καὶ ἀφεῖναι τοῦτον ὃς
for-these-men favor to-lay-up and to-acquit this-man who
αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ καταμεμαρτύρηκεν. τίνα γάρ, Αἰσχίνη,
himself against-himself has-testified whom for Aeschines
μάρτυρα μείζω παράσχωμαι τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
witness greater shall-I-produce of-the many and terrible-things
πεπρεσβεῦσθαί σοι ἢ σὲ κατὰ σαυτοῦ; ὃς γὰρ
to-have-been-done-on-embassy by-you than you against yourself who for
ᾠήθης χρῆναι τὸν φανερόν τι ποιῆσαι βουληθέντα
you-thought it-needful the-one openly something to-do having-wished
τῶν σοὶ πεπρεσβευμένων τηλικαύτῃ καὶ τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ
of-the by-you embassy-things in-so-great and such misfortune
περιβαλεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι δεινὸν ἄν τι παθεῖν σαυτὸν
to-involve clear that terrible — something to-suffer yourself
ἤλπιζες, εἰ πύθοιν᾽ οὗτοι τὰ πεπραγμένα σοι.
you-expected if should-learn these the things-done by-you
τοῦτο τοίνυν, ἄνπερ ὑμεῖς εὖ φρονῆτε, καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ 241
this then if-indeed you well think against himself
συμβήσεται τούτῳ πεπρᾶχθαι, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦθ᾽
will-turn-out for-this-man to-have-been-done not only in this
ὅτι παμμέγεθες σημεῖόν ἐστι τῶν πεπρεσβευμένων, ἀλλ᾽
that very-great a-sign it-is of-the embassy-things but
ὅτι καὶ κατηγορῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους εἶπεν οἳ κατ᾽
that also accusing those the words he-spoke which against
αὐτοῦ νῦν ὑπάρχουσιν· ἃ γὰρ ὡρίσω σὺ δίκαια, ὅτε
him now stand what for you-defined you just when

Τίμαρχον ἔκρινες, ταὐτὰ δήπου ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ σοῦ
Timarchus you-prosecuted the-same surely these also against you
προσήκει τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσχύειν.
befits for-the others to-hold
242 ἔλεγεν τοίνυν τότε πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ὅτι ‘ἀπολογήσεται
he-said then then to the jurors that will-defend
δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατηγορήσει τῶν ἐμοὶ
and Demosthenes for him and will-accuse the by-me
πεπρεσβευμένων· εἶτ’, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπαγάγῃ τῷ λόγῳ,
embassy-things then if you he-leads-away with-the speech
νεανιεύσεται καὶ περιὼν ἐρεῖ· πῶς τι τοὺς δικαστὰς
he-will-swagger and going-around will-say how — the jurors
ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ᾠχόμην τὸ πρᾶγμ’ αὐτῶν
having-led-away from the subject I-went-off the case from-them
ὑφελόμενος;’ μὴ σύ γε, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζει, περὶ
having-stolen not you at-least but for what you-are-on-trial about
τούτων ἀπολογοῦ· τότε δ’, ἡνίκ’ ἐκεῖνον ἔκρινες, ἐξῆν
these-things defend-yourself then but when him you-prosecuted it-was-possible
σοι κατηγορεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅ τι ἐβούλου.
for-you to-accuse and to-say that which you-wished
243 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἔπη τοῖς δικασταῖς ἔλεγες, οὐδένα μάρτυρ’
but truly also verses to-the jurors you-recited no witness
ἔχων ἐφ’ οἷς ἔκρινες τὸν ἄνθρωπον παρασχέσθαι·
having for what you-prosecuted the man to-produce

φήμη δ’ οὔ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
rumor but not any wholly perishes which peoples
πολλοὶ φημίξωσι· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.
many noise-abroad a-god indeed some is also she-herself

οὐκοῦν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὲ πάντες οὗτοι χρήματ' ἐκ τῆς
therefore Aeschines also you all these money from the
πρεσβείας φασὶν εἰληφέναι, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δήπουθεν
embassy say to-have-taken so-that also against you surely
'φήμη δ' οὔ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ πολλοὶ
rumor but not any wholly perishes which peoples many
φημίξωσιν.'
noise-abroad
ὅσῳ γὰρ αὖ σὲ πλείους ἢ 'κεῖνον αἰτιῶνται, θεώρησον 244
by-how-much for again you more than him accuse consider
ὡς εἴσει. τὸν μὲν Τίμαρχον οὐδ' οἱ πρόσχωροι πάντες
as you-will-know — indeed Timarchus not-even the neighbors all
ἐγίγνωσκον, ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲ
knew you but the envoys no-one of-Greeks nor
βαρβάρων ἔσθ' ὅστις οὔ φησι χρήματ' ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας
barbarians is who not says money from the embassy
εἰληφέναι. ὥστ', εἴπερ ἐστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ φήμη, καθ' ὑμῶν
to-have-taken so-that if-indeed is true the rumor against you
ἐστιν ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν, ἣν ὅτι πιστὴν εἶναι
is the-one from the many which that trustworthy to-be
δεῖ καὶ 'θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή,' καὶ ὅτι σοφὸς
is-needful and a-god indeed some is also she-herself and that wise
ἦν ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσας, σὺ διώρισας αὐτός.
was the poet the-one these-things having-made you defined yourself

245 ἔτι τοίνυν ἰαμβεῖα δήπου συλλέξας ἐπέραινεν, οἷον
further then iambics surely having-collected he-concluded as

ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται κακοῖς ἀνήρ,
whoever and consorting delights with-the-bad man
οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι
not ever I-asked knowing that
τοιοῦτός ἐσθ' οἵοισπερ ἥδεται ξυνών.
such he-is as-the-very-ones he-delights being-with

εἶτα τὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρνεις εἰσιόντα καὶ μετὰ Πιτταλάκου
then the-one into the birds going and with Pittalacus
περιόντα, καὶ τοιαῦτ' εἰπών, 'ἀγνοεῖτ',' ἔφη, 'ποῖόν τιν'
going-around and such-things having-said do-you-not-know he-said what-kind of-man
ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ;' οὐκοῦν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα
to-consider one-must therefore Aeschines also against you the iambics
ταῦθ' ἁρμόσει νῦν ἐμοί, κἂν ἐγὼ λέγω πρὸς τούτους, ὀρθῶς
these will-fit now for-me and-if I speak to these rightly
καὶ προσηκόντως ἐρῶ· 'ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται,' καὶ ταῦτα
and fittingly I-will-speak whoever and consorting delights and this
πρεσβεύων, Φιλοκράτει, 'οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι'
being-envoy with-Philocrates not ever I-asked knowing that
ἀργύριον εἴληφ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ Φιλοκράτης ὁ ὁμολογῶν.
silver has-taken this-man just-as Philocrates the-one admitting
246 λογογράφους τοίνυν καὶ σοφιστὰς καλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους
speech-writers then and sophists calling the others
καὶ ὑβρίζειν πειρώμενος, αὐτὸς ἐξελεγχθήσεται τούτοις ὢν
and to-insult trying himself will-be-proved to-these being
ἔνοχος. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἰαμβεῖ' ἐκ Φοίνικός ἐστιν
liable these indeed for the iambics from Phoenix are
Εὐριπίδου· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμ' οὐδεπώποτ' οὔτε Θεόδωρος οὔτ'
of-Euripides this but the play never either Theodorus or

Ἀριστόδημος ὑπεκρίναντο, οἷς οὗτος τὰ τρίτα λέγων
Aristodemus acted for-whom this-man the third-parts speaking
διετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ Μόλων ἠγωνίζετο καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τῶν
continued but Molon performed and if indeed any other of-the
παλαιῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους πολλάκις μὲν
old actors Antigone but of-Sophocles often indeed
Θεόδωρος, πολλάκις δ' Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέκριται, ἐν ᾗ
Theodorus often and Aristodemus has-acted in which
πεποιημέν' ἰαμβεῖα καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως ὑμῖν πολλάκις
composed iambics finely and usefully for-you often
αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παρέλιπεν.
himself having-spoken and accurately knowing-by-heart he-left-out
ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δράμασι 247
you-know for surely this that in all the plays
τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς
the tragic set-apart it-is like a-privilege for-the
τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρ'
third-actors the the tyrants and the-ones the scepters
ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐν τῷ δράματι τούτῳ
holding to-come-on these then in the play this
σκέψασθ' ὁ Κρέων Αἰσχίνης οἷα λέγων πεποίηται τῷ
consider — Creon Aeschines what-things saying has-been-made by-the

ποιητῇ, ἃ οὔτε πρὸς αὑτὸν οὗτος ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας
poet which neither to himself this-man about the embassy
διελέχθη οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς εἶπεν. λέγε.
spoke nor to the jurors said read

ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν
impossible but of-every man to-learn-thoroughly
ψυχήν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν
soul both and spirit and judgment before —
ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβὴς φανῇ.
in-offices both and laws practiced he-appears
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν
to-me for whoever all directing a-city
μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἅπτεται βουλευμάτων,
not the best lays-hold-of counsels
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ φόβου του γλῶσσαν ἐγκλείσας ἔχει,
but from fear some tongue having-locked keeps
κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ·
basest to-be now both and long-ago seems
καὶ μείζον᾽ ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ πάτρας
and greater whoever instead-of the his-own fatherland
φίλον νομίζει, τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω.
a-friend considers this-one nowhere I-say
ἐγὼ γάρ, ἴστω Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ᾽ ὁρῶν ἀεί,
I for let-know Zeus the-one all-things seeing always
οὔτ᾽ ἂν σιωπήσαιμι τὴν ἄτην ὁρῶν
neither — I-would-keep-silent the ruin seeing
στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας,
coming to-the-citizens instead-of the safety

οὔτ᾽ ἂν φίλον ποτ᾽ ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ χθονὸς
nor — friend ever a-man hostile to-the-land
θείμην ἐμαυτῷ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι
I-would-make for-myself this knowing that
ἥδ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ σῴζουσα, καὶ ταύτης ἔπι
she is the-one saving and her on
πλέοντες ὀρθῆς τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα.
sailing upright the friends we-make

τούτων οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνης εἶπε πρὸς αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, 248
of-these nothing Aeschines said to himself on the embassy
ἀλλ᾽ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς πόλεως τὴν Φιλίππου ξενίαν καὶ
but instead-of indeed the city the of-Philip guest-friendship and
φιλίαν πολλῷ μείζον᾽ ἡγήσαθ᾽ αὑτῷ καὶ λυσιτελεστέραν,
friendship by-much greater considered for-himself and more-profitable
ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ, τὴν δ᾽
farewell much having-bidden to-the wise Sophocles the and
ἄτην ὁρῶν στείχουσαν ὁμοῦ, τὴν ἐπὶ Φωκέας στρατείαν,
ruin seeing coming near the against Phocians expedition
οὐ προεῖπεν οὐδὲ προεξήγγειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον συνέκρυψε
not foretold nor announced-beforehand but conversely helped-hide
καὶ συνέπραξε καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους εἰπεῖν διεκώλυσεν,
and helped-do and the-ones wishing to-speak prevented
οὐκ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὅτι ‘ἥδ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ σῴζουσα καὶ ταύτης 249
not having-recalled that she is the-one saving and her
ἔπι᾽ τελοῦσα μὲν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ καθαίρουσα καὶ
on initiating indeed the mother of-him and purifying and
καρπουμένη τὰς τῶν χρωμένων οὐσίας ἐξέθρεψε τοσούτους
reaping the of-the clients property reared so-big
τουτουσί, διδάσκων δ᾽ ὁ πατὴρ γράμματα, ὡς ἐγὼ
these-here teaching and the father letters as I

τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούω, πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἥρω τοῦ
from-the elders hear near the of-the hero the
ἰατροῦ, ὅπως ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ γ' ἔζη,
physician as he-could but anyway in this at-least he-lived
ὑπογραμματεύοντες δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἁπάσαις
serving-as-under-clerks and themselves and attending all
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀργύριον εἰλήφεσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὑφ'
the magistracies silver they-had-got and the last by
ὑμῶν γραμματεῖς χειροτονηθέντες δύ' ἔτη διετράφησαν ἐν
you clerks elected two years were-maintained in
τῇ θόλῳ, πρεσβεύων δ' ἀπέσταλτο νῦν οὗτος ἐκ ταύτης.
the tholos as-envoy and had-been-sent now this-man from this
250 τούτων οὐδὲν ἐσκέψατο, οὐδ' ὅπως ὀρθὴ πλεύσεται
of-these nothing he-considered nor how upright it-will-sail
προείδετο, ἀλλ' ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέδυσε καὶ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν
foresaw but overturned and sank and the for himself
ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔσται παρεσκεύασεν. εἶτ' οὐ σὺ
that in the enemies' it-will-be prepared then not you
σοφιστής; καὶ πονηρός γε. οὐ σὺ λογογράφος; καὶ θεοῖς
a-sophist and a-knave at-least not you a-speech-writer and to-gods
ἐχθρός γε· ὃς ἃ μὲν πολλάκις ἠγωνίσω καὶ ἀκριβῶς
hateful at-least who what indeed often you-performed and accurately
ἐξηπίστασο, ὑπερέβης, ἃ δ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ
knew skipped what but never in the life
ὑπεκρίνω, ταῦτα ζητήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάψαι
you-acted these having-sought for the of-the citizens to-harm
τιν' εἰς μέσον ἤνεγκας.
someone into midst brought

Against Timarchus, Aeschines held up the statue of Solon at Salamis, hand inside his cloak, as a model of restraint and imitated its pose; but the statue is not fifty years old, and he never imitated Solon's mind. Solon risked death to recover Salamis, while Aeschines gave up Amphipolis and never named it before Philip. Demosthenes has Solon's elegy read, on a city the gods protect but its citizens ruin for money. A disease of bribery is spreading through Greece, in Thessaly, Elis, Arcadia, and Argos. The Olynthians, when weak, held off Sparta, which then ruled land and sea; once Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and others took Philip's gifts, they lost every city within a year, and their commanders betrayed five hundred horsemen to him. Athens rightly condemned the Olynthian traitors and must now punish its own, as its ancestors would.

φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὃν εἶπε λόγον 251
come indeed also about — Solon which he-told story
σκέψασθε. ἔφη τὸν Σόλων' ἀνακεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν τότε
consider he-said — Solon to-stand-dedicated of-the of-the then
δημηγορούντων σωφροσύνης παράδειγμα, εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ'
public-speakers restraint as-model inside the hand
ἔχοντ' ἀναβεβλημένον, ἐπιπλήττων τι καὶ λοιδορούμενος
holding wrapped-in-his-cloak rebuking somewhat and reviling
τῇ τοῦ Τιμάρχου προπετείᾳ. καίτοι τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα
the — of-Timarchus recklessness and-yet the indeed statue
τοῦτον οὔπω πεντήκοντ' ἔτη φάσ' ἀνακεῖσθαι Σαλαμίνιοι,
this not-yet fifty years say to-have-stood Salaminians
ἀπὸ Σόλωνος δ' ὁμοῦ διακόσι' ἐστὶν ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντ'
from Solon but about two-hundred are years and forty
εἰς τὸν νυνὶ παρόντα χρόνον, ὥσθ' ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ
to the now present time so-that the craftsman the-one

τοῦτο πλάσας τὸ σχῆμα οὐ μόνον οὐκ αὐτὸς ἦν
this having-modeled the pose not only not himself was
κατ' ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ.
in-the-time-of him but not-even the grandfather of-him
252 τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμιμήσατο· ὃ δὲ
this indeed then he-told to-the jurors and imitated what but
τοῦ σχήματος ἦν τούτου πολλῷ τῇ πόλει λυσιτελέστερον,
than-the pose was this by-much for-the city more-profitable
τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν Σόλωνος ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ταύτην
the the soul the of-Solon to-see and the mind this
οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὐναντίον. ἐκεῖνος μέν γ'
not he-imitated but all the-opposite he indeed at-least
ἀφεστηκυίας Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων καὶ θάνατον ζημίαν
having-revolted Salamis Athenians and death penalty
ψηφισαμένων, ἄν τις εἴπῃ κομίζεσθαι, τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον
having-voted if anyone proposes to-recover the own risk
ὑποθεὶς ἐλεγεῖα ποιήσας ᾖδε, καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀνέσωσε
having-staked elegies having-composed sang and the indeed land recovered
τῇ πόλει, τὴν δ' ὑπάρχουσαν αἰσχύνην ἀπήλλαξεν·
for-the city the and existing shame removed
253 οὗτος δ', ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν
this-man but which king and all the Greeks yours
ἔγνωσαν, Ἀμφίπολιν, ταύτην ἐξέδωκε καὶ ἀπέδοτο καὶ τῷ
recognized Amphipolis this surrendered and sold and the-one
ταῦτα γράφοντι συνεῖπε Φιλοκράτει. ἄξιόν γ', οὐ γάρ;
these-things proposing supported Philocrates worthy at-least not for
ἦν Σόλωνος αὐτῷ μεμνῆσθαι. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα ταῦτ'
was of-Solon for-him to-make-mention and not only here these-things
ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐλθὼν οὐδὲ τοὔνομ' ἐφθέγξατο
he-did but there having-gone not-even the-name uttered
τῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐπρέσβευεν. καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτὸς
of-the land for which he-was-envoy and these-things himself

ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς· μέμνησθε γὰρ δήπου λέγοντ' αὐτὸν
reported to you you-remember for surely saying him
ὅτι περὶ δ' Ἀμφιπόλεως εἶχον μὲν κἀγὼ λέγειν· ἵνα
that about and Amphipolis had indeed I-too to-say so-that
δ' ἐγγένηται Δημοσθένει περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν, παρέλιπον.
but it-might-be-open for-Demosthenes about it to-speak I-passed-over
ἐγὼ δὲ παρελθὼν οὐδὲν ἔφην τοῦτον ὧν ἐβούλετ' 254
I but having-come-forward nothing said this-man of-what he-wished
εἰπεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμοὶ παραλιπεῖν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν τοῦ
to-say to Philip for-me to-have-left sooner for — of-the
αἵματος ἢ λόγου μεταδοῦναί τινι. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, χρήματ'
blood than of-speech to-give-a-share to-anyone but I-think money
εἰληφότ' οὐκ ἦν ἀντιλέγειν πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν ὑπὲρ
having-taken not it-was-possible to-speak-against to Philip the-one for
τούτου δεδωκότα, ὅπως ἐκείνην μὴ ἀποδῷ. λέγε δή μοι
this having-given so-that it not he-restore read indeed for-me
λαβὼν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖα ταυτί, ἵν' ἴδηθ'
having-taken also the — of-Solon elegiacs these-here so-that you-may-see
ὅτι καὶ Σόλων ἐμίσει τοὺς οἵους οὗτος ἀνθρώπους.
that also Solon hated the such-as this-man men
οὐ λέγειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ', Αἰσχίνη, δεῖ, οὔ, ἀλλὰ 255
not to-speak inside the hand holding Aeschines one-must no but
πρεσβεύειν εἴσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντα. σὺ δ' ἐκεῖ προτείνας καὶ
to-serve-as-envoy inside the hand holding you but there having-held-out and
ὑποσχὼν καὶ καταισχύνας τούτους ἐνθάδε σεμνολογεῖ,
having-held-under and having-disgraced these here you-speak-solemnly
καὶ λογάρια δύστηνα μελετήσας καὶ φωνασκήσας
and little-speeches wretched having-rehearsed and having-trained-your-voice
οὐκ οἴει δίκην δώσειν τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων
not do-you-think penalty to-be-going-to-pay for-so-great and so-many

ἀδικημάτων, κἂν πιλίδιον λαβὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
wrongs even-if a-little-cap having-put around the head
περινοστῇς καὶ ἐμοὶ λοιδορῇ; λέγε σύ.
you-go-about and me you-revile read you

Ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται
Our and city by indeed of-Zeus never will-perish
αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
decree and of-blessed gods intents immortal
τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
such for great-hearted guardian mighty-fathered
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει.
Pallas Athena hands above holds
αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
themselves but to-destroy great city by-follies
ἀστοὶ βούλονται, χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
citizens wish by-money persuaded
δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἑτοῖμον
of-the-people and of-leaders unjust mind for-whom ready
ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν.
insolence from great pains many to-suffer
οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον, οὐδὲ παρούσας
not for they-know-how to-restrain excess nor present
εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.
festivities to-order of-the-feast in quiet

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(lacuna)

πλουτοῦσιν δ' ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι.
they-grow-rich and by-unjust deeds trusting

***

(lacuna)

οὔθ᾽ ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων

neither sacred possessions nor at-all public

φειδόμενοι †κλέπτουσιν ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγῇ† ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,

sparing they-steal for plunder from-elsewhere another

οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ θέμεθλα Δίκης,

nor they-guard holy foundations of-Justice

ἣ σιγῶσα σύνοιδε τὰ γιγνόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,

who being-silent knows the happening before and being

τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ᾽ ἀποτεισομένη.

in-the but time surely came to-exact-vengeance

τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἕλκος ἄφυκτον,

this now on-every city comes a-wound inescapable

εἰς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως †ἤλυθε† δουλοσύνην,

into and evil quickly has-come slavery

ἣ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ᾽ εὕδοντ᾽ ἐπεγείρει,

which faction civil war and sleeping rouses

ὃς πολλῶν ἐρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην.

which of-many lovely destroys youth

ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ

by for enemies quickly much-loved town

τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι φίλαις.

is-worn-down in gatherings to-the unjust dear

ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν

these-things indeed among people turn-about evils of-the and poor

ἱκνοῦνται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπήν,

arrive many land to foreign

πραθέντες δεσμοῖσί τ᾽ ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες.

sold with-bonds and shameful bound

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(lacuna)

οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἑκάστῳ,

thus public evil comes home to-each

αὐλειοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι,

courtyard and still to-hold not are-willing doors

ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ὑπέρθορεν, εὗρε δὲ πάντως,

high and over fence it-leaps it-finds and surely

εἰ καί τις φεύγων ἐν μυχῷ ᾖ θαλάμου.

if even anyone fleeing in innermost-corner be of-the-chamber

ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,

these-things to-teach heart Athenians me bids

ὡς κακὰ πλεῖστα πόλει δυσνομίη παρέχει,

how evils most to-a-city lawlessness brings

εὐνομίη δ' εὔκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,

lawfulness but orderly and sound all-things shows

καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας,

and often on-the unjust puts-around fetters

τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,

rough-things it-smooths stops excess insolence dims

αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,

withers and of-ruin flowers growing

εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα

straightens and judgments crooked arrogant and deeds

πραΰνει, παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης,

softens stops and deeds of-dissension

παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον· ἔστι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς

stops and of-grievous strife anger are and under it

πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

all-things among men sound and wise

ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων 256
you-hear O men Athenians about the such men
οἷα Σόλων λέγει, καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὕς φησι τὴν
what Solon says and about the gods who he-says the
πόλιν σῴζειν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον
city to-save I and always indeed true the saying this
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σῴζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν
think and wish that truly the gods save our the
πόλιν· τρόπον δέ τιν' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὰ νῦν συμβεβηκότα
city in-a-way and some I-think also the now happened
πάντ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθύναις ταυταισὶ δαιμονίας τινὸς εὐνοίας
all at the audits these-here of-divine some goodwill
ἔνδειγμα τῇ πόλει γεγενῆσθαι.
a-proof for-the city to-have-been
σκοπεῖτε γάρ. ἄνθρωπος πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρεσβεύσας, 257
consider for a-man many and terrible-things having-done-as-envoy
καὶ χώρας ἐκδεδωκὼς ἐν αἷς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν
and lands having-surrendered in which the gods by you and the
συμμάχων τιμᾶσθαι προσῆκεν, ἠτίμωσ' ὑπακούσαντά
allies to-be-honored it-befitted disfranchised having-answered-the-summons
τιν' αὐτοῦ κατήγορον. ἵνα τί; ἵνα μήτ' ἐλέου μήτε
someone of-him accuser so-that what so-that neither pity nor
συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἠδίκηκεν τύχῃ. ἀλλὰ καὶ
pardon for what himself he-has-done-wrong he-may-get but also
κατηγορῶν ἐκείνου κακῶς λέγειν προείλετ' ἐμέ, καὶ πάλιν
accusing him ill to-speak chose me and again
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γραφὰς ἀποίσειν καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἠπείλει.
in the assembly indictments to-be-going-to-bring and such-things threatened
ἵνα τί; ἵν' ὡς μετὰ πλείστης συγγνώμης παρ' ὑμῶν
so-that what so-that as with most pardon from you

ὁ τὰ τούτου πονηρεύματ᾽ ἀκριβέστατ᾽ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ
the-one the of-this-man villainies most-exactly knowing I and
παρηκολουθηκὼς ἅπασι κατηγορῶ.
having-followed all accuse
258 ἀλλὰ καὶ διακρουόμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον
but also putting-off all the earlier time
εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον ὑπῆκται καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τῶν
to-come-to-court into such he-has-been-drawn a-moment in which of-the
ἐπιόντων ἕνεκα, εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, οὐχ οἷόν τ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀσφαλὲς
coming-things for-the-sake if of-nothing other not possible — nor safe
ὑμῖν δεδωροδοκηκότα τοῦτον ἀθῷον ἐâσαι· ἀεὶ μὲν γάρ,
for-you having-taken-bribes this-man unpunished to-let always indeed for
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσήκει μισεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς
O men Athenians it-befits to-hate and to-punish the
προδότας καὶ δωροδόκους, μάλιστα δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ καιροῦ
traitors and bribe-takers most but now at the-right-moment
τοῦτο γένοιτ᾽ ἂν καὶ πάντας ὠφελήσειεν ἀνθρώπους κοινῇ.
this would-be — and all would-benefit men in-common
259 νόσημα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεινὸν ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς
a-disease for O men Athenians terrible has-fallen-upon into
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ πολλῆς τινὸς εὐτυχίας καὶ
— Greece and grievous and of-much some good-fortune and
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπιμελείας δεόμενον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι
from you care needing the for in the cities
γνωριμώτατοι καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιούμενοι,
most-notable and to-lead the public-affairs deemed-worthy
τὴν αὑτῶν προδιδόντες ἐλευθερίαν οἱ δυστυχεῖς, αὐθαίρετον
the their-own betraying freedom the wretched self-chosen
αὑτοῖς ἐπάγονται δουλείαν, Φιλίππῳ ξενίαν καὶ
on-themselves bring slavery with-Philip guest-friendship and
ἑταιρίαν καὶ τοιαῦθ᾽ ὑποκοριζόμενοι· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καὶ τὰ
comradeship and such-things calling-it-by-pet-names the and rest and the

κύρι᾽ ἄττα ποτ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων, οὓς ἔδει
authorities whatever ever are in each of-the cities who ought
τούτους κολάζειν καὶ παραχρῆμ᾽ ἀποκτιννύναι, τοσοῦτ᾽
these to-punish and at-once to-kill so-far
ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖν ὥστε θαυμάζουσι καὶ
they-are-from the such anything to-do that they-admire and
ζηλοῦσι καὶ βούλοιντ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τοιοῦτος εἶναι.
envy and would-wish — himself each such to-be
καίτοι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλώματα Θετταλῶν 260
and-yet this the thing and the such ambitions of-Thessalians
μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέχρι μὲν χθὲς ἢ πρώην
indeed O men Athenians until indeed yesterday or the-day-before
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἀξίωμ᾽ ἀπωλωλέκει, νῦν δ᾽
the leadership and the common standing had-destroyed now but
ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παραιρεῖται· τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις
already also the freedom takes-away the for citadels
αὐτῶν ἐνίων Μακεδόνες φρουροῦσιν· εἰς Πελοπόννησον δ᾽
of-them of-some Macedonians garrison into Peloponnese and
εἰσελθὸν τὰς ἐν Ἤλιδι σφαγὰς πεποίηκε, καὶ τοσαύτης
having-entered the in Elis massacres has-made and with-such
παρανοίας καὶ μανίας ἐνέπλησε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἐκείνους
derangement and madness has-filled the wretched those
ὥσθ᾽, ἵν᾽ ἀλλήλων ἄρχωσι καὶ Φιλίππῳ χαρίζωνται,
that so-that each-other they-may-rule and Philip please
συγγενεῖς αὑτῶν καὶ πολίτας μιαιφονεῖν.
kinsmen their-own and citizens to-murder
καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἕστηκεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν εἰσελθὸν 261
and not-even there it-has-stopped but into Arcadia having-entered
πάντ᾽ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τἀκεῖ πεποίηκε, καὶ νῦν Ἀρκάδων
all up and down the-things-there has-made and now of-Arcadians
πολλοί, προσῆκον αὐτοῖς ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ μέγιστον φρονεῖν
many it-befitting them on freedom most to-pride-themselves

ὁμοίως ὑμῖν (μόνοι γὰρ πάντων αὐτόχθονες ὑμεῖς ἐστε
like you alone for of-all native-born you are
κἀκεῖνοι) Φίλιππον θαυμάζουσι καὶ χαλκοῦν ἱστᾶσι καὶ
and-they Philip admire and in-bronze set-up and
στεφανοῦσι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἂν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἴῃ,
crown and the last if into Peloponnese he-goes
δέχεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσὶν ἐψηφισμένοι.
to-receive in-the cities they-have voted

262 ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀργεῖοι. ταῦτα νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, εἰ
the-same and these-things Argives these-things by — Demeter if
δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, εὐλαβείας οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖται, ὡς βαδίζον
one-must not talk-nonsense of-caution not small needs as going
γε κύκλῳ καὶ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ
at-least round also here has-come O men Athenians the
νόσημα τοῦτο. ἕως οὖν ἔτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, φυλάξασθε καὶ
disease this while then still in safety guard-against-it and
τοὺς πρώτους εἰσαγαγόντας ἀτιμώσατε· εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖθ'
the first having-introduced-it disfranchise if but not see
ὅπως μὴ τηνικαῦτ' εὖ λέγεσθαι δόξει τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα,
that not then well to-be-said will-seem the now said-things
ὅτ' οὐδ' ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἕξετε.
when not-even that which one-must do you-will-have

263 οὐχ ὁρᾶθ' ὡς ἐναργές, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σαφὲς
not you-see how vivid O men Athenians and clear
παράδειγμ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι γεγόνασιν Ὀλύνθιοι; οἳ παρ'
an-example the wretched have-become Olynthians who because-of
οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἀπολώλασιν οἱ δείλαιοι.
nothing so as the such-things to-do have-perished the poor-wretches
ἔχοιτε δ' ἂν ἐξετάσαι καθαρῶς ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων
you-could and — to-examine clearly from the things-happened
αὐτοῖς. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, ἡνίκα μὲν τετρακοσίους ἱππέας
to-them they for when indeed four-hundred horsemen

ἐκέκτηντο μόνον καὶ σύμπαντες οὐδὲν ἦσαν πλείους
possessed only and all-together nothing were more
πεντακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὔπω Χαλκιδέων πάντων
than-five-thousand in-the number not-yet Chalcidians all
εἰς ἓν συνῳκισμένων,
into one united
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων πολλῇ καὶ πεζῇ 264
Lacedaemonians against them having-come with-great both land
καὶ ναυτικῇ δυνάμει (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι γῆς
and naval force you-know for surely this that land
καὶ θαλάττης ἦρχον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ᾽
and sea ruled as word to-say Lacedaemonians in
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους), ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως τηλικαύτης ἐπ᾽
those the times but nevertheless so-great against
αὐτοὺς ἐλθούσης δυνάμεως οὔτε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε φρούριον
them having-come force neither the city nor fort
οὐδὲν ἀπώλεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχας πολλὰς ἐκράτησαν καὶ
any they-lost but also battles many won and
τρεῖς τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον,
three of-the polemarchs killed and the last
ὅπως ἐβούλοντο, οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον κατέθεντο.
as they-wished so the war ended
ἐπειδὴ δὲ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρξαντό τινες, καὶ δι᾽ ἀβελτερίαν 265
when but to-take-bribes began some and through stupidity
οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ δυστυχίαν, τούτους πιστοτέρους
the many rather but through misfortune these more-trustworthy
ἡγήσαντο τῶν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν λεγόντων, καὶ Λασθένης
considered than-the-ones for themselves speaking and Lasthenes
μὲν ἤρεψε τὴν οἰκίαν τοῖς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ξύλοις,
indeed roofed the house with-the from Macedonia timbers
Εὐθυκράτης δὲ βοῦς ἔτρεφεν πολλὰς τιμὴν οὐδενὶ δούς,
Euthycrates and cattle kept many price to-no-one having-paid

ἕτερος δέ τις ἦκεν ἔχων πρόβατα, ἄλλος δέ τις
another and someone came having sheep another and someone
ἵππους, οἱ δὲ πολλοί, καθ' ὧν ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οὐχ
horses the but many against whom these-things were-happening not
ὅπως ὠργίζοντο ἢ κολάζειν ἠξίουν τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας,
that were-angry or to-punish thought-fit the-ones these-things doing
ἀλλ' ἀπέβλεπον, ἐζήλουν, ἐτίμων, ἄνδρας ἡγοῦντο·
but they-gazed-at envied honored men considered
266 ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω προήγετο καὶ τὸ δωροδοκεῖν ἐκράτησε,
when these-things so advanced and the bribe-taking prevailed
χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας κεκτημένοι, πλείους δ' ὄντες ἢ
thousand indeed horsemen possessing more and being than
μύριοι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς περιχώρους ἔχοντες συμμάχους,
ten-thousand all and the neighbors having as-allies
μυρίοις δὲ ξένοις καὶ τριήρεσι πεντήκονθ' ὑμῶν
with-ten-thousand and mercenaries and triremes fifty you
βοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι τῶν πολιτῶν τετρακισχιλίοις,
having-helped them and further of-the citizens four-thousand
οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς τούτων ἐδυνήθη σῶσαι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν ἐξελθεῖν
nothing them of-these could save but before indeed to-go-out
ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ πολέμου τὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἀπωλωλέκεσαν
a-year of-the war the cities all they-had-lost
τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ, καὶ Φίλιππος οὐκέτ' εἶχεν ὑπακούειν
the-ones in the Chalcidice and Philip no-longer could to-attend-to
τοῖς προδιδοῦσιν, οὐδ' ὅ τι πρῶτον λάβῃ.
the-ones betraying nor that which first be-should-take
267 πεντακοσίους δ' ἱππέας προδοθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
five-hundred and horsemen betrayed by themselves the
ἡγουμένων ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ὁ Φίλιππος, ὅσους οὐδεὶς
commanders took with-their arms — Philip as-many-as no
πώποτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οὔτε τὸν ἥλιον ᾐσχύνονθ'
ever other of-men and neither the sun felt-shame-before

οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες οὔτε τὴν γῆν πατρίδ᾽ οὖσαν, ἐφ᾽
the-ones these-things doing nor the earth fatherland being on
ἧς ἔστασαν, οὔθ᾽ ἱερὰ οὔτε τάφους οὔτε τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα
which they-stood nor temples nor tombs nor the after these-things
γενησομένην αἰσχύνην ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἔργοις· οὕτως ἔκφρονας,
going-to-come shame for such deeds so senseless
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ παραπλῆγας τὸ δωροδοκεῖν ποιεῖ.
O men Athenians and frantic the bribe-taking makes
ὑμᾶς οὖν, ὑμᾶς εὖ φρονεῖν δεῖ τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ μὴ
you then you well to-think it-is-needful the many and not
ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ κολάζειν δημοσίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ
to-permit the such-things but to-punish publicly and for
ἂν καὶ ὑπερφυὲς εἴη, εἰ κατὰ μὲν τῶν Ὀλυνθίους
— also monstrous it-would-be if against indeed the-ones Olynthians
προδόντων πολλὰ καὶ δεί᾽ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοὺς δὲ παρ᾽
having-betrayed many and terrible-things you-voted the-ones but among
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦντας μὴ κολάζοντες φαίνοισθε. λέγε
you yourselves doing-wrong not punishing you-should-appear read
τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων.
the decree the about the Olynthians
ταῦθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς 268
these-things you O men jurors rightly and finely
πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις δοκεῖτ᾽ ἐψηφίσθαι κατ᾽
to-all Greeks and barbarians you-seem to-have-voted against
ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὸ
men traitors and to-gods hateful since then the
δωροδοκεῖν πρότερον τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐστι καὶ
bribe-taking earlier than-the the such-things to-do is and
δι᾽ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τάδε πράττουσί τινες, ὃν ἄν,
because-of that also these-things do some whomever —
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δωροδοκοῦντ᾽ ἴδητε, τοῦτον καὶ
O men Athenians taking-bribes you-see this-man also

προδότην εἶναι νομίζετε. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν καιρούς, ὁ
a-traitor to-be consider if and the-one indeed occasions the-other
δὲ πράγματα, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτας προδίδωσιν, ὧν
and affairs the-other and soldiers betrays of-whatever
ἂν ἕκαστος, οἶμαι, κύριος γένηται, ταῦτα διαφθείρει·
— each I-think master becomes these-things he-ruins
μισεῖν δ' ὁμοίως τοὺς τοιούτους πάντας προσήκει.
to-hate and alike the such all befits
269 ἔστι δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων μόνοις
it-is-possible and for-you O men Athenians about these-things alone
τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι, καὶ
of-the all men own to-use examples and
τοὺς προγόνους, οὓς ἐπαινεῖτε δικαίως, ἔργῳ μιμεῖσθαι.
the ancestors whom you-praise justly in-fact to-imitate
καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὰς μάχας μηδὲ τὰς στρατείας μηδὲ τοὺς
even for if not the battles nor the campaigns nor the
κινδύνους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι λαμπροί, συμβαίνει καιρός,
dangers in which were they illustrious comes occasion
ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἡσυχίαν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλὰ τό γ'
but you-keep quiet you in the present but the at-least
εὖ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν μιμεῖσθε.
well to-think of-them imitate

XVII · ARTHMIUS AND THE ANCESTORS

Demosthenes has the ancestors' decree read: Arthmius of Zeleia, who brought the barbarians' gold to the Greeks, was declared an enemy of the Athenians and their allies, he and all his family, on a stele that still stands beside the great bronze Athena on the Acropolis. Callias, who made the famous peace with the king, was nearly put to death and fined fifty talents at his audit for seeming to take gifts. Within living memory envoys who did far less harm were condemned to death, Epicrates, a restorer of the democracy, among them, and Thrasybulus was fined ten talents; yet the jurors would acquit the son of Atrometus and Glaucothea. Demosthenes turns Aeschines' words against Timarchus back on him: a city needs sinews against wrongdoers. Timarchus proposed death for anyone carrying arms or ship's gear to Philip; Aeschines, who handed the allies' arms to Philip, prosecuted him.

τούτου γὰρ πανταχοῦ χρεία, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι 270
of-this for everywhere need and nothing is
πραγματωδέστερον οὐδ' ὀχληρότερον τὸ καλῶς φρονεῖν
more-troublesome nor more-burdensome the well to-think
τοῦ κακῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ χρόνῳ νυνὶ καθήμενος ὑμῶν
than-the badly but in the equal time now sitting of-you
ἕκαστος, ἂν μὲν ἃ χρὴ γιγνώσκῃ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
each if indeed what one-must he-judges about the affairs
καὶ ψηφίζηται, βελτίω τὰ κοινὰ ποιήσει τῇ πόλει καὶ
and votes better the common-affairs will-make for-the city and
ἄξια τῶν προγόνων πράξει, ἂν δ' ἃ μὴ δεῖ, φαυλότερα,
worthy of-the ancestors will-do if but what not one-should worse
καὶ ἀνάξια τῶν προγόνων ποιήσει. τί οὖν ἐκεῖνοι περὶ
and unworthy of-the ancestors will-make what then they about
τούτων ἐφρόνουν; ταυτὶ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι, γραμματεῦ·
these-things thought these-here having-taken read-aloud clerk

δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις
one-must for you to-see that over the such deeds
ῥᾳθυμεῖτε, ὧν θάνατον κατεγνώκασιν οἱ πρόγονοι. λέγε.
you-are-indifferent for-which death have-decreed the ancestors read
271 ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν γραμμάτων λεγόντων
you-hear O men Athenians the inscription saying
Ἄρθμιον τὸν Πυθώνακτος τὸν Ζελείτην ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ
Arthmius the of-Pythonax the Zeleite hostile to-be and
πολέμιον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν
enemy of-the people the of-Athenians and of-the allies himself
καὶ γένος πᾶν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν
and race all because-of what because the gold the from the
βαρβάρων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤγαγεν. οὐκοῦν ἔστιν, ὡς
barbarians to the Greeks he-brought therefore it-is-possible as
ἔοικεν, ἐκ τούτων ἰδεῖν ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν ὑμῶν, ὅπως
it-seems from these-things to-see that the ancestors indeed of-you that
μηδ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων μηδεὶς ἐπὶ χρήμασι μηδὲν ἐργάσεται
not-even other of-men any for money anything will-do
κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐφρόντιζον, ὑμεῖς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν
harm — Greece took-care you but not-even the city
αὐτὴν ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀδικήσει προορᾶσθε.
itself that no-one of-the citizens will-wrong you-take-forethought
272 νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔτυχεν ταῦτα τὰ γράμματ' ἔστηκεν.
by Zeus but as it-happened these the letters stand
ἀλλ' ὅλης οὔσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταυτησὶ καὶ
but whole being sacred the acropolis this-here and
πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης, παρὰ τὴν χαλκῆν τὴν
much open-space having beside the bronze the
μεγάλην Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἕστηκεν, ἣν ἀριστεῖον ἡ
great Athena on the-right it-stands which as-prize-of-valor the
πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, δόντων τῶν
city of-the against the barbarians war having-given the

Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα, ἀνέθηκεν. τότε μὲν τοίνυν
Greeks the money this dedicated then indeed then
οὕτω σεμνὸν ἦν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κολάζειν τοὺς τὰ
so revered was the justice and the to-punish the-ones the
τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ἔντιμον, ὥστε τῆς αὐτῆς ἠξιοῦτο
such-things doing honorable that of-the same was-deemed-worthy
στάσεως τό τ' ἀριστεῖον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ αἱ κατὰ τῶν
place the both prize of-the goddess and the against the-ones
τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀδικούντων τιμωρίαι· νῦν δὲ γέλως, ἄδεια, εἰ
the such-things doing-wrong punishments now but laughter impunity if
μὴ τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην ἐξουσίαν σχήσετε νῦν ὑμεῖς.
not the excessive this license you-will-check now you
νομίζω τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐ καθ' ἕν τι 273
I-think then you O men Athenians not in one thing
μόνον τοὺς προγόνους μιμουμένους ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ
only the ancestors imitating rightly — would-do but
καὶ κατὰ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔπραττον ἐφεξῆς. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, ὡς
also in all as-much-as they-did in-order they then as
ἅπαντες εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀκηκόατε, Καλλίαν
all well I-know that the story this you-have-heard Callias
τὸν Ἱππονίκου ταύτην τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων θρυλουμένην
the of-Hipponicus this the by all much-talked-of
εἰρήνην πρεσβεύσαντα, ἵππου μὲν δρόμον ἡμέρας πεζῇ
peace having-negotiated of-horse indeed a-course of-a-day by-land
μὴ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν βασιλέα, ἐντὸς δὲ
not to-come-down to the sea king within and
Χελιδονίων καὶ Κυανέων πλοίῳ μακρῷ μὴ πλεῖν, ὅτι
Chelidonians and Cyaneans with-ship long not to-sail because
δῶρα λαβεῖν ἔδοξε πρεσβεύσας, μικροῦ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν,
gifts to-have-taken he-seemed having-been-envoy nearly indeed they-killed
ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐθύναις πεντήκοντ' ἐπράξαντο τάλαντα.
in but the audits fifty they-exacted talents

274 καίτοι καλλίω ταύτης εἰρήνην οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ' ὕστερον
and-yet finer than-this peace neither before nor after
οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πεποιημένην τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ'
no-one — to-say could having-made the city but not this
ἐσκόπουν. τούτου μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦντο τὴν αὑτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ
they-looked-at of-this indeed for they-thought the their-own valor and
τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν αἰτίαν εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ προῖκ' ἢ μὴ
the of-the city glory cause to-be of-the but for-nothing or not
τὸν τρόπον τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ· τοῦτον οὖν δίκαιον ἠξίουν
the character of-the envoy this-one then just they-required
παρέχεσθαι καὶ ἀδωροδόκητον τὸν προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς.
to-show-himself and incorruptible the-one approaching the public-affairs
275 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοίνυν οὕτως ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦντο τὸ δωροδοκεῖν
they indeed then so hateful considered the bribe-taking
καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς τῇ πόλει, ὥστε μήτ' ἐπὶ πράξεως μηδεμιᾶς
and unprofitable for-the city that neither in action any
μήτ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐᾶν γίγνεσθαι· ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
nor in a-man to-allow to-happen you but O men Athenians
τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην ἑορακότες τὰ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων τῶν
the same peace having-seen the indeed of-the allies the
ὑμετέρων τείχη καθῃρηκυῖαν, τὰς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων οἰκίας
your walls having-pulled-down the and of-the envoys houses
οἰκοδομοῦσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως κτήματ' ἀφῃρημένην,
building and the indeed of-the city possessions having-taken-away
τούτοις δ' ἃ μηδ' ὄναρ ἤλπισαν πώποτε κτησαμένην,
for-these but what not-even in-a-dream they-hoped ever having-acquired
οὐκ αὐτοὶ τούτους ἀπεκτείνατε, ἀλλὰ κατηγόρου προσδεῖσθε,
not yourselves these-men you-killed but an-accuser you-need
καὶ λόγῳ κρίνεθ' ὧν ἔργῳ τἀδικήματα πάντες ὁρῶσιν.
and by-word judge whose in-fact the-wrongs all see

οὐ τοίνυν τὰ παλαί᾽ ἄν τις ἔχοι μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ 276
not then the old-things — anyone could only to-tell and
διὰ τούτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν
through these the examples you to punishment
παρακαλέσαι· ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν τουτωνὶ τῶν ἔτι ζώντων
to-exhort but in-the-time-of you these-here the still living
πολλοὶ δίκην δεδώκασιν, ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους
many penalty have-paid of-whom I the indeed others
παραλείψω, τῶν δ᾽ ἐκ πρεσβείας, ἣ πολὺ ταύτης ἐλάττω
will-pass-over of-the but from an-embassy which far than-this less
κακὰ τὴν πόλιν εἴργασται, θανάτῳ ζημιωθέντων ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν
harm the city has-done with-death punished one or two
ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. καί μοι λέγε τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.
I-will-mention and for-me read this-here the decree having-taken
κατὰ τουτὶ τὸ ψήφισμ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πρέσβεων 277
by this-here the decree O men Athenians of-the envoys
ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς θάνατον κατέγνωτε, ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἐπικράτης,
those you death decreed of-whom one was Epicrates
ἀνήρ, ὡς ἐγὼ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούω, σπουδαῖος καὶ
a-man as I from-the elders hear excellent and
πολλὰ χρήσιμος τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς
in-much useful to-the city and of-the-ones from Piraeus
καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἄλλως δημοτικός. ἀλλ᾽
having-restored the people and otherwise democratic but
ὅμως οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὠφέλησε τούτων, δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ
nevertheless nothing him helped of-these justly not for
ἐφ᾽ ἡμισείᾳ χρηστὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν τὰ τηλικαῦτα διοικεῖν
by half good to-be must the-one the so-great-things to-manage
ἀξιοῦντα, οὐδὲ τὸ πιστευθῆναι προλαβόντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς
claiming nor the trust having-obtained-first from you for

τὸ μείζω δύνασθαι κακουργεῖν καταχρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς
the more to-be-able to-do-harm to-abuse but simply
μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἑκόντα.
in-nothing you to-wrong willingly
278 εἰ τοίνυν τι τούτοις ἄπρακτόν ἐστι τούτων ἐφ'
if then anything by-these-men undone is of-these for
οἷς ἐκείνων θάνατος κατέγνωσται, ἔμ' ἀποκτείνατ' ἤδη.
which of-those death has-been-decreed me kill at-once
σκοπεῖτε γάρ. 'ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὰ γράμματα' φησὶν
consider for since contrary-to the instructions it-says
'ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐκεῖνοι.' καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
went-as-envoys they and this is of-the charges
πρῶτον. οὗτοι δ' οὐ παρὰ τὰ γράμματα; οὐ τὸ μὲν
first these-men but not contrary-to the instructions not the indeed
ψήφισμα 'Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχοις,' οὗτοι
decree for-Athenians and for-the of-Athenians allies these-men
δὲ Φωκέας ἐκσπόνδους ἀπέφηναν; οὐ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα
but Phocians excluded-from-the-treaty declared not the indeed decree
'τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὁρκοῦν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν,' οὗτοι δ',
the magistrates to-put-to-oath the-ones in the cities these-men but
οὓς Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, τούτους ὤρκισαν; οὐ
whom Philip to-them sent these they-put-to-oath not
τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα 'οὐδαμοῦ μόνους ἐντυγχάνειν Φιλίππῳ,'
the indeed decree nowhere alone to-meet Philip
οὗτοι δ' οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντ' ἰδίᾳ χρηματίζοντες;
these-men but in-nothing ceased privately negotiating
279 'καὶ ἠλέγχθησάν τινες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ οὐ τἀληθῆ
and were-convicted some of-them in the council not the-truth
ἀπαγγέλλοντες.' οὗτοι δέ γε κἀν τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ
reporting these-men but at-least also-in the assembly and
ὑπὸ τοῦ; τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ λαμπρόν· ὑπ' αὐτῶν
by whom this for is the striking-thing by themselves

τῶν πραγμάτων· οἷς γὰρ ἀπήγγειλαν οὗτοι, πάντα
the facts to-what for reported these-men all
δήπου γέγονεν τἀναντία. ‘οὐδ’ ἐπιστέλλοντες’ φησὶ
surely has-happened the-opposite nor writing it-says
‘τἀληθῆ.’ οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ οὗτοι. ‘καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τῶν
the-truth therefore nor these-men and lying-against the
συμμάχων καὶ δῶρα λαμβάνοντες.’ ἀντὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ
allies and gifts taking instead-of indeed then the
καταψευδόμενοι παντελῶς ἀπολωλεκότες· πολλῷ δὲ δήπου
lying-against utterly having-destroyed by-much and surely
τοῦτο δεινότερον τοῦ καταψεύσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπέρ
this more-terrible than-the to-lie-against but truly about
γε τοῦ δῶρ’ εἰληφέναι, εἰ μὲν ἠρνοῦντο, ἐλέγχειν λοιπὸν
at-least the bribes to-have-taken if indeed they-denied to-prove remaining
ἂν ἦν, ἐπειδὴ δ’ ὡμολόγουν, ἀπάγειν δήπου προσῆκεν.
— would-be since but they-admitted to-arrest surely was-fitting
τί οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὑμεῖς 280
what then O men Athenians these-things so being you
ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἔτι
from those the men being the-ones and even some of-them still
ζῶντες, ὑπομενεῖτε τὸν μὲν εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸν
living will-you-endure the-one indeed benefactor of-the people and the
ἐκ Πειραιῶς, Ἐπικράτην, ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ κολασθῆναι; καὶ
from Piraeus Epicrates to-have-been-exiled and to-be-punished and
πάλιν πρώην Θρασύβουλον ἐκεῖνον τὸν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ
again lately Thrasybulus that the of-Thrasybulus the
δημοτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντος τὸν δῆμον,
democrat and the-one from Phyle having-restored the people
τάλαντα δέκ’ ὠφληκέναι, καὶ τὸν ἀφ’ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ τῶν
talents ten to-have-been-fined and the-one from Harmodius and the-ones
τὰ μέγιστ’ ἀγάθ’ ὑμᾶς εἰργασμένων, οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς
the greatest goods you having-done whom by-law because-of the

εὐεργεσίας ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ
benefits which they-conferred-first on you in all the temples at
ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε,
the sacrifices in-libations and mixing-bowls sharers you-have-made
καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτ' ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς,
and you-sing-of and honor on equal-terms with-the heroes and the gods
281 τούτους μὲν πάντας τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δίκην
these indeed all the from the laws penalty
ὑπεσχηκέναι, καὶ μήτε συγγνώμην μήτ' ἔλεον μήτε παιδία
to-have-paid and neither pardon nor pity nor children
κλάονθ' ὁμώνυμα τῶν εὐεργετῶν μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς
weeping namesakes of-the benefactors nor other anything them
ὠφεληκέναι· τὸν δ' Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ καὶ
to-have-helped the-one but of-Atrometus the schoolmaster and
Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγούσης, ἐφ' οἷς
Glaucothea the-woman the revel-bands gathering for which
ἑτέρα τέθνηκεν ἱέρεια, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς λαβόντες, τὸν τῶν
another has-died priestess this-one you having-caught the of-the
τοιούτων, τὸν οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, οὐκ
such the-one not-even in one useful to-the city not
αὐτόν, οὐ πατέρα, οὐκ ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν τούτου, ἀφήσετε;
himself not father not other any of-the his will-you-acquit
282 ποῖος γὰρ ἵππος, ποία τριήρης, ποία στρατεία, τίς χορός,
what for horse what trireme what campaign what chorus
τίς λῃτουργία, τίς εἰσφορά, τίς εὔνοια, ποῖος κίνδυνος,
what liturgy what war-tax what goodwill what danger
τί τούτων ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ γέγονεν παρὰ τούτων τῇ
what of-these in all the time has-come from these-men to-the
πόλει; καίτοι κἂν εἰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ὑπῆρχεν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ μὴ
city and-yet even if these-things all there-were those but not
προσῆν, δικαίως καὶ προῖκα πεπρεσβευκέναι, ἀπολωλέναι
were-added justly and for-nothing to-have-been-envoy to-perish

δήπου προσῆκεν αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ μήτε ταῦτα μήτ' ἐκεῖνα,
surely befitted him if but neither these nor those
οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε;
not will-you-punish
οὐκ ἀναμνησθήσεσθ' ὧν κατηγορῶν ἔλεγεν Τιμάρχου, 283
not will-you-recall what accusing he-said Timarchus
ὡς οὐδέν ἐστ' ὄφελος πόλεως ἥτις μὴ νεῦρ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
that nothing is use of-a-city which not sinews against the
ἀδικοῦντας ἔχει, οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἐν ᾗ συγγνώμη καὶ
wrongdoers has nor of-a-constitution in which pardon and
παραγγελία τῶν νόμων μεῖζον ἰσχύουσιν· οὐδ' ἐλεεῖν
canvassing than-the laws more prevail nor to-pity
ὑμᾶς οὔτε τὴν μητέρα δεῖν τὴν Τιμάρχου, γραῦν
you neither the mother to-be-necessary the of-Timarchus old
γυναῖκα, οὔτε τὰ παιδί' οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν'
woman nor the children nor other anyone but that
ὁρᾶν, ὅτι, εἰ προήσεσθε τὰ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς
to-see that if you-abandon the-things of-the laws and of-the
πολιτείας, οὐχ εὑρήσετε τοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσοντας.
constitution not you-will-find the-ones you yourselves going-to-pity
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ταλαίπωρος ἄνθρωπος ἠτιμώσεται, ὅτι 284
but the indeed wretched man will-be-disfranchised because
τοῦτον εἶδεν ἀδικοῦντα, τούτῳ δ' ἀθῴῳ δώσετ' εἶναι;
this-man he-saw doing-wrong to-this-man but unpunished will-you-grant to-be
διὰ τί; εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντων
because-of what if for from the-ones against themselves having-erred
τηλικαύτην ἠξίωσε δίκην Αἰσχίνης λαβεῖν, παρὰ τῶν
so-great thought-fit penalty Aeschines to-take from the-ones
εἰς τὰ τῆς πόλεως τηλικαῦθ' ἡμαρτηκότων, ὧν
against the-things of-the city so-greatly having-erred of-whom

εἷς οὗτος ὢν ἐξελέγχεται, πηλίκην ὑμᾶς προσήκει λαβεῖν
one this-man being is-proved how-great you befits to-take
τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας καὶ δικάζοντας;
the-ones having-sworn and judging
285 νὴ Δί', οἱ νέοι γὰρ ἡμῖν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔσονται τὸν
by Zeus the young for for-us because-of that will-be the
ἀγῶνα βελτίους. οὐκοῦν καὶ διὰ τόνδ' οἱ πολιτευόμενοι,
trial better therefore also because-of this-one the politicians
δι' ὧν τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει· προσήκει
through whom the greatest-things are-risked for-the city it-befits
δὲ καὶ τούτων φροντίζειν. ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆθ' ὅτι καὶ
and also these to-care-for so-that then you-may-know that also
τοῦτον ἀπώλεσεν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων παίδων,
this-man he-ruined not by Zeus not of-the your sons
ὅπως ἔσονται σώφρονες, προορῶν (εἰσὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
that they-will-be modest foreseeing they-are for O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ νῦν σώφρονες· μὴ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιτο κακῶς
Athenians even now modest not for so may-it-be badly
τῇ πόλει ὥστ' Ἀφοβήτου καὶ Αἰσχίνου σωφρονιστῶν
for-the city that of-Aphobetus and Aeschines as-moral-teachers
δεηθῆναι τοὺς νεωτέρους),
to-need the younger
286 ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλεύων ἔγραψεν, ἄν τις ὡς Φίλιππον ὅπλ'
but because being-councilor he-proposed if anyone to Philip arms
ἄγων ἁλῷ ἢ σκεύη τριηρικά, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν·
carrying is-caught or tackle for-triremes death to-be the penalty
σημεῖον δέ· πόσον γὰρ ἐδημηγόρει χρόνον Τίμαρχος;
proof and how-much for was-speaking time Timarchus
πολύν. οὐκοῦν τοῦτον ἦν Αἰσχίνης ἅπαντ' ἐν τῇ πόλει,
long therefore this was Aeschines all in the city
καὶ οὐδεπώποτ' ἠγανάκτησεν οὐδὲ δεινὸν ἡγήσατ' εἶναι
and never was-indignant nor terrible thought to-be

τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ὁ τοιοῦτος λέγει, ἕως εἰς Μακεδονίαν
the thing if the such-a-man speaks until into Macedonia
ἐλθὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐμίσθωσεν· λέγε δή μοι τὸ ψήφισμα
having-gone himself he-hired-out read indeed for-me the decree
λαβὼν αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Τιμάρχου.
having-taken itself the — of-Timarchus
ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν γράψας μὴ ἄγειν ἐν τῷ 287
the-one indeed then for you having-proposed not to-carry in the
πολέμῳ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὅπλα, εἰ δὲ μή, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι,
war to Philip arms if but not by-death to-be-punished
ἀπόλωλε καὶ ὕβρισται· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων
has-perished and been-outraged the-one but even the of-the your
συμμάχων ὅπλ' ἐκείνῳ παραδοὺς οὑτοσὶ κατηγόρει, καὶ
allies arms to-him having-handed-over this-here accused and
περὶ πορνείας ἔλεγεν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, δυοῖν μὲν κηδεσταῖν
about prostitution spoke O earth and gods two indeed in-laws
παρεστηκότοιν, οὓς ἰδόντες ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀνακράγοιτε, Νικίου
standing-by whom having-seen — you would-cry-out Nicias
τε τοῦ βδελυροῦ, ὃς ἑαυτὸν ἐμίσθωσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον
both the loathsome who himself hired-out to Egypt
Χαβρίᾳ, καὶ τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωνος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς
to-Chabrias and the accursed Cyrebion who in the
πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει. καὶ τί ταῦτα; ἀλλὰ
processions without the mask revels and why these-things but
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁρῶν Ἀφόβητον. ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἄνω ποταμῶν
the brother seeing Aphobetus but indeed upward rivers
ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πάντες οἱ περὶ πορνείας ἐρρύησαν λόγοι.
on-that the day all the about prostitution flowed words

Athens, once watched by all Greece, now eavesdrops on others, and Demosthenes fears not Philip but impunity for those who take his pay. Eubulus would not speak for his cousin Hegesileos or for Thrasybulus, Niceratus' uncle, yet will plead for Aeschines, who once joined Aristophon in accusing him; Eubulus prosecuted Moerocles and Cephisophon for petty sums and swore he wished Philip dead. Petty thieves did not ruin Elis, Olynthus, and Megara, but great men thought above the many: at Megara Ptoeodorus begged off Perillus, who had gone to Philip. No one may stand above the courts and the laws, and the oracles of Zeus and Dione bid the people punish those who serve the enemy.

288 καὶ μὴν εἰς ὅσην ἀτιμίαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡ τούτου
and truly into how-much dishonor the city of-us the of-this-man
πονηρία καὶ ψευδολογία καταστήσασ' ἔχει, πάντα τἄλλ'
wickedness and lying having-brought holds all the-rest
ἀφείς, ὃ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἴστ' ἐρῶ. πρότερον μὲν
having-let-go what all you know I-will-say formerly indeed
γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψήφισται,
for O men Athenians what among you has-been-voted
τοῦτ' ἐπετήρουν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες· νῦν δ' ἤδη
this watched the other all Greeks now but now
περιερχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς τί δέδοκται τοῖς ἄλλοις σκοποῦντες,
go-around we what has-been-decided by-the others looking
καὶ ὠτακουστοῦντες τί τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τί τὰ
and eavesdropping what the-things of-the Arcadians what the-things
τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ποῖ πάρεισι Φίλιππος, ζῇ ἢ τέθνηκεν.
of-the Amphictyons where is-going Philip lives or is-dead
289 οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦμεν; ἐγὼ δ' οὐ δέδοικ' εἰ Φίλιππος ζῇ,
not such-things do-we-do I but not fear whether Philip lives
ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μισεῖν
but whether in-the city has-died the the wrongdoers to-hate

καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ φοβεῖ με Φίλιππος, ἂν τὰ παρ'
and to-punish nor frightens me Philip if the-things among
ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἄδεια γενήσεται τοῖς
you are-sound but if among you impunity will-be for-the-ones
παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνεῖν βουλομένοις, καὶ συνεροῦσί τινες
from him to-take-pay wishing and will-plead-for some
τούτοις τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπιστευμένων, καὶ πάντα τὸν
these of-the-ones by you trusted and all the
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀρνούμενοι μὴ πράττειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
former time denying not to-act for Philip
νῦν ἀναβήσονται, ταῦτα φοβεῖ με.
now will-come-up these-things frighten me
τί γὰρ δή ποτ', Εὔβουλε, Ἡγησίλεῳ μὲν κρινομένῳ, ὃς 290
why for indeed ever Eubulus for-Hegesileos indeed being-tried who
ἀνεψιός ἐστί σοι, καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ πρώην, τῷ Νικηράτου
cousin is to-you and for-Thrasybulus lately the of-Niceratus
θείῳ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης ψήφου οὐδ' ὑπακοῦσαι
uncle at indeed the first vote not-even to-answer
καλούμενος ἤθελες, εἰς δὲ τὸ τίμημ' ἀναβὰς ὑπὲρ μὲν
being-called were-you-willing on and the penalty having-come-up for indeed
ἐκείνων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔλεγες, ἐδέου δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν
them not-even anything-whatever you-said you-asked and of-the jurors
συγγνώμην ἔχειν σοί; εἶθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν συγγενῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίων
pardon to-have for-you then for indeed kinsmen and close
ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀναβαίνεις, ὑπὲρ Αἰσχίνου δ' ἀναβήσει,
men not you-come-up for Aeschines but you-will-come-up
ὅς, ἡνίκ' ἔκρινεν Ἀριστοφῶν Φιλόνικον καὶ δι' ἐκείνου 291
who when prosecuted Aristophon Philonicus and through him
τῶν σοὶ πεπραγμένων κατηγόρει, συγκατηγόρει μετ'
the by-you things-done accused joined-in-accusing with
ἐκείνου σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν σῶν εἷς ἐξητάζετο; ἐπειδὴ
him you and of-the enemies the yours one was-counted when

δὲ σὺ μὲν τουτουσὶ δεδιξάμενος καὶ φήσας καταβαίνειν
but you indeed these-here having-frightened and having-said to-go-down
εἰς Πειραιᾶ δεῖν ἤδη καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τὰ
to Piraeus to-be-necessary now and money to-contribute and the
θεωρικὰ στρατιωτικὰ ποιεῖν, ἢ χειροτονεῖν ἃ συνεῖπε
festival-funds military to-make or to-vote-for what supported
μὲν οὗτος, ἔγραψε δ' ὁ βδελυρὸς Φιλοκράτης, ἐξ ὧν
indeed this-man proposed and the loathsome Philocrates from which
αἰσχρὰν ἀντ' ἴσης συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
shameful instead-of equal it-came-about to-be the peace
292 οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀδικήμασι πάντ' ἀπολωλέκασι,
these-men but by-the after these-things wrongs all have-ruined
τηνικαῦτα διήλλαξαι; καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δήμῳ κατηρῶ καὶ
then you-were-reconciled and in indeed the assembly you-cursed and
κατὰ τῶν παίδων ὤμνυες ἦ μὴν ἀπολωλέναι Φίλιππον
by the children you-swore truly indeed to-have-perished Philip
ἂν βούλεσθαι· νῦν δὲ βοηθήσεις τούτῳ; πῶς οὖν ἀπολεῖται,
— to-wish now but you-will-help this-man how then will-he-perish
ὅταν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου δωροδοκοῦντας σὺ σῴζῃς;
when the-ones from him taking-bribes you save
293 τί γὰρ δήποτε Μοιροκλέα μὲν ἔκρινες, εἰ παρὰ τῶν τὰ
why for ever Moerocles indeed did-you-prosecute if from the-ones the
μέταλλ' ἐωνημένων εἴκοσιν ἐξέλεξεν δραχμὰς παρ' ἑκάστου,
mines having-bought twenty he-exacted drachmas from each
καὶ Κηφισοφῶντα γραφὴν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐδίωκες, εἰ
and Cephisophon in-a-suit of-sacred money you-prosecuted if
τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔθηκεν ἑπτὰ
three later days at the bank he-deposited seven
μνᾶς· τοὺς δ' ἔχοντας, ὁμολογοῦντας, ἐξελεγχομένους
minas the-ones but having admitting being-convicted

ἐπ᾽ αὐτοφώρῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλέθρῳ ταῦτα
in the-act for the of-the allies destruction these-things
πεποιηκότας, τούτους οὐ κρίνεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σῴζειν κελεύεις;
having-done these not you-prosecute but even to-save you-urge
καὶ μὴν ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν φοβερὰ καὶ προνοίας καὶ 294
and truly that these-things indeed are fearful and of-forethought and
φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενα, ἐφ᾽ οἷς δ᾽ ἐκείνους σὺ ἔκρινες,
guard much needing for what but them you prosecuted
γέλως, ἐκείνως ὄψεσθε. ἦσαν ἐν Ἤλιδι κλέπτοντες τὰ
laughter thus you-will-see were in Elis stealing the
κοινά τινες; καὶ μάλ᾽ εἰκός γε. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις μετέσχεν
public-funds some and very likely at-least is-there then anyone who-shared
αὐτόθι νῦν τούτων τοῦ καταλῦσαι τὸν δῆμον; οὐδὲ εἷς. τί
there now of-these the overthrowing the democracy not-even one what
δ᾽; ἦσαν, ὅτ᾽ ἦν Ὄλυνθος, τοιοῦτοί τινες ἄλλοι; ἐγὼ μὲν
and were-there when was Olynthus such some others I indeed
οἶομαι. ἆρ᾽ οὖν διὰ τούτους ἀπώλετ᾽ Ὄλυνθος; οὔ. τί
I-think — then because-of these perished Olynthus no what
δ᾽; ἐν Μεγάροις οὐκ οἴεσθ᾽ εἶναί τινα καὶ κλέπτην καὶ
and in Megara not do-you-think to-be someone both thief and
παρεκλέγοντα τὰ κοινά; ἀνάγκη. καὶ πέφηνέ τις αἴτιος
embezzling the public-funds necessarily and has-appeared anyone responsible
αὐτόθι νῦν τούτων τῶν συμβεβηκότων πραγμάτων; οὐδὲ εἷς.
there now for-these the having-happened events not-even one
ἀλλὰ ποῖοί τινες οἱ τὰ τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ᾽ 295
but what-sort of-men the-ones the so-great and such-things
ἀδικοῦντες; οἱ νομίζοντες ἀξιόχρεως εἶναι τοῦ Φιλίππου
doing-wrong the-ones thinking worthy to-be — of-Philip
ξένοι καὶ φίλοι προσαγορεύεσθαι, οἱ στρατηγιῶντες
guest-friends and friends to-be-called the-ones desiring-command
καὶ προστασίας ἀξιούμενοι, οἱ μείζους τῶν πολλῶν
and leadership deemed-worthy-of the-ones greater than-the many

οἰόμενοι δεῖν εἶναι. οὐ Πέριλλος ἐκρίνετ᾽ ἔναγχος
thinking to-be-necessary to-be not Perillus was-tried lately
ἐν Μεγάροις ἐν τοῖς τριακοσίοις, ὅτι πρὸς Φίλιππον
at Megara before the three-hundred because to Philip
ἀφίκετο, καὶ παρελθὼν Πτοιόδωρος αὐτὸν ἐξῃτήσατο,
he-had-gone and having-come-forward Ptoeodorus him begged-off
καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ πρῶτος Μεγαρέων, καὶ
both in-wealth and in-birth and in-repute first of-Megarians and
πάλιν ὡς Φίλιππον ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν
again to Philip sent-him-off and after these-things the-one indeed
ἦκεν ἄγων τοὺς ξένους, ὁ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἐτύρευε; τοιαῦτα.
came bringing the mercenaries the-other and inside was-stirring-up such-things
296 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὅ τι τῶν πάντων μᾶλλον
not for is not is that which of-the all more
εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ ἢ τὸ μείζω τινὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐᾶν
to-guard-against one-must than the greater anyone than-the many to-allow
γίγνεσθαι. μή μοι σῳζέσθω μηδ᾽ ἀπολλύσθω μηδείς, ἂν
to-become not for-me let-him-be-saved nor let-him-perish anyone if
ὁ δεῖνα βούληται, ἀλλ᾽ ὃν ἂν τὰ πεπραγμένα σῴζῃ
the so-and-so wishes but whom — the things-done save
καὶ τοὐναντίον, τούτῳ τῆς προσηκούσης ψήφου παρ᾽
and conversely for-this-one the fitting vote from
ὑμῶν ὑπαρχέτω τυγχάνειν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δημοτικόν.
you let-it-be-his to-obtain this for is democratic
297 ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ καιρῶν γεγόνασιν ἰσχυροί,
further then many among you at times have-been powerful
Καλλίστρατος, αὖθις Ἀριστοφῶν, Διόφαντος, τούτων ἕτεροι
Callistratus again Aristophon Diophantus than-these others
πρότερον. ἀλλὰ ποῦ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐπρώτευεν; ἐν τῷ
earlier but where of-these each was-first in the
δήμῳ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐδείς πω μέχρι τῆς τήμερον
assembly in but the courts no-one yet until the present

ἡμέρας ὑμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων οὐδὲ τῶν ὅρκων κρείττων
day than-you nor than-the laws nor than-the oaths stronger
γέγονεν. μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ νῦν τοῦτον ἐάσητε. ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα
has-been not then nor now this-man allow that for these-things
φυλάττοισθ' ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἢ πιστεύοιτε, τῶν θεῶν
you-would-guard-against — reasonably rather than trust of-the gods
ὑμῖν μαντείαν ἀναγνώσομαι, οἵπερ ἀεὶ σῴζουσι τὴν πόλιν
to-you oracle I-will-read who always save the city
πολλῷ τῶν προεστηκότων μᾶλλον. λέγε τὰς μαντείας.
by-much than-the leaders more read the oracles
ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν θεῶν οἵ' ὑμῖν προλέγουσιν. 298
you-hear O men Athenians the gods what to-you they-foretell
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν ταῦτ' ἀνῃρήκασι,
if indeed then making-war you these-things they-have-pronounced
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς λέγουσι φυλάττεσθαι· πολέμου γάρ εἰσιν
the generals they-say to-guard-against of-war for are
ἡγεμόνες οἱ στρατηγοί· εἰ δὲ πεποιημένων εἰρήνην, τοὺς
leaders the generals if but having-made peace the-ones
ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφεστηκότας· οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγοῦνται, τούτοις
over the state set these for lead these
πείθεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ὑπὸ τούτων δέος ἐστὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε.
you-obey you by these fear is lest you-be-misled
'καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνέχειν, ὅπως ἂν μίαν γνώμην ἔχωσιν
and the city to-hold-together that — one mind they-may-have
ἅπαντες καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡδονὴν ποιῶσι.'
all and not for-the enemies pleasure make
πότερ' οὖν οἴεσθ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν τοσαῦτα 299
whether then do-you-think — O men Athenians the-one so-many
κάκ' εἰργασμένον σωθέντα, ἢ δίκην δόντα, ἡδονὴν
evils having-done saved or penalty having-paid pleasure
Φιλίππῳ ποιῆσαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶομαι σωθέντα. φησὶ δέ
for-Philip to-give I indeed think saved says but

γ᾽ ἡ μαντεία δεῖν ὅπως ἂν μὴ χαίρωσιν οἱ
at-least the oracle to-be-necessary that — not rejoice the
ἐχθροὶ ποιεῖν. ἅπασι τοίνυν μιᾷ γνώμῃ παρακελεύεται
enemies to-act all then with-one mind it-exhorts
κολάζειν τοὺς ὑπηρετηκότας τι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁ Ζεύς,
to-punish the-ones having-served in-anything the enemies — Zeus
ἡ Διώνη, πάντες οἱ θεοί. ἔξωθεν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντες,
— Dione all the gods from-outside the-ones plotting
ἔνδοθεν οἱ συμπράττοντες. οὐκοῦν τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων
from-inside the-ones cooperating therefore of-the plotters
μὲν ἔργον διδόναι, τῶν συμπραττόντων δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ
indeed the-work to-give of-the cooperators but to-take and
τοὺς εἰληφότας ἐκσῴζειν.
the-ones having-taken to-save
300 ἔτι τοίνυν κἂν ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνου λογισμοῦ τοῦτ᾽ ἴδοι
further then even from human reasoning this could-see
τις, ὅτι πάντων ἐχθρότατον καὶ φοβερώτατον τὸ τὸν
one that of-all most-hostile and most-fearful the the
προεστηκότ᾽ ἐᾶν οἰκεῖον γίγνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ τῶν
leader to-allow intimate to-become with-the-ones not the
αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσι τῷ δήμῳ. τίσι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων
same desiring as-the people by-what for of-the affairs
ἐγκρατὴς γέγονεν Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, καὶ τίσιν τὰ μέγιστα
master has-become Philip of-all and by-what the greatest
κατείργασται τῶν πεπραγμένων, σκέψασθε. τῷ παρὰ τῶν
he-has-achieved of-the things-done consider by-the from the-ones
πωλούντων τὰς πράξεις ὠνεῖσθαι, τῷ τοὺς προεστηκότας
selling the deals to-buy by-the the leaders
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν διαφθείρειν καὶ ἐπαίρειν, τούτοις.
in the cities to-corrupt and to-incite by-these-means

ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀμφότερα, ἐὰν βούλησθε, 301
these-things then in you is both if you-wish
ἀχρεῖα ποιῆσαι τήμερον, ἂν τῶν μὲν μὴ 'θέλητ'
useless to-make today if the-ones indeed not you-are-willing
ἀκούειν τοῖς τοιούτοις συνηγορούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξητ'
to-hear for-the such pleading but you-show
ἀκύρους ὄντας ὑμῶν (νῦν γάρ φασιν εἶναι κύριοι), τὸν
powerless being over-you now for they-say to-be masters the-one
δὲ πεπρακόθ' ἑαυτὸν κολάσητε, καὶ τοῦθ' ἅπαντες ἴδωσιν.
and having-sold himself you-punish and this all see
παντὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἂν ὀργισθείητ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 302
with-any indeed for reasonably — you-would-be-angry O men Athenians
τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότι καὶ προδεδωκότι συμμάχους καὶ φίλους
such-things having-done and having-betrayed allies and friends
καὶ καιρούς, μεθ' ὧν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς ἑκάστοις ἔχει
and occasions with which either well or badly for-each are
τὰ πάντα, οὐ μὴν οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ δικαιότερον ἢ
the all not however with-no-one more nor more-justly than
τούτῳ. ὃς γὰρ ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῶν ἀπιστούντων
with-this-man who for himself having-ranked among-the-ones distrusting
εἶναι Φιλίππῳ, καὶ μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἰδὼν ὅτι κοινὸς
to-be Philip and alone and first having-seen that common
ἐχθρὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ηὐτομόλησε
enemy he is of-all the Greeks deserted
καὶ προὔδωκε καὶ γέγονεν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου, πῶς
and betrayed and has-become suddenly for Philip how
οὐ πολλάκις οὗτος ἄξιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι;
not many-times this-man worthy is to-perish

Aeschines himself, Demosthenes says, brought Ischander before the people, called Philip a barbarian and a curse, and wept for Greece when he heard that Atrestidas was leaving with Olynthian captives given him by Philip; he urged the city to send envoys to Arcadia to accuse Philip's agents. Once in Macedonia he told the people not to remember their ancestors or their trophies, and called Philip most Greek, a clever speaker, and a friend of Athens. Now he sides with Philocrates, who brought free Olynthian women here to abuse them, and he never wept for them. Demosthenes then retells how Philip hired him as soon as the envoys came, since he could not take Phocis and Pylae without fooling Athens, and how the envoys won the peace without the Phocians and stole the time for an expedition.

303 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, αὐτὸς οὐχ οἷός τ' ἀντειπεῖν
but truly that these-things so are he-himself not able — to-deny
ἔσται. τίς γάρ ἐσθ' ὁ τὸν Ἴσχανδρον προσάγων ὑμῖν τὸ
will-be who for is the-one — Ischander introducing to-you the
κατ' ἀρχάς, ὃν παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ φίλων τῇ πόλει
at first whom from the in Arcadia friends to-the city
δεῦρ' ἥκειν ἔφη; τίς ὁ συσκευάζεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
here to-have-come he-said who the-one to-be-intriguing-against — Greece and
Πελοπόννησον Φίλιππον βοῶν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καθεύδειν; τίς ὁ
Peloponnese Philip shouting you but to-sleep who the-one
τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους δημηγορῶν, καὶ
the long and fine speeches those haranguing and
τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ τὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ψήφισμ' ἀναγιγνώσκων
the of-Miltiades and the of-Themistocles decree reading
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὅρκον;
and the in the — of-Aglaurus of-the ephebes oath
304 οὐχ οὗτος; τίς ὁ πείσας ὑμᾶς μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν
not this-man who the-one having-persuaded you only not to the
ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν πρεσβείας πέμπειν, ὡς ἐπιβουλευομένης
Red Sea embassies to-send as being-plotted-against

μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμῖν δὲ προσῆκον προορᾶν
indeed by Philip — Greece for-you and it-being-fitting to-foresee
ταῦτα καὶ μὴ προΐεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐχ ὁ
these-things and not to-abandon the-things of-the Greeks not the-one
μὲν γράφων τὸ ψήφισμ' Εὔβουλος ἦν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων
indeed proposing the decree Eubulus was the-one and going-as-envoy
εἰς Πελοπόννησον Αἰσχίνης οὑτοσί; ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖσε ἅττα
to Peloponnese Aeschines this-here having-gone and there what
μέν ποτε διελέχθη καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείη, ἃ
indeed ever he-discussed and harangued himself — would-know what
δ' ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι μέμνησθε πάντες.
but he-reported to you you I-know that remember all
βάρβαρόν τε γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ ἀλάστορα τὸν Φίλιππον 305
barbarian both for often and avenging-demon — Philip
ἀποκαλῶν ἐδημηγόρει, καὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλεν
calling he-harangued and the Arcadians to-you he-reported
ὡς ἔχαιρον, εἰ προσέχει τοῖς πράγμασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐγείρεται ἡ
how they-rejoiced if attends to-the affairs now and is-awakening the
τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις. ὃ δὲ πάντων μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῆσαι
of-the Athenians city what and of-all most to-have-been-indignant
ἔφη· συντυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπιὼν Ἀτρεστίδᾳ παρὰ Φιλίππου
he-said to-have-met for departing Atrestidas from Philip
πορευομένῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ γύναια καὶ παιδάρι' ὡς
traveling and with him women and children about
τριάκοντα βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ θαυμάσας ἐρέσθαι τινὰ τῶν
thirty to-walk he-himself and having-wondered to-have-asked one of-the
ὁδοιπόρων τίς ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς ὄχλος ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ,
wayfarers who the-man is and what crowd the with him
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι Ἀτρεστίδας παρὰ Φιλίππου τῶν 306
when and to-have-heard that Atrestidas from Philip of-the
Ὀλυνθίων αἰχμάλωτα δωρειὰν ταῦτ' ἔχων ἀπέρχεται, δεινὸν
Olynthians captives as-a-gift these having goes-away terrible

αὐτῷ τι δόξαι καὶ δακρῦσαι καὶ ὀδύρασθαι τὴν
to-him something to-have-seemed and to-have-wept and to-have-lamented —
Ἑλλάδα, ὡς κακῶς διάκειται, ἢ τοιαῦτα πάθη περιορᾷ
Greece how badly it-fares which such sufferings overlooks
γιγνόμενα. καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὑμῖν πέμπειν τινὰς εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν,
happening and he-advised you to-send some to Arcadia
οἵτινες κατηγορήσουσι τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου πραττόντων·
who will-accuse the-ones the of-Philip doing
ἀκούειν γὰρ ἔφη τῶν φίλων, ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιστροφὴν ἡ πόλις
to-hear for he-said from-the friends that if attention the city
ποιήσηται καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψῃ, δίκην ἐκεῖνοι δώσουσιν.
pays and envoys sends penalty those will-pay
307 ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν τότε καὶ μάλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
these-things indeed then then and very O men Athenians
καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξι' ἐδημηγόρει. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀφίκετ'
fine and of-the city worthy he-harangued when but he-arrived
εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶδε τὸν αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν
in Macedonia and the enemy saw the his-own and of-the
Ἑλλήνων, ἆρά γ' ὅμοι' ἢ παραπλήσια τούτοις; πολλοῦ
Greeks — at-least like-things or near to-these much
γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ μήτε τῶν προγόνων μεμνῆσθαι
at-least indeed is-lacking but neither the ancestors to-remember
μήτε τρόπαια λέγειν μήτε βοηθεῖν μηδενί, τῶν τε
nor trophies to-speak-of nor to-help anyone of-the-ones and
κελευόντων μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον
urging with the Greeks about the with Philip
εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι θαυμάζειν, εἰ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων
peace to-deliberate to-wonder if about the your
ἰδίων ἄλλον τινὰ δεῖ πεισθῆναι·
own other anyone must to-be-persuaded

εἶναί τε τὸν Φίλιππον αὐτόν, Ἡράκλεις, Ἑλληνικώτατον 308
to-be and — Philip himself Heracles most-Greek
ἀνθρώπων, δεινότατον λέγειν, φιλαθηναιότατον· οὕτω δ' ἀτόπους τινὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι
of-men cleverest to-speak most-Athens-loving so and absurd some in the city and peevish men to-be
ὥστ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι λοιδορουμένους αὐτῷ καὶ βάρβαρον
that not to-be-ashamed reviling him and barbarian
αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦντας. ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ταῦτ' ἄν, ἐκεῖνα
him calling is-it then how these-things — those
προειρηκώς, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ μὴ διαφθαρεὶς ἐτόλμησεν
having-said-before the same man not corrupted would-have-dared
εἰπεῖν; τί δ';
to-say what and
ἔσθ' ὅστις ἂν τὸν Ἀτρεστίδαν τότε μισήσας διὰ τοὺς 309
is-there anyone-who — — Atrestidas then having-hated because-of the
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων παῖδας καὶ γύναια, ταὐτὰ Φιλοκράτει
of-the Olynthians children and women the-same-things as-Philocrates
νῦν πράττειν ὑπέμεινεν, ὃς γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας τῶν
now to-do would-have-endured who women free of-the
Ὀλυνθίων ἤγαγε δεῦρ' ἐφ' ὕβρει, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ βδελυρῶς
Olynthians brought here for outrage and so for the loathsomely
βεβιωκέναι γιγνώσκεται ὥστε μηδὲν ἔμ' αἰσχρὸν εἰπεῖν νυνὶ
to-have-lived is-known that nothing me shameful to-say now
περὶ αὐτοῦ δεῖν μηδὲ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον εἰπόντος
about him to-be-necessary nor offensive but so-much having-said
μόνον, ὅτι Φιλοκράτης γυναῖκας ἤγαγε, πάντας ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι
only that Philocrates women brought all you to-know
καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐλεεῖν εὖ
and the bystanders the-things after these-things and to-pity well
οἶδ' ὅτι τὰς ἀτυχεῖς καὶ ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους, ἃς οὐκ
I-know that the unfortunate and wretched women whom not

ἠλέησεν Αἰσχίνης, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν ἐπὶ ταύταις τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
pitied Aeschines nor wept over these — Greece
εἰ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων ὑβρίζονται.
if among the allies by the envoys they-are-outraged
310 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κλαήσει τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα πεπρεσβευκότος,
but for himself he-will-weep the-one the such-things having-done-as-envoy
καὶ τὰ παιδί' ἴσως παράξει κἀναβιβᾶται. ὑμεῖς δ'
and the children perhaps will-bring-forward and-put-on-the-stand you but
ἐνθυμεῖσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πρὸς μὲν τὰ τούτου
consider O men jurors against indeed the of-this-man
παιδία, ὅτι πολλῶν συμμάχων ὑμετέρων καὶ φίλων παῖδες
children that of-many allies yours and friends children
ἀλῶνται καὶ πτωχοὶ περιέρχονται δεινὰ πεπονθότες
wander and as-beggars go-about terrible-things having-suffered
διὰ τοῦτον, οὓς ἐλεεῖν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἄξιον ἢ
because-of this-man whom to-pity by-much more for-you worthy than
τοὺς τοῦ ἠδικηκότος καὶ προδότου πατρός, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς
the-ones of-the having-done-wrong and traitor father and that the
ὑμετέρους παῖδας οὗτοι, 'καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις' προσγράψαντες
your children these-men also for-the descendants having-added
εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερήκασι· πρὸς δὲ
into the peace even of-the hopes have-robbed against and
τὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου δάκρυα, ὅτι νῦν ἔχετ' ἄνθρωπον, ὃς εἰς
the of-him this tears that now you-have the-man who to
Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πράττοντας
Arcadia urged against the-ones for Philip acting
πέμπειν τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας.
to-send the-ones going-to-accuse
311 νῦν τοίνυν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς Πελοπόννησον δεῖ πρεσβείαν
now then you not to Peloponnese need an-embassy
πέμπειν, οὐδ' ὁδὸν μακρὰν βαδίσαι, οὐδ' ἐφόδι' ἀναλίσκειν,
to-send nor road long to-walk nor travel-money to-spend

ἀλλ᾽ ἄχρι τοῦ βήματος ἐνταυθὶ προσελθόνθ᾽ ἕκαστον ὑμῶν
but as-far-as the platform here having-come each of-you
τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ δικαίαν ψῆφον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος θέσθαι
the holy and just vote for the fatherland to-cast
κατ᾽ ἀνδρός, ὅς, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, ἐκεῖν᾽ ἃ διεξῆλθον ἐν
against a-man who O earth and gods those-things which I-went-through at
ἀρχῇ δεδημηγορηκώς, τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τὴν Σαλαμῖνα,
the-beginning having-harangued — Marathon — Salamis
τὰς μάχας, τὰ τρόπαια, ἐξαίφνης ὡς ἐπέβη Μακεδονίας,
the battles the trophies suddenly when he-set-foot-on Macedonia
πάντα τἀναντία τούτοις, μὴ προγόνων μεμνῆσθαι, μὴ
all the-opposite to-these not ancestors to-remember not
τρόπαια λέγειν, μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδενί, μὴ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν
trophies to-speak-of not to-help anyone not in-common with the
Ἑλλήνων βουλεύεσθαι, μόνον οὐ καθελεῖν τὰ τείχη.
Greeks to-deliberate only not to-pull-down the walls
καίτοι τούτων αἰσχίους λόγοι οὐδένες πώποτ᾽ ἐν τῷ 312
and-yet than-these more-shameful words none ever in the
παντὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν. τίς γάρ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων
all time have-been among you who for is of-Greeks
ἢ βαρβάρων οὕτω σκαιὸς ἢ ἀνήκοος ἢ σφόδρα μισῶν
or barbarians so stupid or ignorant or greatly hating
τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὅστις, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, ‘εἰπέ μοι,
the city the our who if anyone should-ask tell me
τῆς νῦν οὔσης Ἑλλάδος ταυτησὶ καὶ οἰκουμένης ἔσθ᾽ ὅ
of-the now existing Greece this-here and inhabited is-there that
τι ταύτην ἂν τὴν προσηγορίαν εἶχεν ἢ ᾠκεῖθ᾽
which this — the name would-have or would-be-inhabited
ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν ἐχόντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὑπὲρ
by the now holding Greeks if not the valorous-deeds for
αὐτῶν ἐκείνας οἱ Μαραθῶνι κἀν Σαλαμῖνι παρέσχοντο,
them those the at-Marathon and-at Salamis displayed

οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι;’ οὐδ’ ἂν εἷς εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι φήσειεν,
the our ancestors not-even — one well I-know that would-say-so
ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἂν ἑαλωκέναι.
but all these-things by the barbarians — to-have-been-taken
313 εἶθ’ οὓς μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μηδεὶς ἂν τούτων τῶν
then whom not-even of-the enemies anyone — of-these the
ἐγκωμίων καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀποστερήσειε, τούτων Αἰσχίνης
eulogies and the praises would-rob of-these Aeschines
ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐᾷ μεμνῆσθαι, τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἵν’ αὐτὸς
you not allows to-remember the-ones from them so-that himself
ἀργύριον λάβῃ; καὶ μὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οὐ
silver may-get and truly of-the indeed other goods not
μέτεστι τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλῶς πραχθεῖσιν
there-is-a-share for-the dead the but for the nobly done
ἔπαινοι τῶν οὕτω τετελευτηκότων ἴδιον κτῆμ’ εἰσίν·
praises of-the-ones thus having-died own possession are
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι τηνικαῦτ’ ἐναντιοῦται.
not for the envy them any-longer then opposes
ὧν ἀποστερῶν ἐκείνους οὗτος, αὐτὸς ἂν τῆς ἐπιτιμίας
of-which robbing them this-man himself — of-the citizen-rights
δικαίως νῦν στερηθείη, καὶ ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῶν προγόνων
justly now would-be-deprived and this for the ancestors
ὑμεῖς δίκην λάβοιτε παρ’ αὐτοῦ. τοιούτοις μέντοι λόγοις,
you penalty might-take from him with-such however words
ὦ κακὴ κεφαλή, σὺ τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα συλήσας
O evil head you the of-the ancestors deeds having-plundered
καὶ διασύρας, τῷ λόγῳ πάντα τὰ πράγματ’ ἀπώλεσας.
and having-disparaged in-the speech all the affairs you-have-ruined
314 εἶτα γεωργεῖς ἐκ τούτων καὶ σεμνὸς γέγονας. καὶ
then you-farm from these-things and grand you-have-become and
γὰρ τοῦτο. πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πάντα κάκ’ εἰργάσθαι τὴν
for this before indeed the all evils to-have-done to-the

πόλιν ὡμολόγει γεγραμματευκέναι καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν ἔχειν
city he-admitted to-have-been-a-clerk and gratitude to-you to-owe
τοῦ χειροτονηθῆναι, καὶ μέτριον παρεῖχεν ἑαυτόν· ἐπειδὴ
for-the being-elected and modest he-showed himself when
δὲ μυρί' εἴργασται κακά, τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνέσπακε, κἂν 'ὁ
but countless he-has-done evils the eyebrows he-has-raised and-if the
γεγραμματευκὼς Αἰσχίνης' εἴπῃ τις, ἐχθρὸς εὐθέως καὶ
ex-clerk Aeschines says anyone enemy at-once and
κακῶς φησιν ἀκηκοέναι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πορεύεται
ill he-says to-have-been-spoken-of and through the marketplace he-walks
θοἰμάτιον καθεὶς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν, ἴσα βαίνων
the-cloak having-let-down to the ankles equal stepping
Πυθοκλεῖ, τὰς γνάθους φυσῶν, τῶν Φιλίππου ξένων καὶ
with-Pythocles the cheeks puffing of-the of-Philip guest-friends and
φίλων εἷς οὗτος ὑμῖν ἤδη, τῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ δήμου
friends one this-man for-you now of-the-ones to-be-rid of-the democracy
βουλομένων καὶ κλύδωνα καὶ μανίαν τὰ καθεστηκότα
wishing and surge and madness the established
πράγματ' ἡγουμένων, ὁ τέως προσκυνῶν τὴν θόλον.
affairs considering the-one formerly bowing-to the tholos
βούλομαι τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ὃν
I-wish then for-you to-go-back by headings in-what
τρόπον ὑμᾶς κατεπολιτεύσατο Φίλιππος προσλαβὼν
way you outmaneuvered Philip having-taken-on
τούτους τοὺς θεοῖς ἐχθρούς. πάνυ δ' ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι
these the to-gods hateful very and worthwhile to-examine
καὶ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἀπάτην ὅλην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
and to-view the deceit whole the indeed for from beginning
τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμῶν, διαφορουμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς χώρας
the peace desiring being-plundered his the land
ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ κεκλειμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων, ὥστ'
by the pirates and closed the ports so-that

ἀνόνητον ἐκεῖνον ἁπάντων εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς τὰ
without-profit him of-all to-be the goods the-ones the
φιλάνθρωπα λέγοντας ἐκείνους ἀπέστειλεν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ,
kindly-things saying those he-sent for himself
τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, τὸν Ἀριστόδημον, τὸν Κτησιφῶντα·
— Neoptolemus — Aristodemus — Ctesiphon
316 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἤλθομεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐμισθώσατο
when but we-came to him we the envoys he-hired
μὲν τοῦτον εὐθέως, ὅπως συνερεῖ καὶ συναγωνιεῖται
indeed this-man at-once so-that he-will-support and will-help-the-struggle
τῷ μιαρῷ Φιλοκράτει καὶ τῶν τὰ δίκαια βουλομένων
the foul Philocrates and the-ones the just-things wishing
πράττειν περιέσται, συνέγραψε δ' ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὑμᾶς,
to-do will-overcome he-composed and a-letter to you
ᾗ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤετο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.
by-which most — he-thought the peace to-obtain
317 ἦν δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μέγ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ'
was but nothing more great for-him against you not-even
οὕτω πρᾶξαι, εἰ μὴ Φωκέας ἀπολεῖ. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ
so to-accomplish if not Phocians he-will-destroy this but not
ἦν εὔπορον· συνῆκτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα,
was easy had-been-brought-together for for-him the affairs
ὥσπερ ἐκ τύχης, εἰς καιρὸν τοιοῦτον, ὥστ' ἢ μηδὲν
as-if by chance into a-juncture such that either nothing
ὧν ἐβούλετ' εἶναι διαπράξασθαι, ἢ ἀνάγκην εἶναι
of-what he-wished to-be-possible to-accomplish or necessity to-be
ψεύσασθαι κἀπιορκῆσαι καὶ μάρτυρας τῆς αὑτοῦ κακίας
to-lie and-to-forswear and witnesses of-the his-own baseness
πάντας Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους ποιήσασθαι.
all Greeks and barbarians to-make

εἰ μὲν γὰρ προσδέξαιτο Φωκέας συμμάχους καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν 318
if indeed for he-should-accept Phocians as-allies and with you
τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ἀποδοίη, τοὺς πρὸς Θετταλοὺς καὶ
the oaths to-them should-give the-ones toward Thessalians and
Θηβαίους ὅρκους παραβαίνειν εὐθὺς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὧν
Thebans oaths to-transgress at-once necessary was of-whom
τοῖς μὲν τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεξαιρήσειν ὠμωμόκει,
to-the-ones indeed — Boeotia to-be-going-to-help-subdue he-had-sworn
τοῖς δὲ τὴν πυλαίαν συγκαταστήσειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ
to-the-others and the pylaea to-be-going-to-help-restore if but not
προσδέχοιτο, ὥσπερ οὐ προσίετο, οὐκ ἐάσειν ὑμᾶς
he-should-accept as-indeed not he-admitted not to-be-going-to-allow you
παρελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο, ἀλλὰ βοηθήσειν εἰς Πύλας,
to-pass him he-thought but to-be-going-to-march to Pylae
ὅπερ, εἰ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε, ἐποιήσατ' ἄν· εἰ δὲ
which-very if not you-had-been-misled you-would-have-done — if and
τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι παρελθεῖν ἐλογίζετο.
this happened not to-be-possible to-pass he-reckoned
καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ παρ' ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἔδει πυθέσθαι, ἀλλ' 319
and this not from others him was-needful to-learn but
αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε μάρτυς ἑαυτῷ τοῦ πράγματος· ὅτε γὰρ
himself he-was witness to-himself of-the matter when for
Φωκέας ἐκράτησε τὸ πρῶτον καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ξένους
Phocians he-defeated the first and destroyed the mercenaries
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ στρατηγοῦντ' Ὀνόμαρχον,
of-them and the leader and general Onomarchus
τότε τῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων οὐδενός, οὔθ'
then of-the existing men all no-one either
Ἕλληνος οὔτε βαρβάρου, Φωκεῦσι βοηθήσαντος πλὴν
Greek or barbarian the-Phocians having-helped except

ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὅπως παρῆλθεν ἢ διεπράξαθ' ὧν ἐβουλήθη
you not-only-not that he-passed or accomplished of-what he-wished
τι παρελθών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσελθεῖν ἐγγὺς ἐδυνήθη.
anything having-passed but not-even to-approach near could
320 ᾔδει δὴ σαφῶς, οἶμαι, τοῦθ' ὅτι νῦν, ἡνίκ' ἐστασίαζε
he-knew indeed clearly I-think this that now when were-in-revolt
μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ Θετταλῶν, καὶ Φεραῖοι πρῶτον οὐ
indeed against-him the-things of-Thessalians and Pheraeans first not
συνηκολούθουν, ἐκρατοῦντο δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μάχην ἥττηντο
followed were-being-beaten and Thebans and a-battle had-lost
καὶ τρόπαιον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἱστήκει, οὐκ ἔνεστι παρελθεῖν,
and a-trophy over them stood not it-is-possible to-pass
εἰ βοηθήσεθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐδ', ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ, χαιρήσει, εἰ
if will-come-to-help you nor if he-tries he-will-get-off-well if
μή τις τέχνη προσγενήσεται. πῶς οὖν μήτε ψεύσωμαι
not some trick shall-be-added how then neither may-I-lie
φανερῶς, μήτ' ἐπιορκεῖν δόξας πάνθ' ἃ βούλομαι
openly nor to-forswear having-seemed all which I-wish
διαπράξωμαι; πῶς; οὕτως, ἂν Ἀθηναίων τινὰς εὕρω τοὺς
may-I-accomplish how so if of-Athenians some I-find the
Ἀθηναίους ἐξαπατήσοντας· ταύτης γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ τῆς
Athenians going-to-deceive of-this for no-longer I the
αἰσχύνης κληρονομῶ.
shame am-heir
321 ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις προὔλεγον ὑμῖν
thereupon the indeed from him envoys forewarned you
ὅτι Φωκέας οὐ προσδέχεται Φίλιππος συμμάχους, οὗτοι
that Phocians not accepts Philip as-allies these-men
δ' ἐκδεχόμενοι τοιαῦτ' ἐδημηγόρουν, ὡς φανερῶς μὲν
but taking-it-up such-things harangued that openly indeed
οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσδέξασθαι τοὺς Φωκέας
not well it-is — for-Philip to-accept the Phocians

συμμάχους διὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλούς, ἂν δὲ
as-allies because-of the Thebans and the Thessalians if but
γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τύχῃ, ἅπερ
he-becomes of-the affairs master and the peace obtains what-very
ἂν συνθέσθαι νῦν ἀξιώσαιμεν αὐτόν, ταῦτα ποιήσει τότε.
— *to-agree now we-might-ask him these-things he-will-do then*
τὴν μὲν τοίνυν εἰρήνην ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ταῖς 322
the indeed then peace by-these the hopes and the
ἐπαγωγαῖς εὕροντο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἄνευ Φωκέων· τὴν δὲ
inducements they-obtained from you without Phocians the but
βοήθειαν ἔδει κωλῦσαι τὴν εἰς τὰς Πύλας, ἐφ᾽ ἣν αἱ
expedition it-was-needful to-prevent the to — Pylae for which the
πεντήκοντα τριήρεις ὅμως ἐφώρμουν, ἵν᾽, εἰ πορεύοιτο
fifty triremes nevertheless lay-at-anchor so-that if should-march
Φίλιππος, κωλύοιθ᾽ ὑμεῖς. πῶς οὖν;
Philip might-stop-him you how then
τίς τέχνη πάλιν αὖ γενήσεται περὶ ταύτης; τοὺς χρόνους 323
what trick again in-turn will-be about this the times
ὑμῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἀγαγόντας
from-you to-take-away and to-spring the affairs having-brought
ἄφνω, ἵνα μηδ᾽ ἂν βούλησθε δύνησθ᾽ ἐξελθεῖν.
suddenly so-that not-even if you-wish you-may-be-able to-march-out
οὐκοῦν τοῦθ᾽ οὗτοι πράττοντες φαίνονται, ἐγὼ δ᾽, ὥσπερ
therefore this these-men doing appear I but as
ἀκηκόατ᾽ ἤδη πολλάκις, οὐχὶ δυνηθεὶς προαπελθεῖν,
you-have-heard already often not having-been-able to-leave-before
ἀλλὰ καὶ μισθωσάμενος πλοῖον κατακωλυθεὶς ἐκπλεῦσαι.
but even having-hired a-boat prevented to-sail-off

The Phocians are made to trust Philip and surrender, while the envoys' reports keep Athens from voting against it. So everything is ruined: instead of Thespiae and Plataea resettled, Orchomenus and Coronea are enslaved and Thebes razes the allies' walls; instead of Euboea for Amphipolis, Philip builds bases in Euboea; instead of the temple's rites restored, the Amphictyons are driven out and Macedonians sit in their place. Aeschines will blame Chares, but the charge is not the war or the peace itself; it is that he backed Philocrates, took bribes, wasted time, and lied. His fine voice should not count for him, since a herald needs a voice and an envoy honesty.

324 ἀλλὰ καὶ πιστεῦσαι Φωκέας ἔδει Φιλίππῳ
but also to-trust Phocians it-was-needful Philip
καὶ ἑκόντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι, ἵνα μηδεὶς χρόνος
and willingly themselves to-surrender so-that no delay
ἐγγένηται τοῖς πράγμασι μηδ' ἐναντίον ἔλθῃ
might-intervene in-the affairs nor opposed come
ψήφισμα παρ' ὑμῶν μηδέν. οὐκοῦν ὡς μὲν οἱ
decree from you any therefore that indeed the
Φωκεῖς σωθήσονται, παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεων
Phocians will-be-saved by the Athenian envoys
ἀπαγγελθήσεται, ὥστε καὶ εἴ τις ἐμοὶ διαπιστεῖ,
it-will-be-reported so-that even if anyone me distrusts
τούτοις πιστεύσας αὑτὸν ἐγχειριεῖ· τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους
these having-trusted himself will-hand-over the but Athenians
αὐτοὺς μεταπεμψόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἵνα πάνθ', ὅσ' ἂν
themselves will-send-for we so-that all as-much-as —
βούλωνται, νομίσαντες ὑπάρχειν σφίσι μηδὲν ἐναντίον
they-wish thinking to-be-assured to-them nothing opposed
ψηφίσωνται· οὗτοι δὲ τοιαῦτ' ἀπαγγελοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν
they-may-vote these-men and such-things will-report from us

καὶ ὑποσχήσονται ἐξ ὧν μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ
and will-promise from which not-even if anything-whatever happen
κινηθήσονται.
they-will-be-stirred
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοιαύταις τέχναις ὑπὸ τῶν 325
in-this the way and by-such tricks by the
κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένων ἀνθρώπων πάντα τὰ πράγματ'
most-miserably going-to-perish men all the affairs
ἀπώλετο. καὶ γάρ τοι παραχρῆμα, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ
were-ruined and for surely at-once instead-of indeed the
Θεσπιὰς καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἰδεῖν οἰκιζομένας, Ὀρχομενὸν
Thespiae and Plataea to-see being-resettled Orchomenus
καὶ Κορώνειαν ἠκούσατ' ἠνδραποδισμένας, ἀντὶ δὲ
and Coronea you-heard enslaved instead-of and
τοῦ τὰς Θήβας ταπεινὰς γενέσθαι καὶ περιαιρεθῆναι
the — Thebes humbled to-become and to-be-stripped-of
τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα, τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν
the insolence and the pride the of-the allies the
ὑμετέρων τείχη κατεσκάπτετο· Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ
your walls were-razed Thebans and were the-ones
κατασκάπτοντες, οἱ διοικισθέντες ὑπ' Αἰσχίνου τῷ
razing the-ones dispersed by Aeschines in-the
λόγῳ.
speech
ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως 326
instead-of and the — Euboea in-exchange-for Amphipolis
ὑμῖν παραδοθῆναι, ὁρμητήρι' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
to-you to-be-handed-over bases against you in Euboea
Φίλιππος προσκατασκευάζεται καὶ Γεραιστῷ καὶ
Philip is-preparing-besides and Geraestus and
Μεγάροις ἐπιβουλεύων διατελεῖ. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ
Megara plotting-against continues instead-of and the

τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδοθῆναι, περὶ Δρυμοῦ
— *Oropus to-you to-be-restored about Drymus*
καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτῳ χώρας μεθ' ὅπλων
and the at Panactum land with arms
ἐξερχόμεθα, ὅ, τέως ἦσαν Φωκεῖς σῳοι, οὐδεπώποτ'
we-march-out which while were Phocians safe never
ἐποιήσαμεν.
we-did

327 ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὰ πάτρι' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατασταθῆναι
instead-of and the the ancestral-rites in the temple to-be-restored
καὶ τὰ χρήματ' εἰσπραχθῆναι τῷ θεῷ, οἱ μὲν
and the money to-be-exacted for-the god the indeed
ὄντες Ἀμφικτύονες φεύγουσι καὶ ἐξελήλανται, καὶ
being Amphictyons are-exiled and have-been-driven-out and
ἀνάστατος αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα γέγονεν, οἱ δ' οὐπώποτ'
desolate of-them the land has-become the-ones but never
ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ γενόμενοι Μακεδόνες καὶ
in the former time having-been Macedonians and
βάρβαροι, νῦν Ἀμφικτύονες εἶναι βιάζονται· ἐὰν
barbarians now Amphictyons to-be force-themselves if
δέ τις περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων μνησθῇ,
and anyone about the sacred money makes-mention
κατακρημνίζεται, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὴν προμαντείαν
he-is-thrown-from-the-cliff the city and the precedence-at-the-oracle
ἀφῄρηται.
has-been-deprived-of

328 καὶ γέγονεν τὰ πράγματα πάνθ' ὥσπερ αἴνιγμα τῇ
and have-become the affairs all like a-riddle for-the
πόλει. ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔψευσται καὶ πάνθ' ὅσ'
city he indeed in-nothing has-lied and all as-much-as
ἐβουλήθη διαπέπρακται, ὑμεῖς δ' ἅπερ εὔξαισθ' ἂν
he-wished has-accomplished you but what-very you-would-pray —

ἐλπίσαντες, τἀναντία τούτων ἑοράκατε γιγνόμενα, καὶ
having-hoped the-opposite of-these have-seen happening and
δοκεῖτε μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, πεπόνθατε δὲ δεινότερ᾽
you-seem indeed peace to-keep you-have-suffered but worse
ἢ πολεμοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ χρήματ᾽ ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ
than at-war these-men and money have for
τούτοις καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας δίκην οὐ
these-things and until the present day penalty not
δεδώκασιν.
have-paid
ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ᾽ ἁπλῶς δεδωροδόκηται καὶ τιμὴν 329
that for these-things simply have-been-bribed-for and price
ἔχουσιν ἁπάντων τούτων οὗτοι, πολλαχόθεν μὲν
they-have for-all these these-men from-many-sides indeed
ἔγωγ᾽ οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν εἶναι πάλαι, καὶ δέδοικα
I-at-least think clear to-you to-be long-since and I-fear
μὴ τοὐναντίον οὗ βούλομαι ποιῶ, σφόδρ᾽
lest the-opposite of-what I-wish I-do very
ἀκριβῶς δεικνύναι πειρώμενος διοχλῶ πάλαι τοῦτ᾽
exactly to-show trying I-weary long-since this
αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας· ὅμως δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ τόδ᾽
yourselves you knowing nevertheless but still also this
ἀκούσατε.
hear
ἔσθ᾽ ὅντιν᾽ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῶν πρέσβεων 330
is-there whom you O men jurors of-the envoys
ὧν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος χαλκοῦν στήσαιτ᾽ ἂν ἐν ἀγορᾷ;
whom sent Philip in-bronze would-set-up — in the-marketplace
τί δέ; δοίητ᾽ ἂν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἢ ἄλλην
what and would-you-give — in prytaneum meals or other
τινὰ δωρειάν, αἷς τιμᾶτε τοὺς εὐεργέτας; ἐγὼ
any gift with-which you-honor the benefactors I

μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι. διὰ τί; (οὔτε γὰρ ὑμεῖς γ'
indeed not think because-of what neither for you at-least
ἀχάριστοί ἐστ' οὔτ' ἄδικοι ἄνθρωποι οὔτε κακοί.)
ungrateful are nor unjust men nor bad
ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν
because all for Philip and not-even anything-whatever
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραξαν, εἴποιτ' ἄν, καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ
for you they-did you-would-say — both true and
δίκαια.
just

331 εἶτ' οἴεσθ' ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτω γιγνώσκειν, τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον
then do-you-think you indeed so to-judge — but Philip
οὐχ οὕτω, ἀλλὰ τούτοις διδόναι τηλικαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας
not so but to-these to-give so-great and so-many
δωρειὰς διότι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπρέσβευσαν;
gifts because for you well and justly they-served-as-envoys
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. τὸν γὰρ Ἡγήσιππον ὁρᾶτε καὶ τοὺς μετ'
not is these-things — for Hegesippus you-see and the with
αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις πῶς ἐδέξατο. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ,
him envoys how he-received the indeed other-things I-pass-over
ἀλλὰ Ξενοκλείδην τουτονὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐξεκήρυξεν,
but Xenocleides this-here the poet he-banished-by-proclamation
ὅτι αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο πολίτας ὄντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
because them he-received citizens being to-the-ones indeed for
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγουσι δικαίως ὅσ' ἂν φρονῶσι τοῦτον
for you speaking justly as-much-as — they-think in-this
τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται, τοῖς δὲ πεπρακόσιν αὑτοὺς
the way he-behaves to-the-ones but having-sold themselves
ὡς τούτοις. ταῦτ' οὖν μαρτύρων, ταῦτ' ἐλέγχων
as to-these these-things then of-witnesses these-things of-proofs

τινῶν ἔτι δεῖται μειζόνων; ταῦτ' ἀφαιρήσεταί τις
some still need greater these-things will-take-away anyone
ὑμῶν;
from-you
εἶπε τοίνυν μοί τις ἄρτι προσελθὼν πρὸ τοῦ 332
told then me someone just-now having-come-up before the
δικαστηρίου πρᾶγμα καινότατον πάντων, Χάρητος
court a-thing newest of-all Chares
κατηγορεῖν αὐτὸν παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ
to-accuse him to-have-prepared and through this the
τρόπου καὶ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐξαπατήσειν ὑμᾶς
way and these the words to-be-going-to-deceive you
ἐλπίζειν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν πάντα τρόπον κρινόμενος
to-hope I but that indeed every way being-tried
Χάρης εὕρηται πιστῶς καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς, ὅσον ἦν ἐπ'
Chares has-been-found faithfully and loyally as-far-as was in
ἐκείνῳ, πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ χρήμασι
him acting for you because-of the-ones but for money
λυμαινομένους τοῖς πράγμασι πολλῶν ὑστερῶν, οὐ
ruining the affairs many-things falling-short-of not
σφόδρ' ἰσχυρίζομαι, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν ποιήσομαι· ἔστω
much I-insist but excess I-will-make let-it-be
γὰρ πάντ' ἀληθῆ λέξειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τουτονί. καὶ
for all true to-be-going-to-say about him this-here and
οὕτω τοίνυν κομιδῇ γέλως ἐστὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐκείνου
so then entirely laughter is to-accuse him
τουτονί.
this-here
ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχίνην οὐδενὸς αἰτιῶμαι τῶν ἐν τῷ 333
I for Aeschines of-nothing accuse of-the-things in the
πολέμῳ πραχθέντων (τούτων γάρ εἰσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
war done for-these for are the generals

ὑπεύθυνοι), οὐδὲ τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην,
accountable nor of-the to-have-made the city peace
ἀλλ' ἄχρι τούτου πάντ' ἀφίημι. τί οὖν λέγω καὶ
but up-to this all I-let-go what then do-I-say and
πόθεν ἄρχομαι κατηγορεῖν; τοῦ ποιουμένης τῆς πόλεως
from-where do-I-begin to-accuse of-the making the city
εἰρήνην Φιλοκράτει συνειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς τὰ
peace Philocrates to-have-supported but not the-ones the
βέλτιστα γράφουσι, τοῦ δῶρ' εἰληφέναι, τοῦ μετὰ
best-things proposing of-the bribes to-have-taken of-the after
ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑστέρας πρεσβείας τοὺς χρόνους
these-things on the later embassy the times
κατατρῖψαι καὶ μηδὲν ὧν προσετάξαθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι,
to-have-wasted and nothing of-what ordered you to-have-done
τοῦ φενακίσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ παραστήσαντ' ἐλπίδας,
of-the to-have-cheated the city and having-held-out hopes
ὡς ὅσα βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς Φίλιππος πράξει, πάντ'
that as-much-as wish we Philip will-do all
ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῦ μετὰ ταῦθ', ἑτέρων προλεγόντων
to-have-ruined of-the after these-things others warning
φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τοσαῦτ' ἠδικηκότα, τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ
to-guard-against the-one so-much having-done-wrong this-man him
συνηγορεῖν.
to-support
334 ταῦτα κατηγορῶ, ταῦτα μέμνησθε, ἐπεὶ δικαίαν
these-things I-charge these-things remember since just
εἰρήνην καὶ ἴσην καὶ μηδὲν πεπρακότας ἀνθρώπους
peace and equal and nothing having-sold men
μηδὲ ψευσαμένους ὕστερον κἂν ἐπῄνουν καὶ στεφανοῦν
nor having-lied later even I-would-praise and to-crown
ἐκέλευον. στρατηγὸς δ' εἴ τις ἠδίκηκεν ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ
I-would-bid general but if any has-wronged you not

κοινωνεῖ ταῖς νῦν εὐθύναις. ποῖος γὰρ στρατηγὸς
has-part-in the present audits what for general
Ἅλον, τίς δὲ Φωκέας ἀπολώλεκε; τίς δὲ Δορίσκον;
Halus who and Phocians has-destroyed who and Doriscus
τίς δὲ Κερσοβλέπτην; τίς δ' Ἱερὸν ὄρος; τίς
who and Cersobleptes who and Sacred Mountain who
δὲ Πύλας; τίς δὲ πεποίηκεν ἄχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς
and Pylae who and has-made up-to — Attica
ὁδὸν διὰ συμμάχων καὶ φίλων εἶναι Φιλίππῳ;
a-road through allies and friends to-be for-Philip
τίς δὲ Κορώνειαν, τίς δ' Ὀρχομενόν, τίς Εὔβοιαν
who and Coronea who and Orchomenus who Euboea
ἀλλοτρίαν;
alien
τίς Μέγαρα πρώην ὀλίγου; τίς Θηβαίους ἰσχυρούς; 335
who Megara lately almost who Thebans strong
τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ὄντων
of-these for nothing so-many and so-great being
διὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπώλετο, οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ
because-of the generals was-lost nor in the peace
συγχωρηθὲν πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἔχει Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ
having-been-conceded persuaded you holds Philip but
διὰ τούτους ἀπόλωλε καὶ τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν.
because-of these-men it-has-perished and the of-these-men bribe-taking
ἂν τοίνυν ταῦτα μὲν φεύγῃ, πλανᾷ δὲ καὶ πάντα
if then these-things indeed he-avoids he-wanders and also all-things
μᾶλλον λέγῃ, ἐκείνως αὐτὸν δέχεσθε. 'οὐ στρατηγῷ
rather says thus him receive not a-general
δικάζομεν, οὐ περὶ τούτων κρίνει. μὴ λέγ' εἴ τις
we-are-judging not about these-things you-are-tried not say if anyone
αἴτιός ἐστι καὶ ἄλλος τοῦ Φωκέων ὀλέθρου, ἀλλ' ὡς
responsible is also other for-the of-Phocians destruction but that

οὐ σὺ αἴτιος δεῖξον. τί οὖν, εἴ τι Δημοσθένης
not you responsible show why then if in-anything Demosthenes
ἠδίκει, νῦν λέγεις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου
did-wrong now do-you-say-it but not when the audits he-was-giving
κατηγόρεις; δι᾽ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπολωλέναι
did-you-accuse because-of itself for you-are this to-perish
δίκαιος.᾽
deserving

336 ‘μὴ λέγ᾽ ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνη, μηδ᾽ ὡς συμφέρον· οὐδεὶς
not say how fine peace nor how advantageous no-one
γὰρ αἰτιᾶταί σε τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην·
for charges you with-the to-have-made the city peace
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οὐκ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἐπονείδιστος, καὶ πόλλ᾽
but that not shameful and disgraceful and in-many-things
ὕστερον ἐξηπατήμεθα, καὶ πάντ᾽ ἀπώλετο, ταῦτα λέγε.
later we-have-been-deceived and all was-lost these-things say
τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἡμῖν αἴτιος σὺ δέδειξαι. καὶ τί
of-these for all for-us responsible you have-been-shown and why
δὴ μέχρι νυνὶ τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότ᾽ ἐπαινεῖς;᾽ ἂν
indeed until now the-one the such-things having-done do-you-praise if
οὕτω φυλάττητ᾽ αὐτόν, οὐχ ἕξει τί λέγῃ, ἀλλὰ τὴν
so you-watch him not he-will-have what to-say but the
ἄλλως ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐπαρεῖ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς
idly here he-will-raise the voice and having-practiced-his-voice
ἔσται.
will-be

337 καίτοι καὶ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη· πάνυ
and-yet also about the voice perhaps to-speak necessary very
γὰρ μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἀκούω, ὡς
for greatly also on this to-pride-himself him I-hear as
καθυποκρινούμενον ὑμᾶς. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖτ᾽ ἀτοπώτατον
going-to-out-act you to-me but you-seem most-absurd

ἁπάντων ἂν ποιῆσαι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστου καὶ
of-all — to-do if when indeed the of-Thyestes and
τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κάκ᾽ ἠγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετ᾽ αὐτὸν
of-the-men at Troy woes he-played you-drove-out him
καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετ᾽ ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ
and hissed out-of the theaters and only not
κατελεύεθ᾽ οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν
stoned so that finally from-the playing-third-parts
ἀποστῆναι, ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν
to-withdraw when but not on the stage but in
τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι
the public and greatest of-the city affairs
μυρί᾽ εἴργασται κακά, τηνικαῦθ᾽ ὡς καλὸν φθεγγομένῳ
countless he-has-done evils then as finely speaking
προσέχοιτε.
you-should-attend
μηδαμῶς· μηδὲν ὑμεῖς ἀβέλτερον πάθητε, ἀλλὰ λογίζεσθ᾽ 338
by-no-means nothing you stupid suffer but reckon
ὅτι δεῖ κήρυκα μὲν ἂν δοκιμάζητε, εὔφωνον
that one-must a-herald indeed if you-are-testing fine-voiced
σκοπεῖν, πρεσβευτὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξιοῦντά
to-look-for an-envoy but also the public-affairs claiming
τι πράττειν δίκαιον καὶ φρόνημ᾽ ἔχονθ᾽ ὑπὲρ
something to-do just and spirit having for
μὲν ὑμῶν μέγα, πρὸς δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἴσον, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ
indeed you great toward but you equal just-as I
Φίλιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα, τοὺς δ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους
Philip indeed not admired the but prisoners
ἐθαύμασα, ἔσωσα, οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην. οὗτος δ᾽ ἐκείνου
I-admired I-saved nothing I-held-back this-man but before-him

μὲν προὐκαλινδεῖτο, τοὺς παιᾶνας ᾖδεν, ὑμῶν δ'
indeed groveled the paeans sang you but
ὑπερορᾷ.
despises
339 ἔτι τοίνυν ὅταν μὲν ἴδητε δεινότητ' ἢ εὐφωνίαν ἤ
further then whenever indeed you-see cleverness or fine-voice or
τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ χρηστοῦ
any of-the other the such goods in a-good
καὶ φιλοτίμου γεγενημένον ἀνθρώπου, συγχαίρειν
and public-spirited occurring man to-rejoice-with
καὶ συνασκεῖν πάντας δεῖ· κοινὸν γὰρ ὑμῖν πᾶσι
and to-help-cultivate all must common for for-you all
τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν γίγνεται· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ
the others this good becomes whenever but in
δωροδόκου καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ παντὸς ἥττονος λήμματος,
a-bribe-taker and wicked and to-every yielding gain
ἀποκλείειν καὶ πικρῶς καὶ ἐναντίως ἀκούειν, ὡς πονηρία
to-shut-out and bitterly and adversely to-hear as wickedness
δυνάμεως δόξαν εὑρομένη παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
of-power reputation having-found from you against the city
ἐστίν.
is
340 ὁρᾶτε δ', ἀφ' ὧν οὗτος εὐδοκιμεῖ πηλίκα τῇ
you-see and from what this-man is-esteemed how-great for-the
πόλει περιέστηκε πράγματα. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι
city have-come-about troubles the indeed then other
δυνάμεις ἐπιεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ
powers fairly are self-sufficient the but of-the
λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων
speaking if the-things from you the hearers
ἀντιστῇ, διακόπτεται. οὕτως οὖν ἀκούετε τούτου ὡς
resist is-broken so then hear him as

πονηροῦ καὶ δωροδόκου καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐροῦντος
wicked and bribe-taking and not-even anything going-to-say
ἀληθές.
true
ὅτι δ' οὐ μόνον κατὰ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ 341
that and not only in the-rest but also the
πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον πράγματα πανταχῶς
toward himself — Philip affairs in-every-way
συμφέρει τοῦτον ἑαλωκέναι, θεάσασθε. εἴτε γὰρ
it-is-advantageous this-man to-be-convicted behold whether for
ἥξει ποτ' εἰς ἀνάγκην τῶν δικαίων τι
he-will-come ever into necessity of-the just-things anything
ποιεῖν τῇ πόλει, τὸν τρόπον μεταθήσεται· νῦν
to-do for-the city the manner he-will-change now
μὲν γὰρ ᾕρηται τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῶν ὀλίγους
indeed for he-has-chosen the many deceiving few
θεραπεύειν, ἂν δὲ τούτους ἀπολωλότας πύθηται, ὑμῖν
to-court if but these ruined he-learns for-you
τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πάντων κυρίοις τὰ λοιπὰ ποιεῖν
the many and of-all masters the rest to-do
βουλήσεται.
he-will-wish
εἴτ' ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἥσπερ νῦν ἐξουσίας καὶ 342
or on the same which-very now license and
ἀσελγείας μενεῖ, τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐκείνῳ
wantonness he-will-remain the-ones anything-whatever — for-him
ποιήσαντας ἀνῃρηκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔσεσθε, ἂν
having-done having-removed from the city you-will-be if
τούτους ἀνέλητε· οἳ γὰρ οἰόμενοι δίκην ὑφέξειν
these you-remove who for thinking penalty to-be-going-to-pay
τοιαῦτ' ἔπραξαν, τούτους, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν
such-things did these if the-things from you

αὐτοῖς ἐφεθῇ, τί οἴεσθε ποιήσειν; ποῖον
to-them be-permitted what do-you-think to-be-going-to-do what
Εὐθυκράτη, ποῖον Λασθένη, τίν' οὐχ ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι
Euthycrates what Lasthenes what not to-be-going-to-surpass
προδότην;
traitor
343 τίνα δ' οὐ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων χείρω πολίτην
whom and not of-all the others worse citizen
ὑπάρξειν, ὁρῶντα τοῖς μὲν ἅπαντα πεπρακόσι
to-be-going-to-be seeing for-the-ones indeed all having-sold
χρήματα, δόξαν, ἀφορμὴν τὴν Φιλίππου ξενίαν
money repute resources the of-Philip guest-friendship
περιοῦσαν, τοῖς δὲ δικαίους τε παρέχουσιν
resulting for-the-ones but just both showing
ἑαυτοὺς καὶ προσανηλωκόσι χρήματα πράγματα,
themselves and having-spent-besides money troubles
ἀπεχθείας, φθόνον περιόντα παρ' ἐνίων; μηδαμῶς·
enmities envy resulting from some by-no-means
οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς εὐσέβειαν οὔτε πρὸς
neither for for repute nor for piety nor for
ἀσφάλειαν οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ὑμῖν συμφέρει
safety nor for other nothing for-you it-is-advantageous
τοῦτον ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τιμωρησαμένους παράδειγμα
this-man to-acquit but having-punished an-example
ποιῆσαι πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
to-make for-all both the citizens and the other
Ἕλλησιν.
Greeks

AESCHINES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ

On the Embassy

I · AESCHINES ASKS A HEARING

Aeschines asks the jurors to hear him with goodwill, given his danger, the number of charges, and his accuser's cruelty in urging them not to hear the defendant at all. He was most indignant at the charge of outrage against a free Olynthian woman, and glad when the jurors shouted Demosthenes down for it. If anyone believed it, he says, his life would not be worth living, and if he fails to prove the charge false, he proposes death for himself. He praises the Athenians for trusting a defendant's life over an enemy's charges, and turns Demosthenes' argument from Philocrates' flight: the man who fled condemned himself, while one who stands trial does not. Demosthenes has charged him with what Philocrates, Philip, and others did, prosecuted him like an Alcibiades or a Themistocles, and likened him to Dionysius of Sicily. Against such fabrication it is hard to remember everything, so he asks the jurors to question him on anything he leaves out, and he begins from the peace.

δέομαι ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθελῆσαί μου μετ' εὐνοίας 1
I-beg you O men Athenians to-be-willing me with goodwill
ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὑπολογιζομένους τό τε μέγεθος τοῦ
to-hear speaking taking-into-account the both magnitude of-the
κινδύνου καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰτιῶν πρὸς ἃς ἀπολογήσασθαί
danger and the number of-the charges against which to-defend-myself
με δεῖ, καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τοῦ
me it-is-needful and the arts and the contrivances of-the
κατηγόρου καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα, ὃς ἐτόλμησε παρακελεύσασθαι
accuser and the cruelty who dared to-urge
πρὸς ἄνδρας ὀμωμοκότας τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων
to men having-sworn the litigants alike both
ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος φωνὴν μὴ ὑπομένειν.
to-be-going-to-hear of-the-one in-danger voice not to-endure
καὶ ταῦτ' εἶπεν οὐ δι' ὀργήν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν 2
and these-things he-said not through anger no-one for of-the-ones
ψευδομένων τοῖς ἀδίκως διαβαλλομένοις ὀργίζεται,
lying with-the-ones unjustly slandered is-angry

οὐδ᾽ οἱ τἀληθῆ λέγοντες κωλύουσι λόγου τυχεῖν τὸν
nor the-ones the-truth telling prevent a-hearing to-obtain the
φεύγοντα· οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἡ κατηγορία παρὰ τοῖς
defendant not for sooner the accusation with the
ἀκούουσιν ἰσχύει, πρὶν ἂν ὁ φεύγων ἀπολογίας τυχὼν
hearers prevails before — the defendant defense having-obtained
ἀδυνατήσῃ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας ἀπολύσασθαι.
is-unable the aforesaid charges to-refute

3 ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι Δημοσθένης οὐ χαίρει δικαίοις λόγοις, οὐδ᾽ οὕτω
but I-think Demosthenes not delights-in just arguments nor so
παρεσκεύασται, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐκκαλέσασθαι
he-is-prepared but the your anger to-call-forth
βεβούληται. καὶ κατηγόρηκε δωροδοκίας, ἀπίθανος ὢν
he-has-wished and has-accused of-bribe-taking implausible being
πρὸς τὴν ὑποψίαν ταύτην· τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς δωροδοκίαις
toward the suspicion this the-one for at the bribe-takings
προτρεπόμενον ὀργίζεσθαι, αὐτὸν χρὴ τῶν τοιούτων
urging to-be-angry himself must from-the such
ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι.
deeds to-keep-away

4 ἐμοὶ δέ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβέβηκε τῆς Δημοσθένους
to-me and men Athenians it-has-happened the of-Demosthenes
ἀκούοντι κατηγορίας μήτε δεῖσαι πώποθ᾽ οὕτως ὡς
hearing accusation neither to-have-feared ever so as
ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μήτ᾽ ἀγανακτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν,
on this the day nor to-have-been-indignant more than now
μήτ᾽ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὁμοίως ἡσθῆναι. ἐφοβήθην μὲν γάρ,
nor to excess alike to-have-rejoiced I-feared indeed for
καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τεθορύβημαι, μή τινες ὑμῶν ἀγνοήσωσί
and still even now am-troubled lest some of-you may-mistake
με ψυχαγωγηθέντες τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις καὶ κακοήθεσι
me beguiled by-the contrived and malicious

τούτοις ἀντιθέτοις· ἐξέστην δ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν
these antitheses I-was-beside and myself and the charge
βαρέως ἤνεγκα, ὅθ' ὕβριν καὶ παροινίαν εἰς γυναῖκα
heavily bore when outrage and drunken-violence against a-woman
ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὸ γένος Ὀλυνθίαν κατηγόρει· ἥσθην δέ, ὅτ'
free and in-the race Olynthian he-charged I-rejoiced and when
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτίας ὄντα ταύτης ἐξεβάλλετε, καὶ τῶν
him on the charge being this you-were-shouting-down and of-the
σεσωφρονημένων ἐν τῷ βίῳ μοι χάριν ἀπειληφέναι νομίζω.
self-controlled-ways in the life for-me gratitude to-have-received I-think
ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαπῶ, ὅτι τῷ 5
you indeed then I-praise and especially love because the
βίῳ μᾶλλον τῷ τῶν κρινομένων πιστεύετε, ἢ ταῖς
life rather the of-the-ones on-trial you-trust than the
παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αἰτίαις· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίην
from the enemies charges myself but not — I-would-shrink-from
τῆς πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀπολογίας. εἰ γάρ τις ἢ τῶν
the against these-things defense if for any either of-the-ones
ἔξωθεν περιεστηκότων πέπεισται, σχεδὸν δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι
outside standing-round is-persuaded nearly and the most
τῶν πολιτῶν πάρεισιν, ἢ τῶν δικαζόντων ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ
of-the citizens are-present or of-the jurors of-you that I
τοιοῦτόν τι διαπέπραγμαι, μὴ μόνον εἰς ἐλεύθερον
such anything have-done not only against a-free
σῶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ τυχόν, ἀβίωτον εἶναί μοι τὸν
person but also against the ordinary unlivable to-be for-me the
λοιπὸν βίον νομίζω· κἂν μὴ προϊούσης τῆς ἀπολογίας
rest life I-think and-if not proceeding the defense
ἐξελέγξω καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὖσαν ψευδῆ, καὶ τὸν τολμήσαντ'
I-prove both the charge being false and the-one having-dared

εἰπεῖν ἀνόσιον καὶ συκοφάντην, κἂν τἆλλα πάντα μηδὲν
to-say-it unholy and a-blackmailer even-if the-rest all in-nothing
ἀδικῶν φαίνωμαι, θανάτου τιμῶμαι.
doing-wrong I-appear death I-propose-as-my-penalty
6 παράδοξος δέ μοι κἀκεῖνος ὁ λόγος ἐφάνη καὶ δεινῶς
strange and to-me also-that the argument appeared and terribly
ἄδικος, ὅθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπηρώτα, εἰ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
unjust when you he-asked whether possible — it-is in the same
πόλει Φιλοκράτους μὲν θάνατον καταψηφίσασθαι, ὅτι
city of-Philocrates indeed death to-vote because
καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδικεῖν τὴν κρίσιν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐμοῦ δ'
having-condemned himself to-do-wrong the trial not he-awaited me but
ἀπογνῶναι. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ δικαίως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω
to-acquit I but on itself this justly — I-suppose
μάλιστα σῴζεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ ὁ καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
most to-be-saved if for the-one having-condemned himself and
μὴ παρὼν ἀδικεῖ, ὅ γε ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τὸ σῶμα
not present is-guilty the-one at-least having-acquitted-himself and the person
τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις παραδοὺς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.
to-the laws and to-the citizens having-surrendered not is-guilty
7 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης κατηγορίας δέομαι ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες
about and the rest accusation I-beg you O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐάν τι παραλίπω καὶ μὴ μνησθῶ, ἐπερωτᾶν
Athenians if anything I-omit and not mention to-question
με καὶ δηλοῦν ὅ τι ἂν ποθῆτε ἀκοῦσαι, μηδὲν
me and to-indicate that which — you-want to-hear nothing
προκατεγνωκότας, ἀλλ' ἴσῃ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἀκούοντας.
having-prejudged but with-equal the goodwill hearing
ἀπορῶ δ' ὁπόθεν χρὴ πρῶτον ἄρξασθαι, διὰ
I-am-at-a-loss and from-where one-must first to-begin because-of

τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς κατηγορίας. σκέψασθε δ' ἂν ὑμῖν
the irregularity of-the accusation consider and whether to-you
εἰκός τι πρᾶγμα δόξω πάσχειν.
reasonable a thing I-shall-seem to-suffer
εἰμὶ μὲν γὰρ ὁ κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ νυνὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος, 8
I-am indeed for the-one in-danger I now about the person
τῆς δὲ κατηγορίας τὴν πλείστην πεποίηται Φιλοκράτους καὶ
of-the but accusation the most he-has-made of-Philocrates and
Φρύνωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπρέσβεων, καὶ Φιλίππου καὶ
of-Phryno and of-the other fellow-envoys and of-Philip and
τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου πολιτευμάτων, ἐν ἅπασι
of-the peace and of-the of-Eubulus policies among all
δὲ τούτοις ἐγὼ τέταγμαι. μόνος δ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φαίνεται
and these I am-ranked alone and in the speech appears
κηδεμὼν τῆς πόλεως Δημοσθένης, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προδόται·
guardian of-the city Demosthenes the but others traitors
διατετέλεκε γὰρ εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζων, καὶ λοιδορίας ψευδεῖς
he-has-continued for toward us insulting and abuses false
οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον λοιδορούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.
not me only reviling but also the others
ὃν δ' οὕτως ἀτιμάζει, πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς, ὅπου ἂν 9
whom but so he-dishonors again by change wherever —
τύχῃ, ὥσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνων, οἳ
it-chances as-if Alcibiades or Themistocles prosecuting who
πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξῃ διήνεγκαν, ἀνῃρηκέναι μὲν
most of-the Greeks in-repute excelled to-have-destroyed indeed
αἰτιᾶται τὰς ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεις, ἀπηλλοτριωκέναι δ' ὑμῶν
he-charges the in Phocis cities to-have-alienated and from-you
τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπον, ἐκβεβληκέναι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς
the toward Thrace region to-have-expelled and from-the rule
Κερσοβλέπτην, ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον τῆς πόλεως.
Cersobleptes a-man friend and ally of-the city

10 ἐνεχείρησε δ᾽ ἀπεικάζειν με Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ,
he-tried and to-liken me to-Dionysius the of-Sicily tyrant
καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ κραυγῆς πολλῆς παρεκελεύσαθ᾽ ὑμῖν
and with earnestness and shouting much urged you
φυλάξασθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱερείας ἐνύπνιον τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ
to-be-on-guard and the of-the priestess dream the-one in Sicily
διηγήσατο. οὕτω δ᾽ ἄνω τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξάρας, ἐφθόνησέ
he-recounted so and high the matter having-raised he-grudged
μου ταῖς διαβολαῖς, τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθεὶς τῶν πεπραγμένων
me the slanders the blame assigning of-the things-done
οὐ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῖς Φιλίππου.
not to-the my words but to-the arms the of-Philip
11 πρὸς δὴ τοσαύτην τόλμαν καὶ τερατείαν ἀνθρώπου
against indeed such audacity and fabulous-talk of-a-man
χαλεπὸν καὶ διαμνημονεῦσαι καθ᾽ ἕκαστα, καὶ λέγειν
hard both to-remember in detail and to-speak
μετὰ κινδύνου πρὸς ἀπροσδοκήτους διαβολάς. ὅθεν δ᾽
with danger against unexpected slanders from-where but
ἡγοῦμαι σαφεστάτους τέ μοι τοὺς λόγους ἔσεσθαι καὶ
I-think clearest both for-me the arguments to-be-going-to-be and
γνωρίμους ὑμῖν καὶ δικαίους, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξομαι, ἀπὸ τῶν
familiar to-you and just from-there I-will-begin from the
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγων καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς πρεσβείας·
about the peace speeches and the choice of-the embassy
οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ μεμνήσομαι, καὶ δυνήσομαι εἰπεῖν,
so for most both I-shall-remember and shall-be-able to-speak
καὶ ὑμεῖς μαθήσεσθε.
and you will-learn

Aeschines recalls how the peace began: the Euboean envoys reported that Philip wished peace, Phryno of Rhamnus was captured during the Olympic truce, and Ctesiphon, sent to recover his ransom, reported that Philip wished to end the war. Philocrates' decree letting Philip send a herald was indicted under Lycinus' name, and Demosthenes defended it. When Olynthus fell with Athenians in it, the actor Aristodemus was sent to Philip and reported his goodwill to the council and the assembly, and Demosthenes proposed crowning him. Philocrates then moved to send ten envoys and nominated Demosthenes. So the peace began with Demosthenes and Philocrates, not Aeschines. On the road Demosthenes was insufferable, boasting that he would sew up Philip's mouth on Amphipolis. In Macedonia the envoys agreed to speak by age, Demosthenes last as the youngest, and Aeschines mocks his charge that they turned traitors there.

ἅπαντας γὰρ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι τοῦτό γε αὐτοὺς μνημονεύειν, 12
all for you I-think this at-least yourselves to-remember
ὅθ' οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τῶν Εὐβοέων, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῆς πρὸς
when the envoys the of-the Euboeans when about the with
αὐτοὺς εἰρήνης τῷ δήμῳ διελέχθησαν, εἶπον, ὅτι καὶ
themselves peace to-the people had-discussed said that also
Φίλιππος αὐτοὺς κελεύσειεν ὑμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βούλεται
Philip them had-bidden to-you to-report that he-wishes
διαλύσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν. οὐ πολλῷ
to-come-to-terms with you and peace to-keep not much
δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ Φρύνων ὁ Ῥαμνούσιος ἑάλω ὑπὸ
and later in-time Phryno the Rhamnusian was-captured by
λῃστῶν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς
pirates in the truce the Olympic as himself
ᾐτιᾶτο· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπανῆλθε δεῦρο λυτρωθείς, ἐδεῖτο ὑμῶν
charged when and he-returned here ransomed he-asked you
πρεσβευτὴν αὑτῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἑλέσθαι, ἵνα, εἴ πως
an-envoy for-him to Philip to-choose so-that if somehow

δύναιτο, ἀπολάβοι τὰ λύτρα. πεισθέντες δ' ὑμεῖς εἵλεσθ'
he-could he-might-recover the ransom persuaded and you chose
αὐτῷ Κτησιφῶντα πρεσβευτήν.
for-him Ctesiphon as-envoy
13 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπανῆκε δεῦρ' ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ὁ Κτησιφῶν,
when and returned here from the embassy — Ctesiphon
ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπέμφθη, καὶ πρὸς
he-reported to you about what he-was-sent and besides
τούτοις, ὅτι φαίη Φίλιππος ἄκων μὲν πολεμῆσαι
these-things that said Philip unwilling indeed to-have-made-war
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ
against you to-wish but even now to-be-rid of-the
πολέμου. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος, καὶ
war having-said and these-things — Ctesiphon and
πολλήν τινα ἐξαγγείλαντος πρὸς τούτοις φιλανθρωπίαν,
much some having-reported besides these kindness
καὶ τοῦ δήμου σφόδρα ἀποδεξαμένου καὶ τὸν Κτησιφῶντα
and the people greatly having-welcomed and — Ctesiphon
ἐπαινέσαντος, ἀντειπόντος δ' οὐδενός, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δίδωσι
having-praised having-objected and no-one then now proposes
ψήφισμα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας
a-decree Philocrates the Hagnusian and the people whole
ὁμογνωμονῶν ἐχειροτόνησεν, ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο
agreeing voted to-be-permitted for-Philip here
κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. πρότερον μὲν
a-herald and envoys to-send about peace formerly indeed
γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκωλύετο ὑπό τινων, οἷς ἦν τοῦτ'
for even itself this was-prevented by some to-whom was this
ἐπιμελές, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔδειξεν.
a-concern as itself the fact showed

γράφονται γὰρ οὗτοι παρανόμων τὸ ψήφισμα, Λυκῖνον 14
indict for these-men for-illegality the decree Lycinus
ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιγραψάμενοι, καὶ τίμημα ἑκατὸν
to the indictment having-put-the-name and penalty hundred
τάλαντα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσῄει ἡ γραφὴ εἰς τὸ
talents and after these-things came the indictment into the
δικαστήριον, ἀρρώστως δ' ἔχων ὁ Φιλοκράτης ἐκάλεσεν
court ill and being — Philocrates called
αὑτῷ συνήγορον Δημοσθένην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμέ. παρελθὼν
for-himself as-advocate Demosthenes but not me having-come-forward
δ' ὁ μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, κατέτριψε τὴν ἡμέραν
and the Philip-hater Demosthenes wore-out the day
ἀπολογούμενος· καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀποφεύγει Φιλοκράτης,
pleading and the end is-acquitted Philocrates
ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ
the-one and having-indicted the fifth part of-the votes not
μεταλαμβάνει. καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἴστε.
obtains and these-things you all know
ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ὄλυνθος ἑάλω, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν 15
about and the same times Olynthus was-taken and many of-the
ἡμετέρων ἐγκατελήφθησαν πολιτῶν, ὧν ἦν Ἰατροκλῆς
our were-caught citizens of-whom was Iatrocles
ὁ Ἐργοχάρους ἀδελφὸς καὶ Εὐήρατος ὁ Στρομβίχου υἱός.
the of-Ergochares brother and Eueratus the of-Strombichus son
ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων ἱκετηρίαν θέντες οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐδέοντο
for indeed these an-olive-branch having-laid the relatives begged
ὑμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι. παρελθόντες δ' αὐτοῖς
you care to-take having-come-forward and for-them
συνηγόρουν Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης, ἀλλ' οὐκ Αἰσχίνης.
pleaded Philocrates and Demosthenes but not Aeschines

καὶ πέμπουσι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν πρὸς
and they-send as-envoy Aristodemus the actor to
Φίλιππον, διὰ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς τέχνης.
Philip because-of the acquaintance and kindliness of-the art
16 ὡς δ' ἐπανήκων ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ὁ Ἀριστόδημος
when and returning from the embassy — Aristodemus
διά τινας ἀσχολίας οὐ προσῄει πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ'
because-of some engagements not went to the council but
ἔφθασεν αὐτὸν Ἰατροκλῆς ἐλθὼν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφεθεὶς
anticipated him Iatrocles having-come from Macedonia released
ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἄνευ λύτρων, ἐνταῦθ' ἠγανάκτουν πολλοί, ὅτι
by Philip without ransom then were-indignant many that
τὴν πρεσβείαν οὐκ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, τοὺς αὐτοὺς
the embassy not reported — Aristodemus the same
λόγους ἀκούοντες τοῦ Ἰατροκλέους περὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου.
words hearing — from-Iatrocles about — Philip
17 τελευταῖον δ' εἰσελθὼν Δημοκράτης ὁ Ἀφιδναῖος ἔπεισε
finally and having-gone-in Democrates the Aphidnaean persuaded
τὴν βουλὴν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον· εἷς δὲ τῶν
the council to-summon — Aristodemus one and of-the
βουλευτῶν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ ἐμὸς κατήγορος. παρελθὼν
councilors was Demosthenes the my accuser having-come-forward
δ' ὁ Ἀριστόδημος πολλήν τινα εὔνοιαν ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ
and — Aristodemus much some goodwill reported —
Φιλίππου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προσέθηκεν ὅτι καὶ σύμμαχος
of-Philip toward the city and added that also ally
βούλοιτο τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
he-wished to-the city to-become and these-things not in the council
μόνον εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. κἀνταῦθ' οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε
only he-said but also in the assembly and-there nothing objected
Δημοσθένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Ἀριστόδημον ἔγραψε.
Demosthenes but even to-crown — Aristodemus proposed

ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων, ψήφισμα ἔγραψεν ὁ Φιλοκράτης 18
having-been-said and these-things a-decree proposed — Philocrates
ἑλέσθαι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον ἄνδρας δέκα, οἵτινες
to-choose envoys to Philip men ten who
διαλέξονται Φιλίππῳ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν κοινῇ
will-confer with-Philip about peace and the jointly
συμφερόντων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ. χειροτονουμένων
advantageous-things for-Athenians and Philip being-elected
δὲ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων, ἐγὼ μὲν προεβλήθην ὑπὸ
and the ten envoys I indeed was-nominated by
Ναυσικλέους, Δημοσθένης δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Φιλοκράτους, ὁ
Nausicles Demosthenes but by himself Philocrates the-one
νυνὶ Φιλοκράτους κατηγορῶν.
now Philocrates accusing
οὕτω δ' ἦν πρόθυμος εἰς τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ 19
so and he-was eager for the affairs that in the council
γράφει, ἵνα ἀζήμιος ὢν ἡμῖν ὁ Ἀριστόδημος συμπρεσβεύῃ,
he-proposes so-that unpenalized being with-us — Aristodemus might-be-fellow-envoy
ἑλέσθαι πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἔδει τὸν Ἀριστόδημον
to-choose envoys to the cities in which had-to — Aristodemus
ἀγωνίζεσθαι, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παραιτήσονται τὰς ζημίας.
to-perform who for him will-beg-off the penalties
καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, λαβέ μοι τὰ ψηφίσματα,
and that these-things are true take for-me the decrees
καὶ τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν ἀνάγνωθι τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, καὶ
and the deposition read the of-Aristodemus and
κάλει πρὸς οὓς ἐξεμαρτύρησεν, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν οἱ δικασταί,
call before whom he-deposed so-that may-know the jurors
τίς ὁ Φιλοκράτους ἑταῖρος, καὶ τίς ὁ τὰς δωρεὰς
who the of-Philocrates comrade and who the-one the gifts
Ἀριστοδήμῳ φάσκων πείσειν δοῦναι τὸν δῆμον.
for-Aristodemus claiming to-be-going-to-persuade to-give the people

20 ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔνστασις τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων
the indeed then from the-start launching of-the whole affairs
ἐγένετο οὐ δι᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ
came-about not through me but through Demosthenes and
Φιλοκράτους· ἐν δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ συσσιτεῖν ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασεν,
Philocrates on and the embassy to-mess-with us he-was-eager
οὐκ ἐμὲ πείσας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, Ἀγλαοκρέοντα
not me having-persuaded but the-ones with me Aglaocreon
τὸν Τενέδιον, ὃν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων εἵλεσθε, καὶ
the Tenedian whom from the allies you-chose and
Ἰατροκλέα. ἐν δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ παρακελεύεσθαί με φησὶν
Iatrocles on and the journey to-have-urged me he-says
αὐτῷ, ὅπως τὸ θηρίον κοινῇ φυλάξομεν, τὸν Φιλοκράτην,
to-him that the beast jointly we-shall-watch — Philocrates
πρᾶγμα λέγων πεπλασμένον. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ Δημοσθένην
a-thing telling fabricated how for — I Demosthenes
ἐπὶ Φιλοκράτην παρεκάλουν, ὃν ᾔδειν συνειπόντα
against Philocrates would-have-summoned whom I-knew having-pleaded
μὲν Φιλοκράτει, ὅτ᾽ ἦν ἡ τῶν παρανόμων γραφή,
indeed for-Philocrates when was the of-the illegality indictment
προβληθέντα δ᾽ εἰς τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπὸ Φιλοκράτους;
nominated and for the embassy by Philocrates
21 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἐν τοιούτοις ἦμεν λόγοις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλην
besides and these not in such we-were talks but whole
τὴν πορείαν ἠναγκαζόμεθα Δημοσθένην ὑπομένειν ἀφόρητον
the journey we-were-forced Demosthenes to-endure insufferable
καὶ βαρὺν ἄνθρωπον· ὃς διασκοπούντων ἡμῶν ὅ τι
and tiresome man who considering us that which
χρὴ λέγειν, καὶ Κίμωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι φοβοῖτο μὴ
one-must say and Cimon having-said that he-feared lest
δικαιολογούμενος περιγένοιτο ἡμῶν ὁ Φίλιππος, πηγὰς
arguing-his-case might-get-the-better-of us — Philip springs

δὴ λόγων ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν ὑπὲρ
indeed of-words promised and about the rights the over
Ἀμφιπόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖν
Amphipolis and the beginning of-the war such-things to-be-going-to-say
ἔφη, ὥστε ἀπορράψειν τὸ Φιλίππου στόμα ὁλοσχοίνῳ
he-said so-as to-be-going-to-sew-up the of-Philip mouth with-a-rush
ἀβρόχῳ καὶ πείσειν Ἀθηναίους μὲν καταδέξασθαι
unsoaked and to-be-going-to-persuade Athenians indeed to-take-back
Λεωσθένην, Φίλιππον δ' Ἀθηναίοις Ἀμφίπολιν ἀποδοῦναι.
Leosthenes Philip and to-Athenians Amphipolis to-restore
ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακρολογῶ τὴν τούτου διεξιὼν ὑπερηφανίαν, 22
so-that and not I-talk-at-length the of-this-man going-through arrogance
ὡς τάχιστα ἥκομεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, συνετάξαμεν πρὸς
as soon-as we-came into Macedonia we-arranged among
ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, ὅταν προσίωμεν Φιλίππῳ, τὸν πρεσβύτατον
us ourselves whenever we-approach Philip the oldest
πρῶτον λέγειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν· ἐτύγχανε
first to-speak and the rest by age happened
δ' ἡμῶν νεώτατος ὤν, ὡς ἔφη, Δημοσθένης. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
and of-us youngest being as he-said Demosthenes when and
εἰσεκλήθημεν, — καὶ τούτοις ἤδη μοι σφόδρα προσέχετε
we-were-called-in and to-these now for-me closely apply
τὸν νοῦν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ κατόψεσθε τἀνθρώπου φθόνον
the mind from-this for you-will-see the-man's envy
ὑπερβάλλοντα καὶ δεινὴν δειλίαν ἅμα καὶ κακοήθειαν,
exceeding and terrible cowardice together and malice
καὶ τοιαύτας ἐπιβουλὰς κατ' ἀνδρῶν συσσίτων καὶ
and such plots against men messmates and
συμπρέσβεων, ἃς οὐδ' ἂν κατὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων τις
fellow-envoys which not-even — against the bitterest-enemies anyone
εἰκῇ ποιήσαιτο. τοὺς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἅλας καὶ τὴν
lightly would-make the for of-the city salt and the

δημοσίαν τράπεζαν περὶ πλείστου δή φησι ποιεῖσθαι,
public table of most indeed he-says to-make
οὐκ ὢν ἐπιχώριος, εἰρήσεται γάρ, οὐδ' ἐγγενής.
not being native it-shall-be-said for nor of-the-stock
23 ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἱερὰ καὶ τάφοι προγόνων ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῇ
we but to-whom shrines and tombs of-ancestors belong in the
πατρίδι, καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ συνήθειαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθέριοι,
fatherland and pursuits and intimacies with you liberal
καὶ γάμοι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ κηδεσταὶ καὶ τέκνα,
and marriages according-to the laws and in-laws and children
Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦμεν ἄξιοι τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως, οὐ γὰρ
at-Athens indeed were worthy of-the your trust not for
ἄν ποτε ἡμᾶς εἵλεσθε, ἐλθόντες δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν
— ever us you-would-have-chosen having-come but into Macedonia
ἐξαίφνης ἐγενόμεθα προδόται. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄπρατον ἔχων
suddenly became traitors he but no unsold having
μέρος τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ὢν Ἀριστείδης, ὁ δίκαιος
part of-the body as being Aristides the just
ἐπικαλούμενος, δυσχεραίνει καὶ καταπτύει δωροδοκίας.
surnamed is-disgusted and spits-upon bribe-taking
24 ἀκούσατε δὴ τούς τε ἡμετέρους λόγους, οὓς εἴπομεν
hear indeed the both our words which we-spoke
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ πάλιν οὓς τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τῆς
for you and again those-which the great benefit of-the
πόλεως εἴρηκε Δημοσθένης, ἵν' ἐφεξῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν
city has-spoken Demosthenes so-that in-order and by little
πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογήσωμαι. ἐπαινῶ
to each of-the charges I-may-defend-myself I-praise
δ' εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι σιγῇ
and to excess you O men jurors that in-silence

καὶ δικαίως ἡμῶν ἀκούετε· ὥστε, ἐάν τι μὴ λύσω
and justly us you-hear so-that if anything not I-refute
τῶν κατηγορημένων, οὐχ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν αἰτιάσομαι.
of-the charges not you but myself I-will-blame

III · BEFORE PHILIP

Aeschines recounts his own speech to Philip. He reminded him of Athens' benefits to his father Amyntas, and how Iphicrates, at Eurydice's plea, drove out Pausanias and saved the dynasty; he blamed Ptolemy and Perdiccas for fighting Athens over Amphipolis, and argued from Amyntas' own vote among the Greeks that Amphipolis is Athenian. Then came Demosthenes' turn. Expected to dazzle, he stammered, lost his place, and fell silent, though Philip encouraged him. Outside he accused Aeschines of provoking Philip into war. Philip answered every point, dwelling on Aeschines' words and saying nothing to Demosthenes. On the way home Demosthenes flattered each envoy, praised Aeschines' speech, and called Philip the cleverest man alive. He then said they would not dare tell the people of Philip's eloquence and memory, drew them into a wager over it, and begged Aeschines to report that he too had spoken on Amphipolis.

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ὑπὲρ τῆς 25
when for the older in-the ages about the
πρεσβείας εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ καθῆκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος,
embassy had-spoken and came-down to us the speaking
τὰ μὲν καθ᾽ ἕκαστα τῶν ἐκεῖ ῥηθέντων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ
the-things indeed in detail of-the there spoken by me and
τοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα Φιλίππου λόγους, ἐν τῷ δήμῳ σαφῶς
the to these-things of-Philip replies in the assembly clearly
ἀπήγγειλα πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἀθηναίους, νυνὶ δὲ πειράσομαι
I-reported to all Athenians now but I-will-try
διὰ κεφαλαίων ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνῄσκειν.
through headings you to-remind

26 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον τὴν πατρικὴν
first indeed for to him I-went-through the ancestral
εὔνοιαν καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἃς ὑμεῖς ὑπήρξατε Ἀμύντα τῷ
goodwill and the benefits which you conferred-first on-Amyntas the
Φιλίππου πατρί, οὐδὲν παραλείπων, ἀλλ' ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα
of-Philip father nothing omitting but in-order all
ὑπομιμνήσκων, δεύτερον δέ, ὧν αὐτὸς ἦν μάρτυς εὖ
recalling second and of-what himself he-was witness well
παθών. Ἀμύντου μὲν γὰρ νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότος καὶ
having-been-treated Amyntas indeed for lately having-died and
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Περδίκκου δὲ
Alexander the eldest of-the brothers Perdiccas and
καὶ Φιλίππου παίδων ὄντων, Εὐρυδίκης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς
also Philip children being Eurydice and the mother
αὐτῶν προδεδομένης ὑπὸ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι φίλων,
of-them betrayed by the-ones seeming to-be friends
27 Παυσανίου δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατιόντος, φυγάδος μὲν ὄντος,
Pausanias and to the throne returning an-exile indeed being
τῷ καιρῷ δ' ἰσχύοντος, πολλῶν δ' αὐτῷ συμπραττόντων,
by-the occasion but being-strong many and for-him cooperating
ἔχοντος δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν, εἰληφότος δὲ Ἀνθεμοῦντα
having and a-Greek force having-taken and Anthemus
καὶ Θέρμαν καὶ Στρέψαν καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία, Μακεδόνων
and Therma and Strepsa and other some places Macedonians
δὲ οὐχ ὁμονοούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων τὰ Παυσανίου
and not being-of-one-mind but the most the-cause of-Pausanias
φρονούντων, ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν τούτων ἐχειροτόνησαν Ἀθηναῖοι
favoring at the times these elected Athenians
στρατηγὸν ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν Ἰφικράτην, Ἀμφιπολιτῶν αὐτῶν
general against Amphipolis Iphicrates Amphipolitans themselves
ἐχόντων τότε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καρπουμένων.
holding then the city and the land enjoying

ἀφικομένου δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς τόπους Ἰφικράτους μετ᾽ ὀλίγων τὸ 28
having-arrived and in the region Iphicrates with few the
πρῶτον νεῶν, ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ μᾶλλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ
first ships for reconnaissance rather of-the situation than
πολιορκίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, ἐνταῦθα, ἔφην ἐγώ, μετεπέμψατο
siege of-the city then said I summoned
αὐτὸν Εὐρυδίκη ἡ μήτηρ ἡ σή, καὶ ὥς γε δὴ λέγουσιν
him Eurydice the mother the your and as at-least indeed say
οἱ παρόντες πάντες, Περδίκκαν μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν
the-ones present all Perdiccas indeed the brother
τὸν σὸν καταστήσασα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰς Ἰφικράτους,
the your having-placed into the hands the of-Iphicrates
σὲ δὲ εἰς τὰ γόνατα τὰ ἐκείνου θεῖσα παιδίον ὄντα,
you and on the knees the his having-set little-child being
εἶπεν ὅτι ‘Ἀμύντας ὁ πατὴρ τῶν παιδίων τούτων, ὅτ᾽
she-said that Amyntas the father of-the children these when
ἔζη, υἱὸν ἐποιήσατό σε, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλει οἰκείως
he-lived as-son adopted you the and of-Athenians city as-a-friend
ἐχρήσατο, ὥστε συμβαίνει σοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν παίδων
treated so-that it-follows for-you both privately of-the boys
τούτων γεγενῆσθαι ἀδελφῷ, καὶ δημοσίᾳ φίλῳ ἡμῖν εἶναι.᾽
these to-have-become brother and publicly friend to-us to-be
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη δέησιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν 29
and after these-things now entreaty strong she-made both for you
καὶ ὑπὲρ αὑτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὅλως ὑπὲρ τῆς
and for herself and for the throne and in-short for the
σωτηρίας. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα Ἰφικράτης ἐξήλασε Παυσανίαν
safety having-heard and these-things Iphicrates drove-out Pausanias
ἐκ Μακεδονίας, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν ἔσωσε. καὶ μετὰ
from Macedonia and the dynasty for-you saved and after
ταῦτα εἶπον περὶ Πτολεμαίου, ὃς ἦν ἐπίτροπος καθεστηκὼς
these-things I-spoke about Ptolemy who was regent appointed

τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ δεινὸν ἔργον διεπράξατο,
of-the affairs how ungrateful and terrible deed he-did
διδάσκων ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀντέπραττε
showing that first indeed about Amphipolis he-worked-against
τῇ πόλει, καὶ πρὸς Θηβαίους διαφερομένων Ἀθηναίων
the city and with Thebans being-at-odds Athenians
συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πάλιν ὡς Περδίκκας εἰς τὴν
alliance he-made and again how Perdiccas to the
ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολέμησε τῇ πόλει.
throne having-come for Amphipolis made-war on-the city
30 καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἠδικημένων ὅμως φιλανθρωπίαν
and the your having-been-wronged nevertheless kindness
διεξῄειν, λέγων ὅτι κρατοῦντες τῷ πολέμῳ Περδίκκαν
I-went-through saying that prevailing in-the war Perdiccas
Καλλισθένους ἡγουμένου, ἀνοχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποιήσασθε,
Callisthenes commanding truce with him you-made
ἀεί τινος προσδοκῶντες τῶν δικαίων τεύξεσθαι. καὶ
always some expecting of-the just-things to-be-going-to-obtain and
τὴν διαβολὴν ταύτην ἐπειρώμην λύειν, διδάσκων ὅτι
the slander this I-tried to-dispel showing that
Καλλισθένην ὁ δῆμος ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ διὰ τὰς πρὸς
Callisthenes the people killed not because-of the with
Περδίκκαν ἀνοχάς, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέρας αἰτίας. καὶ πάλιν
Perdiccas truce but because-of other reasons and again
οὐκ ὤκνουν κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν Φιλίππου, ἐπιτιμῶν ὅτι
not I-hesitated against himself to-speak Philip censuring that
τὴν ἐκδοχὴν ἐποιήσατο τοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν πολέμου.
the succession he-had-made of-the against the city war
31 καὶ πάντων ὧν εἶποιμι μάρτυρας τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπιστολὰς
and of-all which I-said as-witnesses the their letters
παρειχόμην καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς
I-produced and the decrees of-the people and the

Καλλισθένους ἀνοχάς. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς
of-Callisthenes truce about indeed then the from the-beginning
κτήσεως τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῶν καλουμένων Ἐννέα ὁδῶν,
acquisition of-the land and of-the so-called Nine Ways
καὶ περὶ τῶν Θησέως παίδων, ὧν Ἀκάμας λέγεται
and about the of-Theseus sons of-whom Acamas is-said
φερνὴν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χώραν ταύτην,
as-dowry with the wife to-have-received the land this
τότε μὲν ἥρμοττέ τε λέγειν καὶ ἐρρήθη ὡς ἐνεδέχετο
then indeed it-was-fitting both to-speak and was-spoken as was-possible
ἀκριβέστατα, νυνὶ δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη συντέμνειν τοὺς λόγους·
most-exactly now but perhaps necessary to-cut-short the speeches
ἃ δὲ ἦν τῶν σημείων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μύθοις,
what but were of-the proofs not in the ancient myths
ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην.
but in-the-time-of us having-happened also these I-mentioned
συμμαχίας γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 32
an-alliance for of-Lacedaemonians and of-the other Greeks
συνελθούσης, εἷς ὢν τούτων Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατὴρ
having-met one being of-these Amyntas the of-Philip father
καὶ πέμπων σύνεδρον καὶ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν ψήφου κύριος
and sending a-delegate and of-the for himself vote master
ὤν, ἐψηφίσατο Ἀμφίπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων συνεξαιρεῖν μετὰ
being voted Amphipolis the of-Athenians to-help-recover with
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τούτων τὸ κοινὸν
the other Greeks for-Athenians and of-these the common
δόγμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοὺς ψηφισαμένους ἐκ τῶν
resolution of-the Greeks and the-ones having-voted from the
δημοσίων γραμμάτων μάρτυρας παρειχόμην.
public records as-witnesses I-produced

33 ‘ὧν δὲ Ἀμύντας ἀπέστη ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
from-what and Amyntas withdrew before the Greeks
ἁπάντων οὐ μόνον λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψήφῳ, τούτων,’ ἔφην
all not only by-words but also by-vote of-these I-said
ἐγώ, ‘σὲ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγενημένον οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον
I you the-one from him born not it-is just
ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. εἰ δ’ ἀντιποιῇ κατὰ πόλεμον λαβὼν
to-lay-claim if but you-lay-claim in war having-taken-it
εἰκότως ἔχειν, εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμήσας δοριάλωτον
reasonably to-hold if indeed against us having-made-war spear-won
τὴν πόλιν εἶλες, κυρίως ἔχεις τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ
the city you-took rightfully you-hold by-the of-the war law
κτησάμενος· εἰ δ’ Ἀμφιπολίτας ἀφείλου τὴν Ἀθηναίων
having-acquired if but from-Amphipolitans you-took the of-Athenians
πόλιν, οὐχὶ τἀκείνων ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν.’
city not their-things you-hold but the of-Athenians land
34 ῥηθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων καὶ ἑτέρων λόγων, ἤδη καθῆκεν
having-been-said and both these and other words now came-down
εἰς Δημοσθένην τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας μέρος, καὶ πάντες
to Demosthenes the of-the embassy part and all
προσεῖχον ὡς ὑπερβολάς τινας δυνάμεως ἀκουσόμενοι
attended as excesses some of-power going-to-hear
λόγων· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς ἦν ὕστερον
of-speech and for to himself — Philip as was later
ἀκούειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐξήγγελτο ἡ τῶν
to-hear and to the companions had-been-announced the of-the
ἐπαγγελιῶν ὑπερβολή. οὕτω δὲ ἁπάντων διακειμένων
promises extravagance so and all being-disposed
πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν, φθέγγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προοίμιον
toward the hearing utters the beast this a-preface
σκοτεινόν τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς δειλίᾳ, καὶ μικρὸν
obscure somewhat and dead with-fright and a-little

προαγαγὼν ἄνω τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐξαίφνης ἐσίγησε καὶ
having-advanced above the matter suddenly fell-silent and
διηπορήθη, τελευτῶν δὲ ἐκπίπτει ἐκ τοῦ λόγου.
was-at-a-loss finally and falls-out of the speech
ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς διέκειτο, θαρρεῖν τε 35
having-seen and him — Philip how he-was to-take-heart both
παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις,
urged and not to-think as in the theaters
διὰ τοῦτό τι πεπονθέναι, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν
because-of this anything to-have-suffered but quietly and by little
ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι, καὶ λέγειν ὡς προείλετο. ὁ δ' ὡς ἅπαξ
to-recall and to-speak as he-had-planned he but as once
ἐταράχθη καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων διεσφάλη, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν
was-thrown and from-the written-things slipped not-even to-recover
αὑτὸν ἐδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιχειρήσας ταὐτὸν ἔπαθεν.
himself could but even again having-tried the-same suffered
ὡς δ' ἦν σιωπή, μεταστῆναι ἡμᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκέλευσεν.
when and was silence to-withdraw us the herald ordered
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμεθα, σφόδρα σκυθρωπάσας 36
when and by us ourselves we-were very having-scowled
ὁ χρηστὸς οὑτοσὶ Δημοσθένης ἀπολωλεκέναι με ἔφη τὴν
the worthy this-here Demosthenes to-have-ruined me said the
πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ οὐκ ἐμοῦ
city and the allies having-been-astounded and not me
μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἁπάντων, καὶ τὴν
alone but also the fellow-envoys all and the
αἰτίαν πυνθανομένων δι' ἣν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἤρετό με εἰ
reason asking for which these-things he-said he-asked me whether
τῶν Ἀθήνησι πραγμάτων ἐπιλέλησμαι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον
the at-Athens affairs I-have-forgotten and the people

καταπεπονημένον καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιθυμοῦντα εἰρήνης εἰ
worn-out and greatly desiring peace whether
μὴ μέμνημαι.
not I-remember

37 ‘ἢ μέγα φρονεῖς,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν
or greatly you-pride-yourself he-said on the voted indeed
πεντήκοντα ναυσίν, οὐδέποτε δὲ πληρωθησομέναις; οὕτω
fifty ships never but going-to-be-manned so
γὰρ ἠρέθικας Φίλιππον καὶ τοιαῦτα εἴρηκας, ἐξ ὧν
for you-have-provoked Philip and such-things you-have-said from which
οὐκ εἰρήνη γένοιτ’ ἂν ἐκ πολέμου, ἀλλ’ ἐξ εἰρήνης
not peace would-come — from war but from peace
πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος.’ ἀρχομένου δ’ ἐμοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα
war truceless beginning and me to these-things
ἀντιλέγειν, ἐκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ ὑπηρέται.
to-reply were-calling us the attendants

38 ὡς δ’ εἰσήλθομεν καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεθα, ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς
when and we-went-in and sat-down from the-beginning to
ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἐνεχείρει τι λέγειν ὁ Φίλιππος,
each of-the things-said tried something to-say — Philip
πλείστην δὲ εἰκότως ἐποιήσατο διατριβὴν πρὸς τοὺς
most and naturally he-made dwelling on the
ἐμοὺς λόγους· ἴσως γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν,
my words perhaps for nothing of-the possible to-say
ὥς γε οἶμαι, παρέλιπον· καὶ πολλάκις μου τοὔνομα
as at-least I-think I-left-out and often my name
ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὠνόμαζε· πρὸς δὲ Δημοσθένην τὸν
in the speech he-named to but Demosthenes the-one
οὕτω καταγελάστως ἀπαλλάξαντα οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς οἶμαι
so ridiculously having-come-off not-even about one I-think
διελέχθη. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀγχόνη καὶ λύπη τούτῳ.
he-spoke this and was after-all strangling and pain for-him

ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέστρεψεν εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ 39
when and he-turned to kindness the words and
τὸ συκοφάντημα ὃ προειρήκει κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
the slander which he-had-said-before against me to the
συμπρέσβεις οὗτος, ὡς ἐσομένου πολέμου καὶ διαφορᾶς
fellow-envoys this-man as going-to-be war and quarrel
αἰτίου, διέπιπτεν αὐτῷ, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καὶ παντελῶς
cause fell-through for-him then now and utterly
ἐξιστάμενος αὑτοῦ καταφανὴς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ κληθέντων
beside himself plain he-was so-that even invited
ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ξένια δεινῶς ἀσχημονεῖν.
us to entertainment terribly to-behave-unseemly
ἀφορμώντων δ᾽ ἡμῶν οἴκαδε ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἐξαίφνης 40
setting-off and us homeward from the embassy suddenly
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν παραδόξως ὡς φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἕκαστον
along the road unexpectedly how kindly to each
διελέγετο. ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ποτ᾽ ἦν ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ
he-talked that which indeed then ever was the cercops or the
καλούμενον παιπάλημα ἢ τὸ παλίμβολον ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα
so-called sly-one or the turncoat or the such
ῥήματα, οὐκ ᾔδειν πρότερον· νυνὶ δ᾽ ἐξηγητὴν τοῦτον
words not I-knew before now but as-interpreter this-man
λαβὼν τῆς ἁπάσης κακοηθείας μεμάθηκα.
having-got of-the all malice I-have-learned
διαλαμβάνων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐν μέρει, τῷ μὲν 41
taking-aside for each of-us in turn to-the-one indeed
ἔρανον συστήσειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ βοηθήσειν τοῖς
a-loan to-be-going-to-raise he-promised and to-be-going-to-help in-the
ἰδίοις, τὸν δὲ εἰς στρατηγίαν καταστήσειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ
private-affairs the-other and into a-generalship to-be-going-to-put me but
παρακολουθῶν καὶ τὴν φύσιν μακαρίζων καὶ τοὺς λόγους
following-closely and the talent congratulating and the speeches

οὓς εἶπον ἐγκωμιάζων πολὺς ἦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ
which I-spoke eulogizing lavish he-was in-the praises and
ἐπαχθής. συνδειπνούντων δ' ἡμῶν ἁπάντων ἐν Λαρίσῃ,
tiresome dining-together and us all at Larisa
αὐτὸν μὲν ἔσκωπτε καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ
himself indeed he-mocked and the perplexity the in the speech
συμβᾶσαν ἑαυτῷ, τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
having-befallen to-himself — and Philip of-the under the sun
ἀνθρώπων ἔφη πάντων εἶναι δεινότατον.
men he-said all to-be cleverest

42 συναποφηναμένου δὲ κἀμοῦ τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς καὶ
having-agreed and also-me something such that also
μνημονικῶς εἴποι πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα,
with-good-memory he-spoke to the-things from us said
Κτησιφῶντος δέ, ὅσπερ ἦν ἡμῶν πρεσβύτατος, ὑπερβολήν
Ctesiphon and who was of-us oldest an-exaggeration
τινα ἑαυτοῦ παλαιότητος καὶ πλήθους ἐτῶν εἰπόντος, καὶ
some of-his-own age and of-number of-years having-spoken and
προσθέντος, ὡς ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ οὐ πώποθ' οὕτως ἡδὺν
having-added that in so-long time not ever so pleasant
οὐδ' ἐπαφρόδιτον ἄνθρωπον ἑωρακὼς εἴη, ἀνακροτήσας
nor charming a-man having-seen he-was having-clapped
ὁ Σίσυφος ὅδε τὰς χεῖρας,
— Sisyphus this-here the hands

43 'ταῦτα μέντοι,' ἔφη, 'ὦ Κτησιφῶν, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ πρὸς τὸν
these-things however he-said O Ctesiphon neither — you to the
δῆμον εἴποις, οὔτ' ἂν οὗτος,' ἐμὲ δὴ λέγων, 'τολμήσειεν
people would-say nor — this-man me indeed meaning would-dare
εἰπεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ὁ Φίλιππος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ
to-say to Athenians that — Philip clever to-speak and
μνημονικός.' ἀναισθήτως δὲ ἡμῶν ἐχόντων καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
of-good-memory unsuspecting and us being and the plot

οὐ προορωμένων, ἣν αὐτίκα ἀκούσεσθε, εἰς συνθήκην τινὰ
not foreseeing which presently you-will-hear into a-wager some
ἡμᾶς κατέκλησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτ᾽ ἐρεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
us he-shut-up about the these-things to-be-going-to-say to you
ἐμοῦ δὲ καὶ δέησιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐδεήθη μὴ παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽
of-me and also request strong he-requested not to-omit but
εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεώς τι καὶ Δημοσθένης εἴποι.
to-say that about Amphipolis something also Demosthenes said

IV · DEMOSTHENES CHANGES FACE

Aeschines asks the jurors to hear the rest of his narrative before the charges about Cersobleptes and the Phocians. When the envoys reported to the council, Demosthenes praised them, swore by Hestia that the city had chosen well, and moved to crown them and invite them to dinner. In the assembly Ctesiphon, Philocrates, and Aeschines spoke of Philip's eloquence, looks, and memory. Demosthenes rose last, scolded the listeners and the envoys for wasting time, and mocked their praise of Philip. He then moved a truce with Philip's herald, an assembly of two days on peace and alliance, and dinner for the envoys; later, in the council, he moved seats at the Dionysia for Philip's envoys. Aeschines has the decrees and the fellow envoys' testimony read to show Demosthenes' inconsistency and his partnership with Philocrates.

μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων οἱ συμπρέσβεις εἰσί μοι μάρτυρες, 44
up-to indeed then these-things the fellow-envoys are for-me witnesses
οὓς προπηλακίζων οὗτος καὶ διαβάλλων ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ
whom abusing this-man and slandering in the accusation
διατετέλεκε· τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παρ᾽ ὑμῖν λόγων ὑμεῖς
he-has-continued of-the and on the platform before you speeches you
ἀκηκόατε, ὥστε οὐκ ἐνέσται μοι ψεύδεσθαι. δέομαι δὲ
have-heard so-that not it-will-be-possible for-me to-lie I-beg and
ὑμῶν προσεπιπονῆσαι ἀκούοντας καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν διήγησιν.
you to-labor-further listening also the remaining narrative

ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ποθεῖ τὰ περὶ Κερσοβλέπτην
that indeed for each of-you longs the-things about Cersobleptes
ἀκούειν καὶ τὰς περὶ Φωκέων αἰτίας, σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ πρὸς
to-hear and the about Phocians charges clearly I-know and toward
ταῦτα σπεύδω· ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὴ τὰ πρὸ τούτων ἀκούσητε,
these-things I-hasten but if not the-things before these you-hear
οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως παρακολουθήσετε. ἐὰν δ' ἐμοὶ τῷ
not-even those likewise you-will-follow if but to-me the-one
κινδυνεύοντι εἰπεῖν δῶτε ὡς βούλομαι, καὶ σῶσαί με,
in-danger to-speak you-grant as I-wish both to-save me
εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικῶ, δυνήσεσθε, ἱκανὰς εἰληφότες ἀφορμάς,
if in-nothing I-do-wrong you-will-be-able sufficient having-got grounds
καὶ θεάσεσθε ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων καὶ τἀντιλεγόμενα.
and you-will-see from the agreed-things also the-disputed-things
45 ὡς γὰρ δεῦρ' ἤλθομεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων
when for here we-came and to the council by headings
τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπηγγείλαμεν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδομεν
the embassy we-reported and the letter delivered
τὴν παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐπαινέτης ἦν ἡμῶν Δημοσθένης
the from Philip praiser was of-us Demosthenes
πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλευτάς, καὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν
to the councilors and — by-Hestia swore the
βουλαίαν συγχαίρειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ
of-the-council to-rejoice-with the city because such men on
τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξέπεμψεν, οἳ καὶ τῇ πίστει καὶ λέγοντες
the embassy it-sent who both in-the good-faith and speaking
ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς πόλεως.
were worthy of-the city
46 ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δὲ εἶπέ τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὐ ψευσαίμην τὰς
about me and he-said something such that not I-had-belied the
τῶν ἑλομένων με ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐλπίδας. τέλος δὲ
of-the-ones having-chosen me for the embassy hopes at-the-end and

πάντων· ἔγραψε γὰρ ἡμᾶς στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ
of-all he-proposed for us to-crown of-olive with-a-crown
ἕκαστον εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ καλέσαι
each goodwill for-the-sake the toward the people and to-invite
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ψεῦδος
to dinner in the prytaneum for tomorrow that and no lie
εἴρηκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, λαβέτω μοι τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ γραμματεύς,
I-have-told to you let-take for-me the decree the clerk
καὶ τὰς τῶν συμπρέσβεων μαρτυρίας ἀναγνώτω.
and the of-the fellow-envoys testimonies let-him-read
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀπηγγέλλομεν τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, 47
when then we-were-reporting the embassy in the assembly
εἶπε παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἡμῶν Κτησιφῶν ἄλλους
spoke having-come-forward first of-us Ctesiphon other
τέ τινας λόγους καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Δημοσθένην αὐτῷ
both some words and the-ones with Demosthenes by-him
συγκειμένους ἐρεῖν, περί τε τῆς ἐντεύξεως τῆς
agreed to-be-going-to-say about both the address the
Φιλίππου καὶ τῆς ἰδέας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πότοις
of-Philip and the looks his and the in the drinking-bouts
ἐπιδεξιότητος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Φιλοκράτους εἰπόντος
cleverness and after him Philocrates having-spoken
μικρὰ καὶ Δερκύλου, παρῆλθον ἐγώ.
briefly and Dercylus came-forward I
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην διεξῆλθον πρεσβείαν, ἀπήντησα 48
when and the rest I-went-through embassy I-met
καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὃν ἐν τοῖς συμπρέσβεσι
also to the word which among the fellow-envoys
διωμολογησάμην, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ μνημονικῶς καὶ δυνατῶς
I-had-agreed having-said that both with-good-memory and powerfully
ὁ Φίλιππος εἴποι· καὶ τὴν δέησιν οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην τὴν
— Philip spoke and the request not I-forgot the

Δημοσθένους, ὅτι ταχθείη λέγειν, ἐάν τι παραλίπωμεν
of-Demosthenes that he-was-assigned to-speak if anything leave-out
ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως.
we about Amphipolis

49 ἐφ' ἅπασι δ' ἡμῖν ἀνίσταται τελευταῖος Δημοσθένης,
after all and us rises last Demosthenes
καὶ τερατευσάμενος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, τῷ σχήματι καὶ
and having-played-the-marvel as he-is-wont with-the gesture and
τρίψας τὴν κεφαλήν, ὁρῶν ἐπισημαινόμενον τὸν δῆμον
having-rubbed the head seeing applauding the people
καὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγους, ἀμφοτέρων ἔφη
and having-welcomed the from me words at-both he-said
θαυμάζειν, καὶ τῶν ἀκουόντων καὶ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων,
to-wonder both the listeners and the envoys
ὅταν παρέντες τὸν χρόνον, οἱ μὲν τὸν τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι,
when having-wasted the time the-ones indeed the of-the deliberating
οἱ δὲ τὸν τοῦ συμβουλεύειν, ἀποδιατρίβωσι τὴν
the-others and the of-the advising they-waste the
ὑπερόριον λαλιὰν ἀγαπῶντες ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις πράγμασιν·
foreign chatter loving in the domestic affairs
οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι ῥᾷον ἢ πρεσβείαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι.
nothing for to-be easier than an-embassy to-report

50 'βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν' ἔφη 'καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὡς δεῖ τὸ
I-wish and to-you he-said also to-show how one-must the
πρᾶγμα γίγνεσθαι.' ἅμα δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὸ
thing to-be-done at-once and he-ordered to-be-read the
ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου. ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι 'κατὰ
decree of-the people having-been-read and he-said that according-to
τοῦτο ἐξεπέμφθημεν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπράττομεν ἃ ἐνταυθοῖ
this we-were-sent and these-things we-did which here
γέγραπται. λαβὲ δή μοι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἤκομεν
is-written take indeed for-me also the letter which we-came

παρὰ Φιλίππου φέροντες.’ ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη, ‘ἀπέχετε’
from Philip bringing when and it-was-read you-have
ἔφη ‘τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ λοιπὸν ὑμῖν ἐστι βουλεύσασθαι.’
he-said the answer and remaining for-you it-is to-deliberate
θορυβησάντων δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῶν μέν, ὡς δεινός τις 51
having-clamored and at him the-ones indeed as clever someone
εἴη καὶ σύντομος, τῶν δὲ πλειόνων, ὡς πονηρὸς καὶ
he-was and concise the but more as wicked and
φθονερός, ‘σκέψασθε δὲ’ ἔφη ‘ὡς συντόμως καὶ τἆλλα
envious consider and he-said how concisely also the-rest
πάντα ἀπαγγελῶ. ἐδόκει δεινὸς εἶναι λέγειν Αἰσχίνῃ
all I-will-report seemed clever to-be to-speak to-Aeschines
Φίλιππος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ’ εἴ τις αὐτοῦ τὴν τύχην
Philip but not to-me but if anyone his the fortune
περιελὼν ἑτέρῳ περιθείη, οὐκ ἂν πολύ τι καταδεὴς
having-stripped on-another should-put not — much at-all inferior
εἴη. ἐδόκει Κτησιφῶντι τὴν ὄψιν λαμπρὸς εἶναι, ἐμοὶ
he-would-be seemed to-Ctesiphon the looks splendid to-be to-me
δ’ οὐ χείρων Ἀριστόδημος ὁ ὑποκριτής,’
but not worse Aristodemus the actor
παρῆν δ’ ἡμῖν καὶ συνεπρέσβευε. ‘μνημονικόν τις αὐτόν 52
was-with and us and was-fellow-envoy of-good-memory someone him
φησιν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι. πιεῖν δεινὸς ἦν· Φιλοκράτης
says to-be and for others to-drink clever was Philocrates
ὁ μεθ’ ἡμῶν δεινότερος. λόγον τίς φησιν ἐμοὶ
the-one with us cleverer a-speech someone says for-me
καταλιπεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως· ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ ἂν ὑμῖν ὁ ῥήτωρ
to-have-left about Amphipolis but neither — to-you the orator
οὗτος οὔτ’ ἂν ἐμοὶ λόγου μεταδοίη. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν’
this nor — to-me speech would-give-a-share these-things indeed then

53 ἔφη ‘λῆρός ἐστιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ψήφισμα γράψω καὶ τῷ κήρυκι
he-said nonsense is I but a-decree will-propose both with-the herald
σπείσασθαι τῷ παρὰ Φιλίππου ἥκοντι, καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι
to-make-truce the from Philip having-come and the being-about
παρ’ αὐτοῦ δεῦρο ἰέναι πρέσβεσι, καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις,
from him here to-come envoys and the prytanes
ἐπειδὰν ἥκωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας
when come the envoys an-assembly for two days
ποιεῖν μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ συμμαχίας,
to-hold not only about peace but also about alliance
καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἡμᾶς, εἰ δοκοῦμεν ἄξιοι εἶναι, ἐπαινέσαι
and the envoys us if we-seem worthy to-be to-praise
καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.’
and to-invite to dinner in the prytaneum for tomorrow
54 ὅτι δ’ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὰ ψηφίσματα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε,
that and true-things I-say take for-me the decrees so-that you-may-know
ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φθόνον,
O men jurors both the inconsistency his and the envy
καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ Φιλοκράτους κοινωνίαν, καὶ
and the of-the affairs with Philocrates partnership and
τὸ ἦθος, ὡς ἐπίβουλον καὶ ἄπιστον. κάλει δέ μοι καὶ
the character how treacherous and faithless call and for-me also
τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, καὶ τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν ἀνάγνωθι.
the fellow-envoys and the testimonies their read
55 οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ταῦτα ἔγραψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν
not then only these-things he-proposed but also after these-things in
τῇ βουλῇ θέαν εἰς τὰ Διονύσια κατανεῖμαι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν,
the council a-seat at the Dionysia to-assign to-the envoys
ἐπειδὰν ἥκωσι, τοῖς Φιλίππου. λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα.
when they-come the of-Philip read also this the decree

ἀνάγνωθι δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν συμπρέσβεων μαρτυρίαν, ἵν'
read indeed also the of-the fellow-envoys testimony so-that
εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι Δημοσθένης οὐχ ὑπὲρ
you-may-know O men Athenians that Demosthenes not for
τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν δύναται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς συσσίτους καὶ
the city to-speak is-able but against the messmates and
ὁμοσπόνδους μελετᾷ.
companions-in-libation he-practices

V · THE ASSEMBLIES ON THE PEACE

The partnership in the peace, Aeschines says, was Demosthenes' and Philocrates', not his. Demosthenes claims that Aeschines spoke before envoys from the Greek cities; but the envoys Athens had sent to summon them were still abroad, and Aeschines dares him to name one city, staking his life on it. The allies' resolution asked Athens to wait for those envoys and then deliberate on peace alone. Demosthenes' decree set the assemblies before they returned and added an alliance. Demosthenes also says Aeschines denounced Philocrates' peace on the first day and supported it on the second. But Demosthenes' own decree allowed speeches only in the first assembly, and Aeschines asks why he would attack a proposal one day and back it the next before the same hearers. Amyntor of Erchia testifies that in the second assembly Demosthenes showed him a decree making peace and alliance on the same terms as Philocrates'.

τὴν μὲν τοίνυν κοινωνίαν τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης 56
the indeed then partnership of-the about the peace
πράξεων οὐκ ἐμὴν καὶ Φιλοκράτους, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένους
dealings not mine and Philocrates' but Demosthenes'
καὶ Φιλοκράτους εὑρίσκετε, καὶ τὰς πίστεις τῶν
and Philocrates' you-find and the proofs of-the
εἰρημένων ἱκανὰς ὑμῖν οἶμαι παρεσχῆσθαι· τῶν μὲν γὰρ
things-said sufficient to-you I-think to-have-provided of-the indeed for

ἀπηγγελμένων ὑμεῖς ἐστέ μοι μάρτυρες, τῶν δ' ἐν
reports you are for-me witnesses of-the and in
Μακεδονίᾳ ῥηθέντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἡμῖν
Macedonia things-said and of-the on the journey to-us
συμβάντων τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρεσχόμην.
happenings the fellow-envoys to-you as-witnesses I-produced
τῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους ἀρτίως εἰρημένης κατηγορίας
the and by Demosthenes just-now spoken accusation
ἠκούσατε καὶ μέμνησθε, ἧς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο ἀπὸ
you-heard and remember of-which the beginning he-made from
τῆς δημηγορίας ἣν εἶπον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης.
the speech which I-delivered I about the peace
57 πάντα δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ τῆς κατηγορίας ἐψευσμένος,
all and in the part this of-the accusation having-lied
ἐπὶ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ δεινῶς ἐσχετλίασε. τοὺς γὰρ λόγους
at the moment this terribly he-protested the for words
τούτους ἐναντίον φησὶ τῶν πρέσβεων λέγεσθαι οὓς
these in-the-presence-of he-says of-the envoys to-have-been-spoken whom
ἔπεμψαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ Ἕλληνες μεταπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ
sent to you the Greeks having-been-summoned by
τοῦ δήμου, ἵνα κοινῇ καὶ πολεμοῖεν, εἰ δέοι,
the people so-that jointly both they-might-make-war if it-were-needful
Φιλίππῳ, καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, εἰ τοῦτο εἶναι δοκοίη συμφέρον,
against-Philip and in-the peace if this to-be seemed advantageous
μετέχοιεν. σκέψασθε δὴ πράγματος μεγάλου κλοπὴν καὶ
they-might-share consider indeed of-a-matter great theft and
δεινὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τἀνθρώπου. τῶν γὰρ πρεσβειῶν,
terrible shamelessness of-the-man of-the for embassies
58 ἃς ἐξεπέμψατε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς
which you-sent into — Greece still the war the against
Φίλιππον ὑμῖν ἐνεστηκότος, οἱ μὲν χρόνοι τῆς αἱρέσεως
Philip for-you being-in-progress the indeed dates of-the election

καὶ τὰ τῶν πρεσβευσάντων ὀνόματα ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις
and the of-the envoys names in the public
ἀναγέγραπται γράμμασι, τὰ δὲ σώματά ἐστιν αὐτῶν οὐκ
are-registered records the and persons are of-them not
ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησι· ταῖς δὲ ξενικαῖς πρεσβείαις
in Macedonia but at-Athens to-the and foreign embassies
ἡ βουλὴ τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον προσόδους προβουλεύει· οὗτος
the council the to the people hearings arranges this-man
δ' ἐφεστάναι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φησὶ πρεσβείας.
but to-have-been-present the from the Greeks says embassies
παρελθὼν τοίνυν, Δημόσθενες, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τοῦτο ἐν τῷ 59
having-come-up then Demosthenes on the platform this in the
ἐμῷ λόγῳ, εἰπὲ πόλεως ἥστινος βούλει τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
my speech name of-a-city whichever you-wish of-the Greek
τοὔνομα ἐξ ἧς ἀφῖχθαι τότε φῂς τοὺς πρέσβεις·
the-name from which to-have-come then you-say the envoys
καὶ τὰ προβουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
and the preliminary-decrees on-them from the council-house
δὸς ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κάλει πρέσβεις, οὓς
give to-read and the of-Athenians call envoys whom
ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, μάρτυρας. κἂν παρεῖναι
they-sent to the cities as-witnesses and-if to-be-present
καὶ μὴ ἀποδημεῖν, ὅτε ἡ πόλις τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖτο,
and not to-be-abroad when the city the peace was-making
μαρτυρήσωσιν, ἢ τὰς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν προσόδους
they-testify or the before the council their hearings
καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ἂν παράσχῃ ἐν ᾧ σὺ φῂς ὄντα
and the decrees if you-produce in which you say being
χρόνῳ, καταβαίνω καὶ θανάτου τιμῶμαι.
in-the-time I-step-down and death I-propose-as-my-penalty

60 ἀνάγνωθι δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα τί λέγει,
read indeed also the of-the allies resolution what it-says
ἐν ᾧ διαρρήδην γέγραπται, ἐπειδὴ βουλεύεται ὁ δῆμος
in which expressly it-is-written since deliberates the people
ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις
the of-Athenians about peace with Philip the and envoys
οὔπω πάρεισιν, οὓς ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ δῆμος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
not-yet are-present whom sent the people into — Greece
παρακαλῶν τὰς πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
summoning the cities for the freedom of-the Greeks
δεδόχθαι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἐπειδὰν ἐπιδημήσωσιν οἱ
to-have-been-resolved by-the allies when have-come-home the
πρέσβεις καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἀπαγγείλωσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
envoys and the embassies have-reported to-Athenians and
τοῖς συμμάχοις, προγράψαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐκκλησίας δύο
to-the allies to-give-notice-of the prytanes assemblies two
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν δὲ ταύταις βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς
according-to the law in and these to-deliberate about the
εἰρήνης Ἀθηναίους· ὅ τι δ' ἂν ψηφίσηται ὁ δῆμος,
peace Athenians that which and — votes the people
τοῦτ' εἶναι κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. ἀνάγνωθι δή
this to-be common resolution of-the allies read indeed
μοι τὸ τῶν συνέδρων δόγμα.
for-me the of-the delegates resolution

61 παρανάγνωθι δή μοι καὶ τὸ Δημοσθένους ψήφισμα, ἐν ᾧ
read-alongside indeed for-me also the of-Demosthenes decree in which
κελεύει τοὺς πρυτάνεις μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ
he-bids the prytanes after the Dionysia the in town and
τὴν ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαι δύο ἐκκλησίας, τὴν
the in Dionysus's assembly to-give-notice-of two assemblies the-one
μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, τὴν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ, ὁρίζων τὸν
indeed on-the eighth on ten the-other and on-the ninth fixing the

χρόνον καὶ προϋφαιρῶν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, πρὶν ἐπιδημῆσαι
time and stealing-beforehand the assemblies before to-have-come-home
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρέσβεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν
the-ones from the Greeks envoys and the indeed of-the
συμμάχων δόγμα κελεύει, ᾧ συνειπεῖν καὶ ἐγὼ ὁμολογῶ,
allies resolution bids which to-have-supported also I admit
ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης μόνον ὑμᾶς βουλεύσασθαι, Δημοσθένης δὲ
about peace only you to-deliberate Demosthenes but
καὶ περὶ συμμαχίας κελεύει. λέγε αὐτοῖς τὸ ψήφισμα.
also about alliance bids read to-them the decree
τῶν μὲν ψηφισμάτων ἀμφοτέρων ἀκηκόατε, ὑφ' ὧν 62
the indeed decrees both you-have-heard by which
ἐξελέγχεται Δημοσθένης τὰς ἀποδημούσας πρεσβείας
is-convicted Demosthenes the absent embassies
ἐπιδημεῖν φάσκων, καὶ βουλομένων ὑμῶν ἀκροάσασθαι,
to-be-present claiming and wishing you to-hear
τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἄκυρον πεποιηκὼς δόγμα. οἱ μὲν
the of-the allies void having-made resolution they indeed
γὰρ ἀπεφήναντο ἀναμεῖναι τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πρεσβείας,
for declared to-await the Greek embassies
Δημοσθένης δὲ οὐ λόγῳ μόνον κεκώλυκε περιμεῖναι, ὁ
Demosthenes but not by-word only has-prevented to-wait the-one
πάντων αἴσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα μετατιθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ
of-all most-shamefully and most-quickly changing but in-fact
καὶ ψηφίσματι, προστάξας ἤδη βεβουλεῦσθαι.
and by-decree having-ordered at-once to-have-deliberated
εἴρηκε δὲ ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δημηγορήσαντος 63
he-has-said and that in the first of-the assemblies having-spoken
Φιλοκράτους, ὕστερον ἀναβὰς ἐγὼ κατεμεμψάμην ἣν
Philocrates later having-come-up I censured which
εἰσηγεῖτο ἐκεῖνος εἰρήνην, αἰσχρὰν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀναξίαν
proposed he peace shameful and of-the city unworthy

εἶναι φάσκων, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ὡς συναγορεύοιμι
to-be declaring on-the but next-day again that I-supported
τῷ Φιλοκράτει, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εὐημερήσας οἰχοίμην
— Philocrates and the assembly having-won-the-day I-went-off
φέρων, πείθων ὑμᾶς μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰ
carrying persuading you not to-attend to-the-ones the battles and the
τῶν προγόνων λέγουσι τρόπαια, μηδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βοηθεῖν.
of-the ancestors telling trophies nor the Greeks to-help
64 ὅτι δ' οὐ ψευδῆ μόνον κατηγόρηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατα
that and not false-things only he-has-charged but also impossible
γενέσθαι, μίαν μὲν αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ μαρτυρίαν
to-have-happened one indeed himself against himself testimony
μαρτυρήσει, ἑτέραν δὲ πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑμεῖς
will-give another and all Athenians and you
ἀναμιμνῃσκόμενοι, τρίτην δὲ ἡ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπιθανότης,
remembering a-third and the of-the charge implausibility
τετάρτην δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, εἷς τῶν πολιτευομένων,
a-fourth and a-man notable one of-the politicians
Ἀμύντωρ, ᾧ ψήφισμα ἐπεδείξατο Δημοσθένης καὶ
Amyntor to-whom a-decree showed Demosthenes and
ἀνεκοινοῦτο, εἰ δῷ τῷ γραμματεῖ, οὐχ
consulted whether he-should-give-it to-the clerk not
ὑπεναντία, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὰ γεγραφὼς Φιλοκράτει.
contrary but the-same-things having-proposed as-Philocrates
65 καί μοι λαβὲ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὸ Δημοσθένους,
and for-me take the decree and read the of-Demosthenes
ἐν ᾧ φαίνεται γεγραφώς, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν
in which he-appears having-proposed on-the indeed first of-the
ἐκκλησιῶν συμβουλεύειν τὸν βουλόμενον, τῇ δ' ὑστέρᾳ
assemblies to-advise the-one wishing on-the and second

τοὺς προέδρους ἐπιψηφίζειν τὰς γνώμας, λόγον δὲ μὴ
the presidents to-put-to-the-vote the motions speech and not
προτιθέναι, ἐν ᾗ μέ φησιν αὐτὸς Φιλοκράτει συνειπεῖν.
to-allow in which me says he Philocrates to-have-supported
οὐκοῦν τὰ μὲν ψηφίσματα, ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη, μένει, 66
therefore the indeed decrees as from the-start they-were-written remain
οἱ δὲ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λόγοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμέραν καιροὺς
the but of-the blackmailers words for the for the-day occasions
λέγονται. ποιεῖ δέ μου τὴν δημηγορίαν ὁ μὲν κατήγορος
are-spoken makes and my the speech the indeed accuser
διαιρετήν, τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ καὶ τἀληθὲς μίαν· λόγον γὰρ
divided the decree but and the-truth one speech for
μὴ προτιθέντων εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν προέδρων,
not allowing for the second assembly the presidents
οὐκ εἰπεῖν. τί δ' ἂν καὶ βουλόμενος, εἴπερ ταὐτὰ
not to-speak why and — even wishing if-indeed the-same-things
Φιλοκράτει προειλόμην, κατηγόρουν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς
as-Philocrates I-chose would-I-accuse indeed before the same
ἀκροατὰς τῇ προτεραίᾳ, μίαν δὲ νύκτα διαλιπὼν
hearers on-the day-before one and night having-let-pass
συνηγόρουν; πότερα ὡς αὐτὸς εὐδοξήσων, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνον
would-I-support whether as myself going-to-win-repute or as him
ὠφελήσων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνῆν οὐδέτερα ἐξενέγκασθαι, ἀλλ'
going-to-help but not it-was-possible either to-carry-off but
ὑπὸ πάντων μὲν μισεῖσθαι, περαίνειν δὲ μηδέν.
by all indeed to-be-hated to-accomplish and nothing
κάλει δέ μοι καὶ Ἀμύντορα Ἐρχιέα, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν 67
call and for-me also Amyntor of-Erchia and the testimony
ἀνάγνωθι. ὃν δὲ τρόπον γέγραπται, προδιελθεῖν ὑμῖν
read in-what and way it-is-written to-go-through-first for-you
βούλομαι. μαρτυρεῖ Ἀμύντωρ Αἰσχίνῃ, ὅτε ἐβουλεύετο
I-wish testifies Amyntor for-Aeschines that-when was-deliberating

ὁ δῆμος περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον κατὰ
the people about the alliance the with Philip according-to
τὸ Δημοσθένους ψήφισμα, ἐν τῇ ὑστέρᾳ τῶν δυοῖν
the of-Demosthenes decree in the second of-the two
ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅτε οὐκ ἐξῆν δημηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ
assemblies when not it-was-allowed to-speak but the about
τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας ψηφίσματα ἐπεψηφίζετο,
the peace and alliance decrees were-being-put-to-the-vote
68 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Δημοσθένην ἐπιδείξασθαι
in this the assembly Demosthenes to-have-shown
παρακαθήμενον ψήφισμα ἑαυτῷ, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο
sitting-beside a-decree to-him on which had-been-written
τὸ Δημοσθένους ὄνομα, καὶ ἀνακοινοῦσθαι αὐτὸν αὑτῷ,
the of-Demosthenes name and to-have-consulted him with-him
εἰ δῷ τοῖς προέδροις ἐπιψηφίσαι, καὶ εἶναι, ἐφ᾽
whether he-should-give-it to-the presidents to-put-to-the-vote and to-be on
οἷς τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἔγραψε ποιεῖσθαι,
what-terms the peace and the alliance he-proposed to-make
ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐφ᾽ οἷσπερ καὶ Φιλοκράτης ἐγεγράφει.
on the same on which-very also Philocrates had-proposed
κάλει δέ μοι Ἀμύντορα Ἐρχιέα, καὶ ἐκκλήτευε, ἐὰν
call and for-me Amyntor of-Erchia and summon-by-default if
μὴ θέλῃ δευρὶ παρεῖναι.
not he-is-willing here to-be-present

Aeschines stands by his speech on the peace and reminds the jurors of the times. In the war over Amphipolis the general lost seventy-five allied cities and a hundred and fifty triremes. He spent fifteen hundred talents on his commanders and hirelings, and the city's name became one with the pirates of Myonnesus. Philip threatened Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and the Chersonese, and Cephisophon had to move a decree sending out to find the general. The other orators bade the people remember Salamis and the trophies. Aeschines bade them imitate the ancestors' good counsels and avoid their errors: the Sicilian expedition and the refusal of peace that ended in the Thirty. His father Atrometus helped restore the democracy. He roused Arcadia against Philip in the war, and when no one helped he advised peace, for envoys should be judged by their moment.

τῆς μὲν μαρτυρίας ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· σκοπεῖτε 69
the indeed testimony you-have-heard O men Athenians consider
δὴ πότερα ὑμῖν δοκεῖ Δημοσθένης ἐμοῦ κατηγορηκέναι, ἢ
indeed whether to-you seems Demosthenes me to-have-accused or
τοὐναντίον αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
conversely himself himself under the my name since and
καὶ τὴν δημηγορίαν μου διαβάλλει, καὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους
also the speech my he-misrepresents and the spoken
λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω διεξέρχεται, οὔτ' ἂν ἀποδραίην,
words toward the worse recounts neither — I-would-run-away
οὔτ' ἂν τῶν τότ' εἰρημένων οὐδὲν ἀρνησαίμην, οὔτ'
nor — of-the then said-things anything I-would-deny nor
αἰσχύνομαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμαι.
I-am-ashamed of them but even I-take-pride
βούλομαι δ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ὑπομνῆσαι, ἐν 70
I-wish and you also the times to-remind in
οἷς ἐβουλεύεσθε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐποιησάμεθα τοῦ
which you-deliberated the indeed for beginning we-made of-the

πολέμου ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως, συνέβαινε δ' ἡμῶν τὸν
war over Amphipolis it-happened and our the
στρατηγὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἑβδομήκοντα μὲν καὶ πέντε
general in the war seventy indeed and five
πόλεις συμμαχίδας ἀποβεβληκέναι, ἃς ἐκτήσατο Τιμόθεος
cities allied to-have-lost which acquired Timotheus
ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον· (προῄρημαι
the of-Conon and brought into the council I-have-chosen
γὰρ παρρησιάσασθαι, καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἅμα καὶ τἀληθῆ
for to-speak-frankly and freely together and the-truth
εἰπὼν σῴζεσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως πως γιγνώσκητε,
having-spoken to-be-saved if but otherwise somehow you-judge
καταχρήσασθέ μοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστειλαίμην·)
deal-with me not for — I-would-shrink
71 ἑκατὸν δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τριήρεις λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν
hundred and also fifty triremes having-taken from the
νεωρίων μὴ κατακεκομικέναι, καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς
dockyards not to-have-brought-back and these-things to-you in the
ἀγῶσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς Χάρητος οἱ κατήγοροι δεικνύουσι, χίλια
trials always the of-Chares the accusers show thousand
δὲ καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα οὐκ εἰς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ'
and also five-hundred talents not on soldiers but
εἰς ἡγεμόνων ἀλαζονείας ἀνηλωκέναι, Δηιάρην τε καὶ
on of-commanders pretensions to-have-spent Deiares both and
Δηίπυρον καὶ Πολυφόντην, δραπέτας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς
Deipyrus and Polyphontes runaway men from —
Ἑλλάδος συνειλεγμένους, καὶ χωρὶς εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸ
Greece gathered and besides on the-ones around the
βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μισθοφόρους, οἳ τοὺς μὲν
platform and the assembly hirelings who the indeed
ταλαιπώρους νησιώτας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἑξήκοντα
wretched islanders by each year sixty

τάλαντα εἰσέπραττον σύνταξιν, κατῆγον δὲ τὰ πλοῖα
talents exacted as-contribution brought-into-port and the ships
καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς θαλάττης.
and the Greeks from the common sea
ἀντὶ δὲ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ἡ 72
instead-of and dignity and the of-the Greeks leadership the
πόλις ἡμῶν τῆς Μυοννήσου καὶ τῆς τῶν λῃστῶν δόξης
city of-us — of-Myonnesus and the of-the pirates reputation
ἀνεπίμπλατο· Φίλιππος δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας, οὐκέθ᾽
was-filled Philip and having-set-out from Macedonia no-longer
ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠγωνίζετο, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη περὶ
over Amphipolis against us was-contending but now over
Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου, τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων·
Lemnos and Imbros and Scyros the our possessions
ἐξέλειπον δὲ Χερρόνησον ἡμῶν οἱ πολῖται, τὴν
were-abandoning and Chersonese our the citizens the-one
οὖσαν ὁμολογουμένως Ἀθηναίων· πλείους δὲ ἐκκλησίας
being admittedly of-Athenians more and assemblies
συγκλήτους ἠναγκάζεσθε ἐκκλησιάζειν μετὰ φόβου καὶ
extraordinary you-were-forced to-hold with fear and
θορύβου, ἢ τὰς τεταγμένας ἐκ τῶν νόμων·
tumult than the regular from the laws
οὕτω δ᾽ ἦν σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε 73
so and were precarious and dangerous the affairs that
ἠναγκάσθη γράψαι ψήφισμα Κηφισοφῶν ὁ Παιανιεύς, εἷς
was-compelled to-propose a-decree Cephisophon the Paeanian one
τῶν φίλων καὶ ἑταίρων τῶν Χάρητος, ἐκπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην
of-the friends and comrades the of-Chares to-sail-out the quickest-way
Ἀντίοχον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρετικῶν, καὶ ζητεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν
Antiochus the-one over the dispatch-boats and to-seek the general
τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει τεταγμένον, κἂν ἐντύχῃ που,
the-one over the force appointed and-if he-meets-him somewhere

φράζειν ὅτι θαυμάζει ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, εἰ Φίλιππος
to-tell that wonders the people the of-Athenians if Philip
μὲν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον τὴν Ἀθηναίων πορεύεται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
indeed against Chersonese the of-Athenians marches Athenians but
οὐδὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἴσασιν οὐδὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἣν ἐξέπεμψαν,
not-even the general know nor the force which they-sent
ὅπου ἐστίν. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τοῦ ψηφίσματος,
where it-is that and true-things I-say hear the decree
καὶ ἀναμνήσθητε τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τοὺς τῶν
and recall the war and the peace the of-the
ὅπλων ἡγεμόνας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἀπαιτεῖτε.
arms commanders but not the envoys demand
74 οἱ μὲν καιροὶ τῆς πόλεως τοιοῦτοι, ἐν οἷς οἱ περὶ τῆς
the indeed times of-the city such in which the about the
εἰρήνης ἐγίγνοντο λόγοι· ἀνιστάμενοι δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι
peace took-place speeches rising and the in-league
ῥήτορες, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδ'
orators about indeed the safety of-the city not-even
ἐνεχείρουν λέγειν, ἀποβλέπειν δὲ εἰς τὰ προπύλαια τῆς
tried to-speak to-look but at the gateway of-the
ἀκροπόλεως ἐκέλευον ὑμᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας
acropolis they-bade you and the at Salamis sea-fight
μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων.
to-remember and the tombs of-the ancestors and the trophies
75 ἐγὼ δὲ ἁπάντων μὲν τούτων ἔφην δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι,
I but all indeed these said to-be-necessary to-remember
μιμεῖσθαι μέντοι τὰς τῶν προγόνων εὐβουλίας, τὰ
to-imitate however the of-the ancestors good-counsels the
δὲ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἄκαιρον φιλονικίαν
but errors of-them and the untimely contentiousness
φυλάττεσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πεζομαχίαν, καὶ τοὺς
to-guard-against the indeed at Plataea land-battle and the

ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην,
struggles the around Salamis and the at Marathon battle
καὶ τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίαν, καὶ τὴν Τολμίδου ζηλοῦν
and the off Artemisium sea-fight and the of-Tolmides to-emulate
στρατηγίαν κελεύων, ὃς χιλίους ἔχων ἐπιλέκτους Ἀθηναίων,
generalship urging who thousand having picked of-Athenians
διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολεμίας οὔσης ἀδεῶς διεξῄει.
through middle Peloponnese hostile being fearlessly passed
τὴν δ᾽ εἰς Σικελίαν στρατείαν φυλάττεσθαι, ἣν ἐξέπεμψαν 76
the and to Sicily expedition to-guard-against which they-sent
Λεοντίνοις βοηθήσοντες, τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς
for-Leontines going-to-help the enemies having-invaded into
τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καὶ Δεκελείας ἐπιτετειχισμένης, καὶ
the land our and Decelea having-been-fortified and
τὴν τελευταίαν ἀβουλίαν, ὅθ᾽ ἡττημένοι τῷ πολέμῳ,
the final folly when defeated in-the war
προκαλουμένων αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρήνην ἄγειν
inviting them Lacedaemonians peace to-keep
ἔχοντας πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον καὶ Σκῦρον
holding besides — Attica Lemnos and Imbros and Scyros
καὶ δημοκρατουμένους κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, τούτων μὲν
and living-in-democracy according-to the laws of-these indeed
οὐδὲν ἤθελον ποιεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ προῃροῦντο οὐ
nothing they-were-willing to-do to-make-war but they-chose not
δυνάμενοι, Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁ λυροποιός, ὃν πολλοὶ δεδεμένον
being-able Cleophon and the lyre-maker whom many bound
ἐν πέδαις ἐμνημόνευον, παρεγγραφεὶς αἰσχρῶς πολίτης καὶ
in fetters remembered enrolled-fraudulently shamefully citizen and
διεφθαρκὼς νομῇ χρημάτων τὸν δῆμον, ἀπολόψειν
having-corrupted by-distribution of-money the people to-be-going-to-cut
ἠπείλει μαχαίρᾳ τὸν τράχηλον, εἴ τις εἰρήνης μνησθήσεται·
threatened with-a-knife the neck if anyone peace will-mention

77 τελευτῶντες δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν προήγαγον, ὥστε
finally and to this the city they-brought that
ἀγαπητῶς τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, ἀποστάντας πάντων
contentedly the peace to-make having-given-up all
καὶ τὰ τείχη καθελόντας, καὶ παραδεξαμένους φρουρὰν
and the walls having-pulled-down and having-received a-garrison
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον ἁρμοστήν, καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας τοῖς
and a-Lacedaemonian governor and the democracy to-the
τριάκοντα ἀφεμένους, οἳ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν
thirty having-surrendered who thousand and five-hundred of-the
πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν. τὴν μὲν τοιαύτην ἀβουλίαν
citizens untried killed the indeed such folly
ὁμολογῶ παραγγέλλειν φυλάττεσθαι, τὰ δ' ὀλίγῳ
I-admit to-urge to-guard-against the-things but a-little
πρότερον εἰρημένα μιμεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων,
earlier mentioned to-imitate not for from the strangers
ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πάντων οἰκειοτάτου ταῦτα ἐπυνθανόμην.
but from the of-all closest-kin these-things I-learned
78 Ἀτρόμητος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος, ὃν σὺ λοιδορεῖς οὔτ'
Atrometus for the father the our whom you revile neither
εἰδὼς οὔτ' ἐπιδὼν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἡλικίας ὅστις ἦν, καὶ ταῦτα,
knowing nor having-seen at-the his-own age who he-was and that
ὦ Δημόσθενες, ἐκ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς
O Demosthenes from the nomad Scythians the on mother's
ὢν γένος, ἔφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, συγκατήγαγε δὲ
being descent fled indeed under the thirty helped-restore and
τὸν δῆμον· καὶ ὁ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδελφός, θεῖος
the democracy and the of-the mother the our brother uncle
δὲ ἡμέτερος, Κλεόβουλος ὁ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀχαρνέως υἱός,
and our Cleobulus the of-Glaucus the Acharnian son
μετὰ Δημαινέτου τοῦ Βουζύγου συγκατεναυμάχησε Χείλωνα
with Demaenetus the Buzygid helped-defeat-at-sea Chilon

τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχον· ὥστε οἰκεῖά μοι καὶ συνήθη
the of-Lacedaemonians admiral so-that familiar to-me and customary
τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχήματα εἶναι τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούειν.
the of-the city misfortunes to-be with-the ears to-hear
ἐπιτιμᾷς δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ 79
you-reproach and me also the among the ten-thousand in Arcadia
δημηγορίαν καὶ πρεσβείαν, καὶ μεταβεβλῆσθαί με φής,
speech and embassy and to-have-changed-sides me you-say
αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνδραποδώδης καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐστιγμένος
yourself being slavish and only not branded
αὐτόμολος. ἐγὼ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ συνίστην, καθ'
a-deserter I but in indeed the war was-uniting in
ὅσον ἦν δυνατός, Ἀρκάδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας
as-much-as I-was able Arcadians and the other Greeks
ἐπὶ Φίλιππον· οὐδενὸς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουροῦντος τῇ
against Philip no-one but of-men helping the
πόλει, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν περιορώντων ὅ τι συμβήσεται,
city but the-ones indeed watching that which will-happen
τῶν δὲ συνεπιστρατευόντων, τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει
the-others and joining-the-campaign the-ones and in the city
ῥητόρων χορηγὸν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν δαπάναις τὸν πόλεμον
orators paymaster for-the by day expenses the war
ποιουμένων, ὁμολογῶ συμβουλεῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ διαλύσασθαι
making I-admit to-have-advised the people to-come-to-terms
πρὸς Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέσθαι, ἣν σὺ νομίζεις
with Philip and the peace to-conclude which you consider
νῦν αἰσχράν, ὁ οὐδὲ πώποθ' ἁψάμενος ὅπλων, ἐγὼ
now shameful the-one not-even ever having-touched arms I
δὲ ταύτην εἶναι πολλῷ φημι καλλίω τοῦ πολέμου.
but this to-be by-much say finer than-the war

80 χρὴ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις
one-must and O men Athenians the indeed envoys
θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν καθ' ὃν ἐπρέσβευον, τοὺς δὲ
to-view in-light-of the occasion at which they-were-envoys the and
στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ὧν ἡγοῦντο. καὶ γὰρ τὰς
generals in-light-of the forces which they-led and for the
εἰκόνας ἵστατε, καὶ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους καὶ
statues you-set-up and the front-seats and the crowns and
τὰς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεις δίδοτε, οὐ τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην
the in prytaneum meals you-give not to-the-ones the peace
ἀπαγγείλασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὴν μάχην νικήσασιν. εἰ δ'
having-reported but to-the-ones the battle having-won if and
ἔσονται τῶν πολέμων αἱ μὲν εὔθυναι τῶν πρέσβεων, αἱ
will-be of-the wars the indeed audits of-the envoys the
δὲ δωρεαὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀσπόνδους καὶ ἀκηρύκτους
and rewards of-the generals truceless and herald-less
τοὺς πολέμους ποιήσετε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθελήσει πρεσβεύειν.
the wars you-will-make no-one for will-be-willing to-be-envoy

Aeschines answers the charges about Cersobleptes. In an assembly where Demosthenes presided, Critobulus of Lampsacus asked to give Cersobleptes' oath and enroll him among the allies. Demosthenes refused to put Aleximachus' decree to the vote until the people shouted him down. Chares' letter shows that Cersobleptes had lost his kingdom before the envoys left, so their delay at Oreus could not have ruined him. Aeschines does not decline the third embassy on oath, which the law forbids. He sends his brother, his nephew, and his physician to report his illness, and he serves when the envoys turn back after the Phocians' fall.

περὶ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου καὶ Φωκέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ 81
about and Cersobleptes and Phocians and the other-things which
πρὸς τούτοις διαβέβλημαι, ὑπόλοιπον εἰπεῖν. ἐγὼ γὰρ,
besides these I-have-been-slandered it-remains to-speak I for
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑστέρᾳ
O men Athenians both on the first and on the second
πρεσβείᾳ, ἃ μὲν εἶδον, ὡς εἶδον, ὑμῖν ἀπήγγελλον, ἃ
embassy what indeed I-saw as I-saw to-you I-reported what
δ' ἤκουσα, ὡς ἤκουσα. τίνα οὖν ἦν ἑκάτερα τούτων,
and I-heard as I-heard what then were each of-these
ἅ τε εἶδον ἅ τε ἤκουσα περὶ Κερσοβλέπτου; εἶδον
which both I-saw which and I-heard about Cersobleptes saw
μὲν ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ συμπρέσβεις ἅπαντες ὁμηρεύοντα τὸν
indeed I and the fellow-envoys all as-hostage the
υἱὸν τὸν Κερσοβλέπτου παρὰ Φιλίππῳ· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
son the of-Cersobleptes with Philip and still even now
τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει.
this so is
συνέβαινε δέ, ὅτε τὴν προτέραν ἐπρεσβεύομεν πρεσβείαν, 82
it-happened and when the first we-went-on embassy
ἐμοὶ μὲν μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀπιέναι δεῦρο, Φιλίππῳ
for-me indeed with the fellow-envoys to-depart here for-Philip

δ' ἐπὶ Θράκην ἐξιέναι, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς ὡμολογηκέναι, ἕως
and against Thrace to-march-out to and us to-have-agreed until
ἂν ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλεύσησθε, μὴ ἐπιβήσεσθαι
— you about the peace deliberate not to-be-going-to-set-foot-on
μεθ' ὅπλων Χερρονήσου. ἐν ἐκείνῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
with arms Chersonese on that indeed then the day
ᾗ ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθε τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδεμία μνεία ἐγένετο
on-which you voted the peace no mention was-made
περὶ Κερσοβλέπτου· ἤδη δὲ ἡμῶν κεχειροτονημένων
about Cersobleptes already but us elected
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὔπω δὲ ἀπηρκότων ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν
for the oaths not-yet but having-set-out on the second
πρεσβείαν, ἐκκλησία γίγνεται, ἐν ᾗ Δημοσθένης ὁ
embassy an-assembly is-held in which Demosthenes the-one
νυνὶ κατηγορῶν ἐμοῦ λαγχάνει προεδρεύειν.
now accusing me draws-the-lot to-preside

83 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κριτόβουλος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς
in and this the assembly Critobulus the Lampsacene
εἶπε παρελθών, ὅτι πέμψειε μὲν αὐτὸν Κερσοβλέπτης,
said having-come-forward that had-sent indeed him Cersobleptes
ἀξιοίη δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς Φιλίππου πρέσβεσι,
he-asked and to-give the oaths to-the of-Philip envoys
καὶ συναναγραφῆναι Κερσοβλέπτην ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις
and to-be-registered-with Cersobleptes among the your
συμμάχοις. ῥηθέντων δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων, Ἀλεξίμαχος
allies having-been-spoken and the words these Aleximachus
ὁ Πήληξ δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι ψήφισμα τοῖς προέδροις,
the Pelecan gives to-read a-decree to-the presidents
ἐν ᾧ ἐγέγραπτο ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς ὅρκους Φιλίππῳ μετὰ
in which had-been-written to-give the oaths to-Philip with
τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τὸν ἥκοντα παρὰ Κερσοβλέπτου.
the other allies the-one having-come from Cersobleptes

ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος, καὶ ταῦτα οἶμαι πάντας 84
having-been-read and the decree and these-things I-think all
ὑμᾶς μνημονεύειν, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν προέδρων Δημοσθένης
you to-remember having-stood-up from the presidents Demosthenes
οὐκ ἔφη τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπιψηφιεῖν, οὐδὲ λύσειν
not he-said the decree to-be-going-to-put-to-vote nor to-be-going-to-break
τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν τῶν συμμάχων
the with Philip peace nor to-recognize of-the allies
τοὺς ὥσπερ συνεφαπτομένους τοῖς σπένδουσι τῶν ἱερῶν·
the-ones as-it-were laying-hold-with the-ones pouring of-the offerings
ἀποδοθῆναι γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν. βοώντων
to-have-been-given for about these another assembly shouting
δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς προέδρους ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καλούντων,
but you and the presidents to the platform calling
οὕτως ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπεψηφίσθη.
so unwilling he the decree was-put-to-the-vote
ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τὸν γράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα 85
that and true-things I-say call for-me the-one having-proposed the decree
Ἀλεξίμαχον καὶ τοὺς συμπροέδρους τοὺς Δημοσθένους, καὶ
Aleximachus and the fellow-presidents the of-Demosthenes and
τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀνάγνωθι.
the testimony read
ὁ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπιδακρύσας ἀρτίως ἐνταυθοῖ Δημοσθένης
the-one indeed then having-shed-tears just-now here Demosthenes
μνησθεὶς Κερσοβλέπτου, φαίνεται τῆς συμμαχίας
having-mentioned Cersobleptes appears from-the alliance
ἐκκλήων αὐτόν. ὡς δ' ἡ παροῦσα ἐκκλησία διελύθη,
shutting-out him when and the present assembly broke-up
ἐξώρκιζον τοὺς συμμάχους οἱ τοῦ Φιλίππου πρέσβεις
administered-the-oath-to the allies the — of-Philip envoys
ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ.
in the generals'-office the your

86 τετόλμηκε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν ὁ κατήγορος, ὡς ἀπὸ
he-has-dared and to you to-say the accuser that from
τῶν ἱερῶν ἐγὼ Κριτόβουλον ἀπήλασα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν
the offerings I Critobulus drove-away the envoy
τὸν παρὰ Κερσοβλέπτου, παρόντων μὲν τῶν συμμάχων,
the-one from Cersobleptes being-present indeed the allies
ἐψηφισμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου, παρακαθημένων δὲ τῶν
having-voted and the people sitting-by and the
στρατηγῶν, πόθεν τοσαύτην ῥώμην λαβών; ἢ πῶς ἂν τὸ
generals whence such strength having-got or how — the
πρᾶγμα ἐσιγήθη; εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐγὼ ἐτόλμων τοῦτο
thing would-have-been-hushed-up if and after-all I dared this
ποιεῖν, ἐπέτρεψας ἄν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, καὶ οὐκ ἐνέπλησας
to-do would-you-have-allowed — O Demosthenes and not filled
βοῆς καὶ κραυγῆς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὁρῶν με, ὡς ἔφησθ'
with-shouting and crying the marketplace seeing me as you-said
ἀρτίως, ὠθοῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν πρεσβευτήν; καλείτω
just-now pushing from the offerings the envoy let-call
δέ μοι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους
and for-me the generals the herald and the delegates
τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε.
of-the allies and the testimonies their hear

87 οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴ τις κατ'
not then terrible O men Athenians if anyone against
ἀνδρὸς πολίτου, οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑμετέρου, τοῦτο
a-man citizen not his-own but yours this
γὰρ προδιορθοῦμαι, τολμᾷ τηλικαῦτα καταψεύδεσθαι,
for I-correct-beforehand dares such-things to-lie
κινδυνεύοντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος; ἢ πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως οἱ
being-in-danger for the life or how not reasonably the
πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς φονικαῖς δίκαις ταῖς ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ
fathers our in the murder trials the at Palladium

κατέδειξαν, τέμνοντα τὰ τόμια τὸν νικῶντα τῇ ψήφῳ
established cutting the victims'-pieces the-one winning by-the vote
ἐξορκίζεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν πάτριόν ἐστιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν,
to-swear and this for-you ancestral is still even now
τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἐψηφίσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν ὅσοι
the-truth and the just to-have-been-voted of-the jurors as-many-as
τὴν ψῆφον ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ψεῦδος μηδὲν εἰρηκέναι,
the vote cast for-him and lie no to-have-spoken
εἰ δὲ μή, ἐξώλη αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐπαρᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
if but not destroyed himself to-be to-call-down and the house
τὴν αὑτοῦ, τοῖς δὲ δικασταῖς εὔχεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ
the his-own for-the but jurors to-pray many and good-things
εἶναι; καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
to-be and very rightly and constitutionally O men Athenians
εἰ γὰρ μηδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀναπλῆσαι φόνου 88
if for no-one — of-you himself to-stain with-bloodshed
δικαίου βούλοιτο, ἦ που ἀδίκου γε φυλάξαιτ'
justified would-wish surely — unjust at-least he-would-guard-against
ἄν, τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν τινὸς
— the life or the property or the citizen-rights of-anyone
ἀφελόμενος, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὺς ἀνηρήκασί τινες, οἱ δὲ
having-taken-away from which themselves have-killed some the-others and
καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν. ἆρ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
also publicly were-executed — then O men Athenians
δοίητ' ἄν μοι συγγνώμην, εἰ κίναιδον αὐτὸν προσειπὼν
would-you-give — me pardon if a-pervert him having-called
καὶ μὴ καθαρεύοντα τῷ σώματι, μηδ' ὅθεν τὴν φωνὴν
and not clean in-the body nor from-where the voice
ἀφίησιν, ἔπειτα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ κατηγορήματος τοῦ
he-emits then the remaining part of-the charge the
περὶ Κερσοβλέπτην ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δείξαιμι ψεῦδος ὄν;
about Cersobleptes in the-act I-should-show false being

89 κάλλιστον γὰρ οἶμαι πρᾶγμα καὶ χρησιμώτατον τοῖς
finest for I-think thing and most-useful for-the
διαβαλλομένοις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν γίγνεται· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ
slandered among you happens and for the dates and
τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιψηφίσαντας ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις
the decrees and the-ones having-put-to-vote in the public
γράμμασι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φυλάττετε. εἴρηκε δὲ οὗτος
records for-the all time you-keep has-said and this-man
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, παρὰ τοῦτο διαφθαρῆναι τὰ Κερσοβλέπτου
to you because-of this to-have-been-ruined the of-Cersobleptes
πράγματα, ὅτι τῆς πρεσβείας ὢν ἡγεμὼν ἐγὼ καὶ
affairs because of-the embassy being leader I and
κατευημερηκὼς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος εἰς Θράκην ἡμᾶς
having-won-favor with you he bidding to Thrace us
ἰέναι Κερσοβλέπτου πολιορκουμένου, καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι
to-go Cersobleptes being-besieged and to-protest
Φιλίππῳ ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαθήμην
to-Philip these-things not to-do not I-was-willing but I-sat
ἐν Ὠρεῷ, καὶ οἱ συμπρέσβεις, προξενίας κατασκευαζόμενοι.
in Oreus and the fellow-envoys consulships arranging
90 ἀκούσατε δὴ τῆς Χάρητος ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἐπέστειλε τότε
hear indeed the of-Chares letter which he-sent then
τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτι Κερσοβλέπτης ἀπολώλεκε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
to-the people that Cersobleptes has-lost the kingdom and
Ἱερὸν ὄρος κατείληφε Φίλιππος Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς
Sacred Mountain has-seized Philip of-Elaphebolion month
ἑβδόμῃ φθίνοντος· Δημοσθένης δ᾽ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ προήδρευε
on-the-seventh waning Demosthenes and in the assembly presided
τούτου τοῦ μηνός, εἷς ὢν τῶν πρέσβεων, ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος.
of-this the month one being of-the envoys on-the-sixth waning

οὐ μόνον τοίνυν διετρίψαμεν τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ 91
not only then we-spent the remaining days of-the
μηνός, ἀλλὰ Μουνιχιῶνος ἐξωρμήσαμεν. καὶ τούτου
month but in-Munichion we-set-out and of-this
τὴν βουλὴν μάρτυρα ὑμῖν παρέξομαι· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς
the council as-witness to-you I-will-produce there-is for its
ψήφισμα, ὃ κελεύει ἀπιέναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς
decree which bids to-depart the envoys for the
ὅρκους. καί μοι λέγε τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα.
oaths and for-me read the of-the council decree
παρανάγνωθι δὴ καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὅστις ἦν.
read-alongside indeed also the date what was
ἀκούετε ὅτι Μουνιχιῶνος ἐψηφίσθη τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου. ὁ 92
you-hear that of-Munichion it-was-voted on-the-third waxing —
δὲ Κερσοβλέπτης πόσαις πρότερον ἡμέραις ἀπώλεσε τὴν
but Cersobleptes by-how-many earlier days lost the
ἀρχὴν πρὶν ἐμὲ ἀπιέναι; ὡς φησι Χάρης ὁ στρατηγός, τοῦ
kingdom before me to-depart as says Chares the general in-the
προτέρου μηνός, εἴπερ Ἐλαφηβολιών ἐστι Μουνιχιῶνος
earlier month if-indeed Elaphebolion is than-Munichion
πρότερος. ἐδυνάμην ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ σῶσαι Κερσοβλέπτην,
earlier could — then I to-have-saved Cersobleptes
ὃς πρὶν ἐμὲ ἐξορμᾶν οἴκοθεν ἀπωλώλει; ἔπειτα οἴεσθέ
who before me to-set-out from-home had-been-lost then do-you-think
τι τοῦτον ἀληθὲς εἰρηκέναι ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν
anything this-man true to-have-said either about the-things in
Μακεδονίᾳ πραχθέντων ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ὃς
Macedonia done or about the-things in Thessaly who
τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων καὶ
about-the council-house and the public records and
τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταψεύδεται;
the date and the assemblies tells-lies

93 καὶ τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἔκσπονδον ἐποίεις,
and — Cersobleptes at-Athens indeed excluded-from-the-treaty you-made
ἐν Ὠρεῷ δ' ἠλέεις; καὶ νῦν μὲν δωροδοκίας κατηγορεῖς,
at Oreus but you-pitied and now indeed of-bribe-taking you-accuse
πρότερον δ' ὑπέμεινας τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς βουλῆς τῆς
earlier but you-submitted-to the fine of-the council the
ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, οὐκ ἐπεξιὼν τῇ τοῦ τραύματος γραφῇ,
of Ares bill not prosecuting the of-the wounding indictment
ἣν ἐγράψω Δημομέλην τὸν Παιανιέα, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα,
which you-brought-against Demomeles the Paeanian cousin being
ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν σαυτοῦ κεφαλήν; καὶ σεμνολογεῖ ὡς οὐκ εἰδόσι
having-cut the your-own head and you-speak-grandly as-if not knowing
τούτοις ὅτι Δημοσθένους υἱὸς εἶ νόθος τοῦ μαχαιροποιοῦ;
to-these that of-Demosthenes son you-are bastard the cutler
94 ἐπεχείρησας δ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας
you-tried and to-say that also the to the Amphictyons
πρεσβείαν ἐξομοσάμενος παρεπρέσβευσα, καὶ ψήφισμα
embassy having-declined-on-oath I-misconducted-the-embassy and decree
τὸ μὲν ἀνέγνως, τὸ δὲ ὑπερέβης. ἐγὼ δ' αἱρεθεὶς
the-part indeed you-read the-part but you-skipped I but chosen
πρεσβευτὴς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, ἀρρώστως δ' ἔχων,
envoy to the Amphictyons ill but being
καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀπαγγέλλων ἀφ' ἧς ἦκον
and with much eagerness reporting from which I-had-come
πρεσβείας πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὴν μὲν πρεσβείαν οὐκ ἐξωμοσάμην,
embassy to you the indeed embassy not I-declined
ἀλλ' ὑπεσχόμην πρεσβεύσειν, ἐὰν ὦ δυνατός, πρὸς δὲ
but I-promised to-be-going-to-serve if I-be able to but
τὴν βουλὴν ἀπιόντων τῶν συμπρέσβεων τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν
the council departing the fellow-envoys the brother the

ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἔπεμψα, οὐκ
my-own and the nephew and the physician I-sent not
ἐξομουμένους·
going-to-decline-on-oath
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐᾷ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονίας 95
nor for the law allows the from the people elections
ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἐξόμνυσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν μου
in the council to-decline-on-oath but the illness my
δηλώσοντας.
going-to-declare
ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ συμπρέσβεις πυθόμενοι τὰ περὶ τοὺς Φωκέας
when and the fellow-envoys having-learned the-things about the Phocians
συμβάντα ἀνέστρεψαν, γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ἤδη παρὼν
having-happened turned-back being-held an-assembly already present
καὶ δυνάμενος τῷ σώματι, προσαναγκάζοντος τοῦ δήμου
and able in-the body compelling the people
μηδὲν ἧττον πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἱρεθέντας
nothing less to-serve-as-envoys us the-ones from the-start chosen
ἅπαντας, ἀψευδεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ᾤμην δεῖν.
all to-be-true toward Athenians I-thought to-be-necessary
καὶ ταύτης τῆς πρεσβείας οὐ κατηγόρεις μου διδόντος τὰς 96
and of-this the embassy not you-accused me giving the
εὐθύνας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἥκεις τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους,
audits but to this you-come the-one for the oaths
ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐγὼ σαφῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι. σοὶ
about which I clearly and justly will-defend-myself for-you
μὲν γὰρ ἁρμόττει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδομένοις μεταφέρειν
indeed for it-suits and for-all the liars to-shift
τοὺς χρόνους, ἐμοὶ δ' ἐφεξῆς λέγειν, ἀναλαβόντι τὴν
the dates for-me but in-order to-speak taking-up the
ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀπὸ τῆς πορείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους.
beginning of-the account from the journey the for the oaths

On the second embassy no one would share a mess or an inn with Demosthenes. The decree did not send the envoys to Thrace, only to receive the oaths, and nothing could be done there, since Cersobleptes had already fallen. Demosthenes claimed to be going to ransom prisoners, though Philip had never taken ransom and promised to free the rest at the peace; he carried a single talent. When the envoys met in Macedonia, Aeschines told them they were missing their chief task, which was to speak frankly to Philip about his march on Thermopylae, the Thebans, and the Boeotian walls. Demosthenes shouted him down, saying he would not embroil the cities or go beyond his orders. The envoys voted that each should say what he thought best.

97 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δέκα πρέσβεων ὄντων, ἑνδεκάτου δὲ
first indeed for ten envoys being an-eleventh and
τοῦ συμπεμφθέντος ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐδεὶς
the-one sent-with us from the allies no-one
αὐτῷ συσσιτεῖν, ὅτ᾽ ἐξῇμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν πρεσβείαν,
with-him to-mess when we-set-out on the second embassy
ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὅπου δυνατὸν ἦν, εἰς ταὐτὸν
was-willing nor on the roads where possible it-was in the-same
πανδοκεῖον καταλύειν, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
inn to-lodge seeing him on the first
πρεσβείᾳ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευκότα.
embassy all them having-plotted-against

98 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο
about indeed then the toward Thrace road not was-made
μνεία· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦθ᾽ ἡμῖν προσέταττεν,
mention neither for the decree this us ordered
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπολαβεῖν μόνον τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ἄττα,
but to-receive only the oaths and other some-things
οὔτ᾽ ἐλθόντας πράττειν οὐδὲν ἐνεδέχετο, τῶν περὶ
nor having-gone to-do anything was-possible of-the-things about

Κερσοβλέπτην ἤδη γεγενημένων, ὡς ἀρτίως ἠκούσατε,
Cersobleptes already having-happened as just-now you-heard
οὔθ' οὗτος οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ψεύδεται καὶ
nor this-man anything true said but he-lies and
κατηγορεῖν οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔχων τερατεύεται.
to-accuse nothing true having talks-marvels
ἐπορεύετο δὲ λυσόμενος τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ 100
he-was-going and to-ransom the prisoners as he-said and
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀρτίως εἴρηκεν, εἰδὼς μὲν Φίλιππον ἐν τῷ
to you just-now has-said knowing indeed Philip in the
πολέμῳ οὐδένα πώποτε Ἀθηναίων λύτρα πραξάμενον,
war no ever of-Athenians ransom having-exacted
ἀκούων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι καὶ
hearing and from-the his friends all that also
τοὺς λοιπούς, ἐὰν εἰρήνη γένηται, ἀφήσει, πολλῶν
the rest if peace is-made he-will-release many
δ' ἠτυχηκότων τάλαντον φέρων, ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, οὐδὲ
but having-been-unfortunate a-talent carrying of-one man not-even
τούτου λίαν εὐπόρου, ἱκανὰ λύτρα.
of-this very well-off sufficient ransom
ὡς δ' ἦμεν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ συνήλθομεν εἰς ταὐτόν, καὶ 101
when and we-were in Macedonia and came-together into the-same-place and
Φίλιππον ἐκ Θράκης παρόντα κατειλήφεμεν, ἀνεγνώσθη
Philip from Thrace present had-found was-read
μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἐπρεσβεύομεν, καὶ τὰ
indeed the decree by which we-were-envoys and the
προστεταγμένα ἡμῖν πρὸς τῷ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν
instructions to-us besides the the oaths to-receive
συνηριθμούμεθα· ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμέμνητο,
we-reckoned-up when and no-one about the greatest-things made-mention

ἀλλὰ περὶ πραγμάτων ἐλαττόνων τὴν διατριβὴν ἐποιοῦντο,
but about matters lesser the time-spending they-made
εἶπον ἐγὼ λόγους, οὓς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ῥηθῆναι.
spoke I words which necessary it-is to you to-be-told
102 καὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς
and by the gods O men Athenians just-as also the
κατηγορίας ἠκούσατε ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ κατήγορος ἐβούλετο
accusation you-heard as himself the accuser wished
εἰπεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας εὐτάκτως ἀκούσατε, καὶ
to-speak so also the defense in-orderly-fashion hear and
τὸν αὐτόν μοι τρόπον διαμείνατε, ὅνπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν
in-the same for-me way continue in-which-very from beginning in
τοῖς προειρημένοις ἤδη λόγοις ἠκροᾶσθε. ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ
the already-spoken now words you-have-listened as for also
ἀρτίως ὑπεθέμην, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἶπον συνειλεγμένων
just-now I-set-out O men Athenians I-said assembled
τῶν πρέσβεων, ὅτι μοι δοκοῖεν τὸ μέγιστον πρόσταγμα
the envoys that to-me they-seemed the greatest instruction
τοῦ δήμου δεινῶς ἀγνοεῖν.
of-the people terribly to-mistake
103 ‘τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ περὶ τῶν
the indeed for the oaths to-receive and about the
ἄλλων διαλεχθῆναι, καὶ περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἰπεῖν,
other-things to-confer and about the prisoners to-speak
κἂν εἰ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔπεμψεν ἡ πόλις περιθεῖσα πίστιν
even if the attendants had-sent the city having-invested authority
αὐτοῖς, ἅπαντ’ ἂν πραχθῆναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
them all — to-have-been-done I-think the but about the
ὅλων ὀρθῶς βουλεύσασθαι, ὅσα καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐστιν ἢ
whole rightly to-deliberate as-much-as with us rests or
Φίλιππον, τοῦτο ἤδη ἔργον ἐστὶ πρέσβεων φρονίμων.
Philip this now the-work is of-envoys prudent

λέγω δέ,' ἔφην ἐγώ, 'περὶ τῆς εἰς Πύλας στρατείας, ἣν
I-mean and I-said I about the to Pylae expedition which
ὁρᾶτε οὖσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ. ὅτι δὲ οὐ κακῶς στοχάζομαι
you-see being in preparation that and not badly I-conjecture
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, μεγάλα τούτων ὑμῖν σημεῖα δείξω.'
about the matter great of-these to-you signs I-will-show
'πάρεισι μὲν γὰρ Θηβαίων, ἥκουσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων 104
are-here indeed for of-Thebans have-come and of-Lacedaemonians
πρέσβεις, ἀφίγμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τοῦ δήμου ψήφισμα,
envoys have-arrived and we having of-the people a-decree
ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται 'πράττειν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ ἄλλ' ὅ
in which it-is-written to-do and the envoys also other that
τι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθόν·' ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τὸ
which — they-can good all and the Greeks toward the
μέλλον ἔσεσθαι βλέπουσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡγεῖτο ὁ δῆμος αὑτῷ
coming to-happen look if indeed then thought the people for-itself
καλῶς ἔχειν ἐξενεγκεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς Φίλιππον,
well to-be to-declare with frankness to Philip
Θηβαίων μὲν περιελεῖν τὴν ὕβριν, Βοιωτῶν δὲ ἀναστῆσαι
of-Thebans indeed to-strip-away the insolence of-Boeotians and to-raise-again
τὰ τείχη, ταῦτ' ἂν ἠξίωσεν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι· νῦν δὲ
the walls these-things — it-would-have-asked in the decree now but
αὐτοῖς μὲν κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφοράν, ἂν
for-themselves indeed they-left the to the obscure recourse if
μὴ πείθωσιν, ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ ἀποκινδυνεύειν ᾠήθησαν δεῖν.'
not they-persuade in us but to-run-the-risk they-thought to-be-necessary
'δεῖ δὴ τοὺς πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμουμένους μὴ 105
it-is-needful indeed the-ones toward the public-affairs ambitious not
κατέχειν μὲν ἑτέρων χώραν πρέσβεων, οὓς ἐξῆν
to-occupy indeed of-other place envoys whom it-was-possible
πέμπειν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναίους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς πρὸς
to-send instead-of us Athenians themselves but the with

Θηβαίους ἀπεχθείας φεύγειν, ὧν εἷς ὢν Ἐπαμεινώνδας,
Thebans enmities to-shun of-whom one being Epaminondas
οὐχ ὑποπτήξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα, εἶπε
not having-cowered-before the of-the Athenians prestige said
διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς δεῖ τὰ
expressly in the assembly of-the Thebans that one-must the
τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως προπύλαια μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν
of-the of-Athenians acropolis gateway to-carry to the
προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας.'
front of-the Cadmea
106 ταῦτα δ' ἐμοῦ μεταξὺ λέγοντος, ἀναβοᾷ παμμέγεθες
these-things and me in-the-midst saying shouts very-loudly
Δημοσθένης, ὡς ἴσασι πάντες οἱ συμπρέσβεις· καὶ γὰρ
Demosthenes as know all the fellow-envoys and for
πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς βοιωτιάζει. ἦν δ' οὖν παρ' αὐτοῦ
besides the other vices he-favors-Boeotia were and then from him
τοιαυτὶ τὰ λεγόμενα· 'ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τόλμης
such-here the things-said the-man this-here of-disorder and audacity
ἐστὶ μεστός· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τὰ δεινὰ
is full I but admit soft to-be and the dangers
πόρρωθεν δεδιέναι, ἀπαγορεύω μέντοι μὴ συνταράττειν ἡμᾶς
from-afar to-fear I-forbid however not to-embroil us
πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς πόλεις, τὸ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἡμᾶς
with each-other the cities the not to-meddle us
τοὺς πρέσβεις μηδέν, τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι.'
the envoys at-all this good considering to-be
107 'πορεύεται Φίλιππος εἰς Πύλας, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγκαλύπτομαι.
marches Philip to Pylae I and cover-my-face
οὐδείς με τῶν ὅπλων ἕνεκα τῶν Φιλίππου κρινεῖ,
no-one me the arms on-account-of the of-Philip will-prosecute
ἀλλ' ὧν ἂν εἴπω τι μὴ δέον, ἢ πράξω τι τῶν μὴ
but for-what — I-say anything not right or do any of-the not

προστεταγμένων.᾽ πέρας δὲ τοῦ πράγματος, ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ
ordered-things end and of-the matter voted the
συμπρέσβεις, κατ᾽ ἄνδρα ἐπερωτώμενοι ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ὅ
fellow-envoys by man being-asked each of-us that
τι νομίζοι συμφέρειν, τοῦτο λέγειν. ὅτι δ᾽ ἀληθῆ λέγω,
which he-thought to-be-advantageous this to-say that and true-things I-say
κάλει μοι τοὺς συμπρέσβεις καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν λέγε.
call for-me the fellow-envoys and the testimony their read

IX · THE SPEECHES AT PELLA

At Pella the envoys speak not by age but as Demosthenes' shamelessness dictates: claiming to be the youngest, he insists on speaking first. He insinuates that his fellow envoys are divided and lists his services to Philip, and he mocks his colleagues' praise of Philip, to loud laughter. Aeschines then speaks briefly on the oaths and at length on the Amphictyons. He recounts the temple's founding and the Amphictyonic oaths, names the twelve tribes of equal vote, and urges Philip to settle matters by vote, not arms, not to overlook the razed Boeotian cities, and to punish the men who planned the seizure of the temple, not their cities.

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνελέγησαν μὲν 108
when then O men Athenians were-gathered indeed
εἰς Πέλλαν αἱ πρεσβεῖαι, παρῆν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ
at Pella the embassies was-present and — Philip and
τοὺς Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὁ κῆρυξ ἐκάλει, πρῶτον μὲν
the of-Athenians envoys the herald was-calling first indeed
παρῆμεν οὐ καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ
we-came-forward not by age as in the first
πρεσβείᾳ, ἣ παρά τισιν εὐδοκίμει καὶ κόσμος εἶναι
embassy which among some was-well-thought-of and an-ornament to-be
τῆς πόλεως ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν Δημοσθένους
of-the city appeared but according-to the of-Demosthenes

ἀναισχυντίαν. φάσκων γὰρ νεώτατος εἶναι πάντων, τὴν
shamelessness claiming for youngest to-be of-all the
τάξιν τοῦ πρῶτος λέγειν οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παραλιπεῖν, οὐδ'
place of-the first to-speak not — he-said to-give-up nor
ἐπιτρέψειν τινί, αἰνιττόμενος εἰς ἐμέ, προκαταλαβόντα
to-be-going-to-yield to-anyone hinting at me having-seized-first
τὰ Φιλίππου ὦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγον μὴ καταλιπεῖν.
the of-Philip ears for-the others speech not to-leave
109 ἀρξάμενος δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, πρῶτον διαβολήν τινα ὑπειπὼν
having-begun and the speaking first slander some having-insinuated
κατὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων, ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν
against the fellow-envoys that not all for the same
οὐδ' ὅμοιοι ταῖς δόξαις ἥκοιμεν, διεξῄει τὰς ὑπηρεσίας
nor alike in-the opinions we-had-come he-went-through the services
τὰς ὑπηργμένας εἰς Φίλιππον αὐτῷ, πρώτην μὲν τὴν
the rendered to Philip by-him first indeed the
τῷ ψηφίσματι τῷ Φιλοκράτους συνηγορίαν, ὅτε ἔφευγε
for-the decree the of-Philocrates advocacy when it-was-indicted
παρανόμων ἐξεῖναι γράψας Φιλίππῳ πρέσβεις πρὸς
for-illegality to-be-permitted having-proposed for-Philip envoys to
Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πέμπειν· δεύτερον δὲ ὑπανέγνω τὸ
Athenians about peace to-send second and he-read-out the
ψήφισμα ὃ γεγραφὼς αὐτὸς ἦν, σπείσασθαι τῷ κήρυκι
decree which having-proposed himself he-had to-make-truce with-the herald
καὶ τῇ παρὰ Φιλίππου πρεσβεία, τρίτον δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῦ
and the from Philip embassy third and the about the
βουλεύσασθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἐν τακταῖς ἡμέραις.
to-deliberate the people about peace on fixed days
110 καὶ προσέθηκέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐνθύμημα τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι
and he-added some such conceit to-the speech that
πρῶτος ἐπιστομίσαι τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκκλήοντας, οὐ
first to-have-muzzled the-ones the peace shutting-out not

τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρόνοις. ἔπειθ' ἕτερον ἐπήγετο
by-the words but by-the dates then another he-brought-in
ψήφισμα, τὸ καὶ περὶ συμμαχίας βουλεύσασθαι τὸν δῆμον,
decree the also about alliance to-deliberate the people
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη τὸ περὶ τῆς προεδρίας τῆς εἰς τὰ
and after these-things then the about the front-seats the at the
Διονύσια τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Φιλίππου ψήφισμα.
Dionysia for-the envoys the of-Philip decree
καὶ προσέθηκε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν αὑτοῦ καὶ προσκεφαλαίων 111
and he-added the attentiveness the his-own and of-cushions
θέσιν καὶ φυλακάς τινας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας διὰ τοὺς
placing and watches some and sleepless-nights because-of the-ones
φθονοῦντας καὶ βουλομένους εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν
envying and wishing toward the his-own zeal
ὑβρίσαι, καὶ τά γε δὴ καταγέλαστα παντελῶς, ἐφ' οἷς
to-insult and the at-least indeed ridiculous-things utterly at which
οἱ συμπρέσβεις ἐνεκαλύψαντο, ὡς ἐξένισε τοὺς πρέσβεις
the fellow-envoys covered-their-faces how he-entertained the envoys
τοὺς Φιλίππου, ὡς ἐμισθώσατ' αὐτοῖς, ὅτ' ἀπῄεσαν,
the of-Philip how he-hired for-them when they-departed
ὀρεικὰ ζεύγη καὶ συμπαρῄει ἐφ' ἵππου, οὐ καταδὺς εἰς τὸ
mule teams and rode-alongside on horse not having-slunk into the
σκότος, ὥσπερ ἕτεροί τινες, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς ἐπιδεικνύμενος
dark like others some but openly displaying
τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων θεραπείαν.
the of-the affairs service
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἤδη καὶ σφόδρα διωρθοῦτο· 'οὐκ εἶπον, ὡς καλὸς 112
those-things and then also earnestly he-corrected not I-said that handsome
εἶ· γυνὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ κάλλιστον· οὐδ' ὡς δεινὸς
you-are a-woman for of-the existing-things is most-beautiful nor that clever
πιεῖν, σπογγιᾶς τὸν ἔπαινον ὑπολαμβάνων τοῦτον εἶναι· οὐδ'
to-drink of-a-sponge the praise thinking this to-be nor

ὡς μνημονικός, σοφιστοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζων ἐργολαβοῦντος
that of-good-memory of-a-sophist the such-things thinking working-for-hire
ἐγκώμια εἶναι.' ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακρολογῶ, τοιαῦτ' ἦν ἃ
praises to-be so-that and not I-talk-at-length such was what
ἔλεγε παρόντων τῶν πρέσβεων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐξ ἁπάσης
he-said being-present the envoys as word to-say from all
τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐφ' οἷς γέλωτες οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγίγνοντο.
— Greece at which laughs not the ordinary arose
113 ἐπειδὴ δέ ποτ' ἐπαύσατο καὶ σιωπὴ ἐγένετο, ἠναγκαζόμην
when and at-last he-stopped and silence came I-was-compelled
ἐγὼ λέγειν μετὰ τοιαύτην ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ κολακείας
I to-speak after such boorishness and of-flattery
αἰσχρᾶς ὑπερβολήν. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν προεῖπον ἐξ ἀνάγκης
shameful excess and little indeed I-said-first of necessity
πρὸς τὴν προειρημένην κατὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
toward the aforesaid against the fellow-envoys by him
διαβολήν, λέγων ὅτι πέμψειαν ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι πρέσβεις οὐκ
slander saying that had-sent us Athenians as-envoys not
ἀπολογησομένους ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
going-to-defend-ourselves in Macedonia about us ourselves but
οἴκοθεν ἐκ τοῦ βίου δεδοκιμασμένους ἀξίους τῆς πόλεως εἶναι.
at-home by the life having-been-approved worthy of-the city to-be
114 βραχέα δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅρκων εἰπών, ἐφ' οὓς ἥκομεν,
briefly and about the oaths having-spoken for which we-had-come
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ προσετάξατε ὑμεῖς, διεξῆειν· ὁ
and about the other-things which ordered you I-went-through the
γὰρ περιττὸς κἀν τοῖς λόγοις δεινὸς Δημοσθένης οὐδενὸς
for extraordinary and-in the speeches clever Demosthenes none
τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐμνήσθη· καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰς Πύλας
of-the necessary-things mentioned and indeed also about the to Pylae
στρατείας εἶπον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ περὶ Δελφῶν καὶ
expedition I-spoke and about the temples and about Delphi and

περὶ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν Φίλιππον ἠξίουν
about the Amphictyons and most indeed Philip I-asked
μὴ μεθ' ὅπλων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ψήφου καὶ κρίσεως τἀκεῖ
not with arms but with vote and judgment the-things-there
καθιστάναι, εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δυνατὸν εἴη, (τοῦτο δ' ἦν
to-settle if but after-all not possible it-were this and was
πρόδηλον· τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον παρῆν καὶ συνήθροιστο·)
evident the for army was-present and had-been-assembled
εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα ὑπὲρ Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν βουλεύεσθαι
I-said that the-one being-about about Greek temples to-deliberate
πολλὴν προσήκει πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς
much befits forethought for piety to-have and to-the-ones
περὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐγχειροῦσι διδάσκειν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.
about the ancestral-customs undertaking to-teach to-apply the mind
ἅμα δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ 115
together and from the-beginning I-went-through the founding of-the temple and
τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς
the first meeting held of-the Amphictyons and the
ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνων, ἐν οἷς ἔνορκον ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις,
oaths their I-read in which sworn it-was for-the ancients
μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιήσειν,
no city of-the Amphictyonic destroyed to-be-going-to-make
μηδ' ὑδάτων ναματιαίων εἴρξειν μήτ' ἐν πολέμῳ μήτ'
nor from-waters running to-be-going-to-cut-off neither in war nor
ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐὰν δέ τις ταῦτα παραβῇ, στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ
in peace if and anyone these-things transgresses to-be-going-to-march against
τοῦτον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀναστήσειν, καὶ ἐάν τις ἢ συλᾷ
him and the cities to-be-going-to-destroy and if anyone either robs
τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ συνειδῇ τι, ἢ βουλεύσῃ τι κατὰ
the-things of-the god or is-privy-to anything or plans anything against

τῶν ἱερῶν, τιμωρήσειν καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ
the sacred-things to-be-going-to-punish both with-hand and foot and voice
καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει· καὶ προσῆν τῷ ὅρκῳ ἀρὰ ἰσχυρά.
and all power and was-added to-the oath a-curse strong
116 τούτων δὲ ἀναγνωσθέντων ἀπεφηνάμην, ὅτι ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ
these-things and having-been-read I-declared that to-me it-seems
δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ περιορᾶν κατεσκαμμένας τὰς ἐν
just to-be not to-overlook razed the in
Βοιωτοῖς πόλεις. ὅτι δ' ἦσαν Ἀμφικτυονίδες καὶ ἔνορκοι,
Boeotia cities that and they-were Amphictyonic and sworn
κατηριθμησάμην ἔθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
I-enumerated tribes twelve the-ones sharing the temple
Θετταλούς, Βοιωτούς, οὐ Θηβαίους μόνους, Δωριέας,
Thessalians Boeotians not Thebans only Dorians
Ἴωνας, Περραιβούς, Μάγνητας, Δόλοπας, Λοκρούς,
Ionians Perrhaebians Magnesians Dolopians Locrians
Οἰταίους, Φθιώτας, Μαλιέας, Φωκέας. καὶ τούτων ἔδειξα
Oetaeans Phthiotians Malians Phocians and of-these I-showed
ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰσόψηφον γιγνόμενον, τὸ μέγιστον τῷ
each tribe equal-in-vote being the greatest with-the
ἐλαχίστῳ, τὸν ἥκοντα ἐκ Δωρίου καὶ Κυτινίου ἴσον
least the-one coming from Dorium and Cytinium equal
δυνάμενον Λακεδαιμονίοις, δύο γὰρ ψήφους ἕκαστον φέρει
having-power with-Lacedaemonians two for votes each casts
ἔθνος, πάλιν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν Ἐρετριᾶ καὶ Πριηνέα
tribe again of the Ionians the Eretrian and Prienian
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ ταὐτά.
with-the Athenians and the others in the-same-way
117 τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατείας ταύτης ὁσίαν καὶ δικαίαν
the indeed then beginning of-the expedition this holy and just
ἀπεφηνάμην εἶναι· συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
I-declared to-be having-gathered and the Amphictyons

εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τυχόντων σωτηρίας καὶ ψήφου, τοὺς
in the temple and having-obtained safety and vote the
αἰτίους τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ δίκης
guilty of-the from the-beginning seizure of-the temple penalty
ἠξίουν τυχεῖν, μὴ τὰς πατρίδας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς
I-asked to-meet not the fatherlands of-them but themselves
τοὺς χειρουργήσαντας καὶ βουλεύσαντας, τὰς δὲ πόλεις
the-ones having-done-it and having-planned the but cities
παρεχούσας εἰς κρίσιν τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας ἀζημίους εἶναι. 'εἰ
producing for trial the wrongdoers unpunished to-be if
δ' ἐπεξελθὼν δυνάμει βεβαιώσεις τὰ Θηβαίων ἀδικήματα,
but having-marched-out with-force you-will-confirm the of-Thebans wrongs
παρ' ὧν μὲν βοηθεῖς οὐκ ἀπολήψῃ χάριν· οὐ γὰρ
from whom indeed you-help not you-will-receive gratitude not for
ἂν δύναιο αὐτοὺς τηλικαῦτα εὐεργετῆσαι, ἡλίκα Ἀθηναῖοι
— you-could them so-greatly to-benefit as Athenians
πρότερον, ὧν οὐ μέμνηνται· οὓς δ' ἐγκαταλείψεις,
formerly which not they-remember whom but you-will-abandon
ἀδικήσεις, χρήσῃ δ' ἐχθροῖς μείζοσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ φίλοις.'
you-will-wrong you-will-have and as-enemies greater but not friends
ἵνα δὲ μὴ διατρίβω τοὺς ἐκεῖ λόγους ῥηθέντας νυνὶ πρὸς 118
so-that and not I-spend-time the there speeches spoken now to
ὑμᾶς ἀκριβῶς διεξιών, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ περὶ πάντων εἰπὼν
you exactly going-through in a-summary about all having-spoken
παύσομαι. ἡ μὲν τύχη καὶ Φίλιππος ἦσαν τῶν ἔργων κύριοι,
I-will-stop the indeed fortune and Philip were of-the deeds masters
ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τῶν λόγων. παρ' ἐμοῦ μὲν
I but of-the toward you goodwill and of-the words from me indeed
οὖν ἐρρήθη τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν, ἀπέβη δὲ
then were-spoken the just-things and the advantageous-things for-you it-turned-out but
οὐχ ὡς ἡμεῖς ηὐχόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς Φίλιππος ἔπραξε. πότερον
not as we prayed but as Philip acted whether

οὖν ὁ μηδὲν προθυμηθεὶς ἐργάσασθαι ἀγαθὸν δίκαιός
then the-one nothing having-been-eager to-accomplish good just
ἐστιν εὐδοξεῖν, ἢ ὁ μηδὲν ὢν ἦν δυνατὸς ἐλλιπών;
is to-be-esteemed or the-one nothing of-what he-was able having-left-undone
ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι νυνὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν παραλείπω.
in but the present now much because-of the occasion I-pass-over

X · PROMISES CALLED LIES

Demosthenes says Aeschines promised that Thebes would be humbled and Euboea handed over. Aeschines answers that he reported what he heard and believed, and repeats Cleochares of Chalcis' alarm at the sudden concord of Athens and Philip. Demosthenes claims that he and Philocrates kept him from reporting the truth, yet Demosthenes proposed praise and a dinner for the envoys, and when Aeschines reported, every colleague confirmed him. Against the story that he sailed up the river by night to write Philip's letter, Aeschines offers his slaves for torture, and his messmates, Aglaocreon and Iatrocles, testify for him; Demosthenes refuses the challenge. Then Aeschines turns to why the Phocian cause was lost: fortune, the long war, and their tyrants' use of the sacred money.

119 εἶπε δέ, ὡς ἐψευδολόγουν φάσκων ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τὰς
he-said and that I-was-lying claiming within-few days —
Θήβας ἔσεσθαι ταπεινάς, καὶ τοὺς Εὐβοέας ὡς ἐφόβουν,
Thebes to-be-going-to-be humbled and the Euboeans that I-frightened
προάγων εἰς ἐλπίδας κενὰς ὑμᾶς. ὃ δὲ ποιεῖ, καταμάθετε,
leading-on into hopes empty you what but he-does observe
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ μὲν ὢν
O men Athenians I for with Philip indeed being
ἠξίωσα, πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς ἦκων ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι τὰς Θήβας
urged to and you having-come reported that — Thebes

Βοιωτίαν δίκαιον ἡγοίμην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ τὴν Βοιωτίαν
Boeotia just I-thought to-be and not — Boeotia
Θήβας. τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποσχέσθαι μέ φησιν.
Thebes this not to-have-reported but to-have-promised me he-says
ἔλεγον δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅτι Κλεοχάρης ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς 120
I-said and to you that Cleochares the Chalcidian
θαυμάζειν ὑμῶν καὶ Φιλίππου φαίη τὴν ἐξαίφνης ὁμόνοιαν,
to-wonder-at of-you and of-Philip said the sudden concord
ἄλλως τε καὶ προστεταγμένον ἡμῖν, πράττειν ἀγαθὸν
especially both and having-been-ordered to-us to-do good
ὅ τι ἂν δυνώμεθα· τοὺς γὰρ μικροπολίτας, ὥσπερ
that which — we-can the for citizens-of-small-states like
αὐτός, φοβεῖν τὰ τῶν μειζόνων ἀπόρρητα. ταῦτα οὐ
himself to-fear the of-the greater secrets these-things not
διηγήσασθαί με φησίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπηγγέλθαι τὴν Εὔβοιαν
to-have-related me he-says but to-have-promised — Euboea
παραδώσειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπειλήφειν δεῖν τὴν πόλιν
to-be-going-to-hand-over I but had-supposed to-be-necessary the city
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων μέλλουσαν βουλεύεσθαι μηδενὸς
the-one about the whole being-about to-deliberate of-no
λόγου Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀνήκοον εἶναι.
talk Greek unhearing to-be
διέβαλλε δέ, κἀκεῖνον διαιρούμενος τὸν λόγον, ὡς 121
he-slandered and also-that dividing the account that
ἀπαγγέλλειν τἀληθῆ βουλόμενος, ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους
to-report the-truth wishing by me and Philocrates
κωλυθείη. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, εἴ
he-was-prevented I but you gladly — would-ask whether
τις πώποτε Ἀθηναίων πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπεμφθείς, ἐφ᾽ οἷς
any ever of-Athenians envoy sent-out on what
πεπρέσβευκε κεκώλυται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπαγγέλλειν, καὶ
he-has-been-envoy has-been-prevented to the people to-report and

ταῦτα παθὼν καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συμπρέσβεων,
these-things having-suffered and dishonored by the fellow-envoys
τούτους ἔγραψ' ἂν ἐπαινέσαι καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ
these would-have-proposed — to-praise and to-invite to
δεῖπνον. Δημοσθένης τοίνυν ἥκων ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας
dinner Demosthenes then having-come from the second
πρεσβείας, ἐν ᾗ φησι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα
embassy in which he-says the of-the Greeks affairs
ἀνατραπῆναι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι μόνον ἡμᾶς ἐπῄνει,
to-have-been-overturned not in the decree only us praised
122 ἀλλ' ἀπαγγείλαντος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐμοῦ τοὺς περὶ
but having-reported to the people me the about
τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων λόγους καὶ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν
the Amphictyons words and Boeotians not as now
συντέμνοντος οὐδ' ἐπειγομένου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐδυνάμην κατὰ
cutting-short nor hurrying but as I-could by
ῥῆμα ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ τοῦ δήμου σφόδρα ἀποδεχομένου,
word most-exactly and the people greatly approving
παρακληθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπρέσβεων
called-on by me with the other fellow-envoys
καὶ ἐρωτώμενος, εἰ τἀληθῆ καὶ ταὐτὰ ἀπαγγέλλω
and being-asked whether the-truth and the-same-things I-report
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἅπερ πρὸς Φίλιππον εἶπον, πάντων
to Athenians which to Philip I-said all
μαρτυρούντων καὶ ἐπαινούντων με τῶν συμπρέσβεων,
testifying and praising me the fellow-envoys
ἐπαναστὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οὐκ ἔφη με, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ, οὕτως ἐν
having-stood-up after all not he-said me as there so at
τῷ παρόντι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ διπλασίῳ ἄμεινον. καὶ τούτων
the present to-speak but there twice better and of-these
ὑμεῖς οἱ τὴν ψῆφον μέλλοντες φέρειν ἐστέ μοι μάρτυρες.
you the-ones the vote about to-cast are for-me witnesses

καίτοι τίς ἂν αὐτῷ καλλίων καιρὸς ἐγένετο, ἢ τότ' 123
and-yet what — for-him finer occasion would-have-been than then
ἐξελέγχειν εὐθύς, εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν ἐξηπάτων; φῂς
to-expose at-once if in-anything the city I-was-deceiving you-say
γάρ με ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ λαθεῖν σαυτὸν
for me on indeed the first embassy to-have-escaped yourself
συνεστηκότα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστέρᾳ αἰσθέσθαι, ἐν
having-conspired against the city on but the second to-have-perceived-it in
ᾗ συναγορεύων μοι φαίνῃ. κἀκείνης μὲν ἅμα κατηγορῶν
which supporting me you-appear and-that indeed at-once accusing
οὐ φῂς κατηγορεῖν, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους κατηγορεῖς.
not you-say to-accuse the but for the oaths you-accuse
καίτοι εἰ τὴν εἰρήνην ψέγεις, σὺ καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν
and-yet if the peace you-blame you also the alliance
ἔγραψας· καὶ Φίλιππος εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν ἐξηπάτα, διὰ
proposed and Philip if in-anything the city deceived for
τοῦτο ἐψεύδετο, ὅπως τῆς εἰρήνης ἥπερ συνέφερεν αὐτῷ
this he-lied so-that the peace which suited him
τύχοι. οὐκοῦν ἡ μὲν προτέρα πρεσβεία τὸν καιρὸν
he-might-get therefore the indeed first embassy the occasion
τοῦτον εἶχεν, ἡ δ' ὑστέρα ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις ἐγίγνετο.
this had the but second upon things-done took-place
τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ ἀπάται, ταῦτα γὰρ τοῦ γόητος ἀνθρώπου, 124
what then were the deceits these-things for of-the sorcerer man
ἐξ ὧν εἴρηκε λογίσασθε. εἰσπλεῖν μέ φησιν ἐν μονοξύλῳ
from what he-has-said reckon to-sail-up me he-says in a-dugout
πλοίῳ κατὰ τὸν Λοιδίαν ποταμὸν τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς Φίλιππον,
boat along the Loedias river by-the night to Philip
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν δεῦρο ἐλθοῦσαν Φιλίππῳ γράψαι.
and the letter the-one here having-come for-Philip to-have-written
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεωσθένης, ὁ φεύγων ἐνθένδε διὰ τοὺς
— indeed for Leosthenes the-one exiled from-here because-of the

συκοφάντας, οὐ δυνατὸς ἦν ἐπιδεξίως ἐπιστολὴν γράψαι,
blackmailers not able was cleverly a-letter to-write
ὃν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσί τινες ἀποφαίνεσθαι μετὰ Καλλίστρατον
whom not hesitate some to-declare after Callistratus
τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι·
the Aphidnaean of-the others most to-speak to-be-able
125 οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος, πρὸς ὃν ἀντειπεῖν Δημοσθένης
nor himself — Philip against whom to-speak Demosthenes
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη· οὐδ' ὁ Βυζάντιος Πύθων,
for you not was-able nor the Byzantine Python
ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῷ γράφειν μέγα φρονῶν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικε
a-man on the writing greatly priding-himself but as it-seems
τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐμοῦ προσεδεῖτο. καὶ λέγεις μὲν ὅτι Φιλίππῳ
the matter me needed-besides and you-say indeed that with-Philip
μεθ' ἡμέραν πολλάκις μόνος μόνῳ διελεγόμην, αἰτιᾷ δὲ
by day often alone with-alone I-talked you-charge but
εἰσπλεῖν με νύκτωρ κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν· οὕτω νυκτερινῆς
to-sail-up me by-night along the river so of-a-nocturnal
ἐπιστολῆς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδεῖτο.
letter the matter had-need
126 ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγεις, ἥκουσι μὲν μαρτυρήσοντες μεθ'
that and nothing true you-say have-come indeed to-testify with
ὧν συνεσίτουν, Ἀγλαοκρέων ὁ Τενέδιος καὶ Ἰατροκλῆς
whom I-messed Aglaocreon the Tenedian and Iatrocles
ὁ Πασιφῶντος, μεθ' ὧν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τὰς
the of-Pasiphon with whom continuously all the time the
νύκτας ἀνεπαυόμην, οἳ συνίσασίν μοι μηδεμίαν πώποτε ἀπ'
nights I-rested who know for-me no ever from
αὐτῶν νύκτα ἀπογενομένῳ, μηδὲ μέρος νυκτός· ἄγομεν δὲ
them night having-been-absent nor part of-night we-bring and
καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ παραδίδομεν εἰς βάσανον. καὶ τὸν μὲν
also the slaves and we-hand-over for torture and the indeed

λόγον, εἰ συγχωρεῖ ὁ κατήγορος, καταλύω· παρέσται δὲ ὁ
speech if agrees the accuser I-break-off will-be-present and the
δημόσιος καὶ βασανιεῖ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἂν κελεύητε. ἐνδέχεται
public-slave and will-question in-front-of you if you-bid it-is-possible
δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ταῦτα πρᾶξαι· πρὸς
and the remaining part of-the day these-things to-do by
ἕνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμεμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι.
eleven for jars in measured-out the day I-am-tried
κἂν φῶσιν ἀπόκοιτόν με τουτωνὶ πώποτε τῶν συσσίτων 127
and-if they-say sleeping-away me from-these-here ever the messmates
γεγονέναι, μὴ φείσησθέ μου, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ'
to-have-been not spare me O men Athenians but
ἀναστάντες ἀποκτείνατε. ἐὰν δ' ἐξελεγχθῇς ψευδόμενος,
having-stood-up kill if but you-are-proved lying
Δημόσθενες, τοιαύτην δίκην δός· ὁμολόγησον ἀνδρόγυνος
Demosthenes such penalty pay admit a-man-woman
εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐλεύθερος ἐναντίον τούτων. κάλει μοι τοὺς
to-be and not free before these call for-me the
οἰκέτας δεῦρο ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τὴν τῶν συμπρέσβεων
slaves here to the platform and the of-the fellow-envoys
ἀναγίγνωσκε μαρτυρίαν.
read testimony
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οὐ δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν, οὐδ' ἄν φησιν ἐν 128
since then not he-accepts the challenge nor — he-says in
βασάνοις ἀνδραπόδων γενέσθαι, λαβέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
tortures of-slaves to-take-part take for-me the letter
ταύτην, ἣν ὁ Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι μεγάλα τὴν
this which — Philip sent clear for that greatly the
πόλιν παραλογίζεται, δι' ἣν ἠγρυπνοῦμεν γράφοντες.
city it-deceives because-of which we-lay-awake writing

129 ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ‘τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδέδωκα,’ φησί,
you-hear O men that the oaths I-have-given he-says
‘τοῖς ὑμετέροις πρέσβεσι,’ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
to-the your envoys and of-the allies the his-own
τοὺς παραγενομένους κατ’ ὄνομα γέγραφε, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ
the-ones having-been-present by name he-has-written both them and
τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ’ ὑστερήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων
the cities their the-ones and having-come-late of-the allies
ἀποστελεῖν φησι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ταῦτ’ οὖν οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε
to-be-going-to-send he-says to you these-things then not — do-you-think
δύνασθαι γράψαι Φίλιππον μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἄνευ ἐμοῦ;
to-be-able to-write Philip by day without me
130 ἀλλ’ ἔμοιγε νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς οὗτος δοκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον
but to-me-at-least by the gods this-man seems this only
λογίζεσθαι, ὅπως μεταξὺ λέγων εὐδοκιμήσει· εἰ δὲ μικρὸν
to-consider how while speaking he-will-win-applause if but a-little
ἐπισχὼν δόξει πονηρότατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι, οὐδὲ
having-waited he-will-seem most-wicked of-the Greeks to-be not-even
μικρὸν φροντίζειν. τί γὰρ ἄν τις τοιούτῳ πιστεύσειεν
a-little to-care how for — anyone such could-trust
ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃς ἐγκεχείρηκε λέγειν ὡς Φίλιππος, οὐ τοῖς αὑτοῦ
a-man who has-attempted to-say that Philip not by-the his-own
στρατηγήμασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐμαῖς δημηγορίαις, ἔἰσω Πυλῶν
stratagems but by-the my speeches inside Pylae
παρῆλθε; καὶ λογισμόν τινα ἡμερῶν συνηριθμεῖτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
came and a-reckoning some of-days he-counted-up to you
ἐν αἷς ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπήγγελλον τὴν πρεσβείαν, οἱ δὲ Φαλαίκου
in which I indeed reported the embassy the and of-Phalaecus
τοῦ Φωκέων τυράννου δρομοκήρυκες τἀνθένδε ἐκεῖσε
the of-Phocians tyrant couriers the-things-here there

διήγγελλον, πιστεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμοὶ εἴσω Πυλῶν
reported having-trusted and the Phocians me inside Pylae
αὐτὸν παρεδέξαντο καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὑτῶν παρέδοσαν.
him admitted and the cities the their-own surrendered
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ κατήγορος μεμηχάνηται, τὰ δ' ἐν 131
these-things indeed then the accuser has-contrived the but among
Φωκεῦσι διεφθάρη πράγματα πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν
Phocians were-ruined affairs first indeed because-of the
τύχην, ἣ πάντων ἐστὶ κυρία, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ
fortune which of-all is mistress then because-of the length of-the
χρόνου καὶ τὸν δεκέτη πόλεμον. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ηὔξησέ τε
time and the ten-year war the for same increased both
τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι τυράννων τὰ πράγματα καὶ καθεῖλε·
of-the among Phocians tyrants the power and brought-down
κατέστησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τολμήσαντες τῶν
they-were-established indeed for in the rule having-dared the
ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἅψασθαι, καὶ διὰ ξένων τὰς πολιτείας
sacred money to-touch and by mercenaries the constitutions
μετέστησαν, κατελύθησαν δ' ἀπορίᾳ χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ
changed were-overthrown but through-want of-money when
κατεμισθοφόρησαν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.
they-had-spent-on-hire the existing-funds

The Phocians fell, Aeschines says, through fortune, time, faction in their army, and Phalaecus' ignorance. Before the peace they refused to hand Alponus, Thronium, and Nicaea to Proxenus, imprisoned their own envoys, and alone of the Greeks refused the truce of the Mysteries; they would not even admit Archidamus. Athens expected Philip to humble Thebes, but Demosthenes kept the army at home, the Thebans and Thessalians pressed Philip, and Phalaecus left under truce before Aeschines arrived on the third embassy. On that embassy he saved the Phocian men whom the Oetaeans wanted thrown from the cliff, and Phocian and Boeotian exiles now plead for him. Demosthenes turns on him Hesiod's lines on rumor, which Aeschines quoted against Timarchus, saying that rumor now charges him with taking Philip's money.

132 τρίτον δ' αὐτοὺς καθεῖλεν ἡ τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις
third and them brought-down the to-the being-at-a-loss
στρατοπέδοις συνήθως παρακολουθοῦσα στάσις, τέταρτον
camps customarily accompanying faction fourth
δ' ἡ Φαλαίκου περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι πραγμάτων
and the of-Phalaecus about the being-about to-be affairs
ἄγνοια. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θετταλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου στρατεία
ignorance the indeed for of-Thessalians and of-Philip expedition
πρόδηλος ἦν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πρότερον πρὶν τὴν
foreseen was not by-much and in-time earlier before the
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην γενέσθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦλθον ἐκ
with you peace to-come-about envoys to you came from
Φωκέων, βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς κελεύοντες, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι
Phocians to-help them bidding and promising
παραδώσειν Ἀλπωνὸν καὶ Θρόνιον καὶ Νίκαιαν, τὰ
to-be-going-to-hand-over Alponus and Thronium and Nicaea the
τῶν παρόδων τῶν εἰς Πύλας χωρία κύρια.
of-the passes the to Pylae places controlling

ψηφισαμένων δ' ὑμῶν παραδοῦναι Προξένῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ 133
having-voted and you to-hand-over to-Proxenus the general
τοὺς Φωκέας ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ πεντήκοντα πληροῦν
the Phocians these the places and fifty to-man
τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς μέχρι τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν ἐξιέναι,
triremes and the-ones up-to forty years to-march-out
ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδοῦναι τὰ χωρία Προξένῳ, ἔδησαν
instead-of the handing-over the places to-Proxenus bound
οἱ τύραννοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐπηγγελμένους ὑμῖν
the tyrants the envoys the-ones having-promised to-you
παραδώσειν τὰ φυλακτήρια, καὶ τοῖς σπονδοφόροις
to-be-going-to-hand-over the guard-posts and with-the truce-bearers
τοῖς τὰς μυστηριώτιδας σπονδὰς ἐπαγγέλλουσι μόνοι τῶν
the-ones the of-the-mysteries truce proclaiming alone of-the
Ἑλλήνων Φωκεῖς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ πάλιν Ἀρχιδάμου
Greeks Phocians not made-truce and again Archidamus
τοῦ Λάκωνος παραλαμβάνειν ὄντος ἑτοίμου τὰ χωρία καὶ
the Laconian to-take-over being ready the places and
φυλάττειν, οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ τὰ
to-guard not they-were-persuaded but answered him the-things
τῆς Σπάρτης δεινὰ δεδιέναι καὶ μὴ τὰ παρ' αὑτοῖς.
— of-Sparta terrible-things to-fear and not the-things among themselves
κἀνταῦθα οὔπω διελέλυσθε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ 134
and-then not-yet you-had-made-peace with-Philip but on the same
ἡμέρᾳ περί τε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε, καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
day about both the peace you-deliberated and the letter
ἠκούετε τῆς Προξένου, ὅτι Φωκεῖς οὐ παραδεδώκασιν
you-heard the of-Proxenus that Phocians not have-handed-over
αὐτῷ τὰ χωρία, καὶ οἱ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπαγγέλλοντες
to-him the places and the-ones the mysteries proclaiming
μόνους τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφαινον Φωκέας οὐ
alone of-the other Greeks declared Phocians not

δεδεγμένους τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεῦρο ἐληλυθότας
having-accepted the truce but also the hither having-come
πρέσβεις δεδεκότας. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς
envoys having-bound that and true-things I-say call for-me the
σπονδοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Προξένου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
truce-bearers and the-ones from Proxenus the general
πρεσβεύσαντας εἰς Φωκέας, Καλλικράτην καὶ Μεταγένην,
having-gone-as-envoys to Phocians Callicrates and Metagenes
καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀκούσατε τῆς Προξένου.
and the letter hear the of-Proxenus
135 ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν χρόνων
you-hear O men Athenians the dates
παραναγιγνωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων,
being-read-out from the public records
καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων ὑμῖν προσδιαμαρτυρούντων, ὅτι πρὶν
and the witnesses to-you testifying-in-addition that before
ἐμὲ χειροτονηθῆναι πρεσβευτήν, Φάλαικος ὁ τῶν Φωκέων
me to-be-elected envoy Phalaecus the of-the Phocians
τύραννος ἡμῖν μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἠπίστει, Φιλίππῳ
tyrant us indeed and Lacedaemonians distrusted Philip
δ' ἐπίστευεν.
but trusted
136 ἀλλ' οὗτος μόνος τὸ συμβησόμενον ἠγνόει; ὑμεῖς δὲ
but this-man alone the about-to-happen was-ignorant-of you but
αὐτοὶ δημοσίᾳ πῶς διέκεισθε; οὐ πάντες προσεδοκᾶτε
yourselves publicly how were-you-disposed not all expected
Φίλιππον ταπεινώσειν Θηβαίους, ὁρῶντά τ' αὐτῶν
Philip to-be-going-to-humble Thebans seeing both their
τὴν θρασύτητα, καὶ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι δύναμιν
the boldness and by-the not wishing power
ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων ἐπαυξῆσαι; Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ μεθ'
of-men faithless to-increase Lacedaemonians and not with

ἡμῶν τἀναντία Θηβαίοις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τελευτῶντες
us the-opposite to-Thebans were-negotiating and finally
προσέκρουον φανερῶς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ διηπειλοῦντο;
were-clashing openly in Macedonia and were-threatening
αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων
themselves and not were-at-a-loss and were-afraid the of-the Thebans
πρέσβεις; Θετταλοὶ δὲ οὐ κατεγέλων τῶν ἄλλων, ὑπὲρ
envoys Thessalians and not laughed-at the others on-behalf-of
αὑτῶν φάσκοντες τὴν στρατείαν εἶναι;
themselves claiming the expedition to-be
τῶν δ' ἑταίρων τινὲς τῶν Φιλίππου οὐ διαρρήδην 137
of-the and companions some the of-Philip not expressly
πρός τινας ἡμῶν ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς πόλεις
to some of-us said that the among Boeotians cities
κατοικιεῖ Φίλιππος; Θηβαῖοι δ' οὐκ ἐξεληλύθεσαν πανδημεί,
will-resettle Philip Thebans and not had-marched-out in-full-force
ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς πράγμασιν; ὑμῖν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν οὐκ
distrusting the affairs to-you and these-things seeing not
ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐξιέναι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει
sent a-letter — Philip to-march-out with-all the force
βοηθήσοντας τοῖς δικαίοις; οἱ δὲ νῦν πολεμικοὶ καὶ τὴν
going-to-help the just-cause the-ones and now warlike and the
εἰρήνην ἀνανδρίαν καλοῦντες, οὐ διεκώλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐξελθεῖν
peace cowardice calling not prevented you to-march-out
εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας γεγενημένης, δεδιέναι φάσκοντες
peace and alliance having-been-made to-fear claiming
μὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑμῶν ὁμήρους λάβῃ Φίλιππος;
lest the soldiers your as-hostages take Philip
πότερον οὖν ἐγὼ τοὺς προγόνους ἐκώλυσα τὸν δῆμον 138
whether then I the ancestors prevented the people
μιμεῖσθαι, ἢ σὺ καὶ οἱ μετὰ σοῦ συνεστηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ
to-imitate or you and the-ones with you having-banded-together against the

κοινά; καὶ πότερον ἦν ἀσφαλεστέρα καὶ καλλίων Ἀθηναίοις
public-affairs and whether was safer and finer for-Athenians
ἡ ἔξοδος, ἡνίκα ἤκμαζον μὲν τῇ μανίᾳ Φωκεῖς,
the march-out when were-at-their-height indeed in-the madness Phocians
ἐπολέμουν δὲ Φιλίππῳ, εἶχον δὲ Ἀλπωνὸν καὶ Νίκαιαν,
were-at-war and with-Philip held and Alponus and Nicaea
οὔπω παραδόντος Φαλαίκου Μακεδόσι, τὰς σπονδὰς δὲ
not-yet having-handed-over Phalaecus to-Macedonians the truce and
οἷς ἐμέλλομεν βοηθεῖν τὰς μυστηριώτιδας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο,
those-whom we-were-going to-help the of-the-mysteries not accepted
Θηβαίους δ' ὄπισθεν κατελείπομεν, ἢ μεταπεμπομένου
Thebans and behind we-were-leaving or summoning
μὲν Φιλίππου, ὅρκων δ' ἡμῖν καὶ συμμαχίας γεγενημένης,
indeed Philip oaths and to-us and alliance having-been-made
Θετταλῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀμφικτυόνων στρατευόντων;
Thessalians and also the other Amphictyons campaigning
139 οὐ πολλῷ καλλίων οὗτος ἦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκείνου, ἐν
not by-much finer this was the moment than-that in
ᾧ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀνανδρίαν καὶ ἅμα φθόνον
which because-of the your cowardice and at-the-same-time envy
ἐσκευαγώγησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πρεσβεύοντος
carried-in-their-goods from the fields Athenians serving-as-envoy
ἐμοῦ τὴν τρίτην ἤδη πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν
me the third already embassy the to the council
τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐφ' ἣν τολμᾷς με λέγειν ὡς οὐ
of-the Amphictyons on which you-dare me to-say that not
χειροτονηθεὶς ᾠχόμην, ἐχθρὸς δ' ὢν οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον
having-been-elected I-went enemy and being not-yet even today
ἠθέληκάς με εἰσαγγεῖλαι παραπρεσβεύσασθαι; οὐ γὰρ
you-have-been-willing me to-impeach for-misconduct-on-the-embassy not for
δὴ φθονεῖς γέ μοι τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τιμημάτων.
surely you-begrudge at-least me the against the person penalties

τοιγάρτοι Θηβαίων μὲν παρακαθημένων καὶ δεομένων, 140
therefore Thebans indeed sitting-by and entreating
τῆς δ' ἡμετέρας πόλεως διὰ σὲ τεθορυβημένης
the and our city because-of you having-been-thrown-into-confusion
καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν οὐ παρόντων, Θετταλῶν
and the Athenian hoplites not being-present Thessalians
δὲ Θηβαίοις προσθεμένων διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀβουλίαν
and to-Thebans having-sided because-of the your thoughtlessness
καὶ τὴν πρὸς Φωκέας ἔχθραν, ἣ προϋπῆρχε Θετταλοῖς
and the toward Phocians hatred which had-existed-before for-Thessalians
ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, ὅτε αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁμήρους λαβόντες
from old times when their the hostages having-taken
Φωκεῖς κατηλόησαν, Φαλαίκου δὲ πρὶν ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν καὶ
Phocians battered-to-death Phalaecus and before me to-come and
Στέφανον καὶ Δερκύλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις
Stephanus and Dercylus and the other envoys
ἀπεληλυθότος ὑποσπόνδου,
having-departed under-truce
Ὀρχομενίων δὲ περιφόβων ὄντων καὶ σπονδὰς τοῖς 141
Orchomenians and terrified being and a-truce for-their
σώμασιν αἰτησάντων, ὥστε ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας,
persons having-asked so-as to-depart from — Boeotia
παρεστηκότων μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεων, ὑπολειπομένης
standing-by indeed the Theban envoys remaining
δ' ἔχθρας φανερᾶς Φιλίππῳ πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλούς,
and hatred open for-Philip toward Thebans and Thessalians
τότε ἀπώλοντο αἱ πράξεις οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ διὰ
then were-lost the affairs not because-of me but because-of
τὴν προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους προξενίαν. μεγάλα
the treachery and the toward Thebans proxeny great
δ' οἶμαι τούτων ἔργῳ σημεῖα ἐπιδείξειν.
and I-think of-these-things in-fact proofs to-be-going-to-display

142 εἰ γάρ τι τούτων ἀληθὲς ἦν ὧν σὺ λέγεις,
if for any of-these true were of-the-things-which you say
κατηγόρουν ἄν μου Βοιωτῶν καὶ Φωκέων οἱ φεύγοντες,
would-accuse — me of-Boeotians and of-Phocians the exiles
ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐξεβεβλήκειν, τοὺς δ' ἐκώλυσα κατελθεῖν·
of-whom the-ones indeed I-had-expelled the-others and I-prevented to-return
νῦν δ' οὐχὶ τὰ συμβάντα λογιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν
now but not the outcomes reckoning but the goodwill
τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποδεχόμενοι, συλλεγέντες οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν
the my welcoming having-gathered the exiles of-Boeotians
ᾑρηνταί μοι συνηγόρους, ἥκουσι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι
have-chosen for-me advocates have-come and from the among Phocians
πόλεων πρέσβεις, οὓς ἐγὼ τὴν τρίτην πρεσβείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς
cities envoys whom I the third embassy the to the
Ἀμφικτύονας πρεσβεύων ἔσωσα, Οἰταίων ἐγχειρούντων λέγειν
Amphictyons serving-on saved Oetaeans attempting to-say
ὡς δεῖ τοὺς ἡβῶντας ὠθεῖν κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ
that it-is-necessary the grown-men to-push down the cliff and
παρήγαγον εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, ὥστε ἀπολογίας τυχεῖν.
I-brought-forward before the Amphictyons so-as a-defense to-obtain
ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φάλαικος ὑπόσπονδος ἀφεῖτο, οἱ δὲ ἀναίτιοι
— indeed for Phalaecus under-truce had-been-let-go the-ones but guiltless
ἀποθνήσκειν ἔμελλον, συναγορεύοντος δ' ἐμοῦ διεσώθησαν.
to-die were-about speaking-for-them and me were-saved
143 ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι Μνάσωνα τὸν Φωκέα
that and true-things I-say call for-me Mnason the Phocian
καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν
and the fellow-envoys and the-ones from the of-the Boeotians
φυγῆς ᾑρημένους. ἀνάβηθι δεῦρο, Λίπαρε καὶ Πυθίων,
exile chosen come-up here Liparus and Pythion

καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπόδοτέ μοι χάριν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος
and the same render to-me favor for the of-the person
σωτηρίαν, ἥνπερ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν.
safety the-very-one I to-you
πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμι, εἰ κατηγοροῦντος μὲν
how then not — terrible-things would-I-suffer if accusing indeed
Δημοσθένους τοῦ Θηβαίων προξένου καὶ πονηροτάτου τῶν
Demosthenes the of-Thebans proxenus and most-wicked of-the
Ἑλλήνων, συναγορευόντων δέ μοι Φωκέων καὶ Βοιωτῶν
Greeks speaking-for and me Phocians and Boeotians
ἁλοίην;
I-should-be-convicted
ἐτόλμησε δ' εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ λόγοις 144
dared and to-say that I into-the my-own words
περιπίπτω. φησὶ γάρ με εἰπεῖν, ὅτ' ἔκρινον Τίμαρχον, ὅτι
fall he-says for me to-have-said when I-prosecuted Timarchus that
πάντες κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς πορνείας φήμην παρειλήφασι,
all against him the of-the prostitution rumor have-taken-up
τὸν δ' Ἡσίοδον ποιητὴν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα λέγειν,
— and Hesiod poet good being to-say

φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
rumor but no wholly perishes which peoples
πολλοὶ φημίξωσι· θεός νυ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.
many noise-abroad a-god indeed some is also she-herself

τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ταύτην θεὸν ἥκειν νῦν κατηγοροῦσαν
the and same this goddess to-have-come now accusing
ἐμοῦ· πάντας γὰρ λέγειν ὡς χρήματα ἔχω παρὰ Φιλίππου.
me all for to-say that money I-have from Philip

Rumor, Aeschines says, is the people's voice and honored as a god; slander is one man's charge before the assembly and council. The charge of treason angered him most, and against it he presents his family. His father Atrometus, at ninety-four nearly the oldest citizen, was an athlete in his youth, an exile under the Thirty, and one of those who brought back the democracy; his phratry shares the altars of the Eteobutadae. His mother fled to Corinth with her husband, while Demosthenes, indicted for desertion, bribed his accuser Nicodemus. His brother Philochares is in his third year as general, and his brother Aphobetus was envoy to the king of Persia. Demosthenes has even insulted his wife's father Philodemus, through whom he was himself enrolled in his deme, and her brothers Philon and Epicrates, men the jurors would gladly see multiplied.

145 εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι πλεῖστον διαφέρει
well and know O men Athenians that very-greatly differs
φήμη καὶ συκοφαντία. φήμη μὲν γὰρ οὐ κοινωνεῖ διαβολῇ,
rumor and slander rumor indeed for not shares with-calumny
διαβολὴ δὲ ἀδελφόν ἐστι συκοφαντίᾳ. διοριῶ δ' αὐτῶν
calumny but akin is to-slander I-will-define and of-them
ἑκάτερον ἐγὼ σαφῶς. φήμη μέν ἐστιν, ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος
each I clearly rumor indeed is whenever the multitude
τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτόματον ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως λέγῃ
of-the citizens of-its-own-accord from no pretext says
τινὰ ὡς γεγενημένην πρᾶξιν· συκοφαντία δ' ἐστίν, ὅταν
some as having-happened deed slander but is whenever
πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς εἷς ἀνὴρ αἰτίαν ἐμβαλών, ἔν τε ταῖς
before the many one man a-charge having-thrown-in in both the
ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν διαβάλλῃ τινά.
assemblies all before and the council slanders someone
καὶ τῇ μὲν φήμῃ δημοσίᾳ θύομεν ὡς θεῷ, τῶν δὲ
and to-the indeed rumor publicly we-sacrifice as to-a-god of-the but

συκοφαντῶν ὡς κακούργων δημοσίᾳ προβολὰς ποιούμεθα.
slanderers as criminals publicly indictments we-make
μὴ οὖν σύναγε εἰς ταὐτὸν τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς αἰσχίστοις.
not then bring-together into the-same the finest-things with-the most-shameful
ἐπὶ πολλοῖς μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τῶν κατηγορημένων ἠγανάκτησα, 146
at many indeed then I of-the charges was-indignant
μάλιστα δὲ ἡνίκα ᾐτιᾶτό με εἶναι προδότην· ἅμα γὰρ
most but when he-accused me to-be a-traitor at-the-same-time for
ταῖς αἰτίαις ταύταις φανῆναί με ἔδει θηριώδη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
with-the charges these to-appear me had-to brutish and the soul
ἄστοργον καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις πρότερον ἁμαρτήμασι
without-natural-affection and to-many other earlier offenses
ἔνοχον. τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἐμοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης
liable of-the indeed then my life and the by day way-of-living
ὑμᾶς δοκιμαστὰς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι νομίζω· ἃ δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς
you examiners competent to-be I-consider the-things-which but are to-the
μὲν πολλοῖς ἀσύνοπτα, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς μέγιστα,
indeed many unseen to-the but good in-the souls greatest
τούτων ὑμῖν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντα ἐκ τῶν νόμων
of-these to-you the most and well being from the laws
ὁρᾶν ἀναβιβῶμαι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε τὰς ἐμὰς παρακαταθήκας,
to-see I-will-bring-up so-that you-may-know the my pledges
ἃς οἴκοι καταλιπὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπρέσβευσα.
which at-home having-left to Macedonia I-went-as-envoy
σὺ μὲν γάρ, Δημόσθενες, ταῦτα ἐπλάσω ἐπ' ἐμέ, ἐγὼ δ' 147
you indeed for Demosthenes these-things fabricated against me I but
ὡς ἐπαιδεύθην καὶ δικαίως ἐξηγήσομαι. οὑτοσὶ μέν ἐστί
as I-was-brought-up and justly will-relate this-man-here indeed is
μοι πατὴρ Ἀτρόμητος, σχεδὸν πρεσβύτατος τῶν πολιτῶν·
my father Atrometus nearly oldest of-the citizens
ἔτη γὰρ ἤδη βεβίωκεν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέτταρα· συμβέβηκε
years for already he-has-lived ninety and four it-befell

δὲ αὐτῷ νέῳ μὲν ὄντι, πρὶν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσαι διὰ
and him young indeed being before the property to-lose because-of
τὸν πόλεμον, ἀθλεῖν τῷ σώματι, ἐκπεσόντι δὲ ὑπὸ
the war to-compete with-the body having-been-exiled and by
τῶν τριάκοντα στρατεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἀριστεύειν
the thirty to-serve indeed in — Asia to-be-distinguished
δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, εἶναι δ' ἐκ φρατρίας τὸ γένος ἧ
and in the dangers to-be and from a-phratry — by-birth which
τῶν αὐτῶν βωμῶν Ἐτεοβουτάδαις μετέχει, ὅθεν ἡ τῆς
the same altars with-Eteobutadae shares whence the —
Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐστὶν ἱέρεια, συγκατάγειν δὲ τὸν
of-Athena the Polias is priestess to-help-bring-back and the
δῆμον, ὥσπερ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον.
people as also a-little earlier I-said

148 ἐλευθέρους δέ μοι συμβέβηκεν εἶναι καὶ τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς
free and for-me it-has-befallen to-be also the-ones on-the-side of-mother
ἅπαντας, ἧ νῦν ἐμοὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν προφαίνεται
all who now to-me before the eyes appears
φοβουμένη περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας καὶ διηπορημένη.
fearing for the my safety and distraught
καίτοι, Δημόσθενες, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ μήτηρ ἔφυγε μετὰ τοῦ
and-yet Demosthenes the indeed my mother fled with the
ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ μετέσχε τῶν πολιτικῶν κακῶν·
husband to Corinth and shared the civic misfortunes
σὺ δὲ ὁ ἀμφισβητῶν ἀνὴρ εἶναι, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τολμήσαιμι
you but the-one claiming a-man to-be not for — I-would-dare
εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἶ, ἐγράφης λιποταξίου, καὶ τὸν
to-say that a-man you-are were-indicted for-desertion and the
γραψάμενον Νικόδημον τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον χρήμασι πείσας
having-indicted Nicodemus the Aphidnaean with-money having-persuaded

ἐσώθης, ὃν ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀριστάρχου συναπέκτεινας, καὶ
were-saved whom later with Aristarchus you-helped-kill and
οὐ καθαρὸς ὢν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλεις.
not pure being into the marketplace you-burst
Φιλοχάρης δ' οὑτοσί, ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν, οὐκ 149
Philochares and this-man-here the eldest brother our not
ἀγεννεῖς διατριβάς, ὡς σὺ βλασφημεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν γυμνασίοις
ignoble pastimes as you slander but in gymnasia
διατρίβων, καὶ μετὰ Ἰφικράτους συνεστρατευμένος, καὶ
spending-time and with Iphicrates having-campaigned and
συνεχῶς ἔτος ἤδη τουτὶ τρίτον στρατηγῶν, ἥκει δεησόμενος
continuously year now this-here third serving-as-general has-come to-beg
ὑμῶν ἐμὲ σῶσαι. Ἀφόβητος δ' οὑτοσί, ὁ νεώτατος ἡμῶν
you me to-save Aphobetus and this-man-here the youngest our
ἀδελφός, πεπρεσβευκὼς μὲν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως
brother having-served-as-envoy indeed for you worthily of-the city
πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, καλῶς δὲ καὶ δικαίως τῶν
to the of-Persians king well and also justly the
ὑμετέρων προσόδων ἐπιμεληθείς, ὅτε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν
your revenues having-taken-care-of when him over the public
διοίκησιν εἵλεσθε, καὶ πεπαιδοποιημένος κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,
administration you-chose and having-begotten-children according-to the laws
ἀλλ' οὐ Κνωσίωνι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα παρακατακλίνων,
but not beside-Cnosion the his-own wife laying
ὥσπερ σύ, πάρεστι καταφρονῶν τῶν σῶν λοιδοριῶν· τὸ
as you is-present despising the your abuses the
γὰρ ψευδὲς ὄνειδος οὐ περαιτέρω τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀφικνεῖται.
for false reproach not further than-the hearing reaches
ἐτόλμησας δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν κηδεστῶν εἰπεῖν· οὕτως 150
you-dared and also about the my in-laws to-speak so
ἀναιδὴς καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀχάριστος εἶ, ὃς Φιλόδημον
shameless and from-of-old ungrateful you-are who Philodemus

τὸν Φίλωνος πατέρα καὶ Ἐπικράτους οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς οὐδὲ
the of-Philon father and of-Epicrates not love nor
προσκυνεῖς, δι᾽ ὃν εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης,
revere because-of whom into the demesmen you-were-enrolled
ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Παιανιέων. ἐκπέπληγμαι
as know the elders of-Paeanians I-am-astonished
δέ, εἰ σὺ λοιδορεῖν Φίλωνα τολμᾷς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν
and if you to-abuse Philon dare and that among
τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις Ἀθηναίων, οἳ δεῦρο εἰσεληλύθασι
the most-reasonable of-Athenians who here have-come-in
δικάσοντες ἕνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
to-judge for-the-sake-of the best of-the city and
μᾶλλον προσέχουσι τοῖς βίοις ἡμῶν ἢ τοῖς λόγοις.
more attend to-the lives our than the words
151 πότερα γὰρ ἂν προσδοκᾷς αὐτοὺς εὔξασθαι μυρίους
whether for — you-expect them to-pray ten-thousand
ὁπλίτας ὁμοίους Φίλωνι γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ σώματα οὕτω
hoplites like to-Philon to-be and the bodies so
διακειμένους καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω σώφρονας, ἢ τρισμυρίους
disposed and the soul so temperate or thirty-thousand
κιναίδους οἵους περ σύ; καὶ τὴν Ἐπικράτους εὐαγωγίαν,
perverts such as you and the of-Epicrates gentleness
τοῦ Φίλωνος ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπανάγεις εἰς ὀνείδη. καὶ τίς αὐτὸν
the of-Philon brother you-bring-round into reproaches and who him
εἶδε πώποτε ἀσχημονήσαντα, ἢ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν, ὡς σὺ
saw ever behaving-indecently either by day as you
φῂς, ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἢ νύκτωρ; οὐ γὰρ ἂν
say in the procession of-the Dionysia or by-night not for —
τοῦτό γ᾽ εἴποις, ὡς ἔλαθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγνοεῖτο.
this at-least you-could-say that he-escaped-notice not for he-was-unknown

Aeschines brings his three children as proof that he would not betray his country and his family for Philip's friendship. Demosthenes invented the story of the Olynthian woman and was hissed off the platform when he told it; Aristophanes of Olynthus testifies that Demosthenes offered him money to swear to it. Demosthenes set the actor Satyrus, who begged captives off Philip, against Aeschines, who he says whipped a captive woman. Aeschines asks whether the city will let so polluted a man go about, since Hesiod says a whole city pays for one bad man. He asks what decree he proposed or what law he broke; those who oppose the peace grew rich on the war. He sang the paean with the other envoys while the god was honored, a pious act. Changing policy with the times is the city's own practice. Demosthenes, by contrast, wrote a speech for Phormio and showed it to his opponent Apollodorus, and ruined the house of Aristarchus.

ἐμοὶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκ τῆς Φιλοδήμου θυγατρὸς καὶ Φίλωνος 152
to-me and O men from the of-Philodemus daughter and of-Philon
ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἐπικράτους τρεῖς παῖδές εἰσι, μία μὲν θυγάτηρ,
sister and of-Epicrates three children are one indeed daughter
δύο δὲ υἱεῖς· οὓς ἐγὼ δεῦρο ἥκω μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κομίζων,
two and sons whom I here have-come with the others bringing
ἑνὸς ἐρωτήματος ἕνεκα καὶ τεκμηρίου πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς,
of-one question for-the-sake and proof for the jurors
ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐρήσομαι. ἐρωτῶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ
which now indeed I-will-ask I-ask for O men Athenians whether
δοκῶ ἂν ὑμῖν πρὸς τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῇ τῶν φίλων συνηθείᾳ
I-seem — to-you besides the fatherland and the of-the friends intimacy
καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων πατρῴων μετουσίᾳ τουτουσὶ τοὺς
and of-rites and of-tombs ancestral share these-here the
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους προδοῦναι Φιλίππῳ, καὶ
of-all men to-me dearest to-betray to-Philip and
περὶ πλείονος τὴν ἐκείνου φιλίαν τῆς τούτων σωτηρίας
of more the his friendship than-the their safety

ποιήσασθαι. ποίᾳ κρατηθεὶς ἡδονῇ; ἢ τί πώποτε ἄσχημον
to-make by-what overcome pleasure or what ever unseemly
ἕνεκα χρημάτων πράξας; οὐ γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία κακοὺς
for-the-sake-of money having-done not for — Macedonia bad
ἢ χρηστοὺς ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις· οὐδ' ἐσμὲν ἕτεροί τινες
or good makes but the nature nor we-are different some
ἥκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ' οἵους ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμψατε.
having-come from the embassy but such-as you sent-out
153 συμπέπλεγμαι δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀνθρώπῳ
I-have-been-entangled and in the public-life to excess with-a-man
γόητι καὶ πονηρῷ, ὃς οὐδ' ἂν ἄκων ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν
a-sorcerer and wicked who not-even — unwilling true nothing
εἴποι. ἡγεῖται δέ, ὅταν τι ψεύδηται, τῶν λόγων
would-say leads-off and whenever something he-lies of-the words
ὅρκος κατὰ τῶν ἀναισχύντων ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τὰ μὴ
an-oath by the shameless eyes and the-things not
γεγενημένα οὐ μόνον ὡς ἔστι λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
having-happened not only as is he-says but also the day
ἐν ᾗ φησι γενέσθαι· καὶ προστίθησίν τινος ὄνομα
on which he-says to-have-happened and he-adds of-someone name
πλασάμενος, ὡς ἔτυχε παρών, μιμούμενος τοὺς τἀληθῆ
having-invented as happened being-present imitating the-ones the-truth
λέγοντας. ἓν δὲ εὐτυχοῦμεν οἱ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντες,
telling in-one-thing but are-fortunate the-ones nothing doing-wrong
ὅτι πρὸς τῇ τερατείᾳ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων
that besides the jugglery of-the character and the of-the words
συνθέσει νοῦν οὐκ ἔχει. σκέψασθε γὰρ ἀφροσύνην ἅμα
arrangement sense not he-has consider for folly at-once
καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τἀνθρώπου, ὃς τοιοῦτον ἐπλάσατο τὸ
and ignorance of-the-man who such invented the
περὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθίαν γυναῖκα ψεῦδος κατ' ἐμοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ
about the Olynthian woman lie against me at which

μεταξὺ λέγων ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξερρίφη· τὸν γὰρ πλεῖστον
in-the-middle speaking by you he-was-hissed-off the-man for farthest
ἀφεστηκότα τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τοὺς εἰδότας διέβαλλε.
standing-apart from-the such-things before the ones-knowing he-slandered
σκέψασθε δέ, ὡς πόρρωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην 154
consider and how from-far-off for the charge this
παρεσκευάζετο. ἔστι γάρ τις ἐπιδημῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
he-was-preparing there-is for one sojourning in the city
Ἀριστοφάνης Ὀλύνθιος· τούτῳ συσταθεὶς ὑπό τινων καὶ
Aristophanes Olynthian to-him introduced by some and
πυθόμενος ὡς εἰπεῖν δύναται, ὑπερεκθεραπεύσας αὐτὸν
having-learned that to-speak he-is-able having-courted-lavishly him
καὶ προσαγαγόμενος, ἔπειθεν ἐμοῦ τὰ ψευδῆ
and having-won-over he-tried-to-persuade against-me the false-things
καταμαρτυρεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, κἂν παρελθὼν ἐθελήσῃ
to-testify before you and-if having-come-forward he-is-willing
σχετλιάσαι καὶ λέγειν ὡς εἰς οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα
to-cry-out and to-say that toward a-kinswoman his-own woman
αἰχμάλωτον γεγενημένην πεπαρῴνηκα, πεντακοσίας μὲν
captive having-become I-have-behaved-drunkenly five-hundred indeed
ἤδη δραχμὰς ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτῷ δώσειν, πεντακοσίας
at-once drachmas he-promised him to-be-going-to-give five-hundred
δ' ἑτέρας, ἐπειδὰν καταμαρτυρήσῃ.
and other when he-testified-against-me
ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγεῖτο, ὅτι τῆς μὲν 155
he and to-him answered as himself related that the indeed
φυγῆς καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας αὐτῷ οὐ κακῶς, ἀλλ'
exile and the present distress his not badly but
ὡς οἷόν τε ἄριστα στοχάζοιτο, τοῦ δὲ τρόπου πλεῖστον
as possible — best he-aimed-at the but character very-far
εἴη διημαρτηκώς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν τοιοῦτον πρᾶξαι. ὅτι δὲ
he-was having-missed nothing for — such to-do that and

ἀληθῆ λέγω, αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφάνην μαρτυροῦντα παρέξομαι.
true-things I-say himself Aristophanes testifying I-will-produce
κάλει μοι Ἀριστοφάνην Ὀλύνθιον, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν
call for-me Aristophanes Olynthian and the testimony
ἀναγίγνωσκε, καὶ τοὺς ἀκηκοότας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς
read and the-ones having-heard him and to
ἐμὲ ἀγγείλαντας, Δερκύλον Αὐτοκλέους Ἀγνούσιον καὶ
me having-reported Dercylus of-Autocles Hagnusian and
Ἀριστείδην Εὐφιλήτου Κηφισιέα.
Aristides of-Euphiletus Cephisian
156 τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων διομνυμένων καὶ μαρτυρούντων
the indeed witnesses swearing and testifying
ἀκούετε· τὰς δ' ἀνοσίους ταύτας τῶν λόγων τέχνας, ἃς
you-hear the but unholy these of-the speeches arts which
οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ κέχρηται νυνὶ κατ'
this-man to the young professes and has-used now against
ἐμοῦ, ἆρα μέμνησθε, ὡς ἐπιδακρύσας καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
me — do-you-remember how having-wept-over and — Greece
κατοδυράμενος, καὶ Σάτυρον τὸν κωμικὸν ὑποκριτὴν
having-lamented and Satyrus the comic actor
προσεπαινέσας, ὅτι ξένους τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ αἰχμαλώτους
having-praised-besides because guest-friends some his-own captives
σκάπτοντας ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου ἀμπελουργείῳ καὶ δεδεμένους
digging in the of-Philip vineyard and having-been-bound
παρὰ πότον ἐξῃτήσατο παρὰ Φιλίππου,
at a-drinking-party begged-off from Philip
157 ταῦθ' ὑποθεὶς ἐπεῖπεν ἐντεινάμενος ταύτην τὴν ὀξεῖαν
these-things having-laid-down he-added having-strained this the shrill
καὶ ἀνόσιον φωνήν, ὡς δεινόν, εἰ ὁ μὲν τοὺς Καρίωνας
and unholy voice how terrible if the-one indeed the Carions
καὶ Ξανθίας ὑποκρινόμενος οὕτως εὐγενὴς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος
and Xanthiases playing so noble and great-souled

γένοιτο, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τῆς μεγίστης σύμβουλος πόλεως, ὁ
should-prove I but the of-the greatest counselor city the-one
τοὺς μυρίους Ἀρκάδων νουθετῶν, οὐ κατάσχοιμι τὴν
the ten-thousand of-Arcadians admonishing not should-restrain the
ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ παραθερμανθείς, ὅθ' ἡμᾶς εἱστία Ξενόδοκος
insolence but having-been-heated when us entertained Xenodocus
τῶν ἑταίρων τις τῶν Φιλίππου, ἕλκοιμι τῶν τριχῶν καὶ
of-the companions one the of-Philip I-should-drag by-the hair and
λαβὼν ῥυτῆρα μαστιγοίην αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα.
having-taken a-strap should-whip a-captive woman
οὐκοῦν εἰ ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ ἐπιστεύσατε, ἢ Ἀριστοφάνης μου 158
so-then if you him had-believed or Aristophanes against-me
συγκατεψεύσατο, ἐπ' αἰσχραῖς αἰτίαις ἀπωλόμην ἄν.
had-joined-in-lying on shameful charges I-would-have-perished —
ἐάσετε οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον αὑτοῦ προστρόπαιον, μὴ γὰρ
will-you-allow then the such of-himself pollution not for
δὴ τῆς πόλεώς γε, ἐν ὑμῖν ἀναστρέφεσθαι; καὶ τὴν
surely of-the city at-least among you to-go-about and the
μὲν ἐκκλησίαν καθαίρετε, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι διὰ
indeed assembly you-purify in but the decrees through
τούτου τὰς εὐχὰς ποιήσεσθε, καὶ στρατιὰν ἢ πεζὴν ἢ
him the prayers will-you-make and army either infantry or
ναυτικὴν ἐκπέμψετε; καὶ μὴν ὅ γε Ἡσίοδος λέγει,
naval will-you-send-out and truly — at-least Hesiod says

πολλάκι τοι ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα,
often truly a-whole city of-a-bad man reaps-the-harvest
ὅς κεν ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάαται.
who — sins and reckless-deeds devises

159 ἓν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰπεῖν ἔτι βούλομαι.
one-thing and besides the things-said to-say further I-wish
εἰ γάρ πού τις ἔστι κακία κατ᾽ ἀνθρώπους, ἂν μὴ
if for anywhere some there-is vice among men if not
πρωτεύοντα περὶ ταύτην ἀποδείξω Δημοσθένην, θανάτου
holding-first-place in this I-prove Demosthenes of-death
τιμῶμαι. ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ παρακολουθεῖ
I-propose-the-penalty but I-think many and hard-things attend
τῷ κρινομένῳ, καὶ μετακαλεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
the one-on-trial and calls-away the soul from the
ὀργῆς ὁ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους,
anger the danger to the for the safety arguments
καὶ διαλογισμὸν παρίστησι, μή τι παραλίπῃ τῶν
and anxious-reckoning it-presents lest something he-omit of-the
κατηγορημένων. ὥστε ἅμα μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἅμα δὲ ἐμαυτὸν
charges so at-once indeed you at-once and myself
εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀγαγεῖν βούλομαι.
into recollection of-the charges to-bring I-wish
160 σκοπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
consider for now by each O men Athenians
ποῖον ἐγὼ ψήφισμα γράψας κρίνομαι, ἢ ποῖον νόμον
what I decree having-proposed am-on-trial or what law
λύσας, ἢ ποῖον γενέσθαι κωλύσας, ἢ τίνας ὑπὲρ
having-repealed or what to-be-passed having-prevented or what on-behalf-of
τῆς πόλεως συνθήκας ποιησάμενος, ἢ τί τῶν δεδογμένων
the city agreements having-made or what of-the things-resolved
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπαλείψας, ἢ τί τῶν μὴ δοξάντων
about the peace having-erased or what of-the not resolved
ὑμῖν προσγράψας.
by-you having-added

οὐκ ἤρεσκέ τισι τῶν ῥητόρων ἡ εἰρήνη· ἔπειτα οὐ 161
not pleased some of-the orators the peace then not
τότε ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν ἐμὲ κρίνειν;
then to-speak-against them ought but not now me to-prosecute
ἐπλούτουν τινὲς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων
were-getting-rich some from the war from the your
εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων, νῦν δὲ πέπαυνται·
war-taxes and the public revenues now but they-have-stopped
εἰρήνη γὰρ ἀργίαν οὐ τρέφει· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν οὐκ
peace for idleness not feeds then the-ones indeed not
ἀδικούμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν, τιμωρήσονται
being-wronged but wronging the city will-punish
τὸν προστάντα τῆς εἰρήνης, οἱ ὠφελούμενοι τοὺς
the-one having-championed the peace the-ones being-benefited the
χρησίμους εἰς τὰ κοινὰ γενομένους ἐγκαταλείψετε;
useful to the public-affairs having-been will-you-abandon
συνῇδον γὰρ τοὺς παιᾶνας Φιλίππῳ, κατεσκαμμένων τῶν 162
I-joined-in-singing for the paeans with-Philip having-been-razed the
ἐν Φωκεῦσι πόλεων, ὥς φησιν ὁ κατήγορος. καὶ ποίῳ
among Phocians cities as says the accuser and by-what
δύναιτ᾽ ἄν τις τεκμηρίῳ τοῦτο σαφῶς ἐπιδεῖξαι; ἐκλήθην
could — anyone proof this clearly demonstrate I-was-invited
μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ξένια μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων,
indeed for to the guest-entertainment with the fellow-envoys
ἦσαν δ᾽ οἱ κλητοὶ καὶ συνδειπνοῦντες σὺν ταῖς ἀπὸ
were and the-ones invited and dining-together with the from
τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβείαις οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ διακόσιοι. ἐν
the Greeks embassies not fewer than two-hundred among
δὲ τούτοις ὡς ἔοικεν ἐγὼ διαφανὴς ἦν οὐχ ὑποσιγῶν,
and these as it-seems I conspicuous was not keeping-quiet

ἀλλὰ συνᾴδων, ὥς φησι Δημοσθένης, οὔτ' αὐτὸς παρών,
but singing-along as says Demosthenes neither himself being-present
οὔτε τῶν ἐκεῖ παρόντων οὐδένα παρασχόμενος μάρτυρα.
nor of-the there present-ones anyone having-produced as-witness
163 καὶ τῷ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ μή γε ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
and by-what conspicuous was-I if not at-least as in the
χοροῖς προῇδον; οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν ἐσίγων, ψευδῆ μου
choruses I-led-the-singing so-then if indeed I-was-silent false-things of-me
κατηγορεῖς· εἰ δὲ ὀρθῆς ἡμῖν τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης, καὶ
you-accuse if but upright for-us the fatherland being and
τῶν πολιτῶν κοινῇ μηδὲν ἀτυχούντων, συνῇδον
the citizens in-common in-nothing suffering-misfortune I-joined-in-singing
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων τὸν παιᾶνα, ἡνίκα ὁ θεὸς
with the other envoys the paean when the god
μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μηδὲν ἠδόξουν, εὐσέβουν,
indeed was-being-honored Athenians and in-nothing were-disgraced I-was-pious
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠδίκουν, καὶ δικαίως ἂν σῳζοίμην. ἔπειτα
but not I-was-doing-wrong and justly — I-would-be-acquitted then
ἐγὼ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ἀνηλεής τις εἰμὶ ἄνθρωπος, σὺ
I indeed because-of these-things pitiless a am man you
δὲ εὐσεβὴς ὁ τῶν ὁμοσπόνδων καὶ συσσίτων κατήγορος;
but pious the of-the partners-in-libation and messmates accuser
164 ὠνείδισας δέ μοι καὶ πολιτείας ἐμπληξίαν, εἰ πεπρέσβευκα
you-reproached and me also of-policy inconsistency if I-have-gone-as-envoy
πρὸς Φίλιππον, πρότερον παρακαλῶν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς
to Philip earlier summoning against him the
Ἕλληνας. καίτοι ταύτην, εἰ βούλει, τὴν κατηγορίαν καὶ
Greeks and-yet this if you-wish the charge also
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων δημοσίᾳ κατηγορήσεις. ἐπολεμεῖτε
of-the other Athenians publicly you-will-accuse you-were-at-war
Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορὰν τοῖς
with-Lacedaemonians and after the at Leuctra disaster the

αὐτοῖς ἐβοηθεῖτε· κατηγάγετε εἰς τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντας
same you-helped you-brought-back to the fatherland exiled
Θηβαίους, καὶ πάλιν τούτοις ἐμαχέσασθε ἐν Μαντινείᾳ·
Thebans and again them you-fought at Mantinea
ἐπολεμήσατε Ἐρετριεῦσι καὶ Θεμίσωνι, καὶ πάλιν αὐτοὺς
you-made-war with-Eretrians and Themison and again them
ἐσώσατε. καὶ μυρίοις ἄλλοις ἤδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὕτω
you-saved and countless others already of-the Greeks so
κέχρησθε· τοῖς γὰρ καιροῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι ἀνάγκη
you-have-treated with-the for times to-move-along-with necessity
πρὸς τὸ κράτιστον καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν πόλιν.
toward the best both the man and the city
τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν σύμβουλον τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; οὐ τῇ πόλει 165
the and good counselor what must do not to-the city
πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν; τὸν δὲ πονηρὸν
for the present the best to-advise the and wicked
κατήγορον τί; οὐ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀποκρυπτόμενον τῆς
accuser what not the circumstances concealing the
πράξεως κατηγορεῖν; τὸν δὲ ἐκ φύσεως προδότην πῶς
act to-accuse the and by nature traitor how
χρὴ θεωρεῖν; ἆρά γε οὐχ ὡς σὺ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι
must one-regard — at-least not as you the-ones meeting-you
καὶ πιστεύσασι κέχρησαι, λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα
and having-trusted have-treated speeches for law-courts writing
μισθοῦ, τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις; ἔγραψας λόγον
for-pay these to-disclose to-the opponents you-wrote a-speech
Φορμίωνι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών· τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκας
for-Phormio the banker money having-taken this you-disclosed
Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα.
to-Apollodorus the-one on the life prosecuting Phormio

166 εἰσῆλθες εἰς εὐδαιμονοῦσαν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστάρχου τοῦ
you-entered into prosperous house the of-Aristarchus the
Μόσχου· ταύτην ἀπώλεσας. προὔλαβες τρία τάλαντα
of-Moschus this you-ruined you-took-in-advance three talents
παρ' Ἀριστάρχου φεύγοντος· τοῦτον τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια
from Aristarchus going-into-exile this-man the of-the exile travel-money
ἀπεστέρησας, οὐκ αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν φήμην ἣν
you-robbed not having-been-ashamed-before the rumor which
προσεποιήσω, ζηλωτὴς εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μειρακίου. οὐ
you-pretended an-admirer to-be of-the youth of-the lad not
γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀληθείᾳ· οὐ γὰρ προσδέχεται δίκαιος ἔρως
for surely in-the at-least truth not for admits just love
πονηρίαν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ προδότης καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.
wickedness these-things is the traitor and the-things to-these like

XIV · SERVICE AND PEACE

Aeschines recalls his military service, as a frontier guard, at Nemea, at Mantinea, in Euboea, and at Tamynae, where he was crowned and brought home the news of victory. He traces Athens' history from Salamis and the walls the Persians razed: every peace with Sparta made the city strong, and every war that orators stirred up weakened it, down to the Four Hundred and the Thirty. After the restored democracy, men of the same kind again turn the city to war, and they now accuse him. They try him not as an envoy but as Philip's guarantor, and of ten envoys he alone is called to account. He asks the jurors to spare his father, brothers, in-laws, and children, calls on Eubulus, Phocion, Nausicles, and his friends to speak for him, and hands himself over to the jurors and to the law.

167 ἐμνήσθη δέ που περὶ στρατείας, καὶ καλὸν στρατιώτην
made-mention and somewhere of military-service and good soldier
ἐμὲ ὠνόμασεν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ἕνεκα τῆς τούτου βλασφημίας,
me he-named I but not for-the-sake-of the his abuse

ἀλλὰ τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου προνοούμενος, καὶ περὶ
but the present danger taking-forethought and about
τούτων ἀνεπίφθονον λέγειν εἶναί μοι νομίζω· ποῦ γὰρ ἢ
these-things unexceptionable to-speak to-be for-me I-think where for or
πότε αὐτῶν ἢ πρὸς τίνας, παραλιπὼν τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν,
when of-them or before whom having-passed-over this the day
μνησθήσομαι; ἐκ παίδων μὲν γὰρ ἀπαλλαγεὶς περίπολος
shall-I-make-mention from boys indeed for having-departed frontier-guard
τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐγενόμην δύ' ἔτη, καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν τοὺς
of-the country this I-became two years and of-these to-you the
συνεφήβους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡμῶν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι·
fellow-cadets and the commanders our witnesses I-will-produce
πρώτην δ' ἐξελθὼν στρατείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι 168
first and having-gone-out campaign the in the divisions
καλουμένην, καὶ συμπαραπέμπων μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ
so-called and helping-escort with the age-mates and
τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδου ξένων τὴν εἰς Φλειοῦντα παραπομπήν,
the of-Alcibiades mercenaries the to Phlius convoy
κινδύνου συμβάντος ἡμῖν περὶ τὴν Νεμεάδα καλουμένην
danger having-occurred to-us near the Nemean so-called
χαράδραν, οὕτως ἠγωνισάμην, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων
ravine so I-fought that by the commanders
ἐπαινεῖσθαι· καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐξόδους τὰς
to-be-praised and the other the by succession expeditions the
ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐξῆλθον,
in the eponymous and the divisions I-went-out-on
καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην συνεμαχεσάμην οὐκ αἰσχρῶς 169
and the at Mantinea battle I-fought-in not shamefully
οὐδ' ἀναξίως τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰς εἰς Εὔβοιαν στρατείας
nor unworthily of-the city and the to Euboea campaigns
ἐστρατευσάμην, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ταμύναις μάχην ἐν τοῖς
I-served-in and the at Tamynae battle among the

ἐπιλέκτοις οὕτως ἐκινδύνευσα, ὥστε κἀκεῖ στεφανωθῆναι
picked-men so I-ran-risks that both-there to-be-crowned
καὶ δεῦρο ἥκων πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τήν τε νίκην τῆς
and here having-come again by the people the both victory of-the
πόλεως ἀπαγγείλας, καὶ Τεμενίδου τοῦ τῆς Πανδιονίδος
city having-reported and Temenides the of-the Pandionis
ταξιάρχου καὶ συμπρεσβεύσαντος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μοι δευρὶ
taxiarch and having-gone-as-envoy-with from camp me hither
περὶ τὸν γενόμενον κίνδυνον οἷος ἦν ἀπαγγείλαντος.
about the having-occurred danger what-sort it-was having-reported
170 ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ
that and true-things I-say take for-me this the decree and
κάλει τὸν Τεμενίδην καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους μοι τὰς
call — Temenides and the-ones having-campaigned-with me the
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως στρατείας καὶ Φωκίωνα τὸν στρατηγόν,
for the city campaigns and Phocion the general
μήπω συνήγορον, ἂν τούτοις συνδοκῇ, ἀλλ' ὑπεύθυνον
not-yet as-advocate if to-these-men it-seems-good but answerable
τῷ συκοφάντῃ μάρτυρα, ἐὰν ψεύδηται.
to-the slanderer witness if he-lies
171 ἀγγείλας τοίνυν πρῶτος τὴν τῆς πόλεως νίκην ὑμῖν
having-reported then first the of-the city victory to-you
καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων τῶν ὑμετέρων κατόρθωσιν, πρώτην
and the of-the sons the your success first
ταύτην ὑμᾶς ἀπαιτῶ χάριν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίαν, οὐ
this you I-ask-back favor the of-the person safety not
μισόδημος ὤν, ὥς φησιν ὁ κατήγορος, ἀλλὰ μισοπόνηρος,
a-hater-of-the-people being as says the accuser but a-hater-of-the-wicked
οὐδὲ τοὺς Δημοσθένους ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐῶν προγόνους μιμεῖσθαι,
nor the of-Demosthenes you not allowing ancestors to-imitate
οὐ γὰρ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίων
not for they-exist but of-the noble and to-the city saving

βουλευμάτων ζηλωτὰς εἶναι παρακαλῶν. νῦν δ' αὐτὰ
counsels emulators to-be urging now and them
πόρρωθεν ἀρξάμενος μικρῷ δίειμι σαφέστερον.
from-far-back having-begun a-little I-will-go-through more-clearly
πρότερον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν εὐδόξησε μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι 172
formerly the city our won-glory after the at Salamis
ναυμαχίαν, καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πεπτωκότων,
sea-battle and the walls by the barbarians having-fallen
εἰρήνης δ' ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, διέμεινεν ἡμῖν
peace and existing with Lacedaemonians remained for-us
τὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας πολίτευμα. συνταραχθέντες δὲ ὑπό
the of-the democracy constitution having-been-stirred-up but by
τινων, καὶ καταστάντες πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς πόλεμον,
some and having-entered with Lacedaemonians into war
πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες κακὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες, Μιλτιάδου
many both having-suffered ills and having-done Miltiades
τοῦ Κίμωνος προκηρυκευσαμένου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,
the of-Cimon having-opened-negotiations with Lacedaemonians
ὄντος προξένου, σπονδὰς πεντηκονταετεῖς ἐποιησάμεθα,
being proxenus a-truce fifty-year we-made
ἐχρησάμεθα δὲ ἔτη τριακαίδεκα.
we-enjoyed-it and years thirteen
ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐτειχίσαμεν μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ 173
in and this the time we-fortified indeed the Piraeus
καὶ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ᾠκοδομήσαμεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ τριήρεις
and the northern wall built hundred and triremes
πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ἐναυπηγησάμεθα, τριακοσίους δ'
besides the existing we-built three-hundred and
ἱππέας προσκατεσκευασάμεθα, καὶ τριακοσίους Σκύθας
cavalry we-equipped-besides and three-hundred Scythians
ἐπριάμεθα, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαίως εἴχομεν.
bought and the democracy securely we-held

παρεμπεσόντων δ' εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐλευθέρων
having-crept-in and into the commonwealth our not free
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς τρόποις οὐ μετρίων, πάλιν πρὸς
men and in-the manners not moderate again with
Λακεδαιμονίους δι' Αἰγινήτας εἰς πόλεμον κατέστημεν,
Lacedaemonians because-of Aeginetans into war we-entered
174 κἀνταῦθα οὐκ ὀλίγα βλαβέντες, τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης
and-then not few-things having-been-harmed the indeed peace
ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, Ἀνδοκίδην δ' ἐκπέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς
we-desired Andocides and having-sent-out to the
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, εἰρήνην ἔτη
Lacedaemonians and the fellow-envoys peace years
τριάκοντα ἠγάγομεν, ἣ τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ἦρεν· χίλια
thirty we-concluded which the people high raised thousand
μὲν γὰρ τάλαντα ἀνηνέγκαμεν νομίσματος εἰς τὴν
indeed for talents we-carried-up of-coin to the
ἀκρόπολιν, ἑκατὸν δὲ τριήρεις ἑτέρας ἐναυπηγησάμεθα
acropolis hundred and triremes other we-built
καὶ νεωσοίκους ᾠκοδομήσαμεν, χιλίους δὲ καὶ διακοσίους
and ship-sheds we-built thousand and also two-hundred
ἱππέας κατεστήσαμεν καὶ τοξότας ἑτέρους τοσούτους, καὶ
cavalry we-established and archers other as-many and
τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ νότιον ἐτειχίσθη, καὶ τὸν δῆμον
the long wall the southern was-built and the democracy
οὐδεὶς ἐνεχείρησε καταλῦσαι.
no-one attempted to-overthrow
175 πάλιν δὲ εἰς πόλεμον διὰ Μεγαρέας πεισθέντες
again and into war because-of Megarians having-been-persuaded
καταστῆναι, καὶ τὴν χώραν τμηθῆναι προέμενοι καὶ πολλῶν
to-enter and the country to-be-ravaged having-allowed and of-many
ἀγαθῶν στερηθέντες, εἰρήνης ἐδεήθημεν, καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα
goods having-been-deprived peace we-sought and made-it

διὰ Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ
through Nicias the of-Niceratus and again in the time this
ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα ἀνηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν διὰ
seven-thousand talents we-carried-up to the acropolis because-of
τὴν εἰρήνην ταύτην, τριήρεις δ' ἐκτησάμεθα πλωίμους καὶ
the peace this triremes and we-acquired seaworthy and
ἐντελεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τριακοσίας, φόρος δ' ἡμῖν κατ'
fully-equipped not fewer than three-hundred tribute and to-us by
ἐνιαυτὸν προσῄει πλέον ἢ χίλια καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα,
year came-in more than thousand and two-hundred talents
καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Εὔβοιαν εἴχομεν, πλείστας
and Chersonese and Naxos and Euboea we-held very-many
δ' ἀποικίας ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις ἀπεστείλαμεν.
and colonies in the times these we-sent-out
καὶ τοσαῦτ' ἔχοντες τἀγαθά, πάλιν πόλεμον πρὸς 176
and so-many having the-good-things again war against
Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξηνέγκαμεν πεισθέντες ὑπ' Ἀργείων,
Lacedaemonians we-took-up having-been-persuaded by Argives
καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐκ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων ἀψιμαχίας εἰς
and finally from the of-the orators skirmishing into
φρουρὰν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς
a-garrison of-the city and the four-hundred and the
ἀσεβεῖς τριάκοντα ἐνεπέσομεν, οὐκ εἰρήνην ποιησάμενοι,
impious thirty we-fell not peace having-made
ἀλλ' ἐκ προσταγμάτων ἠναγκασμένοι. πάλιν δὲ σωφρόνως
but by orders having-been-compelled again but soberly
πολιτευθέντες, καὶ τοῦ δήμου κατελθόντος ἀπὸ Φυλῆς,
having-been-governed and the people having-returned from Phyle
Ἀρχίνου καὶ Θρασυβούλου προστάντων τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τὸ μὴ
Archinus and Thrasybulus having-led the people and the not

μνησικακεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνορκον ἡμῖν καταστησάντων,
to-bear-grudges toward one-another sworn for-us having-made
ὅθεν σοφωτάτην ἅπαντες τὴν πόλιν ἡγήσαντο εἶναι,
whence wisest all the city considered to-be
177 κἀνταῦθα ἀναφύντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
and-then having-grown-up-again the people and again from beginning
ἰσχύσαντος, ἄνθρωποι παρέγγραπτοι γεγενημένοι πολῖται,
having-grown-strong men illegitimately-enrolled having-become citizens
καὶ τὸ νοσοῦν τῆς πόλεως ἀεὶ προσαγόμενοι, καὶ
and the sick-part of-the city always attaching-to-themselves and
πόλεμον ἐκ πολέμου πολιτευόμενοι, ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ
war out-of war making-their-policy in indeed peace
τὰ δεινὰ τῷ λόγῳ προορώμενοι, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς
the dangers in-the speech foreseeing and the souls the
φιλοτίμους καὶ λίαν ὀξείας ἐρεθίζοντες, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις
ambitious and too keen provoking in but the wars
ὅπλων οὐχ ἁπτόμενοι, ἐξεταστὰι δὲ καὶ ἀποστολεῖς
arms not touching inspectors but and commissioners
γιγνόμενοι, παιδοποιούμενοι δὲ ἐξ ἑταιρῶν, ἄτιμοι δ'
becoming begetting-children and from courtesans disfranchised and
ἐκ συκοφαντίας, εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους τὴν πόλιν
for slander into the extreme dangers the city
καθιστᾶσι, τὸ μὲν τῆς δημοκρατίας ὄνομα οὐ τοῖς ἤθεσιν,
they-bring the indeed of-the democracy name not with-the characters
ἀλλὰ τῇ κολακείᾳ θεραπεύοντες, καταλύοντες δὲ τὴν
but with-the flattery courting overthrowing but the
εἰρήνην, ἐξ ἧς ἡ δημοκρατία σῴζεται, συναγωνιζόμενοι
peace from which the democracy is-preserved joining-the-fight
δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις, ἐξ ὧν ὁ δῆμος καταλύεται.
and in-the wars from which the democracy is-overthrown

οὗτοι νῦν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ συστραφέντες ἥκουσι, καὶ φασὶ μὲν 178
these-men now against me having-banded-together have-come and say indeed
τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν εἰρήνην πρίασθαι, καὶ προλαβεῖν
— Philip the peace to-have-bought and to-have-gotten-the-advantage
ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἅπαντα, ἣν δ᾽ αὐτὸς εὗρεν
over-us in the agreements in-everything which and himself found
εἰρήνην αὑτῷ συμφέρουσαν, ταύτην παραβεβηκέναι. ἐμὲ
peace to-himself advantageous this to-have-broken me
δ᾽ οὐχ ὡς πρεσβευτὴν κρίνουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐγγυητὴν
and not as envoy they-try but as guarantor
Φιλίππου καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ τὸν τῶν λόγων κύριον
of-Philip and of-the peace and from-the of-the words master
τὰς τῶν ἔργων προσδοκίας ἀπαιτοῦσι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
the of-the deeds expectations they-demand the same-man and
ἐν μὲν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἐπαινέτην ἐπιδείκνυμι, ἐν δὲ
in indeed the decrees praiser I-show in but
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατηγόρῳ κέχρημαι. δέκατος δ᾽ αὐτὸς
the court as-accuser I-have-had tenth and myself
πρεσβεύσας, μόνος τὰς εὐθύνας δίδωμι.
having-been-envoy alone the account render
κἀμοὶ συνδεησόμενοι πάρεισιν ὑμῶν πατὴρ μέν, οὗ 179
and-for-me to-join-in-entreating are-present you father indeed whose
τὰς τοῦ γήρως ἐλπίδας μὴ ἀφέλησθε, ἀδελφοὶ δέ, οἳ
the of-the old-age hopes do-not take-away brothers and who
διαζυγέντες ἐμοῦ ζῆν οὐκ ἂν προέλοιντο, κηδεσταὶ δὲ
separated from-me to-live not — would-choose in-laws and
καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία καὶ τοὺς μὲν κινδύνους οὔπω
also these-here the little children and the indeed dangers not-yet
συνιέντα, ἐλεινὰ δέ, εἴ τι συμβήσεται ἡμῖν παθεῖν.
understanding pitiable but if anything shall-befall us to-suffer
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ δέομαι καὶ ἱκετεύω πολλὴν πρόνοιαν
for whom I beg and implore much forethought

ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἀνάνδρῳ
to-take and not to-the enemies them nor to-an-unmanly
καὶ γυναικείῳ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀνθρώπῳ παραδοῦναι.
and womanish in-the temper man to-hand-over
180 παρακαλῶ δὲ καὶ ἱκετεύω σῶσαί με πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεούς,
I-call-on and also implore to-save me first indeed the gods
δεύτερον δ' ὑμᾶς τοὺς τῆς ψήφου κυρίους, οἷς ἐγὼ πρὸς
second and you the-ones of-the vote masters to-whom I to
ἕκαστον τῶν κατηγορημένων εἰς μνήμην εἶναι τὴν ἐμὴν
each of-the charges to memory to-be the my
ἀπολελόγημαι, καὶ δέομαι σῶσαί με καὶ μὴ τῷ λογογράφῳ
have-made-my-defense and I-beg to-save me and not to-the speech-writer
καὶ Σκύθῃ παραδοῦναι, ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν πατέρες εἰσὶ
and Scythian to-hand-over as-many-as indeed of-you fathers are
παίδων ἢ νεωτέρους ἀδελφοὺς περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθε,
of-children or younger brothers of much you-make
ἀναμνησθέντες, ὅτι τὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης παράκλησιν διὰ
having-remembered that the of-the temperance exhortation through
τῆς περὶ Τίμαρχον κρίσεως ἀειμνήστως παρακέκληκα,
the about Timarchus trial memorably I-have-made
181 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας, οἷς ἐμαυτὸν ἄλυπον παρέσχημαι,
the and others all to-whom myself inoffensive I-have-shown
τὴν μὲν τύχην ἰδιώτης ὢν καὶ τοῖς μετρίοις ὑμῶν ὅμοιος,
in-the indeed fortune a-private-man being and to-the moderate of-you like
ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀγῶσι μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οὐ
in but the political contests alone of-the others against you not
συνεστηκώς, αἰτῶ παρ' ὑμῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν, μετὰ πάσης
having-banded-together I-ask from you the safety with all
εὐνοίας τῇ πόλει πεπρεσβευκώς, καὶ μόνος ὑπομείνας
goodwill to-the city having-served-as-envoy and alone having-withstood
τὸν τῶν συκοφαντῶν θόρυβον, ὃν ἤδη πολλοὶ τῶν
the of-the slanderers clamor which already many of-the-ones

τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λαμπρῶν οὐχ ὑπέστησαν. οὐ
in-the souls in the wars brilliant not withstood not
γὰρ ὁ θάνατος δεινόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ὕβρις.
for the death terrible but the at the end outrage
πῶς δὲ οὐκ οἰκτρὸν ἰδεῖν ἐχθροῦ πρόσωπον ἐπεγγελῶντος, 182
how and not pitiable to-see of-an-enemy face mocking
καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶ τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἀκοῦσαι; ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως τετόλμηται·
and with-the ears the reproaches to-hear but nevertheless it-has-been-dared
δέδοται τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ. παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐτράφην, ἐν
has-been-given the person to-the danger among you I-was-reared in
ταῖς ὑμετέραις διατριβαῖς βεβίωκα. οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν διὰ
the your ways I-have-lived no-one of-you because-of
τὰς ἐμὰς ἡδονὰς κάκιον οἰκεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐστέρηται τῆς
the my pleasures worse lives nor has-been-deprived of-the
πατρίδος κατηγόρου τυχών, ὅτ᾽ ἦσαν αἱ διαψηφίσεις,
fatherland an-accuser having-met when were the revisions-of-the-roll
οὐδ᾽ ὑπεύθυνος ὢν ἀρχῆς ἐκινδύνευσεν.
nor accountable being for-an-office was-endangered
μικρὰ δ᾽ ἔτι εἰπὼν ἤδη καταβαίνω. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ 183
a-few-things and more having-said now I-step-down I for O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ μὲν μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ὑμᾶς κύριος
men Athenians of-the indeed in-nothing to-wrong you master
ἦν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἡ τύχη, ἣ συνεκλήρωσέ
was of-the but not to-have blame the fortune which allotted
με ἀνθρώπῳ συκοφάντῃ καὶ βαρβάρῳ, ὃς οὔτε ἱερῶν
me with-a-man slanderer and barbarian who neither of-rites
οὔτε σπονδῶν οὔτε τραπέζης φροντίσας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς
nor of-libations nor of-table having-regarded but the-ones for
τὸν μέλλοντα αὑτῷ χρόνον ἀντεροῦντας ἐκφοβῶν,
the coming for-himself time going-to-speak-against frightening
ἥκει ψευδῆ συντάξας καθ᾽ ἡμῶν κατηγορίαν. ἐὰν οὖν
has-come false having-composed against us an-accusation if then

ἐθελήσητε σῴζειν τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας
you-are-willing to-save the of-the peace and the your
ἀδείας συναγωνιστάς, πολλοὺς βοηθοὺς λήψεται τὸ τῆς
security fellow-champions many helpers will-get the of-the
πόλεως συμφέρον καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἑτοίμους.
city advantage and to-run-risks for you ready
184 παρακαλῶ δὲ Εὔβουλον μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ
I-call-on and Eubulus indeed from the statesmanlike and
σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν συνήγορον, Φωκίωνα δ' ἐκ τῶν
temperate men as-advocate Phocion and from the
στρατηγῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διενηνοχότα
generals at-the-same-time and also in-justice having-surpassed
πάντων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν
all from and the friends and the age-mates the
ἐμαυτοῦ Ναυσικλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, οἷστισιν
my-own Nausicles and the others all with-whom
ἐγὼ κέχρημαι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μετέσχηκα.
I have-associated and the same pursuits have-shared
ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς λόγος εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἤδη τουτὶ
the indeed then my speech has-been-spoken the and person now this-here
παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ νόμος.
hands-over to-you both I and the law
