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Against Leptines

Demosthenes

ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΠΤΙΝΗΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΩΝΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Δ

Against Leptines

With Against Androtion, the Fourth Philippic, and Nine More Speeches

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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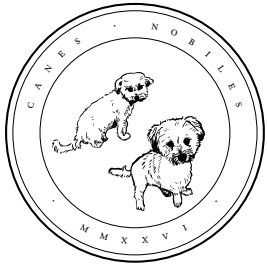

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Words the editors seclude are not printed; words
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DEMOSTHENES

ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΠΤΙΝΗΝ

Against Leptines

Demosthenes speaks, for the son of Chabrias among others, against the law of Leptines, which takes away every exemption from public services the people have granted. Leptines will say that some unworthy men have slipped out of the services; but to strip all because some are unworthy, and to forbid the people ever to give again, treats the people as unfit to be master of its own gifts. If the people can be deceived, the remedy is to punish the deceiver, not to abolish the power. Repealing the law costs only a reputation for simplicity; keeping it brands the city envious, faithless, and ungrateful. The city once repaid the Thirty's loan from Sparta rather than break faith, and a law that makes gifts untrustworthy takes away the one advantage a democracy's gifts have over a tyrant's: that the recipient may keep them.

ἄνδρες δικασταί, μάλιστα μὲν εἵνεκα τοῦ νομίζειν 1
men jurors most indeed for-the-sake of-the to-think
συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει λελύσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ
to-be-expedient for-the city to-have-been-repealed the law then also of-the
παιδὸς εἵνεκα τοῦ Χαβρίου ὡμολόγησα τούτοις, ὡς ἂν οἷός
boy for-the-sake the of-Chabrias I-agreed with-these as — able
τ' ὦ, συνερεῖν. ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὦ ἄνδρες
— I-may-be to-be-going-to-speak-for-it it-is and not unclear O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ', ὅτι Λεπτίνης, κἄν τις ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Athenians this that Leptines and-if anyone other for the
νόμου λέγῃ, δίκαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ, φήσει δ'
law speaks just indeed nothing will-say about it he-will-say but
ἀναξίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους εὑρομένους ἀτέλειαν ἐκδεδυκέναι
unworthy some men having-obtained exemption to-have-slipped-out-of
τὰς λῃτουργίας, καὶ τούτῳ πλείστῳ χρήσεται τῷ λόγῳ.
the public-services and this most he-will-use the argument
ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν τινῶν κατηγοροῦντα πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι 2
I but that indeed some accusing all to-take-away
τὴν δωρειὰν τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἐάσω· καὶ γὰρ
the gift of-the unjust-things is I-will-pass-over and for

εἴρηται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἴσως γιγνώσκεται·
it-has-been-said in-a-way some also by you perhaps is-recognized
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἐροίμην ἡδέως αὐτόν, τίνος εἵνεκα, εἰ τὰ
but that — I-would-ask gladly him of-what for-the-sake if the
μάλιστα μὴ τινὲς ἀλλὰ πάντες ἦσαν ἀνάξιοι, τῶν αὐτῶν
most not some but all were unworthy the same-things
ἠξίωσεν ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ γράψαι
he-deemed-worthy you both and these in indeed for the to-propose
'μηδέν' εἶναι ἀτελῆ,' τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀτέλειαν,
no-one to-be exempt the-ones having took-away the exemption
ἐν δὲ τῷ προσγράψαι 'μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι,'
in but the to-add not-even the future to-be-permitted to-give
ὑμᾶς τὸ δοῦναι ὑμῖν ἐξεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ' ἔνεστιν
you the to-give for-you to-be-permitted not for that at-least it-is-possible
εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν
to-say that the same way in-which-very the-ones having the
δωρειὰν ἀναξίους ἐνόμιζεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνάξιον
gift unworthy he-considered so also the people unworthy
ἡγεῖτο κύριον εἶναι τοῦ δοῦναι, ἐάν τῳ βούληται.
he-thought master to-be of-the to-give if to-anyone it-wishes
3 ἀλλὰ νὴ Δι' ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἴσως εἴποι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι διὰ
but by Zeus that — perhaps he-would-say against these-things that because-of
τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὸν δῆμον, διὰ τοῦθ' οὕτως
the easily to-be-deceived the people because-of this so
ἔθηκε τὸν νόμον. τί οὖν κωλύει πάντ' ἀφῃρῆσθαι
he-laid-down the law what then prevents all to-have-been-deprived-of
καὶ ὅλως τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον;
and wholly the constitution you according-to this the argument
οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἐφ' ὅτου τοῦτ' οὐ πεπόνθατε τῶν πάντων,
not for is in what this not you-have-suffered of-the all
ἀλλὰ καὶ ψηφίσματα πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐξαπατηθέντες
but also decrees many often deceived

κεχειροτονήκατε, καὶ συμμάχους ἤδη τινὰς ἥττους ἀντὶ
you-have-voted and allies already some weaker instead-of
κρειττόνων ἐπείσθηθ' ἑλέσθαι, καὶ ὅλως ἐν οἶμαι πολλοῖς
stronger you-were-persuaded to-choose and wholly in I-think many
οἷς πράττετε καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη.
which you-do also such something to-happen is-necessary
ἆρ' οὖν θησόμεθα νόμον διὰ ταῦτα 'μηδὲ τὸ 4
then therefore shall-we-lay-down a-law because-of these-things not-even the
λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ μήτε
future to-be-permitted for-the council nor for-the people either
προβουλεύειν μήτε χειροτονεῖν μηδέν;' ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ
to-pass-preliminary-decrees or to-vote anything I indeed not
οἶμαι· οὐ γάρ ἐσμεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι δίκαιοι περὶ ὧν ἂν
think not for we-are to-be-deprived deserving about what —
ἐξαπατηθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ διδαχθῆναι πῶς τοῦτο μὴ πεισόμεθα,
we-are-deceived but to-be-taught how this not we-shall-suffer
καὶ θέσθαι νόμον οὐχ ὃς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ κυρίους ἡμᾶς
and to-lay-down a-law not which will-take-away the masters us
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ τὸν ἐξαπατῶντα τιμωρησόμεθα.
to-be but through which the-one deceiving we-shall-punish
εἰ τοίνυν τις ἐάσας ταῦτ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτ' ἐξετάσειεν, 5
if then anyone having-set-aside these-things itself by itself should-examine
πότερόν ποτε λυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι κυρίους μὲν ὑμᾶς εἶναι
whether ever more-profitable it-is masters indeed you to-be
τῆς δωρειᾶς, ἐξαπατηθέντας δέ τι καὶ φαύλῳ τινὶ
of-the gift having-been-deceived but something even to-base some
δοῦναι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ παντελῶς ἀκύρους γενέσθαι μηδ' ἂν
to-give or through the altogether powerless to-become not-even if
ἄξιόν τιν' εἰδῆτ' ἐξεῖναι τιμῆσαι, εὕροιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον
worthy anyone you-know to-be-permitted to-honor he-would-find — rather
ἐκεῖνο λυσιτελοῦν. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πλείονας
that profitable because-of what because from indeed the more

ἢ προσήκει τιμᾶν πολλοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν προκαλεῖσθ' ὑμᾶς,
than is-fitting to-honor many well to-do you-invite you
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μηδενὶ μηδέν, μηδ' ἂν ἄξιος ᾖ, διδόναι,
from but the to-no-one anything not-even if worthy he-is to-give
πάντας ἀπείρξετε τοῦ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι.
all you-will-exclude from-the to-strive-for-honor

6 πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀνάξιόν
besides and this also because-of that that the-ones indeed unworthy
τινα τιμήσαντες εὐηθείας τινὰ δόξαν ἔχοιεν ἄν, οἱ δὲ
someone having-honored of-simplicity some reputation would-have — the-ones but
τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς μὴ τοῖς ὁμοίοις
the-ones good something doing themselves not with-the like
ἀμειβόμενοι, κακίας. ὅσῳ δὴ κρεῖττον εὐήθη δοκεῖν ἢ
requiting of-wickedness by-as-much-as indeed better simple to-seem than
πονηρὸν εἶναι, τοσούτῳ λῦσαι τὸν νόμον κάλλιον ἢ θέσθαι.
wicked to-be by-so-much to-repeal the law finer than to-lay-down

7 οὐ τοίνυν ἔμοιγ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' εὔλογον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
not then to-me even that reasonable O men Athenians
σκοπουμένῳ φαίνεται, καταμεμφόμενόν τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς
considering appears finding-fault-with some for the
ὑπαρχούσαις δωρειαῖς τοὺς χρησίμους ὄντας τῶν τιμῶν
existing gifts the useful being of-the honors
ἀποστερεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ὑπαρχουσῶν τούτων φαῦλοι καὶ
to-deprive if for existing these base and
ἀνάξιοί τινες κατὰ τὸν τούτων λόγον εἰσίν, τί χρὴ
unworthy some according-to the of-these argument are what one-must
προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι τότε, ὅταν παντελῶς μηδὲ πλέον
to-expect to-be-going-to-be then when altogether not-even more
μέλλῃ μηδὲν εἶναι τοῖς χρηστοῖς οὖσιν;
is-going anything to-be for-the good being

ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς κἀκεῖν' ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν νῦν 8
further then you also-that to-consider it-is-necessary that from the now
ὑπαρχόντων νόμων καὶ πάλαι κυρίων, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς
existing laws and long valid which not-even — himself
οὗτος ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐνιαυτὸν διαλιπὼν
this-man would-deny not not well to-be a-year having-left-between
ἕκαστος λητουργεῖ, ὥστε τὸν ἥμισύν ἐστ' ἀτελὴς τοῦ
each performs-public-service so-that the half he-is exempt of-the
χρόνου. εἶθ' ἧς πᾶσι μέτεστι τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ τοῖς μηδ'
time then of-which to-all belongs the half even to-the-ones not-even
ὁτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκόσιν ὑμᾶς, ταύτης τοὺς εὖ
anything-whatever good having-done you from-this the-ones well
ποιήσαντας, ὃ προστεθείκαμεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦτ' ἀφελώμεθα;
having-done which we-have-added to-them this shall-we-take-away
μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν οὔθ' ὑμῖν πρέπον.
by-no-means neither for otherwise honorable nor for-you fitting
πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ μὲν τὴν 9
how for not shameful O men Athenians in indeed the
ἀγορὰν ἀψευδεῖν νόμον γεγράφθαι, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδέν ἐστι
agora to-speak-no-lie a-law to-have-been-written in what no is
δημοσίᾳ βλάβος εἴ τις ψεύδεται, ἐν δὲ τῷ κοινῷ μὴ χρῆσθαι
publicly damage if anyone lies in but the public not to-use
τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτάξασαν τοῖς
the law this the city the same having-enjoined on-the
ἰδιώταις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι πεποιηκότας ἐξαπατῆσαι,
private-persons but the-ones good something having-done to-deceive
καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ μικρὰν ζημίαν ὀφλήσειν μέλλουσαν;
and that not small penalty to-be-going-to-incur being-about
οὐ γὰρ εἰ μὴ χρήματ' ἀπόλλυτε μόνον σκεπτέον, ἀλλ' 10
not for whether not money you-lose only must-be-considered but
εἰ καὶ δόξαν χρηστήν, περὶ ἧς μᾶλλον σπουδάζετ' ἢ
whether also reputation good about which rather you-are-zealous than

περὶ χρημάτων, καὶ οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι.
about money and not only you but also the ancestors
τεκμήριον δέ· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστά ποτε κτησάμενοι
proof and money indeed for most once having-acquired
πάνθ' ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας ἀνήλωσαν, ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης οὐδένα
all for honor they-spent for and glory no
πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας
ever danger they-shunned but also the private properties
προσαναλίσκοντες διετέλουν. νῦν τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ νόμος
spending-besides they-continued now then this the law
ταύτην ἀντὶ καλῆς αἰσχρὰν τῇ πόλει περιάπτει, καὶ
this instead-of fine shameful on-the city fastens and
οὔτε τῶν προγόνων οὔθ' ὑμῶν ἀξίαν. τρία γὰρ τὰ μέγιστ'
neither of-the ancestors nor of-you worthy three for the greatest
ὀνείδη κτᾶται, φθονεροὺς ἀπίστους ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δοκεῖν.
reproaches it-acquires envious faithless ungrateful to-be to-seem
11 ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐστὶν ὅλως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ
that then not-even it-is at-all O men Athenians of-the
ἤθους τοῦ ὑμετέρου κύριον ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον νόμον, καὶ
character the your valid to-make such law also
τοῦτο πειράσομαι δεῖξαι διὰ βραχέων, ἕν τι τῶν
this I-will-try to-show in brief one some-thing of-the
πρότερον πεπραγμένων τῇ πόλει διεξελθών. λέγονται
before done by-the city having-recounted are-said
χρήμαθ' οἱ τριάκοντα δανείσασθαι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
money the Thirty to-have-borrowed from Lacedaemonians
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἓν ἦλθεν
against the-ones in Peiraeus when but the city into one came
καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐκεῖνα κατέστη, πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ
and the affairs those were-settled envoys having-sent the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ' ἀπῄτουν.
Lacedaemonians the money this demanded-back

λόγων δὲ γιγνομένων καὶ τῶν μὲν τοὺς δανεισαμένους 12
speeches and taking-place and the-ones indeed the-ones having-borrowed
ἀποδοῦναι κελευόντων, τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεως, τῶν δὲ τοῦτο
to-repay bidding the-ones from the-city the-others but this
πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι τῆς ὁμονοίας σημεῖον ἀξιούντων,
first to-be-established of-the concord sign asking
κοινῇ διαλῦσαι τὰ χρήματα, φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑλέσθαι
in-common to-pay-off the money they-say the people to-have-chosen
συνεισενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς δαπάνης, ὥστε
to-contribute itself and to-share the expense so-as
μὴ λῦσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων μηδέν. πῶς οὖν οὐ δεινόν,
not to-break of-the agreed-things anything how then not terrible
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τότε μὲν τοῖς ἠδικηκόσιν ὑμᾶς
O men Athenians if then indeed for-the-ones having-wronged you
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὰ χρήματ᾽ εἰσφέρειν ἠθελήσατε,
for the not to-break-faith the money to-contribute you-were-willing
νῦν δ᾽ ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἄνευ δαπάνης τὰ δίκαια ποιῆσαι
now but it-being-possible for-you without expense the just-things to-do
τοῖς εὐεργέταις, λύσασι τὸν νόμον, ψεύδεσθαι μᾶλλον
to-the benefactors having-repealed the law to-break-faith rather
αἱρήσεσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ.
you-will-choose I indeed not think-it-right
τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως ἦθος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 13
the indeed then of-the city character O men Athenians
καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὧν εἶπον ἴδοι τις
both in other many-things and in what I-mentioned would-see one
ἂν τοιοῦτον, ἀψευδὲς καὶ χρηστόν, οὐ τὸ λυσιτελέστατον
— such truthful and good not the most-profitable
πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοποῦν, ἀλλὰ τί καὶ καλὸν πρᾶξαι. τὸ
toward money considering but what also honorable to-do the
δὲ τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽
but of-the-one having-laid-down the law the indeed other-things I

οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ λέγω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σύνοιδα, ἐκ δὲ
not know nor say bad anything nor know-of-it from but
τοῦ νόμου σκοπῶν εὑρίσκω πολὺ τούτου κεχωρισμένον.
the law considering I-find far from-this separated
14 φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγὼ κάλλιον εἶναι τοῦτον ὑμῖν ἀκολουθῆσαι
I-say then I better to-be this-man you to-follow
περὶ τοῦ λῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ ὑμᾶς τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ
about the to-repeal the law than you this-man about the
θέσθαι, καὶ λυσιτελέστερον εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ
to-lay-down and more-profitable to-be both for-you and for-this-man
τὴν πόλιν πεπεικέναι Λεπτίνην ὅμοιον αὐτῇ γενέσθαι
the city to-have-persuaded Leptines like to-itself to-become
δοκεῖν ἢ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τούτου πεπεῖσθαι ὁμοίαν εἶναι
to-seem than itself by this-man to-have-been-persuaded like to-be
τούτῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ χρηστός ἐσθ', ὡς ἐμοῦ γ'
to-this-man not-even for if very good he-is as for-my at-least
ἕνεκ' ἔστω, βελτίων ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἦθος.
sake let-him-be better is than-the city the character
15 νομίζω τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἄμεινον ἂν περὶ
I-think then you O men jurors better — about
τοῦ παρόντος βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ κἀκεῖνο μάθοιτε, ὅτι
the present to-deliberate if also-that you-should-learn that
ᾧ μόνῳ μείζους εἰσὶν αἱ παρὰ τῶν δήμων δωρειαὶ
in-which alone greater are the from the democracies gifts
τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀφαιρεῖται νῦν
than-the from the other constitutions even this is-taken-away now
τῷ νόμῳ. τῇ μὲν γὰρ χρείᾳ τῇ τῶν εὑρισκομένων
by-the law in-the indeed for usefulness the of-the-ones receiving
τὰς δωρειὰς οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔχοντες
the gifts the tyrants and the-ones the oligarchies holding
μάλιστα δύνανται· πλούσιον γὰρ ὃν ἂν βούλωνται
most are-able rich for whom — they-wish

παραχρῆμ᾽ ἐποίησαν· τῇ δὲ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ βεβαιότητι τὰς
at-once they-made in-the but honor and the security the
παρὰ τῶν δήμων δωρειὰς εὑρήσετ᾽ οὔσας βελτίους.
from the democracies gifts you-will-find being better
τό τε γὰρ μὴ μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης ὡς κολακεύοντα λαμβάνειν, 16
the both for not with shame as flattering to-receive
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ δοκοῦντ᾽ ἄξιόν τινος εἶναι
but in equal-freedom-of-speech seeming worthy of-something to-be
τιμᾶσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἐστι, τό θ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων
to-be-honored of-the fine-things is the and by the equals
ἑκόντων θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου λαμβάνειν
willing to-be-admired than-the from the master to-receive
ὁτιοῦν κρεῖττον εἶναι δοκεῖ. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις
anything-whatever better to-be seems among indeed for those
μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβος τῆς παρούσης
greater is the of-the future fear than-the present
χάριτος, παρὰ δ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀδεῶς ἂν λάβῃ τις ἔχειν
favor among but you without-fear what-ever receives anyone to-keep
ὑπῆρχε τὸν γοῦν ἄλλον χρόνον.
was-possible the at-any-rate other time
ὁ τοίνυν τὴν πίστιν ἀφαιρῶν τῶν δωρειῶν νόμος, οὗτος, 17
the then the trust taking-away of-the gifts law this
ᾧ μόνῳ κρείττους εἰσὶν αἱ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δωρειαί, τοῦτ᾽
in-which alone better are the from you gifts this
ἀφαιρεῖται. καίτοι τῶν ἁπασῶν ἧς ἄν τινος πολιτείας τὸ
takes-away and-yet of-the all whatever — of-any constitution the
κομίζεσθαι τοὺς εὔνους τοῖς καθεστῶσιν χάριν ἐξέλῃς,
to-receive the well-disposed by-the established-order gratitude you-take-away
οὐ μικρὰν φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀφῃρηκὼς ἔσει.
not small safeguard of-them this having-taken-away you-will-be

Leptines may say the services now fall on poor men and his law will make the richest serve. But no one is exempt from the property taxes and trierarchies for the war, not even the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The richest, serving as trierarchs, are already exempt from choregies, and those with less than enough have the necessary exemption and are outside this class, so the law adds no chorus-master from either. Among resident aliens it adds not even five, and of all the exempt there are hardly more than thirty against sixty regular services a year; for thirty more contributors the city would make itself faithless to all. Even if the chorus-masters were failing, the services could be pooled like the trierarchies. Demosthenes answers the complaint that private men grow rich while the treasury is empty, and has the trierarchy law read: no one is exempt but the nine archons.

18 τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε Λεπτίνης,
perhaps then perhaps that to-say — might-attempt Leptines
ἀπάγων ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων, ὡς αἱ λῃτουργίαι νῦν μὲν εἰς
leading-away you from these-things that the public-services now indeed upon
πένητας ἀνθρώπους ἔρχονται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νόμου τούτου
poor men fall from but the law this
λῃτουργήσουσιν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ' οὑτωσὶ
will-perform-public-services the richest is and this thus
μὲν ἀκοῦσαι λόγον τιν' ἔχον· εἰ δέ τις αὖτ' ἀκριβῶς
indeed to-hear reason some having if but anyone it precisely
ἐξετάσειε, ψεῦδος ἂν φανείη. εἰσὶ γὰρ δήπου παρ' ἡμῖν
should-examine falsehood — would-appear there-are for surely among us
αἵ τε τῶν μετοίκων λῃτουργίαι καὶ αἱ πολιτικαί, ὧν
the both of-the resident-aliens public-services and the civic of-which
ἑκατέρων ἐστὶ τοῖς εὑρημένοις ἡ ἀτέλεια ἣν οὗτος
each is for-the-ones having-obtained the exemption which this-man
ἀφαιρεῖται. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν
takes-away of-the for for the war and the safety

τῆς πόλεως εἰσφορῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως
of-the city property-taxes and trierarchies rightly and justly
οὐδείς ἐστ᾽ ἀτελὴς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων, οὐδ᾽ οὓς
no-one is exempt by the old laws not-even whom
οὗτος ἔγραψε, τοὺς ἀφ᾽ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.
this-man proposed the-ones from Harmodius and Aristogeiton
σκεψώμεθα δὴ τίνας ἡμῖν εἰσποιεῖ χορηγοὺς εἰς ἐκείνας 19
let-us-consider now whom for-us he-brings-in as-chorus-masters into those
τὰς λῃτουργίας, καὶ πόσους, ἐὰν μὴ τούτῳ προσέχωμεν,
the public-services and how-many if not to-this-man we-attend
ἀφήσει. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν πλουσιώτατοι τριηραρχοῦντες ἀεὶ
he-will-let-go the indeed then richest serving-as-trierarchs always
τῶν χορηγιῶν ἀτελεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐλάττω τῶν
from-the choregies exempt are the-ones but less than-the
ἱκανῶν κεκτημένοι, τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀτέλειαν ἔχοντες, ἔξω
sufficient possessing the necessary exemption having outside
τοῦ τέλους εἰσὶ τούτου· οὐκοῦν τούτων μὲν οὐδετέρων
the class are this therefore of-these indeed of-neither
οὐδεὶς διὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμῖν προσέσται χορηγός.
anyone because-of the law to-us will-be-added chorus-master
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί᾽ εἰς τὰς τῶν μετοίκων λῃτουργίας εἰσποιεῖ 20
but by Zeus into the of-the resident-aliens public-services he-brings-in
πολλούς. ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν δείξῃ πέντε, ἐγὼ ληρεῖν ὁμολογῶ.
many but if he-shows five I to-talk-nonsense admit
θήσω τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
I-will-assume then I not such to-be this but even
τῶν μετοίκων πλείονας ἢ τοσούτους, ἐὰν ὁ νόμος τεθῇ,
of-the resident-aliens more than so-many if the law is-passed
τοὺς λῃτουργοῦντας ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν μηδέν᾽
the-ones performing-public-services to-be-going-to-be and of-the citizens no-one
ἐκ τριηραρχίας ὑπάρξειν ἀτελῆ. σκεψώμεθα δὴ τί τοῦτο
from trierarchy to-be-going-to-be exempt let-us-consider now what this

τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν ἅπαντες οὗτοι λῃτουργῶσιν· φανήσεται
for-the city if all these perform-public-services it-will-appear
γὰρ οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τῆς γενησομένης ἄξιον αἰσχύνης.
for not-even much it-lacks of-the coming worth disgrace
21 ὅρα δ' οὑτωσί. εἰσὶ τῶν ξένων ἀτελεῖς — δέκα θήσω·
see and thus there-are of-the foreigners exempt ten I-will-assume
καὶ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ὅπερ εἶπον ἀρτίως, οὐκ οἶμαι πέντ'
and by the gods which-very I-said just-now not I-think five
εἶναι. καὶ μὴν τῶν γε πολιτῶν οὐκ εἰσὶ πλείους ἢ
to-be and truly of-the at-least citizens not are more than
πέντ' ἢ ἕξ. οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἑκκαίδεκα. ποιήσωμεν
five or six therefore of-both sixteen let-us-make
αὐτοὺς εἴκοσιν, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, τριάκοντα. πόσοι δή
them twenty if but you-wish thirty how-many indeed
ποτ' εἰσὶν οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς ἐγκυκλίους λῃτουργίας
ever are the-ones by year the regular public-services
λῃτουργοῦντες, χορηγοὶ καὶ γυμνασίαρχοι καὶ ἑστιάτορες;
performing chorus-masters and gymnasiarchs and banquet-givers
ἑξήκοντ' ἴσως ἢ μικρῷ πλείους σύμπαντες οὗτοι.
sixty perhaps or a-little more all-together these
22 ἵν' οὖν τριάκοντ' ἄνθρωποι πλείους παρὰ πάντα τὸν
so-that then thirty men more throughout all the
χρόνον λῃτουργήσωσιν ἡμῖν, τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπίστως
time may-perform-public-services for-us the all faithless
πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαθῶμεν; ἀλλ' ἴσμεν ἐκεῖνο δήπου,
toward us ourselves shall-we-make but we-know that surely
ὅτι λῃτουργήσουσιν μέν, ἄνπερ ᾖ πόλις ᾖ, πολλοὶ
that will-perform-public-services indeed as-long-as the city exists many
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλείψουσιν, εὖ δὲ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἐθελήσει,
and not will-fail well but to-do us no-one will-wish
τοὺς πρότερον ποιήσαντας ἐὰν ἠδικημένους ἴδῃ.
the-ones before having-done if wronged he-sees

εἶεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰ μάλιστ' ἐπέλειπον οἱ χορηγεῖν 23
so-be-it if but indeed the most were-failing the-ones to-serve-as-chorus-master
οἷοί τε, πρὸς Διὸς πότερον κρεῖττον ἦν εἰς συντέλειαν
able — by Zeus whether better was-it into contribution
ἀγαγεῖν τὰς χορηγίας ὥσπερ τὰς τριηραρχίας, ἢ τοὺς
to-bring the choregies as the trierarchies or the
εὐεργέτας ἀφελέσθαι τὰ δοθέντα; ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖν'
benefactors to-take-away the-things given I indeed that
οἶμαι. νῦν μέν γε τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἂν τούτων ἕκαστος
I-think now indeed at-least the time which — of-these each
λῃτουργῇ, δίδωσι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον, μετὰ
performs-public-service gives the rest to-them only after
ταῦτα δ' οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀναλώσει· τότε
these-things but nothing less each of-them will-spend then
δ' ἄν, μικρᾶς συντελείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκάστῳ
but — small contribution from the possessions for-each
γιγνομένης, οὐδὲν ἔπασχε δεινὸν οὐδείς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ
taking-place nothing suffered terrible anyone even if very
μικρὰ κεκτημένος ἦν.
small-things possessing be-was
οὕτω τοίνυν τινές, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρ' ἔχουσ' 24
so then some O men Athenians very are
ἀλογίστως ὥστ' ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν πρὸς μὲν ταῦτ' οὐδέν,
irrationally that they-attempt to-say against indeed these-things nothing
ἄλλα δὲ τοιαδί, ὡς ἄρα δεινόν, εἰ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν μηδ'
other-things but such that after-all terrible if in common indeed not-even
ὁτιοῦν ὑπάρχει τῇ πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δέ τινες πλουτήσουσ'
anything-whatever belongs to-the city privately but some will-grow-rich
ἀτελείας ἐπειλημμένοι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀμφότερ' οὐχὶ δίκαιον
exemption having-got is and these-things both not just
λέγειν. εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἔχει πολλὰ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν,
to-say if indeed for anyone has much in-nothing you wronging

οὐχὶ δεῖ δήπου τούτῳ βασκαίνειν· εἰ δ' ὑφῃρημένον
not it-is-necessary surely this-man to-envy if but having-filched
φήσουσιν ἤ τιν' ἄλλον οὐχ ὃν προσήκει τρόπον, εἰσὶ
they-will-say or some other not which it-is-fitting way there-are
νόμοι καθ' οὓς προσήκει κολάζειν. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο μὴ
laws according-to which it-is-fitting to-punish when but this not
ποιοῦσιν, οὐδὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον λεκτέον.
they-do not-even the argument by-them this must-be-spoken
25 καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε μὴ εἶναι χρήματα κοινὰ τῇ πόλει,
and truly about the at-least not to-be money common for-the city
ἐκεῖν' ὑμᾶς δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔσεσθ' εὐπορώτεροι,
that you it-is-necessary to-consider that nothing you-will-be better-off
τὰς ἀτελείας ἐὰν ἀφέλησθε· οὐ γὰρ κοινωνεῖ ταῖς
the exemptions if you-take-away not for shares with-the
δημοσίαις προσόδοις καὶ περιουσίαις ταῦτα τἀναλώματ'
public revenues and surpluses these the-expenses
οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων νυνὶ τῇ πόλει, δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν
in-nothing apart and from-these now for-the city two goods
ὄντοιν, πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας πιστεύεσθαι, ἐστὶ
being of-wealth and of-the toward all to-be-trusted is
τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὑπάρχον. εἰ δέ τις οἴεται δεῖν, ὅτι
the of-the trust available if but anyone thinks to-be-necessary because
χρήματ' οὐκ ἔχομεν, μηδὲ δόξαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς χρηστήν, οὐ
money not we-have not-even reputation to-have us good not
καλῶς φρονεῖ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εὔχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς, μάλιστα
well he-thinks I indeed for I-pray to-the gods most
μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ γενέσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, τό
indeed for-us also money much to-come if but not the
γε πιστοῖς εἶναι καὶ βεβαίοις δοκεῖν διαμεῖναι.
at-least trustworthy to-be and steadfast to-seem to-remain

φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας, ἃς ἀναπαυομένους τινὰς 26
come now also the means which resting some
εὐπορήσειν οὗτοι φήσουσιν, εἰς δέον ὑμῖν γιγνομένας
to-be-going-to-be-well-off these will-say into need for-you becoming
δείξω. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι τῶν τριηραρχιῶν οὐδείς
I-will-show you-know for surely this that of-the trierarchies no-one
ἐστ' ἀτελὴς οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. οὔκουν
is exempt nor of-the property-taxes the for the war not-then
ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος, οὗτος, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ, πόλλ' εἰς
the-one much possessing this-man whoever — he-is much toward
ταῦτα συντελεῖ; πᾶσ' ἀνάγκη. καὶ μὴν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν
these-things contributes all necessity and truly that it-is-necessary the
εὐπορίαν εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν πλείστην τῇ πόλει, πάντες
means for these-things to-be-available most for-the city all
ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν
— would-agree in-return-for indeed for the on the choregies
δαπάνας ἡμέρας μέρος μικρὸν ἡ χάρις τοῖς θεωμένοις
expenditures of-a-day part small the pleasure for-the-ones watching
ἡμῶν, παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν
of-us in-return-for but the of-the for the war preparations
ἀφθονίας πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ σωτηρία πάσῃ τῇ πόλει.
abundance all the time the safety for-whole the city
ὥσθ' ὅσον ἐνθάδ' ἀφίετε, ἐκεῖ κομίζεσθε, καὶ δίδοτ' ἐν 27
so-that as-much-as here you-let-go there you-recover and you-give in
τιμῆς μέρει ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ μὴ λαβοῦσιν ἔστιν ἔχειν
of-honor part these-things which even not having-received it-is-possible to-have
τοῖς τοῦ τριηραρχεῖν ἄξια κεκτημένοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι
for-the-ones of-the to-serve-as-trierarch worthy possessing but truly that
τῶν τριηραρχιῶν οὐδείς ἐστ' ἀτελής, οἶμαι μὲν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι
of-the trierarchies no-one is exempt I-think indeed you to-know

πάντας, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὸν νόμον ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἀναγνώσεται.
all nevertheless but also the law to-you itself he-will-read
λαβὲ τὸν περὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν νόμον καὶ λέγε τοῦτ' αὐτό.
take the about the trierarchies law and read this itself
ἀτελῆ δὲ μηδένα εἶναι τριηραρχίας πλὴν τῶν ἐννέα
exempt and no-one to-be from-trierarchy except the nine
ἀρχόντων.
archons

28 ὁρᾶθ' ὡς σαφῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδέν' εἶναι
you-see how clearly O men Athenians no-one to-be
τριηραρχίας ἀτελῆ διείρηκεν ὁ νόμος πλὴν τῶν ἐννέ'
from-trierarchy exempt has-declared the law except the nine
ἀρχόντων. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν ἐλάττω κεκτημένοι τοῦ
archons therefore the-ones indeed less possessing than-the
τριηραρχίας ἄξι' ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς συντελοῦσιν εἰς
trierarchy worthy to-have in the property-taxes contribute for
τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ δ' ἐφικνούμενοι τοῦ τριηραρχεῖν εἰς
the war the-ones but reaching the to-serve-as-trierarch for
ἀμφότερ' ὑμῖν ὑπάρξουσι χρήσιμοι, καὶ τριηραρχεῖν καὶ
both to-you will-be useful both to-serve-as-trierarch and
εἰσφέρειν. τίν' οὖν ῥᾳστώνην τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ σός, ὦ
to-pay-tax what then relief for-the many the your O
Λεπτίνη, ποιεῖ νόμος, εἰ μιᾶς ἢ δυοῖν φυλαῖν ἕνα χορηγὸν
Leptines does law if of-one or two tribes one chorus-master
καθίστησιν, ὃς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἄλλου τοῦθ' ἅπαξ ποιήσας
it-establishes who in-place-of one other this once having-done
ἀπηλλάξεται; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ. τῆς δέ γ' αἰσχύνης
will-be-released I indeed not see of-the but at-least disgrace
ὅλην ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας. οὔκουν ὅτε
whole it-fills the city and of-the faithlessness not-then when

πολλῷ μείζονα βλάψει τῶν ὠφελειῶν ὧν ἔχει, προσήκει
much greater it-will-harm than-the benefits which it-has it-befits
λελύσθαι παρὰ τοῖσδ' αὐτόν; ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην.
to-have-been-repealed before these-men it I — would-say

III · LEUCON OF THE BOSPORUS

Because the law says no one, citizen or foreigner, shall be exempt, it takes the exemption from Leucon, ruler of the Bosporus, and his sons. Leucon is a foreigner by birth and a citizen by Athens' grant, so he loses it either way. Athens imports more grain than any city, and most of it comes from the Pontus, because Leucon grants exemption from his thirtieth to ships bound for Athens and has them loaded first; on the four hundred thousand bushels he sends, the remission is worth some thirteen thousand a year, and he made Theodosia a second port on the same terms. In the year of famine he sent enough grain to leave fifteen talents over. The law will strip him and the Athenian grain-shippers too, and the pillars at the Bosporus, Peiraeus, and Hieron will stand as proof that the people is less faithful than one man. Anyone could challenge him to an exchange of property.

ἔτι δ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι ἐν τῷ 29
further and O men jurors because-of the to-have-been-written in the
νόμῳ διαρρήδην αὐτοῦ 'μηδένα μήτε τῶν πολιτῶν μήτε τῶν
law expressly his no-one either of-the citizens or of-the
ἰσοτελῶν μήτε τῶν ξένων εἶναι ἀτελῆ,' μὴ διῃρῆσθαι δ'
equal-taxpayers or of-the foreigners to-be exempt not to-have-been-defined but
ὅτου ἀτελῆ, χορηγίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου τέλους, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς
from-what exempt choregy or some other tax but simply
'ἀτελῆ μηδένα πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος,'
exempt no-one except the-ones from Harmodius and Aristogeiton
καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ 'μηδένα' πάντας περιλαμβάνειν τοὺς
and in indeed the no-one all to-include the
ἄλλους, ἐν δὲ τῷ 'τῶν ξένων' μὴ διορίζειν τῶν οἰκούντων
others in but the of-the foreigners not to-distinguish the-ones living

Ἀθήνησιν, ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ Λεύκωνα τὸν ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου
at-Athens he-takes-away also Leucon the ruler of-Bosporus
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν δωρειὰν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἔδοτ᾽ αὐτοῖς.
and the sons his the gift which you gave to-them
30 ἔστι γὰρ γένει μὲν δήπου ὁ Λεύκων ξένος, τῇ δὲ παρ᾽
is for by-birth indeed surely — Leucon a-foreigner by-the but from
ὑμῶν ποιήσει πολίτης· κατ᾽ οὐδέτερον δ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν
you creation citizen by neither and for-him the exemption
ἔστιν ἔχειν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ νόμου. καίτοι τῶν μὲν
it-is-possible to-have from this the law and-yet of-the indeed
ἄλλων εὐεργετῶν χρόνον τιν᾽ ἕκαστος ἡμῖν χρήσιμον αὑτὸν
other benefactors time some each to-us useful himself
παρέσχεν, οὗτος δέ, ἂν σκοπῆτε, φανήσεται συνεχῶς ἡμᾶς
showed this-man but if you-consider will-appear continually us
εὖ ποιῶν, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὧν μάλισθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις δεῖται.
well doing and these-things which most of-us the city needs
31 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι πλείστῳ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων
you-know for surely this that most of-the all men
ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρώμεθα. πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα
we imported grain use compared-with then all
τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ
the from the other trading-ports arriving the from the
Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν. εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ
Pontus grain sailing-in is reasonably not for only because-of
τὸ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον σῖτον ἔχειν πλεῖστον τοῦτο γίγνεται,
the the region this grain to-have most this happens
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ κύριον ὄντα τὸν Λεύκων᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῖς
but because-of the master being — Leucon of-it for-the-ones
ἄγουσιν Ἀθήναζε ἀτέλειαν δεδωκέναι, καὶ κηρύττειν πρώτους
carrying to-Athens exemption to-have-given and to-proclaim first

γεμίζεσθαι τοὺς ὡς ὑμᾶς πλέοντας. ἔχων γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
to-be-loaded the-ones to you sailing having for that-man
ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἅπασι δέδωκεν ὑμῖν.
for-himself and for-the sons the exemption to-all he-has-given you
τοῦτο δ' ἡλίκον ἐστὶ θεωρήσατε. ἐκεῖνος πράττεται 32
this and how-great it-is consider that-man exacts
τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ σῖτον ἐξάγοντας τριακοστήν. αἱ
from-the-ones from him grain exporting a-thirtieth the
τοίνυν παρ' ἐκείνου δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμεναι σίτου μυριάδες
then from him hither arriving of-grain ten-thousands
περὶ τετταράκοντ' εἰσί· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς
about forty are and this from the with the
σιτοφύλαξιν ἀπογραφῆς ἄν τις ἴδοι. οὐκοῦν παρὰ μὲν
grain-wardens register — one would-see therefore for indeed
τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας μυρίους δίδωσι μεδίμνους ἡμῖν,
the thirty ten-thousands ten-thousand he-gives bushels to-us
παρὰ δὲ τὰς δέκα ὡσπερανεὶ τρισχιλίους.
for and the ten as-it-were three-thousand
τοσούτου τοίνυν δεῖ ταύτην ἀποστερῆσαι τὴν δωρειὰν 33
so-far then he-lacks this to-deprive-of the gift
τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε προσκατασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θευδοσίαν,
the city that having-equipped-besides a-port Theodosia
ὅ φασιν οἱ πλέοντες οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν χεῖρον εἶναι
which they-say the-ones sailing not-even anything-whatever worse to-be
τοῦ Βοσπόρου, κἀνταῦθ' ἔδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἡμῖν. καὶ
than-the Bosporus there-too he-gave the exemption to-us and
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅσ'
the indeed other-things I-pass-over much — having to-say as-many-as
εὐεργέτηκεν ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἀνὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι·
has-benefited you this the-man both himself and the ancestors
ἀλλὰ πρωπέρυσιν σιτοδείας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
but the-year-before-last grain-shortage among all men

γενομένης οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἱκανὸν σῖτον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ
having-occurred not only to-you sufficient grain he-sent but
τοσοῦτον ὥστε πεντεκαίδεκ' ἀργυρίου τάλαντα, ἃ
so-much that fifteen of-silver talents which
Καλλισθένης διῴκησε, προσπεριγενέσθαι.
Callisthenes managed to-be-left-over

34 τί οὖν οἴεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτον τὸν τοιοῦτον
what then do-you-think O men Athenians this the such
περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγενημένον, ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ νόμῳ τὴν ἀτέλειαν
toward you having-been if he-hears by-law the exemption
ὑμᾶς ἀφῃρημένους αὐτὸν καὶ μηδ' ἂν μεταδόξῃ ποτὲ
you having-taken-away him and not-even if you-change-your-mind ever
ψηφισαμένους ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι; ἆρ' ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς
having-voted to-be-permitted to-give then do-you-not-know that the same
νόμος οὗτος ἐκεῖνόν τ' ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν ἀτέλειαν, κύριος
law this that-man both will-take-away the exemption valid
ἂν γένηται, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου σιτηγοῦντας;
if it-becomes and of-you the-ones from him carrying-grain

35 οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γ' ὑπείληφεν οὐδείς, ὡς ἐκεῖνος
not for surely this at-least has-supposed anyone that that-man
ὑπομενεῖ ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀκύρους εἶναι τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν δωρειάς,
will-endure for-himself indeed void to-be the from you gifts
ὑμῖν δὲ μένειν τὰς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς
for-you but to-remain the from himself therefore besides many in-which
βλάψειν ὑμᾶς ὁ νόμος φαίνεται, καὶ προσαφαιρεῖταί
to-be-going-to-harm you the law appears also it-takes-away-besides
τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη. εἶθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτι σκοπεῖτ' εἰ
something of-the existing already then you still consider whether
χρὴ τοῦτον ἐξαλεῖψαι, καὶ οὐ πάλαι βεβούλευσθε; ἀνάγνωθι
one-must this to-erase and not long-ago you-have-decided read
λαβὼν αὐτοῖς τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Λεύκωνος.
having-taken to-them the decrees the about — Leucon

ὡς μὲν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τετύχηκεν τῆς ἀτελείας 36
that indeed reasonably and justly he-has-obtained the exemption
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὁ Λεύκων, ἀκηκόατ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὦ
from you — Leucon you-have-heard from the decrees O
ἄνδρες δικασταί. τούτων δ᾽ ἁπάντων στήλας ἀντιγράφους
men jurors of-these and all pillars duplicate
ἐστήσαθ᾽ ὑμεῖς κἀκεῖνος, τὴν μὲν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, τὴν
set-up you and-that-man the-one indeed in Bosporus the-other
δ᾽ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, τὴν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ Ἱερῷ. σκοπεῖτε δὴ πρὸς
and in Peiraeus the-other and at Hieron consider now to
ὅσης κακίας ὑπερβολὴν ὑμᾶς ὁ νόμος προάγει, ὃς
of-how-great baseness excess you the law leads which
ἀπιστότερον τὸν δῆμον καθίστησ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός.
more-faithless the people makes than-one man
μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἄλλο τι τὰς στήλας ἑστάναι 37
do-not for think for-you other anything the pillars to-stand
ταύτας ἢ τούτων πάντων ὧν ἔχετ᾽ ἢ δεδώκατε
these than of-these all which you-have or you-have-given
συνθήκας, αἷς ὁ μὲν Λεύκων ἐμμένων φανεῖται καὶ ποιεῖν
covenants which — indeed Leucon abiding-by will-appear and to-do
ἀεί τι προθυμούμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἑστῶσας
always something being-eager you good you but standing
ἀκύρους πεποιηκότες, ὃ πολὺ δεινότερον τοῦ καθελεῖν·
invalid having-made which much more-terrible than-the to-take-down
αὗται γὰρ οὑτωσὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις κατὰ τῆς πόλεως
these for thus for-the-ones wishing against the city
βλασφημεῖν τεκμήριον ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν ἑστήξουσιν.
to-slander proof that true-things they-say will-stand
φέρ᾽, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ πέμψας ὡς ἡμᾶς ὁ Λεύκων ἐρωτᾷ, 38
come if and indeed having-sent to us — Leucon asks
τί ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ τί μεμφόμενοι τὴν ἀτέλειαν
what having to-charge and what blaming the exemption

αὐτὸν ἀφῄρησθε, τί πρὸς θεῶν ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί γράψει
him you-have-taken-away what by gods shall-we-say or what will-write
ποθ' ὁ τὸ ψήφισμ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γράφων;
ever the-one the decree for us proposing
39 ὅτι νὴ Δί' ἦσάν τινες τῶν εὑρημένων ἀνάξιοι. ἐὰν
that by Zeus there-were some of-the-ones having-obtained unworthy if
οὖν εἴπῃ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος 'καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς
then he-says against these-things that-man also for of-Athenians some
ἴσως φαῦλοι, καὶ οὐ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ τοὺς χρηστοὺς
perhaps base and not because-of these-things I the good
ἀφειλόμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν δῆμον νομίζων χρηστὸν πάντας
I-deprived but the people thinking good all
ἔχειν ἐῶ,' οὐ δικαιότερ' ἡμῶν ἐρεῖ; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.
to-have I-allow not more-justly than-us he-will-speak to-me at-any-rate it-seems
παρὰ πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἔθος διὰ τοὺς
among all for men rather is custom because-of the
εὐεργέτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν τῶν μὴ χρηστῶν
benefactors also others some well to-treat of-the not good
ἢ διὰ τοὺς φαύλους τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἀξίους
than because-of the base the-ones admittedly worthy
χάριτος τὰ δοθέντ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.
of-gratitude the-things given to-take-away
40 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὅπως οὐκ ἀντιδώσει τῷ Λεύκωνί
and truly not-even how not will-challenge-to-an-exchange — Leucon
τις, ἂν βούληται, δύναμαι σκοπούμενος εὑρεῖν. χρήματα
anyone if he-wishes I-can considering to-find money
μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀεὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν νόμον
indeed for is always among you his by but the law
τοῦτον, ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὖτ' ἔλθῃ, ἢ στερήσεται τούτων
this if anyone at it comes either he-will-be-deprived-of these
ἢ λῃτουργεῖν ἀναγκασθήσεται. ἔστι δ' οὐ τὸ τῆς
or to-perform-public-services he-will-be-compelled is but not the of-the

δαπάνης μέγιστον ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τὴν δωρειὰν ὑμᾶς
expense greatest for-that-man but that the gift you
αὐτὸν ἀφῃρῆσθαι νομιεῖ.
him to-have-taken-away he-will-think
οὐ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ Λεύκων ἀδικηθῇ μόνον 41
not then O men Athenians lest Leucon is-wronged only
δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ᾧ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεχ᾽ ἡ περὶ τῆς
one-must to-consider for-whom of-honor for-the-sake the about the
δωρειᾶς σπουδὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, οὐ χρείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις
gift zeal would-be — not of-need but also if anyone
ἄλλος εὖ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττων, εἰς δέον δὲ νῦν
other well indeed did you well faring in need but now
γέγον᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τὴν ἀτέλειαν. τίς οὖν
has-become for-him the to-receive from you the exemption who then
οὗτός ἐστιν; Ἐπικέρδης ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὅς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος
this is Epicerdes the Cyrenaean who if-indeed anyone other
τῶν εἰληφότων, δικαίως ἠξιώθη ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς,
of-the-ones having-received justly was-deemed-worthy of-this the honor
οὐ τῷ μεγάλ᾽ ἢ θαυμάσι᾽ ἡλίκα δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρὰ
not by-the great or wonderful how-great to-give but by-the at
τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἔργον
such moment in which even of-the-ones well having-been-treated hard
ἦν εὑρεῖν ἐθέλοντά τινα ὧν εὐεργέτητο μεμνῆσθαι.
it-was to-find anyone willing what he-had-been-benefited to-remember

Epicerdes of Cyrene gave a hundred minas to the Athenians captured in Sicily, saving them from starving, and later a talent in the war, unasked. The decree is read. What is admirable is not the sum but the zeal and the moment, and it would be shameful to take the gift from his sons with no charge against them. Those who overthrew the Four Hundred and helped the people in exile are owed the same. Laws that seem harmless in prosperity ruin cities when fortune turns; a law that breaks faith will leave Athens without anyone willing to help her. Demosthenes then recalls the Corinthian exiles, who after the battle at Corinth opened their gates to the Athenian army in defiance of the many and were exiled for it after the Peace of Antalcidas; the people voted them every privilege, and now debates whether those grants should stand.

42 οὗτος γὰρ ἀνήρ, ὡς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ τότ’
this-man for the-man as the decree this shows the then
αὐτῷ γραφέν, τοῖς ἁλοῦσι τότ’ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν,
for-him proposed to-the-ones captured then in Sicily of-the citizens
ἐν τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ καθεστηκόσιν, ἔδωκε μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ
in such misfortune placed gave minas a-hundred and
τοῦ μὴ τῷ λιμῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν αἰτιώτατος
of-the not by-the famine all them to-die most-responsible
ἐγένετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, δοθείσης ἀτελείας αὐτῷ διὰ
became and after these-things having-been-given exemption to-him because-of
ταῦτα παρ’ ὑμῶν, ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ σπανίζοντα τὸν
these-things by you seeing in the war being-short the
δῆμον χρημάτων, τάλαντον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος.
people of-money a-talent gave himself having-offered
43 σκέψασθε δὴ πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πῶς
consider now by Zeus and gods men Athenians how
ἂν ἄνθρωπος μᾶλλον φανερὸς γένοιτ’ εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν, ἢ
— a-man more evident could-become well-disposed being to-you or

πῶς ἧττον ἄξιος ἀδικηθῆναι, ἢ πρῶτον μὲν εἰ παρὼν τῷ
how less deserving to-be-wronged than first indeed if present at-the
τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχήματι μᾶλλον ἕλοιτο τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας
of-the city misfortune rather he-should-choose the unfortunate
καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων χάριν, ἥτις ποτ' ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι,
and the from these gratitude whatever ever was-going to-be
ἢ τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κεκρατηκότας καὶ παρ'
than the-ones in that the time having-prevailed and with
οἷς ἦν, δεύτερον δέ, ἑτέραν χρείαν ἰδών, εἰ φαίνοιτο
whom he-was second and other need having-seen if he-should-appear
διδοὺς καὶ μὴ πῶς ἰδίᾳ τὰ ὄντα σώσει προνοούμενος,
giving and not how privately the property he-will-save taking-care
ἀλλ' ὅπως τῶν ὑμετέρων μηδὲν ἐνδεῶς ἕξει τὸ καθ' αὑτόν.
but how of-the yours nothing deficient will-be the by himself
τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους 44
this-man however the-one in-the indeed deed in the greatest
καιροὺς οὑτωσὶ κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ κεκτημένον,
crises thus common the property with-the people possessing
τῷ δὲ ῥήματι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔχοντα, οὐχὶ τὴν
in-the but word and the honor the exemption having not the
ἀτέλειαν ἀφαιρήσεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕσῃ χρώμενος φαίνεται),
exemption you-will-take-away not-even for being using he-appears
ἀλλὰ τὸ πιστεύειν ὑμῖν, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον; τὸ
but the to-trust you than-which what would-be — more-shameful the
τοίνυν ψήφισμ' ὑμῖν αὖτ' ἀναγνώσεται τὸ τότε ψηφισθὲν τῷ
then decree to-you itself he-will-read the then voted for-the
ἀνδρί. καὶ θεωρεῖτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ψηφίσματ'
man and observe O men Athenians how-many decrees
ἄκυρα ποιεῖ ὁ νόμος, καὶ οἵους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ
void makes the law and what-sort-of men it-wrongs and

ἐν ὁποίοις καιροῖς χρησίμους ὑμῖν παρασχόντας ἑαυτούς·
in what-sort-of crises useful to-you having-shown themselves
εὑρήσετε γὰρ τούτους, οὓς ἥκιστα προσῆκεν, ἀδικοῦντα. λέγε.
you-will-find for these whom least it-befitted wronging read
45 τὰς μὲν εὐεργεσίας ἀνθ' ὧν εὕρετο τὴν ἀτέλειαν ὁ
the indeed benefactions for which obtained the exemption —
Ἐπικέρδης ἀκηκόατ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὦ ἄνδρες
Epicerdes you-have-heard from the decrees O men
δικασταί. σκοπεῖτε δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, εἰ μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ πάλιν
jurors consider but not this whether minas a-hundred and again
τάλαντον ἔδωκεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λαβόντας ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι
a-talent he-gave not-even for the-ones having-received I think
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων θαυμάσαι), ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν
the quantity of-the money to-have-admired but the zeal
καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς.
and the himself having-offered to-do and the crises in which
46 πάντες μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἴσως ἄξιοι χάριν ἀνταπολαμβάνειν
all indeed for are perhaps worthy gratitude to-receive-in-return
οἱ προϋπάρχοντες τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ, μάλιστα δ' οἱ παρὰ
the-ones beginning by-the doing good most but the-ones in
τὰς χρείας, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὢν φαίνεται. εἶτ' οὐκ
the needs of-whom one this the-man being appears then not
αἰσχυνόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς τοῦ τοιούτου παῖδας
are-we-ashamed O men Athenians the of-the such sons
εἰ μηδεμίαν ποιησάμενοι τούτων μηδενὸς μνείαν ἀφῃρημένοι
if no having-made of-these any mention having-taken-away
φανούμεθα τὴν δωρειάν, μηδὲν ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι;
we-shall-appear the gift nothing having to-charge
47 οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἕτεροι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ τότε σωθέντες ὑπ'
not for if others indeed were the-ones then saved by
αὐτοῦ καὶ δόντες τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ νῦν
him and having-given the exemption others but you the-ones now

ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἀπολύει τοῦτο τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ δὴ
taking-away does-release this the disgrace but this indeed
τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δεινόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν εἰδότες
this also the terrible-thing is if for the-ones indeed knowing
καὶ παθόντες ἄξια τούτων ἐνόμιζον εὖ πάσχειν,
and having-suffered worthy-things of-these they-thought well to-be-treated
ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οἱ λόγῳ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούοντες ὡς ἀναξίων
we but the-ones by-word these-things hearing as from-unworthy-men
ἀφαιρησόμεθα, πῶς οὐχ ὑπέρδεινον ποιήσομεν;
shall-take-away how not outrageous shall-we-do
ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ἐστί μοι λόγος οὗτος καὶ περὶ τῶν 48
the same then is for-me argument this also about the-ones
τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταλυσάντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅτ᾽
the Four-Hundred having-overthrown and about the-ones when
ἔφευγεν ὁ δῆμος χρησίμους αὑτοὺς παρασχόντων· πάντας
was-in-exile the people useful themselves having-shown all
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι δεινότατ᾽ ἂν παθεῖν, εἴ τι τῶν
for them I-think most-terrible-things — to-suffer if anything of-the
τότε ψηφισθέντων αὐτοῖς λυθείη.
then voted to-them should-be-annulled
εἰ τοίνυν τις ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνο πέπεισται, πολὺ τοῦ δεηθῆναί 49
if then anyone of-you that is-persuaded far from-the to-need
τινος τοιούτου νῦν ἀπέχειν τὴν πόλιν, ταῦτα μὲν εὐχέσθω
anything such now to-be-away the city these-things indeed let-him-pray
τοῖς θεοῖς, κἀγὼ συνεύχομαι, λογιζέσθω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν
to-the gods and-I join-in-praying let-him-reckon but first indeed
ὅτι περὶ νόμου μέλλει φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον ᾧ μὴ λυθέντι
that about a-law he-is-about to-cast the vote which not annulled
δεήσει χρῆσθαι, δεύτερον δ᾽ ὅτι βλάπτουσιν οἱ
it-will-be-necessary to-use second and that harm the
πονηροὶ νόμοι καὶ τὰς ἀσφαλῶς οἰκεῖν οἰομένας πόλεις. οὐ
bad laws even the safely to-dwell thinking cities not

γὰρ ἂν μετέπιπτε τὰ πράγματ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, εἰ μὴ τοὺς
for — would-change the affairs to both-ways if not the-ones
μὲν ἐν κινδύνῳ καθεστηκότας καὶ πράξεις χρηστὰι καὶ
indeed in danger placed both actions good and
νόμοι καὶ ἄνδρες χρηστοὶ καὶ πάντ' ἐξητασμέν' ἐπὶ τὸ
laws and men good and all examined toward the
βέλτιον προῆγε, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ καθεστάναι δοκοῦντας
better advanced the-ones but in all to-be-placed seeming
εὐδαιμονίᾳ πάντα ταῦτ' ἀμελούμεν' ὑπέρρει κατὰ μικρόν.
prosperity all these neglected slipped-away by little
50 τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλεῖστοι κτῶνται μὲν τἀγαθὰ τῷ
of-the for men the most acquire indeed the-goods by-the
καλῶς βουλεύεσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν, φυλάττειν
well to-deliberate and nothing to-despise to-keep
δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις. ὃ μὴ πάθητε
but not they-are-willing by-the same these which not may-you-suffer
νῦν ὑμεῖς, μηδ' οἴεσθε νόμον τοιοῦτον θέσθαι δεῖν,
now you nor think a-law such to-lay-down to-be-necessary
ὃς καλῶς τε πράττουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πονηρᾶς
which well both faring the city our with-base
δόξης ἀναπλήσει, ἐάν τέ τι συμβῇ ποτέ, ἔρημον
reputation will-fill if both anything happens ever destitute
τῶν ἐθελησόντων ἀγαθόν τι ποιεῖν καταστήσει.
of-the-ones going-to-be-willing good something to-do will-make
51 οὐ τοίνυν μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἰδίᾳ γνόντας
not then only O men Athenians the-ones privately having-resolved
εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρασχόντας χρησίμους αὑτοὺς ἐπὶ
well to-do you and having-shown useful themselves in
τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν, οἵων μικρῷ πρότερον
such-great and such crises as a-little before
Φορμίων διεξελήλυθε κἀγὼ νῦν εἴρηκα, ἄξιόν ἐστιν
Phormio has-gone-through and-I now have-said worth it-is

εὐλαβηθῆναι ἀδικῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ
to-be-cautious to-wrong but also many others who
πόλεις ὅλας, τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας, συμμάχους ὑμῖν ἐπὶ
cities whole the their-own fatherlands allies to-you in
τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου παρέσχον, καὶ λέγοντες
the against Lacedaemonians war provided both saying
ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καὶ πράττοντες·
what is-expedient for-the city the your and doing
ὧν ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν στέρονται τῆς 52
of-whom some because-of the toward you goodwill are-deprived of-the
πατρίδος. ὧν ἐπέρχεταί μοι πρώτους ἐξετάσαι τοὺς
fatherland of-whom it-occurs to-me first to-examine the-ones
ἐκ Κορίνθου φεύγοντας. ἀναγκάζομαι δὲ λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
from Corinth exiled I-am-compelled and to-say to you
ταῦθ' ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτὸς ἀκήκοα.
these-things which from you the elder myself I-have-heard
τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ' ὅσα χρησίμους ὑμῖν ἑαυτοὺς
the indeed then other-things as-much-as useful to-you themselves
ἐκεῖνοι παρέσχον, ἐάσω· ἀλλ' ὅθ' ἡ μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς
those showed I-will-pass-over but when the great battle against
Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένεθ' ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
Lacedaemonians took-place the at Corinth of-the-ones in the city
βουλευσαμένων μετὰ τὴν μάχην μὴ δέχεσθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς
having-resolved after the battle not to-receive in-the wall the
στρατιώτας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι,
soldiers but with Lacedaemonians to-negotiate
ὁρῶντες ἠτυχηκυῖαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς παρόδου 53
seeing having-been-unfortunate the city and the passage
κρατοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίους, οὐχὶ προὔδωκαν οὐδ'
holding Lacedaemonians not they-betrayed nor
ἐβουλεύσαντ' ἰδίᾳ περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ πλησίον
they-planned privately about the their-own safety but near

ὄντων μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἁπάντων Πελοποννησίων ἀνέῳξαν τὰς
being with arms all Peloponnesians they-opened the
πύλας ὑμῖν βίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλοντο
gates to-you by-force-against the many and rather they-chose
μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν τότε στρατευσαμένων, εἴ τι δέοι,
with you the-ones then having-campaigned if anything it-were-necessary
πάσχειν ἢ χωρὶς ὑμῶν ἀκινδύνως σεσῶσθαι, καὶ εἰσέφρουν
to-suffer than apart-from you without-danger to-be-saved and they-let-in
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ διέσωσαν καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους.
the army and saved both you and the allies
54 ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἡ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήνη μετὰ ταῦτ᾽
when and the with Lacedaemonians peace after these-things
ἐγένετο, ἡ ἐπ᾽ Ἀνταλκίδου, ἀντὶ τῶν ἔργων
took-place the in-the-time-of Antalcidas in-return-for the deeds
τούτων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεσον. ὑποδεξάμενοι δ᾽
these by Lacedaemonians they-were-exiled having-received and
ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατ᾽ ἔργον ἀνθρώπων καλῶν κἀγαθῶν·
you them you-did deed of-men fine and-good
ἐψηφίσασθε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἅπανθ᾽ ὧν ἐδέοντο. εἶτα ταῦτα
you-voted for to-them everything which they-asked then these-things
νῦν εἰ χρὴ κύρι᾽ εἶναι σκοποῦμεν; ἀλλ᾽ ὁ λόγος
now whether one-must valid to-be we-consider but the word
πρῶτον αἰσχρός, εἴ τις ἀκούσειεν ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι σκοποῦσιν
first shameful if anyone should-hear that Athenians consider
εἰ χρὴ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐᾶν τὰ δοθέντ᾽ ἔχειν·
whether one-must the benefactors to-allow the-things given to-have
πάλαι γὰρ ἐσκέφθαι ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνῶσθαι
long-ago for to-have-been-considered these-things and to-have-been-decided
προσῆκεν. ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ αὐτοῖς.
it-befitted read also this the decree for-them

ἃ μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε τοῖς φεύγουσιν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς 55
what indeed you-voted for-the-ones exiled because-of you
Κορινθίων ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. ὅρα δέ,
of-Corinthians these are O men jurors see and
εἴ τις ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς εἰδὼς ἢ τινος εἰδότος
if anyone those the times knowing or someone knowing
διεξιόντος ἀκούσας, ἀκούσαι τοῦ νόμου τούτου τὰς τότε
recounting having-heard should-hear the law this the then
δωρειὰς δοθείσας ἀφαιρουμένου, ὅσην ἂν κακίαν τῶν
gifts given taking-away how-great — baseness of-the-ones
θεμένων τὸν νόμον καταγνοίη, οἳ παρὰ μὲν τὰς
having-laid-down the law he-would-condemn who in indeed the
χρείας οὕτω φιλάνθρωποι καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ δ᾽
needs so humane and everything doing when but
ἐπράξαμεν πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν εὐξαίμεθα, οὕτως ἀχάριστοι
we-had-achieved all as-much-as — we-could-pray so ungrateful
καὶ κακοί, ὥστε τούς τ᾽ ἔχοντας ἀφῃρήμεθα καὶ τὸ
and base that the-ones both having we-have-deprived and the
λοιπὸν μηδενὶ δοῦναι ταῦτ᾽ ἐξεῖναι νόμον τεθήκαμεν.
future to-no-one to-give these-things to-be-permitted law we-have-laid-down
νὴ Δί᾽ ἀνάξιοι γάρ τινες τῶν εὑρημένων ταῦτ᾽ ἦσαν· 56
by Zeus unworthy for some of-the-ones having-obtained these-things were
τουτὶ γὰρ παρὰ πάντ᾽ ἔσται τὸν λόγον αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽
this for throughout all will-be the argument for-them then that
ἀγνοεῖν φήσομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅταν διδῶμεν, δεῖ
to-be-ignorant-of shall-we-say that the worth when we-give one-must
σκοπεῖν, οὐ μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὕστερον χρόνῳ παμπληθεῖ; τὸ
to-consider not after these-things later in-time vast the
μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τι μὴ δοῦναι γνώμῃ χρησαμένων
indeed for from the-beginning anything not to-give judgment of-men-using

ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ἐστί· τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
deed of-men is the but the-ones having to-deprive
φθονούντων, τοῦτο δ' οὐ δεῖ δοκεῖν ὑμᾶς πεπονθέναι.
of-men-envying this but not it-is-necessary to-seem you to-have-suffered
57 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' ὀκνήσω περὶ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῆς πρὸς
and truly not-even that I-will-hesitate about the worth itself to
ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον νομίζω πόλει
you to-say I for not the same way think for-a-city
τὸν ἄξιον ἐξεταστέον εἶναι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ
the worthy-man must-be-examined to-be and for-a-private-man not-even for
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ σκέψις. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος
about the same-things the inquiry privately indeed for each
ἡμῶν σκοπεῖ τίς ἄξιός ἐστιν ἑκάστου κηδεστὴς ἢ τῶν
of-us considers who worthy is of-each kinsman or of-the
τοιούτων τι γίγνεσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ νόμοις τισὶ
such-things anything to-be these-things and both by-laws some
καὶ δόξαις διώρισται· κοινῇ δ' ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ δῆμος,
and by-opinions are-defined in-common but the city and the people
ὅστις ἂν αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῇ καὶ σῴζῃ, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γένει καὶ
whoever — it well treats and saves this but not by-birth and
δόξῃ κρινόμενον ἴδοι τις ἄν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ. ὅταν μὲν
reputation judged would-see one — but by-deed when indeed
οὖν εὖ πάσχειν δέῃ, τὸν βουλόμενον εὖ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς
then well to-be-treated it-is-necessary the-one wishing well to-treat us
ἐάσομεν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάθωμεν, τότε τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ
we-shall-allow when but we-have-been-treated then the worth of-the-one
ποιήσαντος σκεψόμεθα; οὐκ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα.
having-done-it we-shall-consider not then rightly we-shall-deliberate

Demosthenes reads two more decrees. Ecphantus and the Thasians handed Thasos to Athens and drove out the Spartan garrison; Archebius and Heracleides handed Byzantium to Thrasybulus, giving Athens the Hellespont and its tithe, and were exiled for it. To strip such exiles would be shameful. If men holding Pydna or Potidaea for Philip offered to hand them over for the same rewards, no one would listen to an objector who said it was terrible that a few aliens should escape the choregies. Those who betrayed Pydna to Philip did it for his gifts; Athens should honor its own benefactors, not lay down a law that takes from them. The pillars must stand so that the city's character remains as a memorial, and it would be fitter to take away the benefactors' misfortunes than their rewards.

ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί᾽ οὗτοι μόνοι τοῦτο πείσονται, καὶ περὶ τούτων 58
but by Zeus these alone this will-suffer and about these
μόνων ποιοῦμαι λόγον τοσοῦτον. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω.
alone I-make speech so-long far at-least even I-lack
ἀλλὰ πάντας μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐγχειρήσαιμ᾽ ἐξετάζειν ὅσοι
but all indeed not-even — would-I-attempt to-examine as-many-as
πεποιηκότες ὑμᾶς εὖ διὰ τὸν νόμον, εἰ μὴ λυθήσεται,
having-done you well because-of the law if not it-is-repealed
τὰ δοθέντ᾽ ἀφαιρεθήσονται· ἓν δ᾽ ἢ δύο δείξας ἔτι
the-things given will-be-deprived-of one but or two having-shown further
ψηφίσματ᾽ ἀπαλλάττομαι τοῦ περὶ τούτων λέγειν.
decrees I-am-done-with the about these to-speak
τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Θασίους τοὺς μετ᾽ Ἐκφάντου 59
on-the-one-hand indeed then Thasians the-ones with Ecphantus
πῶς οὐκ ἀδικήσετε, ἐὰν ἀφαιρῆσθε τὴν ἀτέλειαν, οἳ
how not will-you-wrong if you-take-away the exemption who
παραδόντες ὑμῖν Θάσον καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν
having-handed-over to-you Thasos and the of-Lacedaemonians garrison
μεθ᾽ ὅπλων ἐκβαλόντες καὶ Θρασύβουλον εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ
with arms having-expelled and Thrasybulus having-brought-in and

παρασχόντες φίλην ὑμῖν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα αἴτιοι τοῦ
having-made friendly to-you the their-own fatherland responsible for-the
γενέσθαι σύμμαχον τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον ὑμῖν ἐγένοντο;
to-become ally the about Thrace region to-you became
60 τοῦτο δ' Ἀρχέβιον καὶ Ἡρακλείδην, οἳ Βυζάντιον
on-the-other-hand and Archebius and Heracleides who Byzantium
παραδόντες Θρασυβούλῳ κυρίους ὑμᾶς ἐποίησαν τοῦ
having-handed-over to-Thrasybulus masters you made of-the
Ἑλλησπόντου, ὥστε τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδόσθαι καὶ χρημάτων
Hellespont so-that the tithe to-sell and with-money
εὐπορήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναγκάσαι τοιαύτην, οἵαν ὑμῖν
having-become-well-off Lacedaemonians to-compel such as to-you
ἐδόκει, ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην; ὧν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
seemed-good to-make the peace whom O men Athenians
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκπεσόντων ἐψηφίσασθ' ἅπερ, οἶμαι, φεύγουσιν
after these-things exiled you-voted which-very I-think to-exiled
εὐεργέταις δι' ὑμᾶς προσῆκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν,
benefactors because-of you it-befitted proxeny benefaction
ἀτέλειαν ἁπάντων. εἶτα τοὺς δι' ὑμᾶς φεύγοντας καὶ
exemption of-all then the-ones because-of you exiled and
δικαίως τι παρ' ὑμῶν εὑρομένους ἐάσωμεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι
justly something from you having-obtained shall-we-allow to-be-deprived-of
ταῦτα, μηδὲν ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι; ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη.
these-things nothing having to-charge but shameful — it-would-be
61 μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἄν, ἐκείνως εἰ λογίσαισθε
you-would-learn and this most — in-that-way if you-should-reckon
πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· εἴ τινες νυνὶ τῶν ἐχόντων Πύδναν
with you yourselves if some now of-the-ones holding Pydna
ἢ Ποτείδαιαν ἤ τι τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων, ἃ Φιλίππῳ
or Potidaea or some of-the other places which to-Philip
μέν ἐστιν ὑπήκοα, ὑμῖν δ' ἐχθρά, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
indeed are subject to-you but hostile the same way

ὅνπερ ἡ Θάσος ἦν τότε καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον Λακεδαιμονίοις
as-very — Thasos was then and — Byzantium to-Lacedaemonians
μὲν οἰκεῖα, ὑμῖν δ' ἀλλότρια, παραδώσειν ταῦτ'
indeed friendly to-you but alien to-be-going-to-hand-over these-things
ἐπαγγείλαιντο, ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰς αὐτὰς δῶτε δωρειὰς ὥσπερ
should-offer if for-them the same you-give gifts as
Ἐκφάντῳ τῷ Θασίῳ καὶ Ἀρχεβίῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, καί
to-Ecphantus the Thasian and to-Archebius the Byzantine and
τινες τούτων ἀντιλέγοιεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα λέγοντες,
some of-these should-oppose them these-things saying
ὡς δεινὸν εἴ τινες μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων μετοίκων μὴ 62
that terrible if some alone of-the other resident-aliens not
χορηγοῖεν, πῶς ποτ' ἂν ἔχοιτε πρὸς τοὺς
should-serve-as-chorus-masters how ever — would-you-feel toward the-ones
ταῦτα λέγοντας; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι φωνὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοισθ'
these-things saying or clear that voice not — you-would-endure
ὡς συκοφαντούντων; οὔκουν αἰσχρὸν εἰ μέλλοντες μὲν εὖ
as of-slanderers not-then shameful if being-about indeed well
πάσχειν συκοφάντην ἂν τὸν ταῦτα λέγονθ' ἡγοῖσθε,
to-be-treated slanderer — the-one these-things saying you-would-consider
ἐπὶ τῷ δ' ἀφελέσθαι τὰς τῶν προτέρων εὐεργετῶν
for the but to-take-away the of-the earlier benefactors
δωρειὰς ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀκούσεσθε;
gifts these-things saying you-will-listen
φέρε δὴ κἀκεῖν' ἐξετάσωμεν. οἱ προδόντες τὴν Πύδναν 63
come now also-that let-us-examine the-ones having-betrayed the Pydna
καὶ τἄλλα χωρία τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ ποτ' ἐπαρθέντες ἡμᾶς
and the-other places — to-Philip by-what ever having-been-incited us
ἠδίκουν; ἢ πᾶσι πρόδηλον τοῦτο, ὅτι ταῖς παρ' ἐκείνου
did-they-wrong or to-all plain this that by-the from that-man
δωρειαῖς, ἃς διὰ ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο;
gifts which because-of these-things to-be-going-to-be for-themselves they-thought

πότερον οὖν μᾶλλον ἔδει σ', ὦ Λεπτίνη, τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
whether then rather was-it-necessary you O Leptines the enemies
εἰ δύνασαι, πεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀδικήμασι
if you-can to-persuade the-ones for the against us wrongs
γιγνομένους ἐκείνων εὐεργέτας μὴ τιμᾶν, ἢ θεῖναι νόμον
becoming of-those benefactors not to-honor or to-lay-down a-law
ἡμῖν ὃς τῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις εὐεργέταις ὑπαρχουσῶν
for-us which of-the to-the our benefactors belonging
δωρειῶν ἀφαιρεῖταί τι; ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖν' οἶμαι. ἀλλ' ἵνα
gifts takes-away something I indeed that think but so-that
μὴ πόρρω τοῦ παρόντος γένωμαι, λαβὲ τὰ ψηφίσμαθ'
not far from-the present I-may-get take the decrees
ἃ τοῖς Θασίοις καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐγράφη. λέγε.
which for-the Thasians and Byzantines were-proposed read
64 ἠκούσατε μὲν τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί.
you-heard indeed the decrees O men jurors
τούτων δ' ἴσως ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτ' εἰσίν. ἀλλὰ
of-these but perhaps some of-the men no-longer are but
τὰ ἔργα τὰ πραχθέντ' ἔστιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐπράχθη.
the deeds the done are since-indeed once they-were-done
προσήκει τοίνυν τὰς στήλας ταύτας κυρίας ἐᾶν τὸν
it-befits then the pillars these valid to-allow the
πάντα χρόνον, ἵν', ἕως μὲν ἄν τινες ζῶσι, μηδὲν
all time so-that while indeed — some live nothing
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικῶνται, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τελευτήσωσιν, ἐκεῖναι
by you they-may-be-wronged when but they-die those
τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἤθους μνημεῖον ὦσι, καὶ παραδείγμαθ'
of-the of-the city character memorial may-be and examples
ἑστῶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις τι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαθόν,
may-stand for-the-ones wishing something to-do you good
ὅσους εὖ ποιήσαντας ἡ πόλις ἀντ' εὖ πεποίηκεν.
how-many well having-done the city in-return well has-done

καὶ μὴν μηδ᾽ ἐκεῖν᾽ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λανθανέτω, 65
and truly not-even that you O men Athenians let-escape
ὅτι τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐστὶν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν
that of-the most-shameful-things it-is all men to-see
καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὰς μὲν συμφοράς, αἷς δι᾽ ὑμᾶς
and to-hear the indeed misfortunes which because-of you
ἐχρήσανθ᾽ οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, πάντα τὸν χρόνον κυρίας
experienced the men these all the time valid
αὐτοῖς γεγενημένας, τὰς δὲ δωρειάς, ἃς ἀντὶ τούτων
for-them having-been the but gifts which in-return-for these-things
ἔλαβον παρ᾽ ὑμῶν, καὶ δὴ λελυμένας.
they-received from you and indeed annulled
πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἥρμοττεν τὰ δοθέντ᾽ ἐῶντας τῶν 66
much for rather it-would-suit the-things given letting-stand of-the
ἀτυχημάτων ἀφαιρεῖν ἢ τούτων μενόντων τὰς δωρειὰς
misfortunes to-take-away than these remaining the gifts
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, τίς ἔστιν ὅστις εὖ ποιεῖν
to-take-away come for by Zeus who is who well to-do
ὑμᾶς βουλήσεται, μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχῃ, παραχρῆμα
you will-wish being-about if indeed he-fails at-once
δίκην δώσειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἂν δὲ κατορθώσῃ, τὰς
penalty to-be-going-to-pay to-the enemies if but he-succeeds the
χάριτας παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπίστους ἕξειν;
favors from you untrustworthy to-be-going-to-have
πάνυ τοίνυν ἀχθοίμην ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ τοῦτο 67
very then I-would-be-grieved — O men jurors if this
μόνον δόξαιμι δίκαιον κατηγορεῖν τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι πολλοὺς
only I-should-seem justly to-accuse of-the law that many
ξένους εὐεργέτας ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἀτέλειαν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν
foreign benefactors it-takes-away the exemption of-the but citizens
μηδέν᾽ ἄξιον δοκοίην ἔχειν δεῖξαι τῶν εὑρημένων
no-one worthy I-should-seem to-be-able to-show of-the-ones having-obtained

ταύτην τὴν τιμήν. καὶ γὰρ τἄλλ' ἀγάθ' εὐξαίμην ἂν
this the honor and for the-other good-things I-would-pray —
ἔγωγε παρ' ἡμῖν εἶναι πλεῖστα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους καὶ
I among us to-be most and men best and
πλείστους εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως πολίτας εἶναι.
most benefactors of-the city citizens to-be

VI · CONON AND CHABRIAS

Conon, with no help from Athens, defeated the Spartans at sea, drove their harmosts from the islands, and rebuilt the walls, and the inscription says he freed the allies of Athens. He was the first since Harmodius and Aristogeiton to be given a bronze statue. Others honored him too; it would be shameful if only Athens' gift were taken back after his death. Themistocles built the walls by deceiving Sparta; Conon by defeating her, which is finer. Chabrias' son should not lose the exemption his father earned: Chabrias drew up the army against all the Peloponnesians at Thebes, killed Gorgopas in Aegina, took seventeen cities, seventy ships, three thousand captives, and a hundred and ten talents, and lost not a city, ship, or soldier of Athens. He died fighting for her at Chios. Chabrias alone was honored, though Athens would have honored others for his sake had he asked, and his son was raised an orphan through his father's love of honor.

68 πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Κόνωνα σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρ' ἄξιον,
first indeed then Conon consider whether after-all worthy
καταμεμψαμένους ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ τὰ πεπραγμένα,
having-found-fault-with either the man or the-things done
ἄκυρόν τι ποιῆσαι τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοθέντων. οὗτος
void anything to-make of-the to-that-man given this-man
γάρ, ὡς ὑμῶν τινῶν ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν κατὰ
for as from-you some it-is-possible to-hear of-the-ones of
τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντων, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κάθοδον
the same age being after the of-the people return

τὴν ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἀσθενοῦς ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης
the from Peiraeus weak our the city being
καὶ ναῦν οὐδεμίαν κεκτημένης, στρατηγῶν βασιλεῖ, παρ᾽
and ship none possessing being-general for-the-king from
ὑμῶν οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν ἀφορμὴν λαβών, κατεναυμάχησεν
you not-even any resource having-received defeated-at-sea
Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττοντας
Lacedaemonians and before to-the others giving-orders
εἴθισ᾽ ἀκούειν ὑμῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἁρμοστὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ
accustomed to-listen to-you and the harmosts drove-out from
τῶν νήσων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δεῦρ᾽ ἐλθὼν ἀνέστησε
the islands and after these-things hither having-come rebuilt
τὰ τείχη, καὶ πρῶτος πάλιν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐποίησε
the walls and first again about the leadership made
τῇ πόλει τὸν λόγον πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι.
for-the city the question with Lacedaemonians to-be
καὶ γάρ τοι μόνῳ τῶν πάντων αὐτῷ τοῦτ᾽ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ 69
and for surely alone of-the all for-him this on the pillar
γέγραπται· ‘ἐπειδὴ’ φησὶν ‘ἠλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων
has-been-written since it-says he-freed the of-Athenians
συμμάχους.’ ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γράμμ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί,
allies is and this the inscription O men jurors
ἐκείνῳ μὲν φιλοτιμία πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς
for-that-man indeed honor toward you yourselves for-you but toward
πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὅτου γὰρ ἄν τις παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
all the Greeks of-whatever for — anyone from you
ἀγαθοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιος γένηται, τούτου τὴν δόξαν
good for-the others responsible becomes of-this the glory
τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα καρποῦται.
the of-the city name reaps

70 διόπερ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε, ἀλλὰ
therefore not only to-him the exemption gave the-ones then but
καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ὥσπερ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος,
also bronze statue as of-Harmodius and Aristogeiton
ἔστησαν πρώτου· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν τυραννίδα καὶ
set-up first they-thought for not small tyranny also
τοῦτον τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντα πεπαυκέναι.
this-man the of-Lacedaemonians empire having-overthrown to-have-ended
ἵν' οὖν μᾶλλον οἷς λέγω προσέχητε, τὰ ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμῖν
so-that then more to-what I-say you-may-attend the decrees to-you
αὖτ' ἀναγνώσεται τὰ τότε ψηφισθέντα τῷ Κόνωνι. λέγε.
themselves he-will-read the then voted — for-Conon read
71 οὐ τοίνυν ὑφ' ὑμῶν μόνον ὁ Κόνων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
not then by you only — Conon O men Athenians
τότ' ἐτιμήθη πράξας ἃ διεξῆλθον ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ'
then was-honored having-done what recounted I but also by
ἄλλων πολλῶν, οἳ δικαίως ὧν εὐεργέτηντο χάριν
others many who justly for-what they-had-been-benefited gratitude
ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀποδιδόναι. οὔκουν αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες
thought to-be-necessary to-repay not-then shameful O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ αἱ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις δωρειαὶ βέβαιοι
Athenians if the indeed among the others gifts secure
μένουσιν αὐτῷ, τῆς δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν μόνης τοῦτ' ἀφαιρήσεται;
remain for-him of-the but from you alone this will-be-taken-away
72 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο καλόν, ζῶντα μὲν αὐτὸν οὕτω
and truly not-even that fine living indeed him so
τιμᾶν ὥστε τοσούτων ὅσων ἀκηκόατ' ἀξιοῦν, ἐπειδὴ
to-honor as of-so-many as-many-as you-have-heard to-deem-worthy since
δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀφελέσθαι τι τῶν δοθέντων τότε.
but he-has-died to-take-away anything of-the-things given then
πολλὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ὑπ'
many indeed for are O men Athenians of-the-things by

ἐκείνου πραχθέντων ἄξι᾽ ἐπαίνου, δι᾽ ἃ πάντα
him done worthy of-praise because-of which all
προσήκει μὴ λύειν τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις δοθείσας δωρειάς,
it-befits not to-annul the for these-things given gifts
κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἡ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνάστασις.
finest and of-all the of-the walls rebuilding
γνοίη δ᾽ ἄν τις εἰ παραθείη πῶς Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὁ 73
would-know and — one if he-should-compare how Themistocles the-one
τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἁπάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐνδοξότατος, ταὐτὸ
of-the in his-own all men most-illustrious the-same
τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίησεν. λέγεται τοίνυν ἐκεῖνος, τειχίζειν εἰπὼν
this did it-is-said then that-man to-build-walls having-told
τοῖς πολίταις, κἂν ἀφικνῆταί τις ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος,
the citizens and-if arrives anyone from Lacedaemon
κατέχειν κελεύσας, οἴχεσθαι πρεσβεύων αὐτὸς ὡς τοὺς
to-detain having-bidden to-go serving-as-envoy himself to the
Λακεδαιμονίους, λόγων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐκεῖ καί τινων
Lacedaemonians talks but taking-place there and some
ἀπαγγελλόντων ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τειχίζουσιν, ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ
reporting that Athenians are-building-walls to-deny and
πρέσβεις πέμπειν σκεψομένους κελεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ οὐχ
envoys to-send to-be-going-to-inspect to-bid when but not
ἥκον οὗτοι, πέμπειν ἑτέρους παραινεῖν. καὶ πάντες ἴσως
came these to-send others to-advise and all perhaps
ἀκηκόαθ᾽ ὃν τρόπον ἐξαπατῆσαι λέγεται.
you-have-heard in-what way to-have-deceived he-is-said
φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγώ (καὶ πρὸς Διός, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 74
I-say then I and by Zeus men Athenians
μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, ἀλλ᾽ ἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ
let-no-one with-envy the future hear but if true it-is
σκοπείτω), ὅσῳ τὸ φανερῶς τοῦ λάθρᾳ κρεῖττον,
let-him-consider by-as-much-as the openly than-the secretly better

καὶ τὸ νικῶντας τοῦ παρακρουσαμένους πράττειν ὁτιοῦν
and the winning than-the having-tricked to-do anything
ἐντιμότερον, τοσούτῳ κάλλιον Κόνωνα τὰ τείχη στῆσαι
more-honorable by-so-much finer Conon the walls to-have-set-up
Θεμιστοκλέους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαθών, ὁ δὲ
than-Themistocles the-one indeed for having-escaped-notice the-other but
νικήσας τοὺς κωλύσοντας αὖτ' ἐποίησεν. οὐ τοίνυν
having-defeated the-ones going-to-prevent it did not then
ἄξιον τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικηθῆναι, οὐδ' ἔλαττον
worthy the such by you to-be-wronged nor less
σχεῖν τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν διδαξόντων ὡς ἀφελέσθαι
to-have than-the orators the-ones going-to-teach that to-take-away
τι χρὴ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοθέντων.
anything one-must of-the to-that-man given
75 εἶεν. ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία τὸν παῖδα τὸν Χαβρίου περιίδωμεν
so-be-it but by Zeus the son the of-Chabrias let-us-allow
ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ δικαίως
deprived the exemption which the father to-him justly
παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν' ἀνθρώπων εὖ
from you having-received left but no-one of-men well
φρονοῦντ' οἶμαι ταῦτ' ἂν φῆσαι καλῶς ἔχειν. ἴστε μὲν
thinking I-think these-things — to-say well to-be you-know indeed
οὖν ἴσως, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγου, ὅτι σπουδαῖος
then perhaps even without the from me speech that excellent
Χαβρίας ἦν ἀνήρ, οὐ μὴν κωλύει γ' οὐδὲν κἀμὲ διὰ
Chabrias was a-man not truly prevents at-least nothing even-me through
βραχέων ἐπιμνησθῆναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ.
brief-words to-mention the-things done by-him
76 ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔχων πρὸς ἅπαντας
in-what indeed then way you having against all
Πελοποννησίους παρετάξατ' ἐν Θήβαις, καὶ ὡς Γοργώπαν
Peloponnesians he-drew-up in Thebes and how Gorgopas

ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἐν Κύπρῳ τρόπαι᾽
he-killed in Aegina and how-many in Cyprus trophies
ἔστησεν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν
he-set-up and after these-things in Egypt and that every
ἐπελθὼν ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν χώραν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ τῆς
having-traversed little I-lack to-say land nowhere the of-the
πόλεως ὄνομ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὑτὸν κατῄσχυνεν, οὔτε πάνυ ῥᾴδιον
city name nor himself he-disgraced neither very easy
κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν, πολλή τ᾽ αἰσχύνη λέγοντος
according-to the worth to-say great and shame speaking
ἐμοῦ ταῦτ᾽ ἐλάττω φανῆναι τῆς ἐν ἑκάστῳ νῦν περὶ
me these-things less to-appear than-the in each now about
αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπαρχούσης· ἃ δ᾽ οὐδαμῶς ἂν εἰπὼν
him reputation existing which but in-no-way — having-said
οἶομαι μικρὰ ποιῆσαι, ταῦθ᾽ ὑπομνῆσαι πειράσομαι.
I-think small to-make these-things to-recall I-will-try
ἐνίκησεν μὲν τοίνυν Λακεδαιμονίους ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ 77
he-defeated indeed then Lacedaemonians in-a-sea-battle and
πεντήκοντα μιᾶς δεούσας ἔλαβ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους τριήρεις,
fifty one lacking took captive triremes
εἷλε δὲ τῶν νήσων τούτων τὰς πολλὰς καὶ παρέδωκεν
he-took and of-the islands these the most and handed-over
ὑμῖν καὶ φιλίας ἐποίησεν ἐχθρῶς ἐχούσας πρότερον,
to-you and friendly made hostilely being before
τρισχίλια δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτα σώματα δεῦρ᾽ ἤγαγεν, καὶ πλεῖν
three-thousand and captive persons hither he-brought and more
ἢ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντ᾽ ἀπέφην᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.
than ten and a-hundred talents he-produced from the enemies
καὶ τούτων πάντων ὑμῶν τινὲς οἱ πρεσβύτατοι μάρτυρές
and of-these all of-you some the oldest witnesses
εἰσί μοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλας τριήρεις πλεῖν ἢ
are for-me besides and these other triremes more than

εἴκοσιν εἷλε, κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο λαμβάνων, ἃς ἁπάσας
twenty he-took by one and two taking which all
εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους λιμένας κατήγαγεν.
into the your harbors he-brought-in

78 ἑνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ μόνος τῶν πάντων στρατηγῶν οὐ πόλιν,
in-one and sum alone of-the all generals not city
οὐ φρούριον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ στρατιώτην ἀπώλεσεν οὐδέν᾽
not fort not ship not soldier he-lost any
ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐχθρῶν
leading you nor is to-any of-the your enemies
τρόπαιον οὐδὲν ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν τε κἀκείνου, ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἀπὸ
trophy any from you both and-him for-you but from
πολλῶν πόλλ᾽ ἐκείνου στρατηγοῦντος. ἵνα δὲ μὴ λέγων
many many that-man being-general so-that and not speaking
παραλίπω τι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, ἀναγνώσεται
I-may-omit anything of-the-things done by-him he-will-read
γεγραμμένας ὑμῖν τάς τε ναῦς ὅσας ἔλαβεν καὶ οὗ
written for-you the both ships how-many he-took and where
ἑκάστην, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
each and of-the cities the number and of-the money
τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τῶν τροπαίων οὗ ἕκαστον. λέγε.
the amount and of-the trophies where each read

79 δοκεῖ τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὗτος ὃ τοσαύτας
seems to-some of-you O men jurors this-man the-one so-many
πόλεις λαβὼν καὶ τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ναυμαχίᾳ
cities having-taken and triremes of-the enemies in-a-sea-battle
νικήσας, καὶ τοσούτων καλῶν αἴτιος ὤν, αἰσχροῦ δ᾽
having-defeated and of-so-many fine-things responsible being of-shameful but
οὐδενὸς τῇ πόλει, ἄξιος εἶναι ἀποστερηθῆναι τὴν ἀτέλειαν
nothing for-the city worthy to-be to-be-deprived-of the exemption
ἣν εὕρετο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ κατέλιπεν; ἐγὼ
which he-obtained from you and to-the son left I

μὲν οὐκ οἴομαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄλογον εἴη· μίαν μὲν
indeed not think and for — unreasonable it-would-be one indeed
πόλιν εἰ ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ναῦς δέκα μόνας, περὶ προδοσίας
city if he-lost or ships ten only for treason
ἂν αὐτὸν εἰσήγγελλον οὗτοι, καὶ εἰ ἑάλω, τὸν
— him would-impeach these-men and if he-had-been-convicted the
ἅπαντ' ἂν ἀπωλώλει χρόνον·
all — he-would-have-been-ruined time
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἑπτακαίδεκα μὲν πόλεις εἷλεν, 80
since but the-contrary seventeen indeed cities he-took
ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ ναῦς ἔλαβεν, τρισχιλίους δ' αἰχμαλώτους,
seventy and ships he-took three-thousand and captives
δέκα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντ' ἀπέφηνεν, τοσαῦτα δ' ἔστησε
ten and and a-hundred talents he-produced so-many and he-set-up
τρόπαια, τηνικαῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔσται κύρι' αὐτῷ τὰ
trophies then but not will-be valid for-him the-things
δοθέντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις; καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζῶν
given for these-things and truly O men Athenians both living
πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φανήσεται πράξας Χαβρίας, καὶ τὴν
everything for you will-appear having-done Chabrias and the
τελευτὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου πεποιημένος οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου
end itself of-the life having-made not for other
τινός, ὥστε δικαίως ἂν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰ ζῶντι
anyone so-that justly — not only because-of the-things by-him-living
πεπραγμένα φαίνοισθ' εὐνοϊκῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸν
done you-would-appear well-disposed being toward the
υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταύτην.
son his but also because-of this
ἄξιον τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως 81
worth then O men Athenians also-that to-consider how
μὴ φανούμεθα φαυλότεροι Χίων περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας
not we-shall-appear worse than-Chians toward the benefactors

γεγενημένοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μέν, ἐφ' οὓς μεθ' ὅπλων
having-been if for they indeed against whom with arms
ἦλθεν ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει, μηδὲν ὧν ἔδοσαν πρότερον νῦν
he-came in of-enemy rank nothing of-what they-gave before now
ἀφῄρηνται, ἀλλὰ τὰς πάλαι χάριτας μείζους τῶν καινῶν
have-taken-away but the old favors greater than-the new
ἐγκλημάτων πεποίηνται, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπ' ἐκείνους
charges have-made you but for whom against them
ἐλθὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ ταῦτ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
having-come he-died instead-of the because-of these-things still more
αὐτὸν τιμᾶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον εὐεργεσίαις
him to-honor even of-the-things for the earlier benefactions
τι δοθέντων ἀφῃρημένοι φανήσεσθε, πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως
anything given having-taken-away you-will-appear how not reasonably
αἰσχύνην ἕξετε;
shame will-you-have

82 καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖν' ἀνάξι' ἂν εἴη πεπονθὼς
and truly also by that unworthy-things — would-be having-suffered
ὁ παῖς εἴ τι τῆς δωρειᾶς ἀφαιρεθείη, καθ' ὃ
the son if anything of-the gift should-be-taken-away by which
πολλάκις ὑμῶν στρατηγήσαντος Χαβρίου οὐδενὸς πώποθ'
often of-you having-been-general Chabrias no-one's ever
υἱὸς ὀρφανὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ
son orphan because-of him became he and in orphanhood
τέθραπται διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ πατρός.
has-been-raised because-of the toward you ambition of-the father
οὕτω γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται βεβαίως πως
so for as truly to-me it-appears steadfastly somehow
ἐκεῖνος φιλόπολις, ὥστε δοκῶν καὶ ὢν ἀσφαλέστατος
that-man patriotic that seeming and being most-cautious
στρατηγὸς ἁπάντων, ὑπὲρ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὁπόθ' ἡγοῖτο,
general of-all for indeed you whenever he-led

ἐχρῆτο τούτῳ, ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν
he-used this for himself but when the by himself
ἐτάχθη κινδυνεύειν, παρεῖδε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλετο μὴ ζῆν
he-was-posted to-run-risk he-disregarded and rather chose not to-live
ἢ καταισχῦναι τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ τιμάς.
than to-disgrace the from you existing for-him honors
εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ νικᾶν, 83
then for what that-man thought to-be-necessary to-die or to-win
ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς ἀφελώμεθα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ; καὶ τί φήσομεν,
these-things we shall-take-away the son his and what shall-we-say
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τὰ μὲν τρόπαι' ἑστήκῃ δῆλα
O men Athenians when the indeed trophies stand clear
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἃ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκεῖνος
to-all men which for you being-general that-man
ἔστησε, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρειῶν ἀφῃρημένον τι
set-up of-the but for these-things gifts taken-away anything
φαίνηται; οὐ σκέψεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιεῖσθε,
appears not will-you-consider O men Athenians and reckon
ὅτι νῦν οὐχ ὁ νόμος κρίνεται πότερον ἔστ' ἐπιτήδειος ἢ
that now not the law is-judged whether it-is suitable or
οὔ, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς δοκιμάζεσθ' εἴτ' ἐπιτήδειοι πάσχειν ἔστ'
not but you are-being-tested whether suitable to-be-treated you-are
εὖ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον εἴτε μή;
well the remaining time or not
λαβὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῷ Χαβρίᾳ ψήφισμα ψηφισθέν. ὅρα δὴ 84
take now also the — for-Chabrias decree voted look now
καὶ σκόπει· δεῖ γὰρ αὖτ' ἐνταῦθ' εἶναί που.
and consider it-must for it here to-be somewhere
ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ Χαβρίου βούλομαι. ὑμεῖς,
I and further this to-say for Chabrias wish you
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τιμῶντές ποτ' Ἰφικράτην, οὐ μόνον
O men Athenians honoring once Iphicrates not only

αὐτὸν ἐτιμήσατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον Στράβακα καὶ
him you-honored but also because-of him Strabax and
Πολύστρατον· καὶ πάλιν, Τιμοθέῳ διδόντες τὴν δωρειάν,
Polystratus and again to-Timotheus giving the gift
δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐδώκατε καὶ Κλεάρχῳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις
because-of him you-gave also to-Clearchus and to-some others
πολιτείαν· Χαβρίας δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐτιμήθη παρ᾽ ὑμῖν μόνος.
citizenship Chabrias but himself was-honored among you alone
85 εἰ δὴ τόθ᾽, ὅθ᾽ εὑρίσκετο τὴν δωρειάν, ἠξίωσεν
if indeed then when he-obtained the gift he-had-asked
ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ δι᾽ Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον εὖ τινὰς
you as because-of Iphicrates and Timotheus well some
πεποιήκατε, οὕτω καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῆσαι τούτων
you-have-done so also because-of himself well to-do of-these
τινὰς τῶν εὑρημένων τὴν ἀτέλειαν, οὓς νῦν οὗτοι
some of-the-ones having-obtained the exemption whom now these-men
μεμφόμενοι πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κελεύουσιν ὁμοίως, οὐκ
blaming all to-deprive bid likewise not
ἂν ἐδώκατε ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν; ἔγωγ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι.
— would-you-have-given this to-him the favor I think
86 εἶθ᾽ οἷς δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἂν τότ᾽ ἐδώκατε δωρειάν,
then to-whom because-of him — then you-would-have-given gift
διὰ τούτους νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀφαιρήσεσθε τὴν
because-of these now him himself will-you-deprive-of the
ἀτέλειαν; ἀλλ᾽ ἄλογον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἁρμόττει δοκεῖν
exemption but unreasonable not-even for you it-suits to-seem
παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὕτω προχείρως ἔχειν ὥστε
at indeed the benefactions so readily to-be-disposed that
μὴ μόνους αὐτοὺς τοὺς εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
not alone themselves the benefactors to-honor but also the

ἐκείνων φίλους, ἐπειδὰν δὲ χρόνος διέλθῃ βραχύς, καὶ
their friends when but time passes short also
ὅσ᾽ αὐτοῖς δεδώκατε, ταῦτ᾽ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.
as-much-as to-them you-have-given these-things to-take-away
οὓς μὲν τοίνυν ἀδικήσετε, εἰ μὴ λύσετε τὸν νόμον, πρὸς 87
whom indeed then you-will-wrong if not you-annul the law besides
πολλοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς ἀκηκόατε, εἰσίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί.
many others whom you-have-heard are O men jurors
σκοπεῖτε δὴ καὶ λογίσασθ᾽ ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τινες τούτων
consider now and reckon in you yourselves if some of-these
τῶν τετελευτηκότων λάβοιεν τρόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ νυνὶ γιγνομένου
the dead should-get by-way some of-the now happening
πράγματος αἴσθησιν, ὡς ἂν εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσειαν. εἰ
affair perception how — reasonably they-would-be-indignant if
γὰρ ὧν ἔργῳ πεποίηκεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς εὖ, τούτων
for what by-deed has-done each of-them you well of-these
ἐκ λόγου κρίσις γίγνεται, καὶ τὰ καλῶς πραχθέν᾽ ὑπ᾽
from speech judgment takes-place and the-things well done by
ἐκείνων, ἂν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν μὴ καλῶς ῥηθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, μάτην
them if by us not well is-spoken by-the speech in-vain
τοῖς πονήσασιν εἴργασται, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν;
for-the-ones having-toiled has-been-worked how not terrible-things do-they-suffer

VII · THE LAW PROPOSED INSTEAD

Demosthenes' side has proposed a law to replace Leptines', as Solon's old law requires: whoever indicts a law must introduce another and the jurors choose the better. Solon made the thesmothetae pass two scrutinies but would not have laws enacted on the moment unscrutinized; since then powerful men have made it possible to legislate at will, so that the laws contradict one another and are no better than decrees. Solon's procedure is read, and the relevant clauses: the old law that gifts the people gave shall be valid, which Leptines broke without first repealing it. The new law keeps the deserving in their gifts and lets any unworthy

recipient be tried and stripped. Leptines told the thesmothetae it was a trick and would never be enacted; but Demosthenes, Phormio, and anyone else Leptines names stand surety for it, and Leptines' law forbids the people to give of its own to anyone, which Solon would never have allowed.

88 ἵνα τοίυυν εἰδῆτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ
so-that then you-may-know O men Athenians that as truly on
πᾶσι δικαίοις ποιούμεθα τοὺς λόγους πάντας οὓς λέγομεν
all just-terms we-make the arguments all which we-say
πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ὅ τι τοῦ παρακρούσασθαι
to you and nothing there-is what ever of-the to-mislead
καὶ φενακίσαι λέγεται παρ' ἡμῶν ἕνεκα, ἀναγνώσεται τὸν
and to-cheat is-said by us for-the-sake he-will-read the
νόμον ὑμῖν ὃν παρεισφέρομεν γράψαντες ἀντὶ τοῦδε,
law to-you which we-introduce having-proposed instead-of this
ὃν οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναί φαμεν. γνώσεσθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτου
which not suitable to-be we-say you-will-know for from this
πρόνοιάν τιν' ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν
forethought some having us both how you nothing shameful
ποιῆσαι δόξετε, καὶ ὅπως, εἴ τινά τις καταμέμφεται
to-do will-seem and how if anyone anyone blames
τῶν εὑρημένων τὰς δωρειάς, ἂν δίκαιον ᾖ, κρίνας
of-the-ones having-obtained the gifts if just it-is having-tried-him
παρ' ὑμῖν ἀφαιρήσεται, καὶ ὅπως, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν
before you he-will-take-it-away and how the-ones-whom no-one —
ἀντείποι μὴ οὐ δεῖν ἔχειν, ἔξουσιν τὰ δοθέντα.
would-deny — not to-be-necessary to-have will-have the-things given
89 καὶ τούτων πάντων οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ἡμέτερον οὐδὲ καινὸν
and of-these all nothing is ours nor new
εὕρημα, ἀλλ' ὁ παλαιός, ὃν οὗτος παρέβη, νόμος οὕτω
invention but the old which this-man transgressed law so

κελεύει νομοθετεῖν, γράφεσθαι μέν, ἄν τίς τινα τῶν
bids to-legislate to-indict indeed if anyone any of-the
ὑπαρχόντων νόμων μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγῆται, παρεισφέρειν
existing laws not well to-be thinks to-introduce
δ' αὐτὸν ἄλλον, ὃν ἂν τιθῇ λύων ἐκεῖνον, ὑμᾶς δ'
and him another which — he-proposes repealing that you and
ἀκούσαντες ἑλέσθαι τὸν κρείττω.
having-heard to-choose the better
οὐ γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ Σόλων, ὁ τοῦτον τὸν 90
not for thought to-be-necessary — Solon the-one this the
τρόπον προστάξας νομοθετεῖν, τοὺς μὲν θεσμοθέτας τοὺς
way having-enjoined to-legislate the indeed thesmothetae the-ones
ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους κληρουμένους δὶς δοκιμασθέντας ἄρχειν,
for the laws chosen-by-lot twice scrutinized to-hold-office
ἔν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ
in both the council and before you in the court the but
νόμους αὐτούς, καθ' οὓς καὶ τούτοις ἄρχειν καὶ πᾶσι
laws themselves according-to which both these to-hold-office and all
τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύεσθαι προσήκει, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τεθέντας,
the others to-be-citizens it-befits for occasion laid-down
ὅπως ἔτυχον, μὴ δοκιμασθέντας κυρίους εἶναι.
as they-chanced not scrutinized valid to-be
καὶ γάρ τοι τότε μέν, τέως τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον 91
and for surely then indeed for-a-while the way this
ἐνομοθέτουν, τοῖς μὲν ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις ἐχρῶντο, καινοὺς
they-legislated the indeed existing laws they-used new
δ' οὐκ ἐτίθεσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων τινὲς
but not they-laid-down when but of-the-ones in-public-life some
δυνηθέντες, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, κατεσκεύασαν αὑτοῖς
having-become-powerful as I learn arranged for-themselves
ἐξεῖναι νομοθετεῖν, ὅταν τις βούληται καὶ ὃν ἂν
to-be-permitted to-legislate whenever anyone wishes and which —

τύχῃ τρόπον, τοσοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν αὑτοῖς
it-chances way so-many indeed the contrary to-themselves themselves
εἰσὶ νόμοι, ὥστε χειροτονεῖθ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς διαλέξοντας τοὺς
are laws that elect you the-ones going-to-sort-out the
ἐναντίους ἐπὶ πάμπολυν ἤδη χρόνον,
contradictory for very-much already time
92 καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον δύναται πέρας ἔχειν·
and the affair not-at-all more can end to-have
ψηφισμάτων δ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι,
from-decrees but not-even anything-whatever differ the laws
ἀλλὰ νεώτεροι οἱ νόμοι, καθ' οὓς τὰ ψηφίσματα δεῖ
but more-recent the laws according-to which the decrees must
γράφεσθαι, τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν ὑμῖν εἰσίν. ἵν' οὖν
be-proposed than-the decrees themselves for-you are so-that then
μὴ λόγον λέγω μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ὅν
not argument I-may-speak only but also the law itself which
φημι δείξω, λαβέ μοι τὸν νόμον καθ' ὃν ἦσαν οἱ
I-mean I-will-show take for-me the law according-to which were the
πρότερον νομοθέται. λέγε.
former lawgivers read
93 συνίεθ' ὃν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ Σόλων
you-understand in-what way O men Athenians — Solon
τοὺς νόμους ὡς καλῶς κελεύει τιθέναι, πρῶτον μὲν παρ'
the laws how well bids to-lay-down first indeed before
ὑμῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὀμωμοκόσιν, παρ' οἷσπερ καὶ τἄλλα
you among the-ones sworn before whom-very also the-other-things
κυροῦται, ἔπειτα λύοντα τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἵν' εἷς ᾖ
are-ratified then repealing the contrary so-that one may-be
περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἑκάστου νόμος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας
about the things of-each law and not the private-citizens
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ταράττῃ καὶ ποιῇ τῶν ἅπαντας εἰδότων
this itself may-confuse and may-make than-the all knowing

τοὺς νόμους ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ᾖ ταὔτ'
the laws less to-have but for-all it-may-be the-same-things
ἀναγνῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἁπλᾶ καὶ σαφῆ τὰ δίκαια.
to-read and to-learn simple and clear the just-provisions
καὶ πρὸ τούτων γ' ἐπέταξεν ἐκθεῖναι πρόσθε τῶν 94
and before these at-least he-ordered to-post in-front-of the
ἐπωνύμων καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ παραδοῦναι, τοῦτον
eponymous-heroes and to-the clerk to-hand-over this-man
δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἵν' ἕκαστος
and in the assemblies to-read so-that each
ὑμῶν ἀκούσας πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν σκεψάμενος,
of-you having-heard often and at leisure having-considered
ἂν ᾖ καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα, ταῦτα νομοθετῇ.
what-ever are both just and expedient these-things he-may-enact
τούτων τοίνυν τοσούτων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος, οὑτοσὶ μὲν
of-these then so-many being the multitude this-man indeed
οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐποίησε· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ποτ'
not-even anything-whatever did not-even for — you ever
ἐπείσθητε, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, θέσθαι τὸν νόμον·
would-have-been-persuaded as I think to-lay-down the law
ἡμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντα, καὶ παρεισφέρομεν
we but O men Athenians everything both introduce
πολλῷ καὶ κρείττω καὶ δικαιότερον τοῦ τούτου νόμον.
much both better and more-just than-the of-this-man law
γνώσεσθε δ' ἀκούοντες. λαβὲ καὶ λέγε πρῶτον μὲν ἃ 95
you-will-know and hearing take and read first indeed what
τοῦ τούτου νόμου γεγράμμεθα, εἶθ' ἅ φαμεν δεῖν
of-the of-this-man law we-have-indicted then what we-say to-be-necessary
ἀντὶ τούτων τεθῆναι. λέγε.
instead-of these to-be-laid-down read

ταῦτα μέν ἐσθ' ἃ τοῦ τούτου νόμου διώκομεν ὡς οὐκ
these indeed are what of-the of-this-man law we-prosecute as not
ἐπιτήδεια. τὰ δ' ἑξῆς λέγε, ἃ τούτων εἶναι βελτίω φαμέν.
suitable the but next read what than-these to-be better we-say
προσέχετ', ἄνδρες δικασταί, τούτοις ἀναγιγνωσκομένοις
attend men jurors to-these being-read
τὸν νοῦν. λέγε.
the mind read

96 ἐπίσχες. τοῦτο μέν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις κυρίοις
stop this indeed is in the existing laws valid
ὑπάρχον καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σαφές, 'τὰς δωρεὰς
existing fine O men Athenians and clear the gifts
ὅσας ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε κυρίας εἶναι·' δίκαιον, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί.
as-many-as the people gave valid to-be just O earth and gods
χρῆν τοίνυν Λεπτίνην μὴ πρότερον τιθέναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
it-was-necessary then Leptines not before to-lay-down the his-own
νόμον πρὶν τοῦτον ἔλυσε γραψάμενος. νῦν δὲ μαρτυρίαν
law before this he-had-repealed having-indicted now but testimony
καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλείπων ὅτι παρανομεῖ τουτονὶ τὸν νόμον,
against himself leaving that he-violates this the law
ὅμως ἐνομοθέτει, καὶ ταῦθ' ἑτέρου κελεύοντος νόμου καὶ
nevertheless he-legislated and these-things another bidding law and
κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ γραφῇ, ἐὰν ἐναντίος ᾖ
by it this liable to-be to-the indictment if contrary it-is
τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις. λαβὲ δ' αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον.
to-the before established laws take and itself the law

97 οὔκουν ἐναντίον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ 'κυρίας εἶναι τὰς
not-then contrary O men Athenians to-the valid to-be the
δωρειάς, ὅσας ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε,' τὸ 'μηδέν' εἶναι ἀτελῆ'
gifts as-many-as the people gave the no-one to-be exempt
τούτων οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν; σαφῶς γ' οὑτωσί.
of-these to-whom the people gave clearly at-least thus

ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν ᾧ νῦν ὅδ᾽ ἀντεισφέρει νόμῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἅ
but not in which now this-man counter-proposes law but what
τ᾽ ἐδώκατε, κύρια, καὶ πρόφασις δικαία κατὰ τῶν ἢ
both you-gave valid and pretext just against the-ones either
παρακρουσαμένων ἢ μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀδικούντων ἢ ὅλως
having-misled or after these-things wronging or altogether
ἀναξίων, δι᾽ ἣν ὃν ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κωλύσετ᾽ ἔχειν
unworthy because-of which whom — to-you seems-good you-will-prevent to-have
τὴν δωρειάν. λέγε τὸν νόμον.
the gift read the law
ἀκούετ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ καταμανθάνετε, ὅτι ἐνταῦθ᾽ 98
you-hear O men Athenians and understand that here
ἔνι καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἔχειν τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τοὺς μὴ
it-is-possible both the deserving to-keep the-things given and the-ones not
τοιούτους κριθέντας, ἐὰν ἀδίκως τι λάβωσιν, ἀφαιρεθῆναι,
such judged if unjustly anything they-got to-be-deprived
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν εἶναι πάνθ᾽, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, καὶ
and the future in you to-be all as is just both
δοῦναι καὶ μή. ὡς μὲν τοίνυν οὐχὶ καλῶς οὗτος ἔχει καὶ
to-give and not that indeed then not well this is and
δικαίως ὁ νόμος, οὔτ᾽ ἐρεῖν οἴομαι Λεπτίνην οὔτ᾽,
justly the law neither to-be-going-to-say I-think Leptines nor
ἐὰν λέγῃ, δεῖξαι δυνήσεσθαι· ἃ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς θεσμοθέταις
if he-says to-show to-be-going-to-be-able what but before the thesmothetae
ἔλεγεν, ταῦτ᾽ ἴσως λέγων παράγειν ὑμᾶς ζητήσει. ἔφη γὰρ
he-said these-things perhaps saying to-mislead you he-will-seek he-said for
ἐξαπάτης εἵνεκα παραγεγράφθαι τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἐὰν
of-deception for-the-sake to-have-been-posted-beside this the law if
δ᾽ ὃν αὐτὸς ἔθηκεν λυθῇ, τοῦτον οὐ τεθήσεσθαι.
but which he-himself laid-down is-repealed this not to-be-going-to-be-laid-down

99 ἐγὼ δ', ὅτι μὲν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ τοῦ τούτου νόμου
I but that indeed by-the your vote the of-this-man law
λυθέντος τὸν παρεισενεχθέντα κύριον εἶναι σαφῶς ὁ
repealed the introduced valid to-be clearly the
παλαιὸς κελεύει νόμος, καθ' ὃν οἱ θεσμοθέται τοῦτον
old bids law according-to which the thesmothetae this
ὑμῖν παρέγραψαν, ἐάσω, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τούτου τις
to-you posted I-will-let-pass so-that not about this anyone
ἀντιλέγῃ μοι, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκεῖν' εἶμι. ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃ
may-contradict me but to that I-will-go when these-things he-says
δήπου, ὁμολογεῖ μὲν εἶναι βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερον τόνδε
surely admits indeed to-be better and more-just this
τὸν νόμον οὗ τέθεικεν αὐτός, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πῶς
the law than-what has-laid-down himself for but the how
τεθήσεται ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον.
it-will-be-laid-down he-makes the argument
100 πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ παρεισφέροντος
first indeed then there-are for-him against the-one introducing
πολλοὶ τρόποι, δι' ὧν, ἂν βούληται, θεῖναι τὸν νόμον
many ways through which if he-wishes to-lay-down the law
αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσει. ἔπειτ' ἐγγυώμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἐγώ, Φορμίων,
him he-will-compel then pledge we I Phormio
ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλεται, θήσειν τὸν νόμον. ἔστι
another if anyone he-wishes to-be-going-to-lay-down the law there-is
δὲ δήπου νόμος ὑμῖν, ἐάν τις ὑποσχόμενός τι
and surely a-law for-you if anyone having-promised something
τὸν δῆμον ἢ τὴν βουλὴν ἢ δικαστήριον ἐξαπατήσῃ, τὰ
the people or the council or court deceives the
ἔσχατα πάσχειν. ἐγγυώμεθα, ὑπισχνούμεθα· οἱ θεσμοθέται
extreme-things to-suffer we-pledge we-promise the thesmothetae
ταῦτα γραφόντων, ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ πρᾶγμα γιγνέσθω.
these-things let-them-write on these-terms the affair let-it-take-place

μήθ' ὑμεῖς ποιήσητε μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, μήτε, εἴ 101
neither you may-do anything unworthy of-you yourselves nor if
τις φαῦλός ἐστι τῶν εὑρημένων τὴν δωρειάν, ἐχέτω,
anyone base is of-the-ones having-obtained the gift let-him-keep-it
ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τόνδε κριθήτω τὸν νόμον. εἰ δὲ
but individually according-to this let-him-be-tried the law if but
ταῦτα λόγους καὶ φλυαρίας εἶναι φήσει, ἐκεῖνό γ'
these-things words and nonsense to-be he-will-say that at-least
οὐ λόγος· αὐτὸς θέτω, καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τοῦθ', ὡς οὐ
not word himself let-him-propose and not let-him-say this that not
θήσομεν ἡμεῖς. κάλλιον δὲ δήπου τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν κριθέντα
we-shall-propose we finer and surely the by you judged
καλῶς ἔχειν νόμον εἰσφέρειν ἢ ὃν νῦν ἀφ' αὑτοῦ τίθησιν.
well to-be law to-introduce than which now on his-own-part he-proposes
ἐμοὶ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ Λεπτίνης (καί μοι 102
to-me and O men Athenians seems Leptines and with-me
μηδὲν ὀργισθῇς· οὐδὲν γὰρ φλαῦρον ἐρῶ σε) ἢ οὐκ
not-at-all be-angry nothing for disparaging I-shall-say you either not
ἀνεγνωκέναι τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἢ οὐ συνιέναι. εἰ
to-have-read the of-Solon laws or not to-understand if
γὰρ ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἔθηκεν νόμον ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι τὰ
for — indeed Solon laid-down a-law to-be-permitted to-give the
ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἄν τις βούληται, ἐὰν μὴ παῖδες ὦσι
his-own to-whom — anyone wishes if not children there-are
γνήσιοι, οὐχ ἵν' ἀποστερήσῃ τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γένει τῆς
legitimate not so-that he-may-deprive the-ones nearest in-birth of-the
ἀγχιστείας, ἀλλ' ἵν' εἰς τὸ μέσον καταθεὶς τὴν ὠφέλειαν
inheritance but so-that into the middle having-placed the advantage
ἐφάμιλλον ποιήσῃ τὸ ποιεῖν ἀλλήλους εὖ,
a-matter-of-rivalry he-might-make the to-do one-another good

103 σὺ δὲ τοὐναντίον εἰσενήνοχας μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν
you but the-contrary have-introduced not to-be-permitted for-the people of-the
αὑτοῦ δοῦναι μηδενὶ μηδέν, πῶς σέ τις φήσει τοὺς Σόλωνος
its-own to-give to-anyone anything how you anyone will-say the of-Solon
ἀνεγνωκέναι νόμους ἢ συνιέναι; ὃς ἔρημον ποιεῖς τὸν δῆμον
to-have-read laws or to-understand who destitute make the people
τῶν φιλοτιμησομένων, προλέγων καὶ δεικνὺς ὅτι τοῖς
of-the-ones going-to-strive-for-honor announcing and showing that for-the-ones
ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσιν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔσται πλέον.
good something doing not-even anything-whatever will-be more
104 καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνος τῶν καλῶς δοκούντων ἔχειν νόμων
and truly also-that of-the well seeming to-be laws
Σόλωνός ἐστι, μὴ λέγειν κακῶς τὸν τεθνεῶτα, μηδ' ἂν
of-Solon is not to-speak ill-of the dead not-even if
ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τις ἀκούῃ παίδων αὐτός· σὺ δὲ ποιεῖς,
by the his anyone hears children himself you but do
οὐ λέγεις κακῶς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας τῶν εὐεργετῶν, τῷ
not speak ill-of the dead of-the benefactors the
δεῖνι μεμφόμενος καὶ τὸν δεῖν' ἀνάξιον εἶναι φάσκων,
so-and-so blaming and the so-and-so unworthy to-be saying
ὧν οὐδὲν ἐκείνοις προσῆκεν. ἆρ' οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Σόλωνος
of-whom nothing to-those pertained then not far — from-Solon
ἀποστατεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ;
do-you-stand-apart in-the judgment

Demosthenes hears that his opponents will cite Sparta and Thebes, which give no such honors. But Athens does not share their laws or customs, and a speaker in Sparta could not praise Athenian ways. Sparta's prize for virtue is a seat in the council of elders, which makes a man master of the many; in a democracy the people keeps that power and gives crowns, exemptions, and meals. Thebes prides itself on cruelty, as at Orchomenus; Athens on humanity and justice. Nor is it true that the ancestors gave nothing to benefactors but a line on the Hermae: they gave Lysimachus a hundred plethra of planted land and a hundred bare in Euboea, a hundred minas, and four drachmas a day, as Alcibiades' decree shows. To withdraw a gift once given is what is shameful, and the jurors have sworn to judge by Athens' own laws.

πάνυ τοίνυν σπουδῇ τις ἀπήγγελλέ μοι περὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ 105
very then eagerly someone was-reporting to-me about the to-no-one
δεῖν μηδὲν διδόναι, μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν πράξῃ,
to-be-necessary anything to-give not-even if anything-whatever he-does
τοιοῦτόν τι λέγειν αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσθαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ
such something to-say them to-have-prepared that after-all the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι οὐδενὶ τῶν
Lacedaemonians well governed and Thebans to-no-one of-the
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς διδόασι τοιαύτην οὐδεμίαν τιμήν· καίτοι καὶ
among themselves give such any honor and-yet also
παρ' ἐκείνοις τινές εἰσιν ἴσως ἀγαθοί. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ὦ
among them some are perhaps good to-me but seem O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι παροξυντικοὶ
men Athenians all the such arguments provocative
μὲν εἶναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀτελείας ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι πεῖσαι,
indeed to-be toward the the exemptions you to-take-away to-persuade
οὐ μέντοι δίκαιοί γ' οὐδαμῇ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοῦθ'
not however just at-least in-any-way not for I-am-unaware-of this

ὅτι Θηβαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὔτε νόμοις οὔτ'
that Thebans and Lacedaemonians and we neither laws nor
ἔθεσιν χρώμεθα τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὔτε πολιτείᾳ.
customs use the same nor constitution
106 αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὃ νῦν οὗτοι ποιήσουσιν,
itself for this first which now these will-do
ἐὰν ταῦτα λέγωσιν, οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν παρὰ τοῖς
if these-things they-say not it-is-permitted to-do among the
Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεῖν νόμιμα οὐδὲ
Lacedaemonians the of-the Athenians to-praise customs nor
τὰ τῶν δείνων, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἃ τῇ παρ'
the of-the so-and-so far at-least even it-lacks but what the among
ἐκείνοις πολιτείᾳ συμφέρει, ταῦτ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀνάγκη. εἶτα
them constitution suits these-things to-praise is-necessary then
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ἄλλαι
also Lacedaemonians of-the indeed such-things stand-aloof other
δέ τινες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ τιμαί, ἃς ἀπεύξαιτ' ἂν
but some among them are honors which would-pray-against —
ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐνταυθοῖ γενέσθαι.
all the people here to-happen
107 τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αὗται; τὰς μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐάσω, μίαν
which then are these the indeed by each I-will-pass-over one
δ' ἣ συλλαβοῦσα τὰς ἄλλας ἔχει, δίειμι. ἐπειδάν
but which having-embraced the others holds I-will-go-through when
τις εἰς τὴν καλουμένην γερουσίαν ἐγκριθῇ παρασχὼν
anyone into the so-called council-of-elders is-elected having-shown
αὑτὸν οἷον χρή, δεσπότης ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. ἐκεῖ μὲν
himself such-as one-must master he-is of-the many there indeed
γάρ ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλον τῆς πολιτείας κυρίῳ γενέσθαι
for is of-the virtue prize of-the constitution master to-become
μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν ταύτης μὲν ὁ δῆμος
with the peers among but us of-this indeed the people

κύριος, καὶ ἀραὶ καὶ νόμοι καὶ φυλακαὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς ἄλλος
master and curses and laws and guards so-that no-one other
κύριος γενήσεται, στέφανοι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ σιτήσεις
master will-become crowns but and exemptions and meals
καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν τύχοι.
and such-things are which — any man good being might-obtain
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀμφότερ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει, καὶ τἀκεῖ καὶ τὰ 108
and these-things both rightly are both the-things-there and the-things
παρ' ἡμῖν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων
among us because-of what because the indeed by the few
πολιτείας τὸ πάντας ἔχειν ἴσον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς τῶν
constitutions the all to-have equal with-one-another the-ones of-the
κοινῶν κυρίους ὁμονοεῖν ποιεῖ, τὴν δὲ τῶν δήμων
common-affairs masters to-be-of-one-mind makes the but of-the democracies
ἐλευθερίαν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅμιλλα, ἣν ἐπὶ ταῖς
freedom the of-the good men rivalry which for the
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δωρειαῖς πρὸς αὑτοὺς ποιοῦνται, φυλάττει.
from the people gifts toward themselves they-make guards
καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε μηδὲ Θηβαίους μηδένα τιμᾶν, ἐκεῖν' 109
and truly about the at-least not-even Thebans anyone to-honor that
ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς οἶομαι. μεῖζον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
— to-have to-say true I-think greater O men Athenians
Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ
Thebans pride-themselves on cruelty and wickedness than you on
φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. μήτ' οὖν ἐκεῖνοί
humanity and the the just-things to-wish neither then they
ποτε παύσαιντο, εἰ ἄρ' εὔξασθαι δεῖ, τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοὺς
ever may-stop if indeed to-pray one-must the-ones indeed themselves
ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας μήτε τιμῶντες μήτε θαυμάζοντες,
good something doing neither honoring nor admiring
τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς (ἴστε γὰρ ὃν τρόπον Ὀρχομενὸν
the but kinsmen you-know for in-what way Orchomenus

διέθηκαν) οὕτω μεταχειριζόμενοι, μήθ' ὑμεῖς τἀναντία
they-treated thus handling nor you the-contrary
τούτοις τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας τιμῶντες, παρὰ δὲ τῶν
to-these the indeed benefactors honoring from but the
πολιτῶν λόγῳ μετὰ τῶν νόμων τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνοντες.
citizens by-argument with the laws the just-dues receiving
110 ὅλως δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν τοὺς ἑτέρων ἐπαινεῖν
altogether and I-think then to-be-necessary the-ones of-others to-praise
τρόπους καὶ ἔθη τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιτιμῶντας, ὅταν
ways and customs the yours censuring when
ᾖ δεῖξαι βέλτιον ἐκείνους πράττοντας ὑμῶν. ὅτε δ'
it-is-possible to-show better them faring than-you when but
ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ
you well doing both in the common actions and
κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τἄλλα πάντ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων
in the concord and in the-other all better than-them
πράττετε, τοῦ χάριν ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν ἐθῶν
fare of-what for-the-sake-of — the your own customs
ὀλιγωροῦντες ἐκεῖνα διώκοιτε; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
slighting those would-you-pursue if for even by the
λογισμὸν ἐκεῖνα φανείη βελτίω, τῆς γε τύχης ἕνεχ'
reasoning those should-appear better of-the at-least fortune for-the-sake-of
ᾗ παρὰ ταῦτ' ἀγαθῇ κέχρησθε, ἐπὶ τούτων ἄξιον μεῖναι.
which with these good you-have-enjoyed on these worth to-remain
111 εἰ δὲ δεῖ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὃ δίκαιον
if but it-is-necessary beside all these-things to-say what just
ἡγοῦμαι, ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἔγωγ' εἴποιμι. οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον,
I-consider that — I would-say not is just
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νόμους οὐδὲ
O men Athenians the of-Lacedaemonians laws nor
τοὺς Θηβαίων λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἐνθάδε λυμαίνεσθαι,
the of-Thebans to-cite for the the-ones here to-spoil

οὐδὲ δι᾽ ὧν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι μεγάλοι, κἂν ἀποκτεῖναι
nor through what indeed they great even-would to-kill
βούλεσθαι τὸν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τούτων τι κατασκευάσαντα,
to-wish the-one among us of-these anything having-established
διὰ δ᾽ ὧν ὁ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν δῆμος εὐδαίμων, ταῦθ᾽ ὡς
through but what the among us people prosperous these-things that
ἀνελεῖν δεῖ λεγόντων τινῶν ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν.
to-abolish one-must saying some to-be-willing to-listen
ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὡς ἄρα καὶ παρ᾽ 112
there-is then a ready argument that after-all also among
ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πόλλ᾽ ἀγάθ᾽ εἰργασμένοι
us in-the-time-of the ancestors many good-things having-done
τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἠξιοῦντο τοιούτου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπητῶς
some nothing were-deemed-worthy such but contentedly
ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον· καὶ ἴσως τοῦθ᾽
an-inscription on the Hermae they-obtained and perhaps this
ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται τοὐπίγραμμα. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον
to-you he-will-read the-inscription I but think this
τὸν λόγον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πόλλ᾽ ἀσύμφορον
the argument O men Athenians in many-ways inexpedient
εἶναι τῇ πόλει λέγεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ δίκαιον.
to-be for-the city to-be-said besides and also not-even just
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναξίους εἶναί τις φήσει κἀκείνους τιμᾶσθαι, 113
if indeed for unworthy to-be anyone will-say those-also to-be-honored
τίς ἄξιος, εἰπάτω, εἰ μήτε τῶν προτέρων μηδεὶς μήτε
who worthy let-him-say if neither of-the earlier anyone nor
τῶν ὑστέρων· εἰ δὲ μηδένα φήσει, συναχθεσθείην ἂν
of-the later if but no-one he-will-say would-share-in-grief —
ἔγωγε τῇ πόλει, εἰ μηδεὶς ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ γέγον᾽
I with-the city if no-one in all the time has-been
ἄξιος εὖ παθεῖν. καὶ μὴν εἴ γ᾽ ὁμολογῶν ἐκείνους
worthy well to-be-treated and truly if at-least admitting those

εἶναι σπουδαίους μὴ τετυχηκότας δείξει μηδενός, τῆς
to-be excellent not having-obtained he-will-show anything the
πόλεως ὡς ἀχαρίστου δήπου κατηγορεῖ. ἔστι δ' οὐχ
city as ungrateful surely he-accuses is but not
οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα, οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν
so these-things being not-even near it-lacks but when
τις οἶμαι κακουργῶν ἐπὶ μὴ προσήκοντα πράγματα τοὺς
anyone I-think doing-mischief to not fitting affairs the
λόγους μεταφέρῃ, δυσχερεῖς ἀνάγκη φαίνεσθαι.
arguments transfers offensive necessarily to-appear
114 ὡς δὲ τἀληθές τ' ἔχει καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι λέγειν, ἐγὼ πρὸς
how and the-truth both is and just it-is to-say I to
ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ. ἦσαν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοὶ τῶν πρότερον
you will-say there-were O men Athenians many of-the former
σπουδαῖοι, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἐτίμα καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀγαθούς·
excellent and the city our honored also then the good
αἱ μέντοι τιμαὶ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ μὲν τότ' ἦν ἐπὶ
the however honors and the-other all-things the-ones indeed then were for
τοῖς τότ' ἔθεσιν, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν. πρὸς οὖν
the then customs the-ones but now for the now with-regard-to then
τί τοῦτο λέγω; ὅτι φήσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔσθ'
what this do-I-say that would-say — I those not there-is
ὅτου παρὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐ τυχεῖν ὧν ἐβουλήθησαν.
what from the city not to-obtain which they-wished
115 τίνι χρώμενος τεκμηρίῳ; ὅτι Λυσιμάχῳ δωρειάν, ἐνὶ
what using as-proof that to-Lysimachus as-a-gift to-one
τῶν τότε χρησίμων, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πλέθρα
of-the then useful a-hundred indeed in Euboea plethra
γῆς πεφυτευμένης ἔδοσαν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ψιλῆς, ἔτι δ'
of-land planted they-gave a-hundred and bare further and
ἀργυρίου μνᾶς ἑκατόν, καὶ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμάς.
of-silver minas a-hundred and four of-the day drachmas

καὶ τούτων ψήφισμ᾽ ἔστιν Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα
and of-these a-decree is of-Alcibiades in which these-things
γέγραπται. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν καὶ γῆς ηὐπόρει
are-written then indeed for the city our both in-land was-rich
καὶ χρημάτων, νῦν δ᾽ εὐπορήσει· δεῖ γὰρ οὕτω
and in-money now but will-be-rich it-is-necessary for so
λέγειν καὶ μὴ βλασφημεῖν. καίτοι τίν᾽ οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε
to-say and not to-speak-ill and-yet who not — do-you-think
νῦν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τούτων ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτελείας ἑλέσθαι;
now the third part of-these instead-of the exemption to-choose
ὅτι τοίνυν ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτί.
that then true-things I-say take for-me the decree this
ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις 116
that indeed then O men Athenians also for-the ancestors
ὑμῶν ἔθος ἦν τοὺς χρηστοὺς τιμᾶν, δηλοῖ τὸ ψήφισμα
your custom it-was the good to-honor shows the decree
τουτί· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷσπερ ἡμεῖς νῦν, ἕτερόν
this if but not with-the same with-which-very we now other
τι τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴη. εἰ τοίνυν μήτε Λυσίμαχον μήτ᾽
something this — would-be if then neither Lysimachus nor
ἄλλον μηδένα μηδὲν εὑρῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν προγόνων
other anyone anything to-have-obtained from the ancestors
ἡμῶν συγχωρήσαιμεν, τί μᾶλλον, οἷς ἔδομεν νῦν ἡμεῖς,
our we-should-concede why more to-whom we-gave now we
διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν ἀφαιρεθεῖεν;
because-of this justly — should-they-be-deprived
οὐ γὰρ οἱ μὴ δόντες ἃ μὴ ᾽δόκει δεινόν εἰσιν 117
not for the-ones not having-given what not seemed-good terrible-thing are
οὐδὲν εἰργασμένοι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ δόντες μέν, πάλιν δ᾽
nothing having-done but the-ones having-given indeed again but
ὕστερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες ἀφαιρούμενοι. εἰ μὲν γάρ
later nothing charging taking-away if indeed for

τις ἔχει δεῖξαι κἀκείνους ὧν ἔδοσάν τῳ τι, τοῦτ'
anyone can to-show those-also of-what they-gave to-anyone anything this
ἀφῃρημένους, συγχωρῶ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι,
having-taken-away I-concede also you the-same this to-do
καίτοι τοῦτό γ' αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ μηδ' ἂν εἷς
and-yet this at-least shameful equally if but not-even — one
ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτ' ἔχοι δεῖξαι γεγονός, τίνος
in all the time this could to-show having-happened for-what
εἵνεκ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν πρώτων καταδειχθῇ τοιοῦτον ἔργον;
for-the-sake in our-time first is-to-be-set-up-as-example such deed
118 χρὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκεῖν' ἐνθυμεῖσθαι
it-is-necessary then O men Athenians also-that to-consider
καὶ ὁρᾶν, ὅτι νῦν ὀμωμοκότες κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
and to-see that now having-sworn according-to the laws
δικάσειν ἥκετε, οὐχὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ Θηβαίων,
to-judge you-have-come not the of-Lacedaemonians nor of-Thebans
οὐδ' οἷς ποτ' ἐχρήσανθ' οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν προγόνων, ἀλλὰ
nor which ever used the first of-the ancestors but
καθ' οὓς ἔλαβον τὰς ἀτελείας οὓς ἀφαιρεῖται νῦν
according-to which they-received the exemptions which takes-away now
οὗτος τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν νόμοι μὴ ὦσι,
this-man by-the law and about what — laws not there-are
γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ κρινεῖν. καλῶς. τὸ τοίνυν
by-judgment the most-just to-be-going-to-decide well the then
τῆς γνώμης πρὸς ἅπαντ' ἀνενέγκατε τὸν νόμον.
of-the judgment to all refer the law

Leptines will say the law leaves statues and meals and every other honor; but once one gift is taken back all the others become untrustworthy. Great benefactions are rare, and for moderate services in peace, goodwill, justice, and diligence, the honors must be graded. To say that recipients keep their other honors is a deception, since for many the exemption is the only one. Some will say the services are sacred charges and the exemption is impious; but the pillar exempts the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogeiton from all charges except the sacred, and Leptines himself wrote that the richest should perform the public services, which shows they are not sacred charges. Nor are the Megarians, Messenians, and slaves like Lycidas exempt: a proxenos is not exempt without an express grant, and the speakers who made such men proxenoi are no reason to strip worthy free men of their gifts, least of all Chabrias, whose own slave Lycidas was one of them.

ἆρ᾽ οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς εὐεργέτας 119
then therefore just O men Athenians the benefactors
τιμᾶν; δίκαιον. τί δέ; ὅσ᾽ ἂν δῷ τις ἅπαξ, δίκαιον
to-honor just what and as-much-as — gives anyone once just
ἔχειν ἐᾶν; δίκαιον. ταῦτα τοίνυν αὐτοί τε ποιεῖτε, ἵν᾽
to-have to-allow just these-things then yourselves both do so-that
εὐορκῆτε, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ὀργίζεσθ᾽ ἂν μή τις
you-may-keep-your-oath and the ancestors be-angry if not anyone
φῇ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας παραδείγματα, ὡς
says to-do and the-ones the such saying examples that
ἄρ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι μεγάλ᾽ εὖ παθόντες οὐδέν᾽ ἐτίμησαν, καὶ
after-all those great-things well having-been-treated no-one honored both
πονηροὺς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ἡγεῖσθ᾽ εἶναι, πονηροὺς μὲν διότι
wicked and uneducated consider to-be wicked indeed because
καταψεύδονται τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν ὡς ἀχαρίστων, ἀμαθεῖς
they-lie-against the ancestors your as ungrateful ignorant

δὲ διότι ἐκεῖν᾽ ἀγνοοῦσιν, ὅτι εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ταῦθ᾽
but because that they-are-ignorant-of that if the most these-things
οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀρνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν αὐτοῖς προσῆκεν.
so were to-deny rather than to-say for-them it-befitted
120 οἶομαι τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον Λεπτίνην ἐρεῖν,
I-think then also this the argument Leptines to-be-going-to-say
ὡς τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν σίτησιν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν
that the statues and the meals not takes-away from-the-ones
εἰληφότων ὁ νόμος, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ὄντας
having-received the law nor of-the city the to-honor the-ones being
ἀξίους, ἀλλ᾽ ἔσται χαλκοῦς ἱστάναι καὶ σίτησιν διδόναι
worthy but it-will-be-possible bronze-statues to-set-up and meals to-give
καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε, πλὴν τούτου. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ
and other what ever — you-wish except this I but about
ὧν μὲν τῇ πόλει καταλείπειν φήσει, τοσοῦτο λέγω· ὅταν
what indeed to-the city to-leave he-will-say so-much I-say when
ὧν ἐδώκατέ τῳ πρότερόν τι, τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέλησθε, καὶ
of-what you-gave to-anyone before anything this you-take-away also
τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀπίστους ποιήσετε πάσας δωρειάς. τί γὰρ
the remaining untrustworthy you-will-make all gifts what for
ἔσται πιστότερον τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἢ τῆς σιτήσεως ἢ τὸ τῆς
will-be more-trustworthy the of-the statue than of-the meals or the of-the
ἀτελείας, ἣν πρότερόν τισι δόντες ἀφῃρημένοι φανεῖσθε;
exemption which before to-some having-given having-taken-away you-will-appear
121 ἔτι δ᾽ εἰ μηδὲν ἔμελλε τοῦτ᾽ ἔσεσθαι δυσχερές, οὐδ᾽
further and if nothing were-going this to-be troublesome not-even
ἐκεῖνο καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, εἰς τοιαύτην ἄγειν ἀνάγκην
that well to-be I-think into such to-bring necessity
τὴν πόλιν δι᾽ ἧς ἅπαντας ἐξ ἴσου τῶν αὐτῶν
the city through which all from equal the same
ἀξιώσει τοῖς τὰ μέγιστ᾽ εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἢ μὴ τοῦτο
will-deem-worthy with-the-ones the greatest benefiting or not this

ποιοῦσα χάριν τισὶν οὐκ ἀποδώσει. μεγάλων μὲν οὖν
doing gratitude to-some not will-repay great indeed then
εὐεργεσιῶν οὔθ' ὑμῖν συμφέρει συμβαίνειν πολλάκις
benefactions neither for-you is-expedient to-happen often
καιρόν, οὔτ' ἴσως ῥᾴδιον αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι·
occasion nor perhaps easy responsible to-become
μετρίων δὲ καὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τις καὶ πολιτείᾳ 122
of-moderate but and of-what — in peace anyone and civic-life
δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι, εὐνοίας, δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμελείας, τῶν
could to-attain of-goodwill of-justice of-diligence of-the
τοιούτων, καὶ συμφέρειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ χρῆναι διδόναι
such and to-be-expedient to-me seems and to-be-necessary to-give
τὰς τιμάς. δεῖ τοίνυν μεμερίσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν
the honors it-is-necessary then to-have-been-divided also the of-the
δωρειῶν, ἵν' ἧς ἂν ἄξιος ὢν ἕκαστος φαίνηται,
gifts so-that of-which — worthy being each appears
ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαμβάνῃ τὴν δωρειάν.
this from the people may-receive the gift
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν γε τοῖς εὑρημένοις τὰς τιμὰς 123
but truly for what at-least to-the-ones having-obtained the honors
καταλείπειν φήσει, οἱ μὲν ἁπλᾶ πάνυ καὶ δίκαι'
to-leave he-will-say the-ones indeed simple very and just-things
ἂν εἴποιεν, πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκ' αὐτοῖς
— would-say all as-many-as of-the same for-the-sake-of to-them
ἔδοτ' εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιοῦντες ἔχειν, οἱ δὲ φενακίζειν
you-gave benefactions deeming-it-right to-keep the-others but to-cheat
τὸν ὡς καταλείπεται λέγοντά τι αὐτοῖς. ὁ γὰρ
the-one that is-left saying something to-them the-one for
ἄξια τῆς ἀτελείας εὖ πεποιηκέναι δόξας καὶ
worthy-things of-the exemption well to-have-done having-seemed and
ταύτην παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν τὴν τιμὴν μόνην, ἢ ξένος
this from you having-received the honor only or a-foreigner

ἢ καί τις πολίτης, ἐπειδὰν ἀφαιρεθῇ ταύτην, τίν' ἔχει
or also some citizen when he-is-deprived this what has
λοιπὴν δωρειάν, Λεπτίνη; οὐδεμίαν δήπου. μὴ τοίνυν διὰ
remaining gift O-Leptines none surely not then through
μὲν τοῦ τῶνδε κατηγορεῖν ὡς φαύλων ἐκείνους ἀφαιροῦ,
indeed the these to-accuse as base those take-away
δι' ἃ δ' αὖ καταλείπειν ἐκείνοις φήσεις, τούσδ' ὃ
through what but in-turn to-leave to-those you-will-say these which
μόνον λαβόντες ἔχουσι, τοῦτ' ἀφέλῃ.
alone having-received they-have this take-away

124 ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, οὐκ, εἰ τῶν πάντων ἀδικήσομέν
as and simply to-say not if of-the all we-shall-wrong
τιν' ἢ μείζον' ἢ ἐλάττονα, δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εἰ τὰς
someone either greater or lesser terrible is but if the
τιμάς, αἷς ἂν ἀντ' εὖ ποιήσωμέν τινας, ἀπίστους
honors with-which — in-return-for well we-may-treat some untrustworthy
καταστήσομεν· οὐδ' ὁ πλεῖστος ἔμοιγε λόγος περὶ τῆς
we-shall-make nor the most to-me argument about the
ἀτελείας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πονηρὸν ἔθος τὸν νόμον
exemption is but about the bad custom the law
εἰσάγειν καὶ τοιοῦτον δι' οὗ πάντ' ἄπισθ' ὅσ'
to-introduce and such through which all untrustworthy as-much-as
ὁ δῆμος δίδωσιν ἔσται.
the people gives will-be

125 ὃν τοίνυν κακουργότατον οἴονται λόγον εὑρηκέναι πρὸς
which then most-mischievous they-think argument to-have-found toward
τὸ τὰς ἀτελείας ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι πεῖσαι, βέλτιόν ἐστι
the the exemptions you to-take-away to-persuade better it-is
προειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητ' ἐξαπατηθέντες. ἐροῦσ'
to-tell-beforehand so-that not you-may-escape-notice deceived they-will-say
ὅτι ταῦθ' ἱερῶν ἐστιν ἅπαντα τἀναλώματα· δεινὸν
that these-things of-sacred-rites is all the-expenses terrible

οὖν, εἰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀτελής τις ἀφεθήσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ
then if from-the sacred-rites exempt anyone will-be-released I but the
μέν τινας, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν, ἀτελεῖς εἶναι τούτων
indeed some to-whom the people gave exempt to-be from-these
δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, ὃ δὲ νῦν οὗτοι ποιήσουσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα
just I-consider what but now these will-do if indeed
ταῦτα λέγωσι, τοῦτ' εἶναι δεινὸν νομίζω.
these-things they-say this to-be terrible I-think
εἰ γὰρ ἃ μηδέν' ἄλλον ἔχουσι τρόπον δεῖξαι δίκαιον 126
if for what no other they-have way to-show just
ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματι ποιεῖν
you to-take-away these-things on the of-the gods name to-do
ζητήσουσιν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβέστατον ἔργον καὶ δεινότατον
they-will-seek how not most-impious deed and most-terrible
πράξουσιν; χρὴ γάρ, ὡς γοῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅσα
will-they-commit it-is-necessary for as at-any-rate to-me it-seems as-much-as
τις πράττει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιφημίζων, τοιαῦτα φαίνεσθαι
anyone does the gods invoking such to-appear
οἷα μηδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου πραχθέντα πονηρὰ φανείη.
as not-even — at the-hands-of-a-man done base would-appear
ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔστι ταὐτὸν ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ
that but not is the-same of-sacred-rites exemption to-have and
λῃτουργιῶν, ἀλλ' οὗτοι τὸ τῶν λῃτουργιῶν ὄνομ' ἐπὶ
of-public-services but these the of-the public-services name to
τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταφέροντες ἐξαπατᾶν ζητοῦσι, Λεπτίνην
the of-the sacred-rites transferring to-deceive seek Leptines
ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ παρασχήσομαι μάρτυρα.
to-you himself I will-provide as-witness
γράφων γὰρ ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου 'Λεπτίνης εἶπεν' φησίν, 'ὅπως 127
writing for beginning of-the law Leptines said it-says so-that
ἂν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι λῃτουργῶσιν, ἀτελῆ μηδέν' εἶναι
— the richest may-perform-public-services exempt no-one to-be

πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.' καίτοι εἰ ἦν
except the-ones from Harmodius and Aristogeiton and-yet if it-was
ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν ταὐτὸ καὶ λῃτουργιῶν, τί τοῦτο
of-sacred-rites exemption to-have the-same and of-public-services why this
μαθὼν προσέγραψεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτοις ἀτέλεια τῶν
having-learned did-he-add not-even for to-these exemption of-the
γ' ἱερῶν ἐστιν δεδομένη. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι ταῦτα
at-least sacred-rites is given so-that and you-may-know that these-things
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, λαβέ μοι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς στήλης
this has the way take for-me first indeed of-the pillar
τἀντίγραφα, εἶτα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου. λέγε.
the-copies then the beginning of-the law the of-Leptines read
128 ἀκούετε τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῆς στήλης, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
you-hear the copies of-the pillar O men Athenians
ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κελευόντων πλὴν ἱερῶν. λέγε δὴ
exempt them to-be bidding except sacred-rites read now
τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου.
the beginning of-the law the of-Leptines
καλῶς· κατάθες. γράψας 'ὅπως ἂν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι
well put-it-down having-written so-that — the richest
λῃτουργῶσι,' 'μηδέν' εἶναι' προσέγραψεν 'ἀτελῆ πλὴν
may-perform-public-services no-one to-be he-added exempt except
τῶν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.' τίνος ἕνεκα, εἴ
the-ones from Harmodius and Aristogeiton for-what for-the-sake if
γε τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τέλος ἐστὶ λῃτουργεῖν; αὐτὸς
at-least the of-the sacred-rites charge is to-perform-public-services he-himself
γὰρ οὑτωσὶ τἀναντία τῇ στήλῃ γεγραφώς, ἂν τοῦτο
for thus the-opposite to-the pillar having-written if this
λέγῃ, φανήσεται.
he-says will-appear

ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἔγωγ' ἐροίμην Λεπτίνην· τίνος αὐτοῖς 129
gladly and — I would-ask Leptines from-what to-them
τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἢ σὺ νῦν καταλείπειν φήσεις ἢ ἐκείνους
the exemption either you now to-leave will-say or those
τότε δοῦναι, τὰς λῃτουργίας ὅταν εἶναι φῇς ἱερῶν;
then to-give the public-services when to-be you-say of-sacred-rites
τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πασῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ
from-the indeed for for the war all property-taxes and
τριηραρχιῶν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων οὐκ εἴσ' ἀτελεῖς·
trierarchies by the old laws not are exempt
τῶν δὲ λῃτουργιῶν, εἴπερ εἴσ' ἱερῶν, οὐδ' ἔχουσιν.
of-the but public-services if-indeed they-are of-sacred-rites not-even they-have
ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγραπταί γ' ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι. τίνος; ἢ τοῦ 130
but truly it-is-written at-least exempt them to-be from-what or the
μετοικίου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν. οὐ δήπου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων
resident-alien-tax this for remains not surely but of-the regular
λῃτουργιῶν, ὡς ἥ τε στήλη δηλοῖ καὶ σὺ προσδιώρισας
public-services as the both pillar shows and you specified-besides
ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνος γεγονώς,
in the law and bears-witness all the before the time having-been
ἐν ᾧ τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντι οὔτε φυλὴ πώποτ' ἐνεγκεῖν
in which so-great the extent being neither tribe ever to-nominate
ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεμί' οὐδένα τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων χορηγόν, οὔτ'
dared any anyone of-the from those chorus-master nor
ἐνεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀντιδοῦναι. οἷς
having-been-nominated them other anyone to-challenge-to-exchange to-which
οὐκ ἀκουστέον ἂν ἐναντία τολμᾷ λέγειν.
not must-be-listened-to if contrary-things he-dares to-say
ἔτι τοίνυν ἴσως ἐπισύροντες ἐροῦσιν ὡς Μεγαρεῖς καὶ 131
further then perhaps sweeping-together they-will-say that Megarians and
Μεσσήνιοί τινες εἶναι φάσκοντες, ἔπειτ' ἀτελεῖς εἰσιν,
Messenians some to-be claiming then exempt are

ἁθρόοι παμπληθεῖς ἄνθρωποι, καί τινες ἄλλοι δοῦλοι καὶ
in-a-body vast men and some others slaves and
μαστιγίαι, Λυκίδας καὶ Διονύσιος, καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς
whip-worthy-rogues Lycidas and Dionysius and such some
ἐξειλεγμένοι. ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων ὧδὶ ποιήσαθ' ὅταν ταῦτα
having-picked-out for indeed these thus do when these-things
λέγωσι· κελεύετ', εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὰ
they-say bid if-indeed true-things they-say to you the
ψηφίσματ' ἐν οἷς ἀτελεῖς εἰσιν οὗτοι δεῖξαι. οὐ γάρ
decrees in which exempt are these to-show not for
ἐστ' οὐδεὶς ἀτελὴς παρ' ὑμῖν ὅτῳ μὴ ψήφισμ' ἢ νόμος
is no-one exempt among you to-whom not decree or law
δέδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν.
has-given the exemption

132 πρόξενοι μέντοι πολλοὶ διὰ τῶν πολιτευομένων γεγόνασι
proxenoi however many through the-ones in-public-life have-become
παρ' ὑμῖν τοιοῦτοι, ὧν εἷς ἐστιν ὁ Λυκίδας. ἀλλ'
among you such of-whom one is — Lycidas but
ἕτερον πρόξενόν ἐστ' εἶναι καὶ ἀτέλειαν εὑρῆσθαι. μὴ δὴ
other proxenos it-is to-be and exemption to-have-obtained not then
παραγόντων ὑμᾶς, μηδ', ὅτι δοῦλος ὢν ὁ Λυκίδας καὶ
let-them-mislead you nor that slave being — Lycidas and
Διονύσιος καί τις ἴσως ἄλλος διὰ τοὺς μισθοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα
Dionysius and some perhaps other because-of the-ones for-pay the such-things
γράφοντας ἑτοίμως πρόξενοι γεγόνασι, διὰ τοῦθ' ἑτέρους
proposing readily proxenoi have-become because-of this others
ἀξίους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, ἃς
worthy and free and of-many goods responsible which
ἔλαβον δικαίως παρ' ὑμῶν δωρειὰς ἀφελέσθαι ζητούντων.
they-received justly from you gifts to-take-away seeking

πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δεινότατ᾽ ἂν πεπονθὼς ὁ 133
how for not also by this most-terrible-things — having-suffered —
Χαβρίας φανείη, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐξαρκέσει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα
Chabrias would-appear if not only it-will-suffice for-the-ones the such-things
πολιτευομένοις τὸν ἐκείνου δοῦλον Λυκίδαν πρόξενον
practicing-politics the his slave Lycidas proxenos
ὑμέτερον πεποιηκέναι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ διὰ τοῦτον πάλιν καὶ τῶν
your to-have-made but if because-of this again also of-the
ἐκείνῳ τι δοθέντων ἀφέλοιντο, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ αἰτίαν
to-him anything given they-should-take-away and these-things reason
λέγοντες ψευδῆ; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὔθ᾽ οὗτος οὔτ᾽ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς
saying false not for is neither this-man nor other anyone
πρόξενος ὢν ἀτελής, ὅτῳ μὴ διαρρήδην ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν
proxenos being exempt to-whom not expressly exemption gave
ὁ δῆμος. τούτοις δ᾽ οὐ δέδωκεν, οὐδ᾽ ἔξουσιν οὗτοι
the people to-these but not it-has-given nor will-they-be-able these
δεικνύναι, λόγῳ δ᾽ ἂν ἀναισχυντῶσιν, οὐχὶ καλῶς ποιήσουσιν.
to-show by-word but if they-are-shameless not well they-will-do

X · DECEIT, ENVY, AND THE ADVOCATES

Even if Leptines' every argument were true, one disgrace would remain: Athens would seem to have deceived its benefactors, for which its own law prescribes death to anyone who deceives the people. What a citizen would not do privately, the city should not do publicly. If any recipient is unworthy, let the opponents indict him under the new law. To take gifts from men with no charge against them is the act of envy, the worst reproach and the furthest from Athens, which honors its dead with public speeches and its athletes with rich gifts. Leptines has no risk now that Bathippus has died, and boasts that three earlier accusers dropped their suits. Of the law's elected advocates, Leodamas, Aristophon, Cephisodotus, and Deinias, Leodamas once indicted Chabrias' own gift and lost.

134 ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πάντων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ
what then most of-all I-think to-be-necessary you O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φυλάξασθαι, τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι βούλομαι.
men Athenians to-guard-against this to-say further I-wish
εἰ γάρ τις πάνθ' ὅσα Λεπτίνης ἐρεῖ περὶ τοῦ
if for anyone everything as-much-as Leptines will-say about the
νόμου διδάσκων ὑμᾶς ὡς καλῶς κεῖται, συγχωρήσειεν
law teaching you that well it-is-framed should-concede
ἀληθῆ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἕν γ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι
true-things to-say him one at-least shameful-thing not-even — if anything
γένοιτ' ἀναιρεθείη, ὃ συμβήσεται διὰ τοῦ νόμου
should-happen would-be-removed which will-result because-of the law
κυρίου γενομένου τῇ πόλει. τί οὖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν;
valid having-become for-the city what then this is
135 τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξηπατηκέναι τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντας.
the to-seem to-have-deceived the-ones good something having-done
ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τοῦθ' ἕν τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐστιν
that indeed then this one some-thing of-the shameful-things is
πάντας ἂν ἡγοῦμαι φῆσαι, ὅσῳ δ' ὑμῖν αἴσχιον
all — I-think would-say by-how-much but for-you more-shameful
τῶν ἄλλων, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἔστιν ὑμῖν νόμος ἀρχαῖος,
than-the others hear me there-is for-you a-law ancient
τῶν καλῶς δοκούντων ἔχειν, ἄν τις ὑποσχόμενός τι
of-the well seeming to-be if anyone having-promised something
τὸν δῆμον ἐξαπατήσῃ, κρίνειν, κἂν ἁλῷ, θανάτῳ
the people deceives to-try and-if he-is-convicted with-death
ζημιοῦν. εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐφ'
to-punish then not are-you-ashamed O men Athenians if for
ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις θάνατον ζημίαν ἐτάξατε, τοῦτ' αὐτοὶ
what for-the others death as-penalty you-fixed this yourselves
ποιοῦντες φανήσεσθε; καὶ μὴν πάντα μὲν εὐλαβεῖσθαι
doing you-will-appear and truly all-things indeed to-beware-of

δεῖ ποιεῖν τὰ δοκοῦντα καὶ ὄντ᾽ αἰσχρά, μάλιστα
it-is-necessary to-do the-things seeming and being shameful most
δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς τοῖς ἄλλοις χαλεπῶς τις ἔχων
but these-things for which with-the others hard-on anyone being
ὁρᾶται· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμφισβήτησις καταλείπεται τὸ μὴ
is-seen not-even for dispute is-left the not
ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἃ πονήρ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν εἶναι πρότερον.
these-things to-do which bad he-himself judged to-be before
ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς κἀκεῖν᾽ εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅπως 136
further then you also-that to-beware-of it-is-necessary that
μηδὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ φυλάξαισθ᾽ ἄν, τοῦτο δημοσίᾳ
nothing of-what privately you-would-guard-against — this publicly
ποιοῦντες φανήσεσθε. ὑμῶν τοίνυν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς οὐδὲν ὧν
doing you-will-appear of-you then not-even — one anything of-what
ἰδίᾳ τινὶ δοίη, τοῦτ᾽ ἀφέλοιτο πάλιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽
privately to-anyone he-might-give this would-take-away again but not-even
ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἄν. μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτο ποιήσητε,
would-attempt — not then not-even publicly this do
ἀλλὰ κελεύετε τούτους τοὺς ἐροῦντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου,
but bid these the-ones going-to-speak for the law
εἴ τινα τῶν εὑρημένων τὴν δωρειὰν ἀνάξιον εἶναί 137
if any of-the-ones having-obtained the gift unworthy to-be
φασιν ἢ μὴ πεποιηκότ᾽ ἐφ᾽ οἷς εὗρετ᾽ ἔχειν, ἢ ἄλλ᾽
they-say or not having-done for what he-obtained to-have or other
ὁτιοῦν ἐγκαλοῦσίν τινι, γράφεσθαι κατὰ τὸν
anything-whatever they-charge against-anyone to-indict according-to the
νόμον ὃν παρεισφέρομεν νῦν ἡμεῖς, ἢ θέντων ἡμῶν,
law which introduce now we or having-enacted-it we
ὥσπερ ἐγγυώμεθα καὶ φαμὲν θήσειν, ἢ θέντας
as we-pledge and say to-be-going-to-enact or having-enacted
αὐτούς, ὅταν πρῶτον γένωνται νομοθέται. ἔστι δ᾽ ἑκάστῳ
themselves when first are-appointed lawgivers there-is and for-each

τις αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐχθρός, τῷ μὲν Διόφαντος,
some of-them as it-seems enemy for-the-one indeed Diophantus
τῷ δ' Εὔβουλος, τῷ δ' ἴσως ἄλλος τις.
for-the-other and Eubulus for-the-other and perhaps other some
138 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο φεύξονται καὶ μὴ 'θελήσουσι ποιεῖν, σκοπεῖτ',
if but this they-shall-shun and not will-be-willing to-do consider
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει, ἃ τούτων
O men Athenians if well for-you it-is what of-these
ἕκαστος ὀκνεῖ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀφαιρούμενος ὀφθῆναι,
each shrinks-from the enemies depriving to-be-seen
ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀφῃρημένους φαίνεσθαι,
these-things you the benefactors having-deprived to-appear
καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι πεποιηκότας ὑμᾶς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἂν
and the-ones well something having-done you whom no-one —
ἐγκαλέσαι, νόμῳ τὰ δοθέντ' ἀπολωλεκέναι δι' ὑμῶν
could-charge by-law the-things given to-have-lost through you
ἀθρόους, παρόν, εἴ τις ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἀνάξιος, εἷς ἢ δύ'
in-a-body it-being-possible if any after-all is unworthy one or two
ἢ πλείους, γραφῇ διὰ τούτων ταὐτὸ τοῦτο παθεῖν
or more by-indictment through these the-same this to-suffer
κατ' ἄνδρα κριθέντας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω
by man tried I indeed for not suppose
ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδέ γ' ἀξίως ὑμῶν.
these-things well to-be nor at-least worthily of-you
139 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνου γ' ἀποστατέον τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι
and truly not-even that at-least one-must-abandon the argument that
τῆς μὲν ἀξίας, ὅτ' ἐδώκαμεν, ἦν δίκαιον τὴν ἐξέτασιν
the indeed worth when we-gave it-was just the examination
λαμβάνειν, ὅτε τούτων οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπεν, μετὰ ταῦτα δ'
to-make when of-these no-one objected after these-things but
ἐᾶν, εἴ τι μὴ πεπόνθαθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὕστερον κακόν. εἰ
to-let-be if anything not you-have-suffered from them later bad if

δ᾽ οὗτοι τοῦτο φήσουσι (δεῖξαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν), δεῖ
but these this will-say to-show indeed for not they-can it-must
κεκολασμένους αὐτοὺς παρ᾽ αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα φαίνεσθαι.
punished they at very the-wrongdoings to-appear
εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς ὄντος τοιούτου τὸν νόμον ποιήσετε κύριον,
if but nothing being such the law you-will-make valid
δόξετε φθονήσαντες, οὐχὶ πονηροὺς λαβόντες ἀφῃρῆσθαι.
you-will-seem having-envied not wicked having-caught to-have-taken-away
ἔστι δὲ πάντα μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὀνείδη φευκτέον, 140
is and all indeed as word to-speak reproaches to-be-shunned
τοῦτο δὲ πάντων μάλιστ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. διὰ τί;
this but of-all most O men Athenians because-of what
ὅτι παντάπασι φύσεως κακίας σημεῖόν ἐστιν ὁ φθόνος,
because entirely of-nature of-baseness sign is — envy
καὶ οὐκ ἔχει πρόφασιν δι᾽ ἣν ἂν τύχοι συγγνώμης
and not has excuse through which — might-obtain pardon
ὁ τοῦτο πεπονθώς. εἶτα καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὄνειδος ὅτου
the-one this having-suffered then also not is reproach from-which
πορρώτερόν ἐσθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡ πόλις ἢ τοῦ φθονερὰ δοκεῖν
farther is our the city than the envious to-seem
εἶναι, ἁπάντων ἀπέχουσα τῶν αἰσχρῶν.
to-be from-all being-far the shameful-things
τεκμήρια δ᾽ ἡλίκα τούτου θεωρήσατε. πρῶτον μὲν μόνοι 141
proofs and how-great of-this consider first indeed alone
τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι δημοσίᾳ
of-the all men for the dead publicly
ποιεῖτε λόγους ἐπιταφίους, ἐν οἷς κοσμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
you-make speeches funeral in which you-adorn the of-the good
ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. καίτοι τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι τοὐπιτήδευμα ζηλούντων
men deeds and-yet this is the-practice of-people-emulating
ἀρετήν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τιμωμένοις φθονούντων. εἶτα
virtue not the-ones for it honored of-people-envying then

μεγίστας δίδοτ᾽ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου δωρειὰς τοῖς
greatest you-give from all the time gifts to-the-ones
τοὺς γυμνικοὺς νικῶσιν ἀγῶνας τοὺς στεφανίτας, καὶ οὐχ,
the athletic winning contests the crowned and not
ὅτι τῇ φύσει τούτων ὀλίγοις μέτεστιν, ἐφθονήσατε τοῖς
because by-the nature of-these to-few it-is-given you-envied the-ones
ἔχουσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἐλάττους ἐνείματε τὰς τιμὰς διὰ ταῦτα.
having nor less you-allotted the honors because-of these-things
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσιν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὴν πόλιν
besides and these such being no-one ever the city
ἡμῶν εὖ ποιῶν δοκεῖ νικῆσαι· τοσαύτας ὑπερβολὰς
our well doing seems to-have-surpassed such excesses
τῶν δωρειῶν αἷς ἀντ᾽ εὖ ποιεῖ, παρέσχηται.
of-the gifts with-which in-return well it-treats it-has-provided
142 ἔστι τοίνυν πάντα ταῦτ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαιοσύνης,
are then all these-things O men Athenians of-justice
ἀρετῆς, μεγαλοψυχίας ἐπιδείγματα. μὴ τοίνυν δι᾽ ἃ
of-virtue of-magnanimity displays not then through what
πάλαι παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ πόλις εὐδοξεῖ, ταῦτ᾽
long-ago throughout all the time the city is-well-thought-of these-things
ἀνέλητε νῦν· μηδ᾽ ἵνα Λεπτίνης ἰδίᾳ τισίν, οἷς ἀηδῶς
destroy now nor so-that Leptines privately some with-whom unpleasantly
ἔχει, ἐπηρεάσῃ, τῆς πόλεως ἀφέλησθε καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
he-is-disposed may-spite of-the city take-away and of-you yourselves
ἣν διὰ παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου δόξαν κέκτησθε καλήν·
which through all always the time reputation you-have-acquired fine
μηδ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετ᾽ εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινὸς
nor suppose to-be the contest this for other anything
ἢ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιώματος, πότερον αὐτὸ δεῖ σῶν εἶναι
than the of-the city dignity whether it it-must safe to-be
καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ προτέρῳ, ἢ μεθεστάναι καὶ λελυμάνθαι.
and like to-the former or to-have-been-changed and to-have-been-spoiled

πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων Λεπτίνου κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἓν 143
many-things and wondering-at of-Leptines in the law one-thing
μάλιστα τεθαύμακα πάντων, εἰ ἐκεῖν' ἠγνόηκεν, ὅτι
most I-have-wondered-at of-all if that he-has-not-known that
ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις μεγάλας τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων
as — if anyone great the punishments of-the crimes
τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ' ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσθαι δόξαι,
should-fix not — himself at-least to-do-wrong to-have-prepared would-seem
οὕτως, ἄν τις ἀναιρῇ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, οὐδὲν
so if anyone takes-away the honors of-the benefactions nothing
αὐτὸς ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν παρεσκευάσθαι δόξει. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν
himself to-do good to-have-prepared will-seem if indeed then
ἠγνόησε ταῦτα (γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο), αὐτίκα
he-was-unaware-of these-things might-happen for — even this at-once
δηλώσει· συγχωρήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν λῦσαι περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς
he-will-show he-will-concede for to-you to-repeal about what himself
ἥμαρτεν. εἰ δὲ φανήσεται σπουδάζων καὶ διατεινόμενος
he-erred if but he-will-appear striving and straining
κύριον ποιεῖν τὸν νόμον, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἐπαινέσω,
valid to-make the law I indeed not have how I-shall-praise
ψέγειν δ' οὐ βούλομαι.
to-blame but not I-wish
μηδὲν οὖν φιλονίκει, Λεπτίνη, μηδὲ βιάζου τοιοῦτον 144
not then be-contentious O-Leptines nor force such
δι' οὗ μήτ' αὐτὸς δόξεις βελτίων εἶναι μήθ' οἱ
through which neither yourself you-will-seem better to-be nor the-ones
πεισθέντες σοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ γεγενημένου σοι τοῦ
persuaded by-you otherwise both and having-become for-you the
ἀγῶνος ἀκινδύνου. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι Βάθιππον τὸν
contest without-risk because-of for the to-have-died Bathippus the
τουτουὶ πατέρ' Ἀψεφίωνος, ὃς αὐτὸν ἔτ' ὄνθ' ὑπεύθυνον
of-this-here father of-Apsephion who him still being subject-to-audit

ἐγράψατο, ἐξῆλθον οἱ χρόνοι, καὶ νυνὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
indicted ran-out the times and now about itself the
νόμου πᾶς ἐσθ' ὁ λόγος, τούτῳ δ' οὐδείς ἐστι κίνδυνος.
law all is the argument for-this-man but no is risk
145 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκούω σε λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα τρεῖς σέ
and-yet also this I-hear you to-say that after-all three you
τινες γραψάμενοι πρότεροι τοῦδε οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθον. εἰ μὲν
some having-indicted before this-man not they-proceeded if indeed
τοίνυν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτοῖς λέγεις ὅτι σ' οὐ κατέστησαν εἰς
then charging them you-say that you not they-brought into
κίνδυνον, φιλοκινδυνότατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶ· εἰ δὲ
danger most-danger-loving of-all men you-are if but
τεκμήριον ποιεῖ τοῦ τὰ δίκαι' εἰρηκέναι, λίαν εὔηθες
proof you-make of-the the just-things to-have-said very foolish
ποιεῖς. τί γὰρ εἵνεκα τούτου βελτίων ἔσθ' ὁ νόμος,
you-do what for for-the-sake-of this better is the law
εἴ τις ἢ τετελεύτηκε τῶν γραψαμένων πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν,
if anyone either has-died of-the having-indicted before to-come-to-court
ἢ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ διεγράψατο, ἢ καὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ σοῦ
or persuaded by you withdrew or even altogether by you
παρεσκευάσθη; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ λέγειν καλόν.
was-suborned but these-things indeed not-even to-say fine
146 ᾑρηνται δὲ τῷ νόμῳ σύνδικοι καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ δεινοὶ
have-been-chosen and for-the law advocates and most the clever
λέγειν ἄνδρες, Λεωδάμας Ἀχαρνεὺς καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν
to-speak men Leodamas of-Acharnae and Aristophon
Ἀζηνιεὺς καὶ Κηφισόδοτος ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ Δεινίας
of-Hazenia and Cephisodotus from Cerameis and Deinias
Ἐρχιεύς. ἃ δὴ πρὸς τούτους ὑπολαμβάνοιτ' ἂν εἰκότως,
of-Erchia what indeed to these you-might-reply — reasonably
ἀκούσατε, καὶ σκοπεῖτ' ἂν ὑμῖν δίκαια φαίνηται. πρῶτον
hear and consider if to-you just they-appear first

μὲν πρὸς Λεωδάμαντα. οὗτος ἐγράψατο τὴν Χαβρίου
indeed to Leodamas this-man indicted the of-Chabrias
δωρειάν, ἐν ᾗ τοῦτ᾽ ἔνεστιν τὸ τῆς ἀτελείας τῶν ἐκείνῳ
gift in which this is-included the of-the exemption of-the to-that-man
τι δοθέντων, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰσελθὼν ἡττήθη·
anything given and to you having-come-into-court he-was-defeated

XI · THE ADVOCATES ANSWERED

The laws forbid trying the same matter twice against the same man, and Leodamas' words should not now outweigh Chabrias' deeds. Aristophon, who received a gift himself and proposed repaying Gelarchus, should not urge the jurors to take away what the people itself recorded on its pillars. Cephisodotus should turn his cleverness on wrongdoers, and Deinias should ask honors for his own trierarchies. A law also forbids anyone elected by the people to act as advocate more than once, and the advocates should obey it. Demosthenes closes on the laws that reward and punish, which make a city great. Leptines' law sets three penalties on a man who asks for gratitude against the rule of one penalty per trial; this law allows no just way to ask for thanks. Remembering Demophantus' pillar, which swears to anyone who suffers defending the democracy the gifts given Harmodius and Aristogeiton, they should condemn the law, or break their oath.

οἱ νόμοι δ᾽ οὐκ ἐῶσι δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν 147
the laws but not allow twice against the same-man about the
αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας οὔτ᾽ εὐθύνας οὔτε διαδικασίαν οὔτ᾽
same-things either suits or audits or adjudication or
ἄλλο τοιοῦτ᾽ οὐδὲν εἶναι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀτοπώτατον
other such anything to-be apart and from-these most-absurd-thing
ἂν πάντων συμβαίη, εἰ τότε μὲν τὰ Χαβρίου παρ᾽ ὑμῖν
— of-all would-happen if then indeed the of-Chabrias before you
ἔργα μεῖζον ἴσχυε τῶν Λεωδάμαντος λόγων, ἐπειδὴ
deeds more prevailed than-the of-Leodamas words when

δὲ ταῦτά θ' ὑπάρχει καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργετῶν
but these-things both exist and the of-the other benefactors
προσγέγονεν, τηνικαῦτα σύμπαντα ταῦτ' ἀσθενέστερα
have-been-added then all-together these-things weaker
τῶν τούτου λόγων γένοιτο.
than-the of-this-man words should-become
148 καὶ μὴν πρός γ' Ἀριστοφῶντα πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἂν
and truly against at-least Aristophon many and just-things —
ἔχειν εἰπεῖν οἶμαι. οὗτος εὕρετο τὴν δωρειὰν παρ' ὑμῖν,
to-have to-say I-think this-man obtained the gift from you
ἐν ᾗ τοῦτ' ἐνῆν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ· δεῖ
in which this was-included and not this I-censure it-is-necessary
γὰρ ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι διδόναι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν οἷς ἂν
for in you to-be to-give the yours own to-whom-ever —
βούλησθε. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γ' οὐχὶ δίκαιον εἶναί φημι, τὸ
you-wish but that at-least not just to-be I-say the
ὅτε μὲν τούτῳ ταῦτ' ἔμελλεν ὑπάρχειν λαβόντι, μηδὲν
when indeed to-this-man these-things were-going to-belong having-received nothing
ἡγεῖσθαι δεινόν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἑτέροις δέδοται, τηνικαῦτ'
to-think terrible when but to-others it-has-been-given then
ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι.
to-be-indignant and to-persuade you to-take-away
149 καὶ μὴν καὶ Γελάρχῳ πέντε τάλαντ' ἀποδοῦναι γέγραφ'
and truly also to-Gelarchus five talents to-repay has-proposed
οὗτος ὡς παρασχόντι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῦ δήμου,
this-man as having-provided for-the-ones in Peiraeus of-the people
καὶ καλῶς ἐποίει. μὴ τοίνυν ἃ μὲν ἦν ἀμάρτυρα,
and well he-did not then what indeed were unattested
ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου προφάσει διὰ σοῦ δεδόσθω,
these-things on the of-the people pretext through you let-them-be-given
ὧν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος μαρτυρίας ἔστησεν ἐν τοῖς
of-what but itself the people testimonies set-up in the

ἱεροῖς ἀναγράψας καὶ πάντες συνίασιν, ταῦτ' ἀφελέσθαι
temples having-inscribed and all know these-things to-take-away
παραίνει· μηδ' αὐτὸς φαίνου τά τ' ὀφειλόμεν' ὡς
advise nor the-same appear the-things both owed that
ἀποδοῦναι δεῖ γράφων, καὶ ἅ τις παρὰ τοῦ
to-repay it-is-necessary proposing and what anyone from the
δήμου κεκόμισται, ταῦτ' ἀφελέσθαι παραινῶν.
people has-received these-things to-take-away advising
καὶ μὴν πρός γε Κηφισόδοτον τοσοῦτ' ἂν εἴποιμι. 150
and truly against at-least Cephisodotus so-much — I-would-say
οὗτός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
this-man is than-none less O men Athenians of-the
λεγόντων δεινὸς εἰπεῖν. πολὺ τοίνυν κάλλιον τῇ δεινότητι
speakers clever to-speak much then finer the cleverness
ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς κολάζειν ἢ
this to-use for the the-ones wronging you to-punish than
τοὺς ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς αἰτίους ἀδικεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαί
the-ones of-good something responsible to-wrong if for to-incur-hatred
τισι δεῖ, τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τὸν δῆμον, οὐ τοῖς
with-some it-is-necessary with-the-ones wronging the people not with-the-ones
ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσιν ἔγωγε νομίζω δεῖν.
good something doing I think to-be-necessary
πρὸς τοίνυν Δεινίαν· οὗτος ἴσως ἐρεῖ τριηραρχίας αὑτοῦ 151
against then Deinias this-man perhaps will-mention trierarchies his
καὶ λητουργίας. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ πολλοῦ τῇ πόλει Δεινίας ἄξιον
and public-services I but if of-much to-the city Deinias worthy
αὑτὸν παρέσχηκεν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ νὴ τοὺς θεούς, μᾶλλον
himself has-shown as to-me it-seems by the gods rather
ἂν παραινέσαιμ' αὐτῷ τινὰ τιμὴν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν δοῦναι ἢ
— I-would-advise him some honor you to-ask to-give than
τὰς ἑτέροις πρότερον δοθείσας ἀφελέσθαι κελεύειν· πολὺ γὰρ
the to-others before given to-take-away to-bid much for

βελτίονος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτὸς εὖ πεποίηκεν ἀξιοῦν
of-a-better man it-is for what himself well has-done to-ask
τιμᾶσθαι ἢ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἕτεροι ποιήσαντες ἐτιμήθησαν φθονεῖν.
to-be-honored than for what others having-done were-honored to-envy
152 ὃ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον ἁπάντων καὶ κοινὸν ὑπάρχει κατὰ
what and indeed greatest of-all and common exists against
πάντων τῶν συνδίκων· τούτων πολλάκις εἷς ἕκαστος
all the advocates these often one each
πρότερόν τισι πράγμασι σύνδικος γέγονεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
before in-some affairs advocate has-been there-is and also
μάλ᾽ ἔχων νόμος ὑμῖν καλῶς, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τεθείς,
very being a-law for-you well not for these-things laid-down
ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐργασία τισὶν ᾖ καὶ
but so-that not the affair like trade for-some may-be and
συκοφαντία, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθέντα
slander not to-be-permitted by the people elected
πλεῖν ἢ ἅπαξ συνδικῆσαι.
more than once to-act-as-advocate
153 τοὺς δὴ συνεροῦντας νόμῳ καὶ διδάξοντας ὑμᾶς ὡς
the-ones indeed going-to-speak-for a-law and going-to-teach you that
ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν, αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις δεῖ
suitable it-is themselves to-the existing laws it-is-necessary
πειθομένους φαίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, γελοῖον νόμῳ μὲν
obeying to-appear if but not ridiculous a-law indeed
συνδικεῖν, νόμον δ᾽ αὐτοὺς παραβαίνειν ἕτερον. ἀνάγνωθι
to-advocate law but themselves to-transgress another read
λαβὼν τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς ὃν λέγω.
having-taken the law to-them which I-mean

οὗτος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ παλαιός ἐσθ' ὁ νόμος
this O men Athenians both old is the law
καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, ὃν ἐὰν σωφρονῶσι φυλάξονται
and well being which if they-are-wise they-will-guard-against
παραβαίνειν οὗτοι.
to-transgress these
ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν καταβήσομαι. 154
I and further small-things to you having-said will-step-down
ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς νόμους
it-is for O men Athenians all indeed the laws
ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, σπουδαστέον ὡς κάλλιστ' ἔχειν,
for-you as I think one-must-strive as finest to-be
μάλιστα δὲ τούτους δι' ὧν ἢ μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλην
most but these through which either small or great
ἔστ' εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι τίνες; οἵ τε
it-is-possible to-be the city are and these which the-ones both
τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσι τὰς τιμὰς διδόντες καὶ
to-the-ones good something doing the honors giving and
οἱ τοῖς τἀναντία πράττουσι τὰς τιμωρίας. εἰ γὰρ
the-ones to-the-ones the-opposite doing the punishments if for
ἅπαντες ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ζημίας φοβούμενοι
all as truly the in the laws penalties fearing
τοῦ κακόν τι ποιεῖν ἀποσταῖεν, καὶ πάντες τὰς ἐπὶ
from-the bad something to-do should-abstain and all the for
ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δωρειὰς ζηλώσαντες ἃ χρὴ πράττειν
the benefactions gifts emulating what one-must to-do
προέλοιντο, τί κωλύει μεγίστην εἶναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ
should-choose what prevents greatest to-be the city and
πάντας χρηστοὺς καὶ μηδέν' εἶναι πονηρόν;
all good and no-one to-be base

155 ὁ τοίνυν νόμος οὗτος ὁ Λεπτίνου, οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες
the then law this the of-Leptines not only O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἀδικεῖ, ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἀναιρῶν τῶν
Athenians in-this does-wrong that the honors abolishing of-the
εὐεργεσιῶν ἀχρεῖον τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῖς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι
benefactions useless the decency for-the-ones to-strive-for-honor
βουλομένοις καθίστησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρανομίας δόξαν
wishing it-makes but that also of-illegality reputation
αἰσχίστην τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι
most-shameful for-the city it-leaves you-know for surely this that
τῶν τὰ δεινόταθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικούντων ἓν ἑκάστῳ τίμημ'
for-the-ones the most-terrible-things us wronging one for-each penalty
ὑπάρχει διὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς διαρρήδην λέγει 'μηδὲ τίμημ'
exists because-of the law which expressly says not-even penalty
ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ κρίσει πλέον ἢ ἕν, ὁπότερον ἂν τὸ δικαστήριον
to-exist upon a-trial more than one whichever — the court
τιμήσῃ, παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι· ἀμφότερα δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω.'
assesses to-suffer or to-pay both but not let-it-be-permitted
156 ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτος ἐχρήσατο τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐάν
but not this-man used this the measure but if
τις ἀπαιτήσῃ χάριν ὑμᾶς, 'ἄτιμος ἔστω' φησὶ 'καὶ
anyone asks-for gratitude you disfranchised let-him-be he-says and
ἡ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω.' δύο τιμήματα ταῦτα. 'εἶναι δὲ
the property public let-it-be two penalties these to-be and
καὶ ἐνδείξεις καὶ ἀπαγωγάς· ἐὰν δ' ἁλῷ, ἔνοχος
both informations and summary-arrests if but he-is-convicted liable
ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ ὃς κεῖται, ἐάν τις ὀφείλων ἄρχῃ
let-him-be to-the law which is-established if anyone owing holds-office
τῷ δημοσίῳ.' θάνατον λέγει· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ
for-the treasury death he-means this for is for that
τοὐπιτίμιον. οὐκοῦν τρία τιμήματα ταῦτα. πῶς οὖν οὐ
the-penalty therefore three penalties these how then not

σχέτλιον καὶ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ χαλεπώτερον
cruel and terrible O men Athenians if harder
εἶναι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν δόξει χάριν εὖ ποιήσαντ᾽ ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ
to-be among you it-will-seem gratitude well having-done to-ask-for than
τὰ δεινότατ᾽ ἐργαζόμενον ληφθῆναι;
the most-terrible-things doing to-be-caught
αἰσχρός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κακῶς ἔχων ὁ νόμος, 157
shameful O men Athenians and badly being the law
καὶ ὅμοιος φθόνῳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ καὶ — τὸ λοιπὸν
and like to-envy some and contentiousness and the rest
ἐῶ· τοιούτοις δέ τισιν προσέοιχ᾽ ὁ γράφων χρῆσθαι.
I-let-pass such and some resembles the-one proposing to-use
ὑμῖν δ᾽ οὐχὶ πρέπει τὰ τοιαῦτα μιμεῖσθαι, οὐδ᾽ ἀνάξια
for-you but not befits the such-things to-imitate nor unworthy-things
φαίνεσθαι φρονοῦντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός,
to-appear thinking of-you yourselves come for by Zeus
τί μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἀπευξαίμεθα πάντες, καὶ τί μάλιστ᾽
what most — would-we-pray-against all and what most
ἐν ἅπασι διεσπούδασται τοῖς νόμοις; ὅπως μὴ γενήσονται
in all has-been-striven-for the laws that not will-occur
οἱ περὶ ἀλλήλους φόνοι, περὶ ὧν ἐξαίρετος ἡ βουλὴ
the among one-another murders about which special the council
φύλαξ ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τέτακται.
guardian the on Ares' hill has-been-appointed
ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς περὶ τούτων νόμοις ὁ Δράκων φοβερὸν 158
in then the about these laws — Draco fearful
κατασκευάζων καὶ δεινὸν τό τιν᾽ αὐτόχειρ᾽ ἄλλον
making and terrible the anyone with-his-own-hand other
ἄλλου γίγνεσθαι, καὶ γράφων χέρνιβος εἴργεσθαι τὸν
of-another to-become and writing from-lustral-water to-be-barred the
ἀνδροφόνον, σπονδῶν, κρατήρων, ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς, πάντα
man-slayer from-libations from-mixing-bowls from-rites from-the-agora all

τἄλλα διελθὼν οἷς μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τινας ᾠ̓ετ᾽
the-other-things having-gone-through by-which most — anyone he-thought
ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφείλετο
to-restrain from-the such anything to-do nevertheless not he-took-away
τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔθηκεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐξεῖναι
the of-the just place but laid-down in what to-be-permitted
ἀποκτιννύναι, κἂν οὕτω τις δράσῃ, καθαρὸν διώρισεν
to-kill and-if so anyone does pure he-defined
εἶναι. εἶτ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δικαίως ἔν γε τοῖς παρ᾽
to-be then to-kill indeed justly in at-least the among
ὑμῖν νόμοις ἐξέσται, χάριν δ᾽ ἀπαιτεῖν οὔτε δικαίως
you laws will-be-permitted gratitude but to-ask-for neither justly
οὔθ᾽ ὁπωσοῦν διὰ τὸν τούτου νόμον;
nor in-any-way-whatever because-of the of-this-man law
159 μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· μὴ βούλεσθε δοκεῖν πλείω
by-no-means O men Athenians not wish to-seem more
πεποιῆσθαι σπουδὴν ὅπως μηδενὶ τῶν εὖ τι
to-have-made zeal that for-no-one of-the-ones well anything
ποιούντων ὑμᾶς χάριν ἐξέσται κομίσασθαι ἢ ὅπως
doing you gratitude will-be-permitted to-recover than that
μηδεὶς φόνος ἐν τῇ πόλει γενήσεται· ἀλλ᾽ ἀναμνησθέντες
no murder in the city will-happen but having-remembered
τῶν καιρῶν, παρ᾽ οὓς εὖ πεπονθότες εὖ πεποιήκατε
the occasions in which well having-been-treated well you-have-treated
τοὺς εὑρομένους, καὶ τῆς Δημοφάντου στήλης περὶ ἧς
the-ones having-obtained and of-the of-Demophantus pillar about which
εἶπε Φορμίων, ἐν ᾗ γέγραπται καὶ ὀμώμοται, ἄν τις
spoke Phormio on which it-is-written and it-has-been-sworn if anyone
ἀμύνων τι πάθῃ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὰς αὐτὰς δώσειν

δωρειὰς ἅσπερ Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι, καταψηφίσασθε
gifts as-very to-Harmodius and Aristogeiton condemn
τοῦ νόμου. οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστ' εὐορκεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσετε.
the law not for it-is-possible to-keep-the-oath if not this you-will-do

XII · THE FUTURE AND THE VERDICT

Leptines' law forbids giving even to future benefactors, as though he knew what is to come. Demosthenes sums up: if the jurors condemn the law, the worthy keep their rights, the unworthy are punished under the new law, and the city appears faithful; if they acquit it, the good suffer for the bad and the city seems faithless and envious. They should not let speakers' clamor force them to err, and should remember that the city punishes coiners with death but would give a hearing to men who make the whole city counterfeit and faithless.

παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἔτ' ἀκούσατέ μου. οὐκ 160
beside all and these-things that further hear me not
ἔνι τοῦτον ἔχειν καλῶς τὸν νόμον, ὃς περὶ τῶν
it-is-possible this to-be well the law which about the-things
παρεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ταὐτὰ λέγει.
past and the-things future the-same-things says
'μηδέν' εἶναί' φησιν 'ἀτελῆ πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ
no-one to-be he-says exempt except the-ones from Harmodius and
Ἀριστογείτονος.' καλῶς. 'μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι.'
Aristogeiton well nor the future to-be-permitted to-give
μηδ' ἂν τοιοῦτοί τινες γένωνται, Λεπτίνη; εἰ τὰ πρὸ
not-even if such some become O-Leptines if the-things before
τοῦ κατεμέμφου, τί; μὴ καὶ τὰ μέλλονθ' ᾔδεις;
the you-were-finding-fault-with why not also the-things future did-you-know

161 ὅτι νὴ Δία πόρρω τοῦ τι τοιοῦτον νῦν ἐλπίζειν
because by Zeus far from-the anything such now to-expect
ἐσμέν. καὶ εἴημέν γ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλὰ χρή
we-are and may-we-be at-least O men Athenians but one-must
γ' ἀνθρώπους ὄντας τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν
at-least men being such-things both to-say and to-legislate
οἷς μηδεὶς ἂν νεμεσήσαι, καὶ τἀγαθὰ μὲν προσδοκᾶν
at-which no-one — would-be-indignant and the-good-things indeed to-expect
καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι διδόναι, πάντα δ' ἀνθρώπιν'
and to-the gods to-pray to-give all-things but human
ἡγεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοί ποτ' ἤλπισαν εἰς
to-consider not-even for — Lacedaemonians ever would-have-expected into
τοιαῦτα πράγματ' ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐδέ γ' ἴσως Συρακόσιοι,
such affairs to-be-going-to-come nor at-least perhaps Syracusans
τὸ πάλαι δημοκρατούμενοι καὶ φόρους Καρχηδονίους
the long-ago being-democratic and tributes from-Carthaginians
πραττόμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ αὑτοὺς ἄρχοντες
exacting and all the-ones around them ruling
καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκότες ἡμᾶς, ὑφ' ἑνὸς γραμματέως,
and in-a-sea-battle having-defeated us by one clerk
ὃς ὑπηρέτης ἦν, ὥς φασι, τυραννήσεσθαι.
who servant was as they-say to-be-going-to-be-ruled-by-a-tyrant
162 οὐδέ γ' ὁ νῦν ὢν Διονύσιος ἤλπισεν ἄν ποτ'
nor at-least the now being Dionysius would-have-expected — ever
ἴσως πλοίῳ στρογγύλῳ καὶ στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις Δίων'
perhaps with-a-ship round and with-soldiers few Dion
ἐλθόντ' ἐφ' αὑτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν τριήρεις πολλὰς
having-come against himself to-be-going-to-expel the-one triremes many
καὶ ξένους καὶ πόλεις κεκτημένον. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ μέλλον
and mercenaries and cities possessing but I-think the future
ἄδηλον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μικροὶ καιροὶ μεγάλων
unclear to-all men and small occasions of-great

πραγμάτων αἴτιοι γίγνονται. διὸ δεῖ μετριάζειν ἐν
affairs responsible become therefore one-must to-be-moderate in
ταῖς εὐπραξίαις καὶ προορωμένους τὸ μέλλον φαίνεσθαι.
the prosperities and foreseeing the future to-appear
πολλὰ δ' ἄν τις ἔχοι λέγειν ἔτι καὶ διεξιέναι 163
many-things and — anyone could to-say further and to-go-through
περὶ τοῦ μηδαμῇ μηδὲ καθ' ἓν τοῦτον ἔχειν καλῶς
about the in-no-way not-even in one this to-be well
τὸν νόμον μηδὲ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐν κεφαλαίῳ
the law nor to-benefit you but so-that in sum
τοῦτο μάθητε κἀγὼ παύσωμαι λέγων, τάδε ποιήσατε·
this you-may-learn and-I may-stop speaking these-things do
σκέψασθε παρ' ἄλληλα καὶ λογίσασθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
consider beside one-another and reckon with you yourselves
τί συμβήσεται καταψηφισαμένοις ὑμῖν τοῦ νόμου καὶ
what will-happen having-condemned for-you the law and
τί μή· εἶτα φυλάττετε καὶ μέμνησθ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐξ
what not then keep and remember what-ever to-you from
ἑκατέρου φανῇ, ἵν' ἕλησθε τὰ κρείττω.
each appears so-that you-may-choose the better
ἂν μὲν τοίνυν καταψηφίσησθε, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς κελεύομεν, 164
if indeed then you-condemn as we bid
οἱ μὲν ἄξιοι παρ' ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαι' ἕξουσιν, εἰ δέ
the-ones indeed worthy from you the just-dues will-have if but
τις ἔστ' ἀνάξιος, ὡς ἔστω, πρὸς τῷ τὴν δωρεὰν
anyone is unworthy as let-him-be besides the the gift
ἀφαιρεθῆναι δίκην ἣν ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ δώσει κατὰ
to-be-taken-away penalty whatever — to-you seems-good he-will-pay according-to
τὸν παρεισενηνεγμένον νόμον· ἡ δὲ πόλις πιστή,
the introduced law the and city trustworthy
δικαία, πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀψευδὴς φανήσεται. ἐὰν δ'
just toward all truthful will-appear if but

ἀποψηφίσησθε, ὃ μὴ ποιήσαιτε, οἱ μὲν χρηστοὶ
you-acquit which not may-you-do the-ones indeed good
διὰ τοὺς φαύλους ἀδικήσονται, οἱ δ' ἀνάξιοι
because-of the base will-be-wronged the-ones but unworthy
συμφορᾶς ἑτέροις αἴτιοι γενήσονται, δίκην δ' οὐδ'
of-misfortune for-others responsible will-become penalty but not-even
ἡντινοῦν αὐτοὶ δώσουσιν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ταὐναντί' ὧν
any themselves will-pay the and city the-opposite of-what
εἶπον ἀρτίως, δόξει ἄπιστος, φθονερά, φαύλη παρὰ πᾶσιν
I-said just-now will-seem untrustworthy envious base among all
εἶναι.
to-be
οὔκουν ἄξιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσαύτην βλασφημίαν
not-then worth O men Athenians such slander
ἀντὶ καλῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἑλέσθαι.
instead-of fine and fitting for-you goods to-choose
καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἰδίᾳ μεθέξει τῆς δόξης τῶν
and for each of-you privately will-share the reputation of-the-things
κοινῇ γνωσθέντων. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτ' οὐδεὶς
in-common decided not for is-ignorant-of this anyone
οὔτε τῶν περιεστηκότων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἐν
either of-the-ones standing-around or of-the others that in
μὲν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ Λεπτίνης πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεται,
indeed the court Leptines against us contends
ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν καθημένων ὑμῶν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου
in but the of-the-ones sitting of-you of-one each
γνώμῃ φιλανθρωπία πρὸς φθόνον καὶ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς
judgment humanity against envy and justice against
κακίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρηστὰ πρὸς τὰ πονηρότατ'
baseness and all the good-things against the most-wicked-things
ἀντιτάττεται.
are-arrayed

ὧν τοῖς βελτίοσι πειθόμενοι καὶ κατὰ ταὐθ' 166
of-which to-the better obeying and according-to the-same-things
ἡμῖν θέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτοί θ' ἃ προσήκει δόξετ'
with-us casting the vote yourselves both what is-fitting you-will-seem
ἐγνωκέναι, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ κράτιστ' ἔσεσθ' ἐψηφισμένοι,
to-have-decided and for-the city the best-things you-will-be having-voted
κἄν τις ἄρ' ἔλθῃ ποτὲ καιρός, οὐκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν
and-if any after-all comes ever occasion not you-will-lack the-ones
ἐθελησόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδυνεύειν. ὑπὲρ οὖν τούτων
going-to-be-willing for you to-run-risks for then these
ἁπάντων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς σπουδάζειν καὶ προσέχειν
all I-think to-be-necessary you to-strive and to-attend
τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως μὴ βιασθῆθ' ἁμαρτάνειν. πολλὰ γὰρ
the mind that not you-are-forced to-err many-things for
ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐδιδάχθηθ' ὡς
you O men Athenians often not you-were-taught as
ἔστι δίκαια, ἀλλ' ἀφῃρέθηθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων
are just but had-them-taken-away by the of-the speakers
κραυγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας.
clamor and violence and shamelessness
ὃ μὴ πάθητε νῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον. ἀλλ' ἃ δίκαι' 167
which not may-you-suffer now not for worth but what just
ἐγνώκατε, ταῦτα φυλάξατε καὶ μνημονεύετε, ἕως ἂν
you-have-decided these-things keep and remember until —
ψηφίσησθε, ἵν' εὔορκον θῆσθε τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ
you-vote so-that faithful-to-your-oath you-may-cast the vote against
τῶν τὰ πονηρὰ συμβουλευόντων. θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε,
the-ones the bad-things advising I-wonder and I
εἰ τοῖς μὲν τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείρουσιν θάνατος παρ'
if for-the-ones indeed the coinage debasing death among
ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἡ ζημία, τοῖς δ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κίβδηλον
you is the penalty to-the-ones but whole the city counterfeit

καὶ ἄπιστον ποιοῦσι λόγον δώσετε. οὐ δή πού γ',
and untrustworthy making a-hearing you-will-give not surely I-suppose at-least
ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί.
O Zeus and gods
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς
not I-know what ever one-must more to-say I-think for you
οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν τῶν εἰρημένων.
nothing to-be-ignorant-of of-the-things said

DEMOSTHENES

ΚΑΤΑ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΩΝΟΣ

Against Androtion

I · THE COUNCIL CROWNED WITHOUT ITS SHIPS

The speaker prosecutes Androtion with Euctemon, whom Androtion also wronged; Androtion once accused the speaker of parricide and indicted his uncle for impiety; the speaker came clear, Androtion's side failing to win a fifth of the votes. Androtion's decree crowned the outgoing Council. He will argue that no preliminary decree was needed for the people's own vote, and that every Council was crowned so; but precedent is no defense: a wrong done often should be stopped now, beginning with him. The law forbids the Council to ask for a crown if it has not built the triremes, and so forbids the people to give one. The Council did ask: the presiding officers put the question whether it deserved a gift, and some councilors begged not to lose it. The law exists so that the people may not be talked or deceived into a gift, since the city's fortunes have always followed its ships, as at Salamis.

ὅπερ Εὐκτήμων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, παθὼν ὑπ' 1
what-very Euctemon O men jurors having-suffered at-the-hands-of
Ἀνδροτίωνος κακῶς, ἅμα τῇ τε πόλει βοηθεῖν οἴεται
Androtion ill at-once the both city to-help thinks
δεῖν καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦτο κἀγὼ
to-be-necessary and satisfaction for himself to-obtain this I-too
πειράσομαι ποιεῖν, ἐὰν ἄρ' οἷός τ' ὦ. συμβέβηκε
will-try to-do if indeed able — I-may-be it-has-happened
δέ, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς νόμους
and many and terrible-things and against all the laws
Εὐκτήμονος ὑβρισμένου, ἐλάττω ταῦτ' εἶναι τῶν ἐμοὶ
Euctemon having-been-outraged less these-things to-be than-the to-me
γεγενημένων δι' Ἀνδροτίωνος πραγμάτων. οὗτος μέν
having-happened through Androtion troubles this-man indeed
γ' εἰς χρήματα καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως ἐκπεσεῖν
at-least against money and the from you unjustly to-be-expelled
ἐπεβουλεύθη· ἐμὲ δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέξατο τῶν ὄντων
was-plotted-against me but not-even — would-have-received of-the existing

ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς, εἰ τὰ κατασκευασθένθ' ὑπὸ
men not-even one if the-things contrived by
τούτου παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπιστεύθη.
this-man before you had-been-believed

2 αἰτιασάμενος γάρ με, ἃ καὶ λέγειν ἂν ὀκνήσειέ τις,
having-charged for me with-what even to-mention — would-hesitate anyone
εἰ μὴ τύχοι προσόμοιος ὢν τούτῳ, τὸν πατέρ' ὡς
if not he-should-happen very-like being to-this-man the father that
ἀπέκτον' ἐγὼ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἀσεβείας
had-killed I the my-own and having-contrived of-impiety
γραφὴν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖόν μου, γράψας
indictment not against me but against the uncle my having-indicted
ἀσεβεῖν ἐμοὶ συνιόντ' εἰς ταὐτὸν ὡς πεποιηκότι
to-be-impious with-me associating into the-same-place as having-done
ταῦτα, εἰς ἀγῶνα κατέστησεν· ὃν εἰ συνέβη τόθ'
these-things into trial he-brought which if it-had-happened then
ἁλῶναι, τίς ἂν ἀθλιώτερ' ἐμοῦ πεπονθὼς ἦν
to-be-convicted who — more-wretched-things than-me having-suffered would-have-been
ὑπὸ τούτου; τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ φίλος ἢ ξένος εἰς
at-the-hands-of this-man who for — either friend or guest into
ταὐτό ποτ' ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν ἐμοί; τίς δ' ἂν
the-same-place ever to-come would-have-been-willing with-me what and —
εἴασε πόλις που παρ' ἑαυτῇ γενέσθαι τὸν τὸ
would-have-allowed city anywhere among itself to-be the-one the
τοιοῦτ' ἀσέβημα δοκοῦντ' εἰργάσθαι; οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ μία.
such impiety seeming to-have-committed not is not-even one

3 ἐγὼ τοίνυν ταῦτα μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀγωνιζόμενος παρ'
I then these-things indeed not by little contending before
ὑμῖν ἀπελυσάμην, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος μὴ λαβεῖν
you got-myself-acquitted but so-that the fifth part not to-get
τούτους τῶν ψήφων· τουτονὶ δὲ μεθ' ὑμῶν πειράσομαι
these of-the votes this-man and with you I-will-try

καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντ᾽ ἀμύνεσθαι χρόνον. καὶ περὶ
both now and the other all to-punish time and about
μὲν τῶν ἰδίων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν ἐάσω·
indeed the private-matters having further much to-say I-will-pass-over
περὶ δ᾽ ὧν οἴσετε τὴν ψῆφον νυνὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν οὗτος
about but what you-will-cast the vote now and about what this-man
δημοσίᾳ πεπολιτευμένος οὐκ ὀλίγ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν, ἅ μοι
publicly having-conducted-politics not little you harmed what to-me
παραλείπειν Εὐκτήμων ἐδόκει, βέλτιον δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι,
to-omit Euctemon seemed better and you to-hear
ταῦτα διεξελθεῖν ἐν βραχέσιν πειράσομαι.
these-things to-go-through in brief I-will-try
ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων τιν᾽ ἁπλῆν τούτῳ περὶ ὧν 4
I for if indeed I-saw some simple for-this-man about what
φεύγει πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὖσαν ἀπολογίαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐποιούμην
he-is-defendant before you being defense not — I-would-make
περὶ αὐτῆς μνείαν οὐδεμίαν. νῦν δ᾽ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι οὗτος
about it mention any now but I-know clearly that this-man
ἁπλοῦν μὲν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ἐξαπατᾶν δ᾽
simple indeed nor just nothing — to-say could-have to-deceive but
ὑμᾶς πειράσεται πλάττων καὶ παράγων πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων
you he-will-try fabricating and leading-astray against each of-these
κακούργους λόγους. ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τεχνίτης
mischievous arguments he-is for O men Athenians craftsman
τοῦ λέγειν καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐσχόλακεν τούτῳ. ὑπὲρ
of-the speaking and all the life has-devoted-his-leisure to-this for
οὖν τοῦ μὴ παρακρουσθέντας ὑμᾶς ἐναντία μὲν τοῖς
then the not misled you contrary indeed to-the-things
ὀμωμοσμένοις πεισθῆναι ψηφίσασθαι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ τοῦτον ὃν
sworn to-be-persuaded to-vote to-acquit and this-man whom
ὑμῖν πολλῶν ἕνεκ᾽ ἄξιον κολάσαι, προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν
for-you of-many-reasons for-the-sake worth to-punish attend the mind

οἷς ἐρῶ, ἵν' ἀκούσαντες ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ὑπὸ
to-what I-will-say so-that having-heard me against each of-the by
τούτου ῥηθησομένων ἔχηθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ἃ δεῖ.
this-man going-to-be-said you-may-be-able to-reply what one-must
5 ἔστι γὰρ εἷς μὲν ὃν οἴεται τεχνικῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ λόγος περὶ
there-is for one indeed which he-thinks skillfully to-be for-him argument about
τοῦ ἀπροβουλεύτου. νόμος ἐστί, φησίν, ἐὰν ἀξίως ἡ βουλὴ
the without-preliminary-decree a-law is he-says if worthily the council
δοκῇ βουλεῦσαι δωρειᾶς, διδόναι τὸν δῆμον τὴν δωρειὰν
seems to-have-deliberated of-a-gift to-give the people the gift
αὐτῇ. ταῦτ' ἐπήρετο, φησίν, ὁ ἐπιστάτης, διεχειροτόνησεν
to-it these-things asked he-says the chairman put-to-the-vote
ὁ δῆμος, ἔδοξεν. οὐδὲν δεῖ, φησί, προβουλεύματος
the people it-was-resolved nothing is-needed he-says of-preliminary-decree
ἐνταῦθα· κατὰ γὰρ νόμον ἦν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸ
there by for law were the-things happening I but itself
τοὐναντίον οἶομαι, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν συνδόξειν, περὶ
the-opposite think I-think and also to-you to-be-going-to-seem-so about
τούτων δεῖν τὰ προβουλεύματ' ἐκφέρειν μόνων περὶ
these to-be-necessary the preliminary-decrees to-bring-forward alone about
ὧν κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν γε μὴ κεῖνται
which bid the laws since about which at-least not are-laid-down
νόμοι οὐδὲ γράφειν τὴν ἀρχὴν προσήκει οὐδὲ ἓν δήπου.
laws not-even to-propose the at-all it-befits not-even one surely
6 φησὶ τοίνυν τοῦτον ἁπάσας τὸν τρόπον εἰληφέναι τὰς
he-says then in-this all the way to-have-received the
βουλάς, ὅσαι πώποτ' ἔχουσι παρ' ὑμῶν δωρειάν, καὶ
councils as-many-as ever have from you a-gift and
οὐδὲ μιᾷ γεγενῆσθαι προβούλευμα πώποτε. ἐγὼ δ'
not-even for-one to-have-been preliminary-decree ever I but
οἶομαι μὲν οὐχὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀληθῆ, μᾶλλον δ' οἶδα
think indeed not to-say him true-things rather but I-know

σαφῶς· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τοῦτο τοιοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν τὰ μάλιστα,
clearly not however but if this such is the most
ὁ νόμος δὲ λέγει τἀναντία, οὐχ ὅτι πολλάκις ἡμάρτηται
the law but says the-contrary not because often it-has-been-erred
δήπου πρότερον, διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπεξαμαρτητέον ἐστὶ καὶ
surely before because-of this one-must-err-further it-is also
νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἀρκτέον, ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει, τὰ
now but the-contrary one-must-begin as the law bids the
τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν ἀπὸ σοῦ πρώτου.
such-things to-do to-compel from you first
σὺ δὴ μὴ λέγ᾽ ὡς γέγονεν τοῦτο πολλάκις, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς 7
you now do-not say that has-happened this often but that
οὕτω προσήκει γίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι πώποτε μὴ
so it-befits to-be-done not for if anything ever not
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐπράχθη, σὺ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐμιμήσω, διὰ
according-to the laws was-done you but this imitated because-of
τοῦτ᾽ ἀποφεύγοις ἂν δικαίως, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον
this you-would-be-acquitted — justly but much rather
ἁλίσκοιο· ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνων προήλω,
you-would-be-convicted as for if anyone of-those had-been-convicted-before
σὺ τάδ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας, οὕτως, ἂν σὺ νῦν δίκην
you these-things not — would-have-proposed so if you now penalty
δῷς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψει.
you-pay another not will-propose
περὶ τοίνυν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ διαρρήδην οὐκ ἐῶντος 8
about then the law the expressly not allowing
ἐξεῖναι μὴ ποιησαμένῃ τῇ βουλῇ τὰς τριήρεις αἰτῆσαι
to-be-permitted not having-made for-the council the triremes to-ask-for
τὴν δωρειάν, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἣν
the gift worth it-is to-hear the defense which
ποιήσεται, καὶ θεωρῆσαι τὴν ἀναίδειαν τοῦ τρόπου δι᾽
he-will-make and to-observe the shamelessness of-the character through

ὧν ἐγχειρεῖ λέγειν. ὁ νόμος, φησίν, οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν βουλὴν
which he-attempts to-speak the law he-says not allows the council
αἰτῆσαι τὴν δωρειάν, ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσηται τὰς τριήρεις·
to-ask-for the gift if not it-makes the triremes
ὁμολογῶ. δοῦναι δέ γ' οὐδαμοῦ, φησί, κωλύει τὸν
I-admit to-give but at-least nowhere he-says it-prevents the
δῆμον. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν ἔδωκ' αἰτούσῃ, παρὰ τὸν νόμον
people I but if indeed I-gave asking contrary-to the law
εἴρηκα· εἰ δὲ μὴ πεποίημαι μνείαν περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐν
I-have-proposed if but not I-have-made mention about the ships in
ὅλῳ τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἀλλ' ἕτερ' ἄττα λέγω δι' ἃ
whole the decree but other some-things I-say through which
τὴν βουλὴν στεφανῶ, πῶς παρὰ τὸν νόμον εἴρηκα;
the council I-crown how contrary-to the law have-I-proposed
9 ἔστι δὴ πρὸς ταῦτ' οὐ χαλεπὸν τὰ δίκαι' ὑμῖν ἀντειπεῖν,
it-is indeed to these-things not hard the just-things for-you to-reply
ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ προεδρεύοντες τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ὁ
that first indeed the-ones presiding of-the council and the-one
ταῦτ' ἐπιψηφίζων ἐπιστάτης ἠρώτων καὶ διαχειροτονίαν
these-things putting-to-the-vote chairman asked and vote
ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτῳ δοκεῖ δωρειᾶς ἀξίως ἡ βουλὴ βεβουλευκέναι
gave to-whom it-seems of-a-gift worthily the council to-have-deliberated
καὶ ὅτῳ μή· καίτοι τούς γε μὴ αἰτοῦντας μηδὲ
and to-whom not and-yet the-ones at-least not asking nor
λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντας τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐπερωτᾶν προσῆκεν.
to-receive claiming the at-all not-even to-ask it-befitted
10 πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις ἔστιν ἃ Μειδίου κατηγοροῦντος
besides then these there-are-occasions when Meidias accusing
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, ἀναπηδῶντες οἱ βουλευταὶ
the council and others some leaping-up the councilors
ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δωρειάν. καὶ ταῦτ'
begged not them to-deprive-of the gift and these-things

οὐ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ δεῖ πυθέσθαι τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽
not from me must to-learn the-ones judging you but
αὐτοὶ παρόντες ἴστ᾽ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενα. ὥσθ᾽ ὅταν
yourselves present know in the assembly having-happened so-that when
μὲν μὴ φῇ τὴν βουλὴν αἰτεῖν, ταῦθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετε·
indeed not he-says the council to-ask-for these-things understand
ὅτι δ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐᾷ διδόναι μὴ ποιησαμένοις τὰς
that but not-even the people allows to-give not having-made the
ναῦς ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιδείξω.
ships the law also this I-will-show
διὰ ταῦτα γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν 11
because-of these-things for O men Athenians this has the
τρόπον ὁ νόμος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ μὴ ποιησαμένῃ
way the law not to-be-permitted for-the council not having-made
τὰς τριήρεις αἰτῆσαι τὴν δωρειάν, ἵνα μηδὲ πεισθῆναι
the triremes to-ask-for the gift so-that not-even to-be-persuaded
μηδ᾽ ἐξαπατηθῆναι γένοιτ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ. οὐ γὰρ ᾤετο
nor to-be-deceived it-might-be in-the-power-of the people not for thought
δεῖν ὁ τιθεὶς τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν λεγόντων
to-be-necessary the-one laying-down the law upon the of-the speakers
δυνάμει τὸ πρᾶγμα καταστῆσαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὃ δίκαιον ἦν εὑρεῖν
power the matter to-place but what just was to-find
ἅμα καὶ συμφέρον τῷ δήμῳ, νόμῳ τετάχθαι.
at-the-same-time and expedient for-the people by-law to-have-been-ordained
τὰς τριήρεις οὐ πεποίησαι; μὴ τοίνυν αἴτει τὴν δωρειάν. ὅπου
the triremes not you-have-made not then ask-for the gift where
δ᾽ αἰτεῖν οὐκ ἐᾷ, πῶς οὐ σφόδρα δοῦναί γε κωλύει;
but to-ask-for not it-allows how not very to-give at-least does-it-prevent
ἄξιον τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκεῖνο ἐξετάσαι, τί 12
worth then O men Athenians also-that to-examine why
δήποτε, ἂν τἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ἡ βουλὴ καλῶς βουλεύσῃ καὶ
ever if the-other-things all the council well deliberates and

μηδεὶς ἔχῃ μηδὲν ἐγκαλέσαι, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις μὴ ποιήσηται,
no-one is-able anything to-charge the but triremes not it-makes
τὴν δωρειὰν οὐκ ἔξεστιν αἰτῆσαι. εὑρήσετε γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ
the gift not it-is-permitted to-ask-for you-will-find for this the
ἰσχυρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου κείμενον. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν μηδέν'
strong-provision for the people laid-down I-think for — no-one
ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐχ, ὅσα πώποτε τῇ πόλει γέγον' ἢ νῦν
to-deny that not as-many-as ever for-the city have-been or now
ἔστ' ἀγάθ' ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω φλαῦρον, ἐκ τῆς
are good-things or the-other-sort so-that nothing I-may-say ill from the
τῶν τριήρων τὰ μὲν κτήσεως, τὰ δ' ἀπουσίας γέγονεν.
of-the triremes the-ones indeed acquisition the-others but lack have-come
13 οἷον πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις ἔχοι λέγειν καὶ παλαιὰ
for-instance many-things indeed — one could to-say both old
καὶ καινά· ἃ δ' οὖν πᾶσι μάλιστ' ἀκοῦσαι γνώριμα,
and new what but then to-all most to-hear familiar
τοῦτο μέν, εἰ βούλεσθε, οἱ τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὸν
this indeed if you-wish the-ones the Propylaea and the
παρθενῶν' οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τἄλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν
Parthenon having-built those and the-other from the
βαρβάρων ἱερὰ κοσμήσαντες, ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμούμεθα
barbarians sacred-things having-adorned at which we-pride-ourselves
πάντες εἰκότως, ἴστε δήπου τοῦτ' ἀκοῇ, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν
all reasonably you-know surely this by-hearsay that the city
ἐκλιπόντες καὶ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐκ τοῦ
having-left and having-been-shut-up into Salamis from the
τριήρεις ἔχειν πάντα μὲν τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν
triremes to-have all indeed the their-own themselves and the
πόλιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες ἔσωσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ
city in-the sea-battle having-conquered they-saved of-many and and

μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι κατέστησαν αἴτιοι,
great goods for-the other Greeks became responsible
ὧν οὐδ᾽ ὁ χρόνος τὴν μνήμην ἀφελέσθαι δύναται.
of-which not-even — time the memory to-take-away can

II · EXCUSES AND THE PROSTITUTION LAW

Athens' new ships let it relieve Euboea in three days; for want of ships it lost the Decelean war and nearly starved in the last war with Sparta, but gained peace once a fleet sailed. So the law makes the triremes the test of a council's crown. Androtion will say the trireme treasurer ran off with two and a half talents; but excuses are not ships, and a council that may plead them will build none. Androtion will also say the prosecutors abuse him with the prostitution law, and should have denounced him to the thesmothetae; but abuse is a charge without proof, and they offer a witness who made himself liable. The law forbids a man who has prostituted himself to propose decrees, and Solon gave many roads to justice, arrest, indictment, or a suit before arbitrators, as each accuser is able.

εἶεν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιά. ἀλλ᾽ ἃ πάντες 14
so-be-it but those indeed ancient and old but what all
ἑοράκατε, ἴσθ᾽ ὅτι πρώην Εὐβοεῦσιν ἡμερῶν τριῶν
you-have-seen you-know that lately to-the-Euboeans within-days three
ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ Θηβαίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεπέμψατε. ἆρ᾽
you-brought-help and Thebans under-truce you-sent-away then
οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράξατ᾽ ἂν οὕτως ὀξέως, εἰ μὴ ναῦς
therefore these-things would-you-have-done — so quickly if not ships
εἴχετε καινὰς ἐν αἷς ἐβοηθήσατε; ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐδύνασθε.
you-had new in which you-brought-help but not — you-could-have
ἄλλα πόλλ᾽ ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἃ τῇ πόλει γέγον᾽
other many-things could anyone — to-say which for-the city have-come
ἐκ τοῦ ταύτας κατεσκευάσθαι καλῶς ἀγαθά.
from the these to-have-been-equipped well good-things

15 εἶεν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κακῶς πόσα δεινά; τὰ μὲν
so-be-it from but the badly how-many terrible-things the indeed
πόλλ' ἐάσω· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Δεκελεικοῦ πολέμου (τῶν
many I-will-pass-over but in the Decelean war of-the
γὰρ ἀρχαίων ἕν, ὃ πάντες ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπίστασθε,
for ancient-things one which all than-me better know
ὑπομνήσω) πολλῶν καὶ δεινῶν ἀτυχημάτων συμβάντων
I-will-remind many and terrible misfortunes having-befallen
τῇ πόλει οὐ πρότερον τῷ πολέμῳ παρέστησαν πρὶν τὸ
the city not before in-the war they-gave-in before the
ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ παλαιὰ λέγειν;
navy their was-lost and why must the old-things to-say
τὸν τελευταῖον γὰρ ἴστε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον,
the last for you-know against Lacedaemonians war
ὅτε μὲν ναῦς οὐκ ἐδοκεῖτ' ἀποστεῖλαι δυνήσεσθαι, πῶς
when indeed ships not you-seemed to-send-out to-be-going-to-be-able how
διέκειθ' ἡ πόλις· ἴστ' ὀρόβους ὄντας ὠνίους. ἐπειδὴ
was-situated the city you-know vetches being for-sale when
δ' ἀπεστείλατε, εἰρήνης ἐτύχεθ' ὁποίας τινὸς ἐβούλεσθε.
but you-sent-out peace you-obtained of-what-sort some you-wished
16 ὥστε δικαίως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τηλικαύτην ἐχουσῶν
so-that justly O men Athenians such having
ῥοπὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῶν τριήρων, τοῦτον ὅρον τεθήκατε
weight on both-sides the triremes this limit you-have-set
τῇ βουλῇ, πότερ' αὐτὴν δεῖ λαβεῖν τὴν δωρεὰν ἢ οὔ.
for-the council whether it it-must to-receive the gift or not
εἰ γὰρ πάντα τἄλλα διοικήσειε καλῶς, δι' ὧν δὲ
if for all the-other-things it-should-administer well through what but
τό τ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτ' ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ νῦν σῴζομεν,
the both from beginning these-things we-acquired and now we-preserve
ταύτας μὴ ποιήσαιτο, τὰς τριήρεις λέγω, οὐδὲν ἐκείνων
these not it-should-make the triremes I-mean nothing of-those

ὄφελος· τὴν γὰρ τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίαν πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν
use the for of-the whole safety first to-exist
δεῖ παρεσκευασμένην τῷ δήμῳ. οὗτος τοίνυν εἰς
it-is-necessary prepared for-the people this-man then into
τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθε τοῦ νομίζειν αὑτῷ καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν
this has-come of-the to-think for-himself both to-say and to-propose
ἐξεῖναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν βούληται, ὥστε βεβουλευκυίας
to-be-permitted everything what ever — he-wishes so-that having-deliberated
μὲν τἄλλ' ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἀκούετε τῆς βουλῆς, οὐ
indeed the-other-things in-what way you hear the council not
πεποιημένης δὲ τὰς τριήρεις, γέγραφεν δοῦναι τὴν δωρειάν.
having-made but the triremes he-has-proposed to-give the gift
καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς μὲν οὐ παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐστίν, οὔτ' ἂν 17
and these-things that indeed not contrary-to the law it-is neither —
οὗτος ἔχοι λέγειν οὔθ' ὑμεῖς πεισθείητε· ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν
this-man could to-say nor you would-be-persuaded I-hear but him
τοιοῦτον ἐρεῖν τιν' ἐν ὑμῖν λόγον, ὡς οὐχ ἡ
such to-be-going-to-say some among you argument that not the
βουλὴ γέγον' αἰτία τοῦ μὴ πεποιῆσθαι τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλ'
council has-been responsible for-the not to-have-been-made the ships but
ὁ τῶν τριηροποικῶν ταμίας ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετ' ἔχων πένθ'
the of-the trireme-building-funds treasurer having-run-away went-off having five
ἡμιτάλαντα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἀτύχημα συμβέβηκεν. ἐγὼ δὲ
half-talents and the affair misfortune has-happened I but
πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο θαυμάζω, εἰ στεφανοῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς
first indeed itself this I-wonder-at that to-crown for the
ἠτυχημένοις ἠξίου τὴν βουλήν· τῶν κατορθουμένων γὰρ
misfortunes he-thought-fit the council for-the successful for
ἔγωγ' ἡγούμην ἔργων τὰς τοιαύτας ὡρίσθαι τιμάς·
I thought deeds the such to-have-been-defined honors
ἔπειτα δὲ κἀκεῖν' ἔτι βούλομαι φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
then and also-that further I-wish to-tell to you

18 οὔ φημι δίκαιον εἶναι περὶ ἀμφοῖν λέγειν, καὶ ὡς οὐ
not I-say just to-be about both to-speak both that not
παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἡ δωρειὰ δέδοται, καὶ ὡς οὐ διὰ
contrary-to the law the gift has-been-given and that not because-of
τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ τριήρεις. εἰ μὲν γὰρ διδόναι
the council not are the triremes if indeed for to-give
καὶ μὴ ποιησαμένῃ προσήκει, τί τοῦτο δεῖ λέγειν, δι᾽
even not having-made it-befits why this must to-say because-of
ὅντινα δήποτ᾽ οὐ πεποίηνται; εἰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔξεστι, τί
whom ever not they-have-been-made if but not it-is-permitted why
μᾶλλον, ἂν διὰ τὸν δεῖν᾽ ἢ τὸν δεῖν᾽ ἐπιδείξῃ μὴ
more if because-of the so-and-so than the so-and-so it-shows not
πεποιημένας, ἐκείνῃ προσῆκε λαβεῖν;
made to-it it-befitted to-receive

19 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν οἱ τοιοῦτοι
apart and from-these to-me seem a-choice to-you the such
λόγοι διδόναι, πότερ᾽ οἴεσθε δεῖν προφάσεις καὶ
arguments to-give whether you-think to-be-necessary excuses and
λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἀδικούντων ὑμᾶς ἢ ναῦς κεκτῆσθαι.
arguments to-hear of-the-ones wronging you or ships to-possess
εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου ταῦτ᾽ ἀποδέξεσθε, ἔσται δῆλον
if indeed for from-this-man these-things you-will-accept it-will-be clear
ἁπάσαις ταῖς βουλαῖς ὅτι δεῖ πρόφασιν πιθανὴν
to-all the councils that it-is-necessary excuse plausible
ἐξευρεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ τριήρεις ποιήσασθαι· ἐκ δὲ τούτου
to-find for you not triremes to-make from but this
τὰ μὲν χρήματ᾽ ἀναλωθήσεται, ναῦς δ᾽ οὐχ ἕξεθ᾽ ὑμεῖς.
the indeed money will-be-spent ships but not will-have you

20 ἐὰν δ᾽, ὡς ὁ νόμος λέγει καὶ δεῖ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας,
if but as the law says and it-is-necessary the-ones having-sworn
πικρῶς καὶ ἁπλῶς τὰς μὲν προφάσεις ἀνέλητε, φανῆτε
severely and simply the indeed excuses you-destroy you-appear

δ' ἀφῃρημένοι τὴν δωρειὰν ὅτι τὰς ναῦς οὐ πεποίηνται,
but having-taken-away the gift because the ships not have-been-made
πάντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πεποιημένας ὑμῖν παραδώσουσι
all O men Athenians made to-you will-hand-over
τὰς τριήρεις, πάντα τἄλλα παρ' ὑμῖν ἑορακότες
the triremes all the-other-things before you having-seen
ἀσθενέστερα τοῦ νόμου γεγενημένα. ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ'
weaker than-the law having-become that then not-even
αἴτιος ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ πεποιῆσθαι
responsible other any of-men is for-the not to-have-been-made
τὰς ναῦς, τοῦτο σαφῶς ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω· ἀνελοῦσα
the ships this clearly to-you I-will-show having-made-away-with
γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ τὸν νόμον, τοῦτον ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτή.
for the council the law this elected itself
ἔτι τοίνυν ἐπιχειρεῖ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ τῆς ἑταιρήσεως νόμου, 21
further then he-attempts to-speak about the of-the prostitution law
ὡς ὑβρίζομεν ἡμεῖς καὶ βλασφημίας οὐχὶ προσηκούσας
that we-outrage we and slanders not fitting
κατ' αὐτοῦ ποιούμεθα. καὶ φησὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ
against him we-make and he-says to-be-necessary us if-indeed
ἐπιστεύομεν εἶναι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας
we-believed to-be these-things true before the thesmothetae
ἀπαντᾶν, ἵν' ἐκεῖ περὶ χιλιῶν ἐκινδυνεύομεν, εἰ
to-meet so-that there for a-thousand-drachmas we-might-risk if
καταψευδόμενοι ταῦτ' ἐφαινόμεθα· νῦν δὲ φενακίζειν
lying these-things we-appeared now but to-cheat
αἰτίας καὶ λοιδορίας κενὰς ποιουμένους, καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν οὐ
charges and abuse empty making and to-trouble not
δικασταῖς τούτων οὖσιν ὑμῖν.
to-jurors of-these being you

22 ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἴομαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο λογίζεσθαι
I and think to-be-necessary you first indeed that to-reckon
παρ᾽ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πάμπολυ λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία
among you yourselves that very-much abuse both and charge
κεχωρισμένον ἐστὶν ἐλέγχου. αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τις
separated is from-proof charge indeed for is when anyone
ψιλῷ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει,
bare using word not provides proof of-what he-says
ἔλεγχος δέ, ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ τἀληθὲς ὁμοῦ δείξῃ.
proof but when what — says anyone also the-truth together shows
ἔστι τοίνυν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ἢ τεκμήρια δεικνύναι
it-is then necessary the-ones proving either evidences to-show
δι᾽ ὧν ἐμφανιοῦσι τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῖν, ἢ τὰ εἰκότα φράζειν,
through which they-will-make-clear the credible to-you or the probabilities to-state
ἢ μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ᾽ ἐνίων αὐτόπτας ἐστὶ
or witnesses to-produce not for possible — of-some eyewitnesses it-is
καταστῆσαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν ἐπιδεικνύῃ τίς τι τούτων, ἱκανὸν
to-produce but if shows anyone anything of-these sufficient
νομίζετ᾽ ἔλεγχον ἔχειν ὑμεῖς εἰκότως τῆς ἀληθείας ἑκάστοτε.
you-consider proof to-have you reasonably of-the truth on-each-occasion
23 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὐκ ἐκ λόγων εἰκότων οὐδὲ τεκμηρίων, ἀλλὰ
we then not from arguments of-probabilities nor of-evidences but
παρ᾽ οὗ μάλιστα δίκην ἔστι λαβεῖν τούτῳ, ταῦτ᾽
from whom most satisfaction it-is-possible to-obtain for-this-man these-things
ἐπιδείκνυμεν — ἄνδρα παρεσχηκότα γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ
we-show a-man having-provided a-record in which
τὰ τούτῳ βεβιωμέν᾽ ἔνεστιν, ὃς αὑτὸν ὑπεύθυνον
the-things by-this-man lived are-contained who himself liable
ποιήσας μαρτυρεῖ ταῦτα. ὥσθ᾽ ὅταν μὲν λοιδορίαν ταῦτα
having-made testifies these-things so-that when indeed abuse these-things
καὶ αἰτίαν εἶναι φῇ, ὑπολαμβάνεθ᾽ ὡς ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν
and charge to-be he-says understand that these-things indeed are

ἔλεγχος, ἃ δ' οὗτος ποιεῖ, ταῦτα λοιδορία καὶ αἰτία·
proof what but this-man does these-things abuse and charge
ὅταν δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας προσῆκεν ἐπαγγέλλειν
when but that before the thesmothetae it-befitted to-denounce
ἡμῖν, ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνετε, ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν ***
us that understand that also this we-shall-do (lacuna)
καὶ νῦν προσηκόντως περὶ τοῦ νόμου λέγομεν.
and now fittingly about the law we-speak
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον τιν' ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιζομένου σου ταῦτα 24
if indeed for other some suit contesting you these-things
κατηγοροῦμεν, δικαίως ἂν ἠγανάκτεις· εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν
we-were-charging justly — you-would-be-indignant if but the indeed
νῦν ἐνεστηκὼς ἀγών ἐστιν παρανόμων, οἱ νόμοι δ' οὐκ
now present suit is for-illegality the laws but not
ἐῶσι λέγειν οὐδὲ τὰ ἔννομα τοὺς οὕτω βεβιωκότας,
allow to-propose not-even the lawful-things the-ones so having-lived
ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπιδείκνυμεν οὐ μόνον εἰρηκότ' αὐτὸν παράνομα,
we but show not only having-spoken him illegal-things
ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβιωκότα παρανόμως, πῶς οὐχὶ προσήκει
but also having-lived illegally how not befits
λέγειν περὶ τούτου τοῦ νόμου δι' οὗ ταῦτ' ἐλέγχεται;
to-speak about this the law through which these-things are-proved
καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνό γε δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι τοὺς 25
and truly also-that at-least it-is-necessary to-learn you that the
νόμους ὁ τιθεὶς τούτους Σόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς
laws the-one laying-down these Solon and of-the others the
πολλούς, οὐδὲν ὅμοιος ὢν τούτῳ νομοθέτης, οὐχ ἑνὶ
most in-no-way like being to-this-man lawgiver not in-one
ἔδωκε τρόπῳ περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἑκάστων λαμβάνειν
gave way about the offenses each to-obtain
δίκην τοῖς βουλομένοις παρὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων, ἀλλὰ
satisfaction to-the-ones wishing from the-ones wronging but

πολλαχῶς. ᾔδει γάρ, οἶμαι, τοῦθ' ὅτι τοὺς ἐν τῇ
in-many-ways he-knew for I-think this that the-ones in the
πόλει γενέσθαι πάντας ὁμοίως ἢ δεινοὺς ἢ θρασεῖς
city to-be all alike either clever or bold
ἢ μετρίους οὐκ ἂν εἴη. εἰ μὲν οὖν, ὡς τοῖς μετρίοις
or moderate not — would-be if indeed then as for-the moderate
δίκην ἐξαρκέσει λαβεῖν, οὕτω τοὺς νόμους θήσει,
satisfaction it-will-suffice to-obtain so the laws he-will-lay-down
μετ' ἀδείας ἔσεσθαι πολλοὺς πονηροὺς ἡγεῖτο· εἰ δ'
with impunity to-be-going-to-be many wicked he-thought if but
ὡς τοῖς θρασέσιν καὶ δυνατοῖς λέγειν, τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὐ
as for-the bold and powerful to-speak the private-men not
δυνήσεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τούτοις τρόπον λαμβάνειν δίκην.
to-be-going-to-be-able the same as-these way to-obtain satisfaction
26 δεῖν δ' ᾤετο μηδέν' ἀποστερεῖσθαι τοῦ δίκης
to-be-necessary and he-thought no-one to-be-deprived-of the satisfaction
τυχεῖν, ὡς ἕκαστος δύναται. πῶς οὖν ἔσται τοῦτο;
to-obtain as each is-able how then will-be this
ἐὰν πολλὰς ὁδοὺς δῷ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ τοὺς
if many roads he-gives through the laws against the-ones
ἠδικηκότας οἷον τῆς κλοπῆς. ἔρρωσαι καὶ σαυτῷ
having-done-wrong for-instance of-the theft you-are-strong and in-yourself
πιστεύεις· ἄπαγε· ἐν χιλίαις δ' ὁ κίνδυνος.
trust arrest in a-thousand-drachmas but the risk
ἀσθενέστερος εἶ· τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐφηγοῦ· τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν
weaker you-are the magistrates lead-them this will-do
ἐκεῖνοι. φοβεῖ καὶ τοῦτο· γράφου.
they you-fear even this indict
27 καταμέμφει σεαυτὸν καὶ πένης ὢν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις
you-blame yourself and poor being not — could
χιλίας ἐκτεῖσαι· δικάζου κλοπῆς πρὸς διαιτητὴν καὶ
a-thousand-drachmas to-pay sue for-theft before an-arbitrator and

οὐ κινδυνεύσεις. τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι ταὐτό. τῆς ἀσεβείας
not you-will-run-risk of-these nothing is the-same of-the impiety
κατὰ ταὔτ' ἔστ' ἀπάγειν, γράφεσθαι, δικάζεσθαι
by the-same-things it-is-possible to-arrest to-indict to-sue
πρὸς Εὐμολπίδας, φαίνειν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. περὶ τῶν
before Eumolpidae to-inform before the king-archon about the
ἄλλων ἁπάντων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον σχεδόν.
others all the same way nearly

III · SOLON AND THE PROSTITUTED

A defendant in one form of suit cannot plead that another form was the proper one: he must show he did not do it. So Androtion cannot escape because the prostitution charge might have gone before the thesmothetae. Solon forbade such men to speak or propose not to punish them, since most citizens do not speak anyway, but to protect the democracy, the constitution in which every man's disgrace may be spoken; in oligarchies no one may abuse the rulers. Androtion also may not propose because his father, who owed the treasury, escaped from prison without paying, and the son inherits the disfranchisement. His plea not to disgrace the five hundred councilors is false: the fault is the few speakers who ran the Council, Philippus, Antigenes, and the checking clerk among them, who will speak for themselves and their audits; and Archias of Cholargus, a councilor last year, should be asked why, if the charges are true, he allowed them.

εἰ δή τις ὡς μὲν οὐχὶ κακοῦργός ἐστι μὴ λέγοι, ἢ ὡς 28
if indeed anyone that indeed not a-criminal he-is not should-say or that
οὐκ ἀσεβής, ἢ ὅ τι δήποτ' εἴη δι' ὃ κρίνοιτο,
not impious or what ever ever might-be because-of which he-is-tried
διὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐκφεύγειν ἀξιοίη, εἰ μὲν ἀπηγμένος εἴη,
because-of these-things but to-escape should-claim if indeed arrested he-were
διότι πρὸς διαιτητὴν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ λαχεῖν ἢ γράφεσθαι
because before an-arbitrator it-was-permitted for-him to-sue or to-indict

χρῆν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς διαιτητῇ φεύγοι, ὅτι χρῆν
it-was-necessary if but before an-arbitrator he-were-defendant that it-was-necessary
σ' ἀπάγειν, ἵν' ἐκινδύνευες περὶ χιλιῶν, γέλως
you to-arrest so-that you-might-have-risked about a-thousand-drachmas laughter
ἂν εἴη δήπουθεν. οὐ γὰρ τόν γε μηδὲν πεποιηκότα
— it-would-be surely not for the-one at-least nothing having-done
δεῖ περὶ τοῦ τρόπον ὄντινα χρὴ διδόναι δίκην
it-is-necessary about the way in-which one-must to-pay penalty
ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐ πεποίηκ' ἐπιδεικνύναι.
to-argue but that not he-has-done to-show

29 τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, Ἀνδροτίων, καὶ σὺ μὴ διὰ
the same indeed way Androtion also you not because-of
ταῦτ' οἴου σοι προσήκειν μὴ δοῦναι δίκην εἰ γράφεις
these-things think for-you to-befit not to-pay penalty if you-propose
ἡταιρηκώς, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ἔσθ' ἡμῖν
having-prostituted-yourself because also before the thesmothetae there-is for-us
ἐπαγγελία· ἀλλ' ἢ δεῖξον οὐ πεποιηκότα ταῦτα σεαυτόν, ἢ
a-denunciation but either show not having-done these-things yourself or
δίκην ὕπεχ' ὧν γέγραφας τοιοῦτος ὤν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστί
penalty undergo for-what you-have-proposed such being not for it-is-permitted
σοι. εἰ δέ σε μὴ πάντας ὅσους διδόασιν οἱ νόμοι τρόπους
for-you if but you not by-all as-many-as give the laws ways
τιμωρούμεθα, χάριν ἡμῖν ὧν παραλείπομεν, ἐκείνων
we-punish gratitude to-us for-what we-omit of-those
ἔχε, μὴ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξίου μηδένα δοῦναι τρόπον δίκην.
have not because-of these-things claim by-no way to-pay penalty

30 ἄξιον τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸν θέντα τὸν
worth then O men Athenians also the-one having-laid-down the
νόμον ἐξετάσαι Σόλωνα, καὶ θεάσασθαι ὅσην πρόνοιαν
law to-examine Solon and to-observe how-much forethought
ἐποιεῖτο ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἐτίθει νόμοις τῆς πολιτείας,
he-made in all which he-laid-down laws for-the constitution

καὶ ὅσῳ περὶ τούτου μᾶλλον ἐσπούδαζεν ἢ περὶ
and by-how-much about this more he-was-concerned than about
τοῦ πράγματος οὗ τιθείη τὸν νόμον. πολλαχόθεν
the matter for-which he-laid-down the law from-many-sides
μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἴδοι τοῦτο, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἐκ τούτου
indeed then — anyone could-see this not least but from this
τοῦ νόμου, μήτε λέγειν μήτε γράφειν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς
the law neither to-speak nor to-propose to-be-permitted for-the-ones
ἡταιρηκόσιν. ἑώρα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τοῖς πολλοῖς
having-prostituted-themselves he-saw for that that for-the many
ὑμῶν ἐξὸν λέγειν οὐ λέγετε, ὥστε τοῦτ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο
of-you it-being-possible to-speak not you-speak so-that this nothing he-thought
βαρύ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν εἶχεν, εἴ γε κολάζειν ἐβούλετο
heavy and many-things — he-could-have if at-least to-punish he-wished
τούτους, χαλεπώτερα θεῖναι.
these harsher to-lay-down
ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδασεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἀπεῖπεν ὑπὲρ 31
but not this he-was-concerned-about but these-things he-forbade for
ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας. ᾔδει γάρ, ᾔδει τοῖς αἰσχρῶς
you and the constitution he-knew for he-knew for-the-ones shamefully
βεβιωκόσιν ἁπασῶν οὖσαν ἐναντιωτάτην πολιτείαν ἐν ᾗ
having-lived of-all being most-hostile constitution in which
πᾶσιν ἔξεστι λέγειν τἀκείνων ὀνείδη. ἔστι δ' αὕτη τίς;
for-all it-is-permitted to-speak the-of-those reproaches is and this which
δημοκρατία. οὔκουν ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλές, εἴ ποτε συμβήσεται
democracy not-then he-thought safe if ever it-shall-happen
γενέσθαι συχνοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους
to-be many men at the same times
εἰπεῖν μὲν δεινοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς, τοιούτων δ' ὀνειδῶν καὶ
to-speak indeed clever and bold of-such but reproaches and
κακῶν μεστούς·
of-evils full

32 πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν τὸν δῆμον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντ᾽
many-things for — the people by them led-astray
ἐξαμαρτεῖν, κἀκείνους ἤτοι καταλῦσαί γ᾽ ἂν πειρᾶσθαι
to-err and-those either to-overthrow at-least — to-attempt
τὸ παράπαν τὸν δῆμον (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, οὐδ᾽
the altogether the people in for the oligarchies not-even
ἂν ὦσιν ἔτ᾽ Ἀνδροτίωνός τινες αἴσχιον βεβιωκότες,
if there-are still than-Androtion some more-shamefully having-lived
οὐκ ἔστι λέγειν κακῶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας), ἢ προάγειν
not it-is-possible to-speak ill-of the rulers or to-advance
ἂν ὡς πονηροτάτους εἶναι, ἵν᾽ ὡς ὁμοιότατοι σφίσιν
— as most-wicked to-be so-that as most-like to-themselves
ὦσι. τὴν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπεῖπε μὴ μετέχειν
they-may-be the then at-all to-the such he-forbade not to-share
τοῦ συμβουλεύειν, ἵνα μὴ φενακισθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἐξαμάρτοι
of-the to-advise so-that not deceived the people might-err
μηδέν. ὧν ὀλιγωρήσας ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς οὗτος οὐ
in-anything which having-slighted the fine and-good this-man not
μόνον ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν καὶ γράφειν οὐκ ἐξόν,
only thought to-be-necessary to-speak and to-propose not it-being-permitted
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ταῦτα ποιεῖν.
but also contrary-to the laws these-things to-do
33 περὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ νόμου καθ᾽ ὅν, ὠφληκότος
about indeed then the law according-to which having-been-condemned-to-pay
αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ δημοσίῳ χρήματα καὶ οὐκ
his the father to-the treasury money and not
ἐκτετεικότος, οὐκ ἔξεστι λέγειν οὐδὲ γράφειν τούτῳ,
having-paid not it-is-permitted to-speak nor to-propose for-this-man
ταὐτὰ δίκαια λέγειν ἂν ἔχοιτ᾽ εἰκότως, ἐὰν φῇ δεῖν
the-same just-things to-say — you-could reasonably if he-says to-be-necessary
ἡμᾶς ἐνδεικνύναι. τότε γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, οὐ μὰ Δί᾽
us to-lay-information then for this we-shall-do not by Zeus

οὐχὶ νῦν, ἡνίκα δεῖ σ' ἑτέρων ὧν ἀδικεῖς δοῦναι
not now when it-is-necessary you for-others of-what you-do-wrong to-give
λόγον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ᾖ προσῆκον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ
account but when it-is fitting according-to the law and
νῦν δὲ δείκνυμεν οὐκ ἐῶντα γράφειν σε, οὐδ' ἃ τοῖς
now but we-show not allowing to-propose you not-even what to-the
ἄλλοις ἔξεστι, τὸν νόμον.
others is-permitted the law
ὡς οὖν οὐκ ὤφλ' ὁ πατήρ σου, τοῦτ' ἐπίδειξον, 34
that then not was-condemned-to-pay the father your this show
ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀποδρὰς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου,
or that not having-run-away he-came-out from the prison
ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήματ' ἐκτείσας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦθ' ἕξεις
but the money having-paid if but not these-things you-will-be-able
δεικνύναι, οὐκ ἐξὸν γέγραφας· κληρονόμον γάρ σε
to-show not being-permitted you-have-proposed heir for you
καθίστησ' ὁ νόμος τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς τοῦ πατρός, ὄντι
makes the law of-the disfranchisement the of-the father being
δ' ἀτίμῳ σοι λέγειν οὐ προσῆκεν οὐδὲ γράφειν. καὶ
and disfranchised for-you to-speak not it-befitted nor to-propose and
περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων οὓς παρεγραψάμεθα, οἶμαι δεῖν
about indeed the laws which we-cited I-think to-be-necessary
ὑμᾶς, ἄν τι φενακίζειν ἐγχειρῇ καὶ παράγειν οὗτος,
you if anything to-cheat attempts and to-mislead this-man
ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ἃ διεξελήλυθ' ἐγώ.
these-things to-reply which have-gone-through I
εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῷ λόγοι πρὸς τὸ 35
there-are and also about the other-things for-him arguments toward the
φενακίζειν ὑμᾶς εὖ μεμηχανημένοι, περὶ ὧν βέλτιον ὑμᾶς
to-cheat you well devised about which better you
προακοῦσαι. ἔστιν γὰρ εἷς αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος, μὴ πεντακοσίους
to-hear-beforehand there-is for one for-him such not five-hundred

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δωρειὰν μηδ' ὀνείδει
of-you yourselves to-deprive-of the gift nor with-reproach
περιβαλεῖν· ἐκείνων ἀγών, οὐκ ἐμός. ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐμέλλετ'
to-cover of-those the-suit not mine I but if indeed you-were-going
ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τούτους μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ὠφελήσειν τὴν
to-deprive these only other but nothing to-benefit the
πόλιν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς σφόδρα σπουδάζειν ἠξίουν· εἰ δὲ τῷ
city not — you very to-be-earnest I-would-ask if but by-the
τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πλείους ἢ μυρίους τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας
this to-do more than ten-thousand the other citizens
βελτίους εἶναι προτρέψετε, πόσῳ κάλλιον τοσούτους
better to-be you-will-urge by-how-much finer so-many
παρασκευάσαι χρηστοὺς ἢ πεντακοσίοις ἀδίκως χαρίσασθαι;
to-make good than to-five-hundred unjustly to-do-a-favor
36 ὡς δ' οὐδ' ἔστιν ἁπάσης τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ
that and not-even is of-whole the matter the council but
τινῶν, οἵπερ εἰσὶν αἴτιοι τῶν κακῶν, καὶ Ἀνδροτίωνος,
of-some who-indeed are responsible for-the evils and Androtion
ἔχω λέγειν. τῷ γάρ ἐστιν ὄνειδος, εἰ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ
I-can to-say to-whom for is reproach if keeping-silent him
καὶ μηδὲν γράφοντος, ἴσως δ' οὐδὲ τὰ πόλλ' εἰς τὸ
and nothing proposing perhaps and not-even the many-times into the
βουλευτήριον εἰσιόντος, μὴ λάβοι ἡ βουλὴ τὸν στέφανον;
council-chamber entering not should-receive the council the crown
οὐδενὶ δήπουθεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γράφοντος καὶ πολιτευομένου
to-no-one surely but to-the-one proposing and conducting-politics
καὶ πείθοντος ἃ βούλοιτο τὴν βουλήν· διὰ γὰρ
and persuading what-ever he-wished the council because-of for
τούτους ἀνάξια τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι βεβούλευκεν.
these unworthy-things of-the to-be-crowned it-has-deliberated

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα πάσης ἔσθ᾽ ἁγὼν τῆς 37
not however but if even the most of-whole is the-suit of-the
βουλῆς, ὅσῳ συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑμῖν καταγνοῦσιν ἢ
council by-how-much it-is-expedient more for-you having-condemned than
μὴ θεάσασθε. εἰ μὲν ἀπογνώσεσθε, ἐπὶ τοῖς λέγουσι τὸ
not consider if indeed you-acquit in the speakers the
βουλευτήριον ἔσται, ἐὰν δὲ καταγνῶτε, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις·
council-chamber will-be if but you-condemn in the private-members
ἑορακότες γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν λεγόντων
having-seen for the many because-of the of-the speakers
πονηρίαν τήνδ᾽ ἀφῃρημένην τὴν βουλὴν τὸν στέφανον,
wickedness this having-been-deprived the council the crown
οὐχὶ προήσονται τούτοις τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽
not will-hand-over to-these the affairs but the best-things
ἐροῦσιν αὐτοί. εἰ δὲ γενήσεται τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἠθάδων
will-speak themselves if but will-happen this also of-the customary
καὶ συνεστηκότων ῥητόρων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθε, ὄψεσθ᾽, ὦ
and banded-together orators you-will-be-rid you-will-see O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει γιγνόμενα. ὥστ᾽ εἰ
men Athenians all-things which befit happening so-that if
μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἕνεκα, διὰ ταῦτα καταψηφιστέον.
of-nothing other for-the-sake because-of these-things one-must-condemn
ὃ τοίνυν ἕτερον δεῖ μὴ λαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσατε. ἴσως 38
what then other it-is-necessary not to-escape you hear perhaps
ἀναβήσεται καὶ συνερεῖ τῇ βουλῇ Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀντιγένης
will-come-up and will-speak-for the council Philippus and Antigenes
καὶ ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς καί τινες ἄλλοι, οἵπερ ἐκεῖ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν
and the checking-clerk and some others who-very there through themselves
εἶχον μετὰ τούτου τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν
held with this-man the council-chamber and of-these the evils
εἰσιν αἴτιοι. δεῖ δὴ πάντας ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκειν ὅτι
are responsible it-is-necessary indeed all you to-know that

τούτοις ἐστὶ μὲν ἡ πρόφασις τῆς συνηγορίας τῇ βουλῇ
for-these is indeed the pretext of-the advocacy the council
βοηθεῖν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ περὶ αὑτῶν ἀγωνιοῦνται καὶ τῶν
to-help in-the but truth for themselves they-will-contend and the
εὐθυνῶν ἃς αὐτοὺς προσήκει δοῦναι τῶν πεπραγμένων.
audits which them it-befits to-give of-the-things done
39 ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἀπογνῶτε τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην,
it-is for thus if indeed you-acquit the indictment this
ἅπαντές εἰσιν ἀπηλλαγμένοι καὶ δίκην οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν
all are released and penalty no-one any
μὴ δῷ· τίς γὰρ ἔτ' ἂν καταψηφίσαιτ' ἐκείνων, τὴν
— will-pay who for any-longer — would-condemn of-those the
βουλὴν ὑμῶν ἐστεφανωκότων ἧς οὗτοι προέστασαν; ἐὰν
council you having-crowned which these presided-over if
δὲ καταγνῶτε, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ εὔορκ' ἔσεσθ'
but you-condemn first indeed the-things faithful-to-the-oath you-will-be
ἐψηφισμένοι, εἶτ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐθύναις ἕκαστον τούτων
having-voted then at the audits each of-these
λαμβάνοντες, ὃς μὲν ἂν ὑμῖν ἀδικεῖν δοκῇ, κολάσετε,
taking whom indeed — to-you to-do-wrong seems you-will-punish
ὃς δ' ἂν μή, τότ' ἀφήσετε. μὴ οὖν ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς
whom but — not then you-will-acquit not then as for the
βουλῆς λεγόντων καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀκούετε, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ
council speaking and the many listen but as for
αὑτῶν παρακρουομένοις ὀργίζεσθε.
themselves misleading-you be-angry
40 ἔτι τοίνυν Ἀρχίαν οἶμαι τὸν Χολαργέα (καὶ γὰρ
further then Archias I-think the Cholargean and for
οὗτος ἐβούλευεν πέρυσιν) ὡς ἐπιεικῆ δεήσεσθαι καὶ
this-man was-councilor last-year as reasonable to-be-going-to-plead and
συνερεῖν αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δ' οἴομαι δεῖν ὡδί πως
to-be-going-to-speak-for them I but think to-be-necessary thus somehow

ἀκούειν Ἀρχίου, ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ἃ κατηγόρηται
to-listen-to Archias to-ask him these-things which have-been-charged
τῆς βουλῆς, πότερ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ κακῶς·
of-the council whether to-him it-seems well to-be or badly
κἂν μὲν φῇ καλῶς, μηκέτι τὸν νοῦν ὡς ἐπιεικεῖ
and-if indeed he-says well no-longer the mind as to-a-reasonable-man
προσέχειν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, τί δὴ ταῦτ' εἴα φάσκων
to-attend if but badly why indeed these-things did-he-allow claiming
ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶτε.
reasonable to-be again him ask
κἂν μὲν ἀντιλέγειν φῇ, μηδένα δ' αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι, ἄτοπον 41
and-if indeed to-have-objected he-says no-one but him to-have-obeyed absurd
δήπου νῦν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τὰ βέλτιστ' οὐχὶ πειθομένης
surely now to-speak for the the best-things not obeying
αὐτῷ βουλῆς· ἂν δὲ σιωπᾶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ,
him council if but to-have-kept-silent how not does-he-do-wrong
εἰ, παρὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν μέλλοντας ἀποτρέπειν, τοῦτο
if it-being-possible to-err the-ones-about to-turn-back this
μὲν οὐκ ἐποίει, νῦν δὲ λέγειν τολμᾷ ὡς δεῖ τοὺς
indeed not he-did now but to-say he-dares that it-is-necessary the-ones
τοσαῦτα κάκ' εἰργασμένους στεφανῶσαι;
so-many evil-things having-done to-crown

IV · THE COLLECTION OF ARREARS

Androtion will boast of collecting arrears of property tax and say that convicting him will free everyone from paying. But the jurors swore to judge whether his decree was legal, and illegality is a greater wrong than unpaid tax; of the fourteen talents owed since Nausinicus he collected seven, and the willing need no Androtion. He ousted the allotted board that was to collect, on the pretext that Euctemon held the taxes, told the Assembly the choice was to cut up the procession vessels, pay again, or collect from the debtors, and with the Eleven at his heels entered citizens' houses. Under the Thirty a man who hid at home was safe; Androtion made every

house a prison. He made citizens climb over roofs or hide under beds before their wives, bound and abused them and the resident aliens, when the taxes are owed by property, not persons. He wanted his own father to escape from prison, and distrained the harlots Sinope and Phanostrate, who owed no property tax.

42 οἶομαι τοίνυν αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἐκείνων ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
I-think then him not-even from-those to-be-going-to-abstain the
λόγων, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς εἰσπράξεις
arguments that these-things all for-him because-of the collections
γέγονεν, ἃς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὀλίγους εἰσπρᾶξαι φήσει πολλὰ
have-happened which for you from-few to-have-collected he-will-say much
χρήματ' ἀναιδῶς οὐ τιθέντας. καὶ κατηγορήσει τούτων,
money shamelessly not paying and he-will-accuse these
πρᾶγμα ῥᾴδιον, οἶμαι, καὶ φήσει πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἔσεσθαι
matter easy I-think and he-will-say all impunity to-be-going-to-be
τοῦ μὴ τιθέναι τὰς εἰσφοράς, εἰ καταψηφιεῖσθ' αὐτοῦ.
for-the not to-pay the property-taxes if you-will-condemn him
43 ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθε,
you but O men Athenians first indeed that consider
ὅτι οὐ περὶ τούτων δικάσειν ὀμωμόκατε, ἀλλ' εἰ
that not about these-things to-be-going-to-judge you-have-sworn but whether
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὸ ψήφισμ' εἶπεν, εἶθ' ὅτι πάνδεινόν
according-to the laws the decree he-proposed then that most-terrible
ἐστι, κατηγορίαν ποιούμενον ὡς ἀδικοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν,
it-is accusation making that wrong some the city
αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν ὧν ἀδικεῖ μειζόνων ὄντων μὴ δοῦναι
himself to-claim for-what he-wrongs greater being not to-pay
δίκην· πολὺ γὰρ δήπου μεῖζόν ἐστ' ἀδίκημα γράφειν
penalty much for surely greater is wrong to-propose
παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἢ τὴν εἰσφορὰν μὴ τιθέναι.
contrary-to the laws than the property-tax not to-pay

ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰ φανερῶς ἔμελλεν ἁλόντος τούτου 44
that then not-even if clearly were-going convicted this-man
μηδεὶς εἰσοίσειν μηδ' ἐθελήσειν εἰσπράττειν, οὐδ'
no-one to-be-going-to-pay nor to-be-going-to-be-willing to-collect not-even
οὕτως ἀποψηφιστέον, ἐκ τῶνδε γνώσεσθε. ὑμῖν παρὰ
so must-one-acquit from these-things you-will-know for-you from
τὰς εἰσφορὰς τὰς ἀπὸ Ναυσινίκου, παρ' ἴσως τάλαντα
the property-taxes the from Nausinicus about perhaps talents
τριακόσι' ἢ μικρῷ πλείω, ἔλλειμμα τέτταρα καὶ δέκ' ἐστὶ
three-hundred or a-little more deficit four and ten is
τάλαντα, ὧν ἑπτὰ οὗτος εἰσέπραξεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τίθημ'
talents of-which seven this-man collected I but grant
ἅπαντα. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἑκόντας τιθέντας οὐ δεῖσθ'
all for indeed now the-ones willingly paying not you-need
Ἀνδροτίωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας.
Androtion for but the-ones defaulting
ἔστι τοίνυν ὑμῖν νυνὶ σκεπτέον, εἰ τοσούτου τιμᾶσθε 45
it-is then for-you now to-be-considered whether at-so-much you-value
τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους καὶ τὸ εὐορκεῖν·
the constitution and the established laws and the to-keep-oaths
εἰ γὰρ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε τούτου φανερῶς οὕτως παρὰ τοὺς
if for you-will-acquit him clearly so contrary-to the
νόμους εἰρηκότος, δόξετε πᾶσιν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ'
laws having-proposed you-will-seem to-all the money this
ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς εὐορκίας ᾑρῆσθαι. ἃ οὐδ'
instead-of the laws and the oath-keeping to-have-chosen which not-even
ἂν εἰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δοίη τις ὑμῖν, λαβεῖν ἄξιον, μή
— if from himself should-give anyone to-you to-take worth not
τί γ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἑτέρους εἰσπράττειν.
any at-least for which others to-collect

46 ὥσθ᾽ ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃ, μέμνησθε τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τὴν
so-that when these-things he-says remember the oaths and the
γραφὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ πράξεως εἰσφορῶν
indictment consider that now not about collection of-property-taxes
ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δεῖ κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς νόμους. καὶ
it-is but whether it-is-necessary valid to-be the laws and
περὶ τούτων μέν, ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἀπάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ
about these indeed in-what way you leading-away from the
νόμου παρακρούεσθαι ζητήσει, καὶ ἃ πρὸς ταῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς
law to-mislead he-will-seek and what against these-things you
μνημονεύοντας μὴ ᾽πιτρέπειν προσήκει, πολλὰ λέγειν
remembering not to-allow it-befits many-things to-say
ἔχων ἔτι, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἱκάν᾽ εἶναι νομίζων, ἐάσω.
having further and these-things sufficient to-be thinking I-will-pass-over
47 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτεύματα ἐξετάσαι τοῦ καλοῦ
I-wish and also the political-acts to-examine of-the fine
κἀγαθοῦ τούτου, δι᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὅ τι τῶν
and-good this-man through which not there-is what ever of-the
δεινοτάτων ἐλλιπὼν φανήσεται· καὶ γὰρ ἀναιδῆ καὶ
most-terrible-things having-failed-in he-will-appear and for shameless and
θρασὺν καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ὑπερήφανον καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον
bold and thief and arrogant and everything rather
ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι ἐπιτήδειον ὄντ᾽ αὐτὸν
than in democracy to-be-a-citizen fit being him
δείξω. καὶ πρῶτον μέν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μέγιστον φρονεῖ,
I-will-show and first indeed on which most he-prides-himself
τὴν τῶν χρημάτων εἴσπραξιν ἐξετάσωμεν αὐτοῦ, μὴ τῇ
the of-the money collection let-us-examine his not to-the
τούτου προσέχοντες ἀλαζονείᾳ τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα
of-this-man attending boastfulness the mind but the matter
οἷον γέγονεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σκοποῦντες.
what-sort has-been in-the truth considering

οὗτος Εὐκτήμονα φήσας τὰς ὑμετέρας ἔχειν εἰσφορὰς καὶ 48
this-man Euctemon having-said the your to-have property-taxes and
τοῦτ' ἐξελέγξειν ἢ παρ' αὑτοῦ καταθήσειν, καταλύσας
this to-be-going-to-prove or from himself to-be-going-to-pay-in having-dissolved
ψηφίσματι κληρωτὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ἐπὶ τὴν
by-decree allotted office upon the pretext this into the
εἴσπραξιν παρέδυ. δημηγορίαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ποιούμενος,
collection slipped harangue and on these making
ὡς ἔστι τριῶν αἵρεσις, ἢ τὰ πομπεῖα κατακόπτειν
that there-is of-three choice either the procession-vessels to-cut-up
ἢ πάλιν εἰσφέρειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφείλοντας εἰσπράττειν,
or again to-pay-tax or the-ones owing to-collect-from
αἱρουμένων εἰκότως ὑμῶν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας εἰσπράττειν, 49
choosing reasonably you the-ones owing to-collect-from
ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν κατέχων καὶ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὃς
with-the promises holding-you and because-of the occasion which
ἦν τότ' ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, τοῖς μὲν κειμένοις νόμοις περὶ
was then having power the indeed established laws about
τούτων οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν χρῆσθαι, οὐδ', εἰ μὴ τούτους
these not he-thought to-be-necessary to-use nor if not these
ἐνόμιζ' ἱκανούς, ἑτέρους τιθέναι, ψηφίσματα δ' εἶπεν ἐν
he-thought sufficient others to-propose decrees but proposed among
ὑμῖν δεινὰ καὶ παράνομα, δι' ὧν ἠργολάβει καὶ
you terrible and illegal through which he-made-a-business-of-it and
πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων κέκλοφεν, τοὺς ἕνδεκα γράψας
much of-the yours has-stolen the Eleven having-proposed
ἀκολουθεῖν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.
to-follow with himself
εἶτ' ἔχων τούτους ἦγ' ἐπὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας οἰκίας. καὶ 50
then having these he-led-them to the your houses and
τὸν μὲν Εὐκτήμονα, ὃν εἰσπράξειν ἢ καταθήσειν
the indeed Euctemon whom to-be-going-to-collect-from or to-be-going-to-pay-in

αὐτὸς ἔφη τὰς εἰσφοράς, οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἐλέγχειν περὶ τούτων,
himself he-said the property-taxes nothing he-could to-convict about these
ὑμᾶς δ' εἰσέπραττεν, ὥσπερ οὐ διὰ τὴν Εὐκτήμονος
you but he-collected-from as not because-of the of-Euctemon
ἔχθραν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐλθών, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν.
enmity to these-things having-come but because-of the yours
51 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολαμβανέτω με λέγειν ὡς οὐ χρῆν
and let-no-one suppose me to-say that not it-was-necessary
εἰσπράττειν τοὺς ὀφείλοντας. χρῆν γάρ. ἀλλὰ πῶς;
to-collect-from the-ones owing it-was-necessary for but how
ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει· τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα· τοῦτο γάρ
as the law bids of-the others for-the-sake this for
ἐστι δημοτικόν. οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
is democratic not for so-much O men Athenians
τοσούτων χρημάτων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰσπραχθέντων
so-much money this the way collected
ὠφέλησθε, ὅσον ἐζημίωσθε τοιούτων ἐθῶν εἰς
you-have-been-benefited as-much-as you-have-been-damaged such customs into
τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσαγομένων. εἰ γὰρ θέλετ' ἐξετάσαι τίνος
the constitution being-introduced if for you-wish to-examine for-what
εἵνεκα μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἕλοιτ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ζῆν
for-the-sake rather — anyone would-choose in democracy to-live
ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, τοῦτ' ἂν εὕροιτε προχειρότατον, ὅτι
than in oligarchy this — you-would-find most-ready that
πάντα πραότερ' ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ.
all-things milder are in democracy
52 ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ὅπου βούλεσθ' ὀλιγαρχίας οὗτος
that indeed then than-the wherever you-wish oligarchy this-man
ἀσελγέστερος γέγονεν, παραλείψω. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν πότε
more-licentious has-been I-will-pass-over but among us when
πώποτε δεινότατ' ἐν τῇ πόλει γέγονεν; ἐπὶ τῶν
ever most-terrible-things in the city have-happened in-the-time-of the

τριάκοντα, πάντες ἂν εἴποιτε. τότε τοίνυν, ὡς ἔστιν
Thirty all — you-would-say then then as it-is-possible
ἀκούειν, οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις ἀπεστερεῖτο τοῦ σωθῆναι,
to-hear no-one is who was-deprived-of the to-be-saved
ὅστις ἑαυτὸν οἴκοι κρύψειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κατηγοροῦμεν
whoever himself at-home hid but this we-accuse
τῶν τριάκοντα, ὅτι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀδίκως ἀπῆγον.
the Thirty that the-ones from the agora unjustly they-arrested
οὗτος τοίνυν τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐποιήσατ' ἐκείνων τῆς
this-man then such excess made than-those of-the
αὐτοῦ βδελυρίας ὥστ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευόμενος τὴν
his-own brutality that in democracy being-a-citizen the
ἰδίαν οἰκίαν ἑκάστῳ δεσμωτήριον καθίστη, τοὺς ἕνδεκ'
private house for-each prison he-made the Eleven
ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας.
leading to the houses
καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί οἴεσθ' ὁπότ' ἄνθρωπος πένης 53
and-yet O men Athenians what think-you when a-man poor
ἢ καὶ πλούσιος, πολλὰ δ' ἀνηλωκὼς καί τιν' ἴσως τρόπον
or even rich many-things but having-spent and some perhaps way
εἰκότως οὐκ εὐπορῶν ἀργυρίου, ἢ τέγος ὡς τοὺς γείτονας
reasonably not having-plenty of-silver either roof to the neighbors
ὑπερβαίνοι, ἢ ὑποδύοιθ' ὑπὸ κλίνην ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ σῶμ'
should-climb-over or should-creep under a-couch for the not the body
ἁλοὺς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἕλκεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλ' ἀσχημονοίη
caught into the prison to-be-dragged or other should-disgrace-himself
ἃ δούλων, οὐκ ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶν ἔργα, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς
what of-slaves not of-free-men are deeds and these-things by the
αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ὁρῷτο ποιῶν, ἣν ὡς ἐλεύθερος ἠγγυήσατο
his-own wife should-be-seen doing whom as free he-betrothed
καὶ τῆς πόλεως πολίτης, ὁ δὲ τούτων αἴτιος Ἀνδροτίων
and of-the city citizen the-one but of-these responsible Androtion

εἴη, ὃν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ δίκην λαμβάνειν ἐᾷ τὰ
should-be whom not-even for himself satisfaction to-obtain allow the-things
πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβιωμένα, μή τί γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως;
done and lived not any at-least for the city
54 καίτοι εἴ τις ἔροιτ' αὐτόν, τὰς εἰσφορὰς πότερον τὰ
and-yet if anyone should-ask him the property-taxes whether the
κτήματ' ἢ τὰ σώματ' ὀφείλει, τὰ κτήματα φήσειεν ἄν,
possessions or the persons owe the possessions he-would-say —
εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγειν βούλοιτο· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων εἰσφέρομεν.
if-indeed true-things to-say he-wished from for these we-pay-tax
τίνος οὖν εἵνεκ' ἀφεὶς τὸ τὰ χωρία δημεύειν καὶ
for-what then for-the-sake having-let-go the the lands to-confiscate and
τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπογράφειν, ἔδεις καὶ ὕβριζες
the houses and these-things to-register you-bound and you-outraged
πολίτας ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς ταλαιπώρους μετοίκους, οἷς
citizen men and the wretched resident-aliens whom
ὑβριστικώτερον ἢ τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς σαυτοῦ κέχρησαι;
more-outrageously than the house-slaves the your-own you-have-treated
55 καὶ μὴν εἰ θέλετε σκέψασθαι τί δοῦλον ἢ ἐλεύθερον
and truly if you-wish to-consider in-what slave or free
εἶναι διαφέρει, τοῦτο μέγιστον ἂν εὕροιτε, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
to-be differs this greatest — you-would-find that for-the indeed
δούλοις τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἁπάντων ὑπεύθυνόν
slaves the body for-the offenses all liable
ἐστιν, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, κἂν τὰ μέγιστ' ἀτυχῶσιν,
is for-the but free even-if the greatest-things they-are-unfortunate
τοῦτό γ' ἔνεστι σῶσαι· εἰς χρήματα γὰρ τὴν δίκην
this at-least it-is-possible to-save on money for the penalty
περὶ τῶν πλείστων παρὰ τούτων προσήκει λαμβάνειν.
about the most from these it-befits to-exact

ὁ δὲ τοὐναντίον εἰς τὰ σώματα, ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδοις,
this-man but the-contrary on the bodies as on-slaves
ἐποιήσατο τὰς τιμωρίας.
made the punishments
οὕτω δ' αἰσχρῶς καὶ πλεονεκτικῶς ἔσχε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὥστε 56
so and shamefully and greedily he-behaved toward you that
τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ᾤετο δεῖν, δημοσίᾳ δεθέντ'
the indeed his-own father he-thought to-be-necessary publicly bound
ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, μήτ' ἀποδόντα ταῦτα
for debts in the prison neither having-repaid these-things
μήτε κριθέντ' ἀποδρᾶναι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸν
nor having-been-tried to-run-away of-the but other citizens the-one
μὴ δυνάμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θεῖναι οἴκοθεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
not able the his-own to-pay from-home into the prison
ἕλκεσθαι. εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ὁτιοῦν ἐξὸν
to-be-dragged then besides these-things as anything-whatever being-permitted
ἑαυτῷ ποιεῖν, Σινώπην προσηνεχύραζεν καὶ Φανοστράτην,
for-himself to-do Sinope he-distrained and Phanostrate
ἀνθρώπους πόρνας, οὐ μέντοι ὀφειλούσας εἰσφοράς.
persons harlots not however owing property-taxes

V · INSULTS, NOT COLLECTION

Even if some deserved it, entering houses and seizing goods of men who owed nothing is contrary to Athens' laws and its mercy. Androtion, who was himself abused in his youth, should have spent his anger on the man who raised him. He claims he made enemies for the people's sake; but those he collected from, among them Leptines of Coele for thirty-four drachmas and Theoxenus for seventy, hate him for the insults he flung in the Assembly, calling one a slave born of slaves, another the father of a harlot's children, and saying one's father had prostituted himself and another's mother been a harlot. Satyrus collected thirty-four talents from the same men without making an enemy. Androtion has prosecuted no wrongdoing general

or orator in thirty years. He treated Athens as a city of slaves, shouting from the platform whether the prison was built in vain. Worse, he melted down the crowns and remade the procession vessels and bowls, which makes him liable for sacrilege.

57 καίτοι εἴ τισιν ἄρα δοκοῦσ᾽ ἐπιτήδειαι ᾽κεῖναι παθεῖν,
and-yet if to-some after-all they-seem deserving those to-suffer
ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμά γ᾽ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον γίγνεσθαι, τηλικοῦτό
but the act at-least not fitting to-happen so-great
τινας φρονεῖν διὰ καιρὸν ὥστε βαδίζειν ἐπ᾽ οἰκίας
some to-think because-of occasion as to-go to houses
καὶ σκεύη φέρειν μηδὲν ὀφειλόντων ἀνθρώπων. πολλὰ
and goods to-carry nothing owing persons many-things
γὰρ ἄν τις ἴδοι πολλοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ὄντας πάσχειν
for — anyone could-see many deserving being to-suffer
καὶ πεπονθέναι. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ ταῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ νόμοι, οὐδὲ
and to-have-suffered but not these-things say the laws nor
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἔθη, ἃ φυλακτέον ὑμῖν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔνεστ᾽
the of-the constitution customs which must-be-guarded by-you but there-is
ἔλεος, συγγνώμη, πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει τοῖς ἐλευθέροις.
pity pardon all-things which befit the free
58 ὧν οὗτος ἁπάντων εἰκότως οὐ μετέχει τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ τῇ
of-which this-man of-all reasonably not shares by-the nature nor by-the
παιδείᾳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ὕβρισται καὶ προπεπηλάκισται
upbringing many-things for he-has-been-outraged and has-been-abused
συνὼν οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι
associating not loving him with-men but to-give
μισθὸν δυναμένοις· ὧν προσῆκέ σοι τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ εἰς
pay being-able for-which it-befitted you the anger not upon
τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν τυχόντ᾽ ἀφιέναι οὐδ᾽ εἰς τὰς ὁμοτέχνους
of-the citizens the chance-comer to-let-loose nor upon the fellow-craftswomen
πόρνας, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σε θρέψαντα.
harlots but upon the-one this the way you having-reared

ταῦτα τοίνυν ὡς μὲν οὐ δεινὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς 59
these-things then that indeed not terrible and contrary-to all the
νόμους, οὐχ ἕξει λέγειν οὗτος· οὕτω δ' ἐστὶν ἀναιδὴς
laws not will-be-able to-say this-man so but he-is shameless
ὥστ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, προάγωνας ἀεὶ κατασκευάζων αὑτῷ
that in the assembly preliminary-contests always contriving for-himself
τῆσδε τῆς γραφῆς, ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ
this the indictment he-dared to-say that for you and
δι' ὑμᾶς ἐχθροὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἵλκυκε καὶ νῦν ἐν
because-of you enemies upon himself he-has-drawn and now in
τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐστὶ κινδύνοις. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες
the extreme he-is dangers I but to-you O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλομαι δεῖξαι τοῦτον οὔτε πεπονθότ' οὐδ'
Athenians wish to-show this-man neither having-suffered even
ὁτιοῦν κακὸν οὔτε μέλλοντα πάσχειν οὐδὲν δι' ὧν
anything-whatever ill nor being-about to-suffer anything through what
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔπραξε, διὰ μέντοι τὴν αὑτοῦ βδελυρίαν
for you he-did because-of however the his-own brutality
καὶ θεοισεχθρίαν πεπονθότα μὲν μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας
and impiety having-suffered indeed until this the day
οὐδέν, πεισόμενον δ', ἂν τὰ δίκαια ποιῆθ' ὑμεῖς.
nothing going-to-suffer but if the just-things do you
σκέψασθε γὰρ ὡδί. τί ποθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὑπέσχετο καὶ τί 60
consider for thus what ever to-you this-man promised and what
ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχειροτονήσαθ' ὑμεῖς; χρήματ' εἰσπράττειν.
to-do him you-elected you money to-collect
ἄλλο δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τί ποιεῖν; οὐδὲ ἕν. φέρε δὴ καθ'
other but besides this what to-do not-even one come now one-by
ἕκαστον ὑπομνήσω τὴν εἴσπραξιν ὑμᾶς. οὗτος εἰσέπραξε
one I-will-remind the collection you this-man collected-from
Λεπτίνην τὸν ἐκ Κοίλης τέτταρας καὶ τριάκοντα δραχμάς,
Leptines the from Coele four and thirty drachmas

καὶ Θεόξενον τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ
and Theoxenus the of-Alopece drachmas seventy and
μικρόν τι πρός, καὶ τὸν Εὐφήρου Καλλικράτην καὶ
small something besides and the of-Eupherus Callicrates and
τὸν Τελέστου νεανίσκον· οὐκ ἔχω γὰρ τοὔνομ᾽ εἰπεῖν·
the of-Telestes young-man not I-can for the-name to-say
σχεδὸν δὲ πάντας οὓς εἰσέπραξεν, ἵνα μὴ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον
nearly and all whom he-collected-from so-that not one-by one
λέγω, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ τιν᾽ ὑπὲρ μνᾶν ὀφείλοντα.
I-may-say not I-know if anyone above a-mina owing
61 πότερ᾽ οὖν οἴεσθε τούτων ἕκαστον μισεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν
whether then do-you-think of-these each to-hate and to-war-on
αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν εἰσφορὰν ταύτην, ἢ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν,
him because-of the property-tax this or the-one indeed of-them
ὅτι πάντων ἀκουόντων ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δοῦλον ἔφη
because all hearing you in the assembly slave he-called
καὶ ἐκ δούλων εἶναι καὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ τὸ ἕκτον μέρος
and of slaves to-be and to-befit for-him the sixth part
εἰσφέρειν μετὰ τῶν μετοίκων, τῷ δὲ παῖδας ἐκ
to-pay-tax with the resident-aliens for-the-other and children by
πόρνης εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ τὸν πατέρ᾽ ἡταιρηκέναι,
a-harlot to-be of-the-other and the father to-have-prostituted-himself
τοῦ δὲ τὴν μητέρα πεπορνεῦσθαι, τὸν δ᾽ ἀπογράφειν
of-the-other and the mother to-have-been-a-harlot the-other and to-register
ὅσ᾽ ὑφείλετ᾽ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸν
as-much-as he-had-filched from office the-other and the such-and-such the-other
δ᾽ ὁμοῦ ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα κακά, ἑξῆς ἅπαντας;
and together speakable and unspeakable evils in-turn all
62 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι πάντες, εἰς οὓς ἐπαρῴνησεν
I indeed for know that all upon whom behaved-drunkenly
οὗτος, τὴν μὲν εἰσφορὰν ἕκαστος ἀναγκαῖον ἀνάλωμ᾽
this-man the indeed property-tax each necessary expense

ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι, τοιαῦτα δ' ἀτιμασθεὶς καὶ
supposed to-be such but having-been-dishonored and
προπηλακισθεὶς χαλεπῶς ἐνήνοχεν. κἀκεῖνο οἶδα, ὅτι
having-been-abused hard has-borne and-that I-know that
χρήματ' εἰσπράττειν τοῦτον ἐχειροτονήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, οὐχὶ τὰς
money to-collect this-man you-elected you not the
ἰδίας συμφορὰς ὀνειδίζειν καὶ προφέρειν ἑκάστῳ. εἴτε
private misfortunes to-reproach and to-cast-up to-each whether
γὰρ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐ σοὶ ῥητέαι (πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῶν
for they-were true not by-you to-be-spoken many-things for of-us
ἕκαστος οὐχ ὡς βούλεται πράττει)· εἴτε μὴ προσηκούσας
each not as he-wishes does or not fitting
κατεσκεύαζες, πῶς οὐχ ὁτιοῦν ἂν πάθοις δικαίως;
you-fabricated how not anything-whatever — you-would-suffer justly
ἔτι τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀκριβέστερον γνώσεσθ' ὅτι μισεῖ 63
further then from this more-precisely you-will-know that hates
τοῦτον ἕκαστος οὐ διὰ τὴν εἴσπραξιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν
this-man each not because-of the collection but for what
ὑβρίσθη καὶ ἐπαρῳνήθη. Σάτυρος γὰρ ὁ τῶν νεωρίων
he-was-outraged and was-drunkenly-abused Satyrus for the of-the dockyards
ἐπιμελητὴς οὐχ ἑπτὰ τάλαντ' εἰσέπραξεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ
superintendent not seven talents collected for-you but
τέτταρα καὶ τριάκοντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους,
four and thirty the same these men
ἐξ ὧν παρέθηκε τὰ σκεύη ταῖς ἐκπλευσάσαις ναυσίν·
from which he-provided the equipment for-the having-sailed-out ships
καὶ οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος διὰ ταῦτ' οὐδέν' ἐχθρὸν αὑτῷ φησὶν
and neither that-man because-of these-things any enemy to-himself says
εἶναι, οὔτε τῶν εἰσπραχθέντων οὐδεὶς ἐκείνῳ πολεμεῖ.
to-be nor of-the-ones collected-from anyone with-that-man wars
ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸ προστεταγμένον, οἶμαι, διεπράττετο,
the-one indeed for the-thing ordered I-think was-carrying-out

σὺ δὲ τῇ σαυτοῦ προπετείᾳ καὶ θρασύτητι λαβὼν
you but by-the your-own rashness and boldness having-taken
ἐξουσίαν πόλλ' ἀνηλωκότας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους καὶ
license much having-spent upon the city men and
σοῦ βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων ψευδέσι καὶ χαλεποῖς
than-you better and from better with-false and harsh
ὀνείδεσιν ᾠου δεῖν περιβάλλειν.
reproaches thought to-be-necessary to-cover
64 εἶτα ταῦθ' οὗτοι πεισθῶσ' ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν σε ποιεῖν, καὶ
then these-things these may-be-persuaded for themselves you to-do and
τὰ τῆς σῆς ἀναισθησίας καὶ πονηρίας ἔργ' ἐφ' αὑτοὺς
the-things of-the your senselessness and wickedness deeds upon themselves
ἀναδέξωνται; ἀλλὰ μισεῖν δικαιότερον διὰ ταῦτά σ'
may-take but to-hate more-justly because-of these-things you
ὀφείλουσιν ἢ σῴζειν. τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πόλεως πράττοντά
they-ought than to-save the-one for for city doing
τι δεῖ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ
something it-is-necessary the of-the city character to-imitate and
σῴζειν ὑμῖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προσήκει,
to-save for-you the such O men Athenians it-befits
καὶ μισεῖν τοὺς οἵουσπερ οὗτος. ὡς ἐκεῖν' εἰδόσιν μὲν
and to-hate the-ones of-what-sort this-man as that knowing indeed
ἴσως, ὅμως δ' ἐρῶ· ὁποίους τινὰς ἂν φαίνησθ'
perhaps nevertheless but I-will-say of-what-sort some — you-appear
ἀγαπῶντες καὶ σῴζοντες, τούτοις ὅμοιοι δόξετ' εἶναι.
loving and saving to-these like you-will-seem to-be
65 ὅτι τοίνυν ὅλως οὐδὲ τὴν εἴσπραξιν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
that then altogether not-even the collection itself for you
πεποίηται, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλ' ὑμῖν δῆλον ποιήσω.
he-has-made also this at-once indeed very to-you clear I-will-make
εἰ γάρ τις ἔροιτ' αὐτὸν πότερ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦσ' ἀδικεῖν
if for anyone should-ask him whether to-him seem to-wrong

μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν οἱ γεωργοῦντες καὶ φειδόμενοι,
more the city the-ones farming and sparing
διὰ παιδοτροφίας δὲ καὶ οἰκεῖ᾽ ἀναλώματα καὶ
because-of child-rearing but and domestic expenses and
λῃτουργίας ἑτέρας ἐλλελοιπότες εἰσφοράν, ἢ οἱ τὰ
public-services other having-fallen-short-of property-tax or the-ones the
τῶν ἐθελησάντων εἰσενεγκεῖν χρήματα καὶ τὰ παρὰ
of-the-ones having-been-willing to-pay money and the-things from
τῶν συμμάχων κλέπτοντες καὶ ἀπολλύντες, οὐκ ἂν εἰς
the allies stealing and losing not — to
τοῦτο τόλμης δήπου, καίπερ ὢν ἀναιδής, ἔλθοι, ὥστε
this of-daring surely although being shameless he-would-come as
φῆσαι τοὺς τὰ ἑαυτῶν μὴ εἰσφέροντας μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖν
to-say the-ones the their-own not paying more to-wrong
ἢ τοὺς τὰ κοίν᾽ ὑφαιρουμένους.
than the-ones the common-things filching
τίνος οὖν ἕνεκ᾽, ὦ βδελυρέ, ἐτῶν ὄντων πλειόνων ἢ 66
for-what then for-the-sake O brute years being more than
τριάκοντ᾽ ἀφ᾽ οὗ σὺ πολιτεύει, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
thirty from when you have-been-in-politics and in this the time
πολλῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν ἠδικηκότων τὴν πόλιν, πολλῶν
many indeed generals having-wronged the city many
δὲ ῥητόρων, οἳ παρὰ τουτοισὶ κέκριναι, ὧν οἱ
and orators who before these-here have-been-tried of-whom the-ones
μὲν τεθνᾶσιν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἠδίκουν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑποχωρήσαντες
indeed have-died for what they-wronged the-others and having-withdrawn
φεύγουσιν, οὐδενὸς πώποτ᾽ ἐξητάσθης κατήγορος οὐδ᾽
are-in-exile of-none ever were-you-found accuser nor
ἀγανακτῶν ὤφθης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ πόλις πάσχει, οὕτως ὢν
indignant were-you-seen for what the city suffers so being

θρασὺς καὶ λέγειν δεινός, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθ' ἐφάνης κηδεμὼν
bold and to-speak clever but here you-appeared guardian
ὤν, οὗ πολλοὺς ἔδει κακῶς ποιῆσαι;
being where many it-was-necessary ill to-treat
67 βούλεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τούτων αἴτιον ἐγὼ
do-you-wish O men Athenians the of-these cause I
ὑμῖν εἴπω; ὅτι τῶν μὲν οἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ὄντα, τῶν
to-you may-tell that of-the-ones indeed he-knows himself being of-the-ones
ἀδικούντων, ὑμᾶς δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ἡγήσατο· διὸ τοῦτον
wronging you but of-nothing worth he-thought therefore this
ἐχρήσατο τὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν.
he-used the way with-you
68 εἰ γὰρ ἀνδραπόδων πόλις, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἄρχειν ἑτέρων
if for of-slaves a-city but not of-the-ones to-rule others
ἀξιούντων ὡμολογεῖτ' εἶναι, οὐκ ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
claiming it-were-agreed to-be not — O men Athenians
τὰς ὕβρεις ἠνέσχεσθε τὰς τούτου, ἃς κατὰ τὴν
the outrages you-would-have-endured the of-this-man which in the
ἀγορὰν ὕβριζεν ὁμοῦ μετοίκους, Ἀθηναίους· δῶν, ἀπάγων,
agora he-committed together resident-aliens Athenians binding leading-off
βοῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· δούλους καὶ ἐκ
shouting in the assemblies on the platform slaves and from
δούλων καλῶν αὑτοῦ βελτίους καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων· ἐρωτῶν
slaves calling than-himself better and from better asking
εἰ μάτην τὸ δεσμωτήριον ᾠκοδομήθη. καταφαίην ἂν
whether in-vain the prison was-built I-would-say —
ἔγωγε, εἴ γ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ᾤχετ' αὐτόθεν αὐταῖς
I-at-least if at-least the father the your went-off from-there with-the-very
πέδαις ἐξορχησάμενος Διονυσίων τῇ πομπῇ. ἄλλα δ'
fetters having-danced-out of-the-Dionysia at-the procession other-things and
ὅσ' ὕβρικεν οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν· τοσαῦτα τὸ
as-many-as he-has-outraged not-even — could anyone to-say so-great the

πλῆθός ἐστιν. ὧν ἁθρόων ἄξιον λαβόντας δίκην τήμερον
number is of-which all-together worth having-exacted penalty today
παράδειγμα ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵν' ὦσιν μετριώτεροι.
example to-make for-the others so-that they-may-be more-moderate
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα μὲν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἐν οἷς 69
but by Zeus these-things indeed such he-is in what
πεπολίτευται, ἄλλα δ' ἔσθ' ἃ καλῶς διῴκηκεν.
he-has-conducted-politics other-things but there-are which well he-has-managed
ἀλλὰ καὶ τἄλλ' οὕτω προσελήλυθε πάντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
but also the-other-things so he-has-approached all toward you
ὥσθ' ἥκιστ' ἐν οἷς ἀκηκόατ' ἄξιός ἐστι μισεῖσθαι. τί
that least in what you-have-heard worthy he-is to-be-hated what
γὰρ βούλεσθ' εἴπω; τὰ πομπεῖ' ὡς ἐπεσκεύασεν, καὶ
for do-you-wish may-I-say the procession-vessels how he-refurbished and
τὴν τῶν στεφάνων καθαίρεσιν, ἢ τὴν τῶν φιαλῶν ποίησιν
the of-the crowns melting-down or the of-the bowls making
τὴν καλήν; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἀδικῶν
the fine but on these-things at-least if nothing else wronging
ἔτυχεν τὴν πόλιν, τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι δίκαιος
he-happened the city three-times not once to-die deserving
ὢν φανεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἱεροσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ κλοπῇ
being he-will-appear and for of-sacrilege and of-impiety and of-theft
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεινοτάτοις ἔστ' ἔνοχος.
and of-all the most-terrible-things he-is liable

Androtion persuaded the people that the leaves of the gold crowns were falling off, as if they were violets or roses, and had them melted down. The crowns bore inscriptions that the allies had crowned the people for its valor and justice, the Euboeans for their liberation, Conon for the sea battle with Sparta; now the bowls bear the name of a prostitute whom the laws bar from the temples. The ancestors spent their wealth for honor and left the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the ship-sheds; a man who handles the sacred vessels should have lived purely.

70 τὰ μὲν οὖν πόλλ' ὧν λέγων ὑμᾶς ἐφενάκιζεν
the indeed then many-things of-what saying you be-cheated
παραλείψω· φήσας δ' ἀπορρεῖν τὰ φύλλα τῶν στεφάνων
I-will-pass-over having-said and to-be-falling-off the leaves of-the crowns
καὶ σαπροὺς εἶναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἴων ἢ
and rotten to-be because-of the time as of-violets or
ῥόδων ὄντας, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσίου, συγχωνεύειν ἔπεισεν. κᾆτ'
of-roses being but not of-gold to-melt-down he-persuaded and-then
ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς τὸν δημόσιον παρεῖναι προέγραψεν
for indeed the property-taxes the public-slave to-be-present he-proposed
ὡς δὴ δίκαιος ὤν, ὧν ἕκαστος ἀντιγραφεὺς ἔμελλεν
as indeed just being of-what each checking-clerk was-going
ἔσεσθαι τῶν εἰσενεγκόντων· ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις δ' οὓς
to-be of-the-ones having-paid for the crowns but which
κατέκοπτεν οὐχὶ προσήγαγεν ταὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο, ἀλλ'
he-was-cutting-up not he-applied the-same just this but
αὐτὸς ῥήτωρ, χρυσοχόος, ταμίας, ἀντιγραφεὺς γέγονεν.
the-same orator goldsmith treasurer checking-clerk has-become
71 καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἅπαντ' ἠξίους, ὅσα πράττεις τῇ πόλει,
and truly if indeed everything you-claimed as-much-as you-do for-the city
σαυτῷ πιστεύειν, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως κλέπτης ὢν ἐφωρῶ·
yourself to-trust not — alike thief being you-would-be-detected

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς ὃ δίκαιόν ἐσθ' ὁρίσας, μὴ σοὶ
now but for the property-taxes what just it-is having-defined not you
πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑαυτῆς δούλοις τὴν πόλιν, ὁπότ' ἄλλο
to-trust but the its-own slaves the city when other
τι πράττων καὶ χρήματα κινῶν ἱερά, ὧν ἔνι' οὐδ'
anything doing and money moving sacred of-which some not-even
ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς ἀνετέθη, μὴ προσγραψάμενος
in the our generation were-dedicated not having-added
τὴν αὐτὴν φυλακὴν ἥνπερ περὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν φαίνει,
the same safeguard which-very about the property-taxes you-show
οὐκ εὔδηλον δι' ὃ τοῦτ' ἐποίησας; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι.
not clear because-of what this you-did I indeed think-so
καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ 72
and truly O men Athenians also over all the
χρόνου σκέψασθ' ὡς καλὰ καὶ ζηλώτ' ἐπιγράμματα τῆς
time consider how fine and enviable inscriptions of-the
πόλεως ἀνελὼν ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ δεινὰ ἀντεπιγέγραφεν.
city having-destroyed how impious and terrible he-has-inscribed-instead
οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν στεφάνων ταῖς
I-think for you all to-see beneath the crowns on-the
χοινικίσιν κάτωθεν γεγραμμένα 'οἱ σύμμαχοι τὸν δῆμον
rims below written the allies the people
ἀνδραγαθίας εἵνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης,' ἢ 'οἱ σύμμαχοι
of-valor for-the-sake and of-justice or the allies
ἀριστεῖον τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ,' ἢ κατὰ πόλεις 'οἱ δεῖνες τὸν
prize-of-valor to-the Athena or by cities the so-and-so the
δῆμον, σωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,' οἷον 'Εὐβοεῖς
people having-been-saved by the people for-instance Euboeans
ἐλευθερωθέντες ἐστεφάνωσαν τὸν δῆμον,' πάλιν 'Κόνων
having-been-freed crowned the people again Conon

ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους·’ τοιαῦτα
from the sea-battle the against Lacedaemonians such
γὰρ ἦν τὰ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπιγράμματα.
for were the of-the crowns inscriptions
73 ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἃ ζῆλον πολὺν εἶχε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
these indeed then which emulation much had and ambition
ὑμῖν, ἠφάνισται καθαιρεθέντων τῶν στεφάνων· ἐπὶ ταῖς
for-you have-vanished having-been-taken-down the crowns on the
φιάλαις δ’ ἃς ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἐποιήσαθ’ ὑμῖν ὁ πόρνος
bowls but which in-place-of those made for-you the prostitute
οὗτος, ‘Ἀνδροτίωνος ἐπιμελουμένου’ ἐπιγέγραπται· καὶ
this Androtion superintending has-been-inscribed and
οὗ τὸ σῶμ’ ἡταιρηκότος οὐκ ἐῶσιν οἱ νόμοι εἰς τὰ
whose the body having-prostituted not allow the laws into the
ἱέρ’ εἰσιέναι, τούτου τοὔνομ’ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ τῶν
sacred-places to-enter of-this-man the-name in the sacred-places on the
φιαλῶν γεγραμμένον ἐστίν. ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; τοῦτο τοῖς
bowls written is like surely not for this to-the
προτέροις ἐπιγράμμασιν, ἢ φιλοτιμίαν ἴσην ἔχον ὑμῖν.
former inscriptions or ambition equal having for-you
75 οὕτω δ’ οὐ μόνον εἰς χρήματ’ ἀναιδής, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκαιός
so and not only for money shameless but also gauche
ἐστιν, ὥστ’ οὐκ οἶδεν ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι στέφανοι μέν εἰσ’ ἀρετῆς
he-is that not he-knows that that crowns indeed are of-virtue
σημεῖον, φιάλαι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πλούτου, καὶ στέφανος
sign bowls but and the such-things of-wealth and crown
μὲν ἅπας, κἂν μικρὸς ᾖ, τὴν ἴσην φιλοτιμίαν ἔχει τῷ
indeed every even-if small it-is the equal honor has with-the
μεγάλῳ, ἐκπώματα δ’ ἢ θυμιατήρια, ἂν μὲν ὑπερβάλλῃ τῷ
great drinking-cups but or censers if indeed they-exceed in-the
πλήθει, πλούτου τινὰ δόξαν προσετρίψατο τοῖς κεκτημένοις,
quantity of-wealth some reputation fastened-on the-ones possessing

ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ μικροῖς τις σεμνύνηται, τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχει τοῦ
if but over small-things anyone prides-himself so-far he-is-from the
τιμῆς τινος διὰ ταῦτα τυχεῖν ὥστ' ἀπειρόκαλος πρὸς
honor some because-of these-things to-obtain that vulgar besides
ἔδοξεν εἶναι. οὗτος τοίνυν ἀνελὼν τὰ τῆς δόξης κτήματα
he-seemed to-be this-man then having-destroyed the of-the glory possessions
τὰ τοῦ πλούτου πεποίηται μικρὰ καὶ οὐχ ὑμῶν ἄξια.
the of-the wealth has-made small and not of-you worthy
καὶ οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' εἶδεν, ὅτι πρὸς μὲν χρημάτων 76
and not-even that did-he-see that for indeed of-money
κτῆσιν οὐδεπώποθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐσπούδασεν, πρὸς δὲ
acquisition never the people was-eager for but
δόξης ὡς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν τῶν ἄλλων. τεκμήριον δέ·
glory as not-even for one of-the other-things proof and
χρήματα μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ σχὼν
money indeed for most of-the Greeks once having
ἅπανθ' ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας ἀνήλωσεν, εἰσφέρων δ' ἐκ
all for ambition it-spent paying-tax and from
τῶν ἰδίων οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ δόξης
the private-means no ever danger for glory
ἐξέστη. ἀφ' ὧν κτήματ' ἀθάνατ' αὐτῷ περίεστιν, τὰ
it-shrank-from from which possessions immortal to-it remain the
μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἡ μνήμη, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων
indeed of-the deeds the memory the-others but of-the offerings
τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις σταθέντων τὸ κάλλος, προπύλαια
of-the for those set-up the beauty Propylaea
ταῦτα, ὁ παρθενών, στοαί, νεώσοικοι, οὐκ ἀμφορίσκοι
these the Parthenon porticoes ship-sheds not little-jars
δύο οὐδὲ χρυσίδες τέτταρες ἢ τρεῖς, ἄγουσ' ἑκάστη
two nor gold-cups four or three weighing each

μνᾶν, ἅς, ὅταν σοι δοκῇ, σὺ πάλιν γράψεις
a-mina which whenever to-you it-seems-good you again will-propose
καταχωνεύειν.
to-melt-down

77 οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς δεκατεύοντες, οὐδ' ἂν καταράσαινθ'
not for themselves tithing nor what-ever would-pray-against
οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιοῦντες, διπλᾶς πράττοντες τὰς εἰσφοράς,
the enemies doing double exacting the property-taxes
ταῦτ' ἀνέθεσαν, οὐδ' οἵοισπερ σὺ χρώμενοι συμβούλοις
these-things they-dedicated nor of-what-sort-very you using as-advisers
ἐπολιτεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κρατοῦντες, καὶ ἃ
they-conducted-politics but the enemies conquering and what
πᾶς τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εὔξαιτο, τὴν πόλιν εἰς
every one — well thinking might-pray-for the city into
ὁμόνοιαν ἄγοντες, ἀθάνατον κλέος αὑτῶν λελοίπασι,
concord leading immortal fame of-themselves they-have-left
τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας οἷα σοὶ βεβίωται τῆς ἀγορᾶς
the-ones practicing such-as by-you have-been-lived from-the agora
εἴργοντες.
excluding

78 ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τοῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προῆχθ' εὐηθείας καὶ
you but into this O men Athenians have-been-led of-simplicity and
ῥᾳθυμίας ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοιαῦτ' ἔχοντες παραδείγματα ταῦτα
of-indolence that not-even such having examples these-things
μιμεῖσθε, ἀλλ' Ἀνδροτίων ὑμῖν πομπείων ἐπισκευαστής,
you-imitate but Androtion for-you of-procession-vessels repairer
Ἀνδροτίων, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀσέβημ' ἔλαττον
Androtion O earth and gods and this impiety less
τίνος ἡγεῖσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι δεῖν τὸν
than-what do-you-consider I indeed for think to-be-necessary the-one
εἰς ἱέρ' εἰσιόντα καὶ χερνίβων καὶ κανῶν ἁψόμενον,
into temples entering and lustral-basins and baskets going-to-touch

καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελείας προστάτην ἐσόμενον
and of-the toward the gods care superintendent going-to-be
οὐχὶ προειρημένον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἁγνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
not a-prescribed of-days number to-be-pure but the
βίον ἡγνευκέναι τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷα τούτῳ
life to-have-kept-pure of-such practices as by-this-man
βεβίωται.
have-been-lived

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ

On the Navy-Boards

Demosthenes, speaking about the Persian king, will not praise the ancestors but will say how Athens can prepare. The king is the common enemy of the Greeks, yet Athens should not make war on him alone, since some Greeks trust him more than one another. If the Greeks saw clearly that he was attacking them they would ally themselves with those who resist him; if Athens attacks first, they may join him against her. Athens should keep the war fair and just and be prepared for everything. Those who urge war boldly should show courage in danger and better counsel in debate. The war would be hard, but the contest easy, since contests need good men, and Athens and her allies have more of them. The way to repel the barbarian is the same as the way to defend against any enemy. Summoning the Greeks now is useless; if Athens is armed, they will come. His preparation begins with every citizen willing to do what is needed; then the twelve hundred are to be raised to two thousand by adding eight hundred, so that after heiresses, orphans, cleruchs, partnerships, and the incapable are removed, twelve hundred persons remain.

οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους 1
the-ones indeed praising O men Athenians the ancestors
ὑμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν μοι δοκοῦσι προαιρεῖσθαι κεχαρισμένον,
your speech to-make to-me seem to-choose pleasing
οὐ μὴν συμφέροντά γ' ἐκείνοις οὓς ἐγκωμιάζουσι ποιεῖν·
not however beneficial at-least to-those whom they-eulogize to-do
περὶ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἐγχειροῦντες λέγειν ὧν οὐδ' εἷς
about for deeds attempting to-speak of-which not-even one
ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν τοῦ δοκεῖν
worthily to-reach by-the speech could themselves indeed of-the to-seem
δύνασθαι λέγειν δόξαν ἐκφέρονται, τὴν δ' ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν
to-be-able to-speak reputation carry-off the but of-those virtue
ἐλάττω τῆς ὑπειλημμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν φαίνεσθαι
less than-the supposed among the hearers to-appear
ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἔπαινον τὸν χρόνον ἡγοῦμαι
they-make I but of-those indeed praise the time consider

μέγιστον, οὗ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου μείζω τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων
greatest which much having-passed greater than-the by those
πραχθέντων οὐδένες ἄλλοι παραδείξασθαι δεδύνηνται·
done no others to-exhibit have-been-able
2 αὐτὸς δὲ πειράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν ἄν μοι δοκεῖτε
myself but I-will-try the way to-tell in-which — to-me you-seem
μάλιστα δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ
most to-be-able to-prepare and for so it-is if
μὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ μέλλοντες λέγειν δεινοὶ φανείημεν
indeed we all the-ones being-about to-speak clever should-appear
ὄντες, οὐδὲν ἂν τὰ ὑμέτερ᾽ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι βέλτιον σχοίη· εἰ
being not-at-all — the yours well I-know that better would-be if
δὲ παρελθὼν εἷς ὁστισοῦν δύναιτο διδάξαι καὶ πεῖσαι,
but having-come-forward one whoever could to-teach and to-persuade
τίς παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν πορισθεῖσα χρήσιμος
what preparation and how-great and from-where provided useful
ἔσται τῇ πόλει, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ
will-be for-the city all the present fear will-be-dissolved I but
τοῦτ᾽, ἂν ἄρ᾽ οἷός τ᾽ ὦ, πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι, μικρὰ
this if after-all able — I-may-be I-will-try to-do small-things
προειπὼν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔχω γνώμης περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.
having-said-first to-you how I-am of-mind about the toward the king
3 ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι
I think common enemy of-all the Greeks to-be
βασιλέα, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο παραινέσαιμ᾽ ἂν μόνοις
the-king not however because-of this I-would-advise — alone
τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄρασθαι· οὐδὲ
of-the others you war against him to-undertake not-even
γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρῶ κοινοὺς ἀλλήλοις ὄντας
for themselves the Greeks I-see common to-one-another being
φίλους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνίους μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ πιστεύοντας ἤ τισιν
friends but some rather him trusting than some

αὐτῶν. ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν
of-themselves from indeed the such-things I-think to-be-expedient for-you
τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου τηρεῖν ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία
the indeed beginning of-the war to-watch that equal and just
γενήσεται, παρασκευάζεσθαι δ' ἃ προσήκει πάντα καὶ
it-will-be to-prepare but what befits all-things and
τοῦθ' ὑποκεῖσθαι.
this to-be-the-basis
ἡγοῦμαι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ μὲν 4
I-think for O men Athenians the Greeks if indeed
ἐναργὲς γένοιτο καὶ σαφὲς ὡς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖ,
evident should-become and clear that the-king them attacks
κἂν συμμαχῆσαι καὶ χάριν μεγάλην ἔχειν τοῖς πρὸ
even to-ally-themselves and gratitude great to-have to-the-ones before
αὐτῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀμυνομένοις· εἰ δ' ἔτ'
them and with them him defending if but still
ἀδήλου τούτου καθεστηκότος προαπεχθησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, δέδι',
unclear this being we-shall-incur-hatred-first we I-fear
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τούτοις μετ' ἐκείνου πολεμεῖν
O men Athenians lest against-these with him to-war
ἀναγκασθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν προνοούμεθα.
we-are-compelled for whom we-take-forethought
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισχὼν ὧν ὥρμηκεν, εἰ ἄρ' ἐγχειρεῖν 5
the-one indeed for having-checked what he-has-set-out-to if after-all to-attack
ἔγνωκε τοῖς Ἕλλησι, χρήματα δώσει τισὶν αὐτῶν
he-has-decided the Greeks money will-give to-some of-them
καὶ φιλίαν προτενεῖται, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους
and friendship will-hold-out the-ones but the private wars
ἐπανορθῶσαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες
to-set-right wishing and this the mind having
τὴν κοινὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρόψονται. εἰς δὲ τὴν
the common of-all safety will-overlook into but the

ταραχὴν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην παραινῶ μὴ
confusion this and the folly I-advise not
προκαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν.
to-cast-headlong the city our

6 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ὁρῶ τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι
not for even on equal I-see for-the both other Greeks
καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν βουλὴν
and for-you about the toward the king the deliberation
οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν πολλοῖς ἐνδέχεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ
being but for-those indeed many to-be-possible to-me it-seems
τῶν ἰδίᾳ τι συμφερόντων διοικουμένοις τῶν ἄλλων
of-the privately anything advantageous managing the other
Ἑλλήνων ἀμελῆσαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὐδ' ἀδικουμένοις παρὰ
Greeks to-neglect for-you but not-even wronged from
τῶν ἀδικούντων καλόν ἐστιν λαβεῖν ταύτην τὴν δίκην,
the-ones wronging honorable is to-take this the satisfaction
ἐᾶσαί τινας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ γενέσθαι.
to-let some of-them under the barbarian to-come

7 ὅτε δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, σκεπτέον ὅπως μήθ' ἡμεῖς ἐν
when and so these-things are one-must-consider that neither we in
τῷ πολέμῳ γενησόμεθ' οὐκ ἴσοι, μήτ' ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἡμεῖς
the war shall-be not equal nor he whom we
ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡγούμεθα τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν τοῦ φίλος αὐτοῖς
to-plot think against-the Greeks the of-the friend to-them
δοκεῖν εἶναι πίστιν λήψεται. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται; ἂν ἡ μὲν
to-seem to-be credit will-get how then these-things will-be if the indeed
δύναμις τῆς πόλεως ἐξητασμένη καὶ παρεσκευασμένη πᾶσιν
power of-the city examined and prepared to-all
ᾖ φανερά, φαίνηται δὲ δίκαι' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φρονεῖν αἱρουμένη.
is evident appears and just-things on it to-intend choosing

τοῖς δὲ θρασυνομένοις καὶ σφόδρ' ἑτοίμως πολεμεῖν 8
to-the-ones and blustering and very readily to-war
κελεύουσιν ἐκεῖνο λέγω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν χαλεπὸν οὔθ' ὅταν
bidding that I-say that not it-is hard either when
βουλεύεσθαι δέῃ, δόξαν ἀνδρείας λαβεῖν, οὔθ' ὅταν
to-deliberate it-is-necessary reputation of-courage to-get or when
κίνδυνός τις ἐγγὺς ᾖ, δεινὸν εἰπεῖν φανῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο
danger some near is clever to-speak to-appear but that
καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ προσῆκον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κινδύνων τὴν
both hard and fitting in indeed the dangers the
ἀνδρείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ συμβουλεύειν φρονιμώτερα
courage to-display in but the advising more-prudent-things
τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν.
than-the others to-say to-be-able
ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον 9
I but O men Athenians think the indeed war
τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα χαλεπὸν τῇ πόλει, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα
the against the-king hard for-the city the but contest
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ῥᾴδιον ἂν συμβῆναι. διὰ τί;
the from the war easy — to-turn-out because-of what
ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἅπαντας ἀναγκαίως ἡγοῦμαι
that the indeed wars all necessarily I-think
τριήρων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων δεῖσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ
triremes and money and places to-need these-things but
πάντ' ἀφθονώτερ' ἐκεῖνον ἔχονθ' ἡμῶν εὑρίσκω· τοὺς δ'
all more-abundantly him having than-us I-find the but
ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶ δεομένους ὡς
contests of-nothing so of-the other-things I-see needing as
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, τούτους δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν
of-men good these and for-us and for-the-ones with us
κινδυνεύουσι πλείους ὑπάρχειν νομίζω.
running-risks more to-exist I-think

10 τὸν μὲν δὴ πόλεμον διὰ ταῦτα παραινῶ μηδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς
the indeed now war because-of these-things I-advise not-even by one
τρόπου προτέρους ἀνελέσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρθῶς φημι
way first to-take-up for but the contest rightly I-say
παρεσκευασμένους ὑπάρχειν χρῆναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος
prepared to-be to-be-necessary if indeed then other
μὲν ἦν τις τρόπος δυνάμεως ᾗ τοὺς βαρβάρους οἷόν τ'
indeed were some way of-power by-which the barbarians possible —
ἦν ἀμύνασθαι, ἕτερος δέ τις ᾗ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰκότως
it-was to-repel other but some by-which the Greeks reasonably
ἂν ἴσως φανεροὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγιγνόμεθ' ἀντιταττόμενοι·
— perhaps evident against him we-would-be ranging-ourselves
11 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσης ἐστὶ παρασκευῆς ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος καὶ δεῖ
since but of-all is preparation the same way and it-must
ταὔτ' εἶναι κεφάλαια τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
the-same-things to-be main-points of-the power the enemies
ἀμύνασθαι δύνασθαι, τοῖς οὖσι συμμάχοις βοηθεῖν, τὰ
to-repel to-be-able the existing allies to-help the
ὑπάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰ σῴζειν, τί τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἐχθροὺς
existing goods to-preserve why the admittedly enemies
ἔχοντες ἑτέρους ζητοῦμεν; ἀλλὰ παρασκευασώμεθα μὲν πρὸς
having others do-we-seek but let-us-prepare indeed against
αὐτούς, ἀμυνούμεθα δὲ κἀκεῖνον, ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ.
them we-shall-repel and also-him if us to-wrong he-attempts
12 καὶ νῦν μὲν καλεῖτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἂν
and now indeed you-summon to you yourselves the Greeks if
δ' ἃ κελεύουσιν οὗτοι μὴ ποιῆτε, οὐχ ἡδέως ἐνίων ὑμῖν
but what bid these not you-do not gladly some to-you
ἐχόντων, πῶς χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τιν' ὑπακούσεσθαι; ὅτι
being-disposed how one-must to-expect anyone to-be-going-to-obey because
νὴ Δί' ἀκούσονται παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει βασιλεὺς
by Zeus they-will-hear from us that plots the-king

αὐτοῖς. αὐτοὺς δ' οὐ προορᾶν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, οἴεσθε
against-them they but not to-foresee O by — Zeus do-you-think
τοῦτο; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι. ἀλλ' οὔπω μείζων ἔσθ' ὁ φόβος
this I indeed for think-so but not-yet greater is the fear
τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνίοις διαφορῶν.
than-the toward you and toward one-another for-some differences
οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἢ ῥαψῳδήσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιιόντες.
nothing then other than will-recite the envoys going-around
τότε δ', ἂν ἄρ' ἃ νῦν οἰόμεθ' ἡμεῖς πράττηται, οὐδεὶς 13
then but if after-all what now think we is-done no-one
δήπου τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' αὑτῷ φρονεῖ,
surely of-the all Greeks so-highly of himself thinks
ὅστις ὁρῶν ὑμῖν χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, ὁπλίτας δ' ὅσους ἂν
who seeing for-you a-thousand indeed horsemen hoplites and as-many-as —
ἐθέλῃ τις, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, οὐχ ἥξει καὶ δεήσεται, μετὰ
wishes anyone ships and three-hundred not will-come and will-ask with
τούτων ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν ἡγούμενος σωθῆναι. οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν
these most-safely — thinking to-be-saved therefore from indeed
τοῦ καλεῖν ἤδη τὸ δεῖσθαι κἂν μὴ τύχητ' ἀφαμαρτεῖν, ἐκ
the to-summon now the to-ask even-if not you-succeed to-fail from
δὲ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παρεσκευάσθαι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν
but the with the to-have-prepared the yours own to-wait-for
δεομένους σῴζειν καὶ εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντάς ἐστιν.
asking to-save and well to-know all going-to-come it-is
ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ παραπλήσια 14
I then O men Athenians these-things both and similar
τούτοις λογιζόμενος λόγον μὲν οὐδέν' ἐβουλόμην θρασὺν
to-these reckoning speech indeed no wished bold
οὐδ' ἔχοντα μάταιον μῆκος εὑρεῖν· τὴν μέντοι παρασκευήν,
nor having vain length to-find the however preparation
ὅπως ὡς ἄριστα καὶ τάχιστα γενήσεται, πάνυ πολλὰ
how as best and quickest it-will-be very many

πράγματ᾽ ἔσχον σκοπῶν. οἶομαι δὴ δεῖν ἀκούσαντας
troubles I-had considering I-think indeed to-be-necessary having-heard
ὑμᾶς αὐτήν, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ, ψηφίσασθαι. ἔστι τοίνυν
you it if to-you it-pleases to-vote there-is then
πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
first indeed of-the preparation O men Athenians and
μέγιστον, οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας ὑμᾶς ὡς ἕκαστον
greatest so to-be-disposed the minds you that each
ἑκόντα προθύμως ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ ποιήσοντα.
willingly eagerly what ever — it-is-necessary going-to-do
15 ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι, ὅσα μὲν πώποθ᾽
you-see for O men Athenians that as-many-as indeed ever
ἅπαντες ἐβουλήθητε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πράττειν αὐτὸς
all you-wished and after these-things the to-do himself
ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, οὐδὲν πώποθ᾽ ὑμᾶς
each to-himself to-befit thought nothing ever you
ἐξέφυγεν, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐβουλήθητε μέν, μετὰ ταῦτα δ᾽
escaped as-many-as but you-wished indeed after these-things but
ἀπεβλέψατ᾽ εἰς ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων,
you-looked to one-another as himself indeed each not going-to-do
τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα, οὐδὲν πώποθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐγένετο.
the but neighbor going-to-do nothing ever for-you happened
16 ἐχόντων δ᾽ ὑμῶν οὕτω καὶ παρωξυμμένων, τοὺς διακοσίους
being and you so and roused the two-hundred
καὶ χιλίους ἀναπληρῶσαί φημι χρῆναι καὶ ποιῆσαι
and thousand to-fill-up I-say to-be-necessary and to-make
δισχιλίους, ὀκτακοσίους αὐτοῖς προσνείμαντας· ἐὰν γὰρ
two-thousand eight-hundred to-them having-assigned if for
τοῦτ᾽ ἀποδείξητε τὸ πλῆθος, ἡγοῦμαι, τῶν ἐπικλήρων καὶ
this you-appoint the number I-think of-the heiresses and
τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν κληρουχικῶν καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν
of-the orphans and of-the cleruchs and of-the partnership-holders

καὶ εἴ τις ἀδύνατος ἀφαιρεθέντων, ἔσεσθαι χίλια καὶ
and if anyone incapable having-been-subtracted to-be-going-to-be thousand and
διακόσια ταῦθ' ὑμῖν σώματα.
two-hundred these-things for-you persons

II · THE TWENTY SYMMORIES

From the twelve hundred persons Demosthenes forms twenty symmories of sixty, as now, each divided into five parts of twelve, the richest balanced with the poorest. Three hundred triremes are divided into twenty groups of fifteen, allotted to the symmories. The land's assessment of six thousand talents is divided into a hundred parts of sixty talents, five to each great symmory, so that for a hundred ships sixty talents and twelve trierarchs serve each, and fewer as the fleet grows. Arrears of gear are collected by the same parts; the generals assign ten berthing places of thirty sheds, and the tribes and trittyes draw them by lot.

ἐκ τοίνυν τούτων οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας 17
from then these I-think to-be-necessary to-make symmories
εἴκοσιν, ὥσπερ νῦν εἰσιν, ἑξήκοντα σώματ' ἔχουσαν
twenty as now there-are sixty persons having
ἑκάστην. τούτων δὲ τῶν συμμοριῶν ἑκάστην διελεῖν κελεύω
each of-these and the symmories each to-divide I-bid
πέντε μέρη κατὰ δώδεκ' ἄνδρας, ἀνταναπληροῦντας πρὸς
five parts of twelve men filling-up-to-match with
τὸν εὐπορώτατον ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους. καὶ τὰ μὲν
the richest always the poorest and the indeed
σώματ' οὕτω συντετάχθαι φημὶ δεῖν· δι' ὃ δ',
persons so to-have-been-arranged I-say to-be-necessary because-of what and
εἴσεσθε, ἐπειδὰν ὅλον τὸν τρόπον τῆς συντάξεως ἀκούσητε.
you-will-know when whole the way of-the arrangement you-hear

18 τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πῶς; τὸν ἅπαντ᾽ ἀριθμὸν κελεύω
the and triremes how the whole number I-bid
τριακοσίας ἀποδείξαντας, κατὰ πεντεκαιδεκαναῖαν εἴκοσι
three-hundred having-appointed by fifteen-ship-groups twenty
ποιῆσαι μέρη, τῶν πρώτων ἑκατὸν πέντε, καὶ τῶν
to-make parts of-the first a-hundred five and of-the
δευτέρων ἑκατὸν πέντε, καὶ τῶν τρίτων ἑκατὸν πένθ᾽
second a-hundred five and of-the third a-hundred five
ἑκάστῳ μέρει διδόντας, εἶτα συγκληρῶσαι συμμορίᾳ
to-each part giving then to-allot to-symmory
σωμάτων ἑκάστῃ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκαναῖαν, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν
of-persons each the fifteen-ship-group the and symmory
ἑκάστῳ τῷ μέρει σφῶν αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἀποδοῦναι τριήρεις.
to-each the part of-them themselves three to-assign triremes
19 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχονθ᾽ ὑπάρχῃ, κελεύω, ἐπειδὴ
when and these-things so being exist I-bid since
τὸ τίμημ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων, ἵν᾽
the assessment is of-the land of-six-thousand talents so-that
ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ χρήματ᾽ ᾖ συντεταγμένα, διελεῖν τοῦτο
for-you also the money may-be arranged to-divide this
καὶ ποιῆσαι καθ᾽ ἑξήκοντα τάλανθ᾽ ἑκατὸν μέρη, εἶτα
and to-make of sixty talents a-hundred parts then
πένθ᾽ ἑξηκονταταλαντίας εἰς ἑκάστην τῶν μεγάλων τῶν
five sixty-talent-shares to each of-the great the
εἴκοσι συμμοριῶν ἐπικληρῶσαι, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἑκάστῳ
twenty symmories to-allot the and symmory to-each
τῶν μερῶν μίαν ἑξηκονταταλαντίαν ἀποδοῦναι,
of-the parts one sixty-talent-share to-assign
20 ὅπως, ἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν δέῃ τριήρων, τὴν μὲν
so-that if indeed to-you a-hundred there-is-need of-triremes the indeed
δαπάνην ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα συντελῇ, τριήραρχοι δ᾽ ὦσι
expense sixty talents may-contribute trierarchs and may-be

δώδεκα, ἂν δὲ διακοσίων, τριάκοντα μὲν ᾖ τάλαντα
twelve if and of-two-hundred thirty indeed may-be talents
τὴν δαπάνην συντελοῦντα, ἓξ δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα,
the expense contributing six and persons serving-as-trierarchs
ἐὰν δὲ τριακοσίων, εἴκοσιν μὲν ᾖ τάλαντα τὴν
if and of-three-hundred twenty indeed may-be talents the
δαπάνην διαλύοντα, τέτταρα δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα.
expense discharging four and persons serving-as-trierarchs
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ νῦν ὀφειλόμεν', ὦ ἄνδρες 21
the same and way also the-things now owed O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν σκευῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τιμήσαντας ἅπαντ'
Athenians of-the gear for the triremes having-valued all
ἐκ τοῦ διαγράμματος νεῖμαι κελεύω μέρη εἴκοσιν, ἔπειτα
from the schedule to-distribute I-bid parts twenty then
ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐπικληρῶσαι συμμορίαις μέρος ἓν χρήστων
to-the great to-allot symmories part one of-debtors
ἑκάστῃ, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἑκάστην διανεῖμαι τῶν αὑτῆς
to-each the and symmory each to-distribute of-the its-own
μερῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἴσον, τοὺς δὲ δώδεκα τοὺς ἐν
parts to-each the equal-share the and twelve the-ones in
ἑκάστῳ τῷ μέρει ταῦτ' εἰσπράξαντας τὰς τριήρεις, ἃς
each the part these-things having-collected the triremes which
ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσι, παρεσκευασμένας παρέχειν.
— each draw prepared to-provide
τὴν μὲν δαπάνην καὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους 22
the indeed expense and the hulls and the trierarchs
καὶ τὴν τῶν σκευῶν εἴσπραξιν οὕτως ἂν ἄριστ' ἡγοῦμαι
and the of-the gear collection so — best I-think
καὶ πορισθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι· πλήρωσιν δ', ᾗ
both to-be-provided and to-be-prepared manning but which
καὶ σαφὴς ἔσται καὶ ῥᾳδία, μετὰ ταῦτα λέγω. φημὶ
both clear will-be and easy after these-things I-tell I-say

τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δεῖν διανεῖμαι τόπους δέκα τῶν
the generals to-be-necessary to-distribute places ten of-the
νεωρίων, σκεψαμένους ὅπως ὡς ἐγγύτατ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ
dockyards having-considered that as nearest one-another by
τριάκοντ' ὦσι νεώσοικοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι,
thirty may-be ship-sheds when and this they-do
δύο συμμορίας καὶ τριάκοντα τριήρεις τούτων ἑκάστῳ
two symmories and thirty triremes of-these to-each
προσνεῖμαι τῶν τόπων, εἶτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς φυλάς·
to-assign of-the places then to-allot the tribes
23 τὸν δὲ ταξίαρχον ἕκαστον, ὃν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ τόπον λάχῃ,
the and taxiarch each which — the tribe place draws
διελεῖν τρίχα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὡσαύτως, εἶτ' ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς
to-divide in-three and the ships likewise then to-allot the
τριττῦς, ὅπως ἂν τῶν μὲν ὅλων νεωρίων ἓν ἑκάστῃ μέρος
trittyes so-that — of-the indeed whole dockyards one to-each part
ᾖ τῶν φυλῶν, τοῦ δὲ μέρους ἑκάστου τὸ τρίτον μέρος
may-be of-the tribes of-the and part each the third part
ἡ τριττὺς ἔχῃ, εἰδῆτε δ', ἄν τι δέῃ, πρῶτον μὲν
the trittys may-have you-may-know and if anything is-needed first indeed
τὴν φυλήν, ὅπου τέτακται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν τριττύν, εἶτα
the tribe where it-is-posted after these-things and the trittys then
τριήραρχοι τίνες καὶ τριήρεις ποῖαι. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως
trierarchs who and triremes what-sort if for these-things so
εἰς ὁδὸν καταστῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παραλείπομεν νῦν (πάντα
into way are-set if anything also we-omit now all
γὰρ ἴσως εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον), αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἑαυτῷ εὑρήσει,
for perhaps to-find not easy itself the matter for-itself will-find
καὶ μία σύνταξις καὶ πασῶν τῶν νεῶν καὶ μέρους ἔσται.
and one arrangement both of-all the ships and of-part will-be

III · MONEY WHEN IT IS NEEDED

Demosthenes will not propose a tax now: the money is there in the city when it is needed, and the owners will contribute when the danger is visible, though talk of the king's coming would only make them hide it. A hundredth or a fiftieth would raise little against the king's twelve hundred camels of gold. The king knows that his ancestors lost a thousand ships to two hundred, and will hear of three hundred ready; Athens' resource is the assessment of her land, and the king's own ancestors who were at Marathon know best how Athens repels invaders. No Greek would fight for him against Greece, nor will Thebes join him, since the Thebans would pay much for a chance to undo their old wrongs against the Greeks; and if they did, their enemies would be bound to take the Greek side. Athens should prepare, give the king no pretext, and wish that he may fall into his ancestors' madness; and she should never begin an unjust word or deed.

ὑπὲρ δὲ χρημάτων καὶ πόρου φανεροῦ τινὸς ἤδη 24
about and money and revenue evident some now
παράδοξον μὲν οἶδα λόγον ὃν μέλλω λέγειν, ὅμως
paradoxical indeed I-know speech which I-am-about to-say nevertheless
δ' εἰρήσεται· πιστεύω γάρ, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, μόνος
but it-will-be-said I-believe for if anyone rightly considers alone
τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ γενησόμεν' εἰρηκὼς φανεῖσθαι. ἐγώ
the-truth and the-things going-to-be having-spoken to-be-going-to-appear I
φημι χρῆναι μὴ λέγειν νυνὶ περὶ χρημάτων· εἶναι γὰρ
say to-be-necessary not to-speak now about money to-be for
πόρον, ἂν δέῃ, μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν ἂν
revenue if it-is-needed great and fine and just which if
μὲν ἤδη ζητῶμεν, οὐδ' εἰς τόθ' ὑπάρχειν ἡγησόμεθ'
indeed now we-seek not-even for then to-be-available we-shall-think
ἡμῖν· οὕτω πολὺ τοῦ πορίσαι νῦν ἀποσχήσομεν· ἐὰν δ'
to-us so much from-the to-provide now we-shall-be-far if but

ἐῶμεν, ἔσται. τίς οὖν ἔσθ' οὗτος ὁ νῦν μὲν οὐκ ὤν,
we-let-it-be there-will-be what then is this the-one now indeed not being
ὑπάρξων δ' εἰς τότε; αἰνίγματι γὰρ ὅμοιον τοῦτό γε.
going-to-be-available but at then to-a-riddle for like this at-least
25 ἐγὼ φράσω. ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
I will-explain you-see the city O men Athenians
πᾶσαν ταύτην. ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματ' ἔνεστιν ὀλίγου δέω
whole this in this money is little I-lack
πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν πόλεις. ταῦτα δ' οἱ
than all the other to-say cities these-things but the-ones
κεκτημένοι τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι νοῦν ὥστ', εἰ πάντες οἱ
possessing such have mind that if all the
λέγοντες φοβοῖεν ὡς ἥξει βασιλεύς, ὡς πάρεστιν,
speakers should-alarm that will-come the-king that he-is-here
ὡς οὐδ' οἷόν τε ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν, καὶ μετὰ τῶν
that not-even possible — these-things otherwise to-be and with the
λεγόντων ἴσοι τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις χρησμῳδοῖεν, οὐ μόνον
speakers equal the number to-these should-prophesy not only
οὐκ ἂν εἰσενέγκαιεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν δόξειαν κεκτῆσθαι.
not — they-would-pay-tax but not-even — they-would-seem to-possess
26 εἰ μέντοι τὰ νῦν διὰ τῶν λόγων φοβερὰ ἔργῳ
if however the-things now through the words fearful in-fact
πραττόμεν' αἴσθοιντο, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἠλίθιός ἐστιν ὅστις
being-done they-should-perceive no-one so foolish is who
οὐχὶ κἂν δοίη καὶ πρῶτος εἰσενέγκαι· τίς γὰρ αἱρήσεται
not even would-give and first would-pay-tax who for will-choose
μᾶλλον αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολωλέναι ἢ μέρος τῶν
rather himself and the possessions to-have-lost than part of-the
ὄντων ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσενεγκεῖν; χρήματα μὲν
possessions for himself and the rest to-contribute money indeed
δή φημ' εἶναι τότε, ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς δέῃ, πρότερον δ' οὔ.
now I-say to-be then when as truly it-is-needed before but not

διὸ μηδὲ ζητεῖν παραινῶ· ὅσα γὰρ νῦν πορίσαιτ' ἄν,
therefore not-even to-seek I-advise as-much-as for now you-would-provide —
εἰ προέλοισθε πορίζειν, πλείων ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός.
if you-should-choose to-provide more is laughter than-the nothing
φέρε γάρ, ἑκατοστήν τις εἰσφέρειν ἐρεῖ νῦν; οὐκοῦν 27
come for a-hundredth anyone to-pay-tax will-say now then
ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα. ἀλλὰ πεντηκοστήν τις ἐρεῖ, τὸ διπλοῦν;
sixty talents but a-fiftieth anyone will-say the double
οὐκοῦν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἔστι πρὸς
then a-hundred and twenty and what this is compared-to
διακοσίας καὶ χιλίας καμήλους, ἃς βασιλεῖ τὰ χρήματ'
two-hundred and thousand camels which for-the-king the money
ἄγειν φασὶν οὗτοι; ἀλλὰ θῶ βούλεσθε δωδεκάτην ἡμᾶς
to-carry say these but let-me-suppose you-wish a-twelfth us
εἰσοίσειν, πεντακόσια τάλαντα; ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἀνάσχοισθε
to-be-going-to-pay five-hundred talents but neither — would-you-endure-it
οὔτ', εἰ καταθεῖτε, ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα.
nor if you-paid worthy of-the war the money
δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρασκευάσασθαι, 28
it-is-necessary then you the indeed other-things to-prepare
τὰ δὲ χρήματα νῦν μὲν ἐᾶν τοὺς κεκτημένους ἔχειν
the but money now indeed to-allow the-ones possessing to-keep
(οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἐν καλλίονι σῴζοιτο τῇ πόλει), ἐὰν
nowhere for — in finer could-be-kept the city if
δέ ποθ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, τόθ' ἑκόντων εἰσφερόντων
but ever this the occasion comes then willingly contributing
αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δυνάτ' ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες
them to-take these-things and both possible are O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πράττειν καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ βασιλεῖ
Athenians and to-do fine and expedient and to-the-king

περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπιτήδει᾽ ἀπαγγελθῆναι, καὶ φόβος οὐκ ὀλίγος
about you suitable to-be-reported and fear not small
γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τούτων.
would-arise — for-him through these
29 οἶδε μέν γε διακοσίαις τριήρεσιν, ὧν ἑκατὸν
he-knows indeed at-least by-two-hundred triremes of-which a-hundred
παρεσχόμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ χιλίας
provided we the ancestors his thousand
ἀπολέσαντας ναῦς, ἀκούσεται δὲ τριακοσίας αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς
having-lost ships he-will-hear but three-hundred yourselves you
νῦν παρεσκευασμένους τριήρεις· ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ, μηδ᾽
now prepared triremes so-that not altogether not-even
εἰ πάνυ μαίνοιτο, νομίσαι ῥᾴδιόν τι τὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν
if very he-were-mad to-think easy anything the the our
πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ποιήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γ᾽ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν
city hostile to-make but truly if at-least on money
αὐτῷ μέγ᾽ ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν, καὶ ταύτην ἀσθενεστέραν
for-him great comes to-think also this weaker
ἀφορμὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὑρήσει.
resource than-the yours he-will-find
30 ὁ μέν γε χρυσίον, ὥς φασιν, ἄγει πολύ. τοῦτο δ᾽
he indeed at-least gold as they-say brings much this but
ἂν διαδῷ ζητήσει· καὶ γὰρ τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατ᾽
if he-distributes he-will-seek and for the springs and the wells
ἐπιλείπειν πέφυκεν, ἄν τις ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἁθρόα πολλὰ
to-fail are-wont if anyone from them all-at-once much
λαμβάνῃ. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας τίμημ᾽ ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν
takes for-us but the of-the land assessment existing resource
ἀκούσεται, ὑπὲρ ἧς ὡς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκείνων
he-will-hear for which how indeed the-ones attacking of-those
ἀμυνόμεθα, οἱ Μαραθῶνι τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστ᾽
we-repel the-ones at-Marathon of-the ancestors his best

ἂν εἰδεῖεν, ἕως δ' ἂν κρατῶμεν, οὐκ ἔνι δήπου
— would-know as-long-as but — we-prevail not it-is-possible surely
χρήμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπειν.
money us to-fail
καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὅ τινες δεδίασι, μὴ ξενικὸν πολὺ συστήσηται 31
and truly not-even what some fear lest mercenary much he-gather
χρήματ' ἔχων, ἀληθὲς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι
money having true to-be to-me seems I for think
ἐπὶ μὲν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ὀρόνταν καί τινας τῶν ἄλλων
against indeed Egypt and Orontas and some of-the other
βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἂν ἐθελῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορεῖν
barbarians many — to-be-willing of-the Greeks to-serve-for-pay
παρ' ἐκείνῳ, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃ τινὰ τούτων, ἀλλ'
with him not so-that he may-take any of-these but
ἵν' εὐπορίαν τιν' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ κτησάμενος ἀπαλλαγῇ
so-that plenty some each for-himself having-acquired may-be-rid-of
τῆς ὑπαρχούσης πενίας· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλλην' οὐδέν'
the existing poverty against but the Greece Greek none
ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. ποῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς τρέψεται μετὰ ταῦτα;
— to-go I-think whither for himself will-turn after these-things
εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐλθὼν δουλεύσει; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινός 32
to Phrygia having-come he-will-be-a-slave not for for other anything
ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πόλεμος ἢ περὶ χώρας καὶ
is the against the barbarian war than about land and
βίου καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων.
livelihood and customs and freedom and all the such-things
τίς οὖν οὕτως δυστυχής ἐστιν ὅστις ἑαυτόν, γονέας,
who then so unfortunate is who himself parents
τάφους, πατρίδα εἵνεκα κέρδους βραχέος προέσθαι
tombs fatherland for-the-sake-of gain brief to-give-up
βουλήσεται; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' ἡγοῦμαι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ'
will-wish I indeed no-one think not truly not-even

ἐκείνῳ συμφέρει ξένοις κρατῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ
for-him it-is-expedient with-foreigners to-conquer the Greeks the-ones
γὰρ ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες ἐκείνου γε πάλαι κρείττους
for us having-conquered than-him at-least long-ago stronger
ὑπάρχουσιν· βούλεται δ' ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀνελὼν ἡμᾶς ἐπ'
are wishes and he not having-destroyed us under
ἄλλοις εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πάντων, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν
others to-be but most indeed all if but not the
γ' ὑπαρχόντων δούλων ἑαυτῷ νῦν ἄρχειν.
at-least existing slaves for-himself now to-rule
33 εἰ τοίνυν τις οἴεται Θηβαίους ἔσεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνου,
if then anyone thinks Thebans to-be-going-to-be with him
ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος·
is indeed hard to you the about these argument
διὰ γὰρ τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν
because-of for the to-hate them not-even — true anything
ἡδέως ἀγαθὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαιτε· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
gladly good about them you-would-hear not truly but
δεῖ τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων σκοποῦντας
it-is-necessary the-ones about affairs great considering
μηδένα συμφέροντα λογισμὸν παραλιπεῖν διὰ μηδεμίαν
no beneficial reckoning to-omit because-of any
πρόφασιν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οἶμαι τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχειν Θηβαίους
pretext I then think so-far to-be-from Thebans
τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνου ποτ' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
from-the with him ever — to-go against the Greeks
ὥστε πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ ἔχοιεν δοῦναι,
that much — money if they-had to-give
34 πρίασθαι γενέσθαι τιν' αὐτοῖς καιρὸν δι' οὗ τὰς
to-buy to-arise some for-them occasion through which the
προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἁμαρτίας. εἰ
former they-will-undo against the Greeks errors if

δ᾽ ἄρα παντάπασί τις οὕτως οἴεται φύσει δυστυχεῖς
but after-all altogether anyone so thinks by-nature unfortunate
Θηβαίους εἶναι, ἐκεῖνό γε δήπουθεν ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε,
Thebans to-be that at-least surely all know
ὅτι Θηβαίων τἀκείνου φρονούντων, ἀνάγκη τοὺς τούτων
that Thebans the-cause-of-him favoring necessity the of-these
ἐχθροὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονεῖν.
enemies the of-the Greeks to-favor
ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ 35
I-think then I this the post of-the just and
τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτῆς ὄντας κρείττους τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ τοῦ
the-ones with it being stronger than-the traitors and the
βαρβάρου ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντα. ὥστ᾽ οὔτε φοβεῖσθαί
barbarian to-be-going-to-be in all-respects so-that neither to-fear
φημι δεῖν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου, οὔθ᾽ ὑπαχθῆναι προτέρους
I-say to-be-necessary beyond the moderate nor to-be-led-on first
ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν᾽
to-make the war and truly not-even of-the other anyone
ἂν εἰκότως Ἑλλήνων φοβηθέντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὁρῶ.
— reasonably of-Greeks having-feared the war this I-see
τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτῶν ὅτι, τέως μὲν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν 36
who for not knows of-them that as-long-as indeed common enemy
ἐκεῖνον ὑπειληφότες ὠμονόουν ἀλλήλοις, πολλῶν
him having-supposed they-were-of-one-mind with-one-another of-many
ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν κύριοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ φίλον αὐτὸν νομίσαντες
goods they-were masters when but friend him having-thought
αὑτοῖς ὑπάρχειν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διηνέχθησαν
to-themselves to-be about the toward themselves they-quarreled
διαφόρων, ὅσ᾽ ἂν οὐδὲ καταρώμενος εὕρέ τις
differences as-many-as — not-even cursing could-find anyone
αὐτοῖς, τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασι κακά; εἶθ᾽ ὧν ἡ τύχη καὶ
for-them so-many they-have-suffered evils then whom the fortune and

τὸ δαιμόνιον φίλον μὲν ἀλυσιτελῆ, συμφέροντα δ' ἐχθρὸν
the divinity friend indeed unprofitable advantageous but enemy
ἐμφανίζει, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς φοβώμεθα; μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μηδ'
shows this-man we shall-we-fear by-no-means but nor
ἀδικῶμεν, αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
let-us-wrong ourselves we for-the-sake and of-the of-the other
Ἑλλήνων ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπιστίας·
Greeks confusion and distrust

37 ἐπεὶ εἴ γ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦν μετὰ πάντων ἐπιθέσθαι
since if at-least with-one-accord it-were-possible with all to-attack
μόνῳ, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνον ἀδίκημ' ἂν ἔθηκα.
him-alone not-even to-wrong us him a-wrong — I-would-count
ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, φυλάττεσθαί φημι δεῖν
since but this not so is to-guard I-say to-be-necessary
μὴ πρόφασιν δῶμεν βασιλεῖ τοῦ τὰ δίκαι' ὑπὲρ τῶν
lest pretext we-give to-the-king of-the the just-things for the
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν· ἡσυχίαν μὲν γὰρ ἐχόντων ὑμῶν
other Greeks to-seek quiet indeed for keeping you
ὕποπτος ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτόν τι πράττων, πόλεμον
suspect — he-would-be such something doing war
δὲ ποιησαμένων προτέρων εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη διὰ
but having-made first reasonably — he-would-seem because-of
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλος εἶναι βούλεσθαι.
the toward you hatred to-the others friend to-be to-wish

38 μὴ οὖν ἐξελέγξηθ' ὡς κακῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἑλληνικά,
not then expose how badly are the Greek-affairs
συγκαλοῦντες ὅτ' οὐ πείσονται, καὶ πολεμοῦντες ὅτ'
summoning when not they-will-obey and warring when
οὐ δυνήσεσθε· ἀλλ' ἔχεθ' ἡσυχίαν θαρροῦντες καὶ
not you-will-be-able but keep quiet taking-heart and
παρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ βούλεσθ' ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μὲν περὶ
preparing and wish to-be-reported indeed about

ὑμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα, μὴ μὰ Δί᾽ ὡς ἀποροῦσιν ἢ
you to the-king not by Zeus that they-are-at-a-loss or
φοβοῦνται ἢ θορυβοῦνται πάντες, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ·
are-afraid or are-in-confusion all far at-least even it-lacks
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν ἦν 39
but that if indeed not for-the Greeks alike shameful were
τὸ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐπιορκεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καλόν, πάλαι
the to-lie and to-perjure as for-him honorable long-ago
ἂν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἐπορεύεσθε, νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
— against him you would-be-marching now but this indeed not
ἂν ποιήσαιτε ὑμῶν ἕνεκ᾽ αὐτῶν, εὔχεσθε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς
— you-would-do of-you for-the-sake yourselves you-pray and to-all the
θεοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν παράνοιαν ἐκεῖνον ἥνπερ ποτὲ
gods the same to-take madness him which-very once
τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἂν ἐπίῃ σκοπεῖν
the ancestors his and these-things if it-occurs to-consider
αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους εὑρήσει.
to-him not carelessly you deliberating he-will-find
ἐκ μέν γε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους πολέμων 40
from indeed at-least the against the his-own ancestors wars
σύνοιδε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην γεγενημένην, ἐκ
he-knows the city prosperous and great having-become from
δὲ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἧς ἦγέ ποτε, οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
but the quiet which it-kept once of-none of-the Greek
πόλεων τοσοῦτον ὅσον νῦν ὑπεραίρουσαν. καὶ μὴν
cities so-much as-much-as now towering and truly
καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρᾷ δεομένους ἤτοι τινὸς ἑκουσίου ἢ
also the Greeks he-sees needing either some voluntary or
ἀκουσίου διαλλακτοῦ, τοῦτον δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἂν οἵδε φανέντ᾽
involuntary reconciler this but himself — he-knows having-appeared

αὐτοῖς, εἰ πόλεμον κινοίη. ὥστε καὶ γνώριμα καὶ πίστ'
to-them if war he-should-stir so-that also familiar and credible
αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούειν ἔσται.
to-him of-the-ones reporting to-hear it-will-be
41 ἵνα δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μακρὰ λίαν λέγων
so-that and O men Athenians not long-things too-much speaking
ἐνοχλῶ, τὰ κεφάλαι' ὧν συμβουλεύω φράσας ἄπειμι.
I-may-annoy the main-points of-what I-advise having-stated I-will-go-away
παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς
to-prepare indeed against the existing enemies
κελεύω, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, ἂν ἀδικεῖν
I-bid to-repel and both the-king and all if to-wrong
ἐπιχειρῶσι, ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει φημὶ δεῖν, ἄρχειν
they-attempt with-this the same power I-say to-be-necessary to-begin
δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε λόγου μήτ' ἔργου ἀδίκου, τὰ δ' ἔργ'
but nothing either speech or deed unjust the but deeds
ἡμῶν ὅπως ἄξια τῶν προγόνων ἔσται σκοπεῖν, μὴ τοὺς
our that worthy of-the ancestors will-be to-consider not the
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος λόγους. κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆτε, καὶ ὑμῖν
from the platform speeches and-if these-things you-do both for-you
αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τἀναντία πείθουσι συμφέροντα πράξετε·
yourselves and for-the-ones the-opposite urging expedient-things you-will-do
οὐ γὰρ ὀργιεῖσθ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, νῦν ἁμαρτόντες.
not for you-will-be-angry with-them later now having-erred

DEMOSTHENES

ΥΠΕΡ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ

For the Megalopolitans

I · NEITHER SPARTA NOR THEBES STRONG

Both the Arcadian and the Spartan speakers, Demosthenes says, accuse one another as though they were envoys, not Athenians. Everyone agrees that Athens is best served if both Sparta and Thebes are weak. If Orchomenus, Thespiae, and Plataea are resettled, Thebes will be weak; but if Sparta takes Arcadia and destroys Megalopolis it will be strong again, and Athens must not let Sparta grow before Thebes shrinks. Some say it is terrible to ally with those Athens fought at Mantinea; but if all keep the peace Athens need not help Megalopolis at all. If Sparta attacks, Athens is bound by oath to help Messene, and helping Megalopolis now will look more just. Others say Athens must recover Oropus and will lose the allies for it if she makes enemies of Sparta; but those who persuaded Athens to save Sparta never warned that Sparta, once saved, would owe her no gratitude, and the Spartans should owe more for being saved than they resent being restrained now. Nor will Athens seem to change sides: she has always saved the wronged, Sparta, Thebes, and Euboea, while Sparta now offers Elis, Phlius, and Athens their old claims only for her own ends.

ἀμφότεροί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτάνειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 1
both to-me seem to-err O men Athenians
καὶ οἱ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
both the-ones for-the Arcadians and the-ones for-the Lacedaemonians
συνειρηκότες· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ' ἑκατέρων ἥκοντες, οὐχ ὑμῶν
having-spoken as for from each-side having-come not of-you
ὄντες, πρὸς οὓς ἀμφότεροι πρεσβεύουσι, κατηγοροῦσι
being to whom both are-envoys they-accuse
καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλους. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν
and slander one-another it-was and this indeed of-the-ones
ἀφιγμένων ἔργον, τὸ δὲ κοινῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
arrived task the but in-common for the affairs
λέγειν καὶ τὰ βέλτισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σκοπεῖν ἄνευ φιλονικίας
to-speak and the best-things for you to-consider without contentiousness
τῶν ἐνθάδε συμβουλεύειν ἀξιούντων.
of-the-ones here to-advise claiming

2 νῦν δ᾽ ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀφέλοι τὸ γιγνώσκεσθαι
now but I if anyone from-them should-take-away the to-be-recognized
καὶ τὸ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν Ἀττικιστί, πολλοὺς ἂν οἶμαι
and the with-the voice to-speak in-Attic many — I-think
τοὺς μὲν Ἀρκάδας, τοὺς δὲ Λάκωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι
the-ones indeed Arcadians the-others but Laconians of-them to-be
νομίσαι. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁρῶ μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν τὰ βέλτιστα
to-think I but see indeed how hard the best-things
λέγειν ἐστί· συνεξηπατημένων γὰρ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν
to-say it-is deceived-together for you and of-the-ones indeed
ταυτί, τῶν δὲ ταυτὶ βουλομένων, ἂν τὰ μεταξύ τις
this-way the-others but that-way wishing if the-things between anyone
ἐγχειρῇ λέγειν κᾆθ᾽ ὑμεῖς μὴ περιμένητε μαθεῖν, χαριεῖται
attempts to-say and-then you not wait to-learn he-will-please
μὲν οὐδετέροις, διαβεβλήσεται δὲ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους·
indeed neither he-will-be-slandered but with both
3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ αἱρήσομαι μᾶλλον αὐτός, ἂν ἄρα τοῦτο
not however but I-will-choose rather myself if after-all this
πάθω, δοκεῖν φλυαρεῖν, ἢ παρ᾽ ἃ βέλτιστα νομίζω
I-suffer to-seem to-talk-nonsense than contrary-to what best I-think
τῇ πόλει, προέσθαι τισὶν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
for-the city to-give-up to-some you to-deceive the indeed then
ἄλλ᾽ ὕστερον, ἂν ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ᾖ, λέξω· ἀπὸ δὲ
other-things later if to-you wishing it-is I-will-say from but
τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων ἄρξομαι, ἃ κράτιστα
the-things agreed by all I-will-begin what best
νομίζω διδάσκειν.
I-think to-show
4 οὐκοῦν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς ἀντείποι ὡς οὐ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει
therefore not-even — one would-deny that not it-is-expedient for-the city
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καὶ Θηβαίους τουτουσί.
both Lacedaemonians weak to-be and Thebans these-here

ἔστι τοίνυν ἔν τινι τοιούτῳ καιρῷ τὰ πράγματα νῦν, εἴ
is then in some such crisis the affairs now if
τι δεῖ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πολλάκις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν λόγοις
anything one-must from-the said often before you speeches
τεκμήρασθαι, ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ Θεσπιῶν
to-infer so-that Thebans indeed Orchomenus and Thespiae
καὶ Πλαταιῶν οἰκισθεισῶν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίους
and Plataea being-resettled weak to-become Lacedaemonians
δ᾽, εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Μεγάλην
but if they-will-make the Arcadia under themselves and Great
πόλιν ἀναιρήσουσι, πάλιν ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι.
City will-destroy again strong to-be-going-to-become
σκεπτέον τοίνυν μὴ πρότερον τούσδε γενέσθαι φοβεροὺς 5
one-must-consider then lest before these to-become fearful
καὶ μεγάλους ἐάσωμεν ἢ ᾽κεῖνοι μικροὶ γεγενήσονται, καὶ
and great we-allow than those small shall-have-become and
λάθωσιν ἡμᾶς πλείονι μείζους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενόμενοι
escape us by-more greater the Lacedaemonians having-become
ἢ ὅσῳ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλάττους συμφέρει γενέσθαι.
than by-as-much-as the Thebans smaller it-is-expedient to-become
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὡς ἀνταλλάξασθαι
not for that at-least — we-would-say that to-exchange
βουλοίμεθ᾽ ἂν ἀντιπάλους Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Θηβαίων,
we-would-wish — rivals Lacedaemonians instead-of Thebans
οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ὃ σπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως μηδέτεροι
nor this is what we-are-eager-for but that neither
δυνήσονται μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς μετὰ
will-be-able at-all us to-wrong so for — we with
πλείστης ἀδείας εἴημεν.
most security would-be

6 ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως δεῖν ἔχειν φήσομεν,
but by Zeus these-things indeed so to-be-necessary to-be we-shall-say
δεινὸν δ' εἰ, πρὸς οὓς παρεταττόμεθ' ἐν Μαντινείᾳ,
terrible but if against whom we-were-drawn-up at Mantinea
τούτους συμμάχους αἱρησόμεθα, εἶτα βοηθήσομεν τούτοις
these allies we-shall-choose then we-shall-help these
ἐναντί' ἐκείνοις μεθ' ὧν τότ' ἐκινδυνεύομεν. κἀμοὶ
against those with whom then we-ran-risks and-to-me
ταῦτα δοκεῖ, προσδεῖσθαι δ' ἔτι τοῦ 'τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν
these-things seems-right to-need-besides but still of-the the just-things to-do
ἐθελόντων τῶν ἑτέρων.'
being-willing the others

7 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐθελήσουσιν εἰρήνην ἅπαντες ἄγειν, οὐ
if indeed then will-wish peace all to-keep not
βοηθήσομεν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεήσει·
we-shall-help the Megalopolitans nothing for will-be-needed
ὥστ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν ἔσται πρὸς
so-that not-even anything-whatever opposed for-us will-be toward
τοὺς συμπαραταξαμένους, σύμμαχοι δ' ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν
the-ones having-fought-alongside allies and for-us the-ones indeed
ὑπάρχουσιν, ὥς φασιν, οἱ δὲ προσγενήσονται νυνί.
exist as they-say the-ones but will-be-added now

8 καὶ τί ἂν ἄλλο βουλοίμεθα; ἐὰν δ' ἀδικῶσι καὶ πολεμεῖν
and what — else would-we-wish if but they-do-wrong and to-war
οἴωνται δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνον βουλευτέον,
think to-be-necessary if indeed about this only one-must-deliberate
εἰ χρὴ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἡμᾶς προέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις
whether it-is-necessary Great City us to-abandon to-Lacedaemonians
ἢ μή, δίκαιον μὲν οὔ, συγχωρῶ δ' ἔγωγ' ἐᾶσαι καὶ μηδὲν
or not just indeed not I-concede but I to-allow and in-nothing
ἐναντιωθῆναι τοῖς γε τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχοῦσι κινδύνων·
to-oppose the-ones at-least of-the same having-shared dangers

εἰ δ' ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθ' ὅτι, ταύτην ἂν ἕλωσιν, ἴασ'
if but all know that this if they-take they-will-go
ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν
against Messene let-him-tell anyone me of-the-ones now hostile
τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, τί τόθ' ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει ποιεῖν.
to-the Megalopolitans what then to-us he-will-advise to-do
ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ. καὶ μὴν πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὡς, καὶ 9
but no-one will-say and truly all know that both
παραινούντων τούτων καὶ μή, βοηθητέον, καὶ διὰ τοὺς
urging these and not one-must-help both because-of the
ὅρκους οὓς ὠμωμόκαμεν Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον
oaths which we-have-sworn to-Messenians and because-of the expedient
εἶναι κατοικεῖσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν. σκοπεῖσθε δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
to-be to-be-inhabited this the city consider now before you
αὐτοὺς ποτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλλίονα καὶ φιλανθρωποτέραν
yourselves which the beginning finer and more-humane
ποιήσεσθε τοῦ μὴ 'πιτρέπειν ἀδικεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὴν
you-will-make of-the not to-allow to-do-wrong for-Lacedaemonians the
ὑπὲρ Μεγάλης πόλεως ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεσσήνης.
for Great City or the for Messene
νῦν μέν γε βοηθεῖν δόξετ' Ἀρκάσι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην 10
now indeed at-least to-help you-will-seem the-Arcadians and the peace
σπουδάζειν εἶναι βεβαίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐκινδυνεύσατε καὶ
to-be-eager to-be secure for which you-ran-risks and
παρετάξασθε· τότε δ' εὔδηλοι πᾶσιν ἔσεσθε οὐ τοῦ
were-drawn-up then but evident to-all you-will-be not of-the
δικαίου μᾶλλον εἵνεκα Μεσσήνην εἶναι βουλόμενοι ἢ
just more for-the-sake Messene to-exist wishing than
τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβου. δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν μὲν
of-the toward Lacedaemonians fear one-must but to-consider indeed

καὶ πράττειν ἀεὶ τὰ δίκαια, συμπαρατηρεῖν δ' ὅπως
and to-do always the just-things to-watch-besides but that
ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντ' ἔσται ταῦτα.
at-the-same-time also expedient will-be these-things
11 ἔστι τοίνυν τοιοῦτός τις λόγος παρὰ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων,
there-is then such some argument from the opponents
ὡς κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν δεῖ, εἰ
that to-recover the Oropus us to-attempt it-is-necessary if
δὲ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας ἂν ἡμῖν νῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροὺς
but the-ones going-to-help — us now against it enemies
κτησόμεθα, οὐχ ἕξομεν συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν
we-shall-make not we-shall-have allies I but the indeed
κομίσασθαι Ὠρωπὸν πειρᾶσθαι δεῖν φημι καὶ αὐτός·
to-recover Oropus to-try to-be-necessary I-say also myself
τὸ δ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔσεσθαι νῦν, ἐὰν
the but enemies to-us Lacedaemonians to-be-going-to-be now if
ποιώμεθα συμμάχους Ἀρκάδων τοὺς βουλομένους ἡμῖν
we-make allies of-Arcadians the-ones wishing to-us
εἶναι φίλους, μόνοις οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἐξεῖναι νομίζω τοῖς
to-be friends alone not-even to-say to-be-permitted I-think to-the-ones
πείσασιν ὑμᾶς, ὅτ' ἐκινδύνευον Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βοηθεῖν.
having-persuaded you when were-in-danger Lacedaemonians to-help
12 οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς, πάντων
not for these-things saying they-persuaded you all
Πελοποννησίων ἐλθόντων ὡς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν
Peloponnesians having-come to you and with you
ἀξιούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ
claiming against the Lacedaemonians to-go the indeed not
προσδέξασθαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον
to-receive and because-of this which-very was remaining
αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἦλθον), ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων
to-them to Thebans they-went for but the of-Lacedaemonians

σωτηρίας καὶ χρήματ᾽ εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι
safety both money to-contribute and with-the bodies
κινδυνεύειν· οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε δήπου σῴζειν
to-run-risks not-even — you would-have-been-willing surely to-save
αὐτούς, εἰ τοῦτο προὔλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι σωθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ
them if this they-had-told you that saved if not
ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλονται πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐᾶτε καὶ ἀδικεῖν,
to-do what ever they-wish again them you-allow and to-wrong
οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἕξουσι τῆς σωτηρίας.
no to-you gratitude they-will-have for-the safety
καὶ μὴν εἰ σφόδρ᾽ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων 13
and truly if very opposed it-is to-the of-Lacedaemonians
ἐπιχειρήμασιν τὸ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἡμᾶς συμμάχους ποιήσασθαι,
designs the the Arcadians us allies to-make
προσήκει δήπου πλείω χάριν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν
it-befits surely more gratitude them to-have for-what they-were-saved
ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐλθόντες κινδύνους ἢ
by us into the extreme having-come dangers than
ὧν ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται νῦν ὀργίζεσθαι. ὥστε πῶς
for-what to-do-wrong they-are-prevented now to-be-angry so-that how
οὐ βοηθήσουσιν ἡμῖν ἐπ᾽ Ὠρωπόν, ἢ κάκιστοι πάντων
not will-they-help us against Oropus or worst of-all
ἀνθρώπων δόξουσιν εἶναι; μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγ᾽ οὐχ ὁρῶ.
men they-will-seem to-be by the gods I not see
θαυμάζω τοίνυν καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς 14
I-wonder then also at-the-ones saying this the argument that
εἰ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθ᾽ Ἀρκάδας καὶ ταῦτα πράξομεν,
if allies we-shall-make Arcadians and these-things we-shall-do
μεταβάλλεσθαι δόξει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχειν πιστὸν ἡ πόλις.
to-change-sides it-will-seem and nothing to-have trustworthy the city
ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τοὐναντίον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. διὰ
to-me indeed for seems the-contrary O men Athenians because-of

τί; ὅτι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν' ἂν ἀντειπεῖν οἶομαι ὡς οὐ καὶ
what that of-the all no-one — to-deny I-think that not both
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρότερον Θηβαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
Lacedaemonians and before Thebans and the last
Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμάχους
Euboeans saved the city and after these-things allies
ἐποιήσατο, ἕν τι καὶ ταὔτ' ἀεὶ βουλομένη πράττειν.
made one some-thing and the-same-things always wishing to-do
15 ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τί; τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σῴζειν. εἰ τοίνυν
is and this what the-ones being-wronged to-save if then
ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς εἴημεν οἱ
these-things so are no-longer — we would-be the-ones
μεταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ 'θέλοντες τοῖς δικαίοις
changing-sides but the-ones not willing to-the just-things
ἐμμένειν, καὶ φανήσεται τὰ πράγματ' ἀεὶ διὰ τοὺς
to-abide and will-appear the affairs always because-of the-ones
πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μεταβαλλόμενα, οὐχ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.
to-grasp-for-more wishing changing not the city our
16 δοκοῦσι δέ μοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα δεινῶν ἔργον
seem and to-me Lacedaemonians very terrible deed
ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν. νῦν γάρ φασιν ἐκεῖνοι δεῖν Ἠλείους
of-men to-do now for they-say they to-be-necessary Eleans
μὲν τῆς Τριφυλίας τινὰ κομίσασθαι, Φλειασίους δὲ τὸ
indeed of-the Triphylia some to-recover Phliasians and the
Τρικάρανον, ἄλλους δέ τινας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὴν αὑτῶν,
Tricaranum others and some of-the Arcadians the their-own
καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ἵν' ἑκάστους ἡμῶν ἴδωσιν
and the Oropus us not so-that each of-us they-may-see
ἔχοντας τὰ αὑτῶν, οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖ·
having the their-own not-even near it-lacks

ὀψὲ γὰρ ἂν φιλάνθρωποι γεγονότες εἶεν· ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα 17
late for — humane having-become they-would-be but so-that
πᾶσι δοκῶσι συμπράττειν ὅπως ἕκαστοι κομίσωνται
to-all they-may-seem to-cooperate that each may-recover
ταῦθ᾽ ἃ φασιν αὑτῶν εἶναι, ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἴωσ᾽ ἐπὶ
these-things which they-say theirs to-be when but they-go against
Μεσσήνην αὐτοί, συστρατεύωνται πάντες αὐτοῖς οὗτοι καὶ
Messene themselves may-join-the-campaign all with-them these and
βοηθῶσι προθύμως, ἢ δοκῶσ᾽ ἀδικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἔφασαν
may-help eagerly or may-seem to-do-wrong about what said
ἕκαστοι σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι συμψήφους λαβόντες ἐκείνους,
each of-them themselves to-be voting-with having-got them
μὴ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντες.
not the like to-them repaying

II · MEGALOPOLIS AND THE BALANCE

Athens can recover Oropus without abandoning Arcadia. If Sparta takes Megalopolis, Messene is in danger, and if Messene falls too, Athens will end as Thebes' ally. Thebes can be humbled without Sparta's growing: by resettling Thespiae, Orchomenus, and Plataea, while not abandoning Megalopolis and Messene to the aggressors. Some say the Megalopolitans must first take down their pillars with Thebes; Demosthenes would require that and peace together, and side with whichever party accepts.

ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὴν πόλιν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ 18
I but think the city first indeed even without the
καθυφεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις τινὰς Ἀρκάδων, Ὠρωπὸν ἂν
to-give-up to-Lacedaemonians some of-Arcadians Oropus —
κομίσασθαι, καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων, ἂν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλωσι,
to-recover both with those if the just-things to-do they-wish

καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐκ οἰομένων δεῖν Θηβαίους
and with the others the-ones not thinking to-be-necessary Thebans
ἐᾶν ἔχειν τἀλλότρια. εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτ' εὔδηλον ἡμῖν
to-allow to-have the-things-of-others if but after-all this clear to-us
γένοιτο, ὅτι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐῶντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον
should-become that not Lacedaemonians allowing the Peloponnese
καταστρέψασθαι οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἐσόμεθ' Ὠρωπὸν λαβεῖν,
to-subdue not able — we-shall-be Oropus to-take
αἱρετώτερον, εἰ οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐᾶν
preferable if possible — to-say I-think the Oropus to-let-go
ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις Μεσσήνην προέσθαι καὶ Πελοπόννησον.
than to-Lacedaemonians Messene to-give-up and the-Peloponnese
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τούτου μόνον ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον
not for — I-think about this alone for-us to-be the dispute
πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' — ἐάσω τό γ' ἐπελθὸν εἰπεῖν
toward them but I-will-pass-over the at-least having-occurred to-say
μοι· περὶ πολλῶν δ' ἂν οἶμαι κίνδυνον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.
to-me about many and — I-think danger for-us to-arise
19 ἀλλὰ μὴν ἅ γέ φασιν πεπρᾶχθαι διὰ Θηβαίους
but truly what at-least they-say to-have-been-done because-of Thebans
τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτοπον νῦν ἐν
by-the Megalopolitans hostile toward us absurd now in
κατηγορίας μέρει ποιεῖσθαι, βουλομένων δὲ γενέσθαι φίλων
of-accusation part to-make wishing but to-become friends
αὐτῶν, ἵνα τοὐναντίον εὖ ποιῶσιν ἡμᾶς, βασκαίνειν καὶ
them so-that the-contrary well they-may-treat us to-begrudge and
σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται, καὶ μὴ γιγνώσκειν
to-consider from what way not they-will-become and not to-recognize
ὅτι, ὅσῳ ἂν σπουδαιοτέρους τούτους περὶ Θηβαίους
that by-as-much-as — more-zealous these toward Thebans
γεγενημένους ἀποδείξωσι, τοσούτῳ πλείονος ὀργῆς αὐτοὶ
having-become they-show by-so-much more anger themselves

δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ τοιούτων συμμάχων τὴν πόλιν,
justly — would-meet if of-such allies the city
ὅτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς προτέρους ἦλθον ἢ Θηβαίους, ἀπεστέρησαν.
when against you first they-came than Thebans they-deprived
ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ταῦτα μέν ἐστι δεύτερον ἀνθρώπων βουλομένων 20
but I-think these-things indeed is secondary of-men wishing
ἑτέρων ποιῆσαι τούτους συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα, ὅσ' ἂν
others to-make these allies I but know as-much-as —
ἐκ λογισμοῦ σκοπῶν τις εἰκάσαι, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς οἶμαι
from reasoning considering anyone could-infer and the many I-think
ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ταὐτὰ φήσειν, ὅτι εἰ λήψονται Μεγάλην
of-you to-me the-same-things to-be-going-to-say that if will-take Great
πόλιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κινδυνεύσει Μεσσήνη· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην
City Lacedaemonians will-be-in-danger Messene if but also this
λήψονται, φήμ' ἡμᾶς ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους Θηβαίων.
they-will-take I-say us to-be-going-to-be allies of-Thebans
πολὺ δὴ κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τὴν μὲν Θηβαίων 21
much indeed finer and better the indeed of-Thebans
συμμαχίαν αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν, τῇ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
alliance ourselves to-take-over to-the but of-Lacedaemonians
πλεονεξίᾳ μὴ 'πιτρέψαι, ἢ νῦν ὀκνοῦντας μὴ τοὺς
greed not to-give-in than now hesitating lest the
Θηβαίων σώσωμεν συμμάχους, τούτους μὲν προέσθαι,
of-Thebans we-save allies these indeed to-give-up
πάλιν δὲ σῴζειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ προσέτ' ἐν
again but to-save themselves the Thebans and besides in
φόβῳ καθεστάναι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.
fear to-be-placed about us ourselves
οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἀδεὲς τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνω τῇ πόλει, τὸ 22
not for I without-danger this I-suppose for-the city the
λαβεῖν Μεγάλην πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πάλιν γενέσθαι
to-take Great City Lacedaemonians and again to-become

μεγάλους. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
great I-see for them also now not for the not
παθεῖν τι κακὸν πολεμεῖν αἱρουμένους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
to-suffer anything ill to-war choosing but for the
κομίσασθαι τὴν πρότερον οὖσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν· ὧν
to-recover the formerly being to-themselves power of-what
δ', ὅτ' ἐκείνην εἶχον, ὠρέγοντο, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον
and when that they-had they-reached-for these-things you better
ἴσως εἰδότες ἢ 'γὼ φοβοῖσθ' ἂν εἰκότως.
perhaps knowing than I would-fear — reasonably
23 ἡδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους
gladly and — I-would-learn from-the-ones saying both the Thebans
μισεῖν φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πότερ' ἑκάτεροι
to-hate claiming and the Lacedaemonians whether each
μισοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ μισοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος
hate whom indeed they-hate for you and the advantage
ὑμῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ
for-you or for Lacedaemonians indeed Thebans for and
Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἑκάτεροι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων,
Thebans Lacedaemonians each if indeed for for those
οὐδετέροις ὡς μαινομένοις πείθεσθαι προσήκει· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ
neither as madmen to-obey it-befits if but for
ὑμῶν φήσουσι, τί πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπαίρουσιν;
you they-will-say why beyond the occasion the others do-they-exalt
24 ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι Θηβαίους ταπεινοὺς ποιεῖν ἄνευ
it-is-possible for it-is-possible Thebans humble to-make without
τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάναι, καὶ πολύ
the Lacedaemonians strong to-make and much
γε ῥᾷον· ὡς δ', ἐγὼ πειράσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν.
at-least easier how and I will-try to you to-say
ἴσμεν ἅπαντες τοῦθ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἐὰν
we-know all this that the indeed just-things all if

καὶ μὴ βούλωνται, μέχρι τού γ' αἰσχύνονται μὴ
even not they-wish up-to some-point at-least are-ashamed not
πράττειν, τοῖς δ' ἀδίκοις ἐναντιοῦνται φανερῶς, ἄλλως
to-do to-the but unjust-things they-are-opposed openly otherwise
τε κἄν τινες βλάπτωνται· καὶ τοῦτο λυμαινόμενον
both and-if some are-harmed and this ruining
πάνθ' εὑρήσομεν, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν οὖσαν πάντων
everything we-shall-find and this beginning being of-all
τῶν κακῶν, τὸ μὴ 'θέλειν τὰ δίκαια πράττειν
the evils the not to-be-willing the just-things to-do
ἁπλῶς.
simply
ἵνα τοίνυν μὴ τοῦτ' ἐμποδὼν γένηται τῷ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι 25
so-that then not this an-obstacle may-become to-the Thebans to-become
μικρούς, τὰς μὲν Θεσπιὰς καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὰς
small the indeed Thespiae and the Orchomenus and the
Πλαταιὰς κατοικίζεσθαι φῶμεν δεῖν καὶ συμπράττωμεν
Plataea to-be-resettled let-us-say to-be-necessary and let-us-cooperate
αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ
with-them and the others let-us-ask these-things for both fine and
δίκαια, μὴ περιορᾶν πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστώσας), τὴν δὲ
just not to-overlook cities ancient uprooted the but
Μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ προώμεθα τοῖς
Great City and the Messene not let-us-give-up to-the-ones
ἀδικοῦσι, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν
wronging nor on the pretext the of-Plataea and Thespiae
τὰς οὔσας καὶ κατοικουμένας πόλεις ἀναιρεθείσας περιίδωμεν.
the existing and inhabited cities destroyed let-us-overlook
κἂν ᾖ ταῦτα πρόδηλα, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ βουλήσεται 26
and-if are these-things evident no-one who not will-wish
παύσασθαι Θηβαίους ἔχοντας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν· εἰ δὲ μή,
to-stop Thebans having the other's if but not

πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίους ἕξομεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τούτους
first indeed opposed we-shall-have to those these
εἰκότως, ὅταν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων κατοίκισιν αὑτοῖς
reasonably when they-think the of-those resettlement for-themselves
ὄλεθρον φέρειν, εἶτ' ἀνήνυτα πράγματ' ἔξομεν αὐτοί· τί
ruin to-bring then endless troubles we-shall-have ourselves what
γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔσται πέρας, ὅταν ἀεὶ τὰς μὲν οὔσας
for as truly will-be end when always the indeed existing
πόλεις ἐῶμεν ἀναιρεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀνῃρημένας ἀξιῶμεν οἰκίζειν;
cities we-allow to-destroy the but destroyed we-claim to-settle
27 λέγουσι τοίνυν οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες δίκαια λέγειν ὡς
they-say then the-ones most seeming just-things to-say that
δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς πρὸς Θηβαίους,
it-is-necessary the pillars to-take-down them the toward Thebans
εἴπερ ἡμέτεροι βεβαίως ἔσονται σύμμαχοι. οἱ δέ φασι
if-indeed ours securely they-will-be allies they but say
μὲν αὑτοῖς οὐ στήλας, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον εἶναι τὸ
indeed for-themselves not pillars but the advantage to-be the-thing
ποιοῦν τὴν φιλίαν, τοὺς δὲ βοηθοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς, τούτους
making the friendship the-ones but helping themselves these
νομίζειν εἶναι συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' εἰσὶ
to-consider to-be allies I but if the most they-are
τοιοῦτοι, ὠδί πως ἔχω. φημὶ δεῖν ἅμα
such thus somehow I-am I-say to-be-necessary at-the-same-time
τούτους ἀξιοῦν καθαιρεῖν τὰς στήλας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους
these to-ask to-take-down the pillars and Lacedaemonians
ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ 'θέλωσι ποιεῖν ὁπότεροι ταῦτα,
to-keep peace if but not they-wish to-do whichever these-things
τότ' ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι.
then at-once with the-ones willing us to-be

εἴτε γὰρ εἰρήνης γιγνομένης αὐτοῖς οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται τῆς 28
whether for peace being-made for-them the Megalopolitans to-the
Θηβαίων συμμαχίας ἕξονται, φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἔσονται τὴν
of-Thebans alliance will-cling evident to-all they-will-be the
πλεονεξίαν τὴν Θηβαίων, οὐ τὸ δίκαιον αἱρούμενοι· εἴτε
greed the of-Thebans not the just choosing or
συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἀδόλως τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ποιουμένων
allies us sincerely the Megalopolitans making
μὴ ’θελήσουσιν ἄγειν εἰρήνην οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δῆλοι δήπου
not will-wish to-keep peace the Lacedaemonians clear surely
πᾶσιν ἔσονται, οὐχ ἵνα Θεσπιαὶ κατοικισθῶσι ποιούμενοι
to-all they-will-be not so-that Thespiae may-be-resettled making
τὴν σπουδήν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῦ πολέμου περιεστηκότος
the zeal but so-that the war having-come-round
Θηβαίοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑφ’ αὑτοῖς ποιήσωνται.
on-Thebans the Peloponnese under themselves they-may-make
θαυμάζω δ’ ἐνίων, εἰ τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων συμμάχους εἶναι τοὺς 29
I-wonder and at-some if the indeed of-Thebans allies to-be the
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροὺς φοβοῦνται, εἰ δὲ καταστρέψονται
of-Lacedaemonians enemies they-fear if but will-subdue
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους, μηδὲν ἡγοῦνται φοβερόν, καὶ ταῦτ’
Lacedaemonians these nothing they-think fearful and these-things
ἔργῳ πεῖραν ἡμῖν δεδωκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅτι Θηβαῖοι μὲν
in-fact proof to-us having-given the time that Thebans indeed
τούτοις συμμάχοις ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀεὶ χρῶνται,
these as-allies against Lacedaemonians always use
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ ὅτ’ εἶχον αὐτούς, ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο.
Lacedaemonians but when they-had them against us used
οἶμαι τοίνυν ἔγωγε κἀκεῖν’ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δεῖν, ὅτι 30
I-think then I also-that to-consider to-be-necessary that
μὴ προσδεξαμένων μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας,
not having-received indeed you the Megalopolitans

ἐὰν μὲν ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροῖς
if indeed they-are-destroyed and dispersed strong
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστιν εὐθὺς εἶναι, ἐὰν δὲ σωθῶσιν
for-Lacedaemonians it-is-possible at-once to-be if but they-are-saved
ἄρα, ὡς ἤδη τι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας ἐξέβη,
after-all as already something also contrary-to expectations turned-out
βέβαιοι σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων δικαίως ἔσονται· ἂν δὲ
secure allies of-Thebans justly they-will-be if but
προσδέξησθε, τούτοις μὲν ὑπάρξει ἤδη σωθῆναι
you-receive for-these indeed it-will-be-the-case already to-be-saved
δι᾽ ὑμᾶς, τὸ δὲ συμβησόμενον, τὸν τοῦ κινδύνου
through you the but going-to-happen the of-the danger
λογισμὸν μετενεγκόντες, σκοπῶμεν ἐπὶ Θηβαίων καὶ
reckoning having-transferred let-us-consider for Thebans and
Λακεδαιμονίων.
Lacedaemonians

31 ἂν μὲν τοίνυν καταπολεμηθῶσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥσπερ
if indeed then are-defeated the Thebans as
αὐτοὺς δεῖ, οὐκ ἔσονται μείζους τοῦ δέοντος οἱ
them it-is-necessary not will-be greater than-the needful the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτους ἔχοντες ἀντιπάλους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας
Lacedaemonians these having as-rivals the Arcadians
ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας· ἂν δ᾽ ἀνενέγκωσιν ἄρ᾽ οἱ Θηβαῖοι
near dwelling if but recover after-all the Thebans
καὶ σωθῶσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἀσθενέστεροί γ᾽ ἔσονται, ἡμῖν
and are-saved but then weaker at-least they-will-be for-us
συμμάχων γεγενημένων τῶνδε καὶ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς σεσωμένων.
allies having-become these and through us having-been-saved
ὥστε πανταχῇ συμφέρει μήτε προέσθαι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας
so-that in-every-way it-is-expedient neither to-give-up the Arcadians

μήτε δι᾽ αὑτούς, ἂν ἄρα σωθῶσι, περιγεγονέναι
nor through themselves if after-all they-are-saved to-have-survived
δοκεῖν, μηδὲ δι᾽ ἄλλους τινάς, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ὑμᾶς.
to-seem nor through others any but through you
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε 32
I indeed then O men Athenians by the gods neither
φιλῶν οὐδετέρους οὔτε μισῶν ἰδίᾳ εἴρηκα, ἀλλ᾽ ἃ νομίζω
loving either nor hating privately have-spoken but what I-think
συμφέρειν ὑμῖν· καὶ παραινῶ μὴ προέσθαι Μεγαλοπολίτας,
to-be-expedient for-you and I-advise not to-give-up Megalopolitans
μηδ᾽ ἄλλον ἁπλῶς μηδένα τῶν ἐλαττόνων τῷ μείζονι.
nor other simply anyone of-the weaker to-the stronger

DEMOSTHENES

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ

For the Liberty of the Rhodians

Demosthenes says Athens owes the gods thanks that the Rhodians, who made war on her through their insolence, now place their hopes of safety in her alone. Chians, Byzantines, and Rhodians accused Athens of plotting against them and joined in the last war; but Mausolus, who claimed to be their friend, took away their freedom, and their allies did not help them. Athens can show that friendship with her is the safeguard of a city's freedom. Timotheus was sent to help Ariobarzanes without breaking the treaty, saw he had revolted, and freed Samos instead, and no war followed. Artemisia would try to win Rhodes for the king if he succeeded in Egypt; since he is said to be failing there, she will not oppose the restoration. Demosthenes would not back the Rhodian oligarchs even if they held the city alone, since they betrayed their own partners; he is no proxenus of the Rhodians, yet rejoices that, grudging Athens her own, they lost their freedom to barbarians and slaves, and urges Athens to save them without bearing a grudge, since her wars with oligarchies are fought for freedom itself.

οἶμαι δεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τηλικούτων 1
I-think to-be-necessary O men Athenians about such-great-things
βουλευομένους διδόναι παρρησίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν
deliberating to-give freedom-of-speech to-each of-the-ones
συμβουλευόντων. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδεπώποθ' ἡγησάμην χαλεπὸν τὸ
advising I but never thought hard the
διδάξαι τὰ βέλτισθ' ὑμᾶς (ὡς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς, ἅπαντες
to-teach the best-things you as for to-speak simply all
ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε), ἀλλὰ τὸ πεῖσαι
to-be-there having-recognized to-me you-seem but the to-persuade
πράττειν ταῦτα· ἐπειδὰν γάρ τι δόξῃ καὶ ψηφισθῇ,
to-do these-things when for anything is-resolved and is-voted
τότ' ἴσον τοῦ πραχθῆναι ἀπέχει ὅσονπερ πρὶν δόξαι.
then equally from-the to-be-done it-is-distant as-far-as-very before to-be-resolved

2 ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἓν ὧν ἐγὼ νομίζω χάριν ὑμᾶς τοῖς
it-is indeed then one of-what I think gratitude you to-the
θεοῖς ὀφείλειν, τὸ τοὺς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ὕβριν ὑμῖν
gods to-owe the the-ones because-of the their-own insolence against-you
πολεμήσαντας οὐ πάλαι νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν μόνοις τῆς αὐτῶν
having-warred not long-ago now in you alone of-the their-own
σωτηρίας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ἄξιον δ' ἡσθῆναι τῷ παρόντι
safety to-have the hopes worth and to-be-pleased at-the present
καιρῷ· συμβήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἃ χρὴ βουλεύσησθ'
occasion it-will-befall for you if what one-must you-deliberate
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὰς παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόντων τὴν πόλιν
about it the from the-ones slandering the city
ἡμῶν βλασφημίας ἔργῳ μετὰ δόξης καλῆς ἀπολύσασθαι.
our calumnies in-fact with reputation fine to-refute

3 ᾐτιάσαντο μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς Χῖοι καὶ
accused indeed for us to-plot against-them Chians and
Βυζάντιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα συνέστησαν ἐφ'
Byzantines and Rhodians and because-of these-things they-combined against
ἡμᾶς τὸν τελευταῖον τουτονὶ πόλεμον· φανήσεται δ' ὁ
us the last this war it-will-appear and the-one
μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος, φίλος
indeed having-presided-over these-things and having-persuaded Mausolus friend
εἶναι φάσκων Ῥοδίων, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν ἀφῃρημένος,
to-be claiming of-Rhodians the freedom their having-taken-away
οἱ δ' ἀποδείξαντες ἑαυτοὺς συμμάχους Χῖοι καὶ
the-ones but having-shown themselves allies Chians and
Βυζάντιοι τοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν αὐτῶν οὐ βεβοηθηκότες,
Byzantines in-the misfortunes their not having-helped

4 ὑμεῖς δ', οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο, μόνοι τῶν πάντων τῆς σωτηρίας
you but whom they-feared alone of-the all of-the safety
αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ταῦθ' ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὀφθῆναι
for-them responsible from but the these-things by all to-be-seen

ποιήσετε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο
you-will-make the many in all the cities this
ποιεῖσθαι σύμβολον τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐὰν ὑμῖν ὦσι
to-make token of-the their-own safety if with-you they-are
φίλοι· οὗ μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ
friends than-which greater nothing — for-you could-be good than
παρὰ πάντων ἑκόντων ἀνυπόπτου τυχεῖν εὐνοίας.
from all willingly unsuspected to-obtain goodwill
θαυμάζω δ' ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ ὑπὲρ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων 5
I-wonder and that the same I-see for indeed Egyptians
τἀναντία πράττειν βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν πείθοντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ
the-opposite to-do to-the-king the city persuading for but
τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου φοβουμένους τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. καίτοι
the of-Rhodians people fearing the man this and-yet
τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ὄντας ἅπαντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἐν
the-ones indeed Greeks being all know the-ones but in
τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ ἐκείνου μεμερισμένους.
the empire the his divided
οἶμαι δ' ὑμῶν μνημονεύειν ἐνίους, ὅτι ἡνίκ' ἐβουλεύεσθ' 6
I-think and of-you to-remember some that when you-were-deliberating
ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλικῶν, παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρῄνεσα,
about the royal-affairs having-come-forward first I advised
οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνος ἢ δεύτερος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι σωφρονεῖν ἂν
I-think and also alone or second to-say that to-me to-be-wise —
δοκεῖτε, εἰ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς παρασκευῆς μὴ τὴν πρὸς
you-would-seem if the pretext of-the preparation not the toward
ἐκεῖνον ἔχθραν ποιοῖσθε, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζοισθε μὲν πρὸς
him enmity you-should-make but you-should-prepare indeed against
τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθρούς, ἀμύνοισθε δὲ κἀκεῖνον, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς
the existing enemies you-should-repel but also-him if you

ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ. καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον ταῦτα, ὑμῖν δ'
to-wrong he-attempts and not I indeed said these-things to-you but
οὐκ ἐδόκουν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα.
not I-seemed rightly to-speak but also to-you were-pleasing these-things
7 ἀκόλουθος τοίνυν ὁ νῦν λόγος ἐστί μοι τῷ τότε ῥηθέντι.
consistent then the present speech is for-me with-the then spoken
ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὑτὸν ὄντα με σύμβουλον ποιοῖτο,
I for if the-king beside himself being me adviser should-make
ταὔτ' ἂν αὐτῷ παραινέσαιμ' ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν
the-same-things — to-him I-would-advise which-very to-you for indeed the
αὑτοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐναντιῶται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν δὲ
his-own to-war if anyone opposes of-the Greeks of-what but
μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκει, τούτων μηδ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.
nothing to-him pertains these not-even to-lay-claim the at-all
8 εἰ μὲν οὖν ὅλως ἐγνώκατ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσων ἂν
if indeed then wholly you-have-decided O men Athenians as-many-as —
βασιλεὺς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται φθάσας ἢ παρακρουσάμενός
the-king master becomes having-anticipated or having-tricked
τινας τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παραχωρεῖν, οὐ καλῶς
some of-the-ones in the cities to-yield not well
ἐγνώκατε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων καὶ
you-have-decided as I judge if but for the just-things even
πολεμεῖν, ἂν τούτου δέῃ, καὶ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν
to-war if this it-is-necessary and to-suffer anything-whatever
οἴεσθε χρῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν ἧττον δεήσει τούτων,
you-think it-necessary first indeed you less will-need these
ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐγνωκότες ἦτε ταῦτα, ἔπειθ' ἃ
by-as-much-as — more having-decided you-are these-things then what
προσήκει φρονεῖν δόξετε.
befits to-think you-will-seem

ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν καινὸν οὔτ' ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν κελεύων Ῥοδίους 9
that and nothing new neither I say now bidding Rhodians
ἐλευθεροῦν, οὔθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν πεισθῆτέ μοι, ποιήσετε, τῶν
to-free nor you if you-are-persuaded by-me will-do of-the-things
γεγενημένων ὑμᾶς τι καὶ συνενηνοχότων ὑπομνήσω. ὑμεῖς
having-happened you something and having-turned-out-well I-will-remind you
ἐξεπέμψατε Τιμόθεόν ποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθήσοντ'
sent-out Timotheus once O men Athenians going-to-help
Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, προσγράψαντες τῷ ψηφίσματι 'μὴ λύοντα
Ariobarzanes having-added to-the decree not breaking
τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.' ἰδὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν
the treaty the with the king having-seen and that-man the
μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνην φανερῶς ἀφεστῶτα βασιλέως, Σάμον δὲ
indeed Ariobarzanes openly having-revolted from-the-king Samos but
φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Κυπροθέμιδος, ὃν κατέστησε Τιγράνης
garrisoned by Cyprothemis whom established Tigranes
ὁ βασιλέως ὕπαρχος, τῷ μὲν ἀπέγνω μὴ βοηθεῖν,
the king's satrap from-the-one indeed he-desisted not to-help
τὴν δὲ προσκαθεζόμενος καὶ βοηθήσας ἠλευθέρωσε·
the-other but having-sat-down-before and having-helped he-freed
καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐ γέγονεν πόλεμος 10
and until the today day not has-been war
διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως οὐδεὶς ὑπέρ τε
because-of these-things for-you not for alike anyone for both
τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν πολεμήσειεν ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ'
the to-grasp would-make-war — and the his-own but
ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ πάντες
for indeed what they-are-deprived-of up-to the possible all
πολεμοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ'
make-war for but the to-grasp not so but

ἐφίενται μέν, ἐάν τις ἐᾷ, ἐὰν δὲ κωλυθῶσιν, οὐδὲν
they-aim indeed if anyone allows if but they-are-prevented nothing
ἠδικηκέναι τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται.
to-have-wronged the-ones having-opposed them they-think

11 ὅτι δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πράξει ταύτῃ
that and not-even — to-oppose to-me seems the action this
νῦν Ἀρτεμισία τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,
now Artemisia the city being in the affairs
μίκρ' ἀκούσαντες σκοπεῖτε εἴτ' ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι
small-things having-heard consider whether rightly I-reckon
ταῦτ' εἴτε μή. ἐγὼ νομίζω, πράττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
these-things or not I think doing indeed in Egypt
πάνθ' ὡς ὥρμηκε βασιλέως, σφόδρ' ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν
all-things as he-has-set-out the-king very — Artemisia
πειραθῆναι περιποιῆσαι Ῥόδον αὐτῷ, οὐ τῇ βασιλέως
to-try to-win Rhodes for-him not by-the king's
εὐνοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος
goodwill but by-the to-wish near her staying
ἐκείνου μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἵν'
him great benefaction to-lay-up with him so-that
ὡς οἰκειότατ' αὐτὴν ἀποδέχηται·
as most-intimately her he-may-receive

12 πράττοντος δ' ὡς λέγεται, καὶ διημαρτηκότος οἷς
faring and as is-said and having-failed in-what
ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ὅπερ ἔστιν,
he-attempted to-think the island this which-very is
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναι βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ
other indeed nothing — to-be for-the-king useful in the
παρόντι, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα πρὸς τὸ μηδ'
present the but her-own dominion bulwark toward the not-even
ὁτιοῦν παρακινεῖν. ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς
anything-whatever to-stir so-that to-me it-seems rather — you

ἔχειν μὴ φανερῶς αὐτῆς ἐνδούσης, ἢ ᾽κεῖνον λαβεῖν
to-have not openly herself having-given-in than him to-take
βούλεσθαι. οἶμαι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοηθήσειν αὐτήν, ἂν
to-wish I-think indeed then not-even to-be-going-to-help her if
δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦτο ποιῇ, φαύλως καὶ κακῶς.
but after-all this she-does feebly and badly
ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέα γε, ὅ τι μὲν ποιήσει μὰ Δί᾽ οὐκ 13
since also the-king at-least what ever indeed he-will-do by Zeus not
ἂν εἴποιμ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ὡς οἶδα, ὅτι μέντοι συμφέρει τῇ πόλει
— would-say I that I-know that however it-is-expedient for-the city
δῆλον ἤδη γενέσθαι πότερ᾽ ἀντιποιήσεται τῆς πόλεως
clear now to-become whether he-will-lay-claim of-the city
τῆς Ῥοδίων ἢ οὔ, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἰσχυρισαίμην· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ
the of-Rhodians or not this — I-would-affirm not for for
Ῥοδίων βουλευτέον, ὅταν ἀντιποιῆται, μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ
Rhodians one-must-deliberate when he-lays-claim only but for
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων.
us ourselves and of-the all Greeks
οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἰ δι᾽ αὑτῶν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες 14
not truly not-even — if by themselves they-held the city the-ones now being
ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥόδιοι, παρήνεσ᾽ ἂν ὑμῖν τούτους ἑλέσθαι, οὐδ᾽
in it Rhodians I-would-have-advised — you these to-choose not-even
εἰ πάνθ᾽ ὑπισχνοῦνθ᾽ ὑμῖν ποιήσειν. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν
if all-things promising to-you to-be-going-to-do I-see for them the indeed
πρῶτον, ὅπως καταλύσωσι τὸν δῆμον, προσλαβόντας τινὰς
first how they-may-overthrow the people having-taken-on some
τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραξαν, πάλιν ἐκβαλόντας
of-the citizens when but this they-did again having-expelled
τούτους· τοὺς οὖν μηδετέροις πιστῶς κεχρημένους οὐδ᾽
these the-ones then with-neither faithfully having-dealt not-even
ἂν ὑμῖν βεβαίους ἡγοῦμαι γενέσθαι συμμάχους.
— to-you secure I-think to-become allies

καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐδεπώποτ᾽ εἶπον ἄν, εἰ τῷ Ῥοδίων
and these-things never I-would-have-said — if for-the of-Rhodians
δήμῳ μόνον ἡγούμην συμφέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ προξενῶ τῶν
people alone I-thought to-be-expedient neither for I-am-proxenos of-the
ἀνδρῶν οὔτ᾽ ἰδίᾳ ξένος αὐτῶν οὐδείς ἐστί μοι. οὐ μὴν
men nor privately friend of-them anyone is for-me not truly
οὐδ᾽ εἰ ταῦτ᾽ ἀμφότερ᾽ ἦν, εἰ μὴ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν
not-even if these-things both were if not to-be-expedient for-you
ἡγούμην, εἶπον ἄν, ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γε, εἰ οἷόν
I-thought I-would-have-said — since with-Rhodians at-least if possible
τε τοῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν τῷ συναγορεύοντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτῶν,
— this to-say for-the-one advocating the safety of-them
συγχαίρω τῶν γεγενημένων. τοῦ κομίσασθαι γὰρ
I-rejoice-with at-the-things having-happened for-the to-recover for
τὰ ὑμέτερ᾽ ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίαν
the yours from-you having-begrudged the their-own freedom
ἀπολωλέκασι, καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βελτίοσιν
they-have-lost and it-being-possible for-them with-Greeks and better
αὐτῶν ἐξ ἴσου συμμαχεῖν, βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις,
than-themselves on equal-terms to-be-allied to-barbarians and slaves
οὓς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις παρεῖνται, δουλεύουσιν.
whom into the citadels they-have-admitted they-are-slaves

16 ὀλίγου δὲ δέω λέγειν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς ἐθελήσητε
little and I-lack to-say if them you are-willing
βοηθῆσαι, ὡς καὶ συνενήνοχε ταῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς· εὖ μὲν γὰρ
to-help that even has-turned-out-well these-things for-them well indeed for
πράττοντες οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ ποτ᾽ ἂν εὖ φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν,
faring not I-know if ever — well to-think would-have-wished
ὄντες Ῥόδιοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πειραθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες ὅτι
being Rhodians in-fact but having-tried and having-been-taught that
πολλῶν κακῶν ἡ ἄνοι᾽ αἰτία τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνεται,
of-many evils the folly cause for-the many becomes

τάχ᾽ ἄν, εἰ τύχοιεν, σωφρονέστεροι πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν
perhaps — if they-should-happen more-prudent toward the remainder
τοῦ χρόνου γένοιντο. τοῦτο δ᾽ οὐ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν
of-the time they-would-become this but not small benefit
αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ χρῆναι πειρᾶσθαι σώζειν τοὺς
for-them I-think I-say indeed it-is-necessary to-try to-save the
ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι πολλὰ
men and not to-bear-a-grudge considering that many-things
καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων ἐξηπάτησθε, ὧν
also you by the-ones having-plotted have-been-deceived for-which
οὐδενὸς αὐτοὶ δοῦναι δίκην δίκαιον ἂν εἶναι φήσαιτε.
none themselves to-pay penalty just — to-be you-would-say
ὁρᾶτε δὲ κἀκεῖν᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι πολλοὺς ὑμεῖς 17
see and also-that O men Athenians that many you
πολέμους πεπολεμήκατε καὶ πρὸς δημοκρατίας καὶ πρὸς
wars have-waged both against democracies and against
ὀλιγαρχίας. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί· ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὧν
oligarchies and this indeed you-know also yourselves but for what
πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἔσθ᾽ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, τοῦτ᾽ ἴσως ὑμῶν
against each is for-you the war this perhaps of-you
οὐδεὶς λογίζεται. ὑπὲρ τίνων οὖν ἐστίν; πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
no-one reckons for what then is-it against indeed the
δήμους ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ δυνηθέντων
democracies either about the private complaints not having-been-able
δημοσίᾳ διαλύσασθαι ταῦτα, ἢ περὶ γῆς μέρους ἢ ὅρων
publicly to-settle these or about of-land part or boundaries
ἢ φιλονικίας ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας
or rivalry or the leadership against but the oligarchies
ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδενός, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ
for indeed these nothing for but the constitution and
τῆς ἐλευθερίας·
the freedom

Demosthenes would rather have all Greeks democratic and at war with Athens than oligarchic and friendly, since with free cities peace is easy and with oligarchies even friendship is unsafe. With Chios, Mytilene, and now Rhodes under oligarchies, Athens' own democracy is in danger. The Argives, neighbors of Sparta at the height of her power, voted to treat Spartan envoys as enemies if they did not leave by sunset; Athenians should not fear a barbarian woman. Athens should restore the Rhodian democracy even were it not just, since every other power claims its rights by its strength and, as the treaties with the king show, the strong set the rights of the weak. Speakers clever at pleading others' rights against Athens should argue Athens' rights to the others, since no one teaches Byzantium not to seize Chalcedon or Artemisia Cos and Rhodes.

18 ὥστ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ᾽ εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι
so-that I not — would-hesitate to-say rather to-think
συμφέρειν δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας
to-be-expedient governed-by-democracy the Greeks all
πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένους φίλους εἶναι. πρὸς
to-war with-you than governed-by-oligarchy friends to-be with
μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ὄντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν εἰρήνην
indeed for free being not with-difficulty — peace
ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι νομίζω, ὁπότε βουληθείητε, πρὸς δ᾽
you to-make I-think whenever you-should-wish with but
ὀλιγαρχουμένους οὐδὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλῆ νομίζω· οὐ γὰρ
governed-by-oligarchy not-even the friendship secure I-think not for
ἔσθ᾽ ὅπως ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς καὶ ζητοῦντες ἄρχειν τοῖς
there-is how few to-many and seeking to-rule to-the-ones
μετ᾽ ἰσηγορίας ζῆν ᾑρημένοις εὖνοι γένοιντ᾽ ἄν.
with equality to-live having-chosen well-disposed could-become —

θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἡγεῖται Χίων ὀλιγαρχουμένων 19
I-wonder and if no-one of-you thinks Chians governed-by-oligarchy
καὶ Μυτιληναίων, καὶ νυνὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
and Mytilenaeans and now Rhodians and all men
ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν δουλείαν ὑπαγομένων,
little I-lack to-say into this the slavery being-brought-under
συγκινδυνεύειν τι τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν πολιτείαν, μηδὲ
to-share-the-danger somewhat the among us constitution nor
λογίζεται τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, εἰ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας
reckons this that not there-is how if through oligarchy
ἅπαντα συστήσεται, τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν δῆμον ἐάσουσιν.
everything is-organized the among you democracy they-will-leave-alone
ἴσασι γὰρ οὐδένας ἄλλους πάλιν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἂν τὰ
they-know for no others again into freedom — the
πράγματ' ἐξάγοντας· ὅθεν δὴ κακὸν αὑτοῖς ἄν τι
affairs leading-out from-where indeed evil to-themselves — anything
γενέσθαι προσδοκῶσι, τοῦτ' ἀνελεῖν βουλήσονται.
to-happen they-expect this to-destroy they-will-wish
τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς τινας αὐτῶν 20
the-ones indeed then other the-ones wronging some them
τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων ἐχθροὺς ἡγεῖσθαι χρή· τοὺς
of-the-ones badly having-suffered enemies to-consider one-must the-ones
δὲ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύοντας καὶ μεθιστάντας εἰς
but the constitutions overthrowing and changing into
ὀλιγαρχίαν κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς παραινῶ νομίζειν ἁπάντων
oligarchy common enemies I-advise to-consider of-all
τῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμούντων.
the-ones freedom desiring
ἔπειτα καὶ δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοκρατουμένους 21
then also just O men Athenians governed-by-democracy
αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα φρονοῦντας φαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀτυχούντων
yourselves such-things thinking to-appear about the unfortunate

δήμων, οἷάπερ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιώσαιτε φρονεῖν περὶ
democracies as-very — the others you-would-claim to-think about
ὑμῶν, εἴ ποθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τοιοῦτό τι συμβαίη. καὶ
you if ever which not may-it-happen such something should-occur and
γὰρ εἰ δίκαιά τις φήσει Ῥοδίους πεπονθέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος
for if just-things anyone will-say Rhodians to-have-suffered not fitting
ὁ καιρὸς ἐφησθῆναι· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας περὶ
the occasion to-exult it-is-necessary for the-ones prospering about
τῶν ἀτυχούντων ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευομένους,
the unfortunate always to-appear the best-things planning
ἐπειδήπερ ἄδηλον τὸ μέλλον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.
since-indeed unclear the future to-all men
22 ἀκούω δ' ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐνταυθὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τινῶν λεγόντων
I-hear and I often here among you some saying
ὡς, ὅτ' ἠτύχησεν ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν, συνεβουλήθησάν τινες
that when was-unfortunate the people our wished-together some
αὐτὸν σωθῆναι· ὧν ἐγὼ μόνων Ἀργείων ἐν τῷ παρόντι
it to-be-saved of-whom I alone Argives in the present
μνησθήσομαι βραχύ τι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς βουλοίμην,
will-mention brief some-thing not for — you I-would-wish
δόξαν ἔχοντας τοῦ σῴζειν τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀεί, χείρους
reputation having for-the to-save the unfortunate always worse
Ἀργείων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει φανῆναι, οἳ χώραν ὅμορον
than-Argives in this the action to-appear who land bordering
τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκοῦντες, ὁρῶντες ἐκείνους γῆς καὶ
the of-Lacedaemonians inhabiting seeing them of-land and
θαλάττης ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἀπώκνησαν οὐδ' ἐφοβήθησαν
sea ruling not shrank nor feared
εὐνοϊκῶς ὑμῖν ἔχοντες φανῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρέσβεις
well-disposed to-you being to-appear but also envoys
ἐλθόντας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὥς φασιν, ἐξαιτήσοντάς τινας
having-come from Lacedaemon as they-say going-to-demand some

τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐὰν μὴ πρὸ
of-the exiles the yours they-voted if not before
ἡλίου δύντος ἀπαλλάττωνται, πολεμίους κρίνειν.
sun having-set they-depart enemies to-judge
εἶτ᾽ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὸ μὲν Ἀργείων 23
then not shameful O men Athenians if the indeed of-Argives
πλῆθος οὐκ ἐφοβήθη τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις
multitude not feared the of-Lacedaemonians empire in those
τοῖς καιροῖς οὐδὲ τὴν ῥώμην, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι
the times nor the strength you but being Athenians
βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, φοβήσεσθε; καὶ
barbarian person and that a-woman will-fear and
μὴν οἵ μὲν ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλάκις ἥττηνται
truly they indeed could — to-say that often they-have-been-defeated
Λακεδαιμονίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ νενικήκατε μὲν πολλάκις βασιλέα,
by-Lacedaemonians you but have-conquered indeed often the-king
ἥττησθε δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἅπαξ οὔτε τῶν δούλων τῶν βασιλέως
have-been-defeated but not-even once neither by-the slaves the king's
οὔτ᾽ αὐτοῦ ᾽κείνου· εἰ γάρ τί που κεκράτηκε τῆς
nor by-himself him if for in-anything anywhere has-mastered the
πόλεως βασιλεύς, ἢ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων
city the-king either the most-wicked of-the Greeks
καὶ προδότας αὐτῶν χρήμασι πείσας ἢ οὐδαμῶς
and traitors of-them with-money having-persuaded or in-no-way
ἄλλως κεκράτηκεν.
otherwise be-has-mastered
καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ συνενήνοχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμ᾽ 24
and not-even this to-him has-turned-out-well but at-the-same-time
εὑρήσετ᾽ αὐτὸν τήν τε πόλιν διὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀσθενῆ
you-will-find him the both city through Lacedaemonians weak
ποιήσαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κινδυνεύσαντα
having-made and about the his-own kingdom having-run-risk

πρὸς Κλέαρχον καὶ Κῦρον. οὔτ' οὖν ἐκ φανεροῦ
against Clearchus and Cyrus neither then from open
κεκράτηκεν οὔτ' ἐπιβουλεῦσαι συνενήνοχεν αὐτῷ. ὁρῶ
he-has-mastered nor to-have-plotted has-turned-out-well for-him I-see
δ' ὑμῶν ἐνίους Φιλίππου μὲν ὡς ἄρ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου
but of-you some Philip indeed as after-all of-nothing worthy
πολλάκις ὀλιγωροῦντας, βασιλέα δ' ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν
often slighting the-king but as strong enemy
οἷς ἂν προέληται φοβουμένους. εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς
to-whomever — he-chooses fearing if but the-one indeed as
φαῦλον οὐκ ἀμυνούμεθα, τῷ δ' ὡς φοβερῷ πάνθ'
worthless not we-shall-repel to-the-other but as fearful everything
ὑπείξομεν, πρὸς τίνας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραταξόμεθα;
we-shall-yield against whom O men Athenians shall-we-array-ourselves
25 εἰσὶ δέ τινες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρ' ὑμῖν δεινότατοι
there-are and some O men Athenians among you most-clever
τὰ δίκαια λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἷς
the just-things to-say for the others before you to-whom
παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
would-advise — I so-much only for you
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ζητεῖν τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ
before the others to-seek the just-things to-say so-that themselves
τὰ προσήκοντα πρῶτοι φαίνωνται ποιοῦντες· ὡς ἔστ'
the fitting-things first may-appear doing as it-is
ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια
absurd about the just-things you to-teach himself not just-things
ποιοῦντα· οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον ὄντα πολίτην τοὺς καθ'
doing not for is just being citizen the against
ὑμῶν λόγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐσκέφθαι.
you arguments but not the for you to-have-considered

φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν σκοπεῖτε, τί δήποτ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οὐδείς 26
come for by gods consider why ever in Byzantium no-one
ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων ἐκείνους μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Χαλκηδόνα,
is the-one going-to-teach them not to-seize Chalcedon
ἣ βασιλέως μέν ἐστιν, εἶχετε δ' αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς, ἐκείνοις δ'
which of-the-king indeed is you-held but it you to-those but
οὐδαμόθεν προσῆκεν· μηδὲ Σηλυμβρίαν, πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ
from-nowhere it-pertained nor Selymbria city yours once
σύμμαχον οὖσαν, ὡς αὑτοὺς συντελῆ ποιεῖν καὶ Βυζαντίων
ally being to themselves tributary to-make and of-Byzantines
ὁρίζειν τὴν τούτων χώραν παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς
to-mark-the-bounds the of-these land contrary-to the oaths and the
συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι γέγραπται;
agreements in which autonomous the cities to-be it-is-written
οὐδὲ Μαύσωλον ζῶντα, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν 27
nor Mausolus living nor having-died him —
Ἀρτεμισίαν οὐδείς ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων μὴ καταλαμβάνειν
Artemisia no-one is the-one going-to-teach not to-seize
Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἑτέρας πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας,
Cos and Rhodes and others other cities Greek
ὧν βασιλεὺς ὁ ἐκείνων δεσπότης ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις
which the-king the of-those master in the agreements
ἀπέστη τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ περὶ ὧν πολλοὺς κινδύνους καὶ
ceded to-the Greeks and about which many dangers and
καλοὺς ἀγῶνας οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους Ἕλληνες
fine contests the-ones in those the times Greeks
ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ λέγει τις ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς,
made if but after-all even speaks anyone to-both them
ἀλλ' οἵ γε πεισόμενοι τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ εἰσίν.
but the-ones at-least going-to-obey these as it-seems not there-are

28 ἐγὼ δὲ δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζω κατάγειν τὸν Ῥοδίων
I and just indeed to-be think to-restore the of-Rhodians
δῆμον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν, ὅταν εἰς
people not however but even if not just it-were when to
ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι βλέψω, προσήκειν οἶμαι παραινεῖν
what do these I-look to-befit I-think to-advise
κατάγειν. διὰ τί; ὅτι πάντων μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες
to-restore because-of what that all indeed O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὡρμηκότων, αἰσχρὸν ἡμᾶς
Athenians the just-things to-do having-set-out shameful us
μόνους μὴ ᾽θέλειν, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπως
alone not to-be-willing all but the others how
ἀδικεῖν δυνήσονται παρασκευαζομένων μόνους ἡμᾶς
to-do-wrong they-will-be-able preparing alone us
τὰ δίκαια προτείνεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένους,
the just-things to-hold-out none taking-hold
οὐ δικαιοσύνην ἀλλ᾽ ἀνανδρίαν ἡγοῦμαι· ὁρῶ γὰρ
not justice but cowardice I-think I-see for
ἅπαντας πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν τῶν δικαίων
all according-to the present power of-the just-things
ἀξιουμένους.
being-deemed-worthy

29 καὶ παράδειγμα λέγειν ἔχω τούτου πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γνώριμον.
and example to-cite I-have of-this to-all you familiar
εἰσὶ συνθῆκαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρὸς βασιλέα, ἃς ἐποιήσαθ᾽
there-are agreements for-the Greeks with the-king which made
ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἃς ἅπαντες ἐγκωμιάζουσι, καὶ
the city the our which all eulogize and
μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὕστερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτας ὧν δὴ
after these-things later Lacedaemonians these which indeed
κατηγοροῦσι· κἀν ταύταις οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ δίκαι᾽ ἀμφοτέραις
they-denounce and-in these not the-same just-things for-both

ὥρισται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἰδίων δικαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς
are-defined of-the indeed for private rights the in the
πολιτείαις οἱ νόμοι κοινὴν τὴν μετουσίαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἴσην
constitutions the laws common the share gave and equal
καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς· τῶν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν
both to-the weak and to-the strong of-the but Greek
δικαίων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὁρισταὶ τοῖς ἥττοσι γίγνονται.
rights the-ones prevailing definers for-the weaker become
ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐγνωκέναι τὰ δίκαια ὑπάρχει,
since then for-you to-have-recognized the just-things belongs
ὅπως καὶ πρᾶξαι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται δεῖ
how also to-do these-things in you will-be it-is-necessary
σκοπεῖν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτ', ἐὰν ὑποληφθῆτε κοινοὶ
to-consider is and these-things if you-are-supposed common
προστάται τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. εἰκότως δέ
champions of-the of-all freedom to-be reasonably and
μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον ὑμῖν εἶναι πρᾶξαι τὰ δέοντα.
to-me it-seems hardest for-you to-be to-do the needful-things
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εἷς ἀγών
for-the indeed for other all men one contest
ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς προδήλους ἐχθρούς, ὧν ἂν
is the against the evident enemies whom —
κρατήσωσιν, οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς κυρίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν
they-conquer nothing an-obstacle to-them masters of-the goods
εἶναι·
to-be
ὑμῖν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύο, οὗτός θ' ὁ καὶ
for-you but O men Athenians two this both the-one also
τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πρόσεσθ' ἕτερος τούτου πρότερος καὶ
for-the others and will-be-added other than-this earlier and
μείζων· δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους κρατῆσαι τῶν
greater it-is-necessary for you deliberating to-overcome the-ones

τἀναντία τῇ πόλει παρ᾽ ὑμῖν πράττειν προῃρημένων.
the-opposite for-the city among you to-do having-chosen
ὅταν οὖν μηδὲν ᾖ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτεὶ τῶν
when then nothing is-possible through these without-effort of-the
δεόντων γενέσθαι, πολλῶν διαμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰκότως
needful-things to-happen many-things to-miss you reasonably
συμβαίνει.
it-happens

32 τοῦ μέντοι πολλοὺς ἀδεῶς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν αἱρεῖσθαι
of-the however many without-fear this the post to-choose
τῆς πολιτείας, ἴσως μὲν αἱ παρὰ τῶν μισθοδοτούντων
of-the constitution perhaps indeed the from the-ones paying
αὐτοὺς ὠφέλειαι μάλιστ᾽ αἴτιαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς
them benefits most responsible not however but also you
ἄν τις ἔχοι δικαίως αἰτιᾶσθαι. ἐχρῆν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
— anyone could justly to-blame it-was-necessary for O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐν
Athenians the same to-have attitude you about the in
τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάξεως ἥνπερ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις
the constitution post which-very about the in the campaigns
ἔχετε. τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη; ὑμεῖς τὸν λιπόντα τὴν ὑπὸ
you-have what then is this you the-one having-left the by
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάξιν ταχθεῖσαν, ἄτιμον οἴεσθε προσήκειν
the general post assigned disfranchised think to-befit
εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν.
to-be and in-nothing of-the common-affairs to-share

33 χρῆν τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων
it-was-necessary then also the-ones the by the ancestors
τάξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λιπόντας
post in the constitution handed-down having-left
καὶ πολιτευομένους ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἀτίμους τοῦ
and conducting-politics oligarchically disfranchised from-the

συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῶν
to-advise you yourselves to-make now but of-the
μὲν συμμάχων τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον
indeed allies the-ones the same enemy and friend
κρινεῖν ὀμωμοκότας νομίζετ' εὐνουστάτους, τῶν
to-be-going-to-judge having-sworn you-consider most-well-disposed of-the
δὲ πολιτευομένων οὓς ἴστε σαφῶς τοὺς τῆς
but politicians whom you-know clearly the of-the
πόλεως ἐχθροὺς ᾑρημένους, τούτους πιστοτάτους
city enemies having-chosen these most-trustworthy
ἡγεῖσθε.
you-think
ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅ τι τις κατηγορήσει τούτων ἢ τοῖς 34
but for not what ever anyone will-accuse these or the
ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ἐπιπλήξει χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὁποίων
others you will-rebuke hard to-find but from what-sort-of
λόγων ἢ πράξεως ποίας ἐπανορθώσεταί τις ἃ νῦν
words or action what-sort will-set-right anyone what now
οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, τοῦτ' ἔργον εὑρεῖν. ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ
not rightly is this the-task to-find perhaps indeed then not-even
τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ περὶ πάντων λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἃ
of-the present occasion about all to-speak but if what
προῄρησθε δυνηθῆτ' ἐπικυρῶσαι συμφερούσῃ τινὶ πράξει,
you-have-chosen you-can to-ratify by-expedient some action
καὶ τἄλλ' ἂν ἴσως καθ' ἓν ἀεὶ βέλτιον σχοίη.
also the-other-things — perhaps by one always better would-be
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν 35
I indeed then think to-be-necessary you to-take-hold of-the
πραγμάτων τούτων ἐρρωμένως, καὶ πράττειν ἄξια
affairs these vigorously and to-do worthy-things
τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι χαίρετ' ἀκούοντες, ὅταν
of-the city considering that you-rejoice hearing when

τις ἐπαινῇ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν᾽
anyone praises the ancestors your and the-things done
ἐκείνοις διεξίῃ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια λέγῃ. νομίζετε τοίνυν
by-them recounts and the trophies mentions consider then
ταῦτ᾽ ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν οὐχ ἵνα
these-things to-have-dedicated the ancestors your not so-that
θαυμάζητ᾽ αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα καὶ μιμῆσθε
you-may-admire them beholding but so-that also you-may-imitate
τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.
the of-the-ones having-dedicated virtues

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ

On Organization

The question of distributing the money, Demosthenes says, is easy: he neither proposes nor opposes it, but warns that the custom matters more than the sum. If the people take the distribution together with doing their duty, it will help the city; if any festival is an excuse to take and no one will listen about duty, they will regret it. He asks that the same Assembly that voted the distribution also organize the war, so that each citizen receives his share as soldier or inspector and serves himself instead of mercenaries. A citizen army would keep the allies loyal without garrisons and spare them plunder, and would let the city act on its claim to lead the Greeks, where now the Mytilenean and Rhodian democracies have fallen during Athens' quiet. Demosthenes is dismayed that the people remember only the two obols, recalls the jibe that his speeches only fill ears, and says the people must be healed of hearing pleasant lies: the democracy is overthrown not by thefts but when the people are leaderless, disarmed, and unorganized.

περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ἀργυρίου καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα τὴν 1
about indeed the present money and what for-the-sake-of the
ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδέτερόν μοι
assembly you-are-holding O men Athenians neither to-me
δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν εἶναι, οὔτ' ἐπιτιμήσαντα τοῖς νέμουσι
seems of-the hard-things to-be neither having-censured the-ones distributing
καὶ διδοῦσι τὰ κοινὰ εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ τοῖς βλάπτεσθαι
and giving the public-funds to-be-well-thought-of among the-ones to-be-harmed
διὰ τούτων ἡγουμένοις τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε συνειπόντα καὶ
through these thinking the city nor having-supported and
παραινέσαν θ' ὡς δεῖ λαμβάνειν, χαρίσασθαι τοῖς σφόδρ'
having-advised that one-must to-take to-please the-ones very
ἐν χρείᾳ τοῦ λαβεῖν οὖσιν· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ τῇ πόλει
in need of-the to-take being neither for to the for-the city
συμφέρον σκοποῦντες οὔτ' ἐπαινοῦσιν οὔτε δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ
advantage looking neither praise nor object-to the
πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάτεροι χρείας καὶ περιουσίας ἔχουσιν.
matter but as each need and abundance have

2 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτ' ἂν εἰσηγησαίμην, οὔτ' ἂν
I but this indeed neither — would-propose nor —
ἀντείποιμ' ὡς οὐ δεῖ λαμβάνειν· παραινῶ μέντοι σκοπεῖν
would-oppose that not one-must to-take I-advise however to-consider
καὶ λογίζεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τἀργύριον μέν ἐστι
and to-reckon before you yourselves that the-money indeed is
τοῦθ', ὑπὲρ οὗ βουλεύεσθε, μικρόν, τὸ δ' ἔθος μέγα, ὃ
this about which you-deliberate small the but custom great which
γίγνεται μετὰ τούτου. εἰ μὲν οὖν μετὰ τοῦ πράττειν ἃ
arises with this if indeed then with the to-do what
προσήκει καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν κατασκευάσεσθε, οὐ μόνον οὐ
befits also the to-take you-will-establish not only not
βλάψετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ὠφελήσετε τὴν πόλιν καὶ
you-will-harm but also the greatest-things you-will-benefit the city and
ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τοῦ μὲν λαμβάνειν καὶ ἑορτὴ καὶ πᾶσ'
you yourselves if but for-the indeed to-take both festival and every
ἀρκέσει πρόφασις, τοῦ δ' ἃ πρὸς τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖν
will-suffice pretext for-the but what besides these it-is-necessary to-do
μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν ἐθελήσετε, ὁρᾶτε μήποθ', ἃ
not-even the words to-hear you-will-be-willing see lest-ever what
νῦν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε πράττειν, σφόδρ' ἡμαρτηκέναι νομίσητε.
now rightly you-think to-do very to-have-erred you-think
3 ἐγὼ δέ φημι δεῖν (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσητ' ἐφ'
I but say to-be-necessary and at-me not make-uproar at
ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε), ὡς περὶ
what I-am-about to-say but having-heard judge as about
τοῦ λαβεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδώκαμεν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοῦ
the to-take an-assembly we-assigned so also about the
συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι τὰ πρὸς τὸν
to-be-organized and to-be-prepared the-things for the
πόλεμον ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ παρασχεῖν ἕκαστον
war an-assembly to-assign and to-show each

αὐτὸν μὴ μόνον ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
himself not only these-things to-hear willing but also
πράττειν βουλόμενον, ἵν', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
to-do wishing so-that O men Athenians of-the
ἀγαθῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας δι' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔχητε, καὶ μὴ
goods the hopes through you yourselves you-may-have and not
τὸν δεῖνα μηδὲ τὸν δεῖνα πυνθάνησθε τί πράττει.
the so-and-so nor the so-and-so you-may-inquire what he-does
καὶ τὰ μὲν προσιόντα τῇ πόλει πάντα, καὶ ἃ νῦν 4
and the indeed coming-in to-the city all and what now
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παραναλίσκετ' εἰς οὐδὲν δέον καὶ
from the private-means you-spend-wastefully on nothing needful and
ὅσ' ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ὑπάρχει, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς
as-much-as from the allies is-available to-receive you
φημὶ χρῆναι τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ
I-say to-be-necessary the equal-share each the-ones indeed in age
στρατιωτικόν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν κατάλογον ἐξεταστικὸν
military-pay the-ones but beyond the list inspector's-pay
ἢ ὅπως ἄν τις ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο, στρατεύεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς
or as — anyone might-name this to-serve and them
καὶ μηδενὶ τούτου παραχωρεῖν,
and to-no-one this to-yield
ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως οἰκείαν εἶναι, κατεσκευασμένην 5
but the force of-the city own to-be established
ἀπὸ τούτων, ἵν' ἅμ' εὐπορῆτε καὶ τὰ δέοντα
from these so-that at-the-same-time you-may-be-well-off and the needful-things
ποιῆτε, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτης, ἵν' ὑμῖν, ὦ
you-may-do and the general to-lead this so-that for-you O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τοιαῦθ' οἷάπερ νυνὶ συμβαίνῃ· τοὺς
men Athenians not such-things as-very now happens the

στρατηγοὺς κρίνετε, καὶ περίεσθ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων
generals you-try and remains for-you from the affairs
'ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖν' εἰσήγγειλεν,' ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν.
the so-and-so the of-so-and-so the so-and-so impeached other but nothing
6 ἀλλὰ τί ὑμῖν γένηται; πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι μὴ
but what for-you may-happen first indeed the allies not
φρουραῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν κἀκείνοις
by-garrisons but by-the the-same-things to-be-expedient for-you and-for-them
ὦσιν οἰκεῖοι, ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ ξένους ἔχοντες τοὺς
may-be attached then the generals not mercenaries having the
μὲν συμμάχους ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
indeed allies may-plunder and pillage the but enemies
μηδ' ὁρῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν ὠφέλειαι τούτων εἰσὶν
not-even may-see from which the indeed profits of-these are
ἴδιαι, τὰ δὲ μίση καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐφ' ὅλην ἔρχεται
private the but hatreds and the charges upon whole come
τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολίτας τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας ἔχοντες
the city but citizens the-ones following having
τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἃ νῦν τοὺς φίλους, ποιῶσιν.
the enemies what now the friends they-may-do
7 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ὑμετέραν
apart and from-these many of-the affairs the your
ποθεῖ παρουσίαν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους
longs-for presence and without the for the own
πολέμους οἰκείᾳ χρῆσθαι δυνάμει συμφέρειν, καὶ πρὸς
wars own to-use force to-be-expedient also for
τἄλλα πράγματ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν
the-other affairs necessary it-is if indeed for quiet to-keep
ὑμῖν ἀπέχρη καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν περιεργάζεσθαι
for-you sufficed and nothing of-the Greek-affairs to-meddle-with
ὅπως ἔχει, ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος·
how it-is other — would-be argument

νῦν δὲ πρωτεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε καὶ τὰ δίκαι᾽ ὁρίζειν 8
now but to-be-first indeed you claim and the rights to-define
τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὴν δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐφορεύσουσαν καὶ φυλάξουσαν
for-the others the but these-things going-to-watch-over and going-to-guard
δύναμιν οὔτε κατεσκεύασθ᾽ οὔτε κατασκευάζεσθε, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ
force neither you-have-established nor are-establishing but during
πολλῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐρημίας ὑμῶν ὁ Μυτιληναίων
much indeed quiet and absence of-you the of-Mytilenaeans
δῆμος καταλέλυται, ἐπὶ πολλῆς δ᾽ ἡσυχίας ὁ Ῥοδίων,
democracy has-been-overthrown during much and quiet the of-Rhodians
ἐχθρός γ᾽ ὢν ἡμῖν, φαίη τις ἄν· ἀλλὰ μείζω χρὴ
enemy at-least being to-us might-say one — but greater one-must
νομίζειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας
to-consider O men Athenians the toward the oligarchies
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔχθραν, ἢ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
for itself the principle enmity than the toward the
δήμους ὑπὲρ ὧν ποτ᾽ ἂν ᾖ.
democracies for whatever ever — it-may-be
ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἐκεῖσ᾽ ἐπανέλθω, φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς 9
but so-that thither I-may-return I-say to-be-necessary you
συντετάχθαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν
to-be-organized and the same of-the both to-take and of-the to-do
ἃ προσήκει σύνταξιν εἶναι. διελέχθην δ᾽ ὑμῖν περὶ
what befits organization to-be I-discussed and with-you about
τούτων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ διεξῆλθον ὡς ἂν συνταχθείητε,
these also before and went-through how — you-might-be-organized
οἵ θ᾽ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τούτων ἐκτός
the both hoplites and the horsemen and as-many-as of-these outside
ἐστε, καὶ εὐπορία τις ἂν ἅπασι γένοιτο κοινή.
you-are and plenty some — for-all might-arise common

10 ὃ δέ μοι πλείστην ἀθυμίαν παρέσχεν ἁπάντων, ἐρῶ
what but me most despondency gave of-all I-will-say
πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
to you and not I-will-conceal that many and great
καὶ καλῶν ὄντων τούτων ἁπάντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
and fine being these all of-the indeed others
οὐδενὸς οὐδεὶς μέμνηται, τοῖν δυοῖν δ' ὀβολοῖν ἅπαντες.
none anyone remembers of-the two but obols all
καίτοι τοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πλείονος ἢ δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν
and-yet the-ones indeed not it-is-possible more than two obols
ἀξίους εἶναι, τἄλλα δὲ μετὰ τούτων ὧν εἶπον τῶν
worth to-be the-other-things but with these which I-said of-the
βασιλέως ἄξι' ἐστὶ χρημάτων, πόλιν τοσούτους ὁπλίτας
king's worth are money a-city so-many hoplites
ἔχουσαν καὶ τριήρεις καὶ ἵππους καὶ χρημάτων πρόσοδον
having and triremes and horses and of-money revenue
συντετάχθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι.
to-have-been-organized and to-have-been-prepared

11 τί οὖν ταῦτα νῦν λέγω; ὅτι φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ
why then these-things now do-I-say because I-say to-be-necessary you since
τὸ μὲν πάντας μισθοφορεῖν δυσχεραίνουσί τινες, τὸ δὲ
the indeed all to-draw-pay object-to some the but
συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι παρὰ πάντων χρήσιμον
to-be-organized and to-be-prepared by all useful
εἶναι δοκιμάζεται, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πράγματος,
to-be is-approved from-there to-begin the matter
καὶ προθεῖναι περὶ τούτων τῷ βουλομένῳ γνώμην
and to-put-forward about these for-the-one wishing opinion
ἀποφήνασθαι. ὡς οὕτως ἔχει· ἂν μὲν ὑμεῖς νῦν πεισθῆτε
to-declare that so it-is if indeed you now are-persuaded
τούτων καιρὸν εἶναι, ὅταν αὐτῶν εἰς χρείαν ἔλθητε,
of-these occasion to-be when for-them into need you-come

ἕτοιμ᾽ ὑπάρξει· ἂν δ᾽ ἀκαιρίαν ἡγησάμενοι παρίδητε, ὅταν
ready it-will-be if but unseasonable having-thought you-overlook-it when
δέῃ χρῆσθαι, τότ᾽ ἀναγκασθήσεσθε παρασκευάζεσθαι.
it-is-necessary to-use then you-will-be-compelled to-prepare
ἤδη δέ τις εἶπεν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοί που λέγων, οὐχ 12
already and someone said O men Athenians somewhere saying not
ὑμῶν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαρρηγνυμένων εἰ ταῦτα
of-you the many but of-the-ones bursting-with-rage if these-things
γενήσεται, ‘τί δ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἀγαθὸν
happen what and to-you from the of-Demosthenes words good
γέγονεν; παρελθὼν ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ, ἐνέπλησε
has-come having-come-forward to-you when to-him it-seems-good he-filled
τὰ ὦτα λόγων, καὶ διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους
the ears with-words and he-disparaged the present-things and the ancestors
ἐπῄνεσεν, καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ὑμᾶς κατέβη.’
praised and having-buoyed-up and having-puffed-up you he-stepped-down
ἐγὼ δ᾽ εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς δυναίμην ὧν λέγω τι πεῖσαι, 13
I and if indeed you I-could of-what I-say anything to-persuade
τηλικαῦτ᾽ ἂν οἶμαι τὴν πόλιν πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὰ ὥστ᾽,
so-great-things — I-think the city to-accomplish good-things that
εἰ νῦν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι, πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπιστῆσαι ὡς
if now to-say I-should-attempt many — to-disbelieve as
μείζοσιν ἢ δυνατοῖς· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν ὠφελεῖν
greater than possible not truly not-even this small to-benefit
οἶμαι, εἰ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς συνεθίζω. δεῖ
I-think if the best-things to-hear you I-accustom it-is-necessary
γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν βουλόμενόν τι ποιῆσαι
for O men Athenians the-one wishing something to-do
τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν τὰ ὦτα πρῶτον ὑμῶν ἰάσασθαι·
the city our good the ears first your to-heal

διέφθαρται γάρ· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ πάντα
they-have-been-corrupted for so many and false and everything
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀκούειν εἴθισθε.
rather than the best-things to-hear you-are-accustomed
14 οἷον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσει μοι μηδείς, πρὶν
for-instance that and not shall-make-uproar at-me anyone before
ἂν ἅπαντ' εἴπω) ἀνέῳξαν δήπου πρώην τινὲς τὸν
— all I-say opened surely lately some the
ὀπισθόδομον. οὐκοῦν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες τὸν δῆμον
treasury-chamber then the-ones coming-forward all the people
καταλελύσθαι, τοὺς νόμους οὐκέτ' εἶναι, τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον.
to-have-been-overthrown the laws no-longer to-exist such-things were-saying
καίτοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (καὶ σκοπεῖτ' ἂν ἀληθῆ λέγω)
and-yet O men Athenians and consider if true-things I-say
οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἄξι' ἐποίουν θανάτου,
the-ones indeed these-things doing deserving-things did of-death
ὁ δῆμος δ' οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεται. πάλιν κώπας
the people but not through these is-overthrown again oars
τις ὑφείλετο· μαστιγοῦν, στρεβλοῦν πάντες οἱ λέγοντες,
someone stole to-flog to-rack all the speakers
τὸν δῆμον καταλύεσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ τί φημί; τὸν μὲν
the people to-be-overthrown I but what do-I-say the-one indeed
ὑφαιρούμενον θανάτου ποιεῖν ἄξια, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι,
stealing of-death to-do deserving-things as they
τὸν δῆμον δ' οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεσθαι.
the people but not through these to-be-overthrown
15 ἀλλὰ πῶς καταλύεται, οὐδεὶς λέγει οὐδὲ παρρησιάζεται.
but how it-is-overthrown no-one says nor speaks-freely
ἐγὼ δὲ φράσω· ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φαύλως
I but will-tell when you O men Athenians badly
ἡγμένοι, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀσύντακτοι
led many and resourceless and unarmed and unorganized

καὶ μὴ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντες ἦτε, καὶ μήτε στρατηγὸς
and not the-same-things thinking you-are and neither general
μήτ' ἄλλος μηδεὶς ὢν ἂν ὑμεῖς ψηφίσησθε φροντίζῃ, καὶ
nor other anyone of-what — you vote cares and
ταῦτα μηδεὶς λέγειν ἐθέλῃ μηδ' ἐπανορθοῖ, μηδ' ὅπως
these-things no-one to-say is-willing nor corrects nor how
παύσεται τοιαῦτ' ὄντα πράττῃ, ὃ νῦν ἀεὶ συμβαίνει.
it-will-stop such being does which now always happens

II · FLATTERERS AND THE ANCESTORS

Other false arguments have slipped in, that the city's safety lies in the courts and its votes; but votes settle rights among citizens, and safety lies in arms. Candidates for office go about as slaves of the voters, and the politicians now run the city by symmories, an orator leading, a general under him, and three hundred to shout. The ancestors did not set up bronze statues of Themistocles and Miltiades, and claimed Salamis and Marathon for the city; now the victories of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chabrias are credited to the men. The ancestors gave Menon and Perdiccas only exemption, while now Athens sells citizenship. The ancestors ruled forty-five years, put more than ten thousand talents on the acropolis, and left modest houses; now politicians build houses grander than the public buildings.

καὶ νὴ Δί', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕτεροί γε λόγοι 16
and by Zeus O men Athenians other at-least arguments
παρερρυήκασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδεῖς, καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν
have-slipped-in to you false and much the constitution
βλάπτοντες, οἷον 'ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἡ
harming such-as in the courts for-you is the
σωτηρία,' καὶ 'δεῖ τῇ ψήφῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς
safety and it-is-necessary by-the vote the constitution you
φυλάττειν.' ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν τῶν πρὸς
to-guard I but know that these indeed for-you of-the toward

ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἐστὶ κύρια, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις δεῖ
one-another rights are valid in but the arms it-is-necessary
κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ σωτηρία
to-conquer the enemies and through these is the safety
τῆς πολιτείας.
of-the constitution

17 οὐ γὰρ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιήσει τὸ
not for the to-vote for-the-ones in the arms will-make the
νικᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μετὰ τούτων κρατοῦντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ
to-win but the-ones with these conquering the enemies both
ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε ποιεῖν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν
to-vote and other what ever — you-wish to-do for-you license
καὶ ἄδειαν παρασκευάσουσι· δεῖ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις
and security will-provide it-is-necessary for in indeed the arms
φοβερούς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις φιλανθρώπους εἶναι.
fearsome in but the courts humane to-be

18 εἰ δέ τῳ δοκῶ μείζους ἢ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν
if and to-anyone I-seem greater than according-to myself to-speak
λόγους, αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει· τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
words this very rightly of-them is the for for
τηλικαύτης πόλεως ῥηθησόμενον λόγον καὶ τοιούτων
such-great city going-to-be-spoken speech and such
πραγμάτων παντὸς ἑνὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ἀεὶ μείζω φαίνεσθαι
affairs than-every one the speaker always greater to-appear
δεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐγγὺς εἶναι, μὴ τῆς
it-is-necessary and to-the worth the yours near to-be not to-the
τοῦ λέγοντος. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τιμωμένων
of-the speaker that but no-one of-the by you honored
ταῦτα λέγει, τὰς προφάσεις ἐγὼ διέξειμ᾽ ὑμῖν.
these-things says the reasons I will-go-through for-you

οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν 19
the-ones indeed for elections and this the post
προσιόντες δοῦλοι τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονεῖσθαι χάριτος
approaching slaves of-the for the to-be-elected favor
περιέρχονται, τελεσθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἕκαστος σπουδάζων,
go-around to-be-made general each striving
οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον οὐδὲν πρᾶξαι. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτός
not of-a-man deed any to-do if but anyone also such
ἐστιν οἷος ἐγχειρεῖν ἔργῳ τῳ, νῦν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν τῆς
is as to-attempt deed some now indeed he-thinks the of-the
πόλεως δόξαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων καὶ τοὔνομα, τῆς τῶν
city reputation as-resource having and the-name of-the of-the-ones
ἐναντιωσομένων ἐρημίας ἀπολαύων, τὰς ἐλπίδας ὑμῖν
going-to-oppose absence enjoying the hopes to-you
ὑποτείνων, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲ ἕν, κληρονομήσειν αὐτὸς τῶν
holding-out other but not-even one to-be-going-to-inherit himself of-the
ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἂν δ' ὑμεῖς δι' ὑμῶν
your goods which-very is-so if but you through you
αὐτῶν ἕκαστα πράττητε, τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ
yourselves each-thing do the equal with-the others as
τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ἕξειν.
of-the deeds themselves so also of-the from these to-be-going-to-have
οἱ δὲ πολιτευόμενοι καὶ περὶ ταῦτ' ὄντες, τὸ τὰ 20
the-ones and conducting-politics and about these-things being the the
βέλτιστα σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἀφέντες, προσκεχωρήκασι πρὸς
best-things to-consider for-you having-given-up have-gone-over to
τούτους· καὶ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε,
these and before indeed by symmories you-paid-tax
νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν καὶ
now but you-conduct-politics by symmories orator leader and
στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι μεθ' ἑκατέρων
general under this and the-ones going-to-shout with each

τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε οἱ μὲν ὡς
three-hundred you but others you-have-been-assigned the-ones indeed to
τούτους, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνους. τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν περίεστιν
these the-ones but to those therefore for-you remains
ἐκ τούτων ὁ δεῖνα χαλκοῦς καὶ ὁ δεῖν' εὐδαίμων, εἷς
from these the so-and-so bronze and the so-and-so prosperous one
ἢ δύο, ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μάρτυρες τῆς τούτων
or two above the city you but others witnesses of-the of-these
εὐδαιμονίας κάθησθε, τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳθυμίας πολλὴν καὶ
prosperity you-sit for-the by day for-ease much and
μεγάλην ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐδαιμονίαν τούτοις προϊέμενοι.
great existing for-you prosperity to-these giving-up
21 καίτοι σκέψασθε πῶς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ταῦτ'
and-yet consider how in-the-time-of the ancestors these-things
εἶχεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν παραδείγμασι χρησαμένοις,
were not for foreign for-you examples having-used
ἀλλ' οἰκείοις ἔξεσθ' ἃ προσήκει πράττειν εἰδέναι.
but domestic it-will-be-possible what befits to-do to-know
ἐκεῖνοι Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν
those Themistocles the-one the at Salamis sea-battle
στρατηγοῦντα καὶ Μιλτιάδην τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι
commanding and Miltiades the-one leading at-Marathon
καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς νῦν στρατηγοῖς
and many others not equal to-the present generals
ἀγάθ' εἰργασμένους, μὰ Δί' οὐ χαλκοῦς ἵστασαν, ἀλλ'
good-things having-done by Zeus not bronze they-set-up but
ὡς οὐδὲν αὑτῶν κρείττους ὄντας, οὕτως ἐτίμων.
as in-nothing than-themselves better being so they-honored
22 καὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ἔργων οὐδενός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
and for surely of-the deeds of-none O men Athenians
τῶν τότ' ἀπεστέρησαν αὑτούς, οὐδ' ἔστ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν
of-the then they-deprived themselves nor is anyone who —

εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀλλ'
would-say the at Salamis sea-battle of-Themistocles but
Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ
of-Athenians nor the at-Marathon battle of-Miltiades but
τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν
of-the city now but many this say that Corcyra
εἷλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μόραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ
took Timotheus and the battalion cut-down Iphicrates and
τὴν περὶ Νάξον ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκα Χαβρίας· δοκεῖτε γὰρ
the off Naxos sea-battle won Chabrias you-seem for
αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων τούτων παραχωρεῖν τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς
yourselves of-the deeds these to-yield of-the honors by-the
ὑπερβολαῖς αἷς δεδώκατ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ τούτων.
excesses which you-have-given for them to-each of-these
τὰς μὲν δὴ πολιτικὰς δωρεὰς οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε καλῶς 23
the indeed now civic gifts so those both well
καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τὰς δὲ τῶν ξένων πῶς; ἐκεῖνοι
and you not rightly the but of-the foreigners how those
Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώδεκα μὲν τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου
to-Menon the Pharsalian twelve indeed talents of-silver
δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἠιόνι τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον,
having-given for the at Eion the near Amphipolis war
διακοσίοις δ' ἱππεῦσι πενέσταις ἰδίοις βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ
with-two-hundred and horsemen serfs his-own having-helped not
ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον.
voted citizenship but exemption gave only
καὶ πρότερον τούτου Περδίκκᾳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ 24
and before this to-Perdiccas the-one at the of-the
βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατείαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας,
barbarian once invasion being-king of-Macedonia
τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπὸ
the-ones retreating from Plataea of-the barbarians from

τῆς ἥττης διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τἀτύχημα ποιήσαντι
the defeat having-destroyed and complete the-disaster having-made
τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν
for-the king not voted citizenship but exemption
ἔδωκαν μόνον, μεγάλην καὶ τιμίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ σεμνὴν τὴν
gave only great and valuable I-think and august the
αὑτῶν πατρίδ' ἡγούμενοι καὶ πάσης μείζον' εὐεργεσίας.
their-own fatherland considering and than-every greater benefaction
νῦν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φθόρους ἀνθρώπους οἰκοτρίβων
now but O men Athenians corrupt men of-house-slaves
οἰκότριβας, τιμὴν ὥσπερ ἄλλου του τῶν ὠνίων
house-slaves price as of-other anything of-the wares
λαμβάνοντες, ποιεῖσθε πολίτας.
receiving you-make citizens
25 ταῦτα δ' ὑμῖν ἐπελήλυθε πράττειν, οὐχ ὅτι τὰς φύσεις
these-things and on-you has-come to-do not because in-the natures
χείρους ἐστὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐφ' αὑτοῖς
worse you-are than-the ancestors but because to-the indeed on themselves
παρειστήκει μέγα φρονεῖν, ὑμῶν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
it-was-possible great to-think from-you but O men Athenians
περιῄρηται τοῦτο. ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, δυνατὸν μικρὰ
has-been-taken-away this it-is but never I-think possible small
καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν,
and mean-things doing great and spirited spirit to-have
ὥσπερ οὐδὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ καλὰ πράττοντας μικρὸν καὶ
as not-even splendid and fine-things doing small and
ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν· ὁποῖ' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τἀπιτηδεύματα
humble to-think of-what-sort ever for — the-pursuits
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημ' ἔχειν.
of-the men are such necessarily also the spirit to-have

σκέψασθε δ' ἅ τις κεφάλαι' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν τῶν τ' ἐκείνοις 26
consider and what anyone main-points — could to-say of-the both by-those
πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἄρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ
done and of-the by-you if after-all you yourselves but from
τούτων γε δύνησθε γενέσθαι. πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντ'
these at-least you-can to-become five indeed and forty
ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἑκόντων ἐκεῖνοι, πλείω δ' ἢ
years over-the Greeks ruled willing those more but than
μύρια τάλαντ' εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον, πολλὰ δὲ
ten-thousand talents into the acropolis brought-up many and
καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαια, ἐφ'
and fine both on-land and fighting-at-sea they-set-up trophies at
οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς φιλοτιμούμεθα. καίτοι νομίζετ' αὐτοὺς
which still even now we take-pride and-yet consider them
ταῦτα στῆσαι, οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζωμεν ἡμεῖς θεωροῦντες
these-things to-have-set-up not so-that we-may-admire we beholding
αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μιμώμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.
them but so-that also we-may-imitate the of-the-ones having-dedicated virtues
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς δ', ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτ' 27
those indeed now these-things we but what all you-see
ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, σκέψασθ' εἰ παραπλήσια. οὐ πλείω
desolation having-taken-hold-of consider if similar not more
μὲν ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντ' ἀνήλωται μάτην
indeed than thousand and five-hundred talents have-been-spent in-vain
εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπόρους, ἐξανήλωνται δ' οἵ τ'
on the of-the Greeks needy have-been-spent and the both
ἴδιοι πάντες οἶκοι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ
private all houses and the public-funds of-the city and the-things
παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους
from the allies whom but in the war allies
ἐκτησάμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἀπολώλασιν;
we-acquired these now in the peace have-been-lost

28 ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα μόνον τότ' εἶχε βέλτιον ἢ νῦν,
but by Zeus these-things only then were better than now
τὰ δ' ἄλλα χεῖρον. πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅ
the but other-things worse far at-least even it-lacks but what
τι βούλεσθ' ἐξετάσωμεν. οἰκοδομήματα μέν γε καὶ
ever you-wish let-us-examine buildings indeed at-least and
κόσμον τῆς πόλεως, ἱερῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν
adornment of-the city of-temples and of-harbors and of-the-things
ἀκολούθων τούτοις, τοιοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον κατέλιπον
following these such and so-much left
ἐκεῖνοι ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν
those that for-no-one of-the-ones coming-after excess
λελεῖφθαι, προπύλαια ταῦτα, νεώσοικοι, στοαί, τἄλλα,
to-be-left Propylaea these ship-sheds porticoes the-other-things
οἷς ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν·
with-which those having-adorned the city to-us handed-down
29 τὰς δ' ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν ἐν δυνάμει γενομένων οὕτω
the and private houses of-the-ones in power having-been so
μετρίας καὶ τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ὀνόματι ἀκολούθους ὥστε
modest and with-the of-the constitution name in-keeping that
τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ
the of-Themistocles and the of-Cimon and the of-Aristeides and
τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν, εἴ τις ἄρ' ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὁποία
of-the then splendid house if anyone after-all of-you knows of-what-sort
ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν.
ever it-is he-sees than-the of-the neighbor in-nothing more-august being
30 νῦν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τὰς
now but O men Athenians publicly indeed the city our the
ὁδοὺς ἀγαπᾷ κατασκευάζουσα καὶ κρήνας καὶ κονιάματα
roads is-content building and fountains and plasterings
καὶ λήρους (καὶ οὐ τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ,
and trifles and not the-ones having-proposed these-things I-blame

πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν, εἰ ταῦθ' ἱκανὰ ὑμῖν
far at-least even I-lack but you if these-things sufficient for-you
αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι), ἰδίᾳ δ' οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπί
yourselves you-suppose to-be privately and the-ones of-the public-affairs over
τῳ γεγενημένοι οἱ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων
anything having-been the-ones indeed than-the public buildings
σεμνοτέρας τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας κατεσκευάκασιν, οὐ μόνον
more-august the private houses have-built not only
τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερηφανωτέρας, οἱ δὲ γῆν συνεωνημένοι
than-the many more-magnificent the-ones but land having-bought-up
γεωργοῦσιν ὅσην οὐδ' ὄναρ ἤλπισαν πώποτε.
farm as-much-as not-even in-a-dream they-hoped ever

III · THE PEOPLE AS MASTER

The cause is that the people were once master and gave others honors, while now the speakers are masters and the people take what they are given. So the city's decrees and deeds no longer match: fine decrees against Megara and for Phlius, and no deeds. Demosthenes advises either lesser ambitions or greater power, and since Athenians cannot think as Siphnians do, the power must be prepared. It is impossible now to withdraw from Greek affairs; Athens is like a politician who cannot quit. The speakers never make the people good or bad: the people make them, and if the people want what is good, either no one will urge the bad or he will find no one to persuade.

τούτων δ' αἴτιον ἁπάντων, ὅτι τότε μὲν ὁ δῆμος 31
of-these and cause of-all that then indeed the people
δεσπότης ἦν καὶ κύριος ἁπάντων, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν
master was and lord of-all and contented it-was
παρ' ἐκείνου τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστῳ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ
from him of-the others for-each both of-honor and of-office and
ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μεταλαμβάνειν, νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον κύριοι μὲν
of-good some to-get-a-share now but the-contrary masters indeed

τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὗτοι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται,
of-the goods these and through these everything is-done
ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει, καὶ ὑμεῖς
the but people in of-servant and of-appendage part and you
ἀγαπᾶθ' ἂν οὗτοι μεταδιδῶσι λαμβάνοντες.
are-content what-ever these give-a-share receiving
32 τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεώς
therefore from these such the affairs of-the city
ἐστιν ὥστε, εἴ τις ἀναγνοίη τὰ ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς
are that if anyone should-read the decrees your and the
πράξεις ἐφεξῆς διέλθοι, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς πιστεύσαι τῶν αὐτῶν
actions in-order should-go-through not-even — one would-believe of-the same
εἶναι ταῦτα κἀκεῖνα. οἷον ἃ πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους
to-be these-things and-those for-instance what against the accursed
Μεγαρέας ἐψηφίσασθ' ἀποτεμνομένους τὴν ὀργάδα, ἐξιέναι,
Megarians you-voted cutting-off the sacred-land to-march-out
κωλύειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἃ πρὸς Φλειασίους, ὅτ' ἐξέπεσον
to-prevent not to-allow what toward Phliasians when they-were-exiled
ἔναγχος, βοηθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, τῶν ἐν
lately to-help not to-allow to-the butchers of-the-ones in
Πελοποννήσῳ τοὺς βουλομένους παρακαλεῖν.
Peloponnese the-ones wishing to-summon
33 ἅπαντα καλά, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα καὶ δίκαια
all fine O men Athenians these-things and just
καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια· τὰ ἔργα δὲ τἀπὸ τούτων
and of-the city worthy the deeds but the-things-from these
οὐδαμοῦ. οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων
nowhere therefore the indeed hatred through the decrees
ἐκφέρεσθε, τῶν δ' ἔργων οὐδενὸς κύριοι γίγνεσθε· τὰ μὲν
you-carry-off of-the but deeds none masters you-become the indeed

γὰρ ψηφίσματα πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ψηφίζεσθε,
for decrees with-regard-to the of-the city dignity you-vote
τὴν δύναμιν δ' οὐκ ἀκόλουθον ὧν ψηφίζεσθ' ἔχετε.
the power but not corresponding to-what you-vote you-have
ἐγὼ δὲ παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν (καί μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῆτε) 34
I but would-advise — you and with-me not-at-all be-angry
ἔλαττον φρονεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀγαπᾶν πράττοντας,
less to-think and the yours own to-be-content doing
ἢ μείζω δύναμιν παρασκευάζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σιφνίοις
or greater power to-prepare if indeed then to-Siphnians
ἢ Κυθνίοις ἤ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιούτοις οὖσι συνῄδειν ὑμῖν,
or Cythnians or to-some others such being I-knew you
ἔλαττον φρονεῖν συνεβούλευον ἄν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναίοι,
less to-think I-would-advise — since but you-are Athenians
τὸ τὴν δύναμιν παρασκευάσασθαι παραινῶ· αἰσχρὸν γάρ,
the the power to-prepare I-advise shameful for
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ φρονήματος
O men Athenians shameful to-leave the of-the spirit
τάξιν, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδωκαν.
post which to-you the ancestors handed-down
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀποστῆναι 35
besides and these not-even it-is in you not-even if to-withdraw
τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν βούλησθε· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ παντὸς
from-the Greek-affairs you-wish many-things for by-you from all
τοῦ χρόνου πέπρακται, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους τοὺς
the time have-been-done and the indeed friends the
ὑπάρχοντας αἰσχρὸν προέσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς οὐκ
existing shameful to-give-up to-the but being enemies not
ἔνι πιστεῦσαι καὶ μεγάλους ἐᾶσαι γενέσθαι. ὅλως
it-is-possible to-trust and great to-allow to-become altogether
δ' ὅπερ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι πεπόνθασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς — οὐκ
but what-very the politicians have-experienced toward you not

ἔνεστιν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν βούλωνται, παύσασθαι — τοῦτο καὶ
it-is-possible for-them when they-wish to-stop this also
ὑμῖν περιέστηκε· πεπολίτευσθε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
to-you has-come-round you-have-been-politicians for among the Greeks
36 ἔστι δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεφάλαιον ἁπάντων τῶν
it-is and O men Athenians sum of-all the
εἰρημένων· οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ λέγοντες οὔτε πονηροὺς
said-things never you the speakers either bad
οὔτε χρηστοὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τούτους, ὁπότερ' ἂν
or good make but you these whichever —
βούλησθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὧν οὗτοι βούλονται στοχάζεσθε,
you-wish not for you what these wish aim-at
ἀλλ' οὗτοι ὧν ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖν οἴωνται. ὑμᾶς οὖν
but these what — you to-desire they-think you then
ὑπάρξαι δεῖ χρηστὰ βουλομένους, καὶ πάνθ' ἕξει
to-begin it-is-necessary good-things wishing and everything will-be
καλῶς· ἢ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ φλαῦρον οὐδέν, ἢ οὐδὲν
well either for no-one will-say bad anything or nothing
αὐτῷ πλέον ἔσται μὴ ἔχοντι τοὺς πεισομένους.
for-him more will-be not having the-ones going-to-obey

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ

On Halonnesus

The speaker answers Philip's letter point by point. Philip says Halonnesus is his, taken from pirates, and offers to give it to Athens; but taking a place from pirates does not make it the taker's, or anyone who drove pirates from Attica, Lemnos, Imbros, or Scyros could claim them. Philip knows this, and wants it said that Athens takes her islands as gifts from the Macedonian. His offer of arbitration is mockery: Athens, which freed the Greeks, would ask judges to save her islands, judges Philip could buy, and so would concede the mainland. His proposed trade agreement would be valid only after his own review, and would confirm his seizure of Potidaea, though Macedon's kings never needed such agreements with Athens. His offer of a joint watch against pirates would let him sail among the islands and win them away. Philip's friends in Athens have told him the people forget what they voted.

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι, ἃς Φίλιππος 1
O men Athenians not there-is how the charges which Philip
αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγοντας,
charges the-ones for the just-things to you speaking
κωλύσουσι συμβούλους ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμῖν
will-prevent advisers us to-be about the-things for-you
συμφερόντων· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ
advantageous terrible for — it-would-be if the on the
βήματος παρρησίαν αἱ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμπόμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ
platform freedom-of-speech the from him sent letters
ἀνέλοιεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλομαι πρῶτον
should-destroy I but to-you O men Athenians wish first
μὲν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐπέσταλκε, περὶ τούτων διεξελθεῖν·
indeed about what Philip has-written about these to-go-through
ὕστερον δέ, περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέξομεν.
later and about what the envoys say and we shall-say

2 Φίλιππος γὰρ ἄρχεται μὲν περὶ Ἁλοννήσου λέγων ὡς
Philip for begins indeed about Halonnesus saying that
ὑμῖν δίδωσιν ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ οὔ φησι δικαίως αὐτὸν
to-you he-gives his-own being you but not he-says justly him
ἀπαιτεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμετέραν οὖσαν οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε νῦν
to-demand-back not for yours being either to-have-taken or now
ἔχειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους λόγους, ὅτε πρὸς
to-hold he-said and also to us such words when to
αὐτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαμεν, ὡς λῃστὰς ἀφελόμενος ταύτην τὴν
him we-went-as-envoys that from-pirates having-taken-away this the
νῆσον κτήσαιτο, καὶ προσήκειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι.
island he-acquired and to-befit it his-own to-be
3 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος, οὐ χαλεπόν
this but the argument that not it-is just not hard
ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι. ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ λῃσταὶ τοὺς
it-is from-him to-take-away all for the pirates the
ἀλλοτρίους τόπους καταλαμβάνοντες καὶ τούτους ἐχυροὺς
of-others places seizing and these strong
ποιούμενοι, ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἄλλους κακῶς ποιοῦσιν. ὁ
making from-there the others ill treat the-one
δὴ τοὺς λῃστὰς τιμωρησάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἂν
indeed the pirates having-punished and having-overcome not —
δήπου εἰκότα λέγοι, εἰ φαίη, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἀδίκως
surely reasonable-things would-say if he-were-to-say what those unjustly
καὶ ἀλλότρια εἶχον, ταῦθ' ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι.
and of-others held these-things his-own to-become
4 εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα συγχωρήσετε, τί κωλύει, καὶ εἴ τινα τῆς
if for these-things you-concede what prevents also if some of-the
Ἀττικῆς λῃσταὶ τόπον καταλάβοιεν ἢ Λήμνου ἢ Ἴμβρου
Attica pirates place should-seize or of-Lemnos or of-Imbros
ἢ Σκύρου, καί τινες τούτους τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκκόψαιεν, εὐθὺς
or of-Scyros and some these the pirates should-drive-out at-once

καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, οὗ ἦσαν οἱ λῃσταί, τὸν ὄντα
also the place this where were the pirates the being
ἡμέτερον, τῶν τιμωρησαμένων τοὺς λῃστὰς γίγνεσθαι;
ours of-the-ones having-punished the pirates to-become
Φίλιππος δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτ' οὐ δίκαια λέγων, ἀλλ' 5
Philip but not is-ignorant these-things not just-things saying but
εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἐπιστάμενος παρακρουσθῆναι ἂν ὑμᾶς
if even anyone other knowing to-be-misled — you
οἴεται ὑπὸ τῶν τἀνταῦθα διοικήσειν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς
he-thinks by the-ones the-affairs-here to-be-going-to-manage as — himself
ἐκεῖνος βούληται, καὶ πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων, καὶ νῦν δὲ
he wishes both before having-promised and now but
πραττόντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε λανθάνει αὐτόν,
doing but truly not-even that at-least escapes him
ὅτι δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁποτέρῳ ἂν χρῆσθε,
that through both the names whichever — you-use
ὑμεῖς ἕξετε τὴν νῆσον, ἄν τε λάβητε ἄν τ' ἀπολάβητε.
you will-have the island if both you-take if and you-take-back
τί οὖν αὐτῷ διαφέρει, μὴ τῷ δικαίῳ ὀνόματι χρησάμενον 6
what then to-him matters not the just name having-used
ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ δωρεὰν δεδωκέναι, τῷ ἀδίκῳ; οὐχ
to-give-back to-you but as-a-gift to-have-given with-the unjust not
ἵν' εὐεργέτημά τι καταλογίσηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς (γελοῖον
so-that benefaction some he-may-reckon toward you ridiculous
γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτο τὸ εὐεργέτημα), ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐνδείξηται
for — would-be this the benefaction but so-that he-may-display
ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
to-all the Greeks that Athenians the in the sea
χωρία ἀγαπῶσι παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος λαμβάνοντες. τοῦτο
places are-content from the Macedonian receiving this
δ' ὑμῖν οὐ ποιητέον ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.
but by-you not must-be-done is O men Athenians

7 ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἐθέλει διαδικάσασθαι,
when and he-says about these that he-is-willing to-submit-to-arbitration
οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ χλευάζει ὑμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀξιῶν Ἀθηναίους
nothing other than he-mocks you first indeed claiming Athenians
ὄντας πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὁρμώμενον περὶ τῶν νήσων
being against the-one from Pella setting-out about the islands
διαδικάζεσθαι, πότερ᾽ ὑμέτεραι ἢ ἐκείνου εἰσίν. ὁπότε γὰρ ἡ
to-go-to-arbitration whether yours or his they-are when for the
μὲν δύναμις ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἡ ἐλευθερώσασα τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
indeed power the yours the-one having-freed the Greeks
μὴ δύναται ὑμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρία σῴζειν, οἱ δὲ
not can for-you the in the sea places to-save the but
δικασταί, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψητε, οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου,
judges to-whom — you-entrust the-ones masters of-the vote
οὗτοι ὑμῖν σώσουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ Φίλιππος αὐτοὺς πρίηται,
these for-you will-save if not Philip them buys
8 πῶς ὑμεῖς οὐχ ὁμολογουμένως, ὅταν ταῦτα διαπράττησθε,
how you not admittedly when these-things you-accomplish
τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἁπάντων ἀφεστήκατε, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυτε
from-the in the mainland all have-withdrawn and show
ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῷ διαγωνιεῖσθε,
to-all men that not-even about one with-him you-will-fight-it-out
εἴγε περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὗ φατὲ ἰσχύειν, μὴ
if-indeed about the-things in the sea where you-say to-be-strong not
διαγωνιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ δικάσεσθε;
you-will-fight-it-out but you-will-go-to-law
9 ἔτι περὶ συμβόλων φησὶ πεπομφέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς
further about agreements he-says to-have-sent to you the-ones
ποιησομένους, ταῦτα δὲ κύρια ἔσεσθαι, οὐκ ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ
going-to-make these but valid to-be-going-to-be not when in the
δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν κυρωθῇ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει,
court the among you they-are-ratified as the law bids

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανενεχθῇ, ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ᾽
but when to himself they-are-referred subject-to-appeal the from
ὑμῶν γενομένην γνῶσιν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ποιούμενος. βούλεται
you having-happened decision to himself making he-wishes
γὰρ ὑμῶν τοῦτο προλαβεῖν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον ἐν τοῖς
for from-you this to-secure-first and agreed in the
συμβόλοις καταστῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν περὶ Ποτείδαιαν γεγενημένων
agreements to-establish that of-the at Potidaea having-happened
ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖτε αὐτῷ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ἀλλὰ
wrongs none you-charge to-him as wronged but
βεβαιοῦτε δικαίως αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνον καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ κεκτῆσθαι.
you-confirm justly it him both to-have-taken and to-possess
καίτοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες, οὐκ 10
and-yet of-Athenians the-ones in Potidaea dwelling not
ὄντος αὐτοῖς πολέμου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίας,
being for-them war against Philip but alliance
καὶ ὅρκων ὀμωμοσμένων, οὓς Φίλιππος τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν
and oaths sworn which Philip to-the-ones dwelling
ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ ὤμοσεν, ἀφῃρέθησαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ κτήματα.
in Potidaea swore were-deprived by him of-the possessions
ταῦτα δὴ βούλεται τἀδικήματα πανταχῶς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν
these indeed wishes the-wrongs in-every-way from you
βεβαιώσασθαι, ὅτι οὔτ᾽ ἐγκαλεῖτε οὔθ᾽ ἡγεῖσθε ἀδικεῖσθαι·
to-confirm that neither you-charge nor you-think to-be-wronged
ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε συμβόλων οὐδὲν δέονται Μακεδόνες 11
since that at-least of-agreements not-at-all need Macedonians
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὁ παρεληλυθὼς ὑμῖν χρόνος τεκμήριον
toward Athenians the past for-you time proof
γενέσθω· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀμύντας ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Φιλίππου οὔθ᾽
let-it-be neither for Amyntas the father the of-Philip nor

οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε σύμβολα ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς
the other kings ever agreements made with
τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν.
the city the our

12 καίτοι πλείους γε ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιμειξίαι τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους
and-yet more at-least were the dealings then with one-another
ἢ νῦν εἰσίν· ὑφ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦν ἡ Μακεδονία καὶ φόρους
than now are under us for was the Macedonia and tributes
ἡμῖν ἔφερον, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις τότε μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν
to-us they-paid and the trading-ports then more than now
ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ κἀκεῖνοι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ
we both the there and-they the-ones among us used and
ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι οὐκ ἦσαν, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἀκριβεῖς, αἱ κατὰ
commercial suits not were as now precise the by
μῆνα, ποιοῦσαι μηδὲν δεῖσθαι συμβόλων τοὺς τοσοῦτον
month making not-at-all to-need agreements the-ones so-far
ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας.
from-one-another being-distant

13 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ὄντος τότε, οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει
but nevertheless nothing such being then not it-was-profitable
σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὔτ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε
agreements having-made either from Macedonia to-sail to-Athens
δίκας ληψομένους, οὔθ' ἡμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς
suits going-to-obtain or for-us into Macedonia but we
τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἐκεῖνοί τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς
both by-the there laws they both by-the among us the
δίκας ἐλάμβανον. μὴ οὖν ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα
suits obtained not then be-ignorant that the agreements these
γίγνεται εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μηδ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι εὐλόγως
are-made for prelude of-the not-even to-dispute reasonably
ὑμᾶς ἔτι Ποτειδαίας.
you any-longer of-Potidaea

περὶ δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν δίκαιόν φησιν εἶναι κοινῇ φυλάττειν 14
about and the pirates just he-says to-be in-common to-guard-against
τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κακουργοῦντας ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτόν,
the-ones on the sea doing-mischief you both and himself
οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τοῦτ᾽ ἀξιῶν, ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
nothing other than this claiming by you onto the sea
κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνευ Φιλίππου
to-be-established and to-admit you that without Philip
οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλακὴν δυνατοί ἐστε φυλάττειν,
not-even the on the sea guard able are to-keep
ἔτι δὲ καὶ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἄδειαν, περιπλέοντι 15
further and also to-be-given to-him this the license sailing-around
καὶ ὁρμιζομένῳ εἰς τὰς νήσους ἐπὶ προφάσει τῇ τῶν
and putting-in to the islands on pretext the of-the
λῃστῶν φυλακῇ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νησιώτας καὶ ἀφιστάναι
pirates guard to-corrupt the islanders and to-detach
ὑμῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς
from-you and not only the exiles the from himself to
Θάσον κεκομικέναι διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ
Thasos to-have-brought through the your generals but
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους οἰκειώσασθαι, συμπέμπων τοὺς
also the other islands to-appropriate sending-along the-ones
συμπλευσομένους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὡς
going-to-sail-with with the generals the yours as
κοινωνήσοντας τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν φυλακῆς.
going-to-share of-the on sea guard
καίτοι οὔ φασί τινες αὐτὸν προσδεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ὁ 16
and-yet not say some him to-need-besides the sea he
δ᾽ οὐδὲν δεόμενος τριήρεις κατασκευάζεται, καὶ νεωσοίκους
but nothing needing triremes is-equipping and ship-sheds
οἰκοδομεῖται, καὶ ἀποστόλους ἀποστέλλειν βούλεται, καὶ
is-building and expeditions to-send-out wishes and

δαπάνας οὐ μικρὰς δαπανᾶν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν
expenses not small to-spend on the on sea
κινδύνους, ὧν οὐδὲν προτιμᾷ.
dangers of-which nothing he-values

17 ταῦτ' οἴεσθ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον ἀξιῶσαι
these-things do-you-think — O men Athenians Philip to-have-claimed
ὑμᾶς συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ὑμῶν μὲν κατεφρόνει, οὓς
you to-concede to-him if not you indeed he-despised whom
δ' ἐνθάδε προῄρηται φίλους κεκτῆσθαι, τούτοις διεπίστευεν;
but here he-has-chosen as-friends to-have to-these he-trusted
οἳ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες καὶ οὐ τῇ αὑτῶν
who not are-ashamed for-Philip living and not for-the their-own
πατρίδι, καὶ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρειὰς λαμβάνοντες οἴονται
fatherland and the from him gifts receiving think
οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν, τὰ οἴκοι πωλοῦντες.
home to-be-receiving the-things at-home selling

18 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ
about and the amendment of-the peace which gave to-us the
πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντες ἐπανορθώσασθαι, ὅτι
envoys the from him sent to-amend that
ἐπηνωρθωσάμεθα, ὃ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογεῖται
we-amended which among all men is-agreed
δίκαιον εἶναι, ἑκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἀμφισβητεῖ μὴ
just to-be each to-have the their-own he-disputes not
δεδωκέναι μηδὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
to-have-given nor the envoys these-things to-have-said to you
οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τούτων, οἷς χρῆται
nothing other than having-been-persuaded by these whom he-uses
φίλοις, ὡς ὑμεῖς οὐ μνημονεύετε τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰρημένα.
as-friends that you not remember the-things in the assembly said

μόνον δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀμνημονῆσαι· 19
alone but this not possible — for-you it-is to-forget
ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῖν οἱ παρ᾽
in for the same assembly both the envoys to-you the from
ἐκείνου ἥκοντες διελέγοντο καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη. ὥστ᾽
him having-come were-discussing and the decree was-proposed so-that
οὐχ οἷόν τε, παραχρῆμα τῶν λόγων εἰρημένων καὶ εὐθὺς
not possible — immediately the words having-been-said and at-once
τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐπαναγιγνωσκομένου, τὴν καταψευδομένην
the decree being-read-out the lying
γνώμην τῶν πρέσβεων, ταύτην ὑμᾶς χειροτονῆσαι· ὥστε
resolution of-the envoys this you to-vote so-that
τοῦτο μὲν οὐ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐπέσταλκεν, ὡς
this indeed not against me but against you he-has-written as-if
ὑμεῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἠκούσατε, περὶ τούτων ἀποκρινάμενοι
you about what not you-heard about these having-answered
τὴν γνώμην ἀπεστείλατε.
the resolution sent

II · THE AMENDED PEACE

Philip's envoys heard the people's answer and said nothing; Python, his envoy, asked the people to amend the peace if anything in it was wrong, since Philip would do whatever they voted. Philip now denies having offered the amendment. The speaker proposed a decree contrary to Philocrates', which was itself illegal in giving away Amphipolis; Philip claims Amphipolis because Athens voted that he keep what he held, but holding is not owning, and his own letter during the siege admitted it was Athens'. The second amendment, that the Greeks outside the peace be free and autonomous, Philip accepts in his letter, while he holds Pherae, marches on Ambracia, and hands three cities of Cassopia to Alexander. He promised great benefits once the peace was made, and now promises them in some other land. His seizures during the peace he offers to arbitrate, though the calendar alone decides.

20 καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις αὐτοί, ὧν κατεψεύδετο τὸ
and the indeed envoys themselves of-whom lied the
ψήφισμα, ὅτ' ἀπεκρίνεσθε αὐτοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκοντες καὶ
decree when you-answered them reading-it and
ἐπὶ ξένια αὐτοὺς ἐκαλεῖτε, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν παρελθεῖν,
to hospitality them you-invited not dared to-come-forward
οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι 'καταψεύδεσθε ἡμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
nor to-say that you-lie-about us O men Athenians
καὶ φατὲ ἡμᾶς εἰρηκέναι ἃ οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν,' ἀλλὰ
and say us to-have-said what not we-have-said but
σιωπῇ ἀπιόντες ᾤχοντο. βούλομαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες
in-silence departing went-off I-wish and you O men
Ἀθηναῖοι (καὶ γὰρ ηὐδοκίμησεν ὁ Πύθων παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν
Athenians and for was-well-received — Python among you in
τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, ὁ τότε πρεσβεύων), αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους
the harangue the-one then serving-as-envoy very the words
οὓς ἔλεγεν ὑπομνῆσαι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι μέμνησθε.
which he-said to-remind I-know for that you-remember
21 παραπλήσιοι δ' ἦσαν οἷς καὶ νῦν ἐπέσταλκε Φίλιππος·
similar and were to-what also now has-written Philip
ἐγκαλῶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὸν Φίλιππον,
charging for us the-ones slandering — Philip
καὶ ὑμῖν ἐμέμφετο ὅτι ὡρμηκότος αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν
and you he-blamed that having-set-out him well to-treat
ὑμᾶς καὶ προῃρημένου μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλους
you and having-chosen most of-the Greeks friends
κεκτῆσθαι αὐτοὶ κωλύετε, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους
to-have yourselves you-prevent accepting the words
τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ χρήματα ἐκεῖνον αἰτούντων
of-the-ones slandering and money from-him demanding
καὶ διαβαλλόντων· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους λόγους, ὅταν
and slandering the for such words when

ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούῃ, ὅτι κακῶς ἤκουεν, ὑμεῖς δ'
reporting he-hears that badly he-was-spoken-of you but
ἀπεδέχεσθε, μεταβάλλειν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, ὅταν ἄπιστος
accepted to-change his the mind when untrustworthy
φαίνηται τούτοις ὧν προῄρηται εὐεργέτης εἶναι.
he-appears to-these of-whom he-has-chosen benefactor to-be
ἐκέλευεν οὖν τοὺς λέγοντας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῇ μὲν εἰρήνῃ μὴ 22
he-bade then the-ones speaking in the assembly the indeed peace not
ἐπιτιμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον εἶναι εἰρήνην λύειν· εἰ δέ τι μὴ
to-censure not for worth to-be peace to-break if but anything not
καλῶς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, τοῦτ' ἐπανορθώσασθαι, ὡς
well has-been-written in the peace this to-amend as
ἅπαντα Φίλιππον ποιήσοντα ὅσ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ψηφίσησθε.
everything Philip going-to-do as-much-as — you vote
ἂν δὲ διαβάλλωσι μέν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μηδὲν γράφωσι δι'
if but they-slander indeed themselves but nothing propose through
οὗ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη ἔσται, παύσεται δ' ἀπιστούμενος ὁ
which the indeed peace will-be will-cease and being-distrusted —
Φίλιππος, μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις.
Philip not to-attend the mind to-the such men
καὶ τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες ἀπεδέχεσθε, 23
and these the words you hearing accepted
καὶ δίκαια ἔφατε τὸν Πύθωνα λέγειν· καὶ ἦν δίκαια.
and just-things you-said — Python to-say and they-were just
ἔλεγε δὲ τούτους τοὺς λόγους, οὐχ ὅπως λυθείη
he-said and these the words not so-that might-be-undone
ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἃ ἦν ἐκείνῳ συμφέροντα καὶ ὧν
from the peace what were for-him advantageous and on-which
πολλὰ χρήματα ἀνηλώκει ὥστε γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν
much money he-had-spent so-that to-come-about but by the
ἐνθάδε διδασκάλων προδεδιδαγμένος, οἳ οὐκ ᾤοντο εἶναι
here teachers taught-beforehand who not thought to-be

τὸν γράψοντα ἐναντία τῷ Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματι,
the-one going-to-propose contrary-things to-the of-Philocrates decree
τῷ ἀπολλύντι Ἀμφίπολιν.
the destroying Amphipolis
24 ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παράνομον μὲν οὐδὲν
I but O men Athenians illegal indeed nothing
ἐτόλμησα γράψαι, τῷ δὲ Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματι οὐκ
dared to-propose to-the but of-Philocrates decree not
ἦν παράνομον τἀναντία γράφειν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω· τὸ
it-was illegal the-opposite to-propose as I will-show the
γὰρ ψήφισμα τὸ Φιλοκράτους, καθ' ὃ ὑμεῖς ἀπώλλυτε
for decree the of-Philocrates by which you were-losing
Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐναντίον ἦν τοῖς προτέροις ψηφίσμασι, καθ'
Amphipolis contrary was to-the former decrees by
ἃ ὑμεῖς ἐκτήσασθε ταύτην τὴν χώραν.
which you acquired this the territory
25 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παράνομον ἦν τὸ ψήφισμα, τὸ τοῦ
this indeed then illegal was the decree the —
Φιλοκράτους, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν τὸν τὰ ἔννομα
of-Philocrates and not possible — it-was for-the-one the lawful-things
γράφοντα ταὐτὰ τῷ παρανόμῳ ψηφίσματι γράφειν.
proposing the-same-things as-the illegal decree to-propose
ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς προτέροις ψηφίσμασι, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐννόμοις καὶ
with-those but the former decrees the being lawful and
σῴζουσι τὴν ὑμετέραν χώραν, ταὐτὰ γράφων ἔννομά
saving the your territory the-same-things proposing lawful-things
τ' ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξήλεγχον τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι ἐξηπάτα
both I-proposed and I-proved — Philip that he-was-deceiving
ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐπανορθώσασθαι ἐβούλετο τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ
you and not to-amend wished the peace but
τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας ἀπίστους καταστῆσαι.
the-ones for you speaking untrustworthy to-make

καὶ ὅτι μὲν δοὺς τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν νῦν ἔξαρνός ἐστιν, 26
and that indeed having-granted the amendment now denying he-is
ἅπαντες ἴστε. φησὶ δ' Ἀμφίπολιν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι· ὑμᾶς
all you-know he-says and Amphipolis his-own to-be you
γὰρ ψηφίσασθαι ἐκείνου εἶναι, ὅτ' ἐψηφίζεσθε ἔχειν αὐτὸν
for to-have-voted his to-be when you-voted to-have him
ἃ εἶχεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε,
what he-had you but the indeed decree this voted
οὐ μέντοι γ' ἐκείνου εἶναι Ἀμφίπολιν· ἔστι γὰρ
not however at-least his to-be Amphipolis it-is-possible for
ἔχειν καὶ τἀλλότρια, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ
to-have also the-things-of-others and not all the-ones having the
αὑτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλότρια κέκτηνται·
their-own have but many also the-things-of-others possess
ὥστε τοῦτό γε τὸ σοφὸν αὐτῷ ἠλίθιόν ἐστιν.
so-that this at-least the clever-point of-his foolish is
καὶ τοῦ μὲν Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματος μέμνηται, τῆς 27
and the indeed of-Philocrates decree he-remembers the
δ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψεν ὅτ' Ἀμφίπολιν
but letter which to you he-sent when Amphipolis
ἐπολιόρκει, ἐπιλέλησται, ἐν ᾗ ὡμολόγει τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν
he-was-besieging he-has-forgotten in which he-admitted the Amphipolis
ὑμετέραν εἶναι· ἔφη γὰρ ἐκπολιορκήσας ὑμῖν ἀποδώσειν,
yours to-be he-said for having-taken-by-siege to-you to-be-going-to-give-back
ὡς οὖσαν ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐ τῶν ἐχόντων.
as being yours and not of-the-ones holding
κἀκεῖνοι μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ πρότερον ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει 28
and-those indeed as it-seems the-ones before in Amphipolis
οἰκοῦντες πρὶν Φίλιππον λαβεῖν, τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν
dwelling before Philip to-take the of-Athenians land
εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Φίλιππος αὐτὴν εἴληφεν, οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων
held when but Philip it has-taken not the of-Athenians

χώραν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει· οὐδ' Ὄλυνθόν γε οὐδ'
land but the his-own he-holds nor Olynthus at-least nor
Ἀπολλωνίαν οὐδὲ Παλλήνην, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίας ἀλλὰ τὰς
Apollonia nor Pallene not of-others but the
ἑαυτοῦ χώρας κέκτηται.
his-own lands he-possesses

29 ἆρ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ πεφυλαγμένως ἅπαντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς
then to-you does-he-seem guardedly everything to you
ἐπιστέλλειν, ὅπως ἂν φαίνηται καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἃ
to-write so-that — he-may-appear both saying and doing what
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογεῖται δίκαια εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐ
among all men is-agreed just to-be but not
σφόδρα καταπεφρονηκέναι, ὃς τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες
very to-have-despised-you who the land which the Greeks
καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὡμολογήκασιν
and king the of-Persians voted and have-admitted
ὑμετέραν εἶναι, ταύτην φησὶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑμετέραν εἶναι;
yours to-be this he-says his-own and not yours to-be

30 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐπανορθώματος, ὃ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ
about and the other amendment which you in the
εἰρήνῃ ἐπανορθοῦσθε, τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι
peace are-amending the other Greeks as-many-as
μὴ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους
not share of-the peace free and autonomous
εἶναι, καὶ ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύῃ, βοηθεῖν τοὺς
to-be and if anyone against them marches to-help the-ones
κοινωνοῦντας τῆς εἰρήνης,
sharing of-the peace

31 ἡγούμενοι καὶ δίκαιον τοῦτο καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, μὴ μόνον
thinking both just this and humane not only
ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ
us and the allies the our and Philip and

τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐκείνου ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ
the allies the his to-keep the peace the-ones but
μήθ' ἡμετέρους ὄντας μήτε Φιλίππου συμμάχους ἐν μέσῳ
neither ours being nor of-Philip allies in middle
κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
to-lie and by the stronger to-be-destroyed but also
τούτοις διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰρήνην ὑπάρχειν σωτηρίαν,
for-these because-of the your peace to-exist safety
καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἡμᾶς καταθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα,
and in-the reality peace to-keep us having-laid-down the arms
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα ὁμολογῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς 32
this but the amendment admitting in the letter as
ἀκούετε, δίκαιόν τ' εἶναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, Φεραίων μὲν
you-hear just both to-be and to-accept of-Pheraeans indeed
ἀφῄρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
he-has-taken-away the city and garrison in the acropolis
κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν, ἐπὶ δ'
he-set-up so-that indeed autonomous they-may-be against and
Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπίᾳ τρεῖς
Ambracia he-marches the and in Cassopia three
πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, Ἠλείων
cities Pandosia and Bucheta and Elateia of-Eleans
ἀποικίας, κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις
colonies having-burned the land and into the cities
βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ
having-forced-his-way he-handed-over to-Alexander the kinsman the
ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. σφόδρα γε βούλεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας
his-own to-be-slaves very at-least he-wishes the Greeks
ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα.
free to-be and autonomous as show the deeds

περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ὧν ὑμῖν διατελεῖ ὑπισχνούμενος
about and the promises which to-you he-continues promising
ὡς μεγάλα ὑμᾶς εὐεργετήσων, καταψεύδεσθαί μέ φησιν
that greatly you going-to-benefit to-lie me he-says
αὐτοῦ διαβάλλοντα πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν
about-him slandering-him to the Greeks nothing for to-you
πώποτέ φησιν ὑπεσχῆσθαι. οὕτως ἀναιδής ἐστιν ὁ ἐν
ever he-says to-have-promised so shameless is the-one in
ἐπιστολῇ γεγραφώς, ἥ ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ,
letter having-written which is now in the council-chamber
ὅσ' ἐπιστομιεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἔφη, τοὺς αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγοντας,
how-much to-be-going-to-muzzle us he-said the-ones him opposing
ἐὰν ἡ εἰρήνη γένηται, τοσαῦτα ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὰ ποιήσειν·
if the peace is-made so-many you goods to-be-going-to-do
ἃ γράφειν ἂν ἤδη, εἰ ᾔδει τὴν εἰρήνην ἐσομένην,
which to-write — now if he-had-known the peace going-to-be
δῆλον ὡς προκεχειρισμένων καὶ ἑτοίμων ὄντων τῶν
clearly as ready-to-hand and prepared being the
ἀγαθῶν, ἃ ἐμέλλομεν πείσεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης.
goods which we-were-going to-enjoy the peace having-been-made
γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν
having-been-made and the peace what indeed we were-going
ἀγαθὰ πείσεσθαι, ἐκποδών ἐστι, φθορὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
good-things to-enjoy out-of-the-way is ruin but of-the Greeks
τοσαύτη γέγονεν ὅσην ὑμεῖς ἴστε. ὑμῖν δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν
so-great has-happened as-great-as you know to-you but in the present
ἐπιστολῇ ὑπισχνεῖται, ἐὰν τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ
letter he-promises if the indeed his-own friends and for
αὐτοῦ λέγουσι πιστεύητε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας
him speaking you-trust us but the-ones slandering
αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τιμωρήσησθε, ὡς μεγάλα εὐεργετήσει.
him to you you-punish that greatly he-will-benefit-you

τὰ μέντοι εὐεργετήματα τοιαῦτα ἔσται· οὔτε τὰ ὑμέτερα 35
the however benefactions such will-be neither the yours
ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει (αὐτοῦ γάρ φησιν εἶναι), οὔτ' ἐν τῇ
to-you he-will-give-back his-own for he-says to-be nor in the
οἰκουμένῃ αἱ δωρειαὶ ἔσονται, ἵνα μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς
inhabited-world the gifts will-be so-that not he-may-be-slandered to
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις χώρα καὶ ἄλλος, ὡς ἔοικε,
the Greeks but other some land and other as it-seems
τόπος φανήσεται, οὗ ὑμῖν αἱ δωρειαὶ δοθήσονται.
place will-appear where to-you the gifts will-be-given
περὶ δ' ὧν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ εἴληφε χωρίων, ὑμῶν 36
about and what in the peace he-has-taken places you
ἐχόντων, παρασπονδῶν καὶ λύων τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ
holding breaking-the-treaty and violating the peace since not
ἔχει ὅ τι εἴπῃ, ἀλλ' ἀδικῶν φανερῶς ἐξελέγχεται,
he-has what ever he-may-say but wronging openly is-convicted
ἐπιτρέπειν φησὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτοιμος εἶναι ἴσῳ καὶ κοινῷ
to-refer he-says about these ready to-be to-equal and impartial
δικαστηρίῳ· περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲν δεῖ ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀλλ'
court about which alone nothing is-needed of-arbitration but
ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστιν ὁ κρίνων. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἴσμεν
number of-days is the-thing deciding all for we-know
τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι ἡμέρᾳ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο.
in-what month and on-what day the peace was-made

The dates of the peace and of Philip's seizure of Serrium, Ergisce, and the Sacred Mountain are known to all, and though he says he has returned the Athenian prisoners, he executed the Carystian proxenos of Athens, for whom three envoys were sent, and did not even give up the body for burial. In the Chersonese he treats all the land outside Agora as his own and has given it to Apollonides of Cardia, though the boundary is the altar of Zeus of the Boundaries between Pteleum and White Beach, whose inscription is read. He now asks Athens to go to arbitration with the Cardians, who live on her land but claim it as theirs on the strength of Callippus' decree, which the speaker indicted and the Athenians acquitted, and he threatens to compel them himself if they refuse. Those who praise his letter deserve Athens' hatred more than Philip, and Athenians who favor Philip over their country deserve to perish, if the Athenians carry their brains in their temples and not trampled in their heels.

37 ὥσπερ δὲ ταῦτα ἴσμεν, κἀκεῖνα ἴσμεν, τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι
as and these-things we-know also-those we-know in-what month and on-what
ἡμέρᾳ Σέρρειον τεῖχος καὶ Ἐργίσκη καὶ Ἱερὸν ὄρος ἑάλω.
day Serrium fort and Ergisce and Sacred mountain were-taken
οὐ δὴ ἀφανῆ ἐστι τὰ οὕτω πραχθέντα, οὐδὲ κρίσεως
not indeed hidden are the-things so done nor of-judgment
δεόμενα, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι γνώριμα πότερος πρότερος ὁ μήν
needing but to-all known which earlier the month
ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἢ ἐν ᾧ τὰ χωρία ἑάλω.
is in which the peace was-made or in which the places were-taken
38 φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν, ὅσοι ἐν
he-says and also the prisoners our as-many-as in
τῷ πολέμῳ ἑάλωσαν, ἀποδεδωκέναι· ὃς τὸν μὲν
the war were-captured to-have-given-back who the indeed
Καρύστιον, τὸν πρόξενον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ὑπὲρ οὗ
Carystian the proxenos of-the our city for whom
ὑμεῖς τρεῖς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψατε ἀπαιτοῦντες, τοῦτον τὸν
you three envoys sent demanding this the

ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνος οὕτω σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἐβούλετο χαρίσασθαι,
man he so very to-you wished to-please
ὥστ᾽ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἀναίρεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἵνα
that he-killed-him and not-even taking-up gave so-that
ταφῇ.
he-might-be-buried
περὶ δὲ Χερρονήσου, ἅ τ᾽ ἐπιστέλλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιόν 39
about and Chersonese what both he-writes to you worth
ἐστιν ἐξετάσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἃ πράττει, καὶ ταῦτ᾽
it-is to-examine further and also what he-does also these-things
εἰδέναι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἅπαντα τὸν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς
to-know the indeed for place all the outside Agora
ὡς ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα καὶ ὑμῖν οὐδὲν προσήκοντα δέδωκε
as his-own being and to-you in-nothing belonging he-has-given
καρποῦσθαι Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τῷ Καρδιανῷ. καίτοι Χερρονήσου
to-enjoy to-Apollonides the Cardian and-yet of-Chersonese
οἱ ὅροι εἰσίν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
the boundaries are not Agora but altar of-the Zeus of-the
ὁρίου, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς ἀκτῆς, ᾗ
Boundaries which is between Pteleum and White Beach where
ἡ διορυχὴ ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔσεσθαι,
the canal was-going of-Chersonese to-be

40 ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
as at-least the inscription the on the altar of-the Zeus of-the
ὁρίου δηλοῖ. ἔστι δὲ τουτί·
Boundaries shows is and this

Τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμὸν
This they-set-up to-the-god very-beautiful altar
Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὅρον θέμενοι
of-White and of-Pteleum middle boundary having-placed
ἐνναέται, †χώρης σημήϊον· ἀμμορίης δὲ†
the-dwellers of-the-land token of-the-division and
αὐτὸς ἄναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης.
himself lord of-the-blessed is in-the-middle son-of-Cronus

41 ταύτην μέντοι τὴν χώραν, τοσαύτην οὖσαν ὅσην οἱ πολλοὶ
this however the land so-great being as-great-as the many
ὑμῶν ἴσασιν, ὡς ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς καρποῦται,
of-you know as his-own being the-part indeed himself enjoys
τὴν δ' ἄλλοις δωρειὰν δέδωκε, καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ κτήματα τὰ
the-other but to-others as-a-gift he-has-given and all the possessions the
ὑμέτερα ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιεῖται. καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς
yours under himself he-makes and not only the outside Agora
χώραν σφετερίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Καρδιανούς, οἳ οἰκοῦσιν
land he-appropriates but also to Cardians who dwell
εἴσω Ἀγορᾶς, ἐπιστέλλει ἐν τῇ νῦν ἐπιστολῇ ὡς δεῖ
inside Agora he-writes in the present letter that it-is-necessary
ὑμᾶς διαδικάζεσθαι — πρὸς Καρδιανοὺς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας
you to-go-to-arbitration with Cardians the-ones dwelling
ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ — εἴ τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφέρεσθε.
in the yours if in-anything with them you-differ

διαφέρονται δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, σκέψασθε εἰ περὶ μικροῦ. 42
they-differ and with you consider if about small-matter
ἑαυτῶν φασι τὴν χώραν οὖσαν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐχ ὑμετέραν,
their-own they-say the land being to-inhabit and not yours
καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα εἶναι ἐγκτήματα ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ,
and the indeed yours to-be holdings as in other's-land
τὰ δὲ ἑαυτῶν κτήματ' ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμέτερον
the but their-own possessions as in own-land and these-things your
πολίτην γράψαι ἐν ψηφίσματι, Κάλλιππον Παιανιέα.
citizen to-have-proposed in decree Callippus of-Paeania
καὶ τοῦτό γ' ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν· ἔγραψε γάρ, καὶ 43
and this at-least true-things they-say he-proposed for and
ἐμοῦ γ' αὐτὸν γραψαμένου παρανόμων γραφὴν ὑμεῖς
me at-least him having-indicted for-illegality indictment you
ἀπεψηφίσασθε· τοιγάρτοι ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὑμῖν τὴν
acquitted therefore disputable for-you the
χώραν κατεσκεύακεν. ὁπότε δὲ περὶ τούτου τολμήσετε
land he-has-made when but about this you-will-dare
πρὸς Καρδιανοὺς διαδικάζεσθαι, εἴθ' ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν εἴτ'
with Cardians to-go-to-arbitration whether yours is or
ἐκείνων ἡ χώρα, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους
theirs the land because-of what not also with the other
Χερρονησίτας τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἔσται;
Chersonesians the same right will-be
καὶ οὕτως ὑβριστικῶς ὑμῖν κέχρηται ὥστε φήσιν, ἂν μὴ 44
and so insolently you he-has-treated that he-says if not
θέλωσι διαδικάζεσθαι οἱ Καρδιανοί, αὐτὸς ἀναγκάσειν,
they-wish to-go-to-arbitration the Cardians himself to-be-going-to-compel
ὡς ὑμῶν γ' οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων οὐδὲν ἀναγκάσαι
as you at-least not — being-able anything to-compel
Καρδιανοὺς ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε,
Cardians for-you to-do since but you not can

αὐτός φησι τοῦτ᾽ ἀναγκάσειν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι. ἆρ᾽ οὐ
himself he-says this to-be-going-to-compel them to-do then not
μεγάλα φαίνεται ὑμᾶς εὐεργετῶν;
greatly does-he-appear you benefiting
45 καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν τινες εὖ ἔφασαν γεγράφθαι,
and this the letter some well said to-have-been-written
οἳ πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἢ Φίλιππος μισοῖντο.
who much — more-justly by you than Philip would-be-hated
ἐκεῖνος μέν γ᾽ ἑαυτῷ κτώμενος δόξαν καὶ μεγάλ᾽
he indeed at-least for-himself acquiring reputation and great
ἀγαθὰ ἅπαντα καθ᾽ ὑμῶν πράττει· ὅσοι δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι
goods everything against you does as-many-as but Athenians
ὄντες μὴ τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυνται,
being not to-the fatherland but to-Philip goodwill display
προσήκει αὐτοὺς ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι,
it-befits them by you base basely to-have-perished
εἴπερ ὑμεῖς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ
if-indeed you the brain in the temples and not
ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.
in the heels trampled carry
46 ὑπόλοιπόν μοί ἐστιν ἔτι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν
remaining for-me is further to this the letter the
εὖ ἔχουσαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων γράψαι τὴν
well faring and the words of-the envoys to-propose the
ἀπόκρισιν, ἣν ἡγοῦμαι δικαίαν τ᾽ εἶναι καὶ συμφέρουσαν
answer which I-think just both to-be and advantageous
ὑμῖν.
for-you

DEMOSTHENES

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Δ

Fourth Philippic

Demosthenes says the Athenians attend to affairs only while they sit and listen, and forget them as they leave. Philip's greed cannot be checked by speeches: Athens wins every argument but Philip acts, and the world attends to what is done. Everywhere the cities have split into those who want to live free and equal and those who want to rule with a tyrant's help, and Philip's partisans have prevailed, by bribery and by force at hand; Athens is almost the only secure democracy left. Athenians are as if drugged, and are despised; other Greeks dispute with them over leadership. Neglect of small things lost Serrium, Doriscus, Thrace, Porthmus, and Oreus, and nearly Megara.

καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ὧν 1
and serious thinking O men Athenians about what
βουλεύεσθε, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῇ πόλει, πειράσομαι περὶ
you-deliberate and necessary for-the city I-will-try about
αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν. οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων
them to-say what I-think to-be-expedient not few and being
ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδ' ἐκ μικροῦ χρόνου συνειλεγμένων, ἐξ ὧν
errors nor from short time collected from which
φαύλως ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
badly these-things are nothing is O men Athenians of-the
πάντων δυσκολώτερον εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἢ ὅτι ταῖς γνώμαις
all more-troublesome for the present than that in-the minds
ὑμεῖς ἀφεστήκατε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον
you have-stood-aloof from-the affairs and so-long time
σπουδάζεθ' ὅσον ἂν κάθησθ' ἀκούοντες ἢ προσαγγελθῇ
you-are-earnest as-long-as — you-sit listening or is-reported
τι νεώτερον, εἶτ' ἀπελθὼν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ μόνον
something newer then having-gone-away each of-you not only
οὐδὲν φροντίζει περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέμνηται.
nothing cares about them but not-even remembers

2 ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀσέλγεια καὶ πλεονεξία, ἣ πρὸς ἅπαντας
the indeed then licentiousness and greed which toward all
ἀνθρώπους Φίλιππος χρῆται, τοσαύτη τὸ πλῆθος ὅσην
men Philip uses so-great the amount as-great-as
ἀκούετε· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔνι ταύτης ἐκεῖνον ἐπισχεῖν ἐκ
you-hear that but not it-is-possible from-this him to-check by
λόγου καὶ δημηγορίας οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου. καὶ γὰρ εἰ
speech and harangue no-one is-ignorant surely also for if
μηδ' ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν ἄλλων τοῦτο μαθεῖν δύναταί τις, ὧδὶ
not-even from one of-the others this to-learn can anyone thus
λογισάσθω. ἡμεῖς οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε, ὅπου περὶ τῶν δικαίων
let-him-reckon we nowhere ever where about the just-things
εἰπεῖν ἐδέησεν, ἡττήθημεν οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἐδόξαμεν, ἀλλὰ
to-speak it-was-necessary were-defeated nor to-do-wrong we-seemed but
πάντων πανταχοῦ κρατοῦμεν καὶ περίεσμεν τῷ λόγῳ.
all everywhere we-conquer and prevail by-the speech
3 ἆρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνῳ φαύλως ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, ἢ
then therefore because-of this for-him badly are the affairs or
τῇ πόλει καλῶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ
for-the city well far at-least even it-lacks when for the-one
μὲν λαβὼν μετὰ ταῦτα βαδίζῃ τὰ ὅπλα, πᾶσιν τοῖς
indeed having-taken after these-things marches the arms with-all the
οὖσιν ἑτοίμως κινδυνεύσων, ἡμεῖς δὲ καθώμεθ' εἰρηκότες τὰ
means readily going-to-risk we but sit having-said the
δίκαια, οἱ δ' ἀκηκοότες, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, τοὺς λόγους
just-things the-ones and having-heard reasonably I-think the words
τἄργα παρέρχεται, καὶ προσέχουσιν ἅπαντες οὐχ οἷς
the-deeds surpass and attend all not to-what
εἴπομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς δικαίοις ἢ νῦν ἂν εἴποιμεν, ἀλλ' οἷς
we-said ever we just or now — we-might-say but to-what

ποιοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτ᾽ οὐδένα τῶν ἀδικουμένων σῴζειν
we-do are and these-things no-one of-the wronged to-save
δυνάμενα· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν.
able nothing for it-is-necessary more about them to-say
τοιγάρτοι διεστηκότων εἰς δύο ταῦτα τῶν ἐν ταῖς 4
therefore having-been-divided into two these-things the-ones in the
πόλεσι, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ μήτ᾽ ἄρχειν βίᾳ βούλεσθαι
cities the-ones indeed into the neither to-rule by-force to-wish
μηδενὸς μήτε δουλεύειν ἄλλῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις
anyone nor to-be-slave to-another but in freedom and laws
ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι, τῶν δ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν μὲν τῶν
on equal-terms to-be-citizens the-ones but into the to-rule indeed the
πολιτῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἑτέρῳ δ᾽ ὑπακούειν, δι᾽ ὅτου ποτ᾽
citizens to-desire to-another but to-be-subject through whomever ever
ἂν οἴωνται τοῦτο δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι, οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου
— they-think this to-be-going-to-be-able to-do the-ones of-the his
προαιρέσεως, οἱ τυραννίδων καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες,
policy the-ones tyrannies and dominations desiring
κεκρατήκασι πανταχοῦ, καὶ πόλις δημοκρατουμένη βεβαίως
have-prevailed everywhere and city democratically-governed securely
οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ τίς ἐστι τῶν πασῶν λοιπὴ πλὴν ἡ ἡμετέρα.
not I-know if any is of-the all remaining except the our
καὶ κεκρατήκασιν οἱ δι᾽ ἐκείνου τὰς πολιτείας 5
and have-prevailed the-ones through him the constitutions
ποιούμενοι πᾶσιν ὅσοις πράγματα πράττεται, πρώτῳ
conducting by-all as-many-as affairs are-done first
μὲν πάντων καὶ πλείστῳ τῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις
indeed of-all and most by-the for-the-ones wishing
χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἔχειν τὸν δώσονθ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν,
money to-take to-have the-one going-to-give for them
δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονι τούτου τῷ δύναμιν τὴν
second but and nothing less than-this by-the power the

καταστρεψομένην τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτοῖς ἐν οἷς ἂν
going-to-subdue the-ones opposing them in what —
αἰτήσωσι χρόνοις παρεῖναι.
they-ask times to-be-present

6 ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ μόνον τούτοις ὑπολειπόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
we but not only in-these fall-behind O men Athenians
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνεγερθῆναι δυνάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μανδραγόραν
but not-even to-be-roused can but mandrake
πεπωκόσιν ἤ τι φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον ἐοίκαμεν
having-drunk or some drug other such we-resemble
ἀνθρώποις· εἶτ', οἶμαι, (δεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω,
men then I-think it-is-necessary for as I judge
λέγειν τἀληθῆ) οὕτω διαβεβλήμεθα καὶ καταπεφρονήμεθ'
to-speak the-truth so we-have-been-slandered and despised
ἐκ τούτων ὥστε τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κινδυνεύειν ὄντων
from these so-that of-the-ones in itself the to-run-danger being
οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡμῖν ἀντιλέγουσιν, οἱ
the-ones indeed for the leadership with-us dispute the-ones
δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῦ συνεδρεύσουσι, τινὲς δὲ καθ' αὑτοὺς
but about the where they-will-sit-in-council some and by themselves
ἀμύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγνώκασιν.
to-defend-themselves rather than with us have-decided

7 τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ διεξέρχομαι; οὐ γὰρ
for-what for-the-sake indeed these-things do-I-say and go-through not for
ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς προαιροῦμαι.
to-incur-hatred by — Zeus and all gods I-choose
ἵν' ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο γνῷ
so-that of-you each O men Athenians this may-recognize
καὶ εἰδῇ, ὅτι ἡ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳστώνη καὶ ῥᾳθυμία,
and know that the by day ease and indolence
ὥσπερ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἐφ'
as in-the private lives so also in-the cities not on

ἑκάστου τῶν ἀμελουμένων ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν εὐθέως,
each of-the-things neglected makes the perception at-once
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαντᾷ.
but on the sum of-the affairs meets
ὁρᾶτε Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον· ταῦτα γὰρ πρῶτον ὠλιγωρήθη 8
see Serrium and Doriscus these for first were-neglected
μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἃ πολλοῖς ὑμῶν οὐδὲ γνώριμ᾽
after the peace which to-many of-you not-even known
ἐστὶν ἴσως. ταῦτα μέντοι τότ᾽ ἐαθέντα καὶ παροφθέντ᾽
are perhaps these however then let-go and overlooked
ἀπώλεσε Θράκην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην, σύμμαχον ὄνθ᾽ ὑμῶν.
destroyed Thrace and Cersobleptes ally being your
πάλιν ταῦτ᾽ ἀμελούμεν᾽ ἰδὼν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς βοηθείας
again these-things neglected having-seen and no help
τυγχάνοντα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν κατέσκαπτε Πορθμόν, καὶ τυραννίδ᾽
obtaining from you he-razed Porthmus and a-tyranny
ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετείχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ.
opposite — Attica he-fortified-against you in — Euboea
ταύτης ὀλιγωρουμένης, Μέγαρ᾽ ἑάλω παρὰ μικρόν. 9
this being-neglected Megara was-taken by little
οὐδὲν ἐφροντίσατ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπεστράφητ᾽ οὐδὲν τούτων, οὐδ᾽
nothing you-cared nor you-turned-round at-any of-these nor
ἐνεδείξασθε τοῦθ᾽ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῷ·
showed this that not you-will-allow this to-do to-him
Ἀντρῶνας ἐπρίατο καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὰ ἐν Ὠρεῷ
Antrones he-bought and after not much time the in Oreus
πράγματ᾽ εἰλήφει.
affairs he-had-taken
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παραλείπω, Φεράς, τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀμβρακίαν 10
many-things and also I-omit Pherae the to Ambracia
ὁδόν, τὰς ἐν Ἤλιδι σφαγάς, ἄλλα μυρία· οὐ γὰρ ἵν᾽
road the in Elis slaughters other ten-thousand-things not for so-that

ἐξαριθμήσωμαι τοὺς βεβιασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἠδικημένους ὑπὸ
I-may-enumerate the-ones forced and the-ones wronged by
Φιλίππου, ταῦτα διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦθ' ὑμῖν δείξω,
Philip these-things I-went-through but so-that this to-you I-may-show
ὅτι οὐ στήσεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν, τὰ δ' ὑφ'
that not will-stop all men wronging the-things and under
αὑτῷ ποιούμενος Φίλιππος, εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν κωλύσει.
himself making Philip if not anyone him prevents
11 εἰσὶν δέ τινες οἳ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
there-are and some who before to-hear the for the affairs
λόγους εὐθέως εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν 'τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν;' οὐχ
speeches at-once are-accustomed to-ask what then one-must do not
ἵν' ἀκούσαντες ποιήσωσι (χρησιμώτατοι γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν
so-that having-heard they-may-do most-useful for — they-would-be
ἁπάντων), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ λέγοντος ἀπαλλαγῶσιν.
of-all but so-that from-the speaker they-may-be-rid
δεῖ δ' ὅμως εἰπεῖν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. πρῶτον
it-is-necessary but nevertheless to-say what ever one-must do first
μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαίως
indeed O men Athenians this among you yourselves firmly
γνῶναι, ὅτι τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
to-recognize that with-the city Philip wars and the peace
λέλυκεν, καὶ κακόνους μέν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει
has-broken and ill-disposed indeed he-is and enemy to-whole the city
καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ
and to-the of-the city ground I-will-add and also to-the in the
πόλει θεοῖς, οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι μᾶλλον
city gods who-very him may-destroy to-nothing however more
ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ οὐδ' ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ σκοπεῖ
than to-the constitution he-wars nor plots and considers
μᾶλλον οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἢ πῶς ταύτην καταλύσει.
more nothing of-the all than how this he-will-overthrow

καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τινὰ νῦν γε δὴ ποιεῖ. 12
and this from necessity in-a-way some now at-least indeed he-does
λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ᾽ ἀνταγωνιστὰς
reckon for to-rule he-wishes of-this but rivals
μόνους ὑπείληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν χρόνον ἤδη, καὶ
alone he-has-supposed you he-wrongs long time already and
τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις
this himself best knows himself what for being yours
ἔχει, τούτοις ἅπαντα τἄλλα βεβαίως κέκτηται· εἰ
he-holds by-these all the-other-things securely he-possesses if
γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐν
for Amphipolis and Potidaea he-gave-up not-even — in
Μακεδονίᾳ μένειν ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο.
Macedonia to-remain safely he-could
ἀμφότερ᾽ οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ 13
both then he-knows both himself you plotting-against and
ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων
you perceiving well to-think and you supposing
μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσούτοις οὖσιν
to-hate him he-thinks besides and these so-many being
οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς ὅτι, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἁπάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται
he-knows precisely that not-even if of-all the others he-becomes
κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ᾽ αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν
master nothing it-is-possible for-him securely to-hold as-long-as —
ὑμεῖς δημοκρατῆσθε, ἀλλ᾽ ἄν ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα
you are-a-democracy but if ever happens some stumble
(πολλὰ δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτ᾽ ἀνθρώπῳ), ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν
many-things and — may-happen to-a-man will-come all the now
βεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
forced and will-flee to you

14 ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀρχὴν
you-are for you not yourselves to-grasp-for-more and to-gain empire
εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ' ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλῦσαι καὶ ἔχοντ'
well formed-by-nature but another to-take to-prevent and the-one-having
ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις καὶ
to-take-away and altogether to-trouble the-ones to-rule wishing and
πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελέσθαι δεινοί. οὔκουν
all men into freedom to-rescue clever not-then
βούλεται τοῖς αὑτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν
wishes for-the his-own opportunities the from you freedom
ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐ κακῶς οὐδ' ἀργῶς ταῦτα λογιζόμενος.
to-lie-in-wait not badly nor idly these-things reckoning

II · ARM, PAY, AND ENVOYS TO PERSIA

Athens must recognize that Philip is an irreconcilable enemy of the constitution and of the democracy, and that all his scheming is aimed at Athens; he wants not Thracian pits of millet but Athens' harbors, dockyards, triremes, and glory. Athens should not wait for a decree of war, since he made war without one, and should not punish those who say so. She should give money and supplies to those already resisting him, pay taxes, and prepare an army, triremes, horses, and transports. Athens always acts too late, raising relief forces after each loss; she needs a standing force, with treasurers and public slaves to account for the money, and generals left no excuse to sail elsewhere. If she will not, Philip will come to her. It is better to die than to give up the Greeks to slavery. The king's trusted men hate Philip, and the man privy to all Philip's plans against him has been carried off; envoys should go to the king and drop the old talk of the barbarian, the common enemy.

15 πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ, ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι
first indeed now this it-is-necessary enemy to-have-supposed
τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον
of-the constitution and of-the democracy irreconcilable

ἐκεῖνον, δεύτερον δ' εἰδέναι σαφῶς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα
him second and to-know clearly that all as-many-as
πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν
he-busies-himself-with and contrives now against the our
πόλιν παρασκευάζεται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης ὑμῶν ἐστὶν
city he-is-preparing not for so foolish of-you is
οὐδεὶς ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν ἐν
anyone as to-suppose the Philip of-the indeed in
Θρᾴκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δροggίλον καὶ
Thrace miseries what for — else anyone could-call Drongilus and
Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν φασιν αὐτὸν ἔχειν;)
Cabyle and Masteira and what now they-say him to-hold
τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ
these indeed to-desire and for the these-things to-take both
πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν,
toils and winters and the extreme dangers to-endure
τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ 16
the but of-Athenians harbors and dockyards and triremes and
τόπου καὶ δόξης, ὧν μήτ' ἐκείνῳ μήτ' ἄλλῳ γένοιτο
place and glory of-which neither for-him nor for-other may-it-befall
μηδενὶ χειρωσαμένῳ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν κυριεῦσαι,
anyone having-subdued the city the our to-become-master
οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν ἔχειν,
not to-desire but these-things indeed you to-be-going-to-allow to-have
ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
for but the millet and the spelt the in the
Θρᾳκίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν.
Thracian pits in the Barathrum to-winter
οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖν' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων γίγνεσθαι 17
not it-is these-things but also-those for the of-these to-become
κύριος καὶ τἄλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται. ταῦτα τοίνυν
master and the-other-things all he-contrives these-things then

ἕκαστον εἰδότα καὶ γιγνώσκοντα παρ᾽ αὑτῷ δεῖ
each knowing and recognizing in himself it-is-necessary
μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ γράψαι κελεύειν πόλεμον τὸν τὰ βέλτιστ᾽
by Zeus not to-propose to-bid war the-one the best-things
ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις συμβουλεύοντα· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἐστι
on all just-terms advising this indeed for is
λαβεῖν ὅτῳ πολεμήσετε βουλομένων, οὐχ ἃ τῇ
to-take with-whom you-will-war of-people-wishing not what for-the
πόλει συμφέρει πράττειν.
city benefits to-do

18 ὁρᾶτε γάρ. εἰ δι᾽ ἃ πρῶτα παρεσπόνδησε Φίλιππος
see for if because-of what first broke-the-treaty Philip
ἢ δεύτερ᾽ ἢ τρίτα (πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἐφεξῆς) ἔγραψέ τις
or second or third many for are in-succession proposed anyone
αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δ᾽ ὁμοίως ὥσπερ νῦν, οὐ γράφοντος
against-him to-make-war he but alike as now not proposing
οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν πόλεμον, Καρδιανοῖς ἐβοήθει, οὐκ ἂν
anyone of-you war the-Cardians was-helping not —
ἀνηρπασμένος ἦν ὁ γράψας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
torn-to-pieces would-have-been the-one having-proposed and because-of this
πάντες ἠτιῶντ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸν Καρδιανοῖς βεβοηθηκέναι;
all would-have-blamed — him the-Cardians to-have-helped

19 μὴ τοίνυν ζητεῖθ᾽ ὅντιν᾽ ἀνθ᾽ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐξαμαρτάνει
not then seek whom instead-of what Philip errs
μισήσετε καὶ τοῖς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι διασπάσασθαι
you-will-hate and to-the-ones from him working-for-hire to-tear-apart
παραβαλεῖτε· μηδ᾽ αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσαντες πόλεμον βούλεσθε
you-will-throw nor yourselves having-voted war wish
παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἐρίζειν, εἰ δέον ἢ μὴ δέον ὑμᾶς τοῦτο
among yourselves you to-quarrel whether needful or not needful you this
πεποιηκέναι· ἀλλ᾽ ὅν ἐκεῖνος πολεμεῖ τρόπον, τοῦτον
to-have-done but in-what he wars way this

μιμεῖσθε, τοῖς μὲν ἀμυνομένοις ἤδη χρήματα καὶ
imitate to-the-ones indeed defending-themselves already money and
τἄλλ' ὅσων δέονται διδόντες, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσφέροντες, ὦ
the-other-things as-many-as they-need giving yourselves and paying-tax O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κατασκευαζόμενοι στράτευμα, τριήρεις
men Athenians and preparing an-army triremes
ταχείας, ἵππους, ἱππαγωγούς, τἄλλ' ὅσ' εἰς πόλεμον·
swift horses horse-transports the-other-things as-many-as for war
ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ 20
since now at-least laughter it-is how we-handle the affairs and
Φίλιππον δ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλ' οἶμαι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
Philip and himself nothing — other I-think by the gods
εὔξασθαι ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν ποιεῖτε·
would-pray to-do the city than these-things which now you-do
ὑστερίζετε, ἀναλίσκετε· ὅτῳ παραδώσετε τὰ πράγματα
you-are-late you-spend to-whom you-will-hand-over the affairs
ζητεῖτε, δυσχεραίνετε· ἀλλήλους αἰτιᾶσθε. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ
you-seek you-are-vexed one-another you-blame from what and
ταῦτα γίγνεται ἐγὼ διδάξω, καὶ ὅπως παύσεται λέξω.
these-things happen I will-teach and how it-will-stop I-will-say
οὐδὲν πώποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ 21
nothing ever O men Athenians of-the affairs from
ἀρχῆς ἐνεστήσασθ' οὐδὲ κατεσκευάσασθ' ὀρθῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ
the-beginning you-set-on-foot nor prepared rightly but the
συμβαῖνον ἀεὶ διώκετε, εἶτ' ἐπειδὰν ὑστερίσητε παύεσθε·
happening always you-chase then when you-are-late you-stop
ἕτερον πάλιν ἂν συμβῇ τι παρασκευάζεσθε καὶ θορυβεῖσθε.
other again if happens anything you-prepare and are-in-uproar
τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· οὐκ ἔνεστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους 22
the but not so is not it-is-possible with-relief-expeditions operating
οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποτὲ πρᾶξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας
anything of-the needful-things ever to-accomplish but having-prepared

δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας καὶ ταμίας καὶ
one-must a-force and maintenance for-it having-provided and treasurers and
δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἔνι τὴν τῶν χρημάτων φυλακὴν
public-slaves and how it-is-possible the of-the money guard
ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν
most-exact to-become so having-done the indeed of-the
χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων
money account from these to-take the but of-the deeds
παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν τοῦ πλεῖν
from the general and no pretext for-the to-sail
ἄλλοσε ἢ πράττειν ἄλλο τι τῷ στρατηγῷ καταλείπειν.
elsewhere or to-do other anything to-the general to-leave
23 ἂν οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐθελήσηθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν
if so you-do and this you-are-willing as truly to-keep
εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου Φίλιππον
peace just and to-remain in the place Philip
ἀναγκάσετε, ἢ πολεμήσετ' ἐξ ἴσου· καὶ ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως,
you-will-compel or you-will-war on equal-terms and perhaps — perhaps
ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πυνθάνεσθε τί ποιεῖ Φίλιππος καὶ ποῖ
as now you inquire what does Philip and where
πορεύεται, οὕτως ἂν ἐκεῖνος φροντίσαι ποῖ ποθ' ἡ
he-marches so — he would-concern-himself where ever the
τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆρκεν δύναμις καὶ ποῦ φανήσεται.
of-the city has-set-out force and where it-will-appear
24 εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης πολλῆς καὶ πόνων
if but to-anyone seem these-things also of-expense much and of-toils
πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλ' ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ· ἀλλ'
many and of-trouble to-be and very rightly he-thinks but
ἐὰν λογίσηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ ταῦτα γενησόμενα,
if he-reckons the-things to-the city after these-things going-to-happen
ἐὰν ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν, εὑρήσει λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἑκόντας
if these-things not it-is-willing to-do he-will-find profitable the willingly

ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστί τις ἐγγυητὴς ὑμῖν
to-do the needful-things if indeed for there-is some guarantor for-you
θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ' οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτ' ἀξιόχρεως
of-gods not for of-men at-least anyone — would-be adequate
τηλικούτου πράγματος) ὡς, ἐὰν ἄγηθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα
for-so-great a-matter that if you-keep quiet and everything
προῆσθε, οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνος ἥξει,
give-up not against yourselves you at-last he will-come
αἰσχρὸν μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιον 25
shameful indeed by — Zeus and all gods and unworthy
ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ πεπραγμένων
of-you and of-the-things belonging to-the city and done
τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ῥᾳθυμίας ἕνεκα τοὺς ἄλλους
by-the ancestors of-the private indolence for-the-sake the other
ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας εἰς δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγε αὐτὸς
all Greeks into slavery to-give-up and I myself
μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην·
indeed to-be-dead rather — than these-things to-have-said would-wish
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, 26
not however but if anyone other says and you persuades so-be-it
μὴ ἀμύνεσθε, ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο
do-not defend-yourselves everything give-up if but to-no-one this
δοκεῖ, τοὐναντίον δὲ πρῴϊσμεν ἅπαντες ὅτι, ὅσῳ
seems the-contrary and we-foresee all that by-as-much-as
ἂν πλειόνων ἐάσωμεν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ
— of-more we-allow him to-become master by-so-much
χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθ' ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ
harder and stronger we-shall-have enemy where
ἀναδυόμεθα, ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
do-we-shrink-back or why do-we-delay or when O men Athenians
τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν; ὅταν νὴ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ.
the needful-things to-do shall-we-be-willing when by Zeus necessary it-is

27 ἀλλ᾽ ἦν μὲν ἄν τις ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι,
but what indeed — anyone of-free men necessity might-call
οὐ μόνον ἤδη πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε, τὴν
not only now is-present but also long-ago has-passed the
δὲ τῶν δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ.
but of-the slaves to-pray-against surely not to-come it-is-necessary
διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη
differs and what that is for-a-free indeed man greatest
ἀνάγκη ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη, καὶ μείζω ταύτης
necessity the about the-things happening shame and greater than-this
οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἥντιν᾽ ἂν εἴποι τις· δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ χὠ τοῦ
not I-know which — could-name anyone for-a-slave but blows and-the of-the
σώματος αἰκισμός, ὃ μήτε γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.
body maltreatment which neither may-it-happen nor to-speak worth
28 τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽
the indeed then O men Athenians toward the such-things
ὀκνηρῶς διακεῖσθαι, ἃ δεῖ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς
hesitantly to-be-disposed what it-is-necessary with-the bodies and with-the
οὐσίαις λῃτουργῆσαι ἕκαστον, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς
properties to-perform-public-service each is indeed not rightly
ἔχον, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει τινὰ πρόφασιν
being not-even much it-lacks not however but it-has some excuse
ὅμως· τὸ δὲ μηδ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ μηδ᾽ ὅσα
nevertheless the but not-even as-much-as to-hear one-must nor as-much-as
βουλεύσασθαι προσήκει, μηδὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐθέλειν, τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη
to-deliberate it-befits not-even these-things to-be-willing this already
πᾶσαν ἐπιδέχεται κατηγορίαν.
every admits accusation
29 ὑμεῖς τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκούειν, πρὶν ἂν ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτὰ παρῇ
you then not to-listen until — as now themselves are-present
τὰ πράγματα, οὐχὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ οὐδενὸς εἰώθατ᾽
the affairs not to-deliberate about anything are-accustomed

ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ἐκεῖνος παρασκευάζηται,
at leisure but when indeed he prepares
ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ ποιεῖν ταὐτὸ καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευάζεσθαι
having-neglected the to-do the-same and to-prepare-in-return
ῥᾳθυμεῖτε, καὶ ἄν τι λέγῃ τις, ἐκβάλλετε, ἐπειδὰν
you-are-idle and if anything says anyone you-throw-him-out when
δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἢ πολιορκούμενόν τι πύθησθε, ἀκροᾶσθε
but lost or besieged something you-learn you-listen
καὶ παρασκευάζεσθε·
and prepare
ἦν δ' ἀκηκοέναι μὲν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι τότε καιρός, 30
it-was and to-have-heard indeed and to-have-deliberated then the-occasion
ὅθ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἠθέλετε, πράττειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς
when you not were-willing to-act but and to-use the
παρεσκευασμένοις νῦν, ἡνίκ' ἀκούετε. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῶν
prepared-things now when you-listen therefore from the
τοιούτων ἐθῶν μόνοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμεῖς τοῖς
such customs alone of-the all men you to-the
ἄλλοις τοὐναντίον ποιεῖτε· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν
others the-opposite do the indeed for others before the
πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ
events are-accustomed to-use the to-deliberate you but
μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.
after the events
ὃ δὴ λοιπόν ἐστι, καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔδει, διαφεύγει 31
what indeed remains is and long-ago indeed it-was-necessary it-escapes
δ' οὐδὲ νῦν, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων οὕτως
but not-even now this I-will-say of-nothing of-the all so
ὡς χρημάτων δεῖ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἐπιόντα
as of-money it-is-needed by-the city for the now coming
πράγματα. συμβέβηκε δ' εὐτυχήματ' ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου,
affairs have-happened and pieces-of-good-luck from the-spontaneous

οἷς ἂν χρησώμεθ' ὀρθῶς, ἴσως ἂν γένοιτο τὰ δέοντα.
which if we-use rightly perhaps — would-happen the needful-things
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἷς βασιλεὺς πιστεύει καὶ εὐεργέτας
first indeed for whom the-king trusts and benefactors
ὑπείληφεν ἑαυτοῦ, οὗτοι μισοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι Φίλιππον.
has-supposed his-own these hate and war-on Philip
32 ἔπειθ' ὁ πράττων καὶ συνειδὼς ἅπανθ' ἃ Φίλιππος
then the-one doing and privy-to all which Philip
κατὰ βασιλέως παρασκευάζεται, οὗτος ἀνάσπαστος γέγονε,
against the-king prepares this-man carried-off has-been
καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἡμῶν κατηγορούντων
and all the actions the-king not us accusing
ἀκούσεται, οὓς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἂν ἡγήσαιτο τοῦ
will-hear whom for the advantage — he-would-think the
ἰδίου λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πράξαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντος,
private to-speak but of-the-one having-done-them himself and managing
ὥστ' εἶναι πιστάς, καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον εἶναι τοῖς παρ'
so-that to-be credible and remaining argument to-be for-the from
ὑμῶν πρέσβεσιν, ὃν βασιλεὺς ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαι,
you envoys which the-king most-gladly — would-hear
33 ὡς τὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἀδικοῦντα κοινῇ τιμωρήσασθαι
that the-one both wronging in-common to-punish
δεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πολὺ τῷ βασιλεῖ φοβερώτερός ἐσθ'
it-is-necessary and that much to-the king more-fearsome is
ὁ Φίλιππος, ἂν προτέροις ἡμῖν ἐπιθῆται· εἰ γὰρ
— Philip if first us he-attacks if for
ἐγκαταλειπόμενοί τι πεισόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, ἀδεῶς ἐπ'
abandoned anything we-shall-suffer we without-fear against
ἐκεῖνον ἤδη πορεύσεται. ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων οἶμαι
him then he-will-march for indeed these all I-think
δεῖν ὑμᾶς πρεσβείαν ἐκπέμπειν, ἥτις τῷ βασιλεῖ
to-be-necessary you an-embassy to-send-out which with-the king

διαλέξεται, καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἀποθέσθαι, δι' ἣν
will-converse and the stupidity to-lay-aside through which
πολλάκις ἠλαττώθητε, 'ὁ δὴ βάρβαρος, καὶ ὁ κοινὸς
often you-were-worsted the indeed barbarian and the common
ἅπασιν ἐχθρός,' καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.
to-all enemy and all the such-things

III · THE THEORIC FUND AND THE RICH

Demosthenes fears the speaker, whoever he is, who calls the king in Susa and Ecbatana hostile, though the king once helped set Athens right and offered help again, and says nothing of the robber of the Greeks growing at their doors, since that man does not fear Philip. He then speaks for the poor to the rich and for the rich to the poor. The theoric distribution is slandered as though the city could not survive it; when revenues were only a hundred and thirty talents, everyone still did his duty, and now that four hundred come in, the rich lose nothing by the poor's share. A son owes his parents support by nature and law, and the city's poor are owed it by all. The rich are right to resent only the habit of turning public money into private, and secret votes and speakers who grow great. Both sides must share the constitution justly, the rich secure in their property and generous in danger. The present troubles began when Athens gave up the leadership her ancestors left, and Philip took the place she deserted while Sparta was broken and Thebes busy with the Phocian war.

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅταν τιν' ἴδω τὸν μὲν ἐν Σούσοις καὶ 34
I for when someone I-see the-one indeed in Susa and
Ἐγβατάνοις δεδοικότα καὶ κακόνουν εἶναι τῇ πόλει
Ecbatana fearing and ill-disposed to-be to-the city
φάσκοντα, ὃς καὶ πρότερον συνεπηνώρθωσε τὰ τῆς
claiming who also before helped-to-set-right the of-the
πόλεως πράγματα καὶ νῦν ἐπηγγέλλετο (εἰ δὲ μὴ
city affairs and now was-offering if but not

ἐδέχεσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπεψηφίζεσθε, οὐ τἀκείνου αἴτια),
you-were-accepting you but voting-down not his the-fault
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐγγὺς οὑτωσὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
for but the at the doors near thus in middle the
Ἑλλάδι αὐξανομένου λῃστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλο τι
Greece growing robber of-the Greeks other something
λέγοντα, θαυμάζω, καὶ δέδοικα τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ
saying I-wonder and I-fear this-man whoever — he-may-be
ποτ᾽, ἔγωγε, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὗτος Φίλιππον.
ever I since not this-man Philip
35 ἔστι τοίνυν τι πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄλλο, ὃ λυμαίνεται τὴν
there-is then some matter also other which harms the
πόλιν ὑπὸ βλασφημίας ἀδίκου καὶ λόγων οὐ προσηκόντων
city by slander unjust and words not fitting
διαβεβλημένον, εἶτα τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
having-been-misrepresented then to-the-ones nothing of-the in the constitution
δικαίων βουλομένοις ποιεῖν πρόφασιν παρέχει· καὶ πάντων,
just-things wishing to-do pretext it-provides and of-all
ὅσ᾽ ἐκλείπει, δέον παρά του γίγνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦθ᾽
as-much-as is-lacking needful from someone to-happen upon this
εὑρήσετε τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφερομένην. περὶ οὗ πάνυ μὲν
you-will-find the blame being-referred about which very indeed
φοβοῦμαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐρῶ·
I-fear not however but I-will-speak
36 οἶμαι γὰρ ἔξειν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόρων τὰ δίκαι᾽
I-think for to-be-going-to-be-able both for the poor the just-things
ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους,
on the advantage of-the city to-say to the rich
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκτημένων τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιδεεῖς.
and for the-ones possessing the properties to the needy
εἰ ἀνέλοιμεν ἐκ μέσου καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς ἐπὶ
if we-should-remove from middle also the slanders which on

τῷ θεωρικῷ ποιοῦνταί τινες οὐχὶ δικαίως, καὶ τὸν φόβον,
the theoric-fund make some not justly and the fear
ὡς οὐ στήσεται τοῦτ᾽ ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς κακοῦ, οὐδὲν
that not will-stand this without great some evil nothing
ἂν εἰς τὰ πράγματα μεῖζον εἰσενεγκαίμεθα, οὐδ᾽ ὅ τι
— into the affairs greater we-could-contribute nor what ever
κοινῇ μᾶλλον ἂν ὅλην ἐπιρρώσειε τὴν πόλιν.
in-common more — whole would-strengthen the city
οὑτωσὶ δὲ σκοπεῖτε· ἐρῶ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χρείᾳ 37
thus and consider I-will-speak and for the-ones in need
δοκούντων εἶναι πρότερον. ἦν ποτ᾽ οὐ πάλαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν,
seeming to-be formerly there-was once not long-ago among you
ὅτ᾽ οὐ προσῄει τῇ πόλει τάλανθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα καὶ
when not came-in to-the city talents above thirty and
ἑκατόν· καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν τριηραρχεῖν δυναμένων οὐδὲ
a-hundred and no-one of-the-ones to-serve-as-trierarch able nor
τῶν εἰσφέρειν ὅστις οὐκ ἠξίου τὰ καθήκονθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν
of-the-ones to-pay-tax who not thought-fit the duties on himself
ποιεῖν, ὅτι χρήματ᾽ οὐ περιῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριήρεις ἔπλεον
to-do because money not was-surplus but both triremes sailed
καὶ χρήματ᾽ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐποιοῦμεν τὰ δέοντα.
and money came and all we-did the needful-things
μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡ τύχη, καλῶς ποιοῦσα, πολλὰ πεποίηκε 38
after these-things the fortune well doing many has-made
τὰ κοινά, καὶ τετρακόσι᾽ ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων
the public-funds and four-hundred instead-of the hundred talents
προσέρχεται, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ζημιουμένου τῶν τὰς οὐσίας
come-in of-no-one anything losing of-the-ones the properties
ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαμβάνοντος· οἱ γὰρ εὔποροι
having but even gaining-besides the for rich
πάντες ἔρχονται μεθέξοντες τούτου, καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσιν.
all come going-to-share of-this and well they-do

39 τί οὖν μαθόντες τοῦτ' ὀνειδίζομεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ προφάσει
why then having-learned this do-we-reproach one-another and as-pretext
χρώμεθα τοῦ μηδὲν ποιεῖν, πλὴν εἰ τῇ παρὰ τῆς
use for-the nothing to-do except if with-the from the
τύχης βοηθείᾳ γεγονυίᾳ τοῖς ἀπόροις φθονοῦμεν;
fortune help having-come to-the poor we-are-envious
40 οὓς οὔτ' ἂν αἰτιασαίμην ἔγωγε, οὔτ' ἀξιῶ. οὐδὲ γὰρ
whom neither — would-blame I nor think-it-right not-even for
ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ὁρῶ τὸν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς
in the private houses I-see the-one in age toward the
πρεσβυτέρους οὕτω διακείμενον οὐδ' οὕτως ἀγνώμον' οὐδ'
elders so disposed nor so unfeeling nor
ἄτοπον τῶν ὄντων οὐδένα, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν ἅπαντες
absurd of-the existing anyone that if not will-do all
ὅσ' ἂν αὐτός, οὐ φάσκοντα ποιήσειν οὐδὲν οὐδ'
as-much-as — himself not saying to-be-going-to-do anything not-even
αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς τῆς κακώσεως εἴη νόμοις
himself and for — to-the of-the maltreatment he-would-be laws
οὕτω γ' ἔνοχος· δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τοῖς γονεῦσι τὸν
so at-least liable it-is-necessary for I-think to-the parents the
ὡρισμένον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔρανον, καὶ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως
defined from both contribution both from the nature
καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου, δικαίως φέρειν καὶ ἑκόνθ' ὑποτελεῖν.
and from the law justly to-pay and willingly to-render
41 ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου τίς ἐστι
as then of-one of-us each some is
γονεύς, οὕτω συμπάσης τῆς πόλεως κοινοὺς
parent so of-whole the city common
δεῖ τοὺς γονέας σύμπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ
it-is-necessary the parents all to-consider and
προσήκειν τούτους οὐχ ὅπως ὧν ἡ πόλις δίδωσ'
to-befit these not only of-what the city gives

ἀφελέσθαι τι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἦν τούτων,
to-take-away anything but if even nothing were of-these
ἄλλοθεν σκοπεῖν ὅπως μηδενὸς ὄντες ἐνδεεῖς
from-elsewhere to-consider how in-nothing being deficient
περιοφθήσονται.
they-will-be-overlooked
τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν εὐπόρους ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῇ γνώμῃ 42
the indeed then rich this using the judgment
οὐ μόνον ἡγοῦμαι τὰ δίκαι᾽ ἂν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
not only I-think the just-things — to-do but also the
λυσιτελῆ· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τιν᾽ ἀποστερεῖν κοινῇ
profitable-things the for of-the necessities anyone to-deprive in-common
κακόνους ἐστὶ ποιεῖν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πράγμασι·
ill-disposed is to-make many men to-the affairs
τοῖς δ᾽ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, δι᾽ ὃ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμ᾽
to-the-ones but in need for which are-vexed the matter
οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες καὶ κατηγοροῦσι δικαίως, τοῦτ᾽
the-ones the properties having and accuse justly this
ἀφελεῖν ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι.
to-take-away — I-would-advise
δίειμι δέ, ὥσπερ ἄρτι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑπὲρ 43
I-will-go-through and as just-now the same way also for
τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ κατοκνήσας εἰπεῖν τἀληθῆ. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
the rich not shrinking to-say the-truth to-me for
οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθλιος οὐδ᾽ ὠμὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ τὴν γνώμην,
no-one so wretched nor cruel to-be seems in-the mind
οὔκουν Ἀθηναίων γε, ὥστε λυπεῖσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνοντας
not-then of-Athenians at-least as to-be-pained these-things receiving
ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας.
seeing the poor and of-the necessities needy being

44 ἀλλὰ ποῦ συντρίβεται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ποῦ δυσχεραίνεται;
but where is-shattered the matter and where is-it-resented
ὅταν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια
when the from the public-funds custom to the private-funds
μεταβιβάζοντας ὁρῶσί τινας, καὶ μέγαν μὲν ὄντα παρ'
transferring they-see some and great indeed being among
ὑμῖν εὐθέως τὸν λέγοντα, ἀθάνατον δ' ἕνεκ' ἀσφαλείας,
you at-once the speaker immortal and for-the-sake of-security
ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν κρύβδην ψῆφον τοῦ φανερῶς θορύβου.
other but the secret vote than-the open clamor
45 ταῦτ' ἀπιστίαν, ταῦτ' ὀργὴν ἔχει. δεῖ γάρ,
these-things distrust these-things anger have it-is-necessary for
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως ἀλλήλοις τῆς πολιτείας
O men Athenians justly with-one-another the constitution
κοινωνεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους εἰς μὲν τὸν βίον τὰ
to-share the indeed rich for indeed the livelihood the
ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν νομίζοντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων μὴ
their-own securely to-have thinking and for these not
δεδοικότας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας
fearing for but the dangers common for the safety
τὰ ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰ μὲν
the property to-the fatherland providing the but rest the indeed
κοινὰ κοινὰ νομίζοντας καὶ μετέχοντας τὸ μέρος, τὰ δ'
public-funds common thinking and sharing the share the but
ἑκάστου ἴδια τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὕτω καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλη
of-each private of-the-one possessing so both small great
πόλις γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη σῴζεται. ὡς μὲν οὖν εἴποι
a-city becomes and great is-preserved how indeed then might-say
τις ἄν, ἃ παρ' ἑκατέρων εἶναι δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἴσως
anyone — what from each to-be it-is-necessary these-things perhaps
ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ καὶ γένοιτ' ἄν, νόμῳ διορθώσασθαι δεῖ.
are how but even might-happen — by-law to-set-right it-is-necessary

τῶν δὲ παρόντων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς πολλὰ 46
of-the but present affairs and of-the confusion many
πόρρωθέν ἐστι τὰ αἴτια· ἃ εἰ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν ἀκούειν
from-afar are the causes which if wishing to-you to-hear
ἐστίν, ἐθέλω λέγειν. ἐξέστητ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
it-is I-am-willing to-speak you-departed O men Athenians
τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐφ' ἧς ὑμᾶς οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον,
from-the principle on which you the ancestors left
καὶ τὸ μὲν προΐστασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δύναμιν
and the indeed to-stand-at-the-head of-the Greeks and force
συνεστηκυῖαν ἔχοντας πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν
assembled having all the-ones wronged to-help
περίεργον ἐπείσθητ' εἶναι καὶ μάταιον ἀνάλωμ' ὑπὸ
superfluous you-were-persuaded to-be and vain expense by
τῶν ταῦτα πολιτευομένων, τὸ δ' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διάγειν
the-ones these-things practicing-politics the but in quiet to-pass-time
καὶ μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττειν, ἀλλὰ προϊεμένους
and nothing of-the needful-things to-do but giving-up
καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον πάνθ' ἑτέρους ἐᾶσαι λαβεῖν, θαυμαστὴν
by one each all-things others to-allow to-take wonderful
εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν ᾠεσθε.
prosperity and much security to-have you-thought
ἐκ δὲ τούτων παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ἧς 47
from but these having-come-forward to the post at which
ὑμῖν τετάχθαι προσῆκεν ἕτερος, οὗτος εὐδαίμων καὶ
you to-have-been-posted it-befitted other this-man prosperous and
μέγας καὶ πολλῶν κύριος γέγονεν, εἰκότως· πρᾶγμα
great and of-many master has-become reasonably affair
γὰρ ἔντιμον καὶ μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, καὶ περὶ οὗ
for honorable and great and splendid and about which
πάντα τὸν χρόνον αἱ μέγισται τῶν πόλεων πρὸς αὑτὰς
all the time the greatest of-the cities with themselves

διεφέροντο, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἠτυχηκότων, Θηβαίων
quarreled Lacedaemonians indeed having-been-unfortunate Thebans
δ' ἀσχόλων διὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον γενομένων,
but busy because-of the Phocian war having-become
ἡμῶν δ' ἀμελούντων, ἔρημον ἀνείλετο.
us but neglecting-it deserted he-took-it-up
48 τοιγάρτοι τὸ μὲν φοβεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὸ δὲ συμμάχους
therefore the indeed to-be-feared to-the others the but allies
πολλοὺς ἔχειν καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἐκείνῳ περιγέγονε,
many to-have and power great for-that-man has-resulted
καὶ τοσαῦτα πράγματα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἤδη περιέστηκε τοὺς
and so-many affairs and such already surround the
Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας, ὥστε μηδ' ὅ τι χρὴ συμβουλεύειν
Greeks all that not-even what ever one-must to-advise
εὔπορον εἶναι.
easy to-be
49 ὄντων δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων
being and O men Athenians the present affairs
πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, φοβερῶν, οὐδένες ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ
to-all as I judge fearful none in greater danger
τῶν πάντων εἰσὶν ὑμῶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν
of-the all are than-you not only by-the most you
ἐπιβουλεύειν Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πάντων ἀργότατ'
to-plot-against Philip but also by-the of-all most-idly
αὐτοὶ διακεῖσθαι. εἰ τοίνυν τὸ τῶν ὠνίων πλῆθος
yourselves to-be-disposed if then the of-the wares abundance
ὁρῶντες καὶ τὴν εὐετηρίαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, τούτοις
seeing and the plenty the in the market by-these
κεκήλησθ' ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, οὔτε
you-are-charmed as in no danger the city being neither
προσηκόντως οὔτ' ὀρθῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνετε·
fittingly nor rightly the matter you-judge

ἀγορὰν μὲν γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ πανήγυριν ἐκ τούτων ἢ 50
market indeed for — anyone and festival from these either
φαύλως ἢ καλῶς παρεσκευάσθαι κρίνοι· πόλιν δ' ἣν
badly or well to-have-been-prepared might-judge a-city but which
ὑπείληφεν, ὃς ἂν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν ἀεὶ βούληται,
has-supposed whoever — of-the Greeks to-rule always wishes
μόνην ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναι καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας
alone — to-oppose and of-the of-all freedom
προστῆναι, οὐ μὰ Δί' ἐκ τῶν ὠνίων, εἰ καλῶς ἔχει,
to-stand-at-the-head not by Zeus from the wares if well it-is
δοκιμάζειν δεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰ συμμάχων εὐνοίᾳ πιστεύει,
to-test it-is-necessary but if in-allies' goodwill it-trusts
εἰ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἰσχύει, ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως δεῖ
if in-the arms it-is-strong these-things for the city it-is-necessary
σκοπεῖν· ἃ σφαλερῶς ὑμῖν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἅπαντ' ἔχει.
to-consider which precariously for-you and in-no-way all-things are

IV · SPEAKERS WHO SERVE PHILIP

Never were the Greeks so confused: once they were divided between Athens and Sparta, now every city seeks its own leadership and none trusts Athens. The cause is long neglect; Athens has received leisure and quiet in exchange for her interests, and others have the honors. When anything about Philip arises, someone rises to say there must be no war and that the money will be plundered, though it is Philip who plunders Greece. Those who urge resistance are called warmongers so that the blame for war's hardships may fall on them, and Philip's paid speakers may profit both ways. Philip already holds much of Athens' without any decree of war, and when he comes against Athens herself he will say, as at Oreus, Pherae, and Olynthus, that he is not at war; he means not to enslave Athens but to destroy her, so those who have sold themselves to him must be punished first. He deceived Thessaly, Olynthus, and Thebes with gifts, and Athens alone lets men speak for her enemies safely. In Olynthus, Thessaly, and Thebes it was not safe to speak

for Philip until he had done their people a favor: Potidaea for the Olynthians, the tyrants expelled and the Pylaea restored for the Thessalians, Boeotia and the Phocians' ruin for the Thebans.

51 γνοίητε δ' ἄν, εἰ σκέψαισθ' ἐκείνως. πότε μάλιστ' ἐν
you-would-know and — if you-should-consider in-that-way when most in
ταραχῇ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονε πράγματα; οὐδένα γὰρ
confusion the of-the Greeks have-been affairs no for
χρόνον ἄλλον ἢ τὸν νυνὶ παρόντ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι. τὸν
time other than the now present even — one would-say the
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἅπαντ' εἰς δύο ταῦτα διῄρητο τὰ τῶν
indeed for other all into two these-things had-been-divided the of-the
Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἡμᾶς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ
Greeks Lacedaemonians and us of-the but others the-ones
μὲν ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ἐκείνοις ὑπήκουον. βασιλεὺς δὲ καθ' αὑτὸν
indeed us the-ones but them obeyed the-king and by himself
μὲν ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἄπιστος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ κρατουμένους
indeed equally to-all untrustworthy was the-ones but being-defeated
τῷ πολέμῳ προσλαμβάνων, ἄχρι οὗ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξ
in-the war taking-on-as-allies until which the others on
ἴσου ποιήσαι, διεπιστεύετο, ἔπειτ' οὐχ ἧττον αὐτὸν
equal-terms he-made was-trusted then not less him
ἐμίσουν οὓς σώσειε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
they-hated whom he-saved than-the existing enemies from the-beginning
52 νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
now but first indeed the king to-all the Greeks
οἰκείως ἔχει, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα δὴ ἡμῖν, ἄν τι μὴ νῦν
familiarly is and of-all least indeed with-us if anything not now
ἐπανορθωσώμεθα· ἔπειτα προστασίαι πολλαὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν
we-set-right then leaderships many and from-everywhere
γίγνονται, καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀντιποιοῦνται μὲν πάντες,
arise and of-the to-be-first lay-claim indeed all

ἀφεστᾶσι δ' ἔργῳ, καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὑτοῖς,
stand-aloof but in-fact and envy and distrust themselves
οὐχ οἷς ἔδει, καὶ γεγόνασι καθ' αὑτοὺς ἕκαστοι,
not whom it-was-necessary and have-become by themselves each
Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς.
Argives Thebans Lacedaemonians Corinthians Arcadians we
ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη καὶ τοσαύτας δυναστείας 53
but nevertheless into so-many parts and so-many dominations
διῃρημένων, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας εἰπεῖν, τὰ
divided if one-must the-truth with freedom-of-speech to-speak the
παρ' οὐδέσι τούτων ἀρχεῖα καὶ βουλευτήρι' ἐρημότερ' ἄν
among none of-these offices and council-chambers more-deserted —
τις ἴδοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἢ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν,
anyone would-see of-the Greek affairs than the among us
εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ φιλῶν οὔτε πιστεύων οὔτε φοβούμενος
reasonably neither for loving nor trusting nor fearing
οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν διαλέγεται.
anyone with-us converses
αἴτιον δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἕν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (ῥᾴδιον γὰρ 54
cause and of-these not one O men Athenians easy for
ἂν ἦν ὑμῖν μεταθεῖναι), ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ
— would-be for-you to-change but many and of-all-kinds
ἐκ παντὸς ἡμαρτημένα τοῦ χρόνου, ὧν τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον
from all erred the time of-which the by each
ἐάσας, εἰς ὃ πάντα τείνει λέξω, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν,
having-let-go to what all tends I-will-say having-asked you
ἂν λέγω τἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας, μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆναί
if I-speak the-truth with freedom-of-speech in-nothing to-be-angry
μοι. πέπραται τὰ συμφέροντ' ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν καιρῶν,
with-me have-been-sold the advantages on each of-the occasions
καὶ μετειλήφαθ' ὑμεῖς μὲν τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν
and you-have-received-in-exchange you indeed the leisure and the

ἡσυχίαν, ὑφ' ὧν κεκηλημένοι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν οὐ
quiet by which charmed toward-the-ones wronging not
πικρῶς ἔχετε, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν.
bitterly you-are-disposed others but the honors have
55 καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τἄλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι νῦν·
and the-things indeed about the-other-things not worth to-examine now
ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς
but when anything of-the toward Philip falls-in at-once
ἀναστάς τις λέγει ὡς οὐ δεῖ ληρεῖν οὐδὲ
having-stood-up someone says that not one-must to-talk-nonsense nor
γράφειν πόλεμον, παραθεὶς εὐθέως ἑξῆς τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην
to-propose war having-set-beside at-once next the the peace
ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν μεγάλην δύναμιν ὡς
to-keep how good and the to-maintain great force how
χαλεπόν, καὶ 'διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ χρήματα βούλονται,'
hard and to-plunder some the money wish
καὶ ἄλλους λόγους ὡς οἷόν τ' ἀληθεστάτους λέγουσιν.
and other arguments as possible — truest say
56 ἀλλὰ δεῖ δήπου τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς
but one-must surely the indeed peace to-keep not you
πείθειν, οἳ πεπεισμένοι κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ
to-persuade who persuaded sit but the-one the-things of-the
πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος πεισθῇ, τά γ'
war doing if for that-man is-persuaded the-things at-least
ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει· νομίζειν δ' εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ'
from you exist to-think and to-be hard not as-much-as
ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν
— for safety we-spend but what we-shall-suffer if
μὴ ταῦτ' ἐθέλωμεν ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸ 'διαρπασθήσεται
not these-things we-are-willing to-do and the will-be-plundered

τὰ χρήματα᾽ τῷ φυλακὴν εὑρεῖν δι᾽ ἧς σωθήσεται
the money by-the guard to-find through which it-will-be-saved
κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀποστῆναι.
to-prevent not by-the from-the advantage to-desist
καίτοι ἔγωγ᾽ ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, εἰ τὰ μὲν 57
and-yet I am-indignant also itself this if the indeed
χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἃ καὶ
money pains some of-you if it-will-be-plundered which both
φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστι,
to-guard and to-punish the-ones wronging in you is
τὴν δ᾽ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς οὑτωσὶ Φίλιππος ἁρπάζων
the but Greece all in-succession thus Philip plundering
οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἁρπάζων.
not pains and these-things against you plundering
τί ποτ᾽ οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερῶς 58
why ever then O men Athenians the-one indeed so openly
ἀδικοῦντα καὶ πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε
wronging and cities seizing no-one ever
τούτων εἶπεν ὡς ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ
of-these said that he-wrongs and war makes the-ones but not
ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προΐεσθαι ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντας, τούτους
to-allow nor to-give-up these-things advising these
πόλεμον ποιεῖν φασίν; ὅτι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
war to-make they-say because the blame for-the from the
πολέμου συμβησομένων δυσχερῶν (ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἀνάγκη
war going-to-happen troubles necessity for necessity
πολλὰ λυπηρὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γίγνεσθαι) τοῖς ὑπὲρ
many painful-things from the war to-arise for-the-ones for
ὑμῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν εἰθισμένοις ἀναθεῖναι βούλονται.
you the best-things to-say accustomed to-lay-on they-wish

59 ἡγοῦνται γάρ, ἂν μὲν ὑμεῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης
they-think for if indeed you with-one-accord from one judgment
Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, κἀκείνου κρατήσειν ὑμᾶς καὶ
Philip repel and-him to-be-going-to-conquer you and
αὐτοῖς οὐκέτ' ἔσεσθαι μισθαρνεῖν, ἂν δ' ἀπὸ τῶν
for-themselves no-longer to-be-going-to-be to-work-for-hire if but from the
πρώτων θορύβων αἰτιασάμενοί τινας πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν
first uproars having-blamed some to the to-try
τράπησθε, αὐτοὶ μὲν τούτων κατηγοροῦντες ἀμφότερ'
you-turn themselves indeed these accusing both
ἕξειν, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ παρ'
to-be-going-to-have both among you to-be-going-to-be-well-thought-of and from
ἐκείνου χρήματα λήψεσθαι, ὑμᾶς δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ
him money to-be-going-to-take you and for what it-is-necessary
παρὰ τούτων δίκην λαβεῖν, παρὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
from these penalty to-take from the-ones for you
εἰρηκότων λήψεσθαι.
having-spoken to-be-going-to-take

60 αἱ μὲν ἐλπίδες αἱ τούτων αὗται καὶ τὸ κατασκεύασμα τὸ
the indeed hopes the of-these these and the contrivance the
τῶν αἰτιῶν, ὡς ἄρα βούλονταί τινες πόλεμον ποιῆσαι.
of-the charges that after-all wish some war to-make
ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς ὅτι, οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενὸς
I but know precisely that not having-proposed of-Athenians anyone
πόλεμον, πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ νῦν
war many-things Philip holds of-the of-the city and now
εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς
to Cardia has-sent help if however we-wish we
μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνον, ἀνοητότατος
not to-pretend to-war with-us him most-foolish

πάντων ἂν εἴη, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐξελέγχοι· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ
of-all — he-would-be if this he-should-refute when for the-ones
ἀδικούμενοι ἀρνῶνται, τί τῷ ἀδικοῦντι προσήκει;
wronged deny what for-the-one wronging befits
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔῃ, τί φήσομεν τότε; 61
but when against us ourselves he-comes what shall-we-say then
ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὠρείταις, τῶν
he indeed for not to-war as not-even with-Oreitans the
στρατιωτῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον,
soldiers being in the territory nor with-Pheraeans before
πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς,
against the walls attacking nor with-Olynthians from the-beginning
ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων. ἢ καὶ
until in itself the territory the army he-was-present having or also
τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν;
then the-ones to-defend-themselves bidding war to-make shall-we-say
οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν ἔνι.
then remaining to-be-slaves nor for other at-least anything is-possible
καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 62
and truly not for the equal-things for-you and for-the others
ἔσθ' ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν
is the danger not for under himself to-make the city
βούλεται Φίλιππος ὑμῶν, οὔ, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. οἶδε
wishes Philip your no but wholly to-destroy he-knows
γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὔτ' ἐθελήσετε,
for precisely that to-be-slaves indeed you neither will-be-willing
οὔτ', ἐὰν ἐθέλητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε),
nor if you-are-willing will-know-how to-rule for you-are-accustomed
πράγματα δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε,
troubles and to-cause for-him if opportunity you-take

πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων δυνήσεσθε. διὰ
more than-the other men all you-will-be-able because-of
ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ φείσεται, εἴπερ ἐγκρατὴς γενήσεται.
these-things you not he-will-spare if-indeed master he-becomes
63 ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐσομένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος, οὕτω
as then for the extreme going-to-be the contest so
προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὑτοὺς ἐκείνῳ
it-befits to-recognize and the-ones having-sold themselves to-him
φανερῶς ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι
openly to-cudgel-to-death not for it-is-possible not it-is-possible
τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς
the outside the city enemies to-conquer before — the-ones
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητ' ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτοις
in itself the city you-punish enemies but necessity on-these
ὥσπερ προβόλοις προσπταίσαντας ὑστερίζειν ἐκείνων.
as on-reefs having-struck to-fall-behind those
64 πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ'
from-what do-you-think now him to-insult you nothing for other
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ
to-me seems to-do than this and the-ones indeed others well
ποιοῦντα, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη;
treating if nothing else to-deceive you but to-threaten already
οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ὑπηγάγετ' εἰς τὴν νῦν
for-instance Thessalians many-things having-given he-led-on into the now
παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς ὅσα
present slavery not-even — to-say could anyone how-much
τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δοὺς Ποτείδαιαν
the wretched Olynthians before having-given Potidaea
ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγει
he-deceived and many other-things Thebans the-things now he-leads-on

τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου
the Boeotia to-them having-handed-over and having-relieved from-war
πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ·
long and hard
ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τιν' ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν, οἱ 65
so-that having-reaped some each of-these advantage the-ones
μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἃ δὴ πεπόνθασιν, οἱ δ' ὅταν
indeed already have-suffered what indeed they-have-suffered the-ones but when
ποτὲ συμβῇ πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε
ever it-happens will-suffer you but of-what indeed you-have-been-deprived
σιωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, πόσ'
I-pass-over but in itself the the peace to-make how-much
ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε. οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ
you-were-deceived of-how-much you-were-deprived not Phocians not
Πύλας, οὐχὶ τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρριον, τὸν
Pylae not the-things-toward Thrace Doriscus Serrium the
Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν Καρδίαν ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ;
Cersobleptes himself not now Cardia does-he-hold and admits
τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ὑμῖν οὐ τοῦτον τὸν 66
why ever then in-that-way the others and you not this the
τρόπον προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων
way does-he-treat because in alone of-the all cities
τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἄδει' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ
the yours license for the enemies to-speak is-given and
λαβόντα χρήματ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν,
having-taken money for-him safe it-is to-speak among you
κἂν ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἦτε.
even-if deprived the yours own you-were
οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου 67
not it-was safe to-speak in Olynthus the-things of-Philip
μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότων τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ
not with well having-been-treated the many Olynthians by-the

Ποτείδαιαν καρποῦσθαι· οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν
Potidaea to-enjoy not it-was safe to-speak in
Θετταλίᾳ μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ
Thessaly not with well having-been-treated the multitude the
Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς
of-Thessalians by-the the tyrants to-expel Philip for-them
καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές,
and the Pylaea to-give-back not it-was in Thebes safe
πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν.
before the Boeotia he-gave-back and the Phocians destroyed

V · THE WEALTH OF A CITY

At Athens alone a man may speak for Philip though he has taken Amphipolis and the Cardians' land from her, builds a fortress against her in Euboea, and marches on Byzantium; such speakers grow rich and famous, while the people grows poor and obscure. A city's wealth is allies, trust, and goodwill, and Athens is poor in all of them. Some politicians tell the people to keep quiet while they themselves cannot; Demosthenes asks Aristomedes why, if a private life is safe and a politician's dangerous, he chooses danger for himself and counsels Athens to let it go. Aristomedes' father was a thief, if he was like his son, but Athens' ancestors saved the Greeks. Demosthenes ends: the trouble is not want of speeches, but that the people listen equally to those who would ruin the city, and blame them rather than do their duty.

68 ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν
but at-Athens not only Amphipolis and the of-Cardians
χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος
land having-taken-away Philip but also preparing
ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον
for-you a-fortress-against the Euboea and now against Byzantium
παριόντος, ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γάρ τοι
proceeding safe it-is to-speak for Philip and for surely

τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται, καὶ
of-these indeed from beggars some quickly rich become and
ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ
from nameless and inglorious famous and well-known you but
τοὐναντίον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι·
the-contrary from indeed famous inglorious from and rich poor
πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους, πίστιν, 69
of-a-city for I wealth consider allies trust
εὔνοιαν, ὧν πάντων ὑμεῖς ἔστ' ἄποροι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
goodwill of-which all you are poor from but the
τούτων ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐᾶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
these slightingly you to-treat and to-allow this the way
φέρεσθαι, ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς
to-be-carried the-one indeed prosperous and great and fearful
πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δ' ἔρημοι καὶ
to-all Greeks and barbarians you but deserted and
ταπεινοί, τῇ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίᾳ λαμπροί,
humble in-the indeed in the market plenty splendid
τῇ δ' ὧν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι.
in-the but of-what it-befitted preparation ridiculous
οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περί θ' ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὑτῶν ἐνίους 70
not the same and way about both you and about themselves some
τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους· ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν
of-the speakers I-see deliberating you indeed for quiet
ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, κἄν τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ
to-keep they-say to-be-necessary even-if anyone you wrongs themselves but not
δύνανται παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος.
can among you quiet to-keep no-one them wronging
καίτοι λοιδορίας εἴ τις χωρὶς ἔροιτο 'εἰπέ μοι, τί δὴ
and-yet of-abuse if anyone apart should-ask tell me why indeed
γιγνώσκων ἀκριβῶς, Ἀριστόμηδες, (οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτ'
knowing precisely Aristomedes no-one for the such-things

ἀγνοεῖ) τὸν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίον ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα
is-ignorant-of the indeed of-the private-men life safe and untroubled
καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ὄντα, τὸν δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων φιλαίτιον
and riskless being the but of-the politicians fault-finding
καὶ σφαλερὸν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγώνων καὶ κακῶν
and precarious and on each day of-contests and of-evils
μεστόν, οὐ τὸν ἡσύχιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις αἱρεῖ;'
full not the quiet but the in the dangers do-you-choose
71 τί ἂν εἴποις; εἰ γὰρ ὃ βέλτιστον εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοις,
what — would-you-say if for what best to-say — you-could
τοῦτό σοι δοίημεν ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας
this to-you we-should-grant true to-say that for ambition
καὶ δόξης ταῦτα πάντα ποιεῖς, θαυμάζω τί δήποτε
and glory these-things all you-do I-wonder why ever
σαυτῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἅπαντα ποιητέον εἶναι νομίζεις
for-yourself indeed for these everything must-be-done to-be you-think
καὶ πονητέον καὶ κινδυνευτέον, τῇ πόλει δὲ προέσθαι
and must-toil and must-run-risks for-the city but to-give-up
ταῦτα μετὰ ῥᾳθυμίας συμβουλεύεις. οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ' ἂν
these-things with indolence you-advise not for that at-least —
εἴποις, ὡς σὲ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖ τινὰ φαίνεσθαι,
you-would-say that you indeed in the city it-is-necessary somebody to-appear
τὴν πόλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μηδενὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι.
the city but among the Greeks of-nothing worth to-be
72 καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γ' ὁρῶ, ὡς τῇ μὲν πόλει
and truly not-even that at-least I-see that for-the indeed city
ἀσφαλὲς τὸ τὰ αὑτῆς πράττειν, σοὶ δὲ κίνδυνος, εἰ
safe the the its-own to-do for-you but danger if
μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων πλέον περιεργάσει, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον
nothing of-the others more you-will-meddle but the-contrary

σοὶ μὲν ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει καὶ περιεργάζει τοὺς ἐσχάτους
for-you indeed from what you-do and meddle the extreme
ὄντας κινδύνους, τῇ πόλει δ' ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας.
being dangers for-the city but from the quiet
ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία παππῴα σοι καὶ πατρῴα δόξ' ὑπάρχει, 73
but by Zeus ancestral for-you and paternal reputation exists
ἣν αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν σοὶ καταλῦσαι· τῇ πόλει δ' ὑπῆρξεν
which shameful it-is in you to-destroy for-the city but belonged
ἀνώνυμα καὶ φαῦλα τὰ τῶν προγόνων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦθ'
nameless and mean the of-the ancestors but not-even this
οὕτως ἔχει· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτης ὁ πατήρ, εἴπερ
so is for-you indeed for was thief the father if-indeed
ἦν ὅμοιος σοί, τῇ πόλει δ' ἡμῶν οὓς πάντες ἴσασιν
he-was like you for-the city but our whom all know
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων σεσωσμένοι.
the Greeks from the greatest dangers saved
ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς ἔνιοι τὰ καθ' 74
but for not equally nor as-citizens some the-things concerning
αὑτοὺς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύονται· πῶς
themselves and the-things concerning the city govern how
γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον τούτων μέν τινας ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου
for is-it equal of-these indeed some from the prison
ἥκοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν, τὴν πόλιν δ', ἣ προειστήκει
having-come themselves to-be-ignorant the city but which stood-at-the-head
τῶν Ἑλλήνων τέως καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον εἶχε, νῦν ἐν
of-the Greeks for-a-while and the first-place held now in
ἀδοξίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ ταπεινότητι καθεστάναι;
disrepute all and humiliation to-be-placed
πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔχων ἔτι καὶ περὶ πολλῶν εἰπεῖν 75
many-things then having further also about many-things to-say
παύσομαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐ λόγων ἐνδείᾳ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ
I-will-stop and for not of-words through-lack to-me seems the

πράγματ' οὔτε νῦν οὔτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε φαύλως
affairs neither now nor at-another-time ever badly
ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὅταν πάντ' ἀκούσαντες ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα,
to-be but when all-things having-heard you the needful-things
καὶ ὁμογνώμονες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται γενόμενοι, τῶν
and of-one-mind as rightly is-said having-become of-the-ones
λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διαστρέφειν ταῦτα βουλομένων ἐξ ἴσου
to-ruin and to-distort these-things wishing from equal
κάθησθ' ἀκροώμενοι, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτούς (ἴστε γὰρ
you-sit listening not being-ignorant-of them you-know for
εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀκριβῶς, τίς μισθοῦ λέγει καὶ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου
at-once seeing precisely who for-pay speaks and for Philip
πολιτεύεται, καὶ τίς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν βελτίστων), ἀλλ'
conducts-politics and who as truly for the best-things but
ἵν' αἰτιασάμενοι τούτους καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰς γέλωτα καὶ
so-that having-blamed these and the matter into laughter and
λοιδορίαν ἐμβαλόντες μηδὲν αὐτοὶ τῶν δεόντων ποιῆτε.
abuse having-thrown nothing yourselves of-the needful-things you-may-do
76 ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τἀληθῆ, μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας, ἁπλῶς
these-things are the-truth with all freedom-of-speech simply
εὐνοίᾳ τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰρημένα, οὐ κολακείᾳ βλάβης καὶ
in-goodwill the best-things said not in-flattery of-harm and
ἀπάτης λόγος μεστός, ἀργύριον τῷ λέγοντι ποιήσων,
deceit speech full money for-the speaker going-to-make
τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειριῶν.
the but affairs of-the city to-the enemies going-to-hand-over
ἢ οὖν παυστέον τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν, ἢ μηδέν' ἄλλον
either then one-must-stop these the customs or no-one other
αἰτιατέον τοῦ πάντα φαύλως ἔχειν ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.
one-must-blame for-the all badly to-be than you yourselves

DEMOSTHENES

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Philip's Letter

Philip writes to the Council and people of Athens that, since his many embassies have been ignored, he will set out his complaints at length. Athens imprisoned his herald Nicias and read his letters; let Diopeithes enslave Crobyle and Tiristasis and ransom his envoy Amphilochus; let Callias seize the cities of the Pagasaean gulf; and sent envoys to urge the Persian king to war on him. Philip helps the Cardians as their ally, punished the Peparethians, and took Halonnesus from the pirate Sostratus, offering arbitration. Athens' orators profit from war, and Philip holds Amphipolis by his ancestors' right, by conquest, and by Athens' own admission; he will defend himself with the gods as witnesses.

Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. 1
Philip of-Athenians to-the council and to-the people greeting
ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις μου πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντος, ἵν'
since often me envoys having-sent so-that
ἐμμείνωμεν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, οὐδεμίαν
we-may-abide-by the oaths and the agreements no
ἐποιεῖσθ' ἐπιστροφήν, ᾤμην δεῖν πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
you-made attention I-thought to-be-necessary to-send to you
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζω. μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ τὸ μῆκος
about what to-be-wronged I-think not wonder and at-the length
τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· πολλῶν γὰρ ὑπαρχόντων ἐγκλημάτων
of-the letter many for existing complaints
ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων δηλῶσαι καθαρῶς.
necessary it-is about all to-explain clearly
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Νικίου τοῦ κήρυκος ἁρπασθέντος 2
first indeed for Nicias the herald having-been-seized
ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν
from the territory the my not only the-ones transgressing
ἐπετιμήσατε τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικούμενον εἴρξατε
you-punished the penalty but the-one wronged you-imprisoned

δέκα μῆνας· ἃς δ' ἔφερε παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολάς, ἀνέγνωτ'
ten months which and he-carried from us letters you-read
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. ἔπειτα Θασίων ὑποδεχομένων τὰς
on the platform then Thasians receiving the
Βυζαντίων τριήρεις καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς βουλομένους
of-Byzantines triremes and of-the pirates the-ones wishing
οὐδὲν ἐφροντίζετε, τῶν συνθηκῶν διαρρήδην λεγουσῶν
nothing you-cared the agreements expressly saying
πολεμίους εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας.
enemies to-be the-ones these-things doing

3 ἔτι τοίνυν περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Διοπείθης ἐμβαλὼν
further then about the same times Diopeithes having-invaded
εἰς τὴν χώραν Κρωβύλην μὲν καὶ τὴν Τιρίστασιν
into the territory Crobyle indeed and the Tiristasis
ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ προσεχῆ Θρᾴκην ἐπόρθησε,
enslaved the and adjoining Thrace he-ravaged
τέλος δ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθε παρανομίας ὥστ' Ἀμφίλοχον
finally and into this he-came of-lawlessness that Amphilochus
ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐλθόντα πρεσβευτὴν συλλαβὼν καὶ
for the prisoners having-come as-envoy having-seized and
τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεὶς ἀπελύτρωσε ταλάντων
the extreme constraints having-applied he-ransomed for-talents
ἐννέα· καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ συνδοκοῦντ' ἐποίησεν.
nine and these-things to-the people seeming-good he-did

4 καίτοι τὸ παρανομεῖν εἰς κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἄλλοις
and-yet the to-transgress against herald and envoys to-the others
τε πᾶσιν ἀσεβὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν· Μεγαρέων
both all impious to-be seems and most to-you of-Megarians
γοῦν Ἀνθεμόκριτον ἀνελόντων εἰς τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθεν ὁ
at-any-rate Anthemocritus having-killed into this has-come the
δῆμος ὥστε μυστηρίων μὲν εἶργον αὐτούς, ὑπομνήματα
people that from-mysteries indeed they-excluded them as-memorials

δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας ἕστησαν ἀνδριάντα πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν.
and of-the injustice set-up a-statue before the gates
καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς παθόντες οὕτως ἐμισήσατε
and-yet how not terrible for what having-suffered so you-hated
τοὺς δράσαντας, νῦν αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦντας;
the-ones having-done now yourselves to-appear doing
Καλλίας τοίνυν ὁ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν πόλεις 5
Callias then the from you general the indeed cities
τὰς ἐν τῷ Παγασίτῃ κόλπῳ κατοικουμένας ἔλαβεν ἁπάσας,
the in the Pagasaean gulf inhabited took all
ὑμῖν μὲν ἐνόρκους, ἐμοὶ δὲ συμμαχίδας οὔσας, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς
to-you indeed sworn to-me but allied being the-ones but to
Μακεδονίαν πλέοντας ἐπώλει πάντας πολεμίους κρίνων· καὶ
Macedonia sailing he-sold all enemies judging and
διὰ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἐπῃνεῖτ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν. ὥστ᾽
because-of these-things you praised him in the decrees so-that
ἔγωγ᾽ ἀπορῶ τί ποτ᾽ ἔσται καινότερον, ἐὰν ὁμολογήσητέ
I am-at-a-loss what ever will-be newer if you-admit
μοι πολεμεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φανερῶς διεφερόμεθα, λῃστὰς
to-me to-be-at-war and for when openly we-were-at-variance pirates
ἐξεπέμπετε καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐπωλεῖτε, τοῖς
you-sent-out and the-ones sailing to us you-sold the
ἐναντίοις ἐβοηθεῖτε, τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε.
opponents you-helped the land my ill you-treated
χωρὶς τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο παρανομίας ἀφῖχθε καὶ δυσμενείας 6
apart then into this of-lawlessness you-have-come and of-hostility
ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλκατε
that even to the Persian envoys you-have-sent
πείσοντας αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν· ὃ μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις
going-to-persuade him with-me to-war which most — anyone
θαυμάσειεν. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτον καὶ
would-wonder-at before indeed for the to-take him Egypt and

Φοινίκην ἐψηφίσασθε, ἂν ἐκεῖνός τι νεωτερίζῃ, παρακαλεῖν
Phoenicia you-voted if he anything attempts to-summon
ὁμοίως ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐπ' αὐτόν·
alike me and the other Greeks all against him
7 νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν περίεστι τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ μίσους
now but so-great to-you remains of-the toward me hatred
ὥστε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῆς ἐπιμαχίας. καίτοι
that with him you-negotiate about the defensive-alliance and-yet
τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, τοῖς
the long-ago the fathers your as I learn the
Πεισιστρατίδαις ἐπετίμων ὡς ἐπάγουσι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ
Peisistratids blamed for bringing the Persian against
τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε ταῦτα ποιοῦντες
the Greeks you but not are-ashamed these-things doing
ἃ διετελεῖτε τοῖς τυράννοις ἐγκαλοῦντες.
which you-continued the tyrants charging-with
8 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ γράφετ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν
but besides the other-things also you-propose in the decrees
ἐμοὶ προστάττοντες Τήρην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην ἐᾶν Θρᾴκης
me ordering Teres and Cersobleptes to-allow over-Thrace
ἄρχειν, ὡς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους οὔτε τῶν περὶ
to-rule as being Athenians I but these neither of-the about
τῆς εἰρήνης συνθηκῶν οἶδα μετασχόντας ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς
the peace agreements know having-shared with-you nor on the
στήλαις ἀναγεγραμμένους οὔτ' Ἀθηναίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ Τήρην
pillars inscribed nor Athenians being but Teres
μὲν μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατευόμενον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Κερσοβλέπτην
indeed with me campaigning against you Cersobleptes
δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ πρεσβευταῖς ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοὺς ὅρκους
but with-the from me envoys privately indeed the oaths

ὀμόσαι προθυμούμενον, κωλυθέντα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων
to-swear eager prevented but by the your
στρατηγῶν ἀποφαινόντων αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐχθρόν.
generals declaring him of-Athenians enemy
καίτοι πῶς ἐστὶ τοῦτ' ἴσον ἢ δίκαιον, ὅταν μὲν ὑμῖν 9
and-yet how is this equal or just when indeed for-you
συμφέρῃ, πολέμιον εἶναι φάσκειν αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὅταν
it-is-expedient enemy to-be to-claim him of-the city when
δ' ἐμὲ συκοφαντεῖν βούλησθε, πολίτην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὸν
but me to-slander you-wish citizen to-be-declared the
αὐτὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· καὶ Σιτάλκου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ᾧ
same by you and Sitalces indeed having-died to-whom
μετέδοτε τῆς πολιτείας, εὐθὺς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν
you-gave-a-share of-the citizenship at-once to-make with the-one
ἀποκτείναντα φιλίαν, ὑπὲρ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου πόλεμον
having-killed-him friendship for but Cersobleptes war
αἴρεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς εἰδότας ὅτι τῶν
to-undertake against us and that clearly knowing that of-the-ones
λαμβανόντων τὰς δωρεὰς τὰς τοιαύτας οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν
receiving the gifts the such no-one either of-the
νόμων οὔτε τῶν ψηφισμάτων οὐδὲν φροντίζει τῶν ὑμετέρων.
laws or of-the decrees at-all cares-for the yours
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντα τἄλλα παραλιπόντα 10
not however but if it-is-necessary all the-other-things passing-over
συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε πολιτείαν Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ
concisely to-speak you gave citizenship to-Euagoras the
Κυπρίῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Συρακοσίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις
Cyprian and to-Dionysius the Syracusan and to-the descendants
τοῖς ἐκείνων. ἐὰν οὖν πείσητε τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἑκατέρους
the of-those if then you-persuade the-ones having-expelled each
αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς ἐκπεσοῦσι,
of-them to-give-back again the dominions to-the-ones exiled

κομίζεσθε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θρᾴκην, ὅσης Τήρης καὶ
recover also from me the Thrace as-much-as Teres and
Κερσοβλέπτης ἦρχον. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνων κρατήσασι
Cersobleptes ruled if but the-ones indeed those having-overcome
μηδ' ἐγκαλεῖν ἀξιοῦτε μηδέν, ἐμὲ δ' ἐνοχλεῖτε, πῶς
not-even to-charge you-think-fit with-anything me but you-trouble how
οὐ δικαίως ὑμᾶς ἀμυνοίμην ἄν;
not justly you would-I-defend-myself —

11 περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ἔτι δίκαια,
about indeed then these many-things to-say having further just-things
παραλιπεῖν προαιροῦμαι· Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν,
to-omit I-choose the-Cardians and I-say to-help
γεγονὼς αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμμαχος, οὐκ ἐθελόντων
having-become for-them before the peace ally not being-willing
δ' ὑμῶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς κρίσιν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐμοῦ δεηθέντος,
and you to-come into arbitration often indeed me having-asked
οὐκ ὀλιγάκις δ' ἐκείνων· ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴην πάντων
not seldom and them so-that how not — would-I-be of-all
φαυλότατος, εἰ καταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν
most-base if having-abandoned the allies rather you
φροντίζοιμι τῶν πάντα μοι τρόπον ἐνοχλούντων ἢ
I-should-care-for the-ones in-every me way troubling than
τῶν βεβαίως μοι φίλων ἀεὶ μενόντων;
the-ones securely to-me friends always remaining

12 εἰ τοίνυν δεῖ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραλιπεῖν, εἰς τοσοῦτον
if then it-is-necessary not-even this to-omit into so-much
ἐληλύθατε πλεονεξίας ὥστε πρότερον μὲν ἐνεκαλεῖτέ
you-have-come of-greed that before indeed you-charged
μοι τὰ προειρημένα μόνον, τὰ δ' ὑπογυιότατα
me-with the-things mentioned only the-things but most-recent
Πεπαρηθίων φασκόντων δεινὰ πεπονθέναι προσετάξατε
Peparethians claiming terrible-things to-have-suffered you-ordered

τῷ στρατηγῷ δίκην παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων,
the general satisfaction from me to-exact for those
οὓς ἐγὼ μὲν ἐτιμωρησάμην ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ προσῆκεν,
whom I indeed punished more-lightly than it-befitted
ἐκεῖνοι δ᾽ εἰρήνης οὔσης καταλαβόντες Ἁλόννησον οὔτε
they but peace being having-seized Halonnesus neither
τὸ χωρίον οὔτε τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπεδίδοσαν πέμψαντος
the place nor the garrison gave-back having-sent
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐμοῦ πολλάκις.
for them me often
ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὧν μὲν ἠδίκησαν ἐμὲ Πεπαρήθιοι, τούτων μὲν 13
you but of-what indeed wronged me Peparethians of-these indeed
οὐδὲν ἐπεσκέψασθε, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες. καίτοι
nothing you-examined the but punishment precisely knowing and-yet
τὴν νῆσον οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνους οὔθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀφειλόμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν
the island neither them nor you I-took-from but the
λῃστὴν Σώστρατον. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτοί φατε παραδοῦναι
pirate Sostratus if indeed then yourselves you-say to-have-handed-over
Σωστράτῳ, λῃστὰς ὁμολογεῖτε καταπέμπειν· εἰ δ᾽ ἀκόντων
to-Sostratus pirates you-admit to-send-out if but unwilling
ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐκράτει, τί δεινὸν πεπόνθατε λαβόντος
you he held what terrible have-you-suffered having-taken
ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀσφαλῆ παρέχοντος;
me and the place for-the-ones sailing safe providing
τοσαύτην δέ μου ποιουμένου πρόνοιαν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, 14
so-much and me making forethought of-the your city
καὶ διδόντος αὐτῇ τὴν νῆσον, οἱ ῥήτορες λαμβάνειν μὲν οὐκ
and giving to-it the island the orators to-receive indeed not
εἴων, ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ συνεβούλευον, ὅπως ὑπομείνας μὲν τὸ
allowed to-take-back but advised so-that having-submitted-to indeed the
προσταττόμενον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ, μὴ προέμενος
thing-ordered the other's to-hold I-may-admit not having-given-up

δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὕποπτος γένωμαι τῷ πλήθει. γνοὺς ἐγὼ
but the place suspect I-may-become to-the multitude having-recognized I
ταῦτα προὐκαλούμην κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἡμᾶς,
these-things challenged to-be-arbitrated about these with us
ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν ἐμὴ γνωσθῇ, παρ' ἐμοῦ δοθῇ τὸ χωρίον
so-that if indeed mine it-is-decided from me it-may-be-given the place
ὑμῖν, ἐὰν δ' ὑμετέρα κριθῇ, τότ' ἀποδῶ τῷ δήμῳ.
to-you if but yours it-is-judged then I-may-give-it-back to-the people
15 ταῦτα δ' ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἀξιοῦντος, ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ
these-things and me often requesting you indeed not
προσείχετε, Πεπαρήθιοι δὲ τὴν νῆσον κατέλαβον. τί
attended Peparethians but the island seized what
οὖν ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; οὐ δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν
then was-it-necessary me to-do not satisfaction to-take from the-ones
ὑπερβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους; οὐ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς οὕτως
having-transgressed the oaths not to-punish the-ones so
ὑπερηφάνως ἀσελγαίνοντας; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Πεπαρηθίων ἦν ἡ
arrogantly acting-wantonly and for if of-Peparethians was the
νῆσος, τί προσῆκεν ἀπαιτεῖν Ἀθηναίους; εἰ δ' ὑμετέρα,
island why did-it-befit to-demand-back Athenians if but yours
πῶς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ὀργίζεσθε καταλαβοῦσι τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν;
how not with-those are-you-angry having-seized the other's
16 εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προβεβήκαμεν ἔχθρας ὥστε βουλόμενος ταῖς
into this and we-have-advanced of-enmity that wishing with-the
ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον παραβαλεῖν ἠναγκάσθην αὐτὰς
ships into the Hellespont to-put-in I-was-compelled them
παραπέμψαι διὰ Χερρονήσου τῇ στρατιᾷ, τῶν μὲν
to-escort through Chersonese with-the army the indeed
κληρούχων κατὰ τὸ Πολυκράτους δόγμα πολεμούντων
cleruchs according-to the of-Polycrates decree warring
ἡμῖν, ὑμῶν δὲ τοιαῦτα ψηφιζομένων, τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ
with-us you but such-things voting the and general

Βυζαντίους τε παρακαλοῦντος καὶ διαγγέλλοντος πρὸς
Byzantines both summoning and announcing to
ἅπαντας ὅτι πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ προστάττετε, ἂν καιρὸν
all that to-war-on him you-order if opportunity
λάβῃ. τοιαῦτα δὲ πάσχων ὅμως τῆς πόλεως καὶ
he-gets such-things but suffering nevertheless from-the city and
τῶν τριήρων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπεσχόμην, ἱκανὸς ὢν τὰ
the triremes and the territory I-abstained able being the
πλεῖστα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντα, καὶ διατετέλεκα προκαλούμενος
most to-take or all and I-have-continued challenging
ὑμᾶς εἰς κρίσιν ἐλθεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰτιώμεθ' ἀλλήλους.
you into arbitration to-come for what we-accuse one-another
καίτοι σκοπεῖσθε πότερον κάλλιόν ἐστιν ὅπλοις ἢ λόγοις 17
and-yet consider whether finer it-is by-arms or by-words
διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ πότερον αὐτοὺς εἶναι βραβευτὰς ἢ πεῖσαί
to-be-decided and whether yourselves to-be umpires or to-persuade
τινας ἑτέρους· καὶ λογίζεσθ' ὡς ἄλογόν ἐστιν Ἀθηναίους
some others and reckon how unreasonable it-is Athenians
Θασίους μὲν καὶ Μαρωνίτας ἀναγκάσαι περὶ Στρύμης
Thasians indeed and Maronites to-compel about Stryme
διακριθῆναι λόγοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ διαλύσασθαι
to-be-decided by-words themselves but with me not to-settle
περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦμεν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἄλλως τε
about what we-dispute the way this especially both
καὶ γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι νικηθέντες μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποβαλεῖτε,
and knowing that defeated indeed nothing you-will-lose
κρατήσαντες δὲ λήψεσθε τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῖν ὄντα.
having-prevailed but you-will-take the-things now under us being
πάντων δέ μοι δοκεῖ παραλογώτατον εἶναι, διότι 18
of-all and to-me seems most-unreasonable to-be that
πέμψαντος ἐμοῦ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας πάσης,
having-sent me envoys from the alliance whole

ἵν᾽ ὦσι μάρτυρες, καὶ βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι πρὸς
so-that they-might-be witnesses and wishing to-make with
ὑμᾶς δικαίας ὁμολογίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ τοὺς
you just agreements for the Greeks not-even the
περὶ τούτων λόγους ἐδέξασθε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευόντων,
about these words you-accepted from the-ones serving-as-envoys
ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἢ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς
it-being-possible for-you either from-the dangers to-release the-ones
δυσχερὲς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἢ φανερῶς
troublesome suspecting something against us or openly
ἐξελέγξαι με φαυλότατον ὄντα τῶν ἁπάντων.
to-convict me most-base being of-the all

19 τῷ μὲν οὖν δήμῳ ταῦτα συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ λέγουσιν οὐκ
for-the indeed then people these-things were-expedient for-the but speakers not
ἐλυσιτέλει. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν
it-was-profitable they-say for the-ones of-the constitution the among you
ἔμπειροι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πόλεμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ
experienced the indeed peace war for-them to-be the but
πόλεμον εἰρήνην· ἢ γὰρ συναγωνιζομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
war peace either for assisting the generals
ἢ συκοφαντοῦντας ἀεί τι λαμβάνειν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν,
or blackmailing always something to-take from them
ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς γνωριμωτάτοις καὶ τῶν
further and of-the citizens the most-notable and of-the-ones
ἔξωθεν τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις λοιδορουμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
outside the most-illustrious abusing on the platform
περιποιεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δόξαν ὡς εἰσὶ δημοτικοί.
to-win from the multitude reputation that they-are popular

20 ῥᾴδιον μὲν οὖν ἐστί μοι παῦσαι τῆς βλασφημίας αὐτοὺς
easy indeed then it-is for-me to-stop from-the slander them
μικρὰ πάνυ προεμένῳ, καὶ ποιῆσαι λέγειν ἐπαίνους ὑπὲρ
small-things very having-given-up and to-make to-speak praises for

ἡμῶν. ἀλλ᾽ αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν
us but I-would-be-ashamed — if the toward you goodwill
παρὰ τούτων φαινοίμην ὠνούμενος, οἳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
from these I-should-appear buying who besides the other-things
εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης ἥκουσιν ὥστε καὶ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως
into this of-daring have-come that even about Amphipolis
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν
with us to-dispute they-attempt about which of-the-ones
ἀντιποιουμένων αὐτῆς οἶμαι πολὺ δικαιότερα λέγειν αὐτός.
laying-claim-to it I-think much juster-things to-say myself
εἴτε γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κρατησάντων γίγνεται, 21
whether for of-the-ones from the-beginning having-conquered it-becomes
πῶς οὐ δικαίως ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν ἔχομεν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
how not justly we it hold Alexander the
προγόνου πρώτου κατασχόντος τὸν τόπον, ὅθεν
ancestor first having-occupied the place from-which
καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα
also of-the captives Medes as-first-fruits a-statue
χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφούς; εἴτε τούτων μὲν
golden he-set-up at Delphi or-if these indeed
ἀμφισβητήσειέ τις, ἀξιοῖ δὲ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ὕστερον
should-dispute anyone claims and to-become of-the-ones later
γενομένων κυρίων, ὑπάρχει μοι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον·
having-become masters belongs to-me also this the right
ἐκπολιορκήσας γὰρ τοὺς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκβαλόντας,
having-taken-by-siege for the-ones you indeed having-expelled
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ κατοικισθέντας, ἔλαβον τὸ
by Lacedaemonians but having-been-settled I-took the
χωρίον.
place

22 καίτοι πάντες οἰκοῦμεν τὰς πόλεις ἢ τῶν προγόνων
and-yet all inhabit the cities either the ancestors
παραδόντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον κύριοι καταστάντες. ὑμεῖς
having-handed-down or by war masters having-become you
δ' οὔτε πρῶτοι λαβόντες οὔτε νῦν ἔχοντες, ἐλάχιστον
but neither first having-taken nor now holding the-least
δὲ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐμμείναντες, ἀντιποιεῖσθε
and time in the places having-stayed lay-claim
τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα πίστιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ
to-the city and that pledge for us yourselves
βεβαιοτάτην ἐπιθέντες· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμοῦ γράφοντος
most-secure having-given often for me writing
ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἐγνώκατε δικαίως
in the letters about it you-acknowledged justly
ἔχειν ἡμᾶς, τότε μὲν ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἔχοντος
to-hold us then indeed having-made the peace holding
ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν, κᾆτα συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς
me the city and-then alliance on the same
ὁμολογίαις.
agreements

23 καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἑτέρα γένοιτο βεβαιοτέρα ταύτης
and-yet how — other could-be more-secure than-this
κτῆσις, τῆς τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλειφθείσης
possession than-the the indeed from the-beginning left
ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων, πάλιν δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον
to-us by the ancestors again but by war
ἐμῆς γεγενημένης, τρίτον δὲ συγχωρηθείσης ὑφ' ὑμῶν
mine having-become third and conceded by you
τῶν εἰθισμένων ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
the-ones accustomed to-dispute and the-ones in-nothing to-you
προσηκόντων;
pertaining

ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλῶ, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ προϋπαρχόντων
what indeed then I-complain these-things are as but you-being-the-aggressors
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν μᾶλλον ἤδη τοῖς πράγμασιν
and because-of the my caution more already the affairs
ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ καθ᾽ ὅσον ἂν δύνησθε κακοποιούντων
attacking and by as-much-as — you-can doing-harm
ὑμῶν, ἀμυνοῦμαι μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς
you I-will-defend-myself with the just and witnesses the
θεοὺς ποιησάμενος διαλήψομαι περὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς.
gods having-made I-will-decide about the-matters concerning you

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Answer to Philip's Letter

I · THE ANSWER TO THE LETTER

Philip, the speaker says, never made peace but postponed the war, and his letter now admits it. Athens need not fear him: the gods, whose oaths he broke, are her allies; his deceptions are known to Perinthus, Byzantium, Thessaly, and Thebes; and the Persian satraps who helped save Perinthus will urge the king to fund Athens. Philip's power is precarious, his subjects want safety where he wants glory, and his officers fear flatterers and slanderers more than battle, and he resents their successes; his good fortune hides his faults, as a strong body hides its weaknesses until illness. Athens' fortune is older and the gods favor her justice. Philip prevailed before because he campaigns himself while Athens sits asking for news. Athens must stop pretending to be at peace, spare nothing, campaign herself, and summon the Greeks to alliance by deeds, not words.

ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐποιήσατο 1
that indeed O men Athenians Philip not made
τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνεβάλετο τὸν πόλεμον,
the peace with you but postponed the war
πᾶσιν ὑμῖν φανερὸν γέγονεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Φαρσαλίοις
to-all you clear has-become since for to-Pharsalians
Ἅλον παρέδωκε καὶ τὰ περὶ Φωκέας διῳκήσατο
Halus he-handed-over and the-things concerning Phocians managed
καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην κατεστρέψατο πᾶσαν, αἰτίας οὐκ οὔσας
and the Thrace subdued all charges not existing
πλασάμενος καὶ προφάσεις ἀδίκους ἐξευρὼν τῷ μὲν
having-fabricated and pretexts unjust having-found-out in-the indeed
ἔργῳ πάλαι πολεμεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ νῦν
fact long-ago he-wars against the city in-the but word now
ὁμολογεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔπεμψεν·
admits through the letter which he-sent

2 ὅτι δὲ χρὴ μήτ᾽ ὀρρωδεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν
that and it-is-necessary neither to-dread you the his power
μήτ᾽ ἀγεννῶς ἀντιταχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώμασι
nor ignobly to-be-arrayed against him but both with-bodies
καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν
and with-money and with-ships and with-everything as simply to-say
ἀφειδῶς ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι
unsparingly to-rush to the war I will-try
διδάσκειν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰκός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
to-teach first indeed for reasonable O men Athenians
τοὺς θεοὺς μεγίστους ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν συμμάχους καὶ
the gods greatest for-you to-be allies and
βοηθούς, ὧν ἐκεῖνος τὰς πίστεις ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τοὺς
helpers whose he the pledges having-disregarded and the
ὅρκους ὑπερβὰς λέλυκεν ἀδίκως τὴν εἰρήνην·
oaths having-transgressed has-broken unjustly the peace
3 ἔπειθ᾽ οἷς πρότερον ηὐξήθη, φενακίζων ἀεί τινας
then by-what before he-grew deceiving always some
καὶ μεγάλ᾽ ἐπαγγελλόμενος εὐεργετήσειν, ταῦτα πάντα
and great-things promising to-be-going-to-benefit these-things all
διεξελήλυθεν ἤδη, καὶ γιγνώσκεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
have-run-their-course already and he-is-recognized indeed by the
Περινθίων καὶ Βυζαντίων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συμμαχούντων
Perinthians and Byzantines and the-ones with-them allied
ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ προσενεχθῆναι τούτοις τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
as he-desires to-treat these the same way
ὅνπερ Ὀλυνθίοις πρότερον,
as-very the-Olynthians before
4 οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται δ᾽ ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν δεσπόζειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ
not it-is-unknown and by Thessalians to-be-master but not
ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν συμμάχων προαιρούμενος, ὑποπτεύεται δ᾽
to-lead the allies choosing he-is-suspected and

ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Νίκαιαν μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχων, εἰς δὲ
by Thebans Nicaea indeed with-a-garrison holding into and
τὴν ἀμφικτυονίαν εἰσδεδυκώς, τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας τὰς
the Amphictyony having-slipped the and embassies the
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς αὑτὸν ἄγων καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων
from Peloponnese to himself drawing and the their
συμμαχίαν παραιρούμενος· ὥστε τῶν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ
alliance stealing-away so-that of-the-ones to-him before the
φίλων ὄντων τοὺς μὲν νῦν πολεμεῖν ἀκαταλλάκτως,
friends being the-ones indeed now to-war irreconcilably
τοὺς δὲ μηκέτι προθύμους εἶναι συναγωνιστάς, ἅπαντας
the-ones but no-longer eager to-be fellow-fighters all
δ' ὑφορᾶσθαι καὶ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.
but to-look-askance and to-be-at-odds toward him
ἔτι τοίνυν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστι μικρόν) οἱ κατὰ 5
further then not-even for this is small the in
τὴν Ἀσίαν σατράπαι καθεστῶτες ἔναγχος μὲν ξένους
the Asia satraps established lately indeed mercenaries
εἰσπέμψαντες ἐκώλυσαν ἑκπολιορκηθῆναι Πέρινθον, νῦν δὲ
having-sent-in prevented to-be-taken-by-siege Perinthus now and
τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς ἐνεστώσης καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου πλησίον
the enmity for-them being-present and the danger near
ὄντος, εἰ χειρωθήσεται Βυζάντιον,
being if will-be-subdued Byzantium
οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ προθύμως συμπολεμήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 6
not only themselves eagerly will-join-in-the-war but also
βασιλέα χρήματα χορηγεῖν ἡμῖν προτρέψονται, ὃς τοσοῦτον
the-king money to-supply us will-urge who so-much
μὲν κέκτηται πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐδ' οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες,
indeed possesses wealth as-much-as not-even the remaining all
τηλικαύτην δ' ἔχει ῥώμην πρὸς τὰς ἐνθάδε πράξεις
such and has strength for the here affairs

ὥστε καὶ πρότερον, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπολεμοῦμεν,
that also before when Lacedaemonians we-were-warring-with
ὁποτέροις πρόσθοιτο, τούτους ἐποίει κρατεῖν τῶν ἑτέρων,
to-whichever he-attached-himself these he-made to-prevail over-the others
καὶ νῦν μεθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος ῥᾳδίως καταπολεμήσει τὴν
and now with us having-become easily will-defeat the
Φιλίππου δύναμιν.
of-Philip power

7 πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις τηλικούτοις οὖσιν, οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν
besides then these so-great being not I-will-say indeed
ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην πολλὰ προείληφεν ἡμῶν
that not because-of the peace many-things he-has-seized-beforehand of-us
χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα χρήσιμα πρὸς
places and harbors and such others useful for
πόλεμον, ὁρῶ δ' ὡς ὅταν μὲν ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα
war I-see but that when indeed by goodwill the affairs
συνέχηται καὶ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετέχουσι
are-held-together and for-all the-same-things are-expedient for-the-ones sharing
τῶν πολέμων, μένει τὰ συσταθέντα βεβαίως· ὅταν δ'
of-the wars remain the-things combined securely when but
ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀπάτῃ καὶ βίᾳ κατέχηται,
from plotting and greed by-deceit and violence they-are-held
καθάπερ ὑπὸ τούτου νῦν, μικρὰ πρόφασις καὶ τὸ τυχὸν
as by this-man now small pretext and the chance
πταῖσμα ταχέως αὐτὰ διέσεισε καὶ κατέλυσεν.
stumble quickly them shook and dissolved

8 καὶ πολλάκις εὑρίσκω λογιζόμενος οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες
and often I-find reckoning not only O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ πρὸς ὑποψίαν ἥκοντα
Athenians the allied-affairs — for-Philip into suspicion having-come
καὶ δυσμένειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς οὐ
and hostility but also the-things of-the his-own dominion not

συνηρμοσμένα καλῶς οὐδ' οἰκείως οὐδ' ὡς οἴεταί τις. ὅλως
fitted-together well nor intimately nor as thinks anyone wholly
μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει
indeed for the Macedonian power in indeed of-addition part
ῥοπὴν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χρῆσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὑτὴν ἀσθενής ἐστι
weight has some and use itself but by itself weak is
καὶ πρὸς τηλικοῦτον ὄγκον πραγμάτων εὐκαταφρόνητος.
and for so-great a-bulk of-affairs contemptible
ἔτι δ' αὐτὴν οὗτος τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις 9
further and it this-man by-the wars and the campaigns
καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἄν τις αὐτὸν μέγαν εἶναι νομίσειε,
and by-all by-which — anyone him great to-be might-think
σφαλερωτέραν αὑτῷ πεποίηκεν. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες
more-precarious for-himself has-made not for think O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίρειν Φίλιππόν τε καὶ τοὺς
Athenians in-the same-things to-rejoice Philip both and the-ones
ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖσθ' ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ δόξης,
ruled but consider that the-one indeed desires glory
οἱ δ' ἀσφαλείας, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τυχεῖν
the-others but security and for-him indeed not it-is-possible to-obtain
ταύτης ἀκινδύνως, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δέονται, καταλείποντες
this without-danger the-others but nothing need leaving
οἴκοι τέκνα, γονεῖς, γυναῖκας, φθείρεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην
at-home children parents wives to-be-ruined and on each
ἡμέραν κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.
day to-run-risks for him
ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκ τούτων ἄν 10
so-that the indeed many of-the Macedonians from these —
τις ἴδοι πῶς διάκεινται πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον· τοὺς δὲ
anyone could-see how they-are-disposed toward — Philip the-ones but
περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ξένων ἡγεμόνας
about him being companions and the of-the mercenaries leaders

εὑρήσετε δόξαν μὲν ἔχοντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ, περιδεῶς δὲ
you-will-find reputation indeed having for courage in-great-fear but
μᾶλλον τῶν ἀδόξων ζῶντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁ πρὸς τοὺς
more than-the obscure living for-the indeed for the toward the
πολεμίους μόνον ὑπάρχει κίνδυνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς κόλακας
enemies alone exists danger the-others but the flatterers
καὶ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μάχας δεδίασι·
and the slanderers them more than the battles fear
11 κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ πάντων ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τοὺς
and-those indeed with all contend against the-ones
ἀντιταχθέντας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κακῶν
arrayed-against to-these but also of-the in the wars evils
οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος μέτεστιν, καὶ χωρὶς ἰδίᾳ τὸν τρόπον
not least part belongs and apart privately the temper
τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως φοβεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν μὲν
the of-the king to-fear has-befallen further and of-the indeed
πολλῶν ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ τις, ζημίας κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἴληφεν·
many if errs anyone penalties according-to the desert he-has-received
οἱ δ᾽ ὅταν μάλιστα κατορθώσωσι, τότε μάλιστα
the-ones but when most they-succeed then most
σκορακίζονται καὶ προπηλακίζονται παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον.
are-cast-off and are-abused contrary-to the fitting
12 καὶ τούτοις οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εὖ φρονῶν ἀπιστήσειεν· οὕτω
and these not-even — one well thinking would-disbelieve so
γὰρ φιλότιμον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασιν οἱ συνδιατρίψαντες
for ambitious him to-be say the-ones having-spent-time-with-him
ὥστε βουλόμενον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων πάνθ᾽ αὑτοῦ
that wishing the finest of-the deeds all his
δοκεῖν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν
to-seem to-be more to-be-vexed with-the generals and the

ἡγεμόνων τοῖς ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τι πράξασιν ἢ
leaders with-the-ones worthy of-praise something having-done than
τοῖς ὅλως ἀποτυχοῦσι.
with-the-ones wholly having-failed
πῶς οὖν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα, πιστῶς ἤδη 13
how then if-indeed are these-things such faithfully already
πολὺν χρόνον αὐτῷ παραμένουσιν; ὅτι νῦν μέν, ὦ
long time with-him do-they-remain because now indeed O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ κατορθοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπισκοτεῖ πᾶσι
men Athenians the to-succeed him overshadows all
τοῖς τοιούτοις· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ
the such-things the for successes clever to-conceal and
συσκιάσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν· εἰ δέ τι
to-overshadow the errors of-the men are if but anything
πταίσει, τότ' ἀκριβῶς διακαλυφθήσεται ταῦτα πάντα.
he-stumbles then precisely will-be-uncovered these-things all
συμβαίνει γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν·
it-happens for as in the bodies our
ὅταν μὲν ἐρρωμένος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' 14
when indeed strong is anyone nothing he-perceives of-the by
ἕκαστα σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δ' ἀρρωστήσῃ, πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν
each unsound when but he-falls-ill everything is-stirred whether
ῥῆγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ᾖ μὴ
rupture or sprain or other anything of-the existing is not
τελέως ὑγιεινόν· οὕτω καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν καὶ ἁπασῶν τῶν
completely healthy so also of-the kingdoms and of-all the
δυναστειῶν, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθῶσιν,
dominations as-long-as indeed — in the wars they-succeed
ἀφανῆ τὰ κακά ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὰν δέ τι πταίσωσιν,
invisible the evils are to-the many when but anything they-stumble

ὃ νῦν παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον μεῖζον φορτίον ἢ καθ' αὑτὸν
which now to-suffer is-likely he greater burden than according-to himself
αἰρόμενον, γίγνεται φανερὰ τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα τοῖς ἅπασιν.
lifting become evident the troubles all to-the all
15 εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον
if and anyone of-you O men Athenians — Philip
ὁρῶν εὐτυχοῦντα φοβερὸν εἶναι νομίζει καὶ δυσπολέμητον,
seeing fortunate fearsome to-be thinks and hard-to-war-against
σώφρονος μὲν ἀνδρὸς χρῆται προνοίᾳ· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή,
of-a-prudent indeed man he-uses forethought great for weight
μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἡ τύχη ἐστὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν
rather but the whole the fortune is for all the of-the
ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· κατὰ πολλοὺς μέντοι τρόπους ἕλοιτ'
men affairs in many however ways would-choose
ἄν τις οὐχ ἧττον τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου.
— anyone not less the our good-fortune than the his
16 παρά τε γὰρ τῶν προγόνων ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου
from both for the ancestors from longer time
παρειλήφαμεν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ τούτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ
we-have-received the prosperity not of-this-man only but
συνελόντι φράσαι πάντων τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευσάντων·
in-sum to-say of-all the in Macedonia having-been-kings
κἀκεῖνοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις φόρους ἤνεγκαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα
and-they indeed to-Athenians tributes paid the but our
πόλις οὐδενί πω τῶν ἁπάντων. ἔτι δὲ τοσούτῳ πλείους
city to-no-one yet of-the all further and by-so-much more
ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἔχομεν, ὅσῳ
resources than-him toward the of-the gods goodwill we-have by-as-much-as
διατελοῦμεν εὐσεβέστερα καὶ δικαιότερα πράττοντες.
we-continue more-piously and more-justly acting

τί ποτ᾽ οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ πλείω 17
why ever then he in the former war more
κατώρθωσεν ἡμῶν; ὅτι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (παρρησιάσομαι
succeeded than-us because O men Athenians I-will-speak-freely
γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς στρατεύεται καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖ
for to you he indeed himself campaigns and toils
καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις πάρεστιν, οὔτε καιρὸν παριεὶς οὔθ᾽
and at-the dangers is-present neither opportunity letting-pass nor
ὥραν ἔτους παραλείπων οὐδεμίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ (εἰρήσεται
season of-year omitting any we but it-will-be-spoken
γὰρ τἀληθῆ) οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες ἐνθάδε καθήμεθα, μέλλοντες
for the-truth nothing doing here sit delaying
ἀεὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι καὶ πυνθανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν
always and voting and inquiring in the market
εἴ τι λέγεται νεώτερον. καίτοι τί γένοιτ᾽ ἂν νεώτερον
if anything is-said newer and-yet what could-be — newer
ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ καταφρονῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τολμῶν
than a-Macedonian man despising Athenians and daring
ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν τοιαύτας οἵας ἠκούσατε μικρῷ πρότερον;
letters to-send such as you-heard a-little before
καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπάρχουσι μισθοφόροι στρατιῶται, καὶ 18
and for-him indeed exist mercenary soldiers and
νὴ Δία πρὸς τούτοις τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ῥητόρων τινές, οἳ
by Zeus besides these of-the among us orators some who
τὰς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου δωρεὰς οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν νομίζοντες
the from him gifts home to-be-receiving thinking
οὐκ αἰσχύνονται Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες, οὐδ᾽ αἰσθάνονται
not are-ashamed for-Philip living nor perceive
πάντα καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν
all both the-things of-the city and the-things of-them themselves
μικροῦ λήμματος πωλοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὔτε τῶν ἐκείνου
for-small gain selling we but neither of-the his

πραγμάτων οὐδὲν στασιάζειν παρασκευάζομεν, οὔτε
affairs any to-be-in-revolt we-prepare nor
ξενοτροφεῖν ἐθέλομεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶμεν.
to-maintain-mercenaries are-willing nor to-campaign dare
19 οὔκουν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἴ τι πεπλεονέκτηκεν
not-then is anything terrible if anything he-has-had-the-advantage
ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ
of-us in the former war but rather if
μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ὧν προσήκει τοὺς πολεμοῦντας,
nothing doing we of-what befits the-ones warring
νομίζομεν κρατήσειν τοῦ πάντα πράττοντος· ἃ
we-think to-be-going-to-conquer the-one all doing which
δεῖ τοὺς πλεονεκτήσειν μέλλοντας.
it-is-necessary for-the-ones to-gain being-about
20 ὧν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρὴ λαβόντας ἔννοιαν,
of-which O men Athenians it-is-necessary having-taken thought
καὶ λογισαμένους ὡς οὐδ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ φάσκειν
and having-reckoned that not-even in us is the to-claim
ἄγειν εἰρήνην (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ προηγόρευκε τὸν
to-keep peace already for he both has-proclaimed the
πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξενήνοχε) μηδενὸς μὲν φείδεσθαι
war and in-the deeds has-declared nothing indeed to-spare
μήτε τῶν δημοσίων μήτε τῶν ἰδίων, στρατεύεσθαι δέ,
neither of-the public nor of-the private to-campaign and
ἄν που καιρὸς ᾖ, προθύμως ἅπαντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ
if somewhere occasion is eagerly all to-use and
στρατηγοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἢ πρότερον.
generals better than before
21 μὴ γὰρ ὑπολάβῃ τις ὑμῶν, δι' ὧν ἐγένετο τὰ
not for let-suppose anyone of-you through what became the
πράγματα χείρω τὰ τῆς πόλεως, διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ πάλιν
affairs worse the of-the city through these them again

ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ γενήσεσθαι βελτίω· μηδὲ νομίσητε
to-be-going-to-recover and to-be-going-to-become better nor think
ῥᾳθυμούντων ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τῶν
being-idle you as before others for the
ὑμετέρων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι προθύμως· ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖσθ' ὡς
yours to-be-going-to-contend eagerly but consider that
αἰσχρόν ἐστι τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ὑμῶν πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ
shameful it-is the indeed fathers your many toils and
μεγάλους κινδύνους ὑποστῆναι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντας,
great dangers to-have-undergone Lacedaemonians warring-with
ὑμᾶς δὲ μηδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι δικαίως κτησάμενοι 22
you but not-even for what those justly having-acquired
παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν ἐθέλειν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν
handed-down to-you to-be-willing vigorously to-defend but the
μὲν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὁρμώμενον οὕτως εἶναι φιλοκίνδυνον
indeed from Macedonia setting-out so to-be danger-loving
ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατατετρῶσθαι πᾶν
that for the greater to-make the empire to-have-been-wounded all
τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχόμενον, Ἀθηναίους δέ, οἷς
the body by-the enemies fighting Athenians but for-whom
πάτριόν ἐστι μηδενὸς ἀκούειν, ἁπάντων δὲ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς
ancestral it-is to-no-one to-listen over-all but to-prevail in the
πολέμοις, τούτους διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἐγκαταλείπειν
wars these through indolence or softness to-abandon
τά τε τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος.
the both of-the ancestors deeds and the interests of-the fatherland
ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακρολογῶ, φημὶ χρῆναι παρεσκευάσθαι 23
so-that and not I-may-speak-at-length I-say to-be-necessary to-be-prepared
μὲν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, παρακαλεῖν δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μὴ
indeed for the war to-summon but the Greeks not
λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν συμμαχίαν·
by-words but by-the deeds to the with us alliance

ὡς ἅπας μέν ἐστι λόγος μάταιος πράξεων ἄμοιρος
as all indeed is speech vain of-deeds without-share
γενόμενος, τοσούτῳ δὲ μάλισθ' ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας
having-become by-so-much and most the-one from the our
πόλεως, ὅσῳ δοκοῦμεν αὐτῷ προχειρότατα χρῆσθαι
city by-as-much-as we-seem it most-readily to-use
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.
of-the other Greeks

DEMOSTHENES

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ

Funeral Speech

The city chose Demosthenes to speak over the men who fell in battle, and he finds it impossible to praise them as they deserve, since they chose to die nobly rather than see Greece unfortunate. The law of the public funeral shows that the city knows good men value praise above wealth. He will praise their birth, education, and life. They are autochthonous, born of the land they live in, which first gave men grain, and so are legitimate children of the fatherland. Their ancestors wronged no one, Greek or barbarian, and defeated the Amazons, drove Eumolpus out, protected the sons of Heracles from Eurystheus, and buried the Seven against Thebes when Creon forbade it. Twice they alone repelled the expedition from all Asia, by land and sea, and gave all Greeks a common safety; they always stood where justice was.

ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐν τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ κειμένους, ἄνδρας 1
since the-ones in this the tomb lying men
ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονότας, ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει
good in the war having-proved it-seemed-good to-the city
δημοσίᾳ θάπτειν καὶ προσέταξεν ἐμοὶ τὸν νομιζόμενον
publicly to-bury and it-assigned to-me the customary
λόγον εἰπεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἐσκόπουν μὲν εὐθὺς ὅπως
speech to-say over them I-was-considering indeed at-once how
τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐπαίνου τεύξονται, ἐξετάζων δὲ καὶ
the fitting praise they-will-obtain examining but and
σκοπῶν ἀξίως εἰπεῖν τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἕν τι τῶν
considering worthily to-speak of-the dead one some-thing of-the
ἀδυνάτων εὕρισκον ὄν. οἳ γὰρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πᾶσιν
impossible-things I-found being who for the existing in-all
ἔμφυτον τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερεῖδον ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τελευτῆσαι
innate of-the to-live disregarded desire and to-die
καλῶς μᾶλλον ἠβουλήθησαν, ἢ ζῶντες τὴν Ἑλλάδ᾽ ἰδεῖν
nobly rather wished than living the Greece to-see
ἀτυχοῦσαν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνυπέρβλητον παντὶ λόγῳ τὴν αὑτῶν
unfortunate how not unsurpassable by-every speech the their-own

ἀρετὴν καταλελοίπασιν; ὁμοίως μέντοι διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς
virtue have-they-left alike however to-discuss with-the-ones
πρότερόν ποτ' εἰρηκόσιν ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ.
before ever having-spoken here to-be-possible to-me seems
2 ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις σπουδάζει περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
that indeed then the city is-earnest about the-ones in the war
τελευτῶντας, ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ μάλιστ'
dying from both the other-things it-is-possible to-see and most
ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου, καθ' ὃν αἱρεῖται τὸν ἐροῦντ'
from this the law by which it-chooses the-one going-to-speak
ἐπὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις ταφαῖς· εἰδυῖα γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
at the public funerals knowing for among the good
ἀνδράσιν τὰς μὲν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσεις καὶ τῶν κατὰ
men the indeed of-the money acquisitions and of-the in
τὸν βίον ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύσεις ὑπερεωραμένας, τῆς δ'
the life pleasures enjoyments having-been-disregarded of-the but
ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὖσαν, ἐξ
virtue and of-the praises all the desire being from
ὧν ταῦτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα γένοιτο λόγων, τούτοις
which these-things — to-them most might-come of-speeches with-these
ᾠήθησαν δεῖν αὐτοὺς τιμᾶν, ἵν' ἣν ζῶντες ἐκτήσαντ'
they-thought to-be-necessary them to-honor so-that which living they-acquired
εὐδοξίαν, αὕτη καὶ τετελευτηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθείη.
good-repute this also having-died to-them might-be-rendered
3 εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνδρείαν μόνον αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν
if indeed then the courage alone to-them of-the-things to virtue
ἀνηκόντων ὑπάρχουσαν ἑώρων, ταύτην ἂν ἐπαινέσας
belonging existing I-saw this — having-praised
ἀπηλλαττόμην τῶν λόγων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ γεγενῆσθαι
I-would-be-done-with the words since but also to-have-been-born
καλῶς καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι σωφρόνως καὶ βεβιωκέναι
nobly and to-have-been-educated temperately and to-have-lived

φιλοτίμως συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ ὧν εἰκότως ἦσαν
ambitiously has-befallen them from which reasonably they-were
σπουδαῖοι, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἴ τι τούτων φανείην
excellent I-would-be-ashamed — if any of-these I-should-appear
παραλιπών. ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς.
having-omitted I-will-begin and from the of-the race their beginning
ἡ γὰρ εὐγένεια τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ πλείστου χρόνου 4
the for noble-birth of-these the men from longest time
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνωμολόγηται. οὐ γὰρ μόνον
among all men has-been-acknowledged not for only
εἰς πατέρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἄνω προγόνων κατ' ἄνδρ'
to father for-them and of-the above ancestors by man
ἀνενεγκεῖν ἑκάστῳ τὴν φύσιν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὅλην κοινῇ
to-trace for-each the descent it-is-possible but to whole in-common
τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πατρίδα, ἧς αὐτόχθονες ὁμολογοῦνται
the existing fatherland of-which autochthonous they-are-agreed
εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐξ ἥσπερ ἔφυσαν,
to-be alone for of-all men from which-very they-were-born
ταύτην ᾤκησαν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέδωκαν, ὥστε
this they-inhabited and to-the-ones from themselves handed-down so-that
δικαίως ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι, τοὺς μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἐλθόντας
justly — anyone might-suppose the-ones indeed immigrants having-come
εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τούτων πολίτας προσαγορευομένους,
into the cities and of-these citizens being-called
ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰσποιητοῖς τῶν παίδων, τούτους δὲ
like to-be to-the adopted of-the children these but
γνησίους γόνῳ τῆς πατρίδος πολίτας εἶναι.
legitimate by-birth of-the fatherland citizens to-be
δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς καρπούς, οἷς ζῶσιν ἄνθρωποι, 5
seems and to-me also the the fruits on-which live men
παρ' ἡμῖν πρώτοις φανῆναι, χωρὶς τοῦ μέγιστον εὐεργέτημ'
among us first to-appear apart-from the greatest benefaction

εἰς πάντας γενέσθαι, ὁμολογούμενον σημεῖον ὑπάρχειν τοῦ
for all to-have-been agreed sign to-be of-the
μητέρα τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων. πάντα
mother the land to-be of-the our ancestors all
γὰρ τὰ τίκτονθ' ἅμα καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς γιγνομένοις
for the-things giving-birth at-the-same-time also nourishment for-the being-born
ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως φέρει· ὅπερ ἥδ' ἡ χώρα πεποίηκε.
from itself the nature brings which-very this the land has-done
6 τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς γένος ἀνήκοντα τοιαῦτα δι' αἰῶνος
the-things indeed then to birth belonging such through age
ὑπάρχει τοῖς τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν προγόνοις. τὰ δ' εἰς
exist for-the of-these the men ancestors the-things but to
ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πάντα μὲν κατοκνῶ λέγειν,
courage and the other virtue all indeed I-hesitate to-tell
φυλαττόμενος μὴ μῆκος ἄκαιρον ἐγγένηται τῷ λόγῳ·
guarding-against lest length unseasonable may-arise-in the speech
ἃ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσι χρήσιμ' ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ τοῖς
what but also for-the-ones knowing useful to-be-recalled and for-the
ἀπείροις κάλλιστ' ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ ζῆλον ἔχει πολὺν καὶ μῆκος
inexperienced finest to-hear and emulation has much and length
λόγων ἄλυπον, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι.
of-speeches painless these-things in main-points to-tell I-will-try
7 οἱ γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον γενεᾶς πρόγονοι
the-ones for of-the in the present time generation ancestors
καὶ πατέρες καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντες,
and fathers and of-these above the names having
αἷς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν γένει γνωρίζονται, ἠδίκησαν μὲν οὐδένα
with-which by the-ones in kin they-are-known wronged indeed no-one
πώποτ' οὔθ' Ἕλλην' οὔτε βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς

πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαιοτάτοις
besides all the other fine and-good-things also most-just
εἶναι, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ διεπράξαντο.
to-be defending-themselves but many and splendid-things they-accomplished
καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν ἐλθόντ᾽ ἐκράτησαν οὕτως, 8
and for the of-Amazons army having-come they-conquered so
ὥστ᾽ ἔξω Φάσιδος ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸν Εὐμόλπου καὶ Θρᾳκῶν
that beyond Phasis to-drive-out and the of-Eumolpus and of-Thracians
καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων στόλον οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας, ἀλλὰ
and many others expedition not only from the own but
καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων χώρας ἐξήλασαν, οὓς οἱ
also from the of-the other Greeks land they-drove-out whom the-ones
πρὸ ἡμῶν οἰκοῦντες πρὸς ἑσπέραν πάντες οὔθ᾽ ὑπέμειναν
before us dwelling toward west all neither withstood
οὔτ᾽ ἐδυνήθησαν κωλῦσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους
nor were-able to-prevent and truly also of-the of-Heracles
παίδων, ὃς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔσῳζε, σωτῆρες ὠνομάσθησαν,
children who the others was-saving saviors they-were-named
ἡνίκ᾽ ἦλθον εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἱκέται, φεύγοντες Εὐρυσθέα.
when they-came into this the land suppliants fleeing Eurystheus
καὶ πρὸς πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις,
and besides all these and many other and fine deeds
τὰ τῶν κατοιχομένων νόμιμ᾽ οὐ περιεῖδον ὑβριζόμενα,
the of-the departed customs not they-overlooked being-outraged
ὅτε τοὺς ἑπτ᾽ ἐπὶ Θήβας θάπτειν ἐκώλυε Κρέων.
when the seven against Thebes to-bury was-preventing Creon
τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς μύθους ἀνενηνεγμένων ἔργων πολλὰ 9
of-the indeed then into myths referred deeds many
παραλιπὼν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, ὧν οὕτως ἕκαστον
having-omitted these I-mentioned of-which so each
εὐσχήμονας καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχει λόγους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
graceful and many has speeches that both the-ones

ἐμμέτρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ᾀδομένων ποιητὰς καὶ πολλοὺς
metrical and the of-the sung poets and many
τῶν συγγραφέων ὑποθέσεις τἀκείνων ἔργα τῆς αὑτῶν
of-the prose-writers as-subjects the-of-those deeds of-the their-own
μουσικῆς πεποιῆσθαι· ἃ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἔργων
art to-have-made what but in-the indeed worth of-the deeds
οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων ἐλάττω, τῷ δ' ὑπογυιότερ' εἶναι
in-nothing is than-these less in-the but more-recent to-be
τοῖς χρόνοις οὔπω μεμυθολόγηται, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν
in-the times not-yet has-been-made-myth nor into the heroic
ἐπανῆκται τάξιν, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.
has-been-raised rank these-things now I-will-tell
ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας στόλον ἐλθόντα μόνοι
those the from all the Asia expedition having-come alone
δὶς ἠμύναντο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ διὰ
twice repelled both by land and by sea and through
τῶν ἰδίων κινδύνων κοινῆς σωτηρίας πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
the private dangers of-common safety for-all the Greeks
αἴτιοι κατέστησαν. καὶ προείρηται μὲν ὃ μέλλω
responsible became and has-been-said-before indeed what I-am-about
λέγειν ὑπ' ἄλλων πρότερον, δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ νῦν τοῦ
to-say by others before it-is-necessary but not-even now of-the
δικαίου καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντος ἐπαίνου τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους
just and well being praise the men those
στερηθῆναι· τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἀμείνους τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν
to-be-deprived by-so-much for better than-the against Troy
στρατευσαμένων νομίζοιντ' ἂν εἰκότως, ὅσον οἱ
having-campaigned would-be-considered — reasonably by-as-much-as the-ones
μὲν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντες ἀριστεῖς δέκ' ἔτη
indeed from all the Greece being champions ten years
τῆς Ἀσίας ἓν χωρίον πολιορκοῦντες μόλις εἷλον,
of-the Asia one place besieging hardly took

οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἠπείρου στόλον ἐλθόντα μόνοι, 11
these but the from all the continent expedition having-come alone
τἄλλα πάντα κατεστραμμένον, οὐ μόνον ἠμύναντο, ἀλλὰ
the-other-things all having-subdued not only repelled but
καὶ τιμωρίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἠδίκουν ἐπέθηκαν.
also punishment for what the others they-were-wronging imposed
ἔτι τοίνυν τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πλεονεξίας κωλύοντες,
further then the in themselves the Greeks greeds preventing
πάντας ὅσους συνέβη γενέσθαι κινδύνους ὑπέμειναν, ὅπου
all as-many-as happened to-arise dangers they-underwent where
τὸ δίκαιον εἴη τεταγμένον, ἐνταῦθα προσνέμοντες ἑαυτούς,
the justice might-be posted there assigning themselves
ἕως εἰς τὴν νῦν ζῶσαν ἡλικίαν ὁ χρόνος προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς.
until into the now living generation the time brought us

II · THE FALLEN

Demosthenes turns from the ancestors to the dead themselves. From boyhood these men pleased parents, friends, and kin, and in manhood they showed the understanding that begins virtue and the courage that ends it. They foresaw the common danger and summoned the Greeks to safety, and when the Greeks listened at last they spent bodies, money, and allies, and did not spare their lives. In battle some must lose; but those who fell in their ranks had no share in the defeat, since victory is the divinity's to give. Their courage kept the enemy from Attica, and their very valor made the conqueror choose friendship. The fault lay with the Theban commanders, not their men. Their death was the end of Greece's freedom, as if the light were taken from the world; and democracy, where shame and free speech rule, made them brave.

μηδεὶς δ' ἡγείσθω με ἀποροῦντα, τί χρὴ περὶ τούτων 12
let-no-one and think me being-at-a-loss what one-must about these
εἰπεῖν ἑκάστου, ταῦτα τὰ πραχθέντ' ἀπηριθμηκέναι.
to-say each these the-things done to-have-enumerated

εἰ γὰρ ἁπάντων ἀμηχανώτατος ἦν ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν
if for of-all most-helpless I-were what ever one-must to-say
πορίσασθαι, ἡ ᾽κείνων ἀρετὴ δείκνυσιν αὐτή, ἃ καὶ
to-find the of-those virtue shows itself what both
πρόχειρα καὶ ῥᾴδι᾽ ἐπελθεῖν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ προαιροῦμαι
ready and easy to-go-over is but I-choose
τῆς εὐγενείας καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς προγόνοις μεγίστων
of-the noble-birth and of-the among the ancestors greatest
μνησθείς, ὡς τάχιστα συνάψαι τὸν λόγον πρὸς
having-mentioned as quickly-as-possible to-join the speech to
τὰ τοῖσδε πεπραγμένα, ἵν᾽, ὥσπερ τὰς φύσεις ἦσαν
the by-these done so-that as in-the natures they-were
συγγενεῖς, οὕτω τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν κοινοὺς
akin so the praises over them common
ποιήσωμαι, ὑπολαμβάνων ταῦτ᾽ ἂν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα
I-may-make supposing these-things — to-be pleasing
καὶ μάλιστ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ τῆς ἀλλήλων ἀρετῆς μὴ μόνον
and most to-both if of-the one-another's virtue not only
τῇ φύσει μετάσχοιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις.
by-the nature they-should-share but also in-the praises
13 ἀνάγκη δ᾽ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ διαλαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰ
necessary and in the meantime to-distinguish and before the the
τοῖσδε πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἀνδράσι δηλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς
by-these done the men to-show also the-ones
ἔξω τοῦ γένους πρὸς τὸν τάφον ἠκολουθηκότας πρὸς
outside the family to the tomb having-followed to
εὔνοιαν παρακαλέσαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰς χρημάτων
goodwill to-summon and for if indeed on of-money
δαπάνην ἤ τιν᾽ ἄλλην θεωρίαν ἱππικῶν ἢ γυμνικῶν
expenditure or some other spectacle of-horse or athletic
ἄθλων ἐτάχθην κοσμῆσαι τὸν τάφον, ὅσῳπερ ἂν
contests I-had-been-assigned to-adorn the tomb by-as-much-as-very —

προθυμότερον καὶ ἀφειδέστερον ταῦτα παρεσκευάσμην,
more-eagerly and more-lavishly these-things I-had-prepared
τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν προσήκοντ᾽ ἔδοξα πεποιηκέναι·
by-so-much more — fitting-things I-would-have-seemed to-have-done
λόγῳ δ᾽ ἐπαινέσαι τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας αἱρεθείς, ἂν μὴ
in-word but to-praise these the men chosen if not
τοὺς ἀκούοντας συμβουλομένους λάβω, φοβοῦμαι μὴ τῇ
the hearers sympathizing I-get I-fear lest by-the
προθυμίᾳ τοὐναντίον οὗ δεῖ ποιήσω.
zeal the-opposite of-what one-must I-may-do
ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλοῦτος καὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ 14
the indeed for wealth and the speed and the strength and
ὅσ᾽ ἄλλα τούτοις ὅμοια, αὐτάρκεις ἔχει τὰς ὀνήσεις
as-many-as other to-these like self-sufficient have the benefits
τοῖς κεκτημένοις, καὶ κρατοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, οἷς ἂν
for-the-ones possessing and prevail in themselves to-whom —
παρῇ, κἂν μηδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων βούληται· ἡ δὲ τῶν
they-are-present even-if no-one of-the others wishes the but of-the
λόγων πειθὼ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων εὐνοίας προσδεῖται,
words persuasion of-the of-the listeners goodwill needs
καὶ μετὰ ταύτης μέν, κἂν μετρίως ῥηθῇ, δόξαν ἤνεγκε
and with this indeed even-if moderately spoken reputation it-brings
καὶ χάριν προσποιεῖ, ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης, κἂν ὑπερβάλῃ τῷ
and favor wins without but this even-if it-excels in-the
λέγειν καλῶς, προσέστη τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.
speaking well it-offends the hearers
πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὧν οἵδε πράξαντες δικαίως 15
many-things then having to-say of-which these having-done justly
ἐπαινεθήσονται, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς εἰμι τοῖς ἔργοις,
will-be-praised since to them I-am the deeds
ἀπορῶ τί πρῶτον εἴπω· προσιστάμενα γὰρ πάντ᾽ εἰς
I-am-at-a-loss what first I-may-say presenting-themselves for all into

ἕνα καιρόν, δύσκριτον καθίστησί μοι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν.
one moment hard-to-decide makes for-me the choice of-them
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι τὴν αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ
not however but I-will-try the same to-make of-the
λόγου τάξιν, ἥπερ ὑπῆρξε τοῦ βίου τούτοις.
speech order which-very belonged of-the life to-these
16 οἵδε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς παιδεύμασιν ἦσαν
these for from the-beginning in all the educations were
ἐπιφανεῖς, τὰ πρέποντα καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀσκοῦντες ἑκάστην,
conspicuous the fitting-things by age practicing each
καὶ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκοντες οἷς χρὴ, γονεῦσι, φίλοις,
and all pleasing whom it-is-necessary parents friends
οἰκείοις. τοιγαροῦν ὥσπερ ἴχνη γνωρίζουσα νῦν ἡ τῶν
relatives therefore as tracks recognizing now the of-the
οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ φίλων μνήμη, πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐπὶ τούτους
relatives for-them and of-friends memory every hour to these
φέρεται τῷ πόθῳ,
is-borne by-the longing
17 πόλλ' ὑπομνήματα λαμβάνουσα, ἐν οἷς συνῄδει τούτοις
many reminders taking in which it-knew these
ἀρίστοις οὖσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἀφίκοντο, οὐ μόνον
best being when and into men they-arrived not only
τοῖς πολίταις γνώριμον τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
to-the citizens known the their-own nature but also
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατέστησαν. ἔστι γὰρ ἔστιν ἁπάσης
to-all men they-made it-is for it-is of-all
ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ μὲν σύνεσις, πέρας δ' ἀνδρεία· καὶ τῇ
virtue beginning indeed understanding end but courage and by-the
μὲν δοκιμάζεται τί πρακτέον ἐστί, τῇ δὲ σῴζεται. ἐν
one is-judged what must-be-done is by-the other is-preserved in
τούτοις δ' ἀμφοτέροις οἵδε πολὺ διήνεγκαν.
these and both these much excelled

καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐφύετο κοινὸς πᾶσι κίνδυνος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, 18
and for if any was-growing common for-all danger for-the Greeks
οὗτοι πρῶτοι προείδοντο, καὶ πολλάκις εἰς σωτηρίαν
these first foresaw and often to safety
ἅπαντας παρεκάλεσαν, ὅπερ γνώμης ἀπόδειξίς ἐστιν εὖ
all summoned which of-judgment proof is well
φρονούσης· καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγνοίας μεμειγμένης
thinking and of-the among the Greeks ignorance mixed
κακίᾳ, ὅτ' ἐνῆν ταῦτα κωλύειν ἀσφαλῶς, τὰ
with-baseness when it-was-possible these-things to-prevent safely the-things
μὲν οὐ προορώσης, τὰ δ' εἰρωνευομένης, ὅμως,
indeed not foreseeing the-things but dissembling nevertheless
ἡνίχ' ὑπήκουσαν καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν, οὐκ
when they-obeyed and the needful-things to-do were-willing not
ἐμνησικάκησαν, ἀλλὰ προστάντες καὶ παρασχόντες
they-bore-a-grudge but having-stood-at-the-head and having-provided
ἅπαντα προθύμως, καὶ σώματα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους,
all eagerly both bodies and money and allies
εἰς πεῖραν ἦλθον ἀγῶνος, εἰς ὃν οὐδὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφείσαντο.
into trial they-came of-contest in which not-even the life they-spared
ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν μάχη γίγνηται, τοῖς μὲν 19
from necessity and it-happens when battle takes-place for-the-ones indeed
ἡττᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ νικᾶν· οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι δ' εἰπεῖν,
to-be-defeated for-the-others but to-win not — I-would-hesitate and to-say
ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τελευτῶντες ἑκατέρων ἐν τάξει,
that to-me seem the-ones dying of-each in rank
τῆς μὲν ἥττης οὐ μετέχειν, νικᾶν δ' ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι.
of-the indeed defeat not to-share to-win but alike both
τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων
the indeed for to-conquer among the living as — the divinity
παραδῷ, κρίνεται· ὃ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἕκαστον ἔδει
grants is-decided what but for this each it-was-necessary

παρασχέσθαι, πᾶς ὁ μένων ἐν τάξει πεποίηκεν. εἰ δὲ
to-provide every the-one standing-fast in rank has-done if but
θνητὸς ὢν τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἔσχε, τῇ τύχῃ πέπονθε τὸ
mortal being the destined he-met by-the fortune he-has-suffered the
συμβαῖνον, οὐχὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἥττηται τῶν ἐναντίων.
happening not in-the spirit he-has-been-defeated by-the opponents
20 νομίζω τοίνυν καὶ τοῦ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν μὴ ἐπιβῆναι τοὺς
I-think then also of-the the land our not to-set-foot the
πολεμίους, πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὴν τούτων
enemies besides the of-the opponents folly the of-these
ἀρετὴν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι· κατ᾽ ἄνδρα γὰρ πεῖραν εἰληφότες
virtue cause to-have-been by man for trial having-received
οἱ τότε συμμείξαντες ἐκεῖ, οὐκ ἐβούλοντ᾽ αὖθις εἰς ἀγῶνα
the-ones then having-engaged there not wished again into contest
καθίστασθαι τοῖς ἐκείνων οἰκείοις, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ταῖς
to-enter with-the of-those relatives supposing with-the
μὲν φύσεσιν ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἀπαντήσεσθαι, τύχην δ᾽ οὐκ
indeed natures the like to-be-going-to-meet fortune but not
εὔπορον εἶναι τὴν ὁμοίαν λαβεῖν. δηλοῖ δ᾽ οὐχ ἥκισθ᾽ ὅτι
easy to-be the like to-get shows and not least that
ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς γεγονυίας εἰρήνης· οὐ
these-things so are also the-things of-the having-been-made peace not
γὰρ ἔνεστ᾽ εἰπεῖν οὔτ᾽ ἀληθεστέραν οὔτε καλλίω πρόφασιν,
for it-is-possible to-say either truer or finer pretext
τοῦ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀγασθέντ᾽ ἀρετῆς τὸν τῶν
of-the of-the of-the dead having-admired virtue the of-the
ἐναντίων κύριον, φίλον γενέσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις βούλεσθαι
opponents master friend to-become to-the relatives to-wish
μᾶλλον, ἢ πάλιν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἄρασθαι.
rather than again the for the whole danger to-undertake

οἶμαι δ᾽ ἄν, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς τοὺς παραταξαμένους 21
I-think and — if anyone them the-ones having-been-arrayed
ἐρωτήσειε, πότερ᾽ ἡγοῦνται ταῖς αὑτῶν ἀρεταῖς ἢ τῇ
should-ask whether they-think by-the their-own virtues or by-the
παραδόξῳ καὶ χαλεπῇ τύχῃ κατωρθωκέναι καὶ τῇ
unexpected and harsh fortune to-have-succeeded and by-the
τοῦ προεστηκότος αὑτῶν ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ, οὐδέν᾽
of-the having-led them experience and daring no-one
οὕτ᾽ ἀναίσχυντον οὔτε τολμηρὸν οὕτως εἶναι, ὅντιν᾽
either shameless or bold so to-be who
ἀντιποιήσεσθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν
to-be-going-to-lay-claim of-the-things done but truly for what
ὁ πάντων κύριος δαίμων, ὡς ἠβούλετ᾽, ἔνειμεν τὸ τέλος,
the of-all master divinity as wished assigned the end
ἅπαντας ἀφεῖσθαι κακίας ἀνάγκη τοὺς λοιπούς,
all to-have-been-released from-baseness necessarily the remaining
ἀνθρώπους γ᾽ ὄντας· περὶ ὧν δ᾽ ὁ τῶν ἐναντίων
men at-least being about what but the of-the opponents
ἡγεμὼν ὑπερῆρε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντας, οὐχὶ τοὺς
commander surpassed the-ones in this posted not the
πολλοὺς οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνων οὔθ᾽ ἡμῶν αἰτιάσαιτ᾽ ἄν τις εἰκότως.
many either of-those or of-us would-blame — anyone reasonably
εἰ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔστι τις ἀνθρώπων ὅτῳ περὶ τούτων 22
if and after-all there-is anyone of-men to-whom about these
ἐγκαλέσαι προσήκει, τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθεῖσι Θηβαίων,
to-blame it-befits the-ones in this posted of-Thebans
οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνων οὔθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐγκαλέσειεν
not the many either of-those or of-us would-blame
ἄν τις εἰκότως· οἳ δύναμιν λαβόντες ἔχουσαν θυμὸν
— anyone reasonably who force having-received having spirit

ἀήττητον κἀπροφάσιστον καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐφάμιλλον, οὐδενὶ
unconquered and-unflinching and ambition rivaling in-none
τούτων ὀρθῶς ἐχρήσαντο.
of-these rightly used

23 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἔστι τούτων ὡς ἕκαστος ἔχει
and the indeed other-things it-is-possible of-these as each has
γνώμης, οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνειν· ὃ δ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως τοῖς
of-judgment so to-suppose what but to-all alike the
οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις γεγένηται φανερόν, ὅτι ἡ πάσης τῆς
existing men has-become evident that the of-all the
Ἑλλάδος ἄρ' ἐλευθερία ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχαῖς
Greece after-all freedom in the of-these the men souls
διεσῴζετο· ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ἡ πεπρωμένη τούτους ἀνεῖλεν,
was-preserved when at-any-rate the destiny these took-away
οὐδεὶς ἀντέστη τῶν λοιπῶν. καὶ φθόνος μὲν ἀπείη
no-one resisted of-the rest and envy indeed may-be-absent
τοῦ λόγου, δοκεῖ δέ μοί τις ἂν εἰπὼν ὡς ἡ τῶνδε
from-the speech seems and to-me anyone — saying that the of-these
τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν ψυχὴ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν·
the men virtue of-the Greece was soul the-truth to-say

24 ἅμα γὰρ τά τε τούτων πνεύματ' ἀπηλλάγη
at-the-same-time for the both of-these breaths were-released
τῶν οἰκείων σωμάτων, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξίωμ'
from-the own bodies and the of-the Greece dignity
ἀνῄρηται. μεγάλην μὲν οὖν ἴσως ὑπερβολὴν δόξομεν
has-been-destroyed great indeed then perhaps exaggeration we-shall-seem
λέγειν, ῥητέον δ' ὅμως· ὥσπερ γάρ, εἴ τις ἐκ
to-say it-must-be-said but nevertheless as for if anyone from
τοῦ καθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλοι, δυσχερὴς
the established order the light should-take-away troublesome
καὶ χαλεπὸς πᾶς ὁ λειπόμενος βίος γένοιτ' ἄν, οὕτω
and hard all the remaining life would-become — so

τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, ἐν σκότει καὶ πολλῇ
these the men having-been-killed in darkness and much
δυσκλείᾳ πᾶς ὁ πρὸ τοῦ ζῆλος τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονεν.
ingloriousness all the before the envied-glory of-the Greeks has-become
διὰ πολλὰ δ᾽ εἰκότως ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, διὰ τὴν 25
because-of many-things and reasonably being such because-of the
πολιτείαν οὐχ ἥκιστ᾽ ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ
constitution not least they-were excellent the indeed for
διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων δυναστεῖαι δέος μὲν ἐνεργάζονται τοῖς
through the few dominations fear indeed instill in-the
πολίταις, αἰσχύνην δ᾽ οὐ παριστᾶσιν· ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν οὖν ὁ
citizens shame but not put-in when — then the
ἀγὼν ἔλθῃ τοῦ πολέμου, πᾶς τις εὐχερῶς ἑαυτὸν σῴζει,
contest comes of-the war every one easily himself saves
συνειδὼς ὅτι, ἂν τοὺς κυρίους ἢ δώροις ἢ δι᾽ ἄλλης
knowing that if the masters either with-gifts or through other
ἡστινοσοῦν ὁμιλίας ἐξαρέσηται, κἂν τὰ δεινότατ᾽
any intercourse he-pleases even-if the most-terrible-things
ἀσχημονήσῃ, μικρὸν ὄνειδος τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ καταστήσεται·
he-disgraces-himself small reproach the future for-him will-be-established
αἱ δὲ δημοκρατίαι πολλά τ᾽ ἄλλα καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαι᾽ 26
the but democracies many-things both other and fine and just
ἔχουσιν, ὧν τὸν εὖ φρονοῦντ᾽ ἀντέχεσθαι δεῖ, καὶ
have which the-one well thinking to-cling-to it-is-necessary and
τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠρτημένην οὐκ
the freedom-of-speech the from the truth dependent not
ἔστι τἀληθὲς δηλοῦν ἀποτρέψαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντας
it-is-possible the-truth to-reveal to-turn-aside nor for all
ἐξαρέσασθαι τοῖς αἰσχρόν τι ποιήσασιν δυνατόν,
to-win-over for-the-ones shameful something having-done possible
ὥσθ᾽ ὁ μόνος τἀληθὲς ὄνειδος λέγων λυπεῖ· καὶ γὰρ
so-that the-one alone the-truth reproach saying pains and for

οἱ μηδὲν ἂν εἰπόντες αὐτοὶ βλάσφημον, ἄλλου γε
the-ones nothing — having-said themselves slanderous another at-least
λέγοντος χαίρουσιν ἀκούοντες. ἃ φοβούμενοι πάντες
speaking rejoice hearing which fearing all
εἰκότως τῇ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ὀνειδῶν αἰσχύνῃ τόν τ'
reasonably by-the of-the after these-things reproaches shame the both
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κίνδυνον προσιόντ' εὐρώστως ὑπέμειναν,
from the opponents danger approaching stoutly they-endured
καὶ θάνατον καλὸν εἵλοντο μᾶλλον ἢ βίον αἰσχρόν.
and death fine chose rather than life shameful

III · THE TEN TRIBES AND THE CONSOLATION

Each tribe had its own reason to be brave: the Erechtheids remembered Erechtheus, who gave his daughters to save the land; the Aegeids Theseus, who founded equality; the Pandionids Procne and Philomela; the Leontids the daughters of Leos; the Acamantids Acamas, who sailed to Troy for his mother; the Oeneids Semele and Dionysus; the Cecropids Cecrops, half serpent, half man; the Hippothontids Alope's son; the Aiantids Ajax, who would not live dishonored; and the Antiochids Antiochus, son of Heracles. Their kin are pitiable, but they themselves are happy: free of disease and grief, buried by the city, mourned by Greece, and likely to sit beside the gods below as the good men of old do in the Isles of the Blessed. Their parents and children should bear their loss with dignity, since their glory is ageless. Demosthenes bids the mourners lament and depart.

27 ἃ μὲν οὖν κοινῇ πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχε τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν
what indeed then in-common to-all belonged to-these the men
εἰς τὸ καλῶς ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν, εἴρηται, γένος,
toward the nobly to-be-willing to-die has-been-said birth
παιδεία, χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων συνήθεια, τῆς ὅλης
education of-good pursuits habit of-the whole
πολιτείας ὑπόθεσις· ἃ δὲ κατὰ φυλὰς παρεσκεύασ'
constitution principle what but by tribes prepared

ἑκάστους εὐρώστους εἶναι, ταῦτ᾽ ἤδη λέξω. ἴδεσαν πάντες
each stout to-be these-things now I-will-tell knew all
Ἐρεχθεῖδαι τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὑτῶν Ἐρεχθέα, εἵνεκα τοῦ σῶσαι
Erechtheids the eponymous their-own Erechtheus for-the-sake of-the to-save
τὴν χώραν τὰς αὑτοῦ παῖδας, ἃς Ὑακινθίδας καλοῦσιν,
the land the his-own daughters whom Hyacinthids they-call
εἰς προῦπτον θάνατον δόντ᾽ ἀναλῶσαι. αἰσχρὸν οὖν
into foreseen death having-given to-have-sacrificed shameful then
ἡγοῦντο, τὸν μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτων πεφυκότα πάντα ποιεῖν
they-thought the-one indeed from immortals sprung everything to-do
εἵνεκα τοῦ τὴν πατρίδ᾽ ἐλευθερῶσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ φανῆναι
for-the-sake of-the the fatherland to-free themselves but to-appear
θνητὸν σῶμα ποιούμενοι περὶ πλείονος ἢ δόξαν ἀθάνατον.
mortal body holding of more than glory immortal
οὐκ ἠγνόουν Αἰγεῖδαι Θησέα τὸν Αἰγέως πρῶτον 28
not were-ignorant Aegeids Theseus the son-of-Aegeus first
ἰσηγορίαν καταστησάμενον τῇ πόλει. δεινὸν οὖν ἡγοῦντο
equality-of-speech having-established for-the city terrible then they-thought
τὴν ἐκείνου προδοῦναι προαίρεσιν, καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον
the his to-betray choice and to-die rather
ᾑροῦντο, ἢ καταλυομένης ταύτης παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ζῆν
they-chose than being-overthrown this among the Greeks to-live
φιλοψυχήσαντες. παρειλήφεσαν Πανδιονίδαι Πρόκνην καὶ
clinging-to-life had-received-by-tradition Pandionids Procne and
Φιλομήλαν τὰς Πανδίονος θυγατέρας, ὡς ἐτιμωρήσαντο
Philomela the of-Pandion daughters how they-avenged-themselves-on
Τηρέα διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὰς ὕβριν. οὐ βιωτὸν οὖν
Tereus because-of the against themselves outrage not livable then
ἐνόμιζον αὑτοῖς, εἰ μὴ συγγενῆ φανήσονται τὸν θυμὸν
they-thought for-themselves if not akin they-will-appear the spirit
ἔχοντες ἐκείναις, ἐφ᾽ οἷς τὴν Ἑλλάδ᾽ ἑώρων ὑβριζομένην.
having to-those at what the Greece they-saw being-outraged

29 ἠκηκόεσαν Λεωντίδαι μυθολογουμένας τὰς Λεὼ κόρας, ὡς
had-heard Leontids told-in-myth the of-Leos daughters how
ἑαυτὰς ἔδοσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.
themselves gave as-sacrifice for-the citizens for the land
ὅτε δὴ γυναῖκες ἐκεῖναι τοιαύτην ἔσχον ἀνδρείαν, οὐ
when indeed women those such had courage not
θεμιτὸν αὑτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον χείροσιν ἀνδράσιν οὖσιν
lawful for-themselves they-supposed worse men being
ἐκείνων φανῆναι. ἐμέμνητ' Ἀκαμαντίδαι τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐν
than-those to-appear remembered Acamantids the verses in
οἷς Ὅμηρος εἵνεκα τῆς μητρός φησιν Αἴθρας Ἀκάμαντ'
which Homer for-the-sake-of the mother says Aethra Acamas
εἰς Τροίαν στεῖλαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν παντὸς ἐπειρᾶτο κινδύνου
to Troy to-have-sailed he indeed then every attempted danger
τοῦ σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρ' εἵνεκα· οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἴκοι
of-the to-save the his-own mother for-the-sake they but the at-home
σύμπαντας γονέας πῶς οὐκ ἔμελλον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι
all-together parents how not were-they-going for the to-save
πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομένειν;
every danger to-endure

30 οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν Οἰνείδας, ὅτι Κάδμου μὲν Σεμέλη, τῆς δ'
not it-escaped Oeneids that of-Cadmus indeed Semele of-her and
ὃν οὐ πρέπον ἔστ' ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου, τοῦ
whom not fitting is to-name at this the tomb of-him
δ' Οἰνεὺς γέγονεν, ὃς ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐκαλεῖτο. κοινοῦ
and Oeneus was-born who founder of-them was-called common
δ' ὄντος ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου,
and being for-both the cities the present danger
ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἅπασαν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀγωνίαν
for both all they-thought to-be-necessary struggle
ἐκτεῖναι. ἤδεσαν Κεκροπίδαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχηγόν, τὰ μὲν
to-exert knew Cecropids the their-own founder in-part indeed

ὡς ἔστι δράκων, τὰ δ' ὡς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος λεγόμενον,
as is a-serpent in-part but as is a-man being-said
οὐκ ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἢ τῷ τὴν σύνεσιν μὲν αὐτοῦ
not from-elsewhere anywhere than by-the the intelligence indeed his
προσομοιοῦν ἀνθρώπῳ, τὴν ἀλκὴν δὲ δράκοντι. ἄξια
to-liken to-a-man the strength but to-a-serpent worthy-things
δὴ τούτων πράττειν ὑπελάμβανον αὑτοῖς προσήκειν.
indeed of-these to-do they-supposed for-themselves to-befit
ἐμέμνηθ' Ἱπποθωντίδαι τῶν Ἀλόπης γάμων, ἐξ ὧν 31
remembered Hippothontids the of-Alope marriage from which
Ἱπποθῶν ἔφυ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ᾔδεσαν· ὃν, τὸ
Hippothon was-born and the founder they-knew whom the
πρέπον φυλάττων ἐγὼ τῷδε τῷ καιρῷ, τὸ σαφῶς
fitting guarding I at-this the occasion the clearly
εἰπεῖν ὑπερβαίνω. ἄξια δὴ τούτων ᾤοντο δεῖν
to-say pass-over worthy-things indeed of-these they-thought to-be-necessary
ποιοῦντες ὀφθῆναι. οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν Αἰαντίδας, ὅτι τῶν
doing to-be-seen not it-escaped Aiantids that of-the
ἀριστείων στερηθεὶς Αἴας ἀβίωτον ἡγήσατο τὸν βίον
prizes-of-valor deprived Ajax unlivable considered the life
αὑτῷ. ἡνίκ' οὖν ὁ δαίμων ἄλλῳ τἀριστεῖ' ἐδίδου, τότε
for-himself when then the divinity to-another the-prizes-of-valor gave then
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμενοι τεθνάναι δεῖν ᾤοντο, ὥστε
the enemies repelling to-die to-be-necessary they-thought so-that
μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὑτῶν παθεῖν. οὐκ ἠμνημόνουν Ἀντιοχίδαι,
nothing unworthy of-themselves to-suffer not forgot Antiochids
Ἡρακλέους ὄντ' Ἀντίοχον. δεῖν οὖν ἡγήσαντ' ἢ
of-Heracles being Antiochus to-be-necessary then they-thought either
ζῆν ἀξίως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἢ τεθνάναι καλῶς.
to-live worthily of-the existing-things or to-die nobly

32 οἱ μὲν οὖν ζῶντες οἰκεῖοι τούτων ἐλεινοί, τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν
the indeed then living kinsmen of-these pitiable of-such men
ἐστερημένοι καὶ συνηθείας πολλῆς καὶ φιλανθρώπου
deprived and of-intimacy much and kindly
διεζευγμένοι, καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος πράγματ' ἔρημα καὶ
separated and the of-the fatherland affairs desolate and
δακρύων καὶ πένθους πλήρη· οἱ δ' εὐδαίμονες τῷ
of-tears and of-mourning full they but blessed by-the
δικαίῳ λογισμῷ. πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μικροῦ χρόνου πολὺν
just reckoning first indeed instead-of short time long
καὶ τὸν ἅπαντ' εὔκλειαν ἀγήρω καταλείπουσιν, ἐν ᾗ
and the all glory ageless they-leave in which
καὶ παῖδες οἱ τούτων ὀνομαστοὶ τραφήσονται, καὶ γονεῖς
also children the of-these renowned will-be-reared and parents
περίβλεπτοι γηροτροφήσονται, παραψυχὴν τῷ πένθει τὴν
admired will-be-cared-for-in-old-age consolation for-the grief the
τούτων εὔκλειαν ἔχοντες.
of-these glory having

33 ἔπειτα νόσων ἀπαθεῖς τὰ σώματα καὶ λυπῶν ἄπειροι
then of-diseases untouched in-the bodies and of-pains inexperienced
τὰς ψυχάς, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν οἱ ζῶντες ἔχουσιν,
in-the souls which at the-things having-happened the living have
ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ καὶ πολλῷ ζήλῳ τῶν νομιζομένων
in great honor and much emulation of-the customary-rites
τυγχάνουσιν. οὓς γὰρ ἅπασα μὲν ἡ πατρὶς θάπτει δημοσίᾳ,
they-meet whom for all indeed the fatherland buries publicly
κοινῶν δ' ἐπαίνων μόνοι τυγχάνουσι, ποθοῦσι δ' οὐ μόνον
of-common but praises alone obtain long-for and not only
συγγενεῖς καὶ πολῖται, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὅσην Ἑλλάδα χρὴ
kinsmen and citizens but all as-much-as Greece one-must

προσειπεῖν, συμπεπένθηκε δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πλεῖστον
to-call has-mourned-together and also of-the inhabited-world the greatest
μέρος, πῶς οὐ χρὴ τούτους εὐδαίμονας νομίζεσθαι;
part how not is-it-necessary these blessed to-be-considered
οὓς παρέδρους εἰκότως ἄν τις φήσαι τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς εἶναι, 34
whom assessors reasonably — anyone might-say to-the below gods to-be
τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν
the same rank having with-the former good men
ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. οὐ γὰρ ἰδών τις οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνων
in of-the-blessed isles not for having-seen anyone even about those
ταῦτ' ἀπήγγελκεν, ἀλλ' οὓς οἱ ζῶντες ἀξίους ὑπειλήφαμεν
these-things has-reported but whom the living worthy we-have-supposed
τῶν ἄνω τιμῶν, τούτους τῇ δόξῃ καταμαντευόμενοι
of-the above honors these by-the opinion divining
κἀκεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν τιμῶν ἡγούμεθ' αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν.
also-there of-the same honors we-think them to-obtain
ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἴσως χαλεπὸν τὰς παρούσας συμφορὰς λόγῳ 35
it-is indeed then perhaps hard the present misfortunes by-speech
κουφίσαι· δεῖ δ' ὅμως πειρᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ
to-lighten it-is-necessary but nevertheless to-try and to the
παρηγοροῦντα τρέπειν τὴν ψυχήν, ὡς τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας
consoling-things to-turn the soul as the such men
γεγεννηκότας καὶ πεφυκότας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων ἑτέρων,
having-begotten and having-been-born themselves from such others
καλόν ἐστι τὰ δεί' εὐσχημονέστερον τῶν ἄλλων
fine it-is the terrible-things more-gracefully than-the others
φέροντας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ πάσῃ τύχῃ χρωμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι.
bearing to-be-seen and with-every fortune meeting alike to-be
καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη μάλιστ' ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τιμῇ, 36
and for for-those these-things — would-be most in ornament and honor
καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ζῶσι ταῦτ' ἂν ἐνέγκοι πλείστην
and for-all the city and for-the living these-things — would-bring most

εὐδοξίαν. χαλεπὸν πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ παίδων στερηθῆναι καὶ
good-repute hard for-father and for-mother of-children to-be-deprived and
ἐρήμοις εἶναι τῶν οἰκειοτάτων γηροτρόφων· σεμνὸν δέ γ'
destitute to-be of-the nearest supporters-in-old-age noble but at-least
ἀγήρως τιμὰς καὶ μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους
ageless honors and memorial of-virtue publicly having-acquired
ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἀγώνων ἠξιωμένους ἀθανάτων.
to-see and of-sacrifices and of-contests deemed-worthy immortal
37 λυπηρὸν παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς γεγενῆσθαι πατρός· καλὸν
painful for-children orphaned to-have-become of-a-father fine
δέ γε κληρονομεῖν πατρῴας εὐδοξίας. καὶ τοῦ μὲν
but at-least to-inherit paternal good-repute and of-the indeed
λυπηροῦ τούτου τὸν δαίμον' αἴτιον εὑρήσομεν ὄντα, ᾧ
painful this the divinity cause we-shall-find being to-whom
φύντας ἀνθρώπους εἴκειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ δὲ τιμίου καὶ καλοῦ
born men to-yield necessity of-the but honorable and fine
τὴν τῶν ἐθελησάντων καλῶς ἀποθνῄσκειν αἵρεσιν.
the of-the-ones having-been-willing nobly to-die choice
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐχ ὅπως πολλὰ λέξω, τοῦτ' ἐσκεψάμην,
I indeed then not how many-things I-shall-say this considered
ἀλλ' ὅπως τἀληθῆ. ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδυράμενοι καὶ τὰ
but how the-truth you but having-lamented and the
προσήκονθ' ὡς χρὴ καὶ νόμιμα ποιήσαντες ἄπιτε.
fitting-things as one-must and customary-rites having-done depart

DEMOSTHENES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΩΝ

On the Treaty with Alexander

I · ALEXANDER BROKE THE PEACE

The speaker welcomes those who urge Athens to abide by the oaths, if they mean it, and shows from the treaty itself who has broken it. Alexander restored the tyrant sons of Philiadas at Messene against the treaty, which declares an enemy anyone who does such things. The treaty requires the Greeks to be free and autonomous; it forbids overthrowing the constitutions, yet the Macedonian overthrew the democracy at Pellene and set the wrestler Chaeron there as tyrant; it forbids exiles to march from a city of the peace, yet he restored a trainer at Sicyon; it guarantees free sailing, yet the Macedonians held the Pontus ships at Tenedos until Athens voted a hundred triremes, and one of their triremes entered the Peiraeus and asked to build boats there. If the people bid him, he will propose war on the transgressors, as the treaty itself commands.

ἄξιον ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρα τῶν 1
worth to-welcome O men Athenians very the-ones
τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις διακελευομένων ἐμμένειν,
to-the oaths and the agreements urging to-abide-by
εἴπερ αὐτὸ πεπεισμένοι ποιοῦσιν· οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτω
if-indeed it persuaded they-do I-think for nothing so
τοῖς δημοκρατουμένοις πρέπειν ὡς περὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ
for-the-ones democratically-governed to-befit as about the equal and
τὸ δίκαιον σπουδάζειν. δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς λίαν ἐπ᾽
the just to-be-earnest it-is-necessary then the-ones too-much to
αὐτὰ παρακαλοῦντας μὴ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ καταχρωμένους
them summoning not by-the indeed word misusing
ἐνοχλεῖν, πάντα δὲ μᾶλλον πράττειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομείναντας
to-annoy everything but rather to-do but having-submitted
νυνὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πειθομένους ὑμᾶς
now the examination either also the future obedient you

ἔχειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ παραχωρήσαντας ἐᾶν συμβουλεύειν
to-have about them or having-yielded to-allow to-advise
τοὺς ἀληθέστερα περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀποφαινομένους,
the-ones truer-things about the just-things declaring
2 ἵν' ἢ ἑκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχησθε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
so-that either willingly wronged you-may-endure and itself this
χαρίζησθε τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, ἢ προελόμενοι περὶ πλείστου
you-may-gratify the-one wronging or having-chosen of most
ποιήσασθαι τὸ δίκαιον ἀνεγκλήτως πρὸς ἅπαντας χρῆσθε
to-make the just blamelessly toward all you-may-use
τῷ συμφέροντι μηκέτι μέλλοντες. ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν
the advantage no-longer delaying from themselves but the
συνθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ὅρκων σκεψαμένους τῶν περὶ τῆς
agreements and the oaths having-considered the about the
κοινῆς εἰρήνης ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν ἤδη, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ
common peace it-is-possible to-see now who are the-ones
παραβεβηκότες. ὡς δὲ περὶ μεγάλων συντόμως διδάξω.
having-transgressed as and about great-things concisely I-will-teach
3 εἰ δή τις ἐρωτήσειεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ τίνι ἂν
if indeed anyone should-ask O men Athenians at what —
μάλιστ' ἀγανακτήσαιτ' εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι, οἶμαι ἄν, εἰ ἦσαν
most you-would-be-indignant if anyone should-compel I-think — if there-were
κατὰ τὸν νυνὶ χρόνον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι καί τις ἐβιάζετο
in the present time the Peisistratids and anyone were-forcing
κατάγειν αὐτοὺς δευρί, ἁρπάσαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς τὰ ὅπλα πάντα
to-restore them here having-snatched — you the arms every
κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδέξασθαι, ἢ πεισθέντας
danger to-endure instead-of the to-receive or persuaded
γε δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον,
at-least to-be-slaves like the bought-with-silver and by-so-much more
ὅσῳ τὸν μὲν οἰκέτην οὐδεὶς ἂν ἑκὼν ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς
by-as-much-as the indeed house-slave no-one — willingly would-kill the-ones

δὲ τυραννουμένους ἀκρίτους ἔστιν ὁρᾶν ἀπολλυμένους
but tyrannized untried it-is-possible to-see perishing
ἅμα καὶ ὑβριζομένους εἰς παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας.
at-the-same-time and outraged toward children and wives
παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοίνυν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ 4
contrary-to the oaths then and the agreements the in the common
εἰρήνῃ γεγραμμένας Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Μεσσήνην καταγαγὼν
peace written Alexander into Messene having-restored
τοὺς Φιλιάδου παῖδας, ὄντας τυράννους, ἆρ' ἐφρόντισε τοῦ
the of-Philiadas sons being tyrants then did-he-care-for the
δικαίου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ αὑτοῦ ἤθει τῷ τυραννικῷ,
justice but not did-he-use the his-own character the tyrannical
βραχὺ φροντίσας ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ὁμολογίας;
little having-cared-for you and the common agreement
οὐ δὴ δεῖ, εἰ μέν τις ὑμᾶς ταῦτα βιάζοιτο, 5
not indeed it-is-necessary if indeed anyone you these-things should-force
μάλιστ' ἀγανακτῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑτέρωθί που γέγονε
most to-be-indignant if but elsewhere somewhere it-has-happened
παρὰ τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅρκους, μὴ φυλάξασθαι, καὶ ἡμῖν
contrary-to the toward you oaths not to-guard-against and to-us
μὲν διακελεύεσθαί τινας ἐνταυθὶ ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὅρκοις,
indeed to-urge some here to-abide-by the oaths
τοῖς δ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω περιβοήτως ἀνῃρηκόσι καταλείπειν
to-the-ones but them so notoriously having-annulled to-leave
ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
this the license
ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷόν τε ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐὰν βούλησθε τῷ 6
but not possible — these-things so to-be if you-wish the
δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσγέγραπται ἐν ταῖς
justice to-use and for further has-been-added in the
συνθήκαις πολέμιον εἶναι τὸν ἐκεῖν' ἅπερ Ἀλέξανδρος
agreements enemy to-be the-one those-things which-very Alexander

ποιοῦντα ἅπασι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνοῦσι, καὶ τὴν
doing to-all the-ones of-the peace sharing and the
χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἅπαντας.
land his and to-march against him all
οὐκοῦν ἐὰν ποιῶμεν τὰ συγκείμενα, πολεμίῳ χρησόμεθα
therefore if we-do the agreed-things as-enemy we-shall-treat
τῷ καταγαγόντι.
the-one having-restored

7 ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴποιεν ἂν οἱ τυραννίζοντες οὗτοι, ὅτι πρὶν
but for would-say — the-ones tyrannizing these that before
τὰς συνθήκας γενέσθαι ἐτυράννουν Μεσσηνίων οἱ Φιλιάδου
the agreements to-be-made tyrannized over-Messenians the of-Philiadas
παῖδες· διὸ καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτούς.
sons therefore also to-have-restored the Alexander them
ἀλλὰ καταγέλαστος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ Λέσβου
but ridiculous the argument the-ones indeed from Lesbos
τυράννους, οἷον ἐξ Ἀντίσσης καὶ Ἐρέσου, ἐκβαλεῖν
tyrants such-as from Antissa and Eresus to-expel
ὡς ἀδικήματος ὄντος τοῦ πολιτεύματος, τοὺς πρὸ τῶν
as a-wrong being the regime the-ones before the
ὁμολογιῶν τυραννήσαντας, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνῃ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι
agreements having-been-tyrants in but Messene in-nothing to-think
διαφέρειν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυσχερείας ὑπαρχούσης.
to-differ the same offense existing

8 ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπιτάττει ἡ συνθήκη εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐλευθέρους
then also enjoins the agreement at-once in beginning free
εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἕλληνας. διὸ καὶ πῶς οὐχ
to-be and autonomous the Greeks therefore also how not
ὑπεράτοπον, ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τῶν συνθηκῶν τὸ αὐτονόμους
most-absurd to-lead indeed of-the agreements the autonomous
εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθέρους, τὸν δ᾽ εἰς δουλείαν ἀγαγόντα μὴ
to-be and free the-one but into slavery having-led not

οἴεσθαι τἀναντία ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις διαπεπρᾶχθαι;
to-think the-opposite to-the common agreements to-have-done
οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ
therefore necessary it-is for-us O men Athenians if-indeed
ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμενοῦμεν καὶ τὰ
by-the agreements and the oaths we-shall-abide and the
δίκαια ποιήσομεν, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦσι, καθάπερ
just-things we-shall-do to which you they-summon as
ἄρτι εἶπον, λαβοῦσι τὰ ὅπλα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς
just-now I-said having-taken the arms to-march against the-ones
παραβεβηκότας μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων.
having-transgressed with the-ones wishing
ἢ νομίζετε τὸν μὲν καιρόν ποτ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ δικαίου 9
or do-you-think the indeed opportunity once to-be-strong and without the just
τὸ συμφέρον πράττειν· νυνὶ δ', ὅτ' εἰς ταὐτὸν τὸ δίκαιον
the advantage to-do now but when into the-same the just
ἅμα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνδεδράμηκεν,
at-the-same-time and the opportunity and the advantage have-run-together
ἄλλον ἄρα τινὰ χρόνον ἀναμενεῖτε τῆς ἰδίας ἐλευθερίας
other then some time will-you-wait-for of-the own freedom
ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀντιλαβέσθαι;
at-the-same-time and of-the of-the other Greeks to-lay-hold
ἐπ' ἄλλο δὲ δίκαιον ἔρχομαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας. 10
to other and right I-come of-the-things in the agreements
ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐάν τινες τὰς πολιτείας τὰς παρ'
it-is for written if some the constitutions the among
ἑκάστοις οὔσας, ὅτε τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης
each existing when the oaths the about the peace
ὤμνυσαν, καταλύωσι, πολεμίους εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης
they-swore overthrow enemies to-be to-all the-ones of-the peace
μετέχουσιν. σκέψασθε δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι Ἀχαιοὶ
sharing consider and O men Athenians that Achaeans

μὲν οἱ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐδημοκρατοῦντο, τούτων δ' ἐν
indeed the-ones in Peloponnese were-democratically-governed of-these but in
Πελλήνῃ νῦν καταλέλυκε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκβαλὼν
Pellene now has-overthrown the democracy the Macedonian having-expelled
τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς πλείστους, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων τοῖς οἰκέταις
of-the citizens the most the-things and of-those to-the house-slaves
δέδωκε, Χαίρωνα δὲ τὸν παλαιστὴν τύραννον ἐγκατέστησεν.
he-has-given Chaeron and the wrestler as-tyrant he-established
11 ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχομεν τῆς προσταττούσης
we and of-the peace share the-one enjoining
πολεμίους ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντας. ἐκ δὴ
enemies to-consider the-ones these-things doing from indeed
τούτων πότερα πειθόμεθα τοῖς κοινοῖς προστάγμασι
these whether do-we-obey the common injunctions
πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ἢ βδελυρεύσεταί τις
as-enemies them treating or will-behave-outrageously anyone
οὐ φάσκων, τούτων τῶν μισθοφορούντων παρὰ τοῦ
not saying-so of-these the-ones working-for-pay from the
Μακεδόνος, τῶν καθ' ὑμῶν πεπλουτηκότων;
Macedonian the-ones against you having-grown-rich
12 οὐ γὰρ δὴ λέληθέ γ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν τούτων· ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦθ'
not for indeed has-escaped at-least them anything of-these but into this
ὕβρεως ἥκουσιν ὥστε δορυφορούμενοι τοῖς τοῦ τυράννου
of-insolence they-have-come that guarded-as-bodyguards by-the of-the tyrant
στρατοπέδοις ἐν μὲν τοῖς παραβεβασμένοις ὅρκοις ἐμμένειν
armies in indeed the transgressed oaths to-abide
ὑμῖν διακελεύονται, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας αὐτοκράτορος
you they-urge as also of-the perjury absolute-master
ὄντος ἐκείνου, τοὺς δ' ἰδίους ὑμᾶς νόμους ἀναγκάζουσι
being him the but own you laws they-compel

λύειν, τοὺς μὲν κεκριμένους ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀφιέντες,
to-annul the-ones indeed condemned in the courts releasing
ἕτερα δὲ παμπληθῆ τοιαῦτα βιαζόμενοι παρανομεῖν.
other but vast-numbers such-things forcing to-break-the-law
εἰκότως· τοῖς γὰρ πεπρακόσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τἀναντία 13
reasonably for-the-ones for having-sold themselves to the-opposite
τοῖς τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρουσιν οὐκ ἔνι μέλειν νόμων
of-the-things to-the fatherland advantageous not it-is-possible to-care-for laws
οὐδ' ὅρκων· τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασι μόνον αὐτῶν ἀποχρώμενοι
nor oaths with-the but names only of-them misusing
παρακρούονται τοὺς παρέργως ἐνταυθὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ
they-mislead the-ones casually here but not
ἐξεταστικῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντας, καὶ νομίζοντας τὴν παραυτίχ'
searchingly attending-the-assembly and thinking the immediate
ἡσυχίαν οὐκ ἔσεσθαί ποτ' αἰτίαν ταραχῆς ἀτόπου.
quiet not to-be-going-to-be ever cause of-confusion strange
κελεύω δ' ἔγωγε, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ προεῖπον, πείθεσθαι 14
I-bid and I as at beginning I-said to-obey
τούτοις τοῖς φάσκουσι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς
these the-ones saying to-be-necessary in the common
ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένειν, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο νομίζουσιν, ὅταν μὲν
agreements to-abide if not that they-think when indeed
λέγωσιν ὡς ἐμμενετέον τοῖς ὅρκοις, οὐ λέγειν αὐτοὺς
they-say that one-must-abide by-the oaths not to-say them
τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, οὐδένα δ' οἴονται αἰσθήσεσθαι,
the in-nothing to-be-wronged no-one and they-think to-be-going-to-perceive
τυραννίδων ἀντὶ δημοκρατιῶν καθισταμένων καὶ τῶν
tyrannies instead-of democracies being-established and the
πολιτειῶν καταλυομένων.
constitutions being-overthrown

15 τὸ δ' ἔτι καταγελαστότερον· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις
the but still more-ridiculous there-is for in the agreements
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ
to-take-care the-ones sitting-in-council and the-ones for the common
φυλακῇ τεταγμένους ὅπως ἐν ταῖς κοινωνούσαις πόλεσι
guard appointed that in the sharing cities
τῆς εἰρήνης μὴ γίγνωνται θάνατοι καὶ φυγαὶ παρὰ τοὺς
of-the peace not happen deaths and exiles contrary-to the
κειμένους ταῖς πόλεσι νόμους, μηδὲ χρημάτων δημεύσεις,
established for-the cities laws nor of-property confiscations
μηδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοί, μηδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί, μηδὲ δούλων
nor of-land redistributions nor of-debts cancellations nor of-slaves
ἀπελευθερώσεις ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ. οἱ δὲ τοσούτου δέουσι
liberations for revolution they but so-far lack
τούτων τι κωλύειν ὥστε καὶ συγκατασκευάζουσιν· οὓς
these anything to-prevent that even they-help-to-bring-about whom
πῶς οὐ προσήκει ἀπολωλέναι; οἳ τηλικαύτας συμφορὰς
how not it-befits to-have-perished who such misfortunes
παρασκευάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
prepare in the cities which because-of the magnitude
αὐτοῖς τοσούτοις οὖσι μὴ περιορᾶν ἐπέταξαν.
them so-many being not to-overlook they-enjoined

16 ἔτι δ' ἕτερον δείξω τὸ λελυκὸς τὰς συνθήκας. ἔστι
further and another I-will-show the-thing having-broken the agreements it-is
γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσῶν τῆς
for written from the cities the sharing of-the
εἰρήνης μὴ ἐξεῖναι φυγάδας ὁρμήσαντας ὅπλ' ἐπιφέρειν
peace not to-be-permitted exiles having-set-out arms to-bear
ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν μετεχουσῶν τῆς
for war against any city of-the sharing of-the
εἰρήνης· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔκσπονδον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς
peace if but not outside-the-treaty to-be the city from which

ἂν ὁρμήσωσιν. οὕτω τοίνυν ῥᾳδίως ἐπήνεγκε τὰ ὅπλ' ὁ
— *they-set-out so then easily bore the arms the*
Μακεδὼν ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατέθετο πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
Macedonian that not-even laid-them-down ever but still even now
ἔχων περιέρχεται καθ' ὅσον δύναται, καὶ τοσούτῳ νῦν
having goes-around by as-much-as he-can and by-so-much now
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ὅσῳ ἐκ προστάγματος ἄλλους
more than before by-as-much-as by injunction others
θ' ἑτέρωσε καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην εἰς Σικυῶνα κατήγαγεν.
both elsewhere and the trainer to Sicyon he-restored
οὐκοῦν εἰ δεῖ πείθεσθαι ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις, 17
therefore if one-must to-obey the common agreements
καθάπερ οὗτοί φασιν, ἔκσπονδοι ἡμῖν εἰσιν αὗται αἱ
as these say outside-the-treaty for-us are these the
πόλεις αἱ ταῦτα διαπεπραγμέναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν δεῖ
cities the these-things having-done if indeed then one-must
ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τἀληθῆ, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι εἰσὶν αἱ
to-conceal the-truth in-no-way one-must to-say that are the
Μακεδονικαί· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀνιᾶσιν οἱ καθ' ὑμῶν τῷ
Macedonian if but not they-desist the-ones against you to-the
Μακεδόνι ὑπηρέται προστάττοντες πράττειν τὰ ἐν
Macedonian servants bidding to-do the-things in
ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις, πεισθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ
the common agreements let-us-be-persuaded by-them since the
δίκαια λέγουσι, καί, καθάπερ κελεύει ὁ ὅρκος, ἐκσπόνδους
just-things they-say and as bids the oath outside-the-treaty
αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες βουλευσώμεθα πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι
them having-made let-us-deliberate how one-must to-deal
τοῖς δεσποτικῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς διακειμένοις καὶ διὰ
with-the-ones despotically and wantonly disposed and through

τέλους τὰ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπιτάττουσι,
end the-things indeed plotting the-things but enjoining
καὶ καταγελῶσι τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης.
and mocking the common peace

18 διὰ τί γὰρ οὐ φήσουσιν οὗτοι δεῖν ταῦθ' οὕτως
because-of what for not will-say these to-be-necessary these-things so
ἔχειν; ἢ ὁμολογίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὖσαν βεβαίαν
to-be or agreement the indeed against the city being valid
ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σῴζουσαν οὐ συγχωρήσουσιν; ἆρα
they-claim to-be the but saving not will-they-concede then
δίκαιον ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι; κἂν μέν τι ᾖ πρὸς τῶν
just these-things to-happen and-if indeed anything there-is on-the-side-of the
ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις, τοῦτο μὲν ἰσχυρὸν
enemies against the city in the oaths this indeed valid
ἀεὶ ποιήσουσιν· ἐὰν δέ τι ἡμέτερον ᾖ κατ' ἐκείνων
always they-will-make if but anything ours is against them
ἅμα δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ μαχομένους
at-the-same-time just and advantageous against this but fighting
οὐδέποτε παύσασθαι οἰήσονται δεῖν ἑαυτούς;
never to-stop they-will-think to-be-necessary themselves

19 ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐγκαλεῖ
so-that and you-may-know still more-clearly that no-one you charges
ποτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἄρα παρέβητέ τι τῶν κοινῇ
ever of-the Greeks that after-all you-transgressed any of-the in-common
ὁμολογηθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν ἕξουσιν ὅτι μόνοι
agreed but also gratitude they-will-have because alone
ἐξηλέγξατε τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, μικρὰ ἐπιδραμοῦμαι
you-exposed the-ones these-things doing small-things I-will-run-over
περὶ αὐτῶν πολλῶν ὄντων. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἐν ταῖς
about them many being there-is for surely in the
συνθήκαις τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς
agreements the sea to-sail the-ones sharing of-the

εἰρήνης, καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν αὐτοὺς μηδὲ κατάγειν
peace and no-one to-prevent them nor to-bring-to-port
πλοῖον μηδενὸς τούτων· ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ,
ship of-any of-these if but anyone contrary-to these-things does
πολέμιον εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν.
enemy to-be to-all the-ones of-the peace sharing
οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναργέστατα ἑοράκατε τοῦθ' 20
therefore O men Athenians most-clearly you-have-seen this
ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων γεγενημένον· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπεροψίας
by the Macedonians having-happened into this for of-arrogance
ἦλθον ὥστε εἰς Τένεδον ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοῖα
they-came that into Tenedos all the from the Pontus ships
κατήγαγον, καὶ σκευωρούμενοι περὶ αὐτὰ οὐ πρότερον
they-brought-in and contriving about them not before
ἀνεῖσαν, πρὶν ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθε τριήρεις ἑκατὸν πληροῦν
let-go before you voted triremes a-hundred to-man
καὶ καθέλκειν εὐθὺς τότε, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐταῖς
and to-launch at-once then and general over them
ἐτάξατε Μενεσθέα.
you-appointed Menestheus
πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον τοσαῦτα μὲν εἶναι καὶ τηλικαῦτα 21
how then not absurd so-many indeed to-be and so-great
τὰ ἡμαρτημέν' ἑτέροις, τοὺς δ' ἐνταῦθα φίλους αὐτῶν
the errors by-others the-ones but here friends their
μὴ ἐκείνους ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν
not those to-turn-back the-ones transgressing but you
συμβουλεύειν ἐμμένειν τοῖς οὕτως ὠλιγωρημένοις; ὥσπερ
to-advise to-abide-by the-things so slighted as
καὶ τούτου προσγεγραμμένου, τοῖς μὲν ἐξεῖναι
also this having-been-added for-the-ones indeed to-be-permitted
πλημμελεῖν, τοῖς δὲ μηδ' ἀμύνεσθαι.
to-offend for-the-others but not-even to-defend-themselves

22 πῶς δ᾽ οὐχ ἅμα τε παρενόμουν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ
how and not at-the-same-time both broke-the-law they and
ἀναίσθητοι ἦσαν, οἵ γε τηλικοῦτον παρέβησαν τῶν ὅρκων,
senseless were who at-least such transgressed of-the oaths
ὃ παρ᾽ ἐλάχιστον ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεθῆναι δικαίως
which by least made them to-be-deprived justly
τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίαν; καὶ νῦν ἔτι παραδεδώκασι
of-the on sea leadership and now still they-have-handed-over
τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἀνεγκλήτως ἡμῖν, ὅταν βουληθῶμεν
this the right blamelessly to-us whenever we-wish
πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἐπαύσαντ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, ἧττόν
to-exercise not for because they-stopped erring less
τι δήπου παραβεβήκασι τὰς κοινὰς ὁμολογίας.
anything surely they-have-transgressed the common agreements
23 ἀλλ᾽ εὐτυχοῦσιν, ὅτι ἐναποχρῶνται τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ
but they-are-fortunate because they-exploit the your indolence
τῇ οὐδὲ τῶν δικαίων ἀπολαύειν προαιρουμένῃ. ὃ καὶ
the not-even the rights to-enjoy choosing which also
ὑβριστικώτατον συμβέβηκεν, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες καὶ
most-insolent has-happened if the indeed other Greeks and
βάρβαροι ἅπαντες τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν φοβοῦνται, οὗτοι
barbarians all the toward you enmity fear these
δ᾽ οἱ νεόπλουτοι μόνοι καταφρονεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
but the newly-rich alone to-despise you of-you yourselves
ἀναγκάζουσι, τὰ μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι,
compel the-things indeed persuading the-things but forcing
ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀβδηρίταις ἢ Μαρωνείταις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν
as among Abderites or Maronites but not among
Ἀθηναίοις πολιτευόμενοι.
Athenians conducting-politics

καὶ ἅμα μικρὰ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα ποιοῦσι, τὰ δὲ 24
and at-the-same-time small indeed the yours they-make the-things but
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρά, ἅμα δὲ λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς
of-the enemies strong at-the-same-time but they-fail-to-notice themselves
ἀνυπόστατον τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, διακελευόμενοι
irresistible the city admitting to-be urging
τὸ δίκαιον οὐ δικαίως διαφυλάττειν, ὡς τῷ συμφέροντί
the justice not justly to-guard as by-the advantage
γε προελομένην χρῆσθαι κρατεῖν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων
at-least having-chosen to-use to-prevail — over-the enemies
ῥᾳδίως δυνηθεῖσαν.
easily having-been-able
εἰκότως δ' αὐτὸ πεπόνθασιν· ἕως γὰρ ἂν ἐξῇ τῶν 25
reasonably and it they-have-suffered as-long-as for — it-is-possible of-the
κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ μόνοις ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶναι κυρίοις,
on sea and alone indisputably to-be masters
τοῖς γε κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ δυνάμει ἔστι
for-the at-least on land besides the existing power it-is-possible
προβολὰς ἑτέρας ἰσχυροτέρας εὑρέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
defenses other stronger to-find especially both and
πεπαυμένων ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τῶν δορυφορουμένων ὑπὸ
stopped by the fortune the-ones guarded by
τῶν τυραννικῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐφθαρμένων,
the tyrannical armies and of-the indeed destroyed
τῶν δὲ ἐξεληλεγμένων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ὄντων.
the but exposed of-nothing worth being
τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς 26
the indeed then about the ships besides the other the
προειρημένοις ὁ Μακεδὼν τηλικοῦτον παρέβη· τὸ δὲ
said-before the Macedonian such transgressed the but
ὑβριστικώτατον καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτατον τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸ
most-insolent and most-arrogant of-the Macedonians the

πρώην γεγενημένον ἐστί, τὸ τολμῆσαι εἰσπλεῦσαι εἰς τὸν
lately having-happened is the to-dare to-sail-in into the
Πειραιᾶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίας.
Peiraeus contrary-to the common for-us with them agreements
καὶ τοῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ὅτι μία τριήρης
and this O men Athenians not because one trireme
ἦν, μικρὸν ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπόπειρα ἐγένετο,
it-was small must-be-supposed but because test was-made
εἰ περιοψόμεθα, ἵνα μετὰ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται
whether we-shall-overlook-it so-that with more for-them it-may-be-possible
τοῦτο πράττειν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν τῶν κοινῶν
this to-do and because not they-cared-for the common
δογμάτων, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τῶν προειρημένων.
decrees as nor the said-before

27 ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε τοῦτο παράδυσις ἦν κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ
since that at-least this a-slipping-in was by little and
ἐθισμὸς τοῦ ἀνέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοὺς τοιούτους εἴσπλους,
habituation of-the to-tolerate us the such sailings-in
κἀκεῖθεν δῆλον· τῷ γὰρ τὸν τότε ἐπὶ τῆς νεὼς
also-from-there clear by-the for the then on the ship
εἰσπλεύσαντα, ὃν ἔδει εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς τριήρους
having-sailed-in whom it-was-necessary at-once with the trireme
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολωλέναι, αἰτεῖσθαι ναυπηγήσασθαι μικρὰ
by you to-have-perished to-ask to-build small
πλοῖα ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις λιμέσι πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ὅτι
ships in the our harbors how not manifest that
ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσπλεῖν τὸ εὐθὺς ἔνδον εἶναι ἐμηχανῶντο; καὶ
instead-of the to-sail-in the at-once inside to-be they-contrived and
εἰ λεπτὰ πλοῖα ὑπομενοῦμεν, ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ τριήρεις·
if light ships we-shall-tolerate a-little later also triremes
καὶ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον ὀλίγας, μικρῷ ὕστερον πολλάς.
and if at-the first few a-little later many

οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστι γ' εἰπεῖν ὡς Ἀθήνησι μὲν 28
not for indeed it-is-possible at-least to-say that at-Athens indeed
ἀφθόνων ὄντων τῶν ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων, τῶν μόγις
abundant being the shipbuilding timbers the-ones with-difficulty
καὶ πόρρωθεν εἰσκομιζομένων, ἐν δὲ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
and from-afar imported in but the Macedonia
ἐπιλελοιπότων, τῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλομένοις
having-run-out the-one also for-the others the-ones wishing
εὐτελέστατα καθισταμένῃ, ἀλλ' ᾠονθ' ἅμα τε
most-cheaply supplying but they-thought at-the-same-time both
ναυπηγήσεσθαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ πληρώσεσθαι ἐν τῷ λιμένι,
to-be-going-to-build-ships here and to-be-going-to-man in the harbor
ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις διειρημένον μηδὲν τοιοῦτον
in the common agreements it-being-expressly-stated nothing such
εἰσδέχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξέσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλέον ἀεὶ ποιεῖν.
to-admit and this to-be-going-to-be-possible on more always to-do
οὕτω πανταχόθεν καταπεφρονηκότως ἐκεῖνοι τῇ πόλει 29
so from-all-sides contemptuously they the city
χρῶνται διὰ τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν διδασκάλους τοὺς
treat because-of the from-here teachers the-ones
ὑπαγορεύοντας αὐτοῖς ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν· οὕτω δὲ
dictating to-them what it-is-necessary to-do so and
κατεγνώκασι μετὰ τούτων ἀδιήγητόν τινα τῆς πόλεως
they-have-concluded with these indescribable some of-the city
ἔκλυσιν καὶ μαλακίαν, καὶ οὔτε πρόνοιαν περὶ τῶν
slackness and softness and neither forethought about the-things
μελλόντων εἶναι, οὔτε λογισμὸν οὐδένα παραγίγνεσθαι
to-come to-be nor reckoning any to-be-present
τίνα τρόπον χρῆται ὁ τύραννος ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις.
in-what way uses the tyrant the common agreements

30 αἷς ἐγὼ διακελεύομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πείθεσθαι,
which I urge O men Athenians to-obey
καθάπερ ἐδίδαξα, καὶ διαβεβαιωσαίμην ἄν, ὡς τοῦθ' ὑμῶν
as I-taught and I-would-affirm — as this of-you
ἡλικίας ἔχων, ἅμα καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἡμᾶς ἀνεγκλήτως
of-age having at-the-same-time both the justice us blamelessly
καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀσφαλέστατα χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ
and the opportunities most-safely to-be-going-to-use the-ones for the
συμφέρον κατεπείγουσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσγέγραπται
advantage pressing and for further has-been-added
ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις, 'ἐὰν βουλώμεθα τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης
in the agreements if we-wish of-the common peace
μετέχειν'· τὸ δ' 'ἐὰν βουλώμεθα' ἐστὶν ἅμα καὶ
to-share the but if we-wish is at-the-same-time also
τοὐναντίον, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δεῖ παύσασθαι αἰσχρῶς
the-opposite if after-all ever it-is-necessary to-stop shamefully
ἑτέροις ἀκολουθοῦντας, ἢ μηδ' ἀναμνησθῆναι μηδεμιᾶς
others following or not-even to-remember of-any
φιλοτιμίας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχαιοτάτου καὶ πλείστων καὶ μάλιστα
ambition of-the from most-ancient and most and most
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχουσῶν. ἐὰν οὖν κελεύητ', ὦ
of-all men to-us existing if then you-bid O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γράψω, καθάπερ αἱ συνθῆκαι κελεύουσι,
men Athenians I-will-propose as the agreements bid
πολεμεῖν τοῖς παραβεβηκόσιν.
to-war-on the-ones having-transgressed
