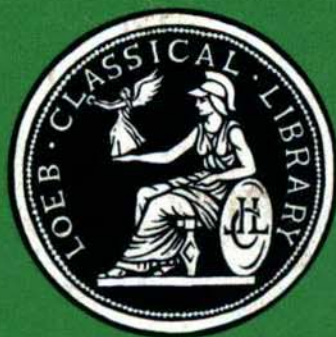


LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

DEMOSTHENES  
ORATIONS

I–XVII, XX

OLYNTHIACS · PHILIPPICS  
MINOR PUBLIC ORATIONS



*Translated by*  
J. H. VINCE

# DEMOSTHENES

OLYNTIACS • PHILIPPICS

MAJOR PUBLIC SPEECHES  
SPEECH AGAINST LEPTINES  
I-XVII, XX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
J. H. VINCE



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
LONDON, ENGLAND

*First published 1930*  
*Reprinted 1954, 1962, 1970, 1989, 1998, 2004*

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark  
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

ISBN 0-674-99263-6

*Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan*  
*on acid-free paper made by Glatfelter, Spring Grove, Pennsylvania*

## PREFACE

THE Greek text is that of Dindorf's third edition (Lipsiae, 1881). All deviations are recorded in the notes, except where the reading of S, rejected by Dindorf, has been restored. In the matter of elision and the spelling of certain words, more modern editors have been followed.

J. H. V.

## INTRODUCTION

### OUTLINES OF THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

DEMOSTHENES was born in or about the year 384 B.C. His father, of the Paeanian deme, east of Hymettus, was a man of some wealth, the owner of two workshops where he employed slaves on the manufacture of swords<sup>a</sup> and of furniture. His maternal grandfather, Gylon, who was banished from Athens and settled in the Crimea, is said to have married a woman of Scythian descent. When his son was seven, the father died, leaving him a fortune of about 14 talents (about £3400). His guardians, Aphobus and two others, so mismanaged his property that, when he came of age, he received only about one-tenth of the capital. As a child he was delicate and unable to profit by the usual athletic education. In order to fit himself for the prosecution of his guardians, he studied rhetoric under Isaeus, who was an authority on cases of inheritance. His enthusiasm for the art of oratory is said to have been awakened by hearing the successful defence of Callistratus, the general who was accused of delivering Oropus to the Thebans in 366. In 363, in his twentieth year, he brought his action against Aphobus. He gained the verdict, but

<sup>a</sup> Juvenal's description is ludicrous enough: "pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus" (x. 130).

## INTRODUCTION

further litigation was necessary before he recovered what was left of his patrimony. The three speeches against Aphobus and two against Onetor are the record of these lawsuits.

We may think of Demosthenes as entering manhood with physical disabilities, which he is said to have taken extraordinary pains to remedy, and with a temper morose and soured by injustice; not a genial, sociable man—a “water-drinker,” as his enemies labelled him. The rancour, however, with which he assailed his opponents was common to him with other orators; there was no room for chivalry in Athenian political life.

He now commenced practice as a writer of speeches for litigants. Most of his private orations that have come down to us were probably composed between 363 and 354, when he made his first public speech in the Assembly. But there is also an intermediate class of speech. Owing chiefly to indictment for breach of the constitution (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*), every Athenian statesman spent almost as much time in the law-courts as in the Pnyx, and many political questions came to be decided by juries. To this class of semi-public speeches belong that against *Androtion* (355), written by Demosthenes for one Diodorus. Here, in the peroration, the writer already strikes that note which recurs constantly in his political harangues, that Athens by her past history was committed to a policy of honour and high ideals. The same dispute comes up two years later, when another speech was composed for the same Diodorus, this time against *Timocrates*. In 354 Demosthenes speaks in his own person, and with more studied moderation, against the law of *Leptines* on immunities, but the same ideals



## INTRODUCTION

are put forward. The fourth of these speeches was written in 352 for Euthycles, who had indicted *Aristocrates* for his proposal to honour the reckless adventurer Charidemus. Another speech which deals largely with public questions is that against *Midias*, a friend of Eubulus and a supporter of the Euboean expedition of 350. It was published, but never delivered, for Demosthenes compromised the action for assault which he had commenced.

In 354, at the age of thirty, Demosthenes entered on his public career with his speech on the *Navy-boards*. The position of Greek affairs at this moment was one of unstable equilibrium. By the death of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea (362), Thebes almost instantly lost the lead which his genius had given her. Sparta, hampered by hostile neighbours in Arcadia and Messenia, still kept some of her old reputation, and none realized that her power for good or evil was ended. Athens, after Mantinea, nearly succeeded in regaining the hegemony. By 357 she had swept the Thebans out of Euboea, she controlled the Thracian Chersonese, so important for the safety of her food-supply, and her new confederacy seemed firmly established. But no sooner had she reached this height of prosperity than the decline began. The Social War, largely due to the intrigues of Mausolus, robbed her in two years of her chief dependencies, leaving her only Euboea, some islands of the North Aegean, and a few towns on the Thracian coast. This failure damped the imperialism of the Athenians, and the able finance-minister, Eubulus, now comes to the front with his policy of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." The Persian empire, though its essential weakness had been

## INTRODUCTION

exposed by the campaigns of Cyrus the younger and of Agesilaus, and by the revolt of the satraps, was still to be reckoned with. In an age of mercenary soldiers Persian gold was a factor in Greek politics. Meanwhile a new power was rising, a little cloud out of the north, like a man's hand.

Our knowledge of subsequent events must not lead us to underrate the sagacity of Athenian statesmen. The danger from Macedonia was scarcely apparent in 355.<sup>a</sup> Philip, who had been four years on the throne, was still on terms of nominal friendship with Athens, and had only robbed her so far of Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea. The Macedonians, though their princes had Hellenic blood in their veins, were regarded as outside the Greek world. Hence the policy that first appealed to Demosthenes was the balance of power among Greek states. It was only by degrees that he came to realize the menace of Philip. Athens, like other cities, relied for defence on an amateur militia or on mercenaries, who proved as untrustworthy as the city-states of Italy found them centuries after; in Macedonia Philip was building up a permanent, organized, professional army. Demosthenes, though he was no soldier, seems to have had some inkling of the value of Philip's invention, but he never saw, as we can see, how incapable the cities were of a successful resistance with the means at their disposal. And yet, in criticizing Demosthenes, we must not forget how near he came to success. Nor must we forget that the Greeks probably expected that Philip's power would crumble at his death, as the power of Jason of

\* Philip is not even mentioned in the speech on the *Navy-boards*.



## INTRODUCTION

Pherae had crumbled. The unlooked-for event was that Philip could hand on his power to a successor of nobler aims and of abilities little inferior to his own. The growing power of Philip caused Demosthenes to embrace the policy of a united defence of the free institutions of the city-states against a military autocracy ; and from this policy he never swerved. How completely he dominates the stage may be judged from the fact that, for ordinary readers, the interest of Greek history ceases at his death, for the triumph of Macedonia was as fatal to the Greek spirit as the grip of Spain was to the life of Italy from the sixteenth century till the day of her redemption. Henceforward the life of Demosthenes is the history of Greece, and it will be enough here to tabulate the course of events and the dates of his speeches.

354 First public speech, on the *Navy-boards*. Philip takes Methone.

353 Philip fighting in Thessaly. Arcadians and Spartans send embassies to Athens. Speeches for the *Megalopolitans* and against *Timocrates*.

352 Philip gets control of the Pagasaeon Gulf. Athenians send force to close Thermopylae against Philip, who turns his attention to Thrace, and also intrigues in Euboea. Speech against Aristocrates.

351 *First Philippic* (early in the year). Exiled Rhodian democrats appeal to Athens. Speech for *Liberty of the Rhodians*.

350 Philip threatens Olynthus.

349 Olynthians appeal to Athens. *First Olynthiac*. Athenian force sent under Chares. *Second Olynthiac*. Chares superseded by Charidemus.

## INTRODUCTION

The War-party call for appropriation of Theoric Fund. *Third Olynthiac*.

- 348 Athenian expedition under Phorion to help Plutarchus in Euboea. At the Great Dionysia (March) Meidias assaults Demosthenes, who had opposed the expedition. Fall of Olynthus (autumn). Athenians send Aristodemus to sound Philip, and dispatch embassies to other Greek states.
- 347 Aristodemus returns with friendly assurances from Philip. Speech against *Meidias* written, but not delivered.
- 346 First Athenian embassy to propose terms of peace with Philip. Peace of Philocrates agreed to by Athens (April). Second embassy sent to administer oaths to Philip: they return in July. Philip at Thermopylae. Phalaecus surrenders to him and the Phocian War collapses. Philip punishes Phocians and is rewarded with their two votes in the Amphictyonic Council. He presides at Pythian Games (Sept.). Speech on the *Peace*.
- 344 Philip subdues Illyrians and settles government of Thessaly. He intrigues in the Peloponnese, whither Demosthenes is sent to counteract his influence. Philip sends envoys to Athens to protest against charges of bad faith. Demosthenes replies with *Second Philippic*.
- 343 Pytho comes from Philip to discuss Athenian claims to Halonnesus. Philip again intrigues in Euboea, where he supports tyrants of Eretria and Oreus. Speech *De falsa legatione*; Aeschines acquitted. In the winter Philip invades Epirus and threatens Ambracia and Acarnania.

## INTRODUCTION

- 342 Philip sets up tetrarchs in Thessaly and writes letter to Athenians on dispute about Halonnesus. Hegesippus (?) delivers speech on *Halonnesus*. Philip busy in Thracian Chersonese, whither Diopithes is sent to guard Athenian interests.
- 341 Demosthenes' speech on the *Chersonese*, in reply to Philip's protests. *Third Philippic* soon afterwards. Demosthenes is sent to make alliance between Athens and Byzantium. Athenian expedition to Euboea expels tyrants.
- 340 Demosthenes crowned at Great Dionysia for liberation of Euboea. Philip besieges Perinthus unsuccessfully; turns his arms against Byzantium, making declaration of war against Athens. Athenian fleet compels him to raise siege of Byzantium. He invades Thracian Chersonese. In the winter he invades Scythia, where he is wounded by the Triballi.
- 339 Speech of Aeschines at Delphi provokes Amphissian War. Philip, chosen general by Amphictyons, passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea. Demosthenes gains alliance of Thebes.
- 338 Philip, after destroying Amphissa, defeats allies at Chaeronea. Peace of Demades. Demosthenes chosen to pronounce funeral oration over the slain.
- 336 Aeschines brings *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon, who proposes crown for Demosthenes. Philip assassinated; Alexander succeeds.
- 335 Thebes rebels and is destroyed by Alexander, who demands surrender of Demosthenes and other orators.

## INTRODUCTION

- 334 Alexander invades Asia.  
331 Alexander's victory at Arbela.  
330 Trial of Ctesiphon ; Demosthenes *de Corona*.  
324 Demosthenes pronounced by the Court of Areopagus guilty of receiving 20 talents of the money deposited at Athens by Harpalus. He is tried and condemned to a fine of 50 talents, and goes into exile.  
323 Death of Alexander. Demosthenes recalled. Lamian War.  
322 Battle of Crannon. Death of Demosthenes at Calauria (Oct. 12).

NOTE.—The question of Demosthenes' guilt in the affair of Harpalus is too intricate to discuss here. The fairest judges incline to the view that he took the money, but for public purposes, in view of the coming war. The story of his death is best read in Plutarch (*Dem.* 29).

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## CHIEF MANUSCRIPTS

**S** or **Σ**, *Parisinus*, 10th century. By common consent the best ms., first fully used by Bekker for his Oxford edition of 1823.

**L**, *Laurentianus*, Florence, 13th century, generally agrees with **S**, being probably from the same archetype.

**A**, *Augustanus*, Munich (formerly Augsburg), 11th century. Of a different class from **S** and **L**, but now regarded as only second to them in value.

Of less importance are **Y** (Paris), **O** (Brussels), and **P** (Laurentian Library, Florence).

## PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

Text :

**I**. Bekker, Oxford, 1823 ; Leipzig, 1854.

Baiter and Sauppe, Zürich, 1850.

Voemel, Halle, 1857.

**W**. Dindorf (Teubner), Leipzig, 3rd ed., 1855.

**F**. Blass (Teubner), Leipzig, 1885. A recension of Dindorf, disfigured by needless alterations.

**S**. H. Butcher (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*), Oxford, 1903.

## COMMENTARIES

Editions of the chief public orations :

**A**. Westermann (*Weidmann*), Berlin, 1841, etc.

**H**. Weil, Paris, 1881, etc.

**R**. Whiston (*Bibliotheca Classica*), London, 1859, is still useful.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Olynthiacs and Philippics :

G. H. Heslop (Catena Classicorum), London, 1868.

J. E. Sandys (Macmillan), London, 1900, 1905.

De corona : W. W. Goodwin, Cambridge, 1901. The best of many editions, with good historical sketch.

De falsa legatione : R. Shilleto, Cambridge, 4th ed., 1874.

In Leptinem :

F. A. Wolf, Zürich, 1831.

J. E. Sandys, Cambridge, 1890.

In Midiam :

Buttmann, Berlin, 1833.

W. W. Goodwin, Cambridge, 1906.

In Androtonem and In Timocratem :

W. Wayte, Cambridge.

### TRANSLATIONS

C. R. Kennedy (Bohn's Classical Library) London, 5 vols., with useful appendices.

### GENERAL, IN ADDITION TO THE STANDARD HISTORIES OF GREECE

A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1885. Still the fullest and most useful work on Demosthenes.

F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1893.

S. H. Butcher, *Demosthenes* (Macmillan's Classical Writers), London, 1881. Short, but masterly.

A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes* (Putnam's Heroes of the Nations), New York and London, 1914.

D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (Murray), London, 1897.



# THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES

*The numbers of the Orations are those used in Blass's  
text and generally followed by editors.*

ORATION	TITLE	L.C.L. VOLUME
I.	Olynthiac I	I
II.	Olynthiac II	I
III.	Olynthiac III	I
IV.	Philippic I	I
V.	On the Peace	I
VI.	Philippic II	I
VII.	On Halonnesus	I
VIII.	On the Chersonese	I
IX.	Philippic III	I
X.	Philippic IV	I
XI.	Answer to Philip's Letter	I
XII.	Philip's Letter	I
XIII.	On Organization	I
XIV.	On the Navy-boards	I
XV.	For the Liberty of the Rhodians	I
XVI.	For the People of Megalopolis	I

# THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES

ORATION	TITLE	L.C.L. VOLUME
XVII.	On the Treaty with Alexander	I
XVIII.	De Corona	II
XIX.	De Falsa Legatione	II
XX.	Against Leptines	I
XXI.	Against Meidias	III
XXII.	Against Androtion	III
XXIII.	Against Aristocrates	III
XXIV.	Against Timocrates	III
XXV.	Against Aristogeiton I	III
XXVI.	Against Aristogeiton II	III
XXVII.	Against Aphobus I	IV
XXVIII.	Against Aphobus II	IV
XXIX.	Against Aphobus III	IV
XXX.	Against Onetor I	IV
XXXI.	Against Onetor II	IV
XXXII.	Against Zenothemis	IV
XXXIII.	Against Apaturius	IV
XXXIV.	Against Phormio	IV
XXXV.	Against Lacritus	IV
XXXVI.	For Phormio	IV
XXXVII.	Against Pantaenetus	IV
XXXVIII.	Against Nausimachus	IV
XXXIX.	Against Boeotus I	IV
XL.	Against Boeotus II	IV
XLI.	Against Spudias	V
XLII.	Against Phaenippus	V

# THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES

ORATION	TITLE	L.C.L. VOLUME
XLIII.	Against Macartatus	V
XLIV.	Against Leochares	V
XLV.	Against Stephanus I	V
XLVI.	Against Stephanus II	V
XLVII.	Against Evergus	V
XLVIII.	Against Olympiodorus	V
XLIX.	Against Timotheüs	V
L.	Against Polycles	VI
LI.	On the Trierarchic Crown	VI
LII.	Against Callippus	VI
LIII.	Against Nicostratus	VI
LIV.	Against Conon	VI
LV.	Against Callicles	VI
LVI.	Against Dionysodorus	VI
LVII.	Against Eubulides	VI
LVIII.	Against Theocrines	VI
LIX.	Against Neaera	VI
LX.	Funeral Speech	VII
LXI.	Erotic Essay	VII
	Exordia	VII
	Letters	VII