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SPEECHES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM,

UPON QUESTIONS RELATING TO

PUBLIC RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND INTERESTS;

WITH

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS,

AND

A CRITICAL DISSERTATION

UPON THE ELOQUENCE OF THE ANCIENTS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX:

No. I.

EXTRACT FROM LORD ERSKINE'S SPEECH ON THE TRIAL OF
JOHN STOCKDALE.

“ I have not been considering it through the cold medium of books, but have been speaking of man and his nature, and of human dominion, from what I have seen of them myself amongst reluctant nations submitting to our authority. I know what they feel, and how such feelings can alone be repressed. I have heard them in my youth from a naked savage, in the indignant character of a prince surrounded by his subjects, addressing the Governor of a British colony, holding a bundle of sticks in his hand, as the notes of his unlettered eloquence: ‘ Who is it ? said the jealous ruler over the desert, encroached upon by the restless foot of English adventure—‘ Who is it that causes this river to rise in the high mountains, and to empty itself into the ocean ? Who is it that causes to blow the loud winds of winter, and that calms them again in the summer ? Who is it that rears up the shade of those lofty forests, and blasts them with the quick lightning at his pleasure ? The same Being who gave to you a country on the other side of the waters, and gave ours to us ; and by this title we will defend it !’ said the warrior, throwing down his tomahawk upon the ground, and raising the war-sound of his nation. These are the feelings of subjugated man all round the globe ; and depend upon it, nothing but fear will control where it is vain to look for affection.”—*Erskine's Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 263.

PERORATION OF MR. GRATTAN'S SPEECH ON THE DECLARATION OF
IRISH RIGHTS.

“ Do not suffer the arrogance of England to imagine a surviving hope in the fears of Ireland ; do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice and the high court of Parliament ; neither imagine that, by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you with their curses in your grave, for having interposed between them and their Maker, robbing them of an immense occasion, and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

“ Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thralldom and poverty, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at liberty, and observe—that here the principal men among us fell into mimic trances of gratitude—they were awed by a weak ministry, and bribed by an empty treasury—and when liberty was within their grasp, and the temple opened her folding doors, and the arms of the people clanged, and the zeal of the nation urged and encouraged them on, that they fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold.

“ I might, as a constituent, come to your bar and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go—assert the law of Ireland—declare the liberty of the land.

“ I will not be answered by a public lie in the shape of an amendment ; neither, speaking for the subject's freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags ; he may be

naked, he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him."—*Grattan's Speeches*, vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

No. II.

Ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματα εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθα, οὔτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶμεν, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοκίβει δίδομεν, οὐδ', ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν, πόθεν καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐτ' ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερόν αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐβέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις, τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξια ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις τούτοις συναγανίζομεθα. And then immediately afterwards, the repetition, τί οὖν χρῆ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτε εἰσοίσετε, μήτε αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοκίβει δώσετε, μήτε, ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πορίσῃται, ἐάσετε, μήτε τὰ ἡμέτερόν αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐβελήσετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω De Cherson. Orat. Græc. i. 95.

This is translated in the version of the Oration which follows.

Καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐάθουν καλὴν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς ἡμετέρους μὲν πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι καλῶς Ὀλυμβίων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθήνην ἱππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. Phil. III. Orat. Græc. i. 128.

“ A noble* return have the Oreitans met with, for betaking themselves to Philip’s creatures, and abandoning Euphræus ! A noble treatment have the Eretrians received for dismissing your ambassadors and surrendering themselves to Clitarachus—they are now enslaved, and tortured, and scourged ! † Nobly have the Olynthians fared for giving the command of their horse to Lasthenes, while they banished Apollonides ! ”

No. III.

The Oration for the Megalopolitans is one instance of this. See for another example the following passage in the Chersonese Oration :—

“ Ὅστις μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παριδὼν ἅ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει, κρίνει, δημεύει, δίδωσι, κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμιᾷ ταῦτ’ ἀνδρεία ποιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἔχων ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς ἐστιν ὅστις ὄ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασι, καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον αἶε, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται, ἐν ἣ κλειόνων ἢ τύχῃ κυρία γίνεται ἢ οἰλογισμοῖ, τούτων δ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν παρέχει— οὗτός ἐστ’ ἀνδρείος, καὶ χεῖρισμός γε πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. Orat. Græc. i. 106.

This is translated in the version of the Speech subjoined.

“ Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότεσ, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ ”

* The literal translation “ fine ” or “ pretty ” expresses the sense completely, but it is too colloquial.

† There is no giving the force of the Greek here—δουλεύουσί γε μαρτυρούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.—Orat. Græc. i. 128.

ὁ δὲ σιγήσας, ἤνικ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῆῃ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει· De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 291.

A statesman and a partisan, in no other respect resembling each other, differ most of all in this, that the one gives his counsels before the event, and makes himself accountable for his followers, for fortune, for emergencies, for those who sit in judgment on his conduct; while the other, holding his peace when he ought to speak out, the instant that anything goes wrong, cries out his disapproval."

No. IV.

Οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν, ὥνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιᾶροι καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες, πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες, καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 324.

"Those men, Athenians, are all in their own provinces like our adversaries here among you, base and fawning creatures, wretches who have mutilated the glory each of his own country, and toasted away their liberties, first to Philip, then to Alexander; who place their supreme enjoyment in gluttony and debauchery, but hold cheap those rights of freemen, and that independence of any master, which the Greeks of former days regarded as the test and the summit of all felicity."

Ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων· ἐτίλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην· ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν· ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐκκλησίαζον· ἐτριταγωνίστιες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ἔω τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ

στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδοσιῶν ἀδικεῖν, ἀνωμολόγημαί σοι δὲ συκοφάντη μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ, εἴτ' ἔτι δεῖ σε τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι, μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 315.

“ You were an usher, I was a scholar ; you were an initiator, I was initiated ; you danced at the games, I presided over them ; you were a clerk of court, I an advocate ; you were a third-rate actor, I a spectator ; you fell down on the stage, I hissed you ; your counsels were always in the enemy's favour, mine always in the country's ; and to pass over every thing else, now, on this day, the question is of crowning me, while nothing whatever is alleged against my integrity, while it is your lot to be received as a calumniator, and you are even in jeopardy of being put to silence by failing to obtain a fifth of the votes.”

Εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς, ἀντί ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιά τιμᾶσθαι ; ἐγὼ δὴ σοι λέγω, ὅτι, τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξάμενων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς, οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων, οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος, οὔτ' ἐλπίς, οὔτε φόβος, οὔτε χάρις, οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο, ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι, οὐδὲν προδοῦναι οὐδ' ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πάποτε τουτοισίν, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ, ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα, συμβεβούλευκα ἄλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς, καὶ δικαίας, καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστάς, πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιᾶς, καὶ δικαίως, καὶ ἀπλῶς πεπολίτευμαι. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 325.

“ You ask, Æschines, what is my title to honour ? I will tell you ;—it is, that while the politicians of Greece, beginning with yourself, having all been corrupted, first by Philip and then by Alexander, neither opportunity, nor fine speeches, nor lavish promises, nor hopes, nor fears, nor favours, nor any thing else, ever seduced or compelled me to betray what I deemed the rights and interests of my country. Never did I, like you and such as you, incline my counsels, as if weighed in a balance, towards the side which paid the best ; but my

whole actions were governed by the principles of right, and of justice, and an incorruptible soul; and having borne the most forward part in the conduct of the greatest affairs, my policy was ever sound, and just, and sincere."

No. V.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἔπε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις αἰς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατεῖληπται. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μινεὺθύς ἐξαναστάτες μεταξὺ δεικνούστας τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηρῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον, καὶ τὰ γέφυρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετέπειμποντο, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλεῦσαι, πῶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 284.

"It was evening. A messenger came to acquaint the Prytanes that Elatea was taken; whereupon, some of them, instantly starting from the table at which they were sitting, cleared the booths in the Forum, and set fire to their wicker coverings; others summoned the commanding officers, and ordered the alarm to be sounded. The city was filled with consternation. When the next day broke, the Prytanes convoked the Senate in the Senate-house; you repaired to your own assembly; and before they could adopt any measure, or even enter upon their deliberations, the whole people had seated themselves upon the steps. And now" &c.

Συνεκαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων, καὶ ουδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θεβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξήλθον, καὶ ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιστηκότητας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 288.

The diction, the exquisite composition of this, cannot be in any, even the least degree, preserved in our language, or indeed in any but the Greek.

Ἐώραν δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ὑμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεργότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν βουληθεῖν μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελεύσθαι, τοῦτο ῥαδίως καὶ ἐτοίμως προΐεμενον, ὥστε τᾷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν·
De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 247,

“I saw this same Philip, with whom your conflict lay, content to lose an eye, to have his shoulder broken, his hand and his leg mutilated, all for the sake of power and dominion, and abandoning to fortune whatever part of him she chose to take, readily and without a murmur, so as what remained should survive to honour and glory.”*

Οὐ γὰρ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἔαν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμόν βούλει δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τόπους, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνουμένους. Ταῦτα προὔβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρῶπινῳ λογισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον μόνον τοῦ Παιραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἄστεος. De Corona. Orat. Græc. i. 325.

“But the fortifications at which you mock, and the repairs I counted as deserving the favour and the applause of the people—Why not? Yet I certainly place them far below my other claims to public gratitude. For I have not fortified Athens with stone walls or with tiled roofs; no, not I—neither do I plume myself much upon such works as these.—But would you justly estimate my outworks, you will see armaments, and cities, and settlements, and harbours, and ships, and cavalry, and armies raised to defend us.—These are the

* This was the inscription most appropriately placed under Nelson's bust by the Rev. G. A. Browne, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and a happier quotation was perhaps never made.

defences that I have drawn round Attica, as far as human prudence could defend her; and with such as these I fortified the country at large, not the arsenal only or the citadel. Nor was it I that yielded to Philip's policy and his arms; very far from it.—It was your captains and your allies through whom his fortune triumphed. What are the proofs of it? They are manifest and plain.

Εἰπέ μοι, τί δὴ, γιγνώσκων ἀκριβῶς, Ἀριστοῦδημε, (οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀγνοεῖ,) τὸν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίον ἀσφαλῆ, καὶ ἀπράγμονα, καὶ ἀκίνδονον ὄντα, τὸν δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων φιλαίτιον, καὶ σφαλερόν, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγώνων, καὶ κακῶν μεστόν, οὐ τὸν ἡσύχιον καὶ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις αἰετῆ; Phil. IV. Orat. Græc. i. 150.

“ Say then, Aristodemus, how comes it to pass that you, well knowing,—what indeed no one can doubt,—that private life is smooth, and peaceful, and secure, but the life of the statesman turbulent, and slippery, and checquered with daily contentions and miseries,—you should not prefer the tranquil and quiet lot, but that which is cast in the midst of perils ?”

No. VI.

Οἰκοδομήματα. μὲν γε καὶ κόσμον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἱερῶν, καὶ λιμένων, κ. λ. τ. De Ordin. Rep. Orat. Græc. i. 174.

See, too, the different instances of figures of comparison cited in the Dissertation, as well as many others, *e. g.* the following.—

Νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρός, ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν ἐσιῶν, μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύζονται τὴν νόσον ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσείε τις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιστο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα διεξιῶι, Εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἀνθρωπος οὐτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν. De Coronâ. Orat. Græc. i. 307.

Of what advantage is your eloquence to the country? You

now descant upon what is past and done; as if a physician when called to some patient in a sinking state, were to give no advice and prescribe no course whereby the malady might be cured; but when death had happened and the funeral was performing, should follow it to the grave, and expound how the poor man would never have died had such and such things only been done.

No. VII.

Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, Judices: insidiator superatus, vi victa vis, vel potius oppressa virtute audacia est. Nihil dico, quid respublica consecuta sit: nihil, quid vos: nihil, quid omnes boni. Nihil sane id prosit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem servare potuerit, quin una rempublicam vosque servaret. Si id jure non posset, nihil habeo quod defendam. Sin hoc et ratio doctis, et necessitas barbaris, et mos gentibus, et feris natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper vim, quacunq[ue] ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua propulsarent; non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare, quin simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint, aut illorum telis, aut vestris sententiis esse perreundum. *Pro Milone*, c. 11.

This was the transaction as I have related it:—the assassin overcome,—force vanquished by force, or rather violence overpowered by valour. I say nothing of the country's gain, —nothing of yours,—nothing of all good men's. Let Milo take no benefit from that, holding as he does his very existence upon the condition of being unable to save himself without saving by the same act the commonwealth too. If the act was illegal, I have nothing to urge in its defence. But if it be a lesson which reason has taught the sage, and necessity the savage, and general usage has sanctioned in nations, and nature has imparted to the beasts themselves, that all violence, whether offered to our limbs, our heads, or our lives, should by every means within our reach always be repelled, then can you not adjudge this deed criminal, with-

out at the same time adjudging every one who falls among robbers, to perish either by their daggers, or by your sentence.

Video adhuc constare omnia, Judices: Miloni etiam utile fuisse Clodium vivere; illi ad ea, quæ concupierat, optatissimum interitum Milonis: odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum; in illum hujus nullum: consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda; hujus tantum in repellenda: mortem ab illo denuntiatum Miloni, et prædictam palam; nihil unquam auditum ex Milone: profectionis hujus diem illi notum; reditum illius huic ignotum fuisse: hujus iter necessarium; illius etiam potius alienum: hunc præ se tulisse, se illo die Roma exiturum; illum eo die se dissimulasse rediturum: hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium; illum causam mutandi consilii finxisse: huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem expectandam; illi, etiam si hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum. *Pro Milone*, c. 19.

The structure of our language, and the want of the *hic* and *ille*, preclude any attempt at translating this noble argument.

Si hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen appareret, uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret mali, quum alter veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditiissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum, an comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, quum pænula irretitus, rheda impeditus, uxore pæne constrictus esset? Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, subito: cur?—vesperi: quid necesse est?—tarde: qui convenit, id præsertim temporis? Devertit in villam Pompeii. Pompeium ut videret? Sciebat in Alsiensi esse. Villam ut perspiceret? Millies in ea fuerat. Quid ergo erat moræ, et tergiversationis? Dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

Age nunc, iter expediti latronis cum Milonis impedimentis comparate. Semper ille antea cum uxore; tum sine ea: nunquam non in rheda; tum in equo: comites Græculi, quocunque ibat, etiam quum in castra Etrusca properabat; tum nugarum in comitatu nihil. Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat, et ancillarum greges: ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas

duceret, tum neminem, nisi ut virum a viro lectum esse diceres. Cur igitur victus est? Quia non semper viator a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro a viatore occiditur: quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos Clodius, tamen mulier inciderat in viros. *Pro Milone*, c. 20, 21.

If instead of hearing these transactions related, you saw them painted, it still would appear manifest which of the two parties was the conspirator, and which of them had no evil design; when the one should be seen sitting in a carriage, with his wife, and in his cloak. What is there about him that leaves a limb free? dress, or conveyance, or company? Who so ill prepared for fight as yonder man who sits entangled in his mantle, cooped up in a carriage, tied down by his wife? Look now at that other figure,—first leaving the city in a hurry; and why? In the evening—why should he now start? It is late—why should this time of all others suit him? He turns aside to Pompey's Villa. In order to see Pompey? But he is known to be at Alsium. In order to see the Villa? But he has been there a thousand times before. Then why this delay, and this turning aside from the high road? Because he does not choose to leave the spot until Milo shall come up.

Now, then, compare the journey of the robber prepared for action, with that of Milo encumbered in his route. Till then he had always travelled with his wife; on that day he was alone. Before, he always was in his carriage; that day he was on horseback. Formerly, wherever he went his Greeks were with him, even when on his march to the Etrurian camp. On this occasion there was no trifling accompaniments. Milo was now, for the first and only time in his life, attended with his wife's chorus singers, and her whole household of waiting-women. Clodius, who had always travelled with strumpets, always with boys, always with bawds, on that day had not a creature with him but such as you would call picked men. How then came it to pass that he was overpowered? Why, because it is not always the traveller who is overcome by the robber, but sometimes the robber too is slain by the traveller—because, although Clodius had fallen upon the unprepared, himself ready for action, yet the effeminate had fallen among men!

TRANSLATIONS

FROM

DEMOSTHENES.

Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas Orationes —nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententis iisdem et earum formis tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis; in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi —CICERO, De Opt. Gen. Orat. cap. 5.

ORATION

ON THE

AFFAIRS OF THE CHERSONESE.

INTRODUCTION.

CERSOBLEPTES, king of the country, had ceded the Chersonese to Athens; but Cardia, a principal town, having put itself under the protection of Philip, Diopeithes was dispatched to plant a colony in the peninsula, according to the policy of the Greeks when they wanted to retain any acquisition of distant territory. This general, without any orders to that effect, but relying on support at home from the party of Demosthenes, attacked Maritime Thrace from the Chersonese, regarding Philip's conduct towards Cardia as a sufficient act of hostility to justify this aggression. The result of this incursion was a large booty, which he placed in safety in the peninsula. The Macedonian party of course inveighed bitterly against the proceedings of Diopeithes, as an infraction of the peace which nominally subsisted between Athens and Macedon. The inimitable speech, of which a translation is here attempted, was Demosthenes' answer to their attacks. It unites all the great qualities of his prodigious eloquence in a remarkable degree; and, excepting in the article of invective, of which there is hardly any, it may fairly be

placed on the same line with the Great Oration itself. Indeed, in point of argument and conciseness, and when judged by the severest rules of criticism, it has no superior.

The attempt here made is accompanied with a deep feeling of its necessary failure in many essential particulars. The thing aimed at has been to try how far the meaning of every word in the original could be given best in the English, and as nearly as possible, the Saxon idiom. Under the feeling how widely asunder the design and execution are placed, there is, perhaps, some consolation to be derived from reflecting, that the object in view is really unattainable, as the excellence of the original is altogether unapproachable. It is rather an experiment upon our own language than upon the Greek.

ORATION.

It would be well, Athenians,¹ if all who addressed you, delivered themselves altogether without prejudice and without partiality, each propounding whatsoever he deemed most advisable, especially when you are assembled to deliberate upon public affairs of the greatest importance. But since some speakers are actuated partly by a spirit of contention,² partly by other similar motives, it remains for you, men of Athens, you, the people,³ laying aside all other considerations, what things you deem best for the country, those things to resolve, and (those things) to do.

The question, then, relates to the affairs of the Chersonese, and the military operations which Philip has now for nearly

¹ See Cæsar's Speech, (Sallust, Bell. Cat. c. 47.) the exordium of which is nearly taken from this.

² Προάγονται λέγειν. Happily rendered by Leland, "whose speeches are dictated;" but the end of the paragraph is not literal, nor does it contain all the matter of the original.

³ Ὑμᾶς τοὺς πολλούς. Neither Laharpe, nor Francis, nor Auger takes any account of this expression; but it is material, being in opposition here to the ἔνιοι and the λέγοντες, from whom Demosthenes appeals to the whole people. Wolf sees this in its true light, and renders the phrase by τὸν δῆμον. (Apud Reisk. Appar. Crit. i. 75.) In other instances the οἱ πολλοὶ are in opposition to the οἱ ὀλίγοι, as towards the end of this Oration.

eleven months been carrying on in Thrace. But this debate has for the most part turned upon what Diopceithes is doing and designs to do. Now, as for those offences of which parties may be accused at any time, and which by law it rests with you to punish when you think fit, either immediately or after a while, I am of opinion that such matters may be reserved for further consideration,¹ and that there is no necessity that either I, or any one else, should contend² much about them at present. But as for those places of which Philip, the unprovoked enemy³ of the country, and at the head of a large force on the Hellespont,⁴ is endeavouring to surprise⁵—places which, if we let slip this opportunity, we never again can hope to rescue—⁶ as to them I am clear that we ought instantly to take our determination and make our preparations, nor suffer ourselves to be drawn aside from this course by other contentions⁷ and other charges.

But astonished as I have been, Athenians, at many things that are oftentimes addressed to you, I own I have never been more astonished than to hear what was lately said in the Senate ; that it is the duty of a statesman to counsel either

¹ Σκοπεῖν ἐγχωρεῖν, “it is admissible to deliberate ;” “there is time enough to look after them.” Leland connects this with the antecedent *κἂν ἦδη δοκῆ*, κ. τ. λ. but this cannot be.

² Some MSS. have *ἰσχυρίζεσθαι* without the *δι*, “to pronounce confidently,” “dogmatically.”

³ Ὑπάρχων. This cannot be left out as most translators do, Wolf among the rest ; it is not here merely “actual” or “existing,” but “beginning,” “aggressor.”

⁴ Leland’s “hovering about the Hellespont” is not infelicitous, though perhaps not quite the true sense ; for he was actually in the countries *περὶ Ἑλλάσποντον*, and therefore *was* about, and not *hovering* about. He had alighted.

⁵ Προλαβεῖν, clearly is, “to anticipate” or “surprise,” given well in Wolf, “*præripere*.” Leland, only “making attempts on ;” which gets rid of the meaning, instead of giving it.

⁶ *Κἂν ἅπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν*, κ. τ. λ. literally ; “and if this once we be too late, we never shall be able to save *them* ;” the relative to connect this with the antecedent *ὄσα*.

⁷ Ἀποδρᾶναι, “run away.” Leland, “in the midst of foreign clamours and accusations.” This is not the meaning. He refers to the accusations of which he had been speaking, and it is to those that the “running away” is supposed to be. The sense is given either by “running away *after*, &c., or “being drawn aside *by*,” &c.

absolutely making war¹, or maintaining peace. Now the case is this.² If, indeed, Philip will remain at peace, and neither keep possession of our settlements contrary to treaty, nor stir up all the world against us, there is nothing to be said, and peace must be strictly maintained; nor, to say the truth,³ do I perceive any other disposition on your part. But if the conditions to which we swore, and upon which the peace was made, are plain to be seen, lying written indeed before our eyes, and yet from the first, and before Diopetithes set sail with his settlers, who are now accused of having occasioned the war, Philip manifestly appears to have wrongfully seized many of our possessions, of which your decrees, and those ratified,⁴ impeach him; and also to have ever since been seizing the territories of the other Greeks, and of the Barbarians, and employing their force against us—how can these men thus speak of our only having the choice of at once going to war, or remaining at peace? We have no choice at all in the matter; nor any course but one left to pursue, and that of all others the most righteous and the most necessary, which, however, these men carefully overlook. And what is that course? To chastise⁵ the first that attacks us;

¹ Ἡ πολεμείν ἀπλῶς, ἢ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην. Their argument was—peace or war, one thing or another, either do nothing at all, or come to hostilities with Philip; meaning, as there was no chance of going to war, that no objection should be made to whatever Philip did.

² Ἔσσι δέ. Most versions give this—"Be it so," or "Be it peace," which, especially the latter, does not tally with the preceding sentence. But it seems plainly to refer to what follows.

³ Ἔε has here the force of "truly." There is a biting sarcasm in these words; but the tone is purposely subdued, and as inoffensive as possible. Demosthenes often attacked them fiercely; but he knew that the multitude can bear invective better than mockery. Leland fails exceedingly in this passage—"and I find it perfectly agreeable to you," viz. peace.

⁴ Κύρια—"authoritative," "ratified," "confirmed."

⁵ Ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πρότερον κ. τ. λ. Auger and Labarpe render this 'repousser'—Francis, "repel"—Leland, "repel force by force." But that is exactly what Demosthenes does not mean to recommend—he is for doing a great deal more, not merely for defensive operations—his whole argument being, that as Philip was substantially at war by his proceedings in one quarter, the Athenians should not merely repel him there, but carry the war into whatever parts of his dominions they could best attack; and this indeed was the very point in issue as to Diopetithes, who had ravaged Thrace, and not made any attack upon Cardia.

unless, indeed, they shall contend that, so long as Philip keeps away from Attica and the Piræus, he neither wrongs this country nor makes war upon it; but then, if it be on grounds like these that they lay down the rules of justice, and trace¹ the limits of peace and war, it must be manifest to every one that they are propounding principles neither just in themselves, nor consonant with your honour,² nor even consistent with your safety; nay, it so happens, that they are holding language utterly repugnant to what they charge upon Diopceithes; for how can we give Philip free leave to do whatever he pleases, so he only keeps away from Attica, while Diopceithes must not assist the Thracians, upon pain of being charged with involving us in war? But these things are narrowly scrutinized;³ and then we are told that it is an outrage for foreign troops to ravage the Hellespont—that Diopceithes has been committing piracy—and that we should not give way to him. Be 'it so—let him be checked⁴—I have nothing to say against that. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking, that if these men thus counsel you sincerely, and from mere love of justice; as they are seeking to disband the whole force of the State by calumniating the General⁵ who alone provides its pay, they are bound to shew you that Phi-

¹ Leland has but one verb—"state the bounds of peace and justice;" but there is never any reason for making Demosthenes more concise than he is—*τὰ δίκαια τίθενται, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὀρίζονται*. In what follows, he does not give the sense.

² *Ἀνεκτὰ*, "to be endured;" but if it be so taken, there would seem to be an anticlimax in what follows, *οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἀσφαλῆ*. We must render it, "to be endured by you;" and then the whole will stand, "dishonourable, and not even safe."

³ *Ἐξελέγχονται*. It may either mean that Diopceithes' proceedings are so watched, and represented as equally bad with Philip's; or that Philip's are admitted to be bad, and then that Diopceithes' are maintained to be no better.

⁴ *Γιγνίσθω ταῦτα*. This can hardly mean, "let these things be so," because *ἔστω*, which goes before, means that. It must rather be, "Let this," i. e. checking Diopceithes—(the antecedent being *μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ*)—"be done." Most versions omit the words altogether.

⁵ Leland has it, "that man whose care and industry support them;" but it is *τὸν ἐφεστηκότα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα*, "the person commanding, and providing pay."

lip's army too will be disbanded¹. if you should follow their advice; else you plainly see that they are only reducing the country to the very position which has already been the ruin of our affairs. For you are well aware, that in no one respect has Philip had the advantage of us more than in being always before-hand² with us. Constantly at the head of a regular army, and planning prospectively the operations he is to undertake, he suddenly springs³ upon whomsoever he pleases, while we, after we have ascertained⁴ that some blow has been struck, then, and not till then, we put ourselves in a bustle, and begin to prepare. Thus, I conceive, it comes to pass, that whatever he has seized upon he possesses in all security, and that we, coming too late, incur a great expenditure, and incur it all in vain, while displaying our enmity and our desire to check him; but making the attempt after his work is done, we, in addition⁵ to our loss, cover ourselves with disgrace.

¹ This is one of the many instances of most chaste and refined sarcasm which we meet with in Demosthenes, i. e. argument clothed in sarcasm of a subdued tone.

² Πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι, is hardly rendered by "superior vigilance in improving all opportunities," (Leland)—for, beside being a paraphrase, it does not give the meaning so fully or so idiomatically as the more literal version; nor does it so well maintain the contrast with ὑπερίξεν, a favourite charge with Demosthenes, and urged soon after this passage. Francis is better—"being in action before us."

³ Ἐξαίφνης ἐφ' οὗς . πάρεστιν. This expression is very strong. Αἰφνης or ἄφνω, is either, "so quick as not to be seen"—"in the twinkling of an eye"—*ex improviso*—and ἐξ is intensive of that sense; or it may be, "from a place where he could not be seen." Πάρεστιν ἐφ' οὗς—"is present with"—"appears like a ghost"—"arrives and is upon"—"springs upon." Leland has it, "in a moment strike the blow where he pleases," which is not so literal, nor nearly so expressive.

⁴ Πυθώμεθα, "made inquiry, and learnt." The same idea runs through this that gave rise to the remarkable illustration in the Second Philippic, "ὡσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν." The whole of the passage here is very fine. The contrast of the Athenians with Philip is full of bitter sarcasm, and of argument too. Leland omits the πυθώμεθα, and only gives it as "waiting till some event alarm us," which τι γιγνώμενον can hardly be; the version is also paraprastical, and lowers the excellent effect of first inquiring—then learning—and then acting.

⁵ Προσοφλισκάνειν. The πρὸς indicates that the disgrace (αἰσχύνη)

Be then well aware, Athenians, that at this very time, the speeches and pretexts of these men are one thing, but there is another thing actually doing and preparing by them—how Philip may best dispose of every thing at his pleasure in absolute security, while you remain at home, and have no force beyond the walls. For only mark, first of all, what is now going on. He is at present lingering² in Thrace with a large army, and according to the reports of those on the spot,³ he is sending for strong reinforcements from Macedon and Thessaly. If, then, waiting till the Etesian winds set in, he falls upon Byzantium, and lays siege to it, do you think, in the first place, that the Byzantians will remain as they are, infatuated,⁴ and not call upon you, and require you to

is over and above something else. Now, the only antecedents were the *δαπάνη* which is mentioned, and the failure from being behind-hand; and loss implies both; *πρὸς* therefore means, "in addition to our loss." The beauty of the diction in this passage is remarkable—*δαπανησόμεν* and *ἀνηλωκίαι*, as well as *προσοφλισκάνειν*. *Δαπάνη*, uncompounded, may be taken for "simple expenditure," though often used for "extravagance;" *ἀναλίσκω*, the compound, is properly, "to squander."

¹ *Τᾶλλα μὲν ἔστι κ. τ. λ.* "The rest is words and pretext—what they are doing is, &c." The antithesis in the idea, and no in the words, is a distinguishing feature of Demosthenes. He disdains every thing *verbal*—all jingle. But here the contrast is as marked as if the structure had brought *πράττεται* in opposition to *λέγεται*.

² *Διατριβεῖ*. Some, as Leland, give this merely as if it were expressive of his being, or being stationed, in Thrace. The word may be used, like *commorari*, for merely "staying," but here it seems to have its original sense.

³ *Οἱ παρόντες*. This can hardly mean, "those present here"—at the assembly—without reference to their having been on the spot. Wolf considers it, however, as merely those present. Reiske inclines to think it means those coming from Macedon and Thessaly, and therefore aware of Philip having ordered troops from thence; he thus rather connects *οἱ παρόντες* with *ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας*, κ. τ. λ., leaving *μεταπέμπεται* absolute. Hervagius, like most critics, puts the comma at *παρόντες*. Auger gives it as meaning "persons on the spot"—not at Athens. As for Laharpe, he hardly troubles himself with the original in this passage at all, but speaks of Philip having "been long in Thrace and Thessaly"! Leland, "as we are here informed." Francis, "as persons here present assure us"

⁴ *Ἄνοια* means more than "folly"—it is "mental alienation," and Demosthenes intends so to describe the conduct of the Byzantines, in having rebelliously left the Athenians, and joined Chios and Rhodes against them; *παρακλίσειν αὐτ'*

assist them? I believe nothing of the kind; nay, if even there were any other people whom they mistrusted more than they do you, they would rather admit that people into their city than surrender it to Philip,—always supposing him not to have already surprised and taken it. Should we, then, be windbound here, and unable to make sail from hence,¹ if no succour is provided there, nothing can prevent the destruction of that people.

But these men, it will be said, are absolutely moonstricken,—they are in some paroxysm² of mental alienation. Be it so,—they must nevertheless be saved; for our own safety requires that. Besides,³ it is by no means so certain after all, that Philip will not invade the Chersonese. Indeed, to judge by the letter which he has addressed to you, he means to attack our troops there. If then this army be now kept on foot, it will be able both to protect that province, and to harass him; but if once it is broken up, and he marches upon the Chersonese, where are we, and what shall we do? Bring Diopithes to trial? Good God! and how will our affairs be the better for that? But we shall send succours from hence?⁴ And what if we are prevented by the winds?

ἀξιώσειν means more than “to have recourse for assistance,” as Leland has it; or “to implore assistance,” as Francis; it seems to imply a *claim*, as entitled to aid.

¹ *Ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεύσαι*—“sail from hence;” not “thither,” as Leland has inadvertently rendered it.

² *Κακοδαίμονοῦσι—ὑπερβάλλουσι ἀνοία*. Leland fails signally here,—“The extravagance and folly of these men exceed all bounds,” is feeble and unlike the original,—to say nothing of extravagance exceeding bounds. Francis is better, because more literal; “they are absolutely (*νῆ Δία*) possessed by some evil *dæmon*.” Wolf, “*intemperis agitantur, nec ad eorum amentiam addi quicquam potest.*” It is plain that coming after *κακοδαίμονοῦσι*, the *ὑπερβάλλουσι* must imply an excess of mental alienation. The former is expressed by “moonstricken,” or “evil influence,”—the latter by “paroxysm.”

³ The passage that follows is one of extraordinary force and rapidity; it is truly Demosthenic.

⁴ *Βοηθήσομεν αὐτοῖς*. This certainly looks as if the *τοὺς ἐν Χερρόνησῳ* meant the Chersonesitans, as some have rendered it, there being no *αὐτοὶ* to assist, if the army supposed to be broken up be the Athenian army in the Chersonese. In some MSS. and Editions, as that of Hervagius, it is *αὐτοί*. Reiske prefers *αὐτοῖς*, and holds the meaning to be, “the Chersonesitans.”—*Orat. Græc. Appar. Crit. ii. 211.*

But then they say he won't come? And who, I ask, will be answerable for that? But, Athenians, do you observe and reflect upon the approaching season of the year, at which there are some who actually think you should leave the Hellespont defenceless, and abandon it to Philip? What then? If on his return from Thrace, and neither marching upon the Chersonese, nor upon Byzantium, (for this possibility must also be taken into the account) he attacks Chalcis and Megara, as he lately did Oreus, whether will it be better to attack him there and let the war come close to Attica, or to find employment for him at a distance?¹ I certainly prefer the latter course.

All, therefore, who have seen and considered these things, will not only refrain from attempts to discredit and to destroy the army which Diopceithes is doing his utmost to raise for our defence; but will exert themselves to provide another² army for his assistance, to aid him with funds and credit,³ and to co-operate with him in whatever other way they can serve him best. For, if Philip were asked,—Had you rather these troops now under Diopceithes, such as they are, (on that head I say nothing) were well maintained, held in honour by the Athenians, and reinforced by the state,—or that they were dissipated and annihilated, in deference to the slanders and the charges of certain persons?—I can have no doubt that he would prefer the latter alternative. And is it possible that some among ourselves should be doing the very things for him which he himself would pray the gods to grant him? And can you still ask how it happens that the

¹ Ἐκεῖ—“there,”—but as ἐνθάδε had previously been used, and with the sense of “there,” because referring to the immediate antecedent, Chalcis and Megara, ἴκεῖ must be taken to mean the former antecedent—the Chersonese—where occupation was to be found for him.

² Ἐτέραν. Francis, Auger, Laharpe, Leland, &c. conceive that they are translating idiomatically when they render this by “reinforcements.” The literal version is much to be preferred.—“Instead of trying to destroy the army he has raised, (or is raising) you ought to raise *another* in addition.”—Προῦκαρ-ασκευάζειν—“to prepare beforehand”—“to have it ready when he shall want it.”

³ Συνευποροῦντας χρημάτων. This is always rendered as merely supplying money or funds,—but the σύν appears to imply a helping him to obtain, as well as furnishing—and that would mean credit as well as funds.

affairs of this country have gone to ruin! I would fain,¹ therefore, lay before you without reserve the present state of these affairs, and examine what we are now doing, and how we are dealing with them.² We neither choose to contribute our money, nor dare we serve in person, nor can we keep our hands off the public funds, nor do we furnish to Diopetithes the supplies voted, nor will we give him credit for supplying himself; but we must cavil at him, and pry into the reasons and the plans of his future operations, and whatever else can most harass him; nor yet, though we are in this temper of mind, does it please us to take our affairs into our own hands,³ but while in words we extol those who hold a language worthy of the nation, by our actions we co-operate with those who are thwarting their counsels. As often as any one rises to speak, you are wont to ask him, What

¹ Βούλομαι τοίνυν πρὸς ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. is not to be rendered merely, as Francis and others do—"I shall"—or "I will now"—or "I am going to"; nor is Leland even so near the mark as that, when, by a paraphrase quite wide of the meaning, he translates, "let me entreat you to examine." Wolf, by the literal "*velim autem*," comes much nearer. Why both he and Leland should make the *ἐξετάσαι* and *σκέψασθαι* (acrists of an active and a middle verb) have the neuter or rather passive sense of "being examined," as by you, is not easily perceived. The former word, though generally meaning to "inquire" or "examine," also signifies to "go over"—the latter here is plainly to "consider" or "examine."

² Χρῶμεθ' αὐτοῖς, "comporting" or "bearing ourselves"—but in reference to the *παρόντα πράγματα*—therefore "dealing with them." Wolf, indeed, renders it *χρῶμεθα τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι*. Orat. Græc. Appar. Crit. i. 78.

This is one of the finest passages in this or in any of the Orations, and it is remarkable how little it loses by translation—provided that be literal. Every word, however, is to be weighed; none can be added nor any taken away; both qualities of the great orations here unite—the "*nihil detrahi*," and the "*nihil addi*."—Quintil. The variation of the governing verb in the first branch of the passage—Βούλομαι—τολμάω—δύναμαι, &c. and the repetition of the other set of verbs, omitting the governing ones, are to be noted. The celebrated address of Adam to Eve, in Milton, is framed on a like plan, and is an illustration of that great man's close study of the Greek orators—to which so many of the speeches in Paradise Lost bear testimony.

³ Wolf suggests that τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν may possibly mean,—"do each man his own duty, without obstructing others,"—which is ingenious, and bears on the argument about obstructing Diopetithes. But *ἕκαστος*, or some such word, would have been added; as the text stands, it hardly can bear the meaning suggested.—*Apud Reisk. Appar. Crit.* i. 79. Leland is quite distant from the meaning—"Thus we proceed, quite regardless of our interests."

there is to be done? But I am disposed to ask you,¹ What there is to be said? For if you will neither contribute, nor serve in person, nor abstain from the public funds, nor furnish the supplies assigned to Diopieithes, nor leave him to supply himself, nor resolve to take charge of your own affairs, I know not what to say;—for if you give such licence to those who would carp at him, and tear his conduct in pieces on account of what, according to them, he is going to do, and if you listen to charges thus made by anticipation,² what can any one say? But what may be the result of all this,³ it is fit that some of you should now learn; and I will speak my mind freely; for on any other terms I cannot submit to speak at all.

All your commanders who ever sailed from hence, I will answer for it with my life,⁴ levied contributions on the Chians and the Erythræans, and whatever other people they could, I mean, of course, Asiatics. Such as have a vessel or two, take

¹ This part of the passage is full of refined wit—almost playful wit.—“If you will be always asking us orators, whose business is with saying, to tell you what you are to do; why, really we must needs turn the tables upon you, whose business is with doing, and ask you to tell us what we are to say.” When Cicero said, “*jocos non contigisse*,” he must have meant jests and not wit.

² Προκατηγορούντων—“accusing before hand”—refers to their prying before mentioned, and grounding charges not on what he had done, but on what he was by their own surmises supposed to be going to do.—ὧν φασί κ.τ.λ. This is the winding up of the whole of their unreasonable conduct, and is very strikingly put.

³ Francis thinks ὅ, τι τοίνυν δύναται κ.τ.λ. must mean that Diopieithes could do all these things,—i. e. by the usage of military men, and that Demosthenes means now to prove it. But he does not—he only shews the effects^s of the conduct of the accusers and the Athenians. Next, there is no οὗτος or ἐκείνος. Then, there seems no antecedent to ταῦτα, in the sense of things already done by Diopieithes; and nothing that he intended to do was specified, but only reference was made to his accusers surmising something, without saying what; and accordingly Francis and Lucchesini, whom in this he follows, to support this gloss, are obliged to alter the sense and to add, “what he has done” Leland is here right. The Greek is confessedly somewhat obscure. Wolf gives “*Quid his rebus proficiatur*,” which is followed by Turreil; and, with less than his accustomed diffuseness and paraphrase, by Auger; and Laharpe has the same sense, but, as usual, leaving out part, and inserting something else.

⁴ Πάσχειν ὀτιῶν τιμῶμαι—“I am condemned”—“adjudged.” Seeing this, some readings have it, ἡτοιμός εἰμι.—Reisk. Appar. Crit. ii. 231.

less,¹—such as have a greater force, more; and those who pay, do not give for nothing either the smaller sums or the larger; they know better what they are about; they purchase for their merchants, freedom from injury and from pillage when their ships are passing to and fro.² But the contributions, it is said, are free gifts, and by this name these levies pass; and now it is perfectly certain that those nations will furnish such supplies to Diopceithes as soon as they see him at the head of an army. Indeed, from what other quarters do you imagine that he, who receives nothing at all from home, and has no funds of his own wherewithal to pay his soldiers, can derive the means of supporting them? From the clouds, think you? No such thing,—he must support them upon what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. His accusers, then, are in reality doing nothing but warning all not to give supplies to one who is about to be punished, not only for what he may have done, or assisted in doing, but for what he may intend to do.³ Their language is this: “He is preparing sieges,—he is sacrificing the Greeks.” Much these men care for the Greeks that live in Asia! They are better at caring for them than for the Greeks of their own country.⁴ And this, I presume, is the reason why another commander must needs be sent to the Hellespont. But if Dio-

¹ Ἐλάττωσα. Leland has it, “a talent,”—according, apparently, to some reading unknown to most commentators. Neither Wolf, Reiske, nor Her-vagius, mentions it.

² Reiske and others have a stop thus at αὐτῶν. τὰ τοιαῦτα. φασὶ δ' εὐνοίᾳ διδόναι. It seems raising a gratuitous difficulty and a plainly bad reading. Wolf stops it in the same way, and supplies other words, as either χρήματα διδόναι, (the antecedent being not the things given, but the purpose of the gift) or ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα.—“But they say that these contributions are given through benevolence (or good will), and by this name the levies pass.” They are literally called “benevolences,”—as in England of old; so universal is the vocabulary of fraudulent oppression!

³ A play on the words μελλεῖ and μέλει (used immediately afterwards) has been suggested by some,—a thing so entirely unlike Demosthenes, that Reiske justly dismisses the notion as absurd.—Appar. Crit. ii. 213.

⁴ A remarkable instance of Demosthenes passing by an obvious sarcasm, or rather of his taking a gentle, subdued one, instead of a double and more cutting one. Ἀμείνους. The sense may either be: “they are very good to take care,” &c. or “they are better at taking care,” &c. Wolf is so much pleased with this latter sense that he cites Virgil,—“Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.”—Apud Reisk. Appar. Crit. i. 80.

peithes has committed these outrages—if he is guilty of piracy—a dispatch,¹ Athenians, a little dispatch, will suffice to stop it all. The law says that wrong-doers shall be impeached; not, good God! that we are to defend ourselves against them by costly expeditions and fleets,—that would be the height of folly. Against the enemy whom we cannot bring under the lash of the law, it may be necessary to maintain armies, and fit out fleets, and contribute funds; but against our own citizens, decrees—impeachment—the vessel of recal—these are the appropriate proceedings—these are the measures of right-thinking men; but what those people are now about is the course of workers of mischief—of men who are bringing ruin upon the country.

That there should be such men among us, is indeed portentous; and yet it should seem not to be so.² On the contrary, in this meeting, you who are here assembled are so minded, that if any one were to stand forward and denounce Diopieithes, or Chares, or Aristophon, or any other of your fellow-citizens, as the cause of all our misfortunes, you would straightway applaud him, and cry out that he was in the right; but were any one to stand forward and say what is strictly true—“Athenians, you are trifling—Philip is the cause of all these miscarriages in our affairs;”³ for if he would

¹ Πινάκιον.—Some have it, “an impeachment of treason.” Reiske, as he generally does, takes the right view: “a letter of recal from the people.” *Appar. Crit.* ii. 214.

² Δεινὸν ὄν, οὐ δεινὸν ἔστιν. The commentators, after their manner, pass over the real difficulty. Wolf translates it by a kind of play on the words—“*quamquam ferendum graviter, non tamen graviter est ferendum*”—quite unlike Demosthenes. Reiske is silent; Francis not unhappily suggests ὑμῶν as to be inserted. It may be that the word is ἔχερ; or ἐξέρ. At any rate we cannot suppose δεινὸν used in two different senses in the same breath—namely, as “what ought to be,” or, “what is,”—(monstrous). It is barely possible that Demosthenes may have said—“This is both monstrous, and after all, not monstrous, for,” &c., meaning, “to look at your conduct it seems not so.” There is a phrase of a like kind—οὐκ ἐκὼν, ἐκὼν, (wold he, nold he). Tourneil takes the meaning to be—that the having such men at Athens was bad enough, but that what followed was worse; *i. e.* that compared with the latter evil, the former, however bad in itself, was no evil at all. On this view at least his version is grounded, (p. 117), and he is followed by both Laharpe and Anger.

³ Κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων, justifies the departure from the version of the κακῶν, which immediately precedes.

only remain at peace, this country would be in no trouble;” you would have nothing to say in contradiction of a statement so true: nevertheless, I am almost certain that you would be offended, and would feel as if you had lost something by it.¹ The cause of all this (and Heaven grant that I may be suffered to speak frankly, as I am only speaking for your benefit) but the cause of it is, that one class of our statesmen have for a long time past taught you to be as awful and as stern in your public meetings, as in your warlike operations you are supine and contemptible. Thus, if some one within your power, and whose person you can at any time seize, is denounced, you assent and desire it may be done; but if the party denounced be one whom you must first overcome in the field before you can punish him, then I imagine you will find yourselves at a loss how to proceed, though you would be grievously offended at being convicted of such conduct. The contrary of this course, Athenians, was the duty of all statesmen; to give you habits of gentleness and humanity in your assemblies, where the rights of yourselves and your allies are debated; to make you wear an aspect formidable and stern in warlike operations, where the strife is with enemies—with antagonists.² But now, by managing and courting you beyond all bounds, they have brought you to this, that, spoilt with being pampered and fawned upon,³ you can bear to hear

¹ Leland renders this: “as if it were the account of some dreadful misfortune.” It appears rather to be—“You would seem to think you had lost something,” *i. e.* by the advice or statement.

The passage immediately following is very fine; and the diction corresponds with the vehemence of the matter. It forms a contrast with the somewhat feeble one a little way back—about not employing armies and fleets against individuals under the power of the law; which if it be not a grave irony—not like Demosthenes—is an expanded truism.

² Ἀντιπάλους must mean more than the ἐχθρούς which precedes. It is “antagonists”—but fighting on somewhat equal terms—those who are a match for you; as if he had said “with enemies; ay, and formidable ones too.”

³ Τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακείσθαι—the former (τρυφᾶω) is from θρύπτω “to enfeeble,” and means—“to behave like one spoilt with pampering;” the latter—“to be wheedled”—from κολᾶξ a parasite. Δημαγωγοῦντες may mean “flattering;” but it is a translative sense, the meaning being, “to lead or drive the people.” Leland has paraphrased this word and χαρίζομενοι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν into “leading you gently on to their purposes by the most abject compliances with

in the assembly only what tickles your ear, while in the real state of your affairs and of events, you are destined speedily to struggle for your very existence.

Now then, by Heavens, suppose the states of Greece should call you to account for the opportunities which through supineness you have let slip, and should interrogatè you thus, —“ You, men of Athens, are always sending ambassadors, and telling us how Philip is plotting against us and all the Greeks, and how we should be on our guard against the man” (with many other things to this effect, as it must be confessed we do).¹ “ And yet, O most pitiful of mortals!² for ten months was that same man detained abroad; intercepted by sickness, and winter, and wars, his return home was impossible; and you have neither delivered Eubœa, nor recovered a single one of your possessions; but while you remained at home idling away your time at your ease,³ and in health, (if they who thus act can be in a healthy state,⁴) he planted two tyrants in Eubœa, erecting⁵ them as bulwarks,

your humours,”; and in the same passage, he renders—*διατεθείκασιν*—“ have formed and moulded;”—Nor is *πάντα πρὸς ἥδονήν*, “entertainment”; it is “what pleases”—“gives delight”—“tickles the ear.” *Τρυφᾶν* is not satisfied by, “being delicate;” this applies rather to the “listening only to soft things”—which follows: “spoil” is plainly required by *τρυφᾶν*. There is wanting, too, a connecting word, as “while,” to make the concluding part of the sentence refer to the rest; and *πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις* is more than “affairs;” it is to make the contrast stronger with the *λόγοι* and *ἐκκλησίαι*.

¹ This is plainly a parenthesis, as Reiske has observed. Some, as Auger, make only the part after *τοιαῦτα* parenthetical—which is quite impossible. The marks of parenthesis are omitted in Reiske’s text. See *Orat. Græc.* i. 98, *App. Crit.* ii. 215.

² *Φαυλότατοι*—“insignificant” or “of mean value,” enters into this word necessarily; and Leland’s “wretched” will not do. (Qu. “dastardly.”)

³ *Σχολήν ἀγόντων*. “Keeping holiday” is the literal, perhaps the best version: *σχολή* came to signify the reverse of idleness, from the borrowed meaning of employing leisure in work—thus “*vacare negotiis*”—and “*ludi magister*”

⁴ *Ὑγιαίνοντων*, (*εἰ δεῖ κ. τ. λ.*) It seems hardly possible to escape the conclusion that Demosthenes here plays upon the word, as in the parenthesis it must mean “mental health,” and in the other use, “bodily,” as opposed to the *νόσος* from which Philip’s operations suffered. It is barely possible that it may be an hyperbole importing—that nothing but sickness can account for the inaction.

⁵ *Ἐπιτειχίσας*—“*audacule dictum*” says Reiske, *App. Crit.* ii. 216; but

one against Attica, the other against Sciathos,—and you did nothing to prevent him,—which you well might, even if you had done no more; but you connived at him, and notoriously abandoned your rights to him, and made it manifest¹ that were he to die ten times over, you never would bestir yourselves the more.² Wherefore, then, send ambassadors, and make charges, and busy yourselves with our concerns?—If those states should hold this language, Athenians, what answer could we make, or what should we have to say?³ I protest I cannot see. But some there are who think to embarrass a speaker by asking him—“What ought we to do?” To them I would give this answer—the most just and the most true that can be given. “Do anything but what you are now doing”—but further I will state the matter articulately; and as they are so ready to ask, let them be as willing to act.⁴

he thinks the “durities dictionis” softened by supposing “tyrant” to be put for “power of a tyrant!” Leland almost entirely loses this fine figure. “Eubœa is commanded by his two tyrants; the one, just opposite to Attica, to keep you perpetually in awe.” Francis makes them both kings, but applies ἐπιτειχίσας to neither; he introduces Eretria, and makes it the thing fortified—as if ἀπαντικρὺ was τὴν χώραν ἀπαντικρὺ.

The whole of this supposed expostulation is of the highest order of indignant eloquence, the latter part especially; it cuts the Athenians to the quick. There almost seems reason to suppose that they had on some occasion been mean enough to defend their ῥαθυμία by saying, “only wait till Philip is well dead.” Their reference to their missions, &c. is equally severe. Reiske changed πρεσβεύετε into the middle, to shew that “sending ambassadors,” and not “going on embassies,” was meant; but it is by no means clear that “going” is not meant. The sarcasm may be this: “what signifies your coming to us as ambassadors, and your accusing others, and your stirring us up to act? Why don’t you stay at home and practise what you are so ready to preach?”

¹ Φανερόν πεποιήκατε, never can be, as Leland has it, “fully declared.” If he means, “your conduct shews,” it is too violent; if literally, “a declaration,” it is not the sense of the passage.

² Leland’s “it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigour,” is both a paraphrase and much inferior to the literal version of οὐδὲν μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε.

³ Ἐροῦμεν—φύσσομεν—the former—“what shall we advance”—“declare”—“answer?” the latter—“what have we got to say at all?”

⁴ Leland gives this admirably, if not very literally: “as ready to follow, as to ask advice.”

Of one thing then, Athenians, you must in the outset be intimately persuaded, that Philip is making war upon this country, and the peace is at an end.—Give over accusing each other upon this head; he is the bitter enemy of the whole city, and of the ground it stands on; and, I will add, of all who are within it; and those most¹ of all who flatter themselves they are in favour with him. If they doubt it, let them look at Euthycrates and Lasthenes, the Olynthians, who, to all appearance, on the most familiar footing with him, after betraying their country to him, perished the most miserably of any.²—But with nothing is he more at war than with our Constitution; against nothing are his plans more steadily pointed; to nothing does he look more keenly than to how he may destroy it; and here indeed he acts consistently³ enough; he knows full well that though he were to make himself the master of all the rest of Greece, he never could have any secure footing anywhere so long as your popular Government lasted, and that, should he encounter any of the shocks⁴ which so often

¹ Τοῖς μάλιστα οἰομένοις—is by some (Leland among them) given as if μάλιστα were connected with χαρίζεσθαι—but what follows as to Lasthenes shews that it is not so. Wolf connects it with ἐχθρός—but adds a superlative (*maxime*) to the χαρίζεσθαι.

This passage is repeated in the Fourth Philippic; which is indeed in great part made up of passages from the other minor Oration, and most of all from the Chersonese. But the repetition of this passage has variations more remarkable than that of most others; and of these the most striking is, that instead of τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, it is θεοῖς—and he adds, as it were in passing, the exclamation οὐπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν—“may they utterly annihilate him!” Wolf notes the repetition, but as if it were without change, (*Apud Reisk. Appar. Crit. i. 7.*)—προσθήσω certainly agrees better with θεοῖς than ἀνθρώποις—for with the latter it is an anti-climax; since no doubt he who was hostile to the very ground must be so to the inhabitants.

² It is well known they did not die—but were reduced to disgrace at Philip's Court; of whom it is related that when they complained of the people calling them traitors, Philip archly observed: “These Macedonians are rough sort of folk—they call a spade a spade.”

³ Εἰκότως—πράττει. In the Fourth Philippic it is ἐξ ἀνάγκης—ποιεῖ. Leland renders it by “in some sort a necessity,” as if he had the Fourth Philippic under his eye—which he certainly had in a subsequent passage; but here it is only “consistency,” or some “likely reason.”

⁴ Πταίσμα—“a fall from striking on any thing”—“if he should encounter any of the many shocks which happen to man.”

happen to all men, all whom he has now subjected to his power would be found¹ flying for protection to you. For you are not by nature prone to grasping and usurpation, but rather famous for resisting the encroachments of others, and wresting their acquisitions from them; ready to make head against ambitious tyrants and restore² liberty to mankind.—Can Philip, then, be pleased that your liberty should be lying in wait³ for opportunities to molest him? Far from it; he is not so bad or superficial⁴ a reasoner.

It behoves you, therefore, in the first place, to regard him as the enemy of our constitution, the implacable enemy of its democratic structure;⁵ for if your minds are not imbued with this belief, you will never be strenuous in the prosecution of your measures. In the next place, you must be thoroughly aware that whatever he is working at and preparing, he is preparing against this country, and that whoever resists him anywhere, opposes him there in our defence. Nor is there any

¹ Ἦξει πάντα κ.τ.λ.—“it would happen,” or “turn out that all, &c.” But the force of “would be found” is the same.

² Ἐξαφελείσθαι. “Assert the liberties,” as Leland has it, will not do. It is—“to remove,” “transfer,” “translate,”—i. e. *out of slavery into liberty*. *Assert* applies to resisting those who would enslave, as well as to freeing those already enslaved. Demosthenes plainly meant here the latter; he had already provided for the former by ἐνοχλήσαι.

³ Leland is exceedingly good here—“he sees, in your freedom, a spy upon the incidents of his fortune;” only that spy is not the word—it is some one lying in wait for the opportunity to spring upon him; it is one in ambush—and not a scout. Perhaps if such a thing as lending a figure to Demosthenes were ever lawful, Leland might have thus given it.—“Can he be pleased to think that your liberty is lying in ambush upon the march of his fortune!” Leland omits the answer, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, and changes the sense of the commentary οὐ κακῶς κ.τ.λ. by his translation.

⁴ Οὐδ’ ἄργῶς—from ἀργός, *q. ab ἔργον*.—Perhaps we might say, “in an unworkmanlike manner.”

⁵ Leland seems to consider the ἐχθρός simply as applied to πολιτεία, and the ἀδιαλλάκτον to δημοκρατία—and this is very possible; nor does it appear to be a refinement. It requires, however, in English, a repetition of the substantive. But he is plainly wrong in rendering πολιτεία, “state,” and δημοκρατία, “free constitution:” the former is not used for πόλις, but always for “government,” or “system,”—the latter for the “popular nature” of it.

one of you simple enough to suppose that Philip is only bent¹ upon possessing these miserable villages in Thrace, (for what else can we call Drongilos, and Cabyle, and Masteira, and the other places which he is now attacking and reducing?) or that to take such places as these he would expose himself to toil, and weather, and the greatest perils; while for the Athenian ports, and arsenals, and navy,² and silver mines, and rich³ revenues,⁴ he cared nothing, but suffered you to retain them all, himself willing to winter in a loathsome dungeon for the millet and rye of the Thracian store-pits?—No such thing—but it is to make himself master of your possessions that this and all his other enterprises are undertaken.

What is the course, then, for wise men to take? Knowing and confessing all these things, to shake off that excessive and incurable⁵ inactivity; to contribute money; to claim⁶ the contributions of your allies; to make effectual provision⁷ for keeping on foot the regular army, in order that, as Philip has a force ever ready for outraging and enslaving all the Greeks, you may in like manner have⁸ one ready to save and

¹ Ἐπιθυμῆν, κ.τ.λ. Leland gives this admirably by, "his desires are centred in these paltry villages."

² Some MSS. omit the τριήρων—but there is no tautology in having both νεωρίων and that; for νεώρια may be "arsenals" as well as "navy."

³ Τοσοῦτων—"so great,"—but not comparing them with anything else,—must be taken to mean "vast," "great," "rich." Leland renders it "other revenues;" but nothing like revenues had been mentioned, unless, perhaps, the silver works—and τοσοῦτος is not "other."

⁴ Here, as in a former passage, he next year (in the Fourth Philippic) adds a fine sentence, greatly heightening the effect—καὶ τόπων, κ.τ.λ. (and territory, and renown, which heaven forbid that either he, or any other conqueror of our country, should ever strip us of!)

⁵ Ἀνήκεστον. This certainly means "incurable," though it may be only an intensive, like ὑπερβαλλουσαν;—for it seems like a contradiction to advise shaking off that which cannot be got rid of.

⁶ Ἀξιοῦν implies a demand as of right, i. e. claim the quota they were bound to contribute.

⁷ Ὅρᾶν καὶ πράττειν—"see to, and act for, keeping up," &c. Leland has it: "take all possible measures." The more literal, "make effectual provision," seems to include "see" and "do."

⁸ Ἐχρητε and ἄπασιν, "have," and "all," omitted by Leland, as if too literal, give great force and beauty to this passage.

to succour them all. For with occasional levies¹ none of the military operations which are necessary can be undertaken; troops must be equipped, and magazines provided, and treasures, and a military police² appointed, and the strictest watch kept upon the military chest, care being however taken to make the treasurers accountable for the financial department, and the commander for the military operations. If you were to act thus, and be really³ strongly animated with this spirit, you would either compel Philip strictly to maintain peace and stay at home, (which is the best thing that could happen) or you would wage war with him upon equal terms.⁴

If indeed any one reckons that all this will require both a heavy expense and much toil and exertion,⁵ he reckons rightly. Yet when he reflects on what will assuredly befall the country if we do nothing of the kind, he will find that we shall be gainers by doing cheerfully⁶ what ought to be done. But if the gods themselves were to engage for what no mortal could be trusted were he to promise, that you might remain inactive, leaving everything undone, and Philip should never

¹ *Βοηθείας*. This word came to signify "a sudden levy," or "raw troops;" hence to Attic ears there was no incongruity in this passage with the preceding requisition to have an army ready—*βοήθησονσαν*.

² *Δημοσίους*. This may be an adjective, agreeing with *ταμίας*, though separated by the *καί*,—the *καί* being, indeed, omitted in some MSS., and in Hervagius, and most editions. But Reiske seems well warranted in inserting it. The Treasurer, or Questor, *ταμίας*, was necessarily a public officer, and *δημόσιος* means "gaoler," "police," *v.g.* *Provost-marshal*.

³ Some MSS. join *ὡς ἀληθῶς* with *ἄγειν εἰρήνην*; but without it the *ἐθελήσῃτε*, coming after the *ποιήσῃτε* is feeble—not to say, an anticlimax.

⁴ A most beautiful addition is made to this passage, in the repetition of it in the Fourth Philippic. *Καὶ ἴσως, κ. τ. λ.* ("and then, perhaps, Athenians, as you now are anxiously asking, what is Philip doing? and whither is he marching? So the day may come, when he shall be solicitous to know whither the armies of Athens have gone; and on what point they will make their appearance.")

⁵ *Πόνων καὶ πραγματείας*,—"toil and trouble," as well given by Leland—and quite literal. But the phrase has become with us applicable to other and lesser exertions than national ones.

⁶ *Ἐκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα*, is ill rendered by Leland: "engaging heartily in this cause."

attack you, it would still, by Heavens, be scandalous and wholly unworthy of yourselves, of the high destinies¹ of the country, and the renown of your forefathers, to deliver over all the rest of Greece to bondage for the sake of your own ease; and for myself, I would much rather have laid down my life than be the adviser of such conduct. If, indeed, any one else will recommend it, and shall succeed in persuading you—be it so—cease to defend yourselves—give up the struggle. But if no one can be found to hold such language; if, on the contrary, we all plainly perceive that by how much the more wide we suffer him to stretch his sway, by so much the more vehement and more terrible an enemy we shall have to cope with, to what subterfuge² shall we betake ourselves? or why do we stand inactive? or when, O Athenians, shall we really set about acting as we ought? When, forsooth, some urgent necessity presses? Why, what every free man would call urgent necessity not only presses at this moment, but has long ago overtaken us;—and as for any necessity calculated to act upon slaves, let us pray that none such ever may arise. How do the two extremities differ? In this,—that to the free, the most urgent necessity is the shame of misconduct,—a greater I know none that can be named,—while the slave is only sensible to the blow and the stripe,³—and God forbid that should ever happen which it is degrading even to name!

¹ Ὑπαρχόντων. Wolf and others render this, "dignity;" some, "glory." That is certainly not the true sense: it is literally, "the gifts of fortune," "the fortune or fate," and it may well mean here, "high destinies."

² Ἀναδύμεθα,—“get away from something we wish to avoid,”—“to escape,” “subterfuge.” Leland, “Why this reluctance?” and Francis has the same word “reluctant.” But this is not sufficient;—ἀναδύομαι denotes “rising out of the water”—the reversed operation of diving. Wolf’s “quo subterfugimus?” is good.

³ Ἀκισμός. It may be questioned if this is not from *a* and εἶκω—“unbecoming,” or “beneath dignity,” generally,—and here with τοῦ σώματος,—“bodily indignity,” and nothing more. This subdued expression may perhaps better suit the following phrase of “not mentioning,—as the ἀποσιώπησις may seem rather strong if “flogging” had been named in terms. Nevertheless, the ordinary meaning is the strong one, and Wolf abates none of it in “excarnificatio.” Certain it is that Leland’s “bodily pains” will not do,—nor Francis’s “bodily tortures,”—nor Auger’s “chatiment et coups,” (πληγαί, which pre-

Though I could willingly enter upon other subjects, and shew in what manner certain persons misguide you by their policy,¹ yet I pass over these things. But as soon as Philip's affairs come into discussion, some one always rises, and dwells on the advantages of peace, the burthen of maintaining a large army, and the designs of certain persons on the public purse, with much more of such topics as tend to impede your operations and enable Philip to do in perfect security whatever he pleases; of all which the consequence is, you gain a holiday, a respite for the present from exertion,—which I much fear you may hereafter find has cost you dear,—while they obtain your good graces² and Philip's favour. For my part,³ I can see no occasion there is to recommend peace to you, who, already quite enough disposed to it, are sitting with your hands across; it should rather be enjoined to him, who is engaged in warlike operations; for could he but be so persuaded, every thing on your part is peaceable enough. What you should be taught to regard as grievous, is not the expense necessary for the salvation of the country, but the fate that awaits us if this expense shall be refused, if we do not prevent the squandering of our revenues by contriving proper checks, and if we abandon all charge of the public concerns:⁴ although my indignation is moved when I see men

cedes, is "blows" generally) and least of all, Labarpe's, "contrainte, violence, et crue des chatiments."

¹ Καταπολιτεύονται may be dyslogistic—as advising a downward course—or a course against your interests; but probably it is only adversative—thwart you in their policy,—or by their schemes.

² Αἱ χάριτες καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ὁ τούτων. Some render this as if it were, "your favours and his wages,—or bounty;" but τούτων seems to connect μισθός with χάριτες. Wolf somewhat artfully avoids the pronouns, so as to leave it ambiguous,—“gratiam consequantur et, quæ ex his rebus oritur, mercedem;” but in his commentary he very plainly gives his opinion that it is χάριτες παρ' ὑμῶν—ὁ μισθὸς παρὰ Φιλίππου, and that ὁ τούτων means διὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους. Apud Reisk. Appar. Crit. i. 83.

³ This is again the same sarcasm as at the beginning of the Speech,—τὰ γὰρ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἔτοιμα ὑπαρχόντα ὀρώ—already noticed.

⁴ This passage (particularly the close) has always appeared one of the most difficult in Demosthenes—not at all, as usual, from the words employed, but from the construction and sense,—namely, from “καὶ τὸ διαρπασθήσεται,” to the end. As near as may be, this is literal.—“and to prevent our property

so sorely distressed at the waste of our resources, which it is in your power to prevent and to punish; while Philip, plundering every part of Greece in succession,¹ and all manifestly to arm himself against you,² gives them no uneasiness at all.

Whence is it, after all, O men of Athens, that he is thus openly carrying on military operations, doing acts of violence, taking towns, and yet no one³ of these creatures of his ever thinks of charging him with committing outrages, or even going to war at all, while the whole blame of beginning hostilities is cast upon those who are for resisting such violence, and against abandoning every thing to his mercy? I can tell you the reason of all this.—That indignation which you are likely to feel⁴ when you suffer by the war, our accusers would fain turn off upon us who gave you the sound advice, in order that you may condemn us instead of punishing Philip, and that themselves may play the part of prosecutors against us, instead of paying the penalty of their own misconduct.

This it is that makes them refer to some among us as wishing for war; this is the real source of all the altercation. But I know full well that before a single vote for war had been given at Athens, Philip had both seized upon many of our possessions, and sent to Cardia the auxiliary force which is now there.⁵ If indeed it is our pleasure to affect to believe⁶ that he is not making war upon us, he would be the

(treasure) being plundered by recommending a guard by which it may be saved, and not by departing from what is advantageous.”

¹ Εφεξῆς,—“in its order.”

² Here the *καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀπάζων* seems to defy translation.

³ “No one” *τούτων*, i. e. probably of those who got their *μισθός*, their “hire,” before mentioned.

⁴ Leland here inserts a parenthesis, of which there is not a word in the Greek; but he takes it by some oversight from the Fourth Philippic,—unless indeed some MS. or edition may have already transferred it from thence. The words are *ἀνάγκη γὰρ—ἀνάγκη πολλὰ λυπηρὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γίγνεσθαι*. It must be observed, too, that Leland's translation is as indifferent as possible:—“It is necessary, absolutely necessary, that war should be attended, &c.” is really not the meaning—but that “war is necessarily, or of necessity attended with,” &c. In Allen's edition, this paragraph is also here.

⁵ *Νῦν* with the *πέπομφε*, and after what precedes, must have the sense given in the text.

⁶ *Μὴ πρόσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτόν* seems an order of words that connects

most senseless of human beings to contradict us.—But after he shall have actually invaded us, what shall we say then? For he will still affirm that he is not making war upon us—no¹ more than, by his account, he was making war upon the Oreitans when his troops were in their country—nor on the Pheræans the moment before he stormed their walls—nor on the Olynthians, at first, and until he was at the head of an army within their territory;—and shall we still go on charging those with being the aggressors, who would only prevent aggression? Then there is nothing left for us but at once to be his slaves. Alternative² there is none between that and resistance, which we will not make, and repose, which we cannot have.

And indeed the perils to which you and other states are exposed are very different;³ for it is not the conquest of this city that Philip aims at, but its utter destruction. He has long been well aware that you will not be his slaves, nor could if you would—for you have been habituated to command. And to give him embarrassment by seizing⁴ on a critical juncture—that you can do better than all the world besides.

the negative with the “pretending,” and not with the “making war.” But it must mean—προσποιεῖσθαι μὴ πολεμεῖν αὐτόν.

¹ This rendering is necessary to preserve the force and beauty of the original; which is not constructed so as to connect the three cases put by the predicate of Philip’s “telling the parties,” but by that of his “not making war.” It is negative—οὐδέ—and it is to be remarked how much greater the effect of this is, than if it had been put merely that “he told the Oreitans, and told the Pheræans, and told the Olynthians.”

² Ἄλλο—μεταξύ—“other middle course.” But can this be called “middle course” between the two things mentioned, and both of which are negative? Or is it,—“There is no middle course” between being slaves, and one or other of the two things which are both out of the question? But the literal meaning is certainly that being slaves is a middle course, and the only one. Then, middle between what two others? “Alternative” seems therefore the fit word.

³ Ὑπερ τῶν ἰσῶν is rendered by Wolf and others, *de usdem rebus*. “Equality,” however, as if “equal-terms of danger,” seems involved in the expression—though there is no material difference. Perhaps “unequal” renders it better.

⁴ Ἀν καιρὸν λάβητε. Leland’s “at an unfavourable juncture,” is not so good as the literal sense, “if you take, or seize on, a critical juncture;” besides, unfavourable means rather the relation of the juncture to the party seizing it, which is contrary to the sense here. Unless Leland means a juncture unfavourable for Philip, the version is nonsense; the meaning clearly is, “if you have a favourable juncture,” “if you have an opportunity.”

Since then the struggle is for our existence, it behoves us to bear in mind, that they who have sold themselves to him, shall be holden in utter detestation, and suffer all extremities.¹—For it is impossible, it is quite impossible, that you should overcome your enemy without the walls, until you have chastised the enemies within the walls who are devoted to him; and against whom if you are driven as upon rocks² standing in your course, you must inevitably be too late to cope with the others.

For how does it happen, think you, that he should be insulting you, (as I cannot for my part conceive but he is,) and already menacing you, while he is overcoming others by his kindness, if by nothing else? Just as he allured the Thes-salians into their present servitude by loading them with favours; and no one can tell by how many gifts, Potidæa among the rest, he gained over the wretched Olynthians.—The Thebans he is now seducing, after delivering over to them Bœotia, and relieving them from a long³ and burdensome warfare. Now while these states have obtained each some accession of territory, yet they have all either already had to undergo extremities known to every one, or, happen what may, they will assuredly have to undergo them.⁴ But *you*—I say

¹ Ἀποτυμπανίσαι—"utterly beat to death." The μισεῖν is so much less than "extreme abhorrence," that it comes strangely with this violent expression.

² Ὡσπερ προβόλους προσπταίοντας. This is a figure which, however expressive, is for Demosthenes somewhat strong. Προβόλος is "a rock in the way of a surge and on which it beats." Leland's "strike on these, as so many obstacles," has all the violence of the figure—i.e. the striking upon enemies, without its picturesque effect. Francis is as bad as possible here,—“these quicksands upon which you strike, and upon which you are unavoidably shipwrecked,”—there being nothing like quicksands in the case, and nothing like striking on them if there were.

³ Πολλοῦ. Wolf properly considers this epithet as applied to the length of the Phocian or Sacred war, and not to its character, as some understand it; πολλοῦ, says he, ἀντὶ τοῦ μακροῦ. Some MSS., however, omit the word altogether. It cannot mean "great" or "heavy;"—χαλεποῦ conveys that sufficiently.—Reisk. Appar. Crit. i. 83.

⁴ Leland gives this happily by a paraphrase; it is certainly not at all literal—but it brings out the meaning. They "are either involved in calamities known to the whole world, or wait with submission for the moment when such calamities are to fall upon them." It should have been "await the moment;" "wait for" implies a desire for their coming.

nothing of the losses you have already sustained—but how have *you* been over-reached in the very act of making peace! and of how much have you been stript! Has not Phocis been wrested from you? and Thermopylæ? and your settlements in Thrace? and Doriscus, Serrium, Cersobleptes himself? Nay, does not Philip now hold the capital of Cardia, and does he not avow it? Why then does he conduct himself in so different a fashion towards others and towards you? It is because this is the only country where men have full licence to plead the cause of the enemy, and can in perfect safety receive his pay, while they are harassing you whom he has been despoiling of your possessions.—It was not safe in Olynthus to plead the cause of Philip, while yet the bulk of the Olynthian people had not been won over¹ by the possession of Potidæa. It was not safe in Thessaly to plead the cause of Philip, while yet the Thessalian multitude had not been won over by his casting out their tyrants and restoring their Amphictyonic right. It was not safe in Thebes, before he had restored Bœotia and extirpated the Phocians.—But at Athens, after he has not only stript us of Amphipolis and the country of Cardia, but has fortified² Eubœa like a citadel to overawe

¹ *Συνεπικουθῶτων*—a word of much force, and indicating being received into the fellowship of one Power despoiling another—(like the Jackal with the Lion). The repetition of the same words in this fine passage, and the pursuing the same plan in the structure of the sentences throughout, are to be noted.—Also the *πολλῶν* and the *πλήθους*,—though Leland drops these, and says merely “the Thessalians.” Auger is to be admired, however, chiefly in contriving to leave out all mention of either the *συνεπικουθῶτων*, the *πολλῶν*, or the *πλήθους*. But the *σύν* may also imply “gaining over with,” or “as well as” the bribed (*μισθωτοί*) at Athens. Some MSS. have *πολιτῶν* for *πολλῶν*. Some too, and Hervagius follows these, have *ἐνπεκουθῶτος*, without the *σύν*, the second time it is used—and *μηδὲν* before it; but the bulk of the authority is the other way.—Reisk. Appar. Crit. ii. 220–242. Some too have *οὐκ ἂν ᾔν*—“it would not have been.” It is just possible that the *πολλοὶ* and *πλήθος* may merely mean “people;” but the probability seems greatly in favour of a more intensive and specific meaning.

² *Κατασκευακός*. Taylor gives this as the reading of his Aldine, instead of the present participle, which is in most editions; and the past certainly seems the right reading, both because it appears from the former passage that he had done the thing during the ten months of his absence from Macedon, and because of the *καὶ νῦν παρίοντος* which follows.

you, and is now invading Byzantium too,—at Athens it is quite safe to plead Philip's cause!¹ Hence it is that some of these advocates of his, from beggars have suddenly become rich, and from being nameless and obscure, are now eminent and distinguished, while you, on the contrary, from eminence have fallen into obscurity, and from affluence to destitution. For I certainly consider the real wealth of a state to consist in alliances—credit—public esteem; of all which you are destitute; and while you hold these in contempt and suffer them to be taken from you, Philip has become prosperous, and powerful, and terrible to all, Greek as well as Barbarian, and you desolate and low,—splendid, no doubt, in the unenvied² profusion of your merchandise, but in all the things really valuable to a state, ridiculously destitute.

But I perceive that some of our politicians by no means lay down the same rule for themselves and for you. They would have you remain quiet whatever wrongs are done to you; while they can never remain quiet themselves, though no one is wronging them at all. Then, whoever rises, is sure to taunt me with—"So you will not bring forward a proposition for war; you will not venture upon that, timid and spiritless as you are?"³ For my part, self-confident,⁴ and forward, and shameless I am not, and may I never be! Yet do I account myself by a great deal more courageous than those whose counsels are marked with such temerity. He, in truth, Athe-

¹ Leland, who had appeared to see the fitness, because the effect, of retaining the same words throughout as in the Greek, *peccat ad extremum*—and drops them, changing the expression when he comes to the application to Athens—where retaining them was the most essential.

² Ἀφθονία, though generally used for "abundance," yet here probably retains its original sense. In the Fourth Philippic, however, the expression is εὐετηρία, (κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν) "exuberance," "plentifully supplied markets;" which repetition of the passage Leland seems to have had in his eye when he translated ὠνίων, "markets."

³ Ἀτολμος καὶ μαλακός—"unenterprising and soft," literally; and perhaps that would be the best translation.

⁴ Θρασύς. To be taken in a bad sense, but probably not in the worst. The Lexicographers make θάρσος, *fiducia*, *audacia*,—"self-confidence" or "boldness," the root; but why it should be the root, and not derived from θαρρέω—the origin, in all likelihood, of our word "dare,"—does not appear.

nians, who regardless¹ of the interests of the country, condemns, confiscates, rewards,² impeaches, by no means proves his courage in all this; for if he insures his own safety by such speeches and such counsels as are calculated to win your favour, he may be daring with very little³ hazard. But he who for your good oftentimes thwarts your inclinations; who never speaks to gain your good graces, but consults your interests always; who,⁴ should he recommend some course of policy in which fortune may baffle the calculations of reason, yet makes himself accountable for the event⁵—he is indeed courageous—an invaluable citizen he truly is;⁶ not like those who to an ephemeral popularity have sacrificed the highest interests of their country—men whom I am so far from wishing to rival,⁷ or from regarding as true patriots, that were I called upon to declare what services I had rendered our common country, although I have to tell, Athenians, of naval

¹ Παριδών—"overlooking," "neglecting."

² Reiske refers from δίδωσι here to χαρίζεσθαι afterwards; but the common reading being such, he changes it to καταχαρίζεσθαι, and says that it affords an explanation of δίδωσι. It rather seems as if δίδωσι explained χαρίζεσθαι. The simplicity and sincerity of this fine passage are quite moving.

³ Ἀσφαλῶς. This is clearly the meaning. Wolf drops the word, or makes it intensive to θρασύς—for his version is "*audax et confidens est.*" Hervægius has a comma after ἀσφαλῶς, disconnecting it with θρασύς, which is plainly wrong. Leland merely says, "therefore he is daring."

⁴ Commentators have often expressed surprise at this passage, as if it made the adoption of measures exposed to chance more than governed by design, a test of a statesman's capacity; whereas, choosing such as are under λογισμῶς, "reasoning," "calculation," is plainly the wiser course. But the meaning may merely be, that when, or in case he is compelled to adopt a policy more under the controul of fortune than prudence, he still takes the responsibility on himself. Perhaps καὶ should be read κἂν, "and if." In the great Oration, the same topic is dwelt upon, and in others.

⁵ Literally, "makes himself accountable for both;" that is, both the goodness of the plan according to reasoning *a priori*, and the event with all the risks of fortune—both the design and the chances.

⁶ The rhythm and inversion of the Greek are here beautiful. The force of the passage depends mainly on these—the diction, as regards the words themselves, being extremely simple—οὗτος ἐστὶ ἀνδρείως, καὶ χρήσιμός γε πολέτης ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐστίν. The particle γέ gives also much beauty to the simple diction.

⁷ Ζηλοῦν may be "envy" as well as "emulate."

commands, and public shows, of supplies raised and of captives ransomed, and other passages of a like description,¹ to none of them all would I point but to this one thing, that my policy has never been like theirs. Able I may be, as well as others, to impeach, and distribute,² and proscribe,³ and whatever else it is they are wont to do; yet on none of these grounds did I ever choose to take my place,⁴ or rest my pretensions, either through avarice or ambition. I have persevered in holding that language which lowers me in your estimation as compared with others, yet which must greatly exalt you, so you will only listen to me. Thus much to have said, may perhaps not be deemed to be invidious. Nor do I conceive that I should be acting an honest part, were I to devise measures, which, while they raised me to the first rank in Athens, sank you to the lowest station among the Greeks. But the state ought to be exalted by the counsels of patriots, and it is the duty of us all to tender, not the most easy, but the most profitable advice. Towards the former, our nature is of itself but too prone; to enforce the latter, a patriot's lessons and eloquence are required.⁵

I not long⁶ since heard some one talking as⁷ if my advice

¹ Φιλανθρωπίας. If the "such other" refers to the last antecedent, *φιλανθρωπία* is here "humanity;" but if to the whole enumeration, it must mean love of the community at large, i. e., "public spirit."

² Χαρίζεσθαι may certainly mean "ingratiate" generally; but coupled with the peculiar marks of ingratiating here given, viz. τὸ κρίνειν and τὸ δημεύειν, it is plain we must take τὸ χαρίζεσθαι in its other sense, of "distributing" the property of the persons impeached and proscribed.

³ The sense may be this: "I might possibly impeach as well as other people, and gain popularity, and bring forward proscriptions."

⁴ Ἐταξα. In Leland—"a part I never assumed: my inclinations were averse." But the meaning of *ἔταξα* is, "placed myself upon," and *προήχθη* "pretended" "put my pretensions on."—The text is literal, and it is English. Leland's is neither.

⁵ Leland gives nothing like the sense here—"not to be promoted but by the utmost efforts of a wise and faithful counsellor." In the speech there is neither "efforts" nor "utmost efforts," (unless *προάγεσθαι*—but that is limited to one thing), nor counsellor, nor wise, nor faithful—but there is "teaching" and "speaking," which are both omitted, *λόγῳ*—*διδάσκοντα*.

⁶ Ἴδη requires this.

⁷ Τοιούτῳν τι—"something to this effect"—"to some such purpose as this."

was always sound enough,¹ but words² were all I gave the state; whereas it wanted deeds and actions. Now upon this point I will tell you what I think, and without any reserve. I do not hold it to be the province of those who advise you, to do any act whatever beyond giving you sound counsel; and that this is a correct view of the subject, I think I shall easily shew. ' You remember how the celebrated Timotheus harangued you upon the necessity of succouring the Eubœans and saving them from the Theban yoke. "What?"³ he said, "do you deliberate how to proceed and what to do, when the Thebans are actually in the Island? Men of Athens! will you not cover the sea with your ships? Will you not instantly arise and fly to the Piræus? Will you not draw down your vessels to the beach?"⁴—These were Timotheus' words; this was what you did; and from both concurring, the work was accomplished. But had he given, as indeed he did, the best of counsels; if you had remained immovable, giving ear to nothing that he said; would any of those things have been performed which were then done for the country? Impossible! And so it is with what I am now urging, and what others may urge. For deeds you must

¹ Francis—"that I always speak extremely well." This is not the meaning at all. If λέγω τὰ βέλτιστα has anything to do with speaking, or words, it is "give fair words"—but the sense is "adverse"—or at least that the substance of the speech is good and sound. Francis refers it to the execution.

² In the Greek it is λέγω, then λόγοι. The necessary change of the word in the translation is here, as often happens, prejudicial.

³ Εἰπέ μοι—perhaps "what?" is as literal as "Tell me," or "say."

⁴ It is not so easy to see why the first question having been—"Will you not cover the sea with your ships?" the last should be, "Will you not launch your ships?" The difference of τριήρης and ναῦς will not explain this. Perhaps the difference alluded to is between ships already in service, and those not yet in use (or as we would say, in commission). Leland ingeniously has it—"Why are you not embarked?"—but first the tense is wrong; for as Reiske has well observed, though πορεύεσθε might be given in the present according to some MSS. κατέλξετε precludes this reading; and, secondly, the word is not at all "embark," but "launch," "draw down." In the First Philippic, where somewhat of the same idea occurs, and where "embark" is plainly meant, the word is οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα.

rely on yourselves; looking¹ to statesmen only for the capacity² to give you salutary counsels.

And now, after summing up in a word what I have to urge, I have done. I say you should levy the necessary supplies, should maintain the army on its necessary establishment—correcting whatever abuses may be found to exist, but not disbanding it altogether upon the first clamour that is raised—should send ambassadors wherever they can be useful in informing,³ admonishing, or anywhere furthering the interests of this country. But you should, beside all this, bring the men to punishment whose administration has been stained with corruption, and consign them to abhorrence in all times and all places, to the end that those whose conduct has been temperate⁴ and pure, may be shewn to have consulted at once their own interests and yours.⁵ If such shall be your course, and you no longer neglect your most important concerns, it may be that our affairs shall take a better turn. But if you sit down inactive, and confin-

¹ Ζητεῖτε, “look for,” “seek for;” but in English this applies rather to what must come from others than from themselves; and this renders a change of the word necessary.

² Ἐπιστήμη—Wolf, following some MSS., is for leaving out this word, and inserting τό. The word must be admitted not to add much to the passage, and not to be in the manner of Demosthenes.

³ “Reform,” in Leland, must surely be a misprint for “inform,” the Greek being διδάξοντας. Francis has “notify;” it may mean so, or “warn,” unless νοουθετήσοντας means this, rather than “remonstrate,” which both Leland and Francis give; certainly it seems like “suggest,” “to put into one’s mind,” or “to remind;” but it is also used for “rebuke;” or it may even be “remonstrate.”

⁴ Μέτριοι, “moderate;” “measured;” but it also means “conformable to duty,” and therefore “upright.” Δικαίους which follows, however, is plainly “upright” or “pure,” in opposition to “corrupt,” and therefore μέτριοι may be used to distinguish those who did not take the extravagant courses, ἀμετρία, which at Athens were often mixed with corruption.

⁵ Most translations join the τοῖς ἄλλοις with εἶ βεβουλευίσθαι,—which is not quite certain: it may be “in order to shew them and all others.” Wolf seems to join τοῖς ἄλλοις in this manner with δοκῶσι. But the doubt is, if εἶ and βουλευόμαι, there being no word εἶβουλευόμαι, be sufficient to denote “giving sound or honest advice,” without a pronoun.

ing your exertions¹ to acclamations and applause, shrink back² the moment anything is required to be done, I can conceive no eloquence³ which, in the absence of every necessary effort on your part, will have the power to save the country.

¹ "Ἀχρη τοῦ, κ. τ. λ. affords a happy instance of the full meaning being brought out by a choice of verbs and adverbs, without mentioning the *predicate*. Wolf, in his commentary, gives an admirable translation—"usque ad applausum et laudationem rebus intenti." Apud Reiske, Ap. Crit. i. 84. The force of σπουδάζοντες is here excellently preserved. In the translation he does not give so good a commentary—"hactenus duntaxat ut plaudatis et laudetis orationem studentes."

² Ἀναδύμενοι. Vide former note, (p. 484.) Wolf renders it here by "tergiversemini;" which does not give the meaning. It is escape from a word.

³ Leland—"All the wisdom in the world;" but λόγον is here put in opposition to ποιῶν, and the applause referred to before, is plainly meant of speeches. Leland's turn of the negative, is, however, happy; and the passage may be rendered, "then all the eloquence in the world (or all the speeches) will fail to save the country,"—but the version in the text gives the precise meaning of the Greek.

ORATION

FOR THE

INDEPENDENCE OF RHODES.

This admirable Translation, with the Notes, has been kindly communicated by
THE HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAMS.

VOL. IV.

2 K

ORATION

FOR THE

INDEPENDENCE OF RHODES.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the third year of the 105th Olympiad, the islands of Cos, Chios, and Rhodes, revolted against the power of Athens; and the latter fitted out a great expedition for their reduction. This failed owing to the jealousies and intrigues of the commanders employed; and it became necessary to allow the independence of those Colonies. They had, however, only changed masters; for Mausolus, whose assistance had enabled them to rebel, soon reduced them to subjection. He was succeeded by his wife, Artemisia, who was also his sister, according to the Carian usage. She received succours from the Persian king to maintain her dominion, and had a garrison of his troops in the citadel of Rhodes. The Rhodians, thus oppressed, appealed for help to the Athenians, whom Demosthenes endeavoured to persuade, in the following beautiful Oration, that it was their duty and their interest to grant the request, without regarding the past conduct of the Rhodians.

ORATION.

I AM of opinion, O men of Athens, that, as you are deliberating upon affairs of such importance, you should allow¹ freedom of speech to every man who offers his advice. For my own part, I never considered it difficult to inform you of what is best to be done,—for, to speak plainly, you all seem to know that already,—but to prevail upon you to do it; forasmuch as, when any thing is resolved upon and decreed, it is just as far from being done as it was before the resolution.

There is one thing, however, for which I think you should be grateful to the gods,—that those who, through their own insolence, were at war with you at no distant time, have now their only hopes of safety in you. In such a crisis there is

¹ Allen seems to think that there is a real difficulty in this commencement. As the assemblies were held merely for discussion of something or other, what else was to be done but to hear, &c.? He then enters into a long note to explain who might address the assembly and who not, *without looking under his feet*. Is not the meaning, obviously, that the Athenians were become “formidable in their assemblies,” and no where else,—that “their ears were spoiled,”—that they were more angry with those who shewed that things were wrong, than with those who excused it? Did not Demosthenes *twice* at least, in the *Περὶ Συντάξεως*, pray not to be interrupted? If the allusion be to this disposition of the Athenians, there is no difficulty at all; if this be not the solution there is difficulty enough.

just cause for rejoicing; for, if you shall decide in a manner worthy of it, you will have the fortune of putting down by facts the slanders of our country's defamers, and will add¹ to her just renown. For the Chians, and Byzantines, and Rhodians, charged us with having evil designs against them, and on this pretence, jointly raised against us this last war. It will appear, however, that Mausolus, who was the manager and adviser of the whole, calling himself the friend of the Rhodians, robbed them of their liberties; that the Chians and Byzantines, who made a shew of their being allies, gave them no help in their misfortunes; but that you, whom they feared, have been of all mankind their only deliverers. The consequence of this being generally perceived will be, that you will cause the people in every state to consider your friendship a symbol of their safety; and no greater good can happen to you than to obtain, from all, their cheerful and unsuspecting good-will.

I am surprised, when I observe the same persons advising the state to act in opposition to the King in behalf of the Ægyptians, but dreading this same king when the question is about interfering on behalf of the Rhodian people; though that the latter are Greeks all mankind know, but the former a part of the King's dominions.

I presume some of you may remember, that when you were consulting about Persian affairs, I was the first to contend (I believe alone, certainly with not more than one other) that you would act wisely in not avowing the cause of your armament to be hostility against the King, but to be prepared against existing enemies, and to repel the King also, if he should make any attack upon you. Nor was this my recommendation merely, of which you did not approve, but you were yourselves of the same opinion. What I have now to say, therefore, is but a sequel to my speech on that occasion. Were I now with the King, and he should make me his adviser, I should recommend the very same course to him as I do to you,—to go to war for his own possessions, if any of the Greeks should attempt to oppose him, but where he had no right, to assert no claim of dominion. If then, you are fully

¹The "add" is an addition perhaps excusable; if not, "with fair fame" is literal.

resolved, O men of Athens, to abandon to him whatever the King may have become master of by surprising or deceiving certain individuals in different states, you have not resolved well in my opinion. But if you think that you ought to fight, should that be necessary, and to endure every extremity for the cause of justice; in the first place, you will have the less reason to resort to the last extremity, in proportion as you shall be so minded, and in the next, you will appear to entertain sentiments worthy of yourselves.

Now to satisfy you¹ that, in recommending you to set the Rhodians free, I am saying nothing new, and that you, if you follow my advice, will be doing nothing new, I will briefly remind you of what has happened and that too with advantage to the country. You heretofore, O men of Athens, sent out Timotheus to assist Ariobarzanes, adding a condition to the decree, that he should violate no existing treaty with the King. Accordingly, finding that Ariobarzanes had openly declared against the king, and that Samos was forcibly held by Cyprothemis, whom Tigranes the king's governor had set up, he declined assisting Ariobarzanes, but sat² down before Samos, assisted the people, and gave them their liberty;—and up to this hour you have had no war on this account; for nobody will fight in the same manner for unjust acquisition, as for rightful possession. All mankind struggle to the uttermost against attacks upon their own; not so do they struggle to obtain what does not belong to them. That they may desire to have, if others will allow them, but should they be prevented, they consider that no injustice has been done by their opponents.

Moreover, my opinion is that Artemisia will not oppose this enterprise,³ if we are only intent upon it; and having heard my reasons briefly you shall judge whether I am right or not. I think that, whilst the King was accomplishing all his objects in Ægypt, Artemisia would strive to the uttermost to obtain

¹ "To satisfy you,"—not in the original, but seems implied.

² The change from the participle, in accommodation to our idiom is, perhaps, necessary;—"sitting down," is equally easy.

³ Allen translates this, "agendi consuetudini." But what has "course of action," if *consuetudini* means anything, to do with a particular act, or enterprise?

Rhodes for him,—not out of any good will towards him; but from a desire, whilst he remains in her neighbourhood, to confer a great favour upon him, that he may receive her as cordially as possible. But now as he has met with the ill success which we have heard of, and failed in his objects, she will think, as the fact is, that this island can, for the present, be of no advantage to the King, while it is a fortress¹ overlooking her own dominions to prevent any movement on her part. Insomuch, that, provided she may not appear plainly to give it up to you, I think she would prefer your having it to his getting it into his possession. I think, at the same time, that she will not assist² you, or that, if she should, it will be feebly and imperfectly. As for the King,³ I protest. I for one am not able to say what he will do; but that it nearly concerns you now to have it ascertained whether he does make any claim to the territory⁴ of Rhodes or not, I do most positively assert; for if he does, it will not be for the Rhodians only that you must consult, but for yourselves and all the Greeks.

If the Rhodians, now in power in the city, had obtained it by their own means, still I would not have advised you to make any terms with them, not if they made you all the promises in the world. For I observe that they at first took to their aid some of the citizens to overthrow the popular government; and, when they had effected it, again expelled them. I, therefore, can never expect that they who have shewn themselves faithless to both parties, will prove steadfast allies to you. Nor should I ever have said what

¹ Allen translates, *arcem regni sui*;—what then becomes of the ἐπί?

² Allen translates, *adjuturam*, without saying “whom;” which is, in effect, saying nothing. It is presumed, as it had been before said that she wishes the Athenians to have it, it must mean help *them*. It might mean, “help the Oligarchy in Rhodes,”—and that shews the fault in the translation above noted.

³ Ἐπεὶ, “since,” “forasmuch as,” &c. seems out of place, except something be implied, such as, “I don’t like to be very positive,” or “I do not like to say much about him,” &c. “since,” &c., an elliptic mode of expression very common with Demosthenes;—(e. g.) γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον, κ.τ.λ. Phil. ii.

⁴ It has been noticed that πόλις is always used for the whole of the Athenian territory—which it well might. In the case of Rhodes, we might have expected, perhaps, it would have been otherwise.

I have now been saying, had I thought the measure of advantage only to the Rhodians; for I am no public guest¹ of this people, nor is any of them a private friend of mine. Nay, if both these circumstances had existed, I never should have said it, if I did not think it for your benefit. As to the Rhodians, (if such language be allowable to an advocate for their safety) I rejoice at what has happened; for begrudging you, as they did, your undoubted rights, they lost their own freedom; and when it was open to them to have formed an alliance on equal terms with you,—Greeks and their betters,—they are content to be enslaved by barbarians and slaves whom they have admitted into their fortresses. I had almost said, if you should be willing to assist them, that what has happened has been of use to them; for, while their fortune continued to prosper, I know not that they would ever have been in their proper senses, Rhodians as they are. But now, having been taught by experience that folly is the cause of much mischief to many,² perhaps, if they should succeed,³ they may be a little more sober-minded in future. And this I certainly think no small gain to them. I say, that you ought to try to save these people such as they are,⁴ and not to bear malice, remembering that you also have in many instances been deceived by treacherous men, and yet you would not say that you ought to suffer for any of those misdoings.

Consider this, also, O men of Athens, that you have urged many wars both against Democracies and Oligarchies,—and this you, of course, are aware of. But the causes of war against each, perhaps, none of you does attend to. What then are

¹ Can this be more nearly appreciated? It is presumed it means, to be entertained, if a visitant, by the state.—ξένος, of course, does not literally mean “friend;” but neither “host” nor “guest” seems, with us, to be enough for the meaning.

² It is presumed that πολλοῖς is simply meant to add to the quantity of the remark,—to “many,” and not “the many,” as contrasted with ὀλίγοι, or “Oligarchy.”

³ Εἰ τύχοιεν—not noticed by Allen. Must it not mean, “if they succeed in getting your help,” “if they be fortunate enough”? &c.

⁴ “Such as they are,” added; but it is plain that ἄνδρας is disparaging, and “men,” or “people” alone would not give that idea. The whole Speech says nothing in favour of them as a people, but the contrary. “It is the cause, it is the cause,” &c.

those causes? Why, against popular governments,—on account of some mutual complaints which could not publicly be disposed of, or some portion of territory, or line of boundary, or honour, or ascendancy: But against Oligarchies—for none of these, for the principle of your government, and for freedom. Insomuch, that I should have no hesitation in saying, I consider it better for you that all the dominions in Greece should be at war with you, than the Oligarchies should be your friends. For with a people in the possession of liberty, I consider that you would have no difficulty in making peace whenever it suits you; but with Oligarchies I do not think even friends secure. For it is not possible that the few¹ should be well disposed to the many, or those who thirst for dominion towards men who have resolved to live in the enjoyment of equal rights.

I am astonished that none of you thinks, when the Chians and the Mitylenæans, and now the Rhodians, are under Oligarchies,—all mankind, I had almost said, being subjected to this servitude,—that there is a certain degree of danger to your own constitution also; nor consider this, that if Oligarchies are established every where, they will not allow your republic to stand. For they know well that none else can bring back the state of things to freedom, and they will wish to destroy those from whom they expect mischief to befall them. All other aggressors you ought to consider enemies, on account of the particular grievance; but I advise you to hold those who destroy free governments² and change them into Oligarchies, as the common enemies of all who love liberty. Moreover it is but just, O men of Athens, that you who are free, should appear to entertain the same sentiments respecting an unfortunate people who have lost their freedom, which you would expect others to entertain respecting you, if (which Heaven avert!) any such calamity should ever befall you. Nor, if any man should suggest that the Rhodians have but met with their deserts, is this a fit season

¹ Whether "the few," quite expresses what the *δλίγοι* means, may perhaps be doubtful. It certainly does not, if by the expression is meant that they are actually in power;—but how get nearer?

² From its opposition to Oligarchy here, "free government" seems to be implied, whatever be the general meaning of *πολιτεία*.

to triumph¹ over them. For the prosperous ought ever to be seen consulting the interests of the distressed, seeing no man knows what the morrow may bring forth to himself.

I am in the habit of hearing it frequently asserted amongst you in this place, that when our country was unfortunate, certain states of Greece agreed² in advising that it should be saved; of whom, I will, for the present, only make a short mention of the Argives.³ For I should not be willing that you, who have the reputation of always saving the distressed should appear worse than the Argives in this particular,—who, with a territory bordering upon that of Sparta, and seeing the Lacedæmonians lording it both by land and sea, were not deterred from shewing themselves friendly towards you. Nay more, they even came to a Decree, as we are told, to hold their ambassadors, who came from Lacedæmon to demand certain of your exiles, enemies, if they did not quit the territory before the sun set. Is it not disgraceful then, O men of Athens, if the people of Argos feared not the dominion of the Lacedæmonians in those times, nor their power, that you, who are Athenians, should fear a Barbarian, and that too, a woman? Besides, the Argives had it in their power to relate that they had been frequently vanquished by the Lacedæmonians; but you have conquered the King often, and have been worsted, not even once, either by the slaves of the King, or by himself. For if, indeed, the King has anywhere had an advantage over this country, that advantage he

¹ “To be pleased at,” “to rejoice at,” &c. literally. There is something in the tone of this passage, not unlike one (on a very different subject certainly) in Terence, much admired; where Thais says to Chærea, that if others blamed her, &c. *he* should not do it,—“at tu indignus qui faceres tamen.” Eun. Act v. Sc. 2.

² Can this mean more than “took counsel together?” &c. It can hardly imply any act, which, perhaps, “combine,” “conspire,” &c. do.

³ Mention is made of another, the Phocians, in a vehement passage of the *Περὶ Παραρρεσβείας*, where he describes the horrible nature of their destruction; and then turns upon Æschines, that they gave *τὴν σώζουσαν ψῆφον*. They did not wish Greece to be one-eyed, *ἑτερόφθαλμον τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. A translation of this passage is attempted in the Edinburgh Review of a Rectorial Speech at Glasgow in 1825.

has gained by bringing over to him with bribes, the most worthless of the Greeks, and traitors to them,—or no how else; nor did even this profit him. For you will find that, often as he had weakened this country by means of the Lacedæmonians, he himself was in danger of losing his kingdom in his contest with Clearchus and Cyrus. So then he has never overcome you in open warfare, nor have his wiles availed him anything.

I observe that some among you are in the habit of treating Philip with contempt, as wholly beneath your notice, but dreading the King as a formidable enemy, with whomsoever he may contend. If, however, you will not repel the aggressions of the one, because he is an unworthy antagonist, and will yield every thing to the other, because he is formidable,—against whom, O men of Athens, will you ever take up arms?

There are, amongst you, those who are most powerful in maintaining the rights of others against you; to whom I would give but a single piece of advice—Let them learn how to defend your rights against others, that they may first appear to do what is right. Since, surely, it is absurd for a person,¹ himself not doing his duty, to pretend to read you lectures upon yours. For it is not right that a citizen of yours should get up speeches against you,² and none for you. And so I entreat you, consider what is the cause that nobody is found at Byzantium to instruct them not to seize upon Chalcedon, now a possession of the King's, and which formerly was yours, but in no respect belongs to them? Or not to make Selymbria, once a city in alliance with yours, tributary to them, or³ dismember their country, against all oaths and

¹ The only recommendation of "person" is that it is of both genders, like *ἄνθρωπος*.

² Literally "fight;" the reflective sense of the middle verb, "draw yourselves up in battle array." As in the memorable Oath passage, *οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, . . . καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους*, "who fought," &c.

³ *Βυζαντίους*, or *Βυζάντιον*, the common reading, seems inserted to prevent the necessity of recurring to *ἐκείνους*, with which it is put in apposition—the sentence being complete without it. The negative contained in the *μηδὲ*, it is presumed, extends to the *ὀρίζεω*, which Allen construes *limites constituent*.

treaties, by which they are declared to be independent! None has been found to teach¹ Mausolus whilst living, or Artemisia, since his death, not to seize upon Cos and Rhodes, and many other Grecian cities, which the King, their master, had by treaties ceded to the Greeks, and for which the Greeks of those times endured many perilous² and glorious struggles. Or if both have such teachers, at least it appears that nobody is persuaded.

I am clearly of opinion that it is just to restore the Rhodian commonwealth; but further, even if it were not just, when I observe what the Rhodians are doing, I cannot avoid counselling you to restore their state. Wherefore? Why, because, if all were bent on acting justly, for you alone, O men of Athens, to hold back would be disgraceful. But when all the rest of mankind are putting themselves in a condition to commit some "profitable wrong," for you alone to make a parade of right, and even to avail yourselves of circumstances, I consider not justice but imbecility. For I observe that all people estimate right according to actually existing might; and I can mention an instance of this familiar to you all. There are two treaties made by the Greeks with the King, that made by this country, which all applaud, and that made by the Lacedæmonians, which, certainly, all condemn. And in these treaties rights are not laid down alike to both sets of persons. The laws, indeed, do give, alike to the weak and the powerful, a common and equal participation of rights in the disputes of

This will do well enough if it needs must be taken in a *bad sense*. But suppose they marked the boundaries right, where is the grievance? Whatever may be the meaning of the word generally, the passage seems to shew that here it must be, "mark out to occurry, against oaths," &c.

¹ The teaching is applied to Artemisia only, but it seems necessarily implied as to Mausolus. The interrogatory is here dropped, as the editions have it so; but it may be doubtful, perhaps, whether it ought not to be continued.

² If *κινδύνους* must mean "danger," *ἐποίησαντο* will not do in its ordinary sense, "make." That it does, generally, so mean, if not always, is clear. *Κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι*, the words just before the *Oath*; and in the same Oration, there is, "the state having never chosen *ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον*," "danger," and nothing else. This is the reason for "endured."

citizens with each other in each particular state. But in public rights, the conquerors lay down the law to the vanquished. Since then it is for you both to will and to do what is just, what you have to consider is how you may be able to accomplish both. And you will be able, if once you shall be considered as the common champions of the general freedom.

It is easy to perceive, as it seems to me, why you find it very difficult to act as you ought. For all the rest of mankind have one contest only,—with their open enemies;—and if they subdue them, there is nothing to baulk them in the full enjoyment of their success. But you, O men of Athens, have two difficulties, one the same which others have,—and another, in addition, earlier and more arduous. For you, in your councils, must overcome those who have chosen to act in opposition to the country. Since then, on account of them, nothing that is desirable can be obtained without a struggle, it may well happen that you should fail in many of your attempts. Now, that so many should fearlessly adopt this line of policy, perhaps the benefits received from those who bribe them may chiefly be the cause; not but that you also¹ may be justly blamed. For you ought, O men of Athens, to entertain the same opinion respecting a position in politics, which you do respecting a position in the field. And what is that? Why, you think that the man who deserts the station appointed by his general, ought to be disgraced, and should forfeit his rights as a citizen. So ought you to disgrace those who, deserting the line of policy handed down by our ancestors, act as if they were living under an oligarchy, by driving them from your councils. As it is, do you esteem those the most faithful of your allies who have sworn to have the same friends and enemies as yourselves?—and do you also consider those public men² most trust-worthy, who, you certainly know, have espoused the cause of the enemies of their country?

¹ The change to “may be blamed,” instead of “any one,” &c., perhaps, hardly deserves notice, except for the purpose of remarking that even that change is not desirable, and that where there is a *lumping* departure, as in what is called a *free translation*, it is almost universally resorted to because the text is not understood.

² Allen construes it “*magistratus*.” But can it possibly mean the Archons, Prytanes, Proedri, &c. people with duties fixed by law? Were not these as far

Perhaps, however, it may not be difficult to discover wherewithal to charge them, or to blame the rest of you ; but that the labour is to find, by what advice, or by what course of action that which is now wrong may be set right. Perhaps, also, the present is not the time to treat of everything. But if you will sustain what you have previously resolved upon, by some corresponding measure, step by step our affairs may eventually become better for the future. My opinion then is—that you should take up this business in time,¹ manfully ; bearing in mind that you rejoice to hear when any praise your ancestors, and go through their exploits, and tell of their trophies. Think then that those ancestors raised these trophies, not that you might gaze² upon them with unavailing admiration, but that you might imitate the virtues of those who set them up.

removed from the slippery heights of politics as the Mayors of our Corporate towns? Must it not refer to “οἱ λέγοντες,”—the “ῥήτορες ἡγεμόνες,”—the Aristodemuses, &c. ?

¹ Whether this gets near enough to ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι may be questioned ; but a difficulty is felt in getting nearer.

² Literally, “looking at, might wonder at,” “admire,” &c.

PERORATION

OF THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC OF CICERO

AGAINST

M. ANTONY.

VOL. IV.

2 L

PERORATION.

—AND you are strenuous in commemorating Cæsar! in professing your love for him when dead! What higher honour did he ever reach than to have a pedestal, a shrine, a temple, a priest! As, then, Jupiter, as Mars, as Romulus, so the god Julius has his Priest,—and that Priest is M. Antony! Wherefore do you pause! Why are you not ordained! Fix your day,—see for some one to consecrate you,—we are colleagues,—that no one will question. Detested wretch! whether you play the minister of the living tyrant, or the priest of the dead! I would ask, too, if you are aware what day this is,—if you don't know that yesterday was the fourth of the Roman games in the Circus! that you yourself proposed a law for setting apart the fifth day to the worship of Cæsar! Then why are we not all in our sacramental robes! Why suffer the honours decreed to the new God by your law to be withheld! Have you permitted the day to be desecrated by having prayers and yet withholding pedestals! Either let the worship of your god be abolished at once, or let it be observed throughout.

You will ask if I desire to see his pedestal, his temple, his priest. For my part I desire nothing of the kind. But you—you who are the advocate of Cæsar—what have you to

say for defending some things and taking no care of others? unless peradventure you may be pleased to confess that the rule of your conduct is your own interest, not his dignity? What answer, then, do you make? I wait upon your eloquence;—I knew your grandfather to be a great orator, and yourself to be fluent of speech;—he, indeed, never harangued naked—your person we have seen displayed unadorned in public debate. Will you make any reply to these things, or will you dare to utter at all? What, in so long a speech as I have now been making, will you find that you have the boldness even to think you can answer?

But let us pass over former times and come to the present. This one day—this blessed individual day—I say, this very point of time in which I am speaking—defend it if you can! Why is the Forum hedged in with armed troops? Why stand your satellites listening to me sword in hand? Why are the gates of the Temple of Peace not flung open? Why have you marched into the town, men of all nations,—but chiefly barbarous nations,—savages from Ityræa, armed with their slings? You pretend that it is all to protect your person. Is it not better far to die a thousand deaths, than be unable to live in one's own country without guards of armed men? But trust me, there is no safety in defences like these. We must be fenced round by the affections and the good will of our countrymen, not by their arms, if we would be secure. The Roman people will force away, they will wrench from your grasp, these arms,—I pray it may be done without peril to us! But in what way soever you may deal with us, believe me, while your conduct is framed upon your present counsels, your career must be short; for that consort of yours who is so very little avaricious, who has already been twice a widow, and whom I will allude to without offence, too long owes to the state the enjoyment of a third jointure. The Roman people have those to whom the helm of the state may be entrusted. Wheresoever they are, there is the safeguard of the commonwealth; or rather the commonwealth itself has not yet recovered those whom as yet she has only avenged. The country certainly possesses illustrious youths ready for her defence. Consulting their ease only, they may quit us for a season if they will—yet shall they be recalled

by the public voice. The name of peace is delightful, and the reality is precious; but between peace and slavery there is a wide difference. Peace is tranquil freedom,—slavery, of all ills the consummation, to be resisted not only by war but to the death.

But if those great¹ liberators of their country have thus removed themselves from our sight, yet have they left us the example of their achievements. What none before them had done, they did. Brutus levied war against Tarquin, a king in days when it was lawful for Rome to have kings. Cassius, Mælius, Manlius, all perished because they were suspected of affecting kingly power. But Brutus² and his coadjutors took arms not against one who was aiming at sovereignty, but against one already enthroned; an exploit not only illustrious and divine in itself, but worthy of all imitation, and such as covers the actors with a glory which seems to fill the very heavens. For although there was an abundant reward in the mere consciousness of the prodigious deed, still I cannot consider that any mortal needs condemn the earning of immortal fame.

Look back, then, M. Antony, on that day when you abolished the Dictatorship; set before your eyes the delight of the Senate and People of Rome; contrast it with the traffic³ you and your followers are now engaged in—then you will be sensible of the vast difference between glory and gain. Yet as some, stricken with a morbid affection, an obtuseness of the senses, are unable to taste the flavour of their food, so profligate, rapacious, desperate men, lose the relish of true fame. But if the glory of great actions has no charms for you, cannot even fear deter you from wicked deeds? You have no apprehension of criminal prosecutions—be it so; if this arises from conscious innocence, I commend it; but if it

¹ Some little addition seems quite necessary to bring out the sense: *abstulerent se ipsos* plainly indicates that he connects the removal of the liberators with the immediate antecedent *morte repellendum*, but these words seem hardly enough if simply translated, without this or some such addition to bring out the connexion.

² *Hi primi*,—we know nothing of them, except that Brutus was joined by many.

³ In some editions and MSS. it is *nummatione*; in others better, *nundinatione*.

proceeds from your reliance upon mere force, do you not perceive what it is that awaits him who has thus overcome the terrors of the law?

But if you have no dread of brave men and patriotic citizens, because your person is protected from them by your satellites, believe me your own partisans will not bear with you much longer; and what kind of life is his whose days and nights are distracted with the fear of his own followers? Unless, indeed, you have bound them to you by greater obligations than those by which Cæsar had attached some of the very men who put him to death; or that you can in any one respect be compared with him. In him there was genius, judgment, memory, learning,¹ circumspection,¹ reflection, application. His exploits in war, how mischievous soever to his country, were yet transcendent. Bent for years upon obtaining supreme power, he had accomplished his object with vast labour, through countless perils. By his munificence, by public works, by largesses, by hospitality, he had won over the thoughtless multitude; he had attached his followers by his generosity, his adversaries² by his specious clemency. In a word, he had introduced into a free state, partly through fear of him, partly through tolerance of him, a familiarity with slavery.

With that great man I may compare you as regards the lust of power; in no other thing can you be in any manner of way likened to him. But out of a thousand ills which he forced³ into the constitution of our Commonwealth, this one good has come, that the Roman people have now learnt how far each person is to be trusted, to whom they may commit themselves, against whom they must be on their guard. Do these things never pass through your mind? Do you not comprehend that it suffices for brave men to have

¹ In some MSS., instead of *literæ cura*, it is *literatura*. This, however, is hardly a Ciceronian phrase, unless in his critical or philosophical treatises.

² *Devinxerat* is applied both to the *suos* and *adversarios*. In English it would have been almost inevitable to change the word, and make it "attached his friends, and disarmed his enemies;" but perhaps "attaching" is stronger, as applied to enemies also.

³ *Inusta*, "burnt in."

learnt how beautiful the deed, how precious the service,¹ how glorious the fame of extirpating a tyrant! When mankind could not endure Cæsar, will they bear thee? Henceforward, trust me, they will flock emulously to this work, nor wait for the lingering opportunity.

Regard the Commonwealth for a moment, M. Antony, I do beseech you. Think of the race you are sprung from, not of the generation you live with. Be on what terms you please with me; but return into favour with your country. That, however, is your own affair. I will declare my course. Young I stood by the country—old I will not desert her. I defied the arms of Catiline—I will not tremble at yours! Nay, I should cheerfully fling myself into the gulf, if my death could restore the public freedom, and the sufferings of the Roman people could thus be exasperated at once to the crisis which has been so long coming on! For, truly, if it is well nigh twenty years since I denied, in this very temple, that death ever could come before its time to a man of consular rank, how much more truly may I say so, now in my old age? To me, Senators, death is even desirable, having lived to finish all that I had undertaken to achieve. For two things only I feel anxious; the one, that my eyes may close upon the liberties of Rome—a greater boon than this heaven has not to bestow; the other, that the fate may befall every one which his conduct to his country has earned.

¹ *Beneficio gratum* may mean—"fit gratitude for the benefits received from the country;" if so, the words may be rendered—"how dutiful the service," or "how appropriate;" but I prefer the sense of the text.

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