

LYSIAE
ORATIONES
CVM FRAGMENTIS

RECOGNOVIT
BREVIQUE ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRUXIT
CHRISTOPHER CAREY



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BREVIQUE ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVXIT

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E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO
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PREFACE

1. Athens to Byzantium

We are badly informed about the Lysiac corpus in circulation in Athens in the fourth century BCE. We can be reasonably confident that Lysias published his speeches. The practice of publishing forensic speeches had already been established by Antiphon. Plato in *Phaidros* has Phaidros praise a speech of Lysias which he is reading. We cannot take this as evidence that the speech presented as the work of Lysias in *Phaidros* (printed as speech 35 in this edition) is actually by Lysias—indeed, it is almost certainly by Plato. But the dialogue is evidence that speeches ascribed to Lysias were already in circulation early in the fourth century.¹ The problem for the modern reader is that in a world without laws protecting copyright or (at least in the creative arts) preventing counterfeiting Lysias had almost no control over the corpus once the speeches passed into hands of the booksellers.² Ancient scholars detected the possible influence of the funeral speech later ascribed to Lysias (speech 2 in modern editions) on Aischines;³ but even if this is correct (and we are

¹ We have no solid evidence to push the beginning of Lysias' career as a speechwriter back beyond the restoration of the democracy in 403, and so we should beware of taking the further step of concluding from the dialogue that he was already established as a published writer by the late fifth century.

² For the role of the booksellers see K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 25–6.

³ Schol. Aisch. 3.211: ἐκέειρατο] . . . Λυσίας ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ τοῖς Κορινθίων βοηθοῖς 'ὥστε ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πενθῆσαι τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους.' The text of Aischines reads: οὐ γὰρ δεῖ, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐπένθησε καὶ ἐκέειρατο, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμὲ στεφανοῦσθαι. The recurrence of the citation in Aristotle (see n. 6 below) suggests that the *epitaphios* speech in the Lysiac corpus circulated widely in the fourth century.

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not dealing with a commonplace) we have no idea who Aischines imagined the author of the *epitaphios* to be. There are enough affinities between the *epitaphios* and the *Panegyrikos* of Isokrates to suggest that one has influenced the other;⁴ but the direction of influence is unclear. Though he never mentions Lysias, Aristotle quotes from a speech allegedly delivered by Iphikrates which was later ascribed to Lysias.⁵ On three other occasions in the *Rhetoric* Aristotle appears to allude to speeches in (what is now) the Lysiac corpus, though since Lysias is not named it is unclear whether he assumed all or even any of them to be the work of Lysias.⁶ The paucity of information means that we have no idea how many speeches circulated under Lysias' name in the fourth century. Nor do we know whether the speeches later ascribed to Lysias arrived at Alexandria as a collection, in dribbles, or (as common sense would suggest) by a mixture of the two processes. We do, however, know that over four

⁴ Lys. 2.29/Isok. 4.89; Lys. 2.32/Isok. 4.96; Lys. 2.37/Isok. 4.96; Lys. 2.38/Isok. 4.97; Lys. 2.44/Isok. 4.93; cf. also 2.32 with Isok. 6.100. The direction of influence is relevant to the double question of authenticity (both Lysiac authorship and genuine connection with the historical occasion). The Lysiac speech if genuinely connected with military activities around Corinth early in the Corinthian War should date to the 390s, while Isokrates' speech dates to around 380. If Isokrates is the source, Lysiac authorship remains possible, but the connection with events of the 390s falls (i.e. the speech is probably to be taken as an exercise or pamphlet). My own view is that Lysias is unlikely to be the author but that the speech shows every sign of having been written for a real event. I do not agree with G. Avezzù, *Lisia: apologia per l'uccisione di Eratostene, Epitafio* (Padua, 1985), p. xcv, that the burden of proof rests with those who reject Lysiac authorship.

⁵ See fr. 43 of this edition.

⁶ *Rhetoric* 1420^a6 ff. τελευτῇ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἀρμόττει ἡ ἀσύνδετος, ὅπως ἐπίλογος ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγος ἦ· εἴρηκα, ἀκηκόατε, ἔχετε, κρίνατε. (possibly alluding to Lys. 12.100). Cf. 1411^a32 ff. οὖν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, διότι ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῷ τῷ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων κείρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τῇ ἀρετῇ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας· (seemingly alluding to Lys. 2.60, though with the battle given in error, presumably from memory) and 1399^b15 ff. (alluding to Lys. 34.11; see app. crit. ad loc.).

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hundred speeches were ascribed to him by the end of the Hellenistic period.⁷

The text of Lysias presented a problem for ancient editors, a problem which persists and which recurs in the tradition of other ancient orators. Lysias was a professional writer of speeches for use by others. With the exception of speech 12 (and even here some moderns are sceptical), none of the surviving lawcourt speeches was delivered by Lysias himself. It was a legal system in which litigants represented themselves and which viewed professional speechwriters with some suspicion.⁸ Given this prejudice in principle against the bought speech (however welcome the assistance of the speechwriter might have been in practice), nothing in the text of the speech credited the author or in any other way revealed its status as a commercial product. We do not know how many spurious speeches had found their way into the corpus before it reached Alexandria; and we do not know how many were further introduced into the catalogue by Kallimachos when he compiled his famous list (*Pinakes*) of the contents of the library at Alexandria. But we do know that discerning judges believed that speeches ascribed to Lysias by Kallimachos included many which were not written by him.

⁷ [Plut.] *Vit. X. orat.* 836b φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε· τούτων γνησίους φασὶν οἱ περὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Καικίλιον εἶναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα <καὶ τρεῖς>, ἐν οἷς δις μόνον ἡττηθῆσαι λέγεται. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος, <ὃ> ἐγράψατο Ἀρχίνος τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ περιελών, καὶ κατὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἕτερος. ἐγένετο δὲ πιθανώτατος καὶ βραχύτατος, [τοῖς ιδιώταις] τοῖς πολλοῖς λόγους ἐκδοῦς. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶ καὶ τέχναι ῥητορικαὶ πεποιημέναι καὶ δημηγορίαι, ἐπιστολαὶ τε καὶ ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπιτάφιοι καὶ ἐρωτικοὶ καὶ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία ἐστοχασμένη τῶν δικαστῶν.

Photios *Cod.* 262 p. 488b Ἀνεγνώσθη Λυσίου λόγοι, διάφοροι· φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ κ' καὶ ὅ, ὧν τοῖς γνησίοις γ' καὶ λ' καὶ διακοσίους ἐγκρίνουσιν, ἐν οἷς δις μόνον τὸ ἔλαττον ἐνεγκεῖν τῇ λέξει πρὸς τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς πολλάκις ἀγωνισάμενος λέγεται.

Souda s. v. Λυσίας· λόγοι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγονται εἶναι γνήσιοι ὑπὲρ τοὺς τ' καὶ ἕτεροι πρὸς τούτοις ἀμφιδοξοῦμενοι.

⁸ See M. Lavency, *Aspects de la logographie* (Louvain 1964), 42, 64-5.

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For Dionysios⁹ and Caecilius of Calacte, fifty per cent of the corpus was spurious. Perhaps most curiously, the spurious speeches circulating in the Roman empire under the name of Lysias as early as the second century CE included a précis of the slander speech against Theomnestos alongside the original (our speeches 10 and 11);¹⁰ and the two survived together into the middle ages.

The Alexandrian edition of Lysias was organized broadly according to the legal issue,¹¹ a common arrangement for texts of the orators. This organizational principle is reflected in our secondary sources, which occasionally allude to speeches by category.¹² It is also visible in the papyrus texts of speeches. Thus most of the speeches included in *P. Oxy.* 1606 come from debt or property cases, where the theme is identifiable;¹³ those in *P. Vindob.* 29816 were *klerikoi* or *epiklerikoi*. This organization is also clearly visible in the papyrus list of hypotheses,¹⁴ which arranges speeches by

⁹ See n. 7 above, and especially Dionysios *Lys.* 17: *μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ θανάσσει τὴν ἐν τοῖς προομίοις δύναμιν, ἐνθυμηθεὶς ὅτι διακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττους δικανικοὺς γράφας λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ πέφηνεν οὔτε ἀπιθάνως προοιμιαζόμενος οὔτε ἀπηρητημένη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρχῇ χρώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἐπιβέβληκε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς κατενήηκεται διανοίας*

¹⁰ See fr. 308 of this edition.

¹¹ This was probably tempered at least intermittently by collocation on the basis of thematic affinity. See n. 18 below.

¹² D. H. *Lys.* 20 *ἵνα δὲ βέλτιον τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐγγένηται μαθεῖν, εἴτε ὀρθῶς ἡμεῖς ταῦτα καὶ προσηκόντως πεπείσμεθα εἴτε καὶ διημαρτήκαμεν τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γραφέντων ποιήσομαι προχειρισάμενος τε ἓνα λόγον (οὐ γὰρ ἐγχαρεῖ πολλοῖς χρησθαι παραδείγμασιν) ἐξ ἐκείνου τὴν τε προαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδείξομαι, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενος ψυχαῖς εὐπαιδεύτοις καὶ μετρίαις μικρά τε μεγάλων καὶ ὀλίγα πολλῶν γενέσθαι δείγματα. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτροπικῶν, ἐπιγραφόμενος κατὰ Διογέτονος, ὑπόθεσιν δὲ ἔχων τοιάνδε . . . Harpocr. s. v. βιαίων· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Λυσιακοῖς φερόμενοι λόγοι βιαίων. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ φθορᾷ παρθένων μόνον οὔτε τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε ἡ δίκη ἐλέγετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων.*

¹³ If (as appears to be the case) we have an example of a speech in a *graphe paranomon* at fr. 311, we must assume that the papyrus contained more than one category of speech, if this reconstruction of the contents of the papyrus is to stand.

¹⁴ Printed as fr. 308 in this edition.

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category and gives a summary total for speeches in each category. The list contains all the four slander speeches which survive in the medieval manuscripts (Lys. 8–11), though the order is different, which may suggest some fluidity in ordering of speeches within the manuscripts at this period.¹⁵ Alongside this organizational trend, there is also reason to believe that there were collections in circulation based on alphabetical arrangement.¹⁶

At some point after the Hellenistic period a selection (possibly more than one) was made from within the larger corpus. This reduced corpus was the basis of the selection—speeches 3–31—which we find in X, the archetype of the majority of our medieval MSS.¹⁷ It was probably not made for school use, since the corpus includes a case arising from a fight between the homosexual lovers of a Plataean boy (speech 3 in modern editions), another from a fight over the sexual favours of a slave girl (speech 4 in modern editions), and a speech about the alleged seduction of a wife and the killing of the lover (speech 1 in modern editions). What we know or can surmise from the transmission (and partial or total loss) of other ancient authors suggests that such themes would not figure in a corpus created for the schoolroom. This selection like the larger edition was organized largely by legal action.¹⁸ One would guess either that it was made in the

¹⁵ The order of Demosthenic speeches fluctuates in the existing medieval MSS.

¹⁶ See G. Indelli, 'I papyri di Lisia: alcune osservazioni', *Pap. Lup* 9 (2000), 197–204, at 201. The two speeches in P. Lond. 2852 and P. Rylands 489 (Lys. 1 *On the killing of Eratosthenes* = or. 1 and fr. 106–7 *For Eryximachos*) have no obvious thematic connection. The absence of *Against Ergokles* = or. 28 suggests either that the collection was a selection or that alphabetical order was only loosely followed.

¹⁷ Speeches 1–2 may not have featured in this selection. Certainly by the middle ages they were transmitted separately; see below pp. xi–xii.

¹⁸ Though Dover, *Lysias*, 10 notes that on occasion thematic considerations appear to have outweighed strict arrangement by legal action, as in the juxtaposition of Lys. 9 with 8 and 10–11 (all of which involve allegations of defamatory statements, though 10/11 and 9 were written for different types

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fourth century CE, at a time when the range of reading in general was narrowing, or that it was made earlier but initially had limited influence on the readership. The evidence of the papyrus fragments (mostly from the second or third century CE)¹⁹ is consistent with either hypothesis. The papyri contain many speeches which did not survive into the middle ages, but it is a striking fact that four of our eight papyri preserve speeches also found in the medieval tradition. A papyrus of which parts survive in the British Library and the Rylands Library (Π^2 in the list of MSS in the Appendix to the Preface) has a portion of Lys. 1 together with a previously unknown speech. A smaller scrap of Lys. 1 has recently been published (Π^1 in the list of MSS). We also have a papyrus of part of Lys. 2 (Π^3 in the list of MSS). Most recently, Professor Obbink has published a fragment of Lys. 21 (Π^4 in the list of MSS). We cannot rule out coincidence; but it may be that the (subsequently) selected speeches—and especially 1 and 2 of the medieval collection—were already being read and copied more frequently, though still at that point coexisting with the non-selected speeches. This is also suggested by the ancient citations; speech 2 is cited more frequently in ancient authors than any other speech attributed to Lysias, while speech 1 is cited as frequently as speech 12, which is twice the length. Where the papyri preserve fragments of speeches which survive in medieval MSS, the text found in the papyri is rarely superior and sometimes markedly inferior to that of the medieval tradition.²⁰

of action and 8 was not written for a legal case at all), a phenomenon already visible in the papyrus collection of hypotheses.

¹⁹ The exception is P. Hibeh 14, the speech *Against Theozotides*, from the third century BCE.

²⁰ For recent discussions of the papyri see Indelli (cited n. 16 above); M. Cocurullo, 'Il contributo dei papyri alla conoscenza di Lisia', *Da Ercolano all'Egitto III (Papyrologica Lupiensia 10, 2001)*.

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Two speeches of Lysias (perhaps more) circulated separately from the rest in the Byzantine period. MS X of Lysias (Palatinus Graecus 88, now in Heidelberg), the oldest MS of the full corpus, datable to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, has a contents list, which I reproduce here in its entirety:

ταῦτα περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη θεοδώρου γραφείσα χειρί	
λυσίου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔρατοσθένους φόνου, ἀπολογία	α
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτάφιοϛ τοῖς κορινθίων βοηθοῖς	β
ἄλκιδάμαντος περὶ τῶν τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γραφόντων	γ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀδυσσέως κατὰ παλαμῆδους προδοσίας	δ
ἀντισθένους αἶαντα	ε
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀδυσσέα	ς
δημάδου ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας	ζ
λυσίου πρὸς σίμωνα ἀπολογία	η
τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας περὶ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὄν ²¹	θ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ καλλίου ἱεροσυλίας ἀπολογία	ι
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀνδοκίδου ἀσεβείας	ια
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρεοπαγитικὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀπολογία	ιβ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατηγορία πρὸς τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς κακολογιῶν	ιγ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατιώτου	ιδ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ θεομνήστου	ιε
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ θεομνήστου	ισ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἔρατοσθένους τοῦ γενουμένου τῶν τριάκοντα ὃν αὐτὸς εἶπε λυσίας	ιζ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἀγοράτου ἐνδείξεως	ιη
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἄλκιβιάδου εἰποταξίου	ιθ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἄλκιβιάδου ἀστρατίας	κ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν βουλῇ μαντιθέω δοκιμαζομένῳ ἀπολογία	κα
τοῦ αὐτοῦ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων	κβ

²¹ The title prefixed to the speech is similarly defective; Taylor supplied *ἄδηλον*.

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τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς δημεύσεως τοῦ νικίου ἀδελφοῦ ἐπίλογος	κγ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀριστοφάνους χρημάτων πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον	κδ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πολυστράτου	κε
τοῦ αὐτοῦ δωροδοκίας ἀπαράσημος ἀπολογία	κς
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν σιτοπωλῶν	κζ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ παγκλέωνος ὅτι οὐ πλαταιεύς	κη
τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δίδοσθαι τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ ἀργύριον	κθ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ἀπολογία	λ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νικίδου ἀργίας ²²	λα
τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εὐάνδρου δοκιμασίας	λβ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν ἐπίλογος	λγ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἐργοκλέους ἐπίλογος	λδ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φιλοκράτους ἐπίλογος	λε
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νικομάχου γραμματέως εὐθυνῶν κατηγορία	λς
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φίλωνος δοκιμασίας	λζ
γοργίου ἐλένης ἐγκώμιον	λη
σοὶ δόξα, σῶτερ, τῷ συνέργῳ τῶν πόνων.	

The most striking feature of the contents list is the separation of the two initial speeches (1 and 2 in modern printed editions) from the rest of the corpus by the works of minor orators. This suggests that speeches 1 and 2 were added from a separate source (or separate sources). This is confirmed by the fact that we have a number of MSS which offer only speech 1 or speech 2. The fact that the two speeches occur together without a break in X suggests that they may come from the same MS. But since they nowhere

²² For this (now lost) speech see below p. xviii.

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occur together in any surviving anthology, it is also possible that they were added to X from different sources.²³

2. The medieval manuscripts

The watershed for the understanding of the direct medieval tradition of Lysias was the publication of Hermann Sauppe's *Epistula critica* to Godfried Hermann in 1841. Though the existence of X was known to Taylor and Reiske in the eighteenth century, its importance was not realized until the nineteenth. It was first used by Emmanuel Bekker, but Bekker often gave preference to the fifteenth century MS C (Laurentianus LVII. 4). This is understandable. Often C gives an intelligent or at least intelligible reading where the text of X is suspect or unintelligible. But Sauppe demonstrated that the text of speeches 3–31 not only in C but in all the other surviving manuscripts was derived from that of X.²⁴ The most revealing evidence is the gaps in X due to spoilage or lost pages which are reflected in the spaces left in other MSS. Sauppe's case for the primacy of X is unanswerable and has been accepted by all subsequent scholars.

Despite Sauppe's work C continued to exercise an influence on at least some subsequent editions of Lysias (specifically the OCT of Hude and texts influenced by it, though not the Teubner and Budé editions), even though it was now clear that this is a Renaissance edition, not an unambitious copy of an exemplar. The status of C was further reduced in 1976, when F. Donadi²⁵ demonstrated conclusively that C is not in fact a copy of X but of an intervening manuscript, Af (Ambrosianus H 52 sup.). My own collation of the whole of Af confirms Donadi's

²³ For speeches 32–4 see p. xx below.

²⁴ For the implications for the apparatus of this edition see p. xxvii below.

²⁵ See bibliography below p. xxxix.

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conclusion, if confirmation were needed. Donadi designated this manuscript Am₄; I prefer (as marginally neater) the designation Af given by G. Avezzù. C has all the separative errors of Af, and takes over the corrections made in Af (often in a way which makes clear that Af is the source); in addition it introduces additional errors (often omissions), the classic sign of an apograph.

X itself has had a varied career. According to a note on the inside of the last page (folio 142r),²⁶ it was at one stage in Nicaea, presumably after the sack of 1204 when Nicaea was for half a century the Byzantine capital. It was at one point owned by Palla Strozzi. It was in the Vatican library by the early seventeenth century, taken thence to Heidelberg and back to Rome, before being taken to Paris in 1797 on Napoleon's orders. It was returned to Heidelberg in 1815.²⁷

We owe the manuscript to an otherwise unknown Theodoros,²⁸ who identifies himself at the top of the index of speeches as the scribe. With the exception of a few short sections where other hands took over the task, the text is the work of this one hand.²⁹ The physical separation of the first

²⁶ The text is given in R. Schöll, 'Zum Codex Palatinus des Lysias', *Hermes* 11 (1876), 202–18, 203.

²⁷ Details in M. Sosower, *Palatinus Graecus 88 and the Manuscript Tradition of Lysias* (Amsterdam, 1987).

²⁸ The name Theodoros recurs in the title of speech 27, where the words τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν ἐπίλογος of the title index become κατὰ ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν ἐπίλογος ὡς θεόδωρος. It is possible that the Theodoros in the title is an earlier rhetorician, possibly the contemporary of Tiberius (Theon, *Peri theses* p. 120 (= p. 80 Patillon), Souda s. v. Θεόδωρος, Γαδαρεύς); the contemporary of Lysias mentioned by Plato (*Phaedr.* 266e) and Dionysios (*Isae.* 19, etc.) is unlikely, since this seems far too early for editorial debate on the titles of Lysiac speeches. But the absence of the additional detail from the main index in X together with the suspicious recurrence of the same name suggests that the Theodoros named in the title is the scribe himself; if so he has done some intelligent detective work and drawn an inference from Dem. 19.277 and Athenaios 6, 242d. However, nothing in the speech suggests that the charge related to an embassy, and most modern editors amend the title and some also amend the opening of the speech (see ad loc.).

²⁹ Sosower, *Palatinus Graecus* 88, 8–9.

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two speeches noted above is reproduced in a formal feature. Speeches 3–31 have titles in red ink. The titles of speeches 1 and 2 and the minor oratorical works which follow them are in the same ink as the main text, though the speech beginning is also marked by an ink flourish in the margin and an enlarged and elaborated first letter in the left hand margin. This, plus the presence of the numerals ζ η θ in red in the margin against speeches 9, 10, 11 (indicating a numeration beginning with Lys. 3), led M. Erdmann³⁰ to conclude plausibly that Theodoros first wrote the text of speeches 3–31 and then added a section containing Lys. 1–2 and the minor orators.³¹ For reasons which are not clear the text as we have it is incomplete. Theodoros' practice was to write the speech first and subsequently insert the titles in red at the beginning of the speech (the title was written in small letters in the top margin in the regular ink to serve as a guide).³² Initially the speech titles in red are written in a firm and well-formed hand. But the writing becomes increasing hasty as the text progresses (particularly from speech 18 onwards).³³ Theodoros also left a space for the insertion of internal titles (marking now lost witness statements, laws etc.), with the missing document designated in tiny letters in

³⁰ M. Erdmann, *De Pseudolysiae epitaphii codicibus* (Leipzig, 1881), 37.

³¹ This conclusion that the collection as we have it is the compilation of two projects, not a single project, is supported by the fact (again noted by Erdmann) that the speech of Antisthenes preceding Lys. 3 does not occupy the whole of the page. The lower quarter is blank; the habit in both sections is to proceed to the next speech, leaving a gap for the title, not to commence a new speech with a new page. A new quaternion begins with speech 3, which is also marked by a change of scribe (Sosower, *Palatinus Graecus* 88, 7–8).

³² There are occasional errors where insufficient room has been left for the title, and the title of Lys. 31 is erroneously repeated before the *Helen* of Gorgias.

³³ This haste is also reflected in the smudging of red ink on to the opposite page in some speeches, where the book has been closed before the ink was completely dry.

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the margin for the appropriate word to be written in red ink. These titles were never added.

We can gain some sense of the exemplar of X from the marginal notes which run through this manuscript. Scattered throughout the text are signs in the margin (:/) set against lines which contain textual problems.³⁴ The ink is identical in colour with (and the colour varies with) that of the text written by Theodoros. So it appears to be part of the initial production of the text. The marks generally relate to passages also identified by subsequent scholars as containing textual problems. In a very small number of cases it is not clear that there is any problem. However, this number is reduced when one notes that in some cases it appears that the text has actually been corrected by the first hand.³⁵ The marginal marks betray the mind of a competent philologist. It looks as though Theodoros marked his text for subsequent collation against another copy, should it turn up. Certainly they were not part of the process of correction of copy, since in the overwhelming majority of cases no change was made to the text. The process suggests that the text was carefully scrutinized, which in turn suggests that the exemplar contained all the corruptions now found in X. This is especially clear in the case of those lacunae in speech 6 which do not result from damage to X, all of which carry the marginal sign.³⁶ We can also see (from the many cases where X records two readings, one in the text, the other above the

³⁴ For instance 1.44 *μὲν* (*πόθεν* Emperius), 3.20 *καταφρονήσεως* (*καταφρονήσας* AfM), 6.4 *θυσιάσουσι* (*θυσίας θύσει* Cobet), 12.85 *ἐλεῖν* (*ἐλθεῖν* Af), 27.4 *Ὀνομάσαντος*.

³⁵ Thus at 4.13 it looks as though *πραθείη* has been corrected from *πραθίη*; the mark appears against the line in X; likewise 4.18, where *μείζους* appears to have been corrected from *μίζους*, and 6.11, where the mark appears against the line containing *βασιλέα καὶ* written over an erasure.

³⁶ 6.9, 6.48, 6.49 init.

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line, without choosing)³⁷ that the exemplar contained a substantial number of alternative readings.

X also contains additions by later hands. The interventions are more frequent in the first two speeches, and particularly dramatic in the second speech, where the writer uses a distinctive dark ink and readily erases or obscures the original text in making corrections. How many hands are at work in the MS as a whole and at what date(s) are alike uncertain. In speech 2.47 the insertion *καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες* added above the line by the later hand in X is also found in the MSS copied from X.³⁸ Since the phrase is found in none of the surviving MSS which are independent of X, it is likely that the addition in X is a conjecture. However, there are intelligent readings inserted in X which are not reproduced by the fifteenth century apographs of X.³⁹ These suggest that some of the later changes were introduced in the late fifteenth century.

The text also offers a number of marginal notes of a generally rudimentary sort,⁴⁰ none showing evidence of any independent research and some no more than signposts for the antiquarian interested in aspects of Athenian commerce and politics.⁴¹

In addition to lacunae derived from the exemplar, X has

³⁷ For instances see Schöll, 'Zum Codex Palatinus', 209ff.

³⁸ Details in the apparatus of Avezzù's edition, p. 30. Hude mistakenly attributes the addition only to C (i.e. Af) and the later hand in X.

³⁹ Most notably or. 6.24, where the change of *γερών* to *ιέρων* added in the margin of X offers sense where X does not. Also striking is 18.4, where a later hand has written *ἐπιβουλευόντων* in the margin of X; the text written by Theodoros was *βουλευόντων*, which is reproduced without comment by Kallistos, though one might expect e.g. *γρ. ἐπιβουλευόντων*, if he was aware of the correction. For Kallistos see p. xviii below.

⁴⁰ Cf 1.16 (ad *Οἴηθεν*) *ἐκ τόπου τινὸς ἴσως ὡς Ἀθήνηθεν*, 1.37 (ad *μετελθεῖν*) *καλέσαι*, 2.46 (ad *ὑπὸ νύκτα*) *ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ νυκτός*, 4.17 (ad *οὐ λήσει οὐδὲν*) *λέγει ὅλως οὐδέν*.

⁴¹ At 20.13 we find in the margin *καταλογεὺς*, 22.6 *φορμός*, 22.8 *τίμιος ὁ σῆτος* (visible only by autopsy, since the page has been folded over at this point), 24.11 *ἀσπράβη*.

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itself suffered some physical damage. Folium 9 verso is virtually illegible owing to spillage of a thick dark liquid.⁴² Two leaves, containing the end of speech 5 and the beginning of speech 6 (in the modern numeration), have been lost. A further folium (from the same quaternion) was lost in speech 6, after (our) chapter 49. Speech 25 lacks its end and 26 its opening owing to the loss of a whole quaternion (eight leaves) between folia 120 and 121; the lost pages also contained an intervening speech whose survival to the middle ages is attested by the contents list, *Against Nikides for idleness*.

Of the copies, the most important, Af, was plausibly assigned by Donadi to the Greek scholar and copyist Andronikos Kallistos. Though Af now ousts C from the apparatus of this volume (except for one or two places where by accident or design C offers a better text than Af), the principle remains the same. This MS is in effect an edition by a very well-read scholar. The opening of Lys. 6 offers an example of Kallistos at work. There he supplements the lacunose text of his exemplar with a detail which now survives only in the lexicon to the orators written by Harpokration in the Roman period. Kallistos also took care to collate his exemplar with the independent part of the tradition for the substantial lacuna in speech 2 caused by the spillage of liquid in X.⁴³

The other MSS of Lysias offer little that is new. Occasionally, subfamilies of apographs or individual MSS offer intelligent scribal corrections, which I record; in particular, K with its offspring E, OW, the corrections added

⁴² The same liquid has rubbed on to the top of the opposite page, obliterating the word $\pi\epsilon\zeta\eta\nu$ in §28.

⁴³ C was copied from Af before Kallistos located his source for filling this lacuna, hence the absence of the additional text in C.

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to M. Taken as a whole, the haul is not very rich, but the tradition is not without value (quite apart from the light it sheds on the reception of Lysias in the early Renaissance).

The situation is very different for speeches 1–2. Speech 1 is offered not just by X and its apographs but also by a further three MSS. These MSS (HPT α) often agree with each other against X, but they also disagree, and none is demonstrably the source of the others. So we should assume the existence of a lost hyparchetype which was the source (directly or indirectly) of these; for ease of cross reference between editions I use the symbol η (derived from the recent edition of Avezzù) for this lost hyparchetype in my apparatus. Sosower would argue that their separative readings are actually derived from X after it had received corrections; there is no evidence for this view. Of these MSS the least reliable is H, whose scribe either on purpose or absent-mindedly rewrites on a small scale.

Speech 2 had a rich independent life in anthologies of oratory. It survives in the oldest extant Lysiac MS, Coislinianus 249 (V), from the tenth century. It also survives in a number of other MSS: F, G, g, Ae, Ob. These MSS broadly agree with each other, while V shows affinities with X. Within the group AeFGgOb there are subdivisions; Ae, G, Ob and g often agree against F, but within this cluster, AeGOB cohere closely.⁴⁴ Ob has a number of often faint corrections which, as Avezzù notes, appear to derive ultimately from V. All these MSS are independent of X. This is most visible in §§24–8 where they lack the lacuna in X caused by the spillage of liquid. In correcting MS Af

⁴⁴ Again for ease of cross reference I use the symbols of the most recent edition rather than substituting my own. I follow Avezzù using the following symbols: exemplar of AeFGgOb = ϕ ; exemplar of AeGgOb = χ ; exemplar AeGOB = ψ .

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Kallistos seems to have used Ae or G (or a kindred MS no longer available) to fill the gap in his text.

Speeches 32–4 are incomplete. They owe their survival to the fact that Dionysios quoted them to exemplify typical features of Lysias' style. They could with reason be presented among the fragments but I have followed the modern convention of printing them with the full speeches. The MSS tradition of Dionysios has been well treated by Usener and Radermacher⁴⁵ and more recently by Aujac.⁴⁶ For the essay on Lysias, Aujac identifies seven significant MSS, the eleventh-century F⁴⁷ and two families of manuscripts, AIVTB (all fifteenth century) and CDG (all sixteenth century). For ease of cross reference between editions I follow Aujac in designating by the letter ζ (Z Aujac) the archetype of the group AIVTB and δ (Δ Aujac) the archetype of the group CDG. δ was also the source for the text of essay in some MSS of Lysias; I cite K selectively to represent this strand. Where the δ group offers a distinctive reading, this is probably the result of editorial intervention rather than an independent manuscript source; so it must be used with caution. Speech 35 (from Plato's *Phaedrus*) is represented by four principal MSS, BDTW, which usually divide BD / TW. The dialogue is also found in a number of other manuscripts, which are listed in the apparatus where

⁴⁵ H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysius Halicarnaseus; quae exstant*, vol. v (Leipzig, 1899, repr. Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997).

⁴⁶ G. Aujac, *Dénys d'Halicarnasse. Opuscules rhétoriques*, I (Paris, 1978).

⁴⁷ This is not to be confused with the Marcianus 416, which contains Lysias 2. I offer here a word of warning. As with lost hyparchetypes, so I have avoided redesignating MSS for ease of cross reference but in the process have left the door open for another source of confusion. The sigla for MSS of Dionysios and Plato used for this edition in several cases overlap with those used for Lysias. The scope for confusion is limited, since the MSS involved relate to different sections of the corpus. The sigla with MSS catalogue numbers are clearly distinguished in the list of sigla in the Appendix below.

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used; the readings in the case of the Paris MSS and the Bodleian derive from autopsy, otherwise from the Budé edition of C. Moreschini (Paris 1985). I have included this speech with the other speeches preserved in medieval MSS, direct and indirect, rather than in an appendix, though I do not believe for a second that it was written by Lysias, solely because I do not use authenticity as an organizational criterion elsewhere for the speeches surviving in the medieval tradition.

3. The fragments

The fragments of Lysias derive from a variety of sources. Apart from the papyri, which are listed in the Appendix below, the most important sources are the various lexica, in particular that of Harpokration, but also Photios, the Souda, the *Lexicon Vindobonense*, the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the minor lexica edited by Bekker in his *Anecdota Graeca* (some of which can also be found in Bachmann's *Anecdota Graeca* and now in Cunningham, *Synagōgē lexeōn chrēsīmōn*), and the *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*. The later lexica are frequently derived ultimately from Harpokration, often verbatim with minor cuts. They do however contain some material not found in Harpokration. In the case of Harpokration I supplement the information derived from Keaney's recent edition (*Lexeis of the Ten Orators*, Amsterdam, 1991) with details of specific MSS readings derived from the edition of W. Dindorf (*Harpocratonis lexicon in decem oratores atticos*, Oxford, 1853, repr. Groningen, 1969). We also find some fragments cited in Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Athenaios, Diogenes Laertios (less often), extracts in Stobaios and occasional citations to illustrate points of grammar in Priscian, and passages offered as Latin translations of Lysias in the rhetorical text of Rutilius

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Lupus.⁴⁸ I have not collated the manuscripts for all these sources but have relied on editions already in print, with the exception of Dionysios, the exception being motivated by the simple fact that the MSS had to be collated anyway for speeches 32–4.

4. Modern scholarship

The first printed edition of Lysias was produced by Aldo Manuzzi in Venice in 1513 ('aldina' in this edition). The next major edition was that of Henri Estienne ('Stephanus'), Paris, 1575. The influence of these editions lurks behind the opaque 'vulg(ate)' in the critical apparatus in modern editions. In these and other cases I have tried wherever possible to identify the original source of a correction or conjecture, occasionally at the price of pedantry. The two great eighteenth-century editors of Lysias, John Taylor and J. J. Reiske, did much to place the text on a firmer footing, as did Jeremiah Markland, whose conjectures were included in Taylor's edition. Auger's edition of 1783 added little. The nineteenth century was (numerically) the most productive period for editions of Lysias, some now largely of antiquarian interest. The edition of Bekker (1822–3), the first to invoke Palatinus Graecus 88, was followed at a short interval by those of Förtsch (1829) and Franz (1831). The edition of Baiter and Sauppe (1850) remains important for the most comprehensive collection of the fragments available before the discovery of the papyrus fragments. It was followed at a short interval by editions of Scheibe (1852, 1855) and Westermann (1854). The next decade saw the appearance of the Dutch edition of Cobet (1863), which ran to several editions, the last by Hartman almost forty years later in 1905.

⁴⁸ For Rutilius Lupus see further §5.5 below.

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Though he offers some incisive conjectures, Cobet's influence on the text has been largely malign, driven as it is by a rigid sense of the rules of Attic morphology. The other major Dutch edition, that of Herwerden (1898) is considerably more balanced. Scheibe's Teubner edition was replaced by that of Thalheim in 1901 (revised 1913). Thalheim's edition has the fullest apparatus of any edition of Lysias and is an invaluable source of information on modern scholarship on the text; it was also the first to incorporate papyrus fragments. The edition of Zakas in Athens (1907–10) offers many conjectures, often marginal revisions of those of others; few are worth noting and his name appears rarely in the apparatus of subsequent works. The Oxford text of Hude appeared in 1912. Though the edition suffers from the absence of a text of the fragmentary speeches, Hude's selective apparatus is a model of good sense which packs a great deal of information into a small space. The Budé edition of Gernet and Bizos (1924–6) offers a good text of the speeches with brief apparatus and a selection of fragments, including the papyrus fragments available then. The flow of editions slowed to a trickle in the twentieth century. An edition with Italian translation by U. Albin appeared in 1955. A large Spanish edition (three volumes by M. Fernandez-Galiano, L. Gil, and J. M. Floristan Imizcoz) was completed over almost four decades, with the third volume by J. M. Floristan Imizcoz in 2000 including the fragments. The last of these volumes was the first edition since Sauppe to offer a comprehensive set of fragments of all sizes.

Partial editions, sometimes of individual speeches, have appeared throughout that period. The most important are the annotated selection of Herman Frohberger (1868), which was subsequently revised by Gebauer (with the addition of rich appendices) and independently by Thalheim, and the often reprinted text and commentary of Rauchenstein (first

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edition 1848). For the two speeches (1–2) represented by a MS tradition independent of X, Erdmann's edition of speech 2 and Avezzù's edition of speeches 1 and 2 are very important.

The editions were supplemented by a number of textual studies, beginning with Reiske's *Animadversiones ad Graecos auctores II* (Leipzig 1759). Dobree's *Adversaria* ed. G. Wagner (London, 1883) has been deservedly influential; the combination of philological knowledge and acumen is impressive. Also important, and almost contemporary, was the work of Adolf Emperius, *Observationes in Lysiam* (1833). The other studies most often cited in this edition, and most influential on the modern texts of Lysias, are those of C. M. Francken, T. Halbertsma, G. Hamaker and P. R. Müller. Most such studies date to the nineteenth century. A list of the most important works used is appended to this preface.

In addition to the various published studies, we have the product of some very high-quality Renaissance scholarship in a number of marginal notes made by hand in early editions.⁴⁹ There are anonymous notes (subsequently identified as the work of J. C. Scaliger) in a copy of the Aldine edition in the Bodleian Library.⁵⁰ In his edition of 1783, Auger made use of the notes of Antoine Leconte (d. 1586), generally known to students of Lysias under his latinized name Contius, made in the margin of a copy of the Aldine edition, seemingly as the preparatory work for an edition. This book subsequently disappeared (presumably in the turmoil of the revolution) then resurfaced in a Paris bookshop in the late nineteenth century and is now in the

⁴⁹ For a discussion of some of the Renaissance marginal notes see A. Hosoi, 'Rapport sur le travail mené à Paris, Oxford, Londres et Heidelberg, Année universitaire avril 1981 – mars 1982, deuxième partie: les éditions de Lysias du 16e siècle et leurs marginalia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Humanities, Seikei University* 19 (1983) 1–36.

⁵⁰ Auct. R. 4,2 (olim S. I.14).

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Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁵¹ It shows a striking agreement with the anonymous marginalia found in an Aldine now in the library of the University of Leiden ('Anon. Lugd.' in this edition) but annotated in Venice. The link was made the subject of a perceptive study by Erdmann as part of his preparation of an edition of *Lys. 2*.⁵² We can identify several sources for these notes. One was Marc-Antoine Muret;⁵³ the material derived from Muret includes conjectures never published by Muret and therefore certainly derived from conversation or lectures. Some readings⁵⁴ derive either from the Urbinas (O) or its near twin Parisinus 2939A (Pd). Others appear to come from the corrections in Vaticanus Graecus 66 (M).⁵⁵ There are also enough agreements with Af to suggest that either Af or a copy was used.⁵⁶ Erdmann also identified a lost manuscript at Venice as the source for the corrections in speeches 1–2, on the basis of reference both in Muret's *Variae lectiones* and in the Leiden Adine to a 'Venetus' as one source for corrections.⁵⁷ The notes of Leconte so often agree with those of another annotator, Brulart de Syllery, whose notes survive in a copy of the Stephanus edition at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,⁵⁸ as to suggest that de Syllery somehow had access to Leconte's notes. The same applies to the notes in another

⁵¹ (Res. g. x. 11). Inspection by Thalheim, Hosoi, and myself shows that Auger recorded only a limited number of Contius readings.

⁵² M. Erdmann, *Lysiaca* (Strasbourg, 1891).

⁵³ Usually identified by the abbreviation 'M' in the margin of the Leiden Aldine.

⁵⁴ For example, 3.40 διαφοράς X, συμφοράς OPd, Contius, and Anon. Lugd.

⁵⁵ For example, 1.27 πληγείς X, ποδισθείς Contius, M^c, and Anon. Lugd. (ποδηγής aldina).

⁵⁶ For example, 13.91 προδοὺς Af, Contius, προδόντα X, 31.24 κακὸν ποιήσας Af, Contius, Anon. Lugd., ἀγαθὸν ποιήσας X.

⁵⁷ Erdmann is, however, too prone to attribute readings shared by Leconte and the Leiden Aldine to the Venetus, when some, perhaps many, may be conjectures by Leconte or Muret.

⁵⁸ The catalogue number is x 738, olim x 1756.

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Aldine inserted by Daniel Huet, who donated the volume to the Bibliothèque in 1692.⁵⁹ There are marginalia of Jeremiah Markland in a copy of the Stephanus edition⁶⁰ in the British Library; for the most part these agree with the Markland readings published in Taylor's edition, though they offer the occasional gem, such as the identity of the 'vir summus' (Richard Bentley) cited by Taylor for a palmary conjecture at the end of speech 31. I have also used the largely unpublished notes of L. C. Valckenaer, *Observationes criticae ad scriptores Graecos*.⁶¹ The notes on Lysias are firmly dated (by a note on f. 140v) to October 1756; they thus predate Reiske's *Animadversiones* and (though the quality is uneven) they anticipate not only some of Reiske's conjectures but also a number of nineteenth-century readings. Slightly later are the unpublished notes of Coraes in the Auger edition in the Coraes Public Library on Chios⁶² kindly supplied to me by Professor G. A. Christodoulou. Professor Stephanopoulos also generously sent me his unpublished notes on Lysias. The former work allowed me to reassign a number of readings and the latter allowed me to retreat from some rash decisions (which are passed over in silence in this edition). Mention should be made also of the notes of Claude Saumaise (Salmasius) which I have taken from Taylor's edition. I ignore the marginalia in the Aldine in the Biblioteca Medicea Lorenziana (D'Elci 8), which in speech 2 probably derive from MS Ae, and elsewhere are both thin and of little value.

⁵⁹ Catalogue number x 297, previously x 1754.

⁶⁰ Catalogue number 834.1.

⁶¹ Leiden cod. lat. 439. This notebook was at one stage in the possession of Peter Paul Dobree and on his death was returned to the Netherlands by his executors. Parts of it were published by Sluiter in his *Lectiones andocideae* (see Appendix below).

⁶² *ΕΦ* 88.

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5. Principles of this edition

5.1 Recording MSS readings

I have abandoned the symbol L used by Hude in the Oxford edition of 1912 to indicate the consensus of the manuscripts. Since for speeches 3–31 X is the archetype of the medieval tradition, MSS consensus for these speeches merely confirms the accuracy of later copying from X and the absence of scribal interference in the text, without adding in any way to the authority of the readings offered. Instead I cite only X (the practice of the Teubner and Budé editors), except in cases where a later manuscript offers a scribal correction which improves on or is a viable alternative to that of X. In speeches 1 and 2 I opt for exhaustive reportage in order to give the reader a sense both of the quality of individual manuscripts and of the relationships between them. In those speeches I cite X and the manuscripts independent of X but not apographs of those manuscripts.

5.2 Recording conjectures

Modern conjectures on the text of Lysias are legion. Along with much which is of merit, the tide of scholarly intervention brings with it no small amount of silt and flotsam. The nineteenth century was particularly productive. But at that period textual change was perilously close to being an intellectual game and much of the scholarship corrects Lysias rather than his text.⁶³ The twentieth century—an era far less interested in textual criticism either as science or as sport—saw few additions to the store of conjectures. The Teubner text of Thalheim early in the twentieth century performed an invaluable service in providing a nearly comprehensive list of previous conjectures

⁶³ My own more capricious suggestions for change are for the most part safely confined to the apparatus.

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in its apparatus. Since there is no need to replicate an excellent work which is on the shelves in scholarly libraries, this volume can afford to be more selective. I have made the apparatus larger than that of its predecessor in the OCT series. In selecting conjectures for inclusion I have tried to alert the reader to different approaches to real or imagined textual problems. I have included many conjectures where I regard the text as sound, since an imaginative conjecture often focuses the mind on questions of style or substance and leads to a better understanding of the work. Inclusion also gives the reader greater autonomy with reference to my own subjective editorial decisions.

5.3 Selecting readings

My approach to the text is largely conservative. As was noted above, the manuscript which Theodoros used as an exemplar in copying X already contained numerous corruptions. Some of these were noted by the copyist; others have been detected by subsequent scholars. Thoroughgoing conservatism is therefore not an option. But where I felt that the tradition could yield good Greek and good sense consistent with Lysias' usage, I have preferred to keep it. The danger with conservative textual scholarship is that one will accept the unacceptable; on occasion it will be felt that I have been too generous to the tradition.

5.4 Morphology

In the manuscript traditions of all ancient authors there is a tendency for later forms to oust those in the original. But although we can often distinguish between earlier and later forms, it is not always clear when a particular form became current in the language. The problem is acute with prose texts, since the absence of metre deprives us of one obvious means of filtering out later interference. The late nineteenth

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century saw the first sustained attempts both to impose a consistent discipline on the texts of the orators and to use the evidence of epigraphy to test the morphology and phonology found in the manuscripts of prose authors.⁶⁴ The process remained and remains subjective. At its worst it can lead to pedantry, as for instance in Cobet's unfailing substitution of earlier for later forms of the future passive in Lysias. But at its best, as in the case of Herwerden and generally Hude, it was done with scrupulous regard for the sole incontrovertibly unaltered contemporary evidence, Athenian inscriptions. I have followed them in using inscriptions as a guide. Where the evidence of inscriptions supports the forms found in the manuscripts, I have regarded this as confirmation. I have not however automatically allowed the evidence of inscriptions to override the manuscript text where inscriptional evidence only slightly later than our author attests a form, since we cannot assume a complete equivalence between the language of inscriptions and the language of public discourse and it may be a matter of chance that a form is first attested in an inscription a couple of decades after a given literary text. I have also used the evidence of the manuscripts of other prose authors as a guide to Lysias' likely usage. There is a danger of circularity in this approach, since the same process of substitution was at work in all manuscript traditions; but since there was no systematic attempt to replace early with late forms, consensus does give ground for confidence. Though such matters obsess editors, for most readers it will not be a matter of great concern.

⁶⁴ Herwerden and Hude made use of K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, eds. 2 and 3 respectively (Berlin, 1888 and 1900). We now also have L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1980-96).

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5.5 The fragments

In presenting the fragments I have tried to be as inclusive as possible. Accordingly, in an Appendix I offer a number of texts which I do not believe to be by Lysias but which have been attached to his name more or less confidently by scholars whose views deserve respect (just as I retain speeches which have survived in their entirety under Lysias' name but which are unlikely to be by Lysias, including the inescapably spurious speech 20). In presenting texts which purport to cite the words of Lysias (as distinct from paraphrase and reference) I have often attempted to indicate where in the lost speech I feel the passage came; I have also tried to guide the reader where appropriate on issues such as type of case and occasion. The process is subjective and the reader will need no encouragement to treat all such observations with due caution. One particularly problematic source is the rhetorical text of Rutilius Lupus, who offers Latin translations of passages from Lysias and other orators to illustrate rhetorical devices. How far Rutilius translates and adapts and how far he rewrites or combines his sources is unclear. Barabino suggests that Rutilius' texts are loosely based on Lysias and that in some cases the source may be a text which survives. We cannot rule out the possibility that the translations represent lost speeches, since Rutilius does actually cite identifiable passages from Demosthenes. But the uncertain status of the fragments, together with the fact that where Rutilius does translate recognizable texts his adherence to his original varies, means that his extracts can only be treated at best as a rough indication of effects achieved in lost works of Lysias, not as a reliable guide to the content of specific passages, and in some cases may be relatively free reworkings of texts we already have.⁶⁵ In view

⁶⁵ G. Barabino, *P. Rutilii Lupi Schemata lexeos et dianoiās* (Genoa, 1967).

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of the uncertainty I have included the Rutilius translations as Lysias and assigned a fragment number but have also drawn the reader's attention to possible sources within material we already possess.

6. Some thanks

In addition to the works published and unpublished which have generated this text, I have benefited from the comments, ideas, and criticisms at two seminar series held in the Institute of Classical Studies in London; though their names are only intermittently mentioned in the apparatus, the influence of the participants lurks at many points unseen, not least where they have stifled a rash conjecture, prevented an unwise textual decision or drawn attention to a glaring typographical error. They include Eva Astyrakaki, Luigi Battezzatto, Mike Edwards, Marco Fantuzzi, Alan Griffiths, David Harvey, Roland Mayer, Peter Pickering, Eleni Volonaki, and Stephen Usher. I also benefited from a master class in Leiden in 1997 and am especially grateful to Peter Stork. Mike Edwards and Alan Griffiths read the text of the fragments and removed many errors, and Stephen Todd read both the fragments and the text of the speeches, picking up a host of unnoticed presentational mistakes. Doug Olson scrupulously purged the text of the fragments of lingering errors. In addition I have gained much from exchanges with Kostas Apostolakis, Eric Handley (whose judgement on papyrological issues proved invaluable), Kostas Kapparis, Enrico Medda (with whom I exchanged ideas on *P. Oxy.* 1606 while both of us were working on it). Warm thanks are also due to Giuseppe Ucciardello, who kindly sent me sections of his forthcoming edition of Vat. Gr. 7 containing previously unknown Lysiac fragments and testimonia, and to I am very grateful to Stephen Todd for a valuable correspondence on this issue.

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Giovannbattista d'Alessio, who alerted me to their existence.⁶⁶ I am also grateful to the staff in those libraries where I worked for extended periods, the British Library (both old and new), the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (both old and new), Duke Humphrey's Library in the Bodleian, and especially to Dr. Ludwig Ries and his colleagues at the University Library in Heidelberg, and to those libraries which provided me with microfilms, CD-ROMs or photographs of manuscripts. In particular it has been a privilege and a pleasure to work in some of the great libraries of the world. I must also record my thanks (after an unconscionable delay) to the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust for a senior research fellowship in 1996 to support the research which formed the foundation for this project, and also to the University of London Central Research Fund, to the Classics Department at Royal Holloway (where much of the work was carried out), and the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at University College London for funds to obtain microfilms and to support research visits to libraries. I am grateful to Ian McAuslan for his patient, thorough, and sympathetic copy-editing, and to Maria Kanellou for the index. Finally, thanks are due to Sir Kenneth Dover who so long ago (1991) suggested the Lysias text to me as a project over a gin and tonic. It has been a long time. The task could have been accomplished much sooner if I had the strength of character to resist the appeal both of a host of easier projects completed in the interim and likewise a range of managerial and other activities. That the text which follows would still benefit from further revision is embarrassingly, inescapably true. But there comes a time to let go.

C. C.

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⁶⁶ Since the finalized text was already with the press when the opportunity to add these fragments arose, the inclusion has involved minor changes to the fragment numeration; these should occasion no confusion.

APPENDIX

SOURCES, SIGNS, AND SCHOLARSHIP¹

I. Sources

I.1 Medieval MSS of Lysias

Ae = Ambrosianus Graecus 348 (F 88 sup.) fifteenth century
(Lys. only)

Af = Ambrosianus Graecus 436 (H 52 sup.) fifteenth century

C = Laurentianus plut. LVII.4 fifteenth century

D = Laurentianus plut. LVII.45 fourteenth century

E = Laurentianus plut. LVII.52 fifteenth century

F = Marcianus Graecus 416 (coll. 536) eleventh century
(Lys. 2)

G = Marcianus Graecus 417 (coll. 839) fourteenth/fifteenth
century (Lys. 2)

g = Laurentianus plut. LXXXVI.13 fourteenth century (Lys. 2)

H = Marcianus 422 (coll. 900) fifteenth century (Lys. 1)

I = Marcianus Graecus 522 (coll. 317) fifteenth century

K = Marcianus Graecus App. VIII.1 (coll. 1159) fifteenth
century

M = Vaticanus Graecus 66 fifteenth century

N = Vaticanus Graecus 1366 fifteenth century

O = Urbinas Graecus 117 fifteenth century²

¹ Medieval MSS of Lysias are listed by Roncali, 'Lista dei manoscritti di Eschine, Licurgo, Lisia', *Annali Fac. Lettere e Fil. Univ. Bari* 14 (1969), 381–99, A. Hosoi, 'Rapport sur le travail mené à Paris, Oxford, Londres et Heidelberg, Année universitaire avril 1981 – mars 1982, première partie: quelques manuscrits de Lysias', *Bulletin of the Institute of Humanities, Seikei University* 18 (1982), 34–77; Sosower, *Palatinus Graecus 88* discusses the apographs of X; Avezzù, *Lisia* (1985), pp. xv–LXXVI offers a thorough discussion of the MSS of speeches 1 and 2.

² Since Parisinus 2939A (Pd in Avezzù's notation) differs from O only in minor details (e.g. 7.7 O omits δὲ after ἐπίστασθε, Pd retains; at 10.5 O adds

SOURCES, SIGNS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Ob = Baroccianus 139 (Oxford) fourteenth/fifteenth century
(Lys. 2)

P = Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 117 fifteenth century
(Lys. 1)

To = Toletanus Bibl. Cap. 101.16 fifteenth century (Lys. 1)

V = Coislinianus 249 (Auger's Sangermanensis) tenth/
eleventh century (Lys. 2)

W = Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 59 sixteenth century

X = Palatinus Graecus 88 twelfth/thirteenth century

η = exemplar of MSS HPT ϕ (so Avezzù)

ϕ = exemplar of MSS AeFGgOb (so Avezzù)

χ = exemplar of MSS AeGgOb (so Avezzù)

ψ = exemplar of MSS AeGOB (so Avezzù)

1.2 Medieval MSS of Dionysios³

F = Laurentianus LIX.15 tenth/eleventh century

A = Ambrosianus Graecus 267 (D 119 sup.) fifteenth century

B = Parisinus Graecus 1742 fifteenth century

I = Estensis α K 5, 15 (gr. 68) fifteenth century

T = Palatinus Vaticanus Graecus 58 fifteenth century

V = Marcianus Graecus x. 34 (coll. 1449) fifteenth century

C = Parisinus Graecus 2131 sixteenth century

D = Parisinus Graecus 2944 sixteenth century

G = Guelferbytanus 806 sixteenth century

δ = exemplar of MSS CDG (so Aujac) and Lys. MS K

the document title missing from X, Pd lacks it), I make no use of it in the apparatus.

³ All contain *On Lysias*; FABITV also contain Dionysios' treatise *On Isaios* (cited in this edition for fr. 50, 174, 286), ABITV the treatise *On Demosthenes* (cited for fr. 279). The latter treatise is also found in Parisinus Graecus 1743, but the beginning is lost, as far as ch. 11. Parisinus Graecus 1657 (A*), cited intermittently by Usener–Radermacher 'in the very few places where it alone has preserved the truth', adds nothing in the sections of the treatises relevant to the text of *Lysias* which cannot be found in its cognate Pal. Vat. Gr. 58 (= T).

SOURCES, SIGNS AND SCHOLARSHIP

ξ = exemplar of MSS ABITV (so Aujac).

1.3 Medieval MSS of Plato's *Phaedrus*

B = Bodleianus Clarke 39

T = Venetus app. cl. iv I

D = Marcianus Graecus 185

W = Vindobonensis 54, suppl. phil. Gr. 7

1.4 Papyri⁴

PL III/284B = Lys. I.14–15 (designated *Π*¹ in the apparatus)

P. Lond. 2852 and *P. Rylands* 489 = Lys. I.45–9 (designated *Π*² in the apparatus) and the lost speech for Eryximachos, fr. 106–7

PSI XI 1206 = Lys. 2.74–9 (designated *Π*³ in the apparatus)

P. Oxy. 4716 = Lys. 21.3–9, 15 (fort.) 17 (designated *Π*⁴ in the apparatus)

P. Oxy. 2102 (ed. A. S. Hunt) + *P. Turner* 7 (ed. A. Carlini); joined by G. Menci, *SCO* 32 (1982), p. 249, Plat. *Phaedrus* 233e–234b, 242d–243e (designated *Π*⁵ in this edition)

P. Oxy. 4715 = title of Lys. fr. 14b (*On the unveiling present*)

P. Graec. Vindob. 29816 = *On/For the daughter of Antiphon* etc., fr. 26 ff., 414 ff.

P. Hibeh 14 = *Against Theozotides*, fr. 128 ff.

P. Oxy. 1606 = *Against Hippothereses* etc., fr. 151–2, 164 ff., 306, 309 ff.

P. Oxy. 2537 = hypotheses of Lysiac speeches, fr. 308

1.5 Other abbreviations used in this edition

X¹ = reading in X by the first hand

⁴ Publication details of the papyri are given in the list of major editions below. PSI inv. 966 mentioned by R. Pintaudi and A. López-García, *Anal. Papyrol.* 12 (2000), p. 19 may conceivably contain or. 32.7.

SOURCES, SIGNS AND SCHOLARSHIP

X^c = correction in X^5

X^r = reading in X by a later hand

X^m = reading or correction in X added in margin

X^s = reading or correction in X added above the line

$X_{\gamma\rho(\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)}$ = variant reading noted in MS

$\langle a \rangle$ = letter(s)/word(s) added by editors (also used for scribal additions in apographs of X)

$\langle . . . \rangle$ lacuna (i.e. a gap in the text of unspecified length arising from an omission)

$\{a\}$ = letter(s) deleted in this edition

$[a]$ = letter(s) missing from MSS or papyri

$[[a]]$ = letter(s) erased or deleted by a scribe

$\underline{a}$ = letter(s) whose reading is uncertain

2. Critical works

2.1 Editions

The following is a list of the most significant of the editions I have consulted:

Adams, C. D., *Lysias, Selected Speeches* (New York, 1905)

Albini, U., *Lisia, I discorsi* (Florence, 1955)

——, *Lisia, per l'uccisione di Eratostene* (Rome, 1952)

——, *Lisia, per l'invalido* (Florence, 1956)

Apostolakis, K. E., [$\Lambda\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$] $\Upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\Pi\omicron\lambda\nu\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (Athens, 2003)

Auger, A., *Lysiae opera omnia* (Paris, 1783)

Avezù, G., *Lisia: apologia per l'uccisione di Eratostene, Epitafio* (Padua, 1985)

——, *Lisia: contro i tiranni* (Venice, 1991)

⁵ In the case of corrections and readings added above the line or in the margin, the correction/addition is by or contemporary with the first hand unless otherwise indicated. In the case of MS F (Laurentianus LIX. 15) of Dionysios, where the corrections are routinely by a second hand, I use the sigla F^1 , F^2 , to distinguish the hand of the scribe responsible for the body of the text from that of the corrector; in this I follow the editors of Dionysios.

SOURCES, SIGNS AND SCHOLARSHIP

- Baiter, J. G., and Sauppe, H., *Oratores attici* (Zurich, 1850)
- Bekker, E., *Oratores attici* (Oxford, 1822–3, repr. Berlin, 1824)
- Bremi, I., *Lysiae orationes selectae* (Gotha, 1845)
- Cobet, C. G., *Lysiae orationes* (Amsterdam, 1863, rev. 1882, 1891) ed. 4 rev. J. J. Hartman (Leiden, 1905)
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- Fernandez-Galiano, M., and Gil, L., and Floristan Imizcoz, J. M., *Lysias. Discursos I–III* (Madrid, 1963–2000)
- Förtsch, K. F. G., *Lysiae quae supersunt orationes cum deperditarum fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1829)
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- Frohberger, H., *Lysias. Ausgewählte Reden* (Leipzig, 1868), ed. Minor (1875) rev. G. Gebauer (Leipzig, 1882), Th. Thalheim (Leipzig, 1892–5)
- Gernet, L., and Bizos, M., *Lysias, discours* (Paris, 1924, 1926)
- Groeneboom, P., *Lysias erste Rede ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου* (Groningen, 1924)
- Herwerden, H. van, *Lysiae orationes . . . cum fragmentis . . .* (Groningen, 1898)
- Hillgruber, M., *Die zehnte Rede des Lysias* (Berlin and New York, 1988)
- Hude, C., *Lysiae orationes* (Oxford, 1912)
- Manutius, A. (= aldina), *Orationes horum rhetorum . . .* (Venice, 1513)
- Meutzner, G., *Commentatio de Lysiae oratione Περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ* (Leipzig, 1860)
- Müller, P., *Oratio quae inter Lysiacas fertur octava* (Münster, 1926)
- Reiske, J. J., *Oratorum Graecorum . . . quae supersunt monumenta ingenii* (Leipzig, 1770–5; Lysias = vols v–vi)
- Rauchenstein, R., *Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias* (Berlin, 1848 etc.)⁶

⁶ The Rauchenstein text with commentary ran to multiple editions,

SOURCES, SIGNS AND SCHOLARSHIP

- Rögeholt, L. P., *Ps-Lysiae oratio contra Andocidem* (Groningen, 1893)
 Roussel, L., (*Pseudo-*)*Lysias, L'invalide* (Paris, 1966)
 Scheibe, C., *Lysiae orationes* (Leipzig, 1852, ed. 2 1855)
 Schott, A., ap. J. Van der Heid, *Lysiae . . . orationes XXXIV . . . nunc primae latine redditae* (Hanover, 1615)
 Stephanus, H. (Henri Estienne), *Oratorum veterum orationes* (Geneva, 1575)
 Taylor, J., *Lysiae orationes et fragmenta . . . ; accedunt J̄er. Marklandi coniecturae* (London, 1739)
 Thalheim, Th., *Lysiae orationes* (Leipzig, 1901; ed. 2 1913)
 Weidner, L., *Ausgewählte Reden* ed. 2 (Leipzig, 1888)
 Westermann, A., *Lysiae orationes* (Leipzig, 1854)
 Zakas, A. J., *Lysiou logoi kai apospasmata* (Athens, 1907–10)

Editions of the papyrus fragments (authentic and other) are:

- Dörrie, E., *Papiri greci e latini* XI (Florence, 1935), 89–90
 Gerhard, G. A., *Griechische Papyri, Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen* VI (Heidelberg, 1938), 24–6
 Grenfell, B. P., and Hunt, A. S., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI (London, 1915), III–3
 —, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XIII (London, 1919), 48–74
 —, *The Hibeh Papyri* I (London, 1906), 49–55
 Medda, E., *Lysiae In Hippothersem, In Theomnestum et fragmenta ex incertis orationibus* (P. Oxy. XIII 1606) (Florence, 2003)
 Milne, H. J., 'A new speech of Lysias', *JEA* 15 (1929), 75–7
 Obbink, D., 'Lysias', *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXIX (London, 2005), 104–115

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- Pintaudi, R., and López-García, A., *Anal. Papyrol.* 12 (2000), 19–20
- Rea, J., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xxxi (London, 1966), 23–45
- Roberts, C. H., *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* vol. 3 (Manchester, 1938)
- Snell, B., and Merkelbach, R., *Griechische papyri aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (1954), 78–81

2.2 Textual studies

The published sources most commonly invoked in this volume in addition to the editions are:

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- Blass, F., *Die attische Beredsamkeit* I² (Leipzig, 1887)
- Boblenz, H., *Kritische Anmerkungen zu Lysias* (Jever, 1881)
- Castiglioni, L., *Decisa forficibus* (Milan, 1954)
- Collart, P., 'Les papyrus d'Oxyrhynchos. A propos du tome XIII', *RPh* 43 (1919), 49–54
- Coraes in schedis = notes of Coraes
- Dobree, P. P., *Adversaria* ed. G. Wagner (London, 1883)
- Donadi, F., 'Esplorazioni alla tradizione manoscritta dell' Encomio do Elena Gorgiano I: i mss Laur. LVII.4 (C) e Ambr. H 52 sup. (Am₄)', *BIFG* 3 (1976), 226–53
- Emperius, Adophus, *Observationes in Lysiam* (1833) ap. *Adolphii Emperii Brunopolitani opuscula philologica et historica amicorum studio collecta*, ed. F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1857)
- Erdmann, M., *De Pseudolysiae epitaphii codicibus* (Leipzig, 1881)

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- , *Lysiaca* (Strassbourg, 1891)
- Francken, C. M., 'Annotationes ad Lysiam', *Philologus* 19 (1863), 315-18, 710-717
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- Frohberger, H., 'Zu Lysias', *Philologus* 15 (1860), 340-4
- Fuhr, K., *Observationes in oratores atticos* (Bonn, 1877)
- Halbertsma, T., 'Adnotationes criticae in Lysiae orationes', *Mnemosyne* 11 (1862), 205-16
- , *Lectiones Lysiacaе* (Utrecht, 1868)
- Hamaker, G., *Quaestiones de nonnullis Lysiae orationibus* (Leiden, 1843)
- Jacobs, F., *Additamenta animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* (Jena, 1809), J. Nicole, 'Miscellanea critica scripsit F. Jacobs', *Hermes* 43 (1908), from notes written in 1812-13
- Jander, K. *Oratorum et rhetorum graecorum fragmenta nuper reperta* (Bonn, 1913)
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- Lampros, S. P., 'Mitteilungen über den codex Palatinus x.88', *Hermes* 10 (1876), 257-80
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- Messina, A., 'Di alcuni frammenti delle orazioni di Lisia', *Emerita* 18 (1950), 46-69
- Müller, P. R., 'Kritische Bemerkungen zu Lysias', *Philologus* 12 (1857), 92-106

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- Naber, J. C., 'Adnotationes criticae ad Lysiae orationes', *Mnemosyne* 33 (1905), 68–98
- Peppler, C. W., 'Notes on the text of Lysias', *AJP* 60 (1939), 71–84
- Pluygers, W. G., 'Ad Lysiae orationes', *Mnemosyne* 11 (1862), 83–91
- Polak, H. J., 'Paralipomena lysiacae', *Mnemosyne* 29 (1901), 413–43; 30 (1902), 367–86; 31 (1903), 157–4
- Reiske, J. J., *Animadversiones ad Graecos auctores II* (Leipzig 1759)
- Richards, H., 'Notes on the Attic orators', *CR* 20 (1905), 292–301
- , 'Notes on Greek orators', *CR* 29 (1915), 100–4
- Schöll, R., 'Zum Codex Palatinus des Lysias', *Hermes* 11 (1876), 202–18
- Sluiter, J. O., *Lectiones andocidaeae* (Leiden, 1804)
- Sosower, M., *Palatinus Graecus 88 and the manuscript tradition of Lysias* (Amsterdam, 1987)
- Weissenberger, M., *Die Dokimasiereden des Lysias (orr. 16, 25, 26, 31)* (Frankfurt, 1987)
- Wilhelm, A., 'Zu Lysias' Rede gegen Theozotides', *WS* 52 (1934), 52–6

Additional bibliography can be found in the introductions to the Fernandez-Galiano, Gil and Floristan Imizcoz text cited above. Marginalia in Renaissance editions are listed and described on pp. xxiv–xxv above.

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I

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΦΟΝΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς [91S]
 ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι, οἰοίπερ I
 ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἴητε τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τὴν
 αὐτὴν γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχοιτε, ἦνπερ περὶ ὑμῶν
 5 αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὅστις οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις
 ἀγανακτοίη, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν περὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἐπιτηδευόντων τὰς ζημίας μικρὰς ἡγοίσθε. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν 2
 εἴη μόνον παρ' ὑμῖν οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ [92S]
 Ἑλλάδι· περὶ τούτου γὰρ μόνου τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἐν
 10 δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡ αὐτὴ τιμωρία τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις
 πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένους ἀποδέδοται, ὥστε τὸν
 χεῖριστον τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν τῷ βελτίστῳ· οὕτως, ὦ
 ἄνδρες, ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι δεινοτάτην
 ἡγοῦνται. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ζημίας ἅπαντας 3
 15 ὑμᾶς νομίζω τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδένα οὕτως
 ὀλιγώρως διακείσθαι, ὅστις οἶται δεῖν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν

Or. I Schol. in Hermog 6.458, 16–20 (Walz)

Hanc or. praebent praeter X et apographas etiam Π¹ (§§14–15) Π² (§§45–49)
 HPTο (quorum exemplar hic η designo) ο Tit. ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους
 φόνου ἀπολογία Harpocr. s. v. μέταυλος; Λυσίου περὶ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου
 ἀπολογία HTο; ἀπολογία περὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου Π² (sub fine); om. P
 3 εἴητε Fabricius et Anon. Lugd.: εἰ ἦτε codd.: ἦτε Coraes in schedis
 4 γνώμην (καὶ) Reiske 5 ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις οὐκ η 6
 ἀγανακτήσειε H οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖσθαι P¹ –οίη P^c πάντες] πάσας Weidner
 τῶν περὶ Το 7 τὰς (μεγίστας) Reiske μικρὰς X^c μακρὰς X^{ac} Afη
 ἡγείσθαι P 8 ἐγνωσμένως P 10 καὶ ἐν ὅλ. P (coniecerat Contius)
 τιμωρία ex τιμορία corr. ut vid. P 13 τὴν ante ὕβριν del. Dobree

- ἡ μικρὰς ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγείται τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων
 4 αἰτίους· ἡγοῦμαι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδείξαι, ὥς
 ἐμοίχευεν Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐκείνην τε
 διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἥσχυνε καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν
 ὕβρισεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών, καὶ οὔτε ἔχθρα ἐμοὶ 5
 καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐδεμία ἦν πλήν ταύτης, οὔτε χρημάτων ἔνεκα
 ἔπραξα ταῦτα, ἵνα πλούσιος ἐκ πένητος γένωμαι, οὔτε ἄλλον
 5 κέρδους οὐδενὸς πλήν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τιμωρίας. ἐγὼ
 τοῖνυν ἐξ' ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐπιδείξω τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πράγματα,
 οὐδὲν παραλείπων, ἀλλὰ λέγων τάληθῇ· ταύτην γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ 10
 μόνην ἡγοῦμαι σωτηρίαν, ἐὰν ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα δυνηθῶ τὰ
 πεπραγμένα.
- 6 ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξέ μοι γῆμαι καὶ γυναῖκα
 ἡγαγόμενην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὕτω
 διεκείμεν ὥστε μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε λῖαν ἐπ' ἐκείνη εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν 15
 ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐφύλαττόν τε ὥς οἶόν τε ἦν, καὶ προσείχον τὸν
 νοῦν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν. ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι παιδίον γίγνεται,
 ἐπίστευον ἤδη καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκείνη παρέδωκα,
 7 ἡγούμενος ταύτην οἰκειότητα μεγίστην εἶναι· ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ
 πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, πασῶν ἦν βελτίστη· καὶ γὰρ 20
 οἰκονόμος δεινὴ καὶ φειδωλὸς {ἀγαθῇ} καὶ ἀκριβῶς πάντα
 διοικούσα. ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡ πάντων τῶν
 8 κακῶν ἀποθανοῦσα αἰτία μοι γεγένηται — ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν γὰρ

7 οἰκονόμος . . . {ἀγαθῇ} Choric. Gaz. 7.1.4, 20.2.33

1 ἡγείται] εἶναι Weidner 2 ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ **η** ἀποδείξει Coraes
 in schedis (item Herwerden) 3 ἐμοίχευεν Contius 5 ὕβριζεν
 Thalheim οὔτε ἔχθρα X^c: οὕτως ἔχθρα X¹: καὶ {ὄτι} οὔτε ἔχθρα Pertz
 8 κέρδους del. Rauchenstein τοὺς ante νόμους om. X 9 ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 om. H 10 {ἅπαντα} λέγων Hirschig 11-12 τὰ [[3 litt.]] πεπραγμένα
 To 13 ὦ ἄνδρες MN 14 τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλον H 15 λυπεῖν]
 ἀπιστεῖν Bergk: {ἀπιστία} λυπεῖν Frohberger: ζηλοτυπεῖν P. R. Müller
 λίαν] ἐὰν P. R. Müller 16 ἐθέλῃ H: θέλῃ rell.: {ἂν} θέλοι Dobree
 18 ἐμαυτῷ P ἐκείνη om. **η** 20 ὦ ἄνδρες H 21 ἀγαθῇ del.
 Dobree, def. Albini *SIFC* 32 (1960), ret. Avezzù: καὶ ἐργάτις Reuss: ἀλύπως
 Thalheim: ἀγαπητῶς Groeneboom: δαπάνης Erbse 22 ἡ πάντων **η** [[I
 litt.]] πάντων X: πάντων Af: 23 lacunam post γεγένηται statuit Schenkl:
 possis γεγένηται, ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν {γὰρ} αὐτῇ

αὐτῇ ἀκολουθήσασα ἢ ἐμὴ γυνὴ ὑπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ὀφθείσα χρόνῳ διαφθείρεται· ἐπιτηρῶν γὰρ τὴν θεραπείαν
τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσας καὶ λόγους προσφέρων
ἀπώλεσεν αὐτήν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ 9
5 ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ
ἄνω τοῖς κάτω κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν
ἀνδρωνίτιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἐγένετο ἡμῖν, ἢ μήτηρ αὐτὸ
ἐθήλαζεν· ἵνα δὲ μή, ὅποτε λούσθαι δέοι, κινδυνεύῃ κατὰ τῆς
κλίμακος καταβαίνουσα, ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνω διητώμην, αἱ δὲ
10 γυναῖκες κάτω. καὶ οὕτως ἤδη συνειθισμένον ἦν, ὥστε IO
πολλάκις ἢ γυνὴ ἀπῆει κάτω καθευδήσουσα ὡς τὸ παιδίον, ἵνα
τὸν τιτθὸν αὐτῷ διδῶ καὶ μὴ βοᾷ. καὶ ταῦτα πολλὸν χρόνον
οὕτως ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε ὑπώπτευσα, ἀλλ' οὕτως
ἡλιθίως διεκείμην, ὥστε ὥμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα πασῶν
15 σωφρονεστάτην εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ II
χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦκον μὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐξ ἀγροῦ, μετὰ δὲ
τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ παιδίον ἐβόα καὶ ἐδυσκόλαινεν ὑπὸ τῆς
θεραπείνης ἐπίτηδες λυπούμενον, ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇ· ὁ γὰρ
ἄνθρωπος ἔνδον ἦν· ὕστερον γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπυθόμην. καὶ ἐγὼ I2
20 τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευον καὶ δοῦναι τῷ παιδίῳ τὸν
τιτθόν, ἵνα παύσῃται κλαῖον. ἢ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἤθελεν,
ὥς ἂν ἀσμένῃ με ἑορακυῖα ἦκοντα διὰ χρόνον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ

9 οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω Demetr. *De eloc.* 190.2 Radermacher ἐθήλαζεν Suda θ 331 Adler s. v. θηλάζειν

1 ἀκολουθήσασα post ἢ ἐμὴ γυνὴ H τούτου del. Halbertsma
2 τὴν ante θεραπείαν del. Röhl, τὴν ante εἰς del. Emperius 4 ὦ ἄνδρες
ηX: ὦ δικασταί Af (item 11, 14, 15, 23, 25, 32, 34, 37 post ἐγὼ δέ, 41) 5 ἴσα
ἔχων P 6 καὶ κάτω Auger καὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρων-
ίτιν Weidner κατὰ² om. AfH 7 αὐτῇ Bake 8 ἐθήλαζε Af
λούεσθαι codd. corr. Dindorf κινδυνεύοι Herwerden 9 καταβα-
ίνουσα ex καταβαίνουσι corr. P διητόμην H 10 συνειθισμένον X
12-13 οὕτως post χρόνον om. H 13 ἐγίν. PToX οὐδεπώποτε Af: οὐδεν
πώποτε Herwerden 14 ἀλιθία P ἑαυτοῦ X¹η : ἑμαυτοῦ X¹Af
15 σωφρονεστάτην ex σωφρονεστάτην corr. P¹ 17 ἐδυσκόλαινε ex
ἐδυσκόλωνε corr. P 18 θεραπαίνης ex θεραπαίνιδης corr. P¹ 20 τῷ
παιδίῳ H^c P^cTo: τὸ παιδίον H¹ P¹: τῷ παιδί X (ut vid.: τῷ παι^δ)
21 κλάον Cobet 22 ἀσμένῃ [2 litt.] μένῃ P ἑορακυῖα Cobet:
ἑωρακυῖα codd.

- ὠργιζόμεν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν ἀπιέναι, ἵνα σύ γε ἔφη ‘πειρᾶς
 ἐνταῦθα τὴν παιδίσκην· καὶ πρότερον δὲ μεθύων εἶλκες
 13 αὐτήν’. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἐγέλων, ἐκείνη δὲ ἀναστᾶσα καὶ ἀπιούσα
 προστίθησι τὴν θύραν, προσποιουμένη παίζειν, καὶ τὴν κλεῖν
 ἐφέλκεται. καὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος οὐδ’ ὑπονοῶν 5
 14 ἐκάθευδον ἄσμενος, ἦκων ἐξ ἀγροῦ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν πρὸς
 [93S] ἡμέραν, ἦκεν ἐκείνη καὶ τὴν θύραν ἀνέωξεν. ἐρομένου δέ μου
 τί αἱ θύραι νύκτωρ ψοφοῖεν, ἔφασκε τὸν λύχνον ἀποσβεσθῆναι
 τὸν παρὰ τῷ παιδίῳ, εἶτα ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων ἐνάψασθαι.
 ἐσιώπων ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἠγούμην. ἔδοξε δέ μοι, 10
 ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἐψιμυθιώσθαι, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 τεθνεώτος οὐπω τριάκονθ’ ἡμέρας· ὅμως δ’ οὐδ’ οὕτως οὐδὲν
 15 εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελθὼν ὥχρόμην ἕξω σιωπῇ. μετὰ
 δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου καὶ ἐμοῦ
 πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν, προσέρχεται μοί 15
 τις πρεσβύτες ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ὑποπεμφθεῖσα ἦν
 ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχευεν, ὥς ἐγὼ ὕστερον ἤκουον· αὕτη δὲ
 ὀργιζομένη καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα, ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως
 ἐφοίτα παρ’ αὐτήν, ἐφύλαττεν ἕως ἐξηῦρεν ὅ τι εἴη τὸ αἴτιον.

13 ἀπιούσα . . . θύραν Bekker *Anecd.* i.169.30–3. s. v. προστιθῶ

14 ἐνάψασθαι Vat. Gr. 7 fr. 77 ed. Ucciardello ἔδοξε . . . ἡμέρας
 Georgus Monus 688, 26–9 (ed. Schilling, *Fahrb. für cl. Phil.* Suppl. XXXVIII)

16 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ . . . γυναικί Bekker, *Anecd.* i.176, 25–30 s. v. ὑβρίζω

1 <αἰθῆς> αὐτὴν Kirchner: αὐτίκα van Leeuwen ap. Groeneboom 2 δὲ
 ante μεθύων om. η: δὴ Sauppe μεθύων] μανίαι ut vid. P εἶλον P
 3 ἀναστᾶσα καὶ om. H: καὶ del. Halbertsma: ὡς Naber ἐξιούσα Bekker,
Anecd. i. 169 6 ἦκον P 7 ἐκεῖνος Af 9 ἐνάψασθαι
 ἀψασθαι Vat. Gr. 7: ἀνάψασθαι Steph. 10 ἔχειν] ἦχον P¹: ἔχειν P^c
 ἠγούμην] ἐνόμισα H ἔδοξε τε Georgius 11 ὦ ἄνδρες om. Georgius
 ἐψιμ. τὴν ὄψιν Georgius: ἐψιμυθ. HTo: ἐψιμυθ. P 12 οὐδὲ οὕτως H
 12–13 οὐδὲν εἰπὼν] εἰπὼν εἰπὼν To: οὐδὲν ὑπονοῶν Hirschig: οὐδὲν ὑποπτεύων
 Weidner 13 εἰπὼν] ἰπων P ἐχόμεν P 14 δὲ om. To ὦ
 ἄνδρες δικασταί P¹ μεταξὺ] ἰκάνου H: aut μεταξὺ om. aut γενομένου leg
 P¹ ut vid. 16 πρεσβύτες PTo: πρεσβύτες HX ὑποπεμφθεῖσα X¹
 ἐπιπεμφθεῖσα η (ex ἐπιπεμφθῆσα corr. P)X^s: 17 ἐμοίχευεν Weidner
 αὕτη δὲ (quod coniecerat Taylor) vel αὕτη δὲ To: αὕτη δὲ HPX
 18 οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔστιν P¹ corr. P^s ὁμοίως ante ἐμοίχευεν trs. Heldmann
 19 παρ’ αὐτὴν P^c X^s: παρ’ αὐτῇ HTo X¹ παρ’ αὐτῆς P¹ ἐξηῦρεν Herwerden:
 ἐξεδρεν codd. εἰ P¹: εἴη P^c

προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἄνθρωπος τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς 16
ἐπιτηροῦσα, 'Εὐφίλῃτε,' ἔφη 'μηδεμιᾷ πολυπραγμοσύνη
προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σέ
καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναικα ἐχθρὸς ὢν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει. εἰ οὖν λάβῃς
5 τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν καὶ διακονοῦσαν
ὑμῖν καὶ βασανίσῃς, ἅπαντα πεύσῃ. ἔστι δ' ἔφη
'Ερατοσθένους Ὁγήθεν ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν
γυναικα διέφθαρκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς· ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν]
τέχνην ἔχει.' ταῦτα εἰπούσα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, 17
10 ἐγὼ δ' εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην, καὶ πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην
εἰσῆι, καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας, ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν ὡς
ἀπεκλήσθην ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ, ἀναμιμνησκόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐν
ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπόφει ἡ μέταυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὐλεις, ὃ
οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο, ἔδοξέ τέ μοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐπιμυθιωσθαι. ταῦτά
15 μου πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσῆι, καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας.
ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε ἐκέλευον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι τὴν θεραπείαν εἰς 18
τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀγαγὼν δ' αὐτὴν ὡς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ ἔλεγον
ὅτι ἐγὼ πάντα εἶην πεπυσμένος τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· σοὶ
οὖν ἔφην 'ἔξεστι δυοῖν ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι, ἢ
20 μαστιγωθεῖσαν εἰς μυλῶνα ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι
κακοῖς τοιοῦτοῖς συνεχομένην, ἢ κατειποῦσαν ἅπαντα τάληθῇ

17 μέταυλος, αὐλεις Harpocr. μ 30, α 263 Keaney s. vv.
ὑποψίας Georgius Monus (v. supr.)

καὶ πάντα . . .

1 ἡ ἄνθρωπος del. Halbertsma καὶ τῆς οἰκ. H 2 ὦ φίλτατε
Contius Anon. Lugd. 4 κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα Damsté 5 θεράπεναν
P¹corr. P^s post θεραπείαν add. καὶ β in rasura P τὴν εἰς τὴν To εἰς
ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσιν καὶ del. Röhl διακ. ἡμῖν H P¹ (corr. P^s)
6 πεύσῃ codd. πεύσει Cobet ἔφη om. η 7 Ὁγήθεν X, corr. Hude:
σοι η scholium ἐκ τόπου τινὸς ἴσως ὡς Ἀθήνηθεν X^m 8 τὴν ante
τέχνην del. Bekker 9 ταῦτα μὲν H εἰπούσαι P¹corr. P^s
10 εὐθὺς (pro εὐθέως) ante ἀπηλλάγῃ trs. H πάντα μὲν εἰς HTo καὶ
πάντα μου . . . ὑποψίας¹ del. Dobree μου . . . εἰσῆι] ταῦτα εἰσῆι μοι
λογίσασθαι Georgius γνώμην¹] γνώμην H 11 ἦν] ἢ Hude (et passim)
12 ἀπεκλήσθην Cobet: ἀπεκλείσθην codd. 14 οὐδεπώποτε Herwerden
ἐπιμυ. η 15 γνώμην²] γνώσιν η 17 τινὰ] ἔνεκα Damsté
18 πάντα εἶην ἐγὼ η γινόμενα HPX: γενόμενα To om. Af 19 ἔφην
om. H ἐστι P δυοῖν om. H 20 μαστιγωθεῖσα P μυλῶνα
X¹ (def. Groeneboom): μύλωνα ηX^s 21 κατειποῦσα P

- μηδὲν παθεῖν κακόν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν
 19 ἡμαρτημένων. ψεύση δὲ μηδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα τάληθῇ λέγει.
 κακείνη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἕξαρνος ἦν, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι
 βούλομαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰδέναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐμνήσθην
 Ἑρατοσθένους πρὸς αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι οὗτος ὁ φοιτῶν εἷη 5
 πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξεπλάγη ἡγησαμένη με πάντα ἀκριβῶς
 ἐγνωκέναι. καὶ τότε ἤδη πρὸς τὰ γόνατά μου πεσοῦσα, καὶ
 20 πίστιν παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβοῦσα μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακόν, κατηγορεῖ
 πρῶτον μὲν ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτῇ προσίοι, ἔπειτα ὡς
 αὐτῇ τελευτῶσα εἰσαγγείλειε καὶ ὡς ἐκείνη τῷ χρόνῳ 10
 πεισθείη, καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους οἷς τρόποις προσεῖτο, καὶ ὡς
 Θεσμοφορίοις ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὄντος ὥχето εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῆς
 μητρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ γενόμενα πάντα ἀκριβῶς
 21 διηγῆσατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντα εἴρητο αὐτῇ, εἶπον ἐγώ, ὅπως
 τοῖνυν ταῦτα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πεύσεται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδέν σοι 15
 κύριον ἔσται τῶν πρὸς ἐμ' ὡμολογημένων. ἀξιῶ δέ σε ἐπ'
 αὐτοφώρῳ ταῦτά μοι ἐπιδείξαι· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν δέομαι λόγων,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον φανερόν γενέσθαι, εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει· ὡμολόγει
 22 ταῦτα ποιήσιν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγέροντο ἡμέραι τέτταρες
 ἢ πέντε, ὡς ἐγὼ μεγάλοις ὑμῖν τεκμηρίοις ἐπιδείξω. πρῶτον 20
 δὲ διηγῆσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.
 Σώστρατος ἦν μοι ἐπιτήδειος καὶ φίλος. τούτῳ ἡλίον
 δεδυκότος ἰόντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπήντησα. εἰδὼς δ' ἐγὼ ὅτι
 τηνικαῦτα ἀφιγμένος οὐδὲν {ἂν} καταλήψοιτο οἴκοι τῶν
 1 συγγνώμης P¹corr. P^s 2 ψεύση ηX^c: ψεύδη X¹ ἀληθῇ H
 4 οὐδὲ γὰρ Af οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔλεγεν αὐτὴν εἰδέναι H 5 ὁ φοιτῶν X^c:
 [[3 litt.]] φοιτῶν X¹ (σοι in rasura ut vid): σοι φοιτῶν η: ὁ εἰσφοιτῶν Schenkl
 8 κατηγορεῖ P: κατηγορενε Cobet 9 προσίη H 11 πεισθείη H
 (coniecerat Reiske): προσθεῖη PToX προσεῖτο Thalheim: προσίοι codd.:
 ποιοίη Reiske: ποιοῖτο Cobet: εἰσίοι Hertlein: προσίοιτο Kayser: sunt alia
 14 εἴρητο] εἴρητο ut vid. P σκόπει τοῖνυν ὅπως μ. α. π. ταῦτα H
 15 πεύσεται OPToW: πεύσεται HX 16 πρὸς ἐμε Af: πρὸς ἐμοῦ
 Francken: πρόσθεν Röhl 17 δέομαι] δεόμενον P 19-20 τέτταρες ἢ
 πέντε ἡμέραι H τέσς. PToX 20 post πέντε lacunam statuit Reiske,
 e.g. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τὸν μοιχὸν ἔνδον ἔλαβον: ἕως ἐγὼ τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων
 δίκην ἔλαβον malebat Thalheim μεγάλοις] μὲν ἄλλοις Edwards 21
 διηγῆσασθαι] λογίσασθαι Af 23 ὄντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ To: ἀνιόντι (vel
 ἐπανιόντι) ἐξ ἁ. Reiske 24 οὐδένα Bekker ἂν del. Bekker
 καταλείψοιτο η

ἐπιτηδείων, ἐκέλευον συνδειπνεῖν· καὶ ἔλθόντες οἴκαδε ὡς ἐμέ,
 ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν ἐδειπνοῦμεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς 23
 αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, ἐγὼ δ' ἐκάθευδον. ὁ δ' [94S]
 Ἐρατοσθένης, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα
 5 ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. καὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν
 ἐκείνῃ ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς θύρας, καταβὰς σιωπῇ ἐξέρχομαι, καὶ
 ἀφικνούμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔνδον κατέλαβον, τοὺς
 δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντας ἡῦρον. παραλαβὼν δ' ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν 24
 πλείστους ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐβάδιζον. καὶ δᾶδας λαβόντες ἐκ
 10 τοῦ ἐγγύτατα καπηλείου εἰσερχόμεθα, ἀνεωγμένης τῆς θύρας
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρεσκευασμένης. ὥσαντες δὲ τὴν
 θύραν τοῦ δωματίου οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσιόντες ἔτι εἶδομεν αὐτὸν
 κατακείμενον παρὰ τῇ γυναικί, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ
 γυμνὸν ἐστηκότα. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, πατάξας καταβάλλω 25
 15 αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν χεῖρε περιαγαγὼν εἰς τοῦπισθεν καὶ δῆσας
 ἡρώτων διὰ τί ὑβρίζει εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών.
 καὶ κεῖνος ἀδικεῖν μὲν ὡμολόγει, ἡντεβόλει δὲ καὶ ἰκέτευε μὴ
 ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλ' ἀργύριον πράξασθαι. ἐγὼ δ' εἶπον ὅτι 'οὐκ 26
 ἐγὼ σε ἀποκτενῶ, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς πόλεως νόμος, ὃν σὺ παραβαίνων
 20 περὶ ἐλάττονος τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐποιήσω, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλου
 τοιοῦτον ἀμάρτημα ἐξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὴν γυναικα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἢ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι καὶ
 κόσμιος εἶναι.' οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκεῖνος τούτων ἔτυχεν ὥνπερ 27
 οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας, οὐκ
 25 εἰσαρπασθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καταφυγών,

6 ἐπιμελέσθαι Cobet τὰς θύρ. HTo 7-8 <οὐκ> ἔνδον et οὐδ'
 ἐπιδημοῦντας Reiske coll. §41: MSS lect. def. Boegehold *Polis and Politics* 597 ff.
 8 ἡῦρον Herwerden, qui verbum suspectum habebat: εἶρον codd. 11 ὑπὸ
 del. Francken παρασκευασμένης P 12 ἡδὴ εἶδωμεν ut vid. H
 13 ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ ante οἱ δ' ὕστερον trs. Groeneboom 15 καὶ δῆσας del.
 Herwerden 16 ἡρώτουν P 17 ἡντεβόλει Cobet: ἡντιβόλει codd.
 18 ἀποκτεῖναι Hertlein: αὐτὸν κτεῖναι codd. 19 πόλεως ex πόλεος corr.
 P¹ 20 ἐποιήσω ἦ: ἐποίησας X 22 ἐμοὺς (καὶ εἰς ἐμαυτὸν)
 P. R. Müller ('debebat εἰς ἐμέ' Thalheim) 23 κόσμιον εἶναι HP
 25 ἀφαρπασθεῖς Contius: συναρπασθεῖς Markland

ὥσπερ οὗτοι λέγουσι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ὅστις ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ
 πληγείς κατέπεσεν εὐθύς, περιέστρεψα δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα,
 εἶδον δὲ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι τοσούτοι, οὓς διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο,
 οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ξύλον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔχων, ὥ
 28 εἰσελθόντας ἂν ἡμύνατο. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς 5
 εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ μὴ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντες οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς λέγειν ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ψευδόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 μηχανώμενοι ὀργὰς τοῖς ἀκούουσι κατὰ τῶν τὰ δίκαια
 πραττόντων παρασκευάζουσι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀνάγνωθι τὸν
 νόμον.

10

ΝΟΜΟΣ

29 οὐκ ἡμφεσβήτει, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ὡμολόγει ἀδικεῖν, καὶ
 ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἤντεβόλει καὶ ἰκέτευεν, ἀποτίνειν δ'
 ἔτοιμος ἦν χρήματα. ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐκείνου τιμῆματι οὐ
 συνεχώρουν, τὸν δὲ τῆς πόλεως νόμον ἡξίουει εἶναι κυριώτερον, 15
 καὶ ταύτην ἔλαβον τὴν δίκην, ἣν ὑμεῖς δικαιοσάτην εἶναι
 ἡγησάμενοι τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐτάξατε. Καί μοι
 ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ

30 ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον <τὸν> ἐκ τῆς στήλης 20
 τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἀρείου
 πάγου, ὃ καὶ πατριὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδέδοται τοῦ φόνου
 τὰς δίκας δικάζειν, διαρρήδην εἴρηται τούτου μὴ 25
 καταγιγνώσκειν φόνον, ὅς ἂν ἐπὶ δάμαρτι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοιχὸν
 31 λαβὼν ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν ποιήσῃται. καὶ οὕτω σφόδρα ὁ

1 ὅστις ἐν θοιματίῳ ποδισθεῖς Contius (ποδισθεῖς etiam M^f Anon. Lugd.)
 4 σιδήριον maluit Reiske coll. §42 οὔτε ὅπλον ἄλλο οὐδὲν H
 7 ἀληθῆ X: τὰληθῆ η 8 παρὰ τῶν τὰ δίκ. η II tit. νόμος om. η
 12 ἡμφεσβ. et ἤντεβ. Cobet: ἡμφισβ. et ἡντιβ. codd. 13 ἀποθάνει
 Francken οἰκέτευεν P δ' post ἀποτίνειν om. P 14 ἔτοιμος [[]]
 ἦν X τιμῆματι ex τειμῆματι corr. P¹ 16 εἶναι δικαιοσάτην η
 19 tit. μάρτυρες om. η : μαρτυρία Af 20 τοῦτον] τοὺς P τὸν add.
 Westermann 22 tit. νόμος om. η 23 ἀκούεται P 24 ἐφ'
 ὑμῶν codd. 25 καὶ διαρρήδην H 25-26 τοῦτον . . . φόνου codd.
 corr. Reiske 27 σφόδρα [[οἶον]] To

νομοθέτης ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς γυναιξὶ δίκαια ταῦτα ἡγήσατο
εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς ταῖς ἐλάττονος ἀξίαις τὴν
αὐτὴν δίκην ἐπέθηκε. καίτοι δῆλον ὅτι, εἴ τινα εἶχε ταύτης
μεῖζω τιμωρίαν, ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἐποίησεν ἄν. νῦν δὲ οὐχ
5 οἷός τε ὦν ταύτης ἰσχυροτέραν ἐπ' ἐκείναις ἐξευρεῖν, τὴν αὐτὴν
καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς ἡξίωσε γίνεσθαι. ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι
καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

ἀκούετε, <ὦ> ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει, ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπον 32
10 ἐλεύθερον ἢ παιδα αἰσχύνῃ βία, διπλὴν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν·
ἐὰν δὲ γυναικα, ἐφ' αἷσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἔξεστιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ἐνέχεσθαι· οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐλάττονος
ζημίας ἀξιούς ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ τοὺς πείθοντας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ
θάνατον κατέγνω, τοῖς δὲ διπλὴν ἐποίησε τὴν βλάβην, 33
15 ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν διαπραττομένους βία ὑπὸ τῶν
βιασθέντων μισεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πείσαντας οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰς
ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν, ὥστ' οἰκειοτέρας αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν τὰς
ἁλλοτρίας γυναικάς ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τὴν [95S]
οἰκίαν γεγονέναι, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀδήλους εἶναι ὁποτέρων
20 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν μοιχῶν. ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ τὸν
νόμον τιθεὶς θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησε τὴν ζημίαν. ἐμοῦ τοίνυν, 34
ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν· ἐν ὑμῖν δ'
ἐστὶ πότερον χρὴ τούτους ἰσχυροὺς ἢ μηδενὸς ἀξιούς εἶναι.

1 ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς γυναιξὶ del. Halbertsma ταῦτα ante ἡγήσατο om.
η 2 παλακαῖς HTo 3 ἐπέθηκε] εἰργάσατο H 4 τιμωρίαν
μεῖζω H post τιμωρίαν interpuncti, praeceunte To: vulgo post γαμεταῖς
5 εὐρεῖν H 6 παλακαῖς To γίνεσθαι HTo ἀνάγνωθι δὴ Af
8 tit. νόμος om. η 9 ἀκούεται P ὦ add. M^c Contius Anon. Lugd.
ἀνθρωπον] ἄνδρα Dobree 10 ὀφείλειν] εἰγεται P 11-12 ἐὰν δὲ
γυναικα . . . ἐνέχεσθαι del. Froberger: ἐφ' αἷσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἔξεστιν del.
Halbertsma {κᾶν} ἐφ' αἷσπερ Photiades: ἐφ' αἷσπερ {τοὺς πείσαντας} Reiske
12 ἐνέχεσθαι ex συνέχεσθαι corr. P¹ ὦ ἄνδρες del. Herwerden 15 βία
η : βίαν X 16 πείθοντας Fuhr 17 αὐτοῖς codd. (sic fere)
18-19 γεγονέναι τὴν οἰκίαν H 19 οἰκίαν HPTo^cX^c: οἰκίαν To¹X¹
20 ὧν] οὐ P¹: ὧν P^c 21 θεῖς Bekker ἐποίησε] προσέθηκε H
22 νόμος ut vid. P 23 ἀλλὰ καὶ κελεύουσι H: ἀλλὰ κακελευκότες P
λαμβάνην P¹ corr. P^c 24 ἰσχύειν Cobet

- 35 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι πάσας τὰς πόλεις διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς νόμους
τίθεσθαι, ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἂν πραγμάτων ἀπορῶμεν, παρὰ τούτους
ἐλθόντες σκεψώμεθα ὅ τι ἡμῖν ποιητέον ἐστίν. οὗτοι τοίνυν
περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις τοιαύτην δίκην
36 λαμβάνειν παρακελεύονται. οἷς ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην 5
ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, τοιαύτην ἄδειαν τοῖς μοιχοῖς ποιήσετε, ὥστε
καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐπαρεῖτε φάσκειν μοιχοὺς εἶναι, εἰ εἰδότας
ὅτι, ἐὰν ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν περὶ ἑαυτῶν λέγωσι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
φάσκωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίας εἰσιέναι, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν
ἄψεται. πάντες γὰρ εἴσονται ὅτι τοὺς μὲν νόμους τῆς 10
μοιχείας χαίρειν ἔαν δεῖ, τὴν δὲ ψῆφον τὴν ὑμετέραν δεδιέναι·
αὕτη γάρ ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κυριωτάτη.
- 37 σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες· κατηγοροῦσι γάρ μου ὡς ἐγὼ τὴν
θεράπαιναν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετελθεῖν ἐκέλευσα τὸν
νεανίσκον. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δίκαιον μὲν ἂν ποιεῖν ἡγούμην 15
ὥτινι οὖν τρόπῳ τὸν τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν διαφθείραντα
38 λαμβάνων· εἰ μὲν γὰρ λόγων εἰρημένων ἔργου δὲ μηδενὸς
γεγεννημένου μετελθεῖν ἐκέλευον ἐκείνον, ἡδίκουν ἂν· εἰ δὲ ἤδη
πάντων διαπεπραγμένων καὶ πολλάκις εἰσεληλυθότος εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὥτινι οὖν τρόπῳ ἐλάμβανον αὐτόν, σῶφρον' ἂν 20
39 ἐμαυτὸν ἡγούμην· σκέψασθε δέ ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ψεύδονται·
ῥαδίως δὲ ἐκ τῶνδε γνῶσεσθε. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπερ καὶ
πρότερον εἶπον, φίλος ὢν Σώστρατος καὶ οἰκείως διακεκίμενος
ἀπαντήσας ἐξ ἀγροῦ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς συνεδείπνει, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, ἀπιὼν ὥχετο. καίτοι πρῶτον μὲν, 25

2 περὶ τούτους **η** 4 παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων Taylor 5 λαμβάνειν ex
λαμβάνην corr. P¹ 6 τοσαύτην Hartman ὥστε
Baïter-Sauppe: ὡς codd. 7 ἐπαρεῖτε] ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ φάσκειν H
οἰδόντες HTo¹ 8 περὶ αὐτῶν **η** 10-11 τῆς μοιχείας del. Herwerden
(περὶ) τῆς μοιχείας Cobet 12 κυριωτάτον Cobet
13 σκέψασθαι P¹ corr. P² 14 ὡς H² M^c Contius Anon. Lugd. om. PX: οὖν To
14 ὑμέρα P ad μετελθεῖν scholium καλέσαι X^m 15 μὲν ἂν HToX^c:
μὲν om. P ἂν om X¹ 17 λόγων (μὲν) Herwerden ἔργου bis P
18 ἂν ἡδίκουν H 19 εἰσεληλυθότων **η** 20 τρόπῳ] μήπω HP
σῶφρον' ἂν Karpeyne: σωφρονεῖν codd.: σωφρονεῖν (ἂν) Taylor, quod certe possis
21 ταῦτα ψεύδ.] καταψεύδ. **η** 22 γνῶσεσθαι H 23 Σωστράτης
To: σω P 25 πρῶτον om. H μὲν om. HP

ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνθυμήθητε· {ὅτι} εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐγὼ 40
ἐπεβούλευον Ἐρατοσθένει, πότερον ἦν μοι κρεῖττον αὐτῷ
ἐτέρωθι δειπνεῖν ἢ τὸν συνδειπνήσοντά μοι εἰσαγαγεῖν; οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν ἦττον ἐτόλμησεν ἐκεῖνος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. εἶτα
5 δοκῶ ἂν ὑμῖν τὸν συνδειπνοῦντα ἀφείς μόνος καταλειφθῆναι
καὶ ἔρημος γενέσθαι, ἢ κελεύειν ἐκεῖνον μένειν, ἵνα μετ' ἐμοῦ
τὸν μοιχὸν ἐτιμωρεῖτο; ἔπειτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ ὑμῖν 41
τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις μεθ' ἡμέραν παραγγεῖλαι, καὶ κελεύσαι αὐτοὺς
συλλεγῆναι εἰς οἰκίαν τῶν φίλων τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ, μᾶλλον ἢ
10 ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡσθόμην τῆς νυκτὸς περιτρέχειν, οὐκ εἰδὼς
ὄντινα οἴκοι καταλήψομαι καὶ ὄντινα ἔξω; καὶ ὡς Ἀρμόδιον
μὲν καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἡλθον οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ ἦδεν),
ἐτέρους δὲ οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντας κατέλαβον, οὓς δ' οἶός τε ἦν λαβὼν
ἐβάδιζον. καίτοιγε εἰ προῆδεν, οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ ὑμῖν καὶ 42
15 θεράποντας παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις παραγγεῖλαι, ἵν'
ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰσῆειν (τί γὰρ ἦδεν εἴ τι
κακείνος εἶχε σιδήριον;), ὡς μετὰ πλείστων δὲ μαρτύρων τὴν
τιμωρίαν ἐποιούμην; νῦν δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκείνῃ
τῇ νυκτὶ, οὓς οἶός τε ἦν παρέλαβον. καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων
20 μάρτυρες.

MARTYRES

τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες· σκέψασθε δὲ παρ' 43
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, ζητοῦντες εἴ

1 ὅτι om. To del. Reiske εἰ post ὅτι om. P εἴ {τι} ἐν Weidner
2-4 αὐτῷ . . . ἦττον om. P 3 τὸν συνδ.] καὶ συνδ. HTo: καὶ τὸν συνδ.
M^c Contius Anon. Lugd. μοι post συνδειπν. om. M 4 ἐκεῖνος
ἐτόλμ. H 6 ἢ ante κελεύειν om. P κελεύσαι Reiske μένειν
X^c: μὲν εἶναι ηX¹: μέναι Fuhr 8 καὶ κελεύσαι αὐτοὺς del. Halbertsma
9 τῶν φίλων τὴν Bergk: τῶν φίλων τῶν (du. litt. super erasis X^c) codd.: τῶν
φίλων τοῦ Valckenaer: τινὰ φίλων τῶν Thalheim: <του> τῶν φίλων τῶν Ger-
net-Bizos: εἰς {οἰκίαν} τῶν φίλων <του> Cobet ἐγγύτατα P
10 ἐπιδῆ P τῆς ex τὰς corr. To ut vid. 11 καταλήψομαι ex κατα-
λείψομαι corr. ut vid H 12 ἦδη Cobet (et passim) 13 οὐκ del. Tarān
ὄντας del. Halbertsma ἦν] ἢ Cobet (et passim ante cons.) 14 γε post
καίτοι del. Weidner 15 καὶ ante τοῖς φίλοις del. Groeneboom
16 εἰσῆα Cobet εἴ τι] εἴ πως Francken 17 καὶ ante ἐκεῖνος suspectum
habet Francken εἰ σιδήριον P 18 οὐ εἰδὲν εἰδὼς P (ἐν) ἐκείνῃ
Markland 21 tit. om. P sed est spatium: μαρτυρία Afutvid. 23 οὕτως
om. To: οὕτω Af

- τις ἐμοὶ καὶ Ἑρατοσθένει ἔχθρα πώποτε γεγένηται πλὴν
 44 ταύτης. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εὐρήσετε. οὔτε γὰρ συκοφαντῶν
 γραφάς με ἐγράψατο, οὔτε ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπεχείρησεν, οὔτε ἰδίας δίκας ἐδικάζετο, οὔτε συνήδει κακὸν
 οὐδὲν ὃ ἐγὼ δεδιὼς μή τις πύθηται ἐπεθύμουν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, 5
 οὔτε εἰ ταῦτα διαπραξαίμην, ἡλπιζόν ποθεν χρήματα
 λήψεσθαι· ἔνιοι γὰρ τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἔνεκα θάνατον
 45 ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλεύουσι. τοσοῦτου τοίνυν δεῖ ἢ λαιδορία ἢ
 [96S] παροινία ἢ ἄλλη τις διαφορὰ ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, ὥστε οὐδὲ
 ἑορακῶς ἦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πώποτε πλὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτί. τί 10
 ἂν οὖν βουλόμενος ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον ἐκινδύνεον, εἰ μὴ τὸ
 46 μέγιστον τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἡδικομένος; ἔπειτα
 παρακαλέσας αὐτὸς μάρτυρας ἡσέβουν, ἐξόν μοι, εἴπερ
 ἀδίκως αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμουν ἀπολέσαι, μηδένα μοι τούτων
 συνειδέναι; 15
 47 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ νομίζω
 ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης·
 οἱ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πράττοντες, ὁρῶντες οἶα τὰ ἅλλα πρόκειται
 τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων, ἦττον εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἐξαμαρτήσονται, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁρώσι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην 20
 48 ἔχοντας. εἰ δὲ μή, πολὺ κάλλιον τοὺς μὲν κειμένους νόμους
 ἐξαλεῦσαι, ἐτέρους δὲ θεῖναι, οἷτινες τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας

1 ἐγένετο H Π 4 ἐπεχείρησεν ut vid. p ἐδικάσατο Frohberger
 5 <ἀν>αὐτὸν Francken: ἀν Weidner 6 διεπραξαίμην Lipsius: διεπραξάμην
 codd. ποθεν Emperius: μὲν X: om. η: del. M^c Contius 7-8 ἔνιοι . . .
 ἐπιβουλεύουσι del. Röhl ἔνεκεν codd., corr. Herwerden
 8 ἀλλήλοις] ἄλλοις Auger τοσοῦτου M^c: τοσοῦτα X^c: τοσοῦτο PToX¹
 τοσοῦτον H 9 ὑμῖν To οὐδὲ M^c(etiam Contius Anon. Lugd.): οὔτε
 rell. 10 ἑορακῶς H: ἑωρακῶς rell. 13 παρακ. αὐτῷ PTo
 μαρτυρεῖαν P ἡσέβουν <ἀν> Halbertsma 14 αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμουν Π² η:
 ἐπ. αὐτὸν X τούτων] τοσοῦτων Contius Anon. Lugd.: <περὶ> τούτων
 Frohberger: τοῦτο Weidner 16 ἄνδρες δικασταί Π² 17 ταύτην
 om. Π² γενέσθαι] εἶναι η (τ. τ. εἶναι. H) ἀλλὰ <κοινὴν> ὑπὲρ Herwer-
 den 18 τὰ τοιαῦτα Π² quod coniecerat Herwerden πρόκεινται To
 20 ἐξαμαρτήσονται Π² ηX^c: ἐξαμαρτήσουσι X¹ ἐὰν γε M^c Anon. Lugd.
 21 ἔχοντας γν. Π² βέλτιον To: κάλλιον ut vid Π² 22 θεῖναι]
 τιθεῖναι Π²: εἶναι PTo: θέσθαι Auger τοὺς fort. om. Π² φυλάττοντες
 Π²

τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ταῖς ζημίαις ζημιώσουσι, τοῖς δὲ
 βουλομένοις εἰς αὐτὰς ἀμαρτάνειν πολλὴν ἄδειαν ποιήσουσι.
 πολὺ γὰρ οὕτω δικαιότερον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων τοὺς πολίτας 49
 ἐνεδρεύεσθαι, οἳ κελεύουσι μὲν, ἐάν τις μοιχὸν λάβῃ, ὃ τι ἂν
 5 οὖν βούληται χρῆσθαι, οἳ δ' ἀγῶνες δεινότεροι τοῖς
 ἀδικουμένοις καθεστήκασιν ἢ τοῖς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τὰς
 ἀλλοτρίας καταισχύνουσι γυναῖκας. ἐγὼ γὰρ νῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ 50
 σώματος καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
 κινδυνεύω, ὅτι τοῖς τῆς πόλεως νόμοις ἐπειθόμην.

1 γυναῖκας τ . [.] . . [.] υς ταῖς Π²: χ[.] υς fort. agnoscendum putabat
 Roberts, qui addit: 'but if μοιχοὺς is read there is only room for two letters between
 it and γυναῖκας': fort. τοὺς ἄλλους voluit librarius ταῖς] ἐπὶ **η** (ζημι-
 ώσουσιν ἐ. ζ. H) del. Cobet: μεγάλαις Coraes in schedis: ταῖς (μεγίσταις) vel
 (ἐσχάταις) Reiske 2 αὐτοὺς Π²: αὐτὸ Το 3 οὕτω] τοῦτο Contius
 4 εἰ κελεύουσι Reiske ὅτι ἐάν H ἂν om. H 5 οὖν om. **η**
 7 καταισχύνουσι] κατέχουσι Το 8 πάντων **η** 9 τῆς om. P: τῆς
 πόλεως om. Af ἐπιθομην Af recepit Hude

II

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΒΟΗΘΟΙΣ

[190S] Εἰ μὲν ἡγούμεν οἶόν τε εἶναι, ὧ παρόντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ
 I τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν
 ἀρετὴν, ἐμεμφάμεν ἂν τοῖς ἐπαγγείλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὀλίγων
 ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος οὐχ
 ἱκανὸς λόγον ἴσον παρασκευάσαι τοῖς τούτων ἔργοις, διὰ 5
 τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε
 λεγόντων, ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἡγουμένη
 οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων
 2 τυγχάνειν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος μοι περὶ τούτων, ὁ δ' ἄγων οὐ
 πρὸς τὰ τούτων ἔργα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς 10
 εἰρηκώτας. τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀφθονίαν παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων
 ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθεῖσιν,
 ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς προτέροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῇσθαι,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις παραλελείφθαι, ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς

Or. 2 [Plut.] *Vit. X. orat.* 837f, Theo, *Progymn.* 63.25 ff. (p. 6 Patillon-Bolognesi), Theo, *Progymn.* 68.24-7 (p. 12 Patillon-Bolognesi), schol. Aelius Arist. *Pan.* 92, 109, schol. [Dem.] 60.3, schol. Aeschin. 3.211

1 ἐμεμφάμεν . . . λέγειν *Lex. Vind.* ε 120 Nauck s. v. ἐπήγγειλεν

2 τοσαύτην . . . βουληθεῖσιν *Lex. Vind.* π 90 Nauck s. v. ποιεῖν

Hanc or. praebent praeter X et apographas etiam Π^3 (§§74-9) et V et AeFGgOb (exemplar manuscriptorum AeFGgOb = ϕ : χ = exemplar manuscriptorum AeGgOb: ψ = exemplar manuscriptorum AeGOb). Initium orationis usque ad *οἱοί τινας* §13 deest in Ob. *Tit.* *Λυσίου* ante *ἐπιτάφιος* add.

FV *Λυσίου* ῥήτορος Ae *Tit.* tit. om. G, τοῖς om. F, τοῖς K. β. om. Ae, δημοσθενικός λόγος praebet^m 1 ἡγούμεν[[10 litt.]] οἶόν V ὧ (ἀνδρες οἱ) παρόντες Rademacher 2 ἀνδρῶν om. FX add. X^c 3 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς inter τοῖς et ἐπαγγείλασιν trs. F¹ corr. F^s, om. Lex. Vind.: del. Hude 3-4 ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων F¹ corr. F^s 4 ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ Ae^c 8 αὐτοὺς om. F 9 ὅμως] ὅλως Reiske περὶ τούτου AeGg 12 εἰπεῖν βουλ.] ποιεῖν βουλ. F 14 καὶ ἐκείνοις παραλελείφθαι] καὶ ἡμῖν καταλελείφθαι Reiske

ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ γῆς ἄπειροι οὔτε
θαλάττης οὐδεμιᾶς, πανταχῇ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ
τὰ αὐτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς ὕμνουσι.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιοὺς κινδύνους τῶν προγόνων 3
5 δίειμι, μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβών· ἄξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις κἀκεῖνων μεμνήσθαι, ὕμνουντας μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς,
λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμαις, τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς
καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις, παιδεύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων
ἔργοις τοὺς ζῶντας.

10 Ἀμαζόνες γὰρ Ἄρεως μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν θυγατέρες, 4
οἰκοῦσαι δὲ παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμόν, μόναι μὲν
ὥπλισμένοι σιδήρῳ τῶν περὶ αὐτάς, πρῶται δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ'
ἵππους ἀναβάσαι, οἷς ἀνελπίστως δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐναντίων
ἤρουν μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας·
15 ἐνομίζοντο δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν
γυναῖκες· πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
διαφέρειν ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἄρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἔθνων, 5
καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς περὶ αὐτάς καταδεδουλωμένοι, λόγῳ δὲ
περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσαι κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δόξης
20 καὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος χάριν παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν
ἔθνων ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν. τυχοῦσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν
ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίας ἐκτήσαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐναντίαν
τὴν δόξαν τῆς προτέρας λαβοῦσαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ
ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι γυναῖκες. μόναις δ' αὐταῖς οὐκ 6
25 ἐξεγένετο ἐκ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων μαθούσαις περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν [191S]

4-6 πρῶται . . . ἀπώλεσαν Tzetzes ap schol. Lyc. 375.17-18 (ed. Scheer)

1 ἐπιγενομένοις Ae¹ ἐπιγιν. Ae^c: ἐπιγιν. g ἐξεῖναι] ἔτι εἶναι Wake-
field 3 ἐξυμνοῦσι F 5 ἄξια F^s πάντας ἀνθρώπους Contius
Anon. Lugd. 7 μνήμαις φV: γνώμαις X: τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐγκωμίοις
Thalheim 8 τῶν ante τεθνεώτων om. X 10 ἄρεως FV: ἄρεος χX
11 δὲ post οἰκοῦσαι del. Markland μόναι δὲ Ae οἷς] [ἰς F
13 ἀπέλειπον FGX: 14 ἀπέλειπον AfAeG¹V 15 μᾶλλον om. F
16-17 τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν ἢ (τῶν ἀνδρῶν) ταῖς ἰδέαις
ἐλλείπειν Houtsma 17 ἰδαίς g 18 τοὺς] τὰ Muret Contius: τὸ
Anon. Lugd. 23 τοῖς προτέροις χ

ἄμεινον βουλεύσασθαι, οὐδ' οἴκαδε ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖλαι
 τὴν τε σφετέραν αὐτῶν δυστυχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων
 προγόνων ἀρετὴν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἀποθανοῦσαι, καὶ δοῦσαι δίκην
 τῆς ἀνοίας, τῆσδε μὲν τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον
 (τὴν) μνήμην ἐποίησαν, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε 5
 συμφορὰν ἀνώνυμον κατέστησαν. ἐκεῖναι μὲν οὖν τῆς
 ἀλλοτρίας ἀδίκως ἐπιθυμήσασαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν δικαίως
 ἀπώλεσαν.

- 7 Ἀδράστου δὲ καὶ Πολυνείκους ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατευσάντων
 καὶ ἡττηθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἔοντων Καδμείων θάπτειν τοὺς 10
 νεκροὺς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγησάμενοι ἐκείνους μὲν, εἴ τι ἡδίκουν,
 ἀποθανόντας δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰ αὐτῶν
 οὐ κομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν δὲ μαινομένων τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς
 ἀσεβεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πέμψαντες κήρυκας ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν
 8 δοῦναι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν, νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν 15
 εἶναι ζῶντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπιστούντων δὲ
 σφίσις αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων σώμασι τὴν εὐψυχίαν
 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι· οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς, οὐδεμιᾶς διαφορᾶς πρότερον πρὸς Καδμείους
 9 ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲ τοῖς ζῶσιν Ἀργείων χαριζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς 20
 τεθνεώτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων
 τυγχάνειν πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύνευσαν,
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἐξαμαρτάνοντες
 πλείω περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξυβρίσωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἵνα
 μὴ πρότερον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι πατρίου τιμῆς 25

7 πέμψαντες . . . ἀναίρεσιν *Lex. Vind.* α 45 Nauck s. v. ἀναίρεσις

1 ἄμεινον περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν F: βουλεύσασθαι ἄμεινον χ: ἀπαγγεῖλαι et τε
 om. F 3 δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας δοῦσαι F 5 τὴν ante μνήμην add.
 Coraes in schedis (item Sauppe) ἐποίησαν Bekker: ἐποίησαντο codd
 αὐτῶν πατρίδα V 6 κατέστησαντο F 11-12 εἴ τι ἡδίκουν (οἱ)
 ἀποθανόντες vel εἴ τι ἡδίκουντο, ἀποθανόντων Reiske 13 οὐ ante κομ.
 om. Ae μαινομένων] μὴ γενομένων Fψ μη [4 litt.] γενομένων g ἄνω
 om. F 15 τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Ae: τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν F
 16-17 δὲ καὶ σφίσις V (item Contius Anon. Lugd.) 19 post Καδμείους
 add. αὐτοῖς F^s 24 ἑτέρων del. Auger 25 πρότερον] λυπρότερον
 vel πικρότερον Emperius: del. vel πάλιν proponit Herwerden: ταπεινότεροι
 Thalheim πατρίου] πατρίδα οὐ F

ἀτυχήσαντες καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου στερηθέντες καὶ κοινῆς
ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα διανοηθέντες, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ 10
πολέμῳ τύχας κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς
μὲν πολεμίους κτώμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον
5 ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι. καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπαρθέντες
μείζονος παρὰ Καδμείων τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις
μὲν ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αὐτοὶ
δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἀθλα ὧν περ ἔνεκα ἀφίκοντο, τοὺς Ἀργείων
νεκροὺς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἑλευσίνι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς
10 ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἐπτά ἐπὶ Θήβας τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.

ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 11
ῥηφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐρυσθέα,
ἐξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἰσχυνομένων μὲν
τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, ἀφικόμενοι
15 εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἰκέται ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἐκαθέζοντο. 12
ἐξαιτουμένου δὲ αὐτοὺς Εὐρυσθέως Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ῥηθέλησαν
ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ῥηδοῦντο ἢ τὸν
κίνδυνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ ῥηξίουν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀσθενεστέρων μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
20 δυναμένοις χαριζόμενοι τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένους
ἐκδοῦναι. ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως μετὰ τῶν ἐν 13
ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἔχόντων, οὐκ ἐγγὺς τῶν
δεινῶν γενόμενοι μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχον γνώμην
ἦν περ πρότερον, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν
25 πεπονθότες, ἐκείνους τ' οὐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινες ἄνδρες

11-16 ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ . . . τιμωρίαν Schol. Ael. Arist. 339 Frommel

2 ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ X 4 μὲν om. FV δὲ om. F 8 ἔνεκεν
X Ἀργείους V 9 post νεκρούς interpungunt edd. ἔθαψαν τῆς
αὐτῶν Ἑλευσίνι Halbertsma: Ἑλευσίνι suspectum habet Stephanopoulos
10 ἐπτά del. Herwerden ἐπὶ Θήβαις Ae 11 μὲν om. X 12
ἔφυγον X 13 αἰσχυνομένοι . . . φοβούμενοι F 15 ἐκαθέζοντο]
καθίζονται F 17 Ἡρακλῆος X^s 18 τῶν ἑαυτῶν Ae: τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν
Coraes in schedis 21 ἐν om. X 22 οὐδ' ἐγγὺς Scheibe
23 ἔσχον X: ἔχοντες malit Thalheim 24 ἦν περ ex ὧν περ corr. G
25 <προ>πεπονθότες Naber ἐκείνους τ' X. solus 25 §13 fin (-ται γενόμε-
νοι) usque ad §21 uno folio discisso mutilum est Ob

- 14 ἔσονται γενόμενοι· δίκαιον δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ προτέρας
 ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους
 προκειμένου πλὴν δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἦραντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀδικουμένους ἐλεοῦντες, τοὺς δ'
 ὑβρίζοντας μισοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, 5
 τοῖς δ' ἐπικουρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ἡγούμενοι ἐλευθερίας μὲν σημεῖον
 εἶναι μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύνης δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις
 βοηθεῖν, εὐψυχίας δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ δέοι,
 15 μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν. τοσοῦτον δ' ἐφρόνουν ἀμφότεροι,
 [I92S] ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυσθέως οὐδὲν παρ' ἐκόντων ἐζήτουν 10
 εὐρίσκεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ (ἄν) ἡξίουν Εὐρυσθέα αὐτὸν
 ἰκετεύοντα τοὺς ἰκέτας παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξελεῖν. παραταξάμενοι
 δ' ἰδία δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατιὰν
 ἐλθοῦσαν ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι, καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων τὰ
 μὲν σώματα εἰς ἄδειαν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τοῦ 15
 δέους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡλευθέρωσαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἀρετὴν ἐκείνους τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνους ἐστεφάνωσαν.
 16 τοσοῦτον δὲ εὐτυχέστεροι παῖδες ὄντες ἐγένοντο τοῦ πατρὸς· ὁ
 μὲν γάρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθὸν πολλῶν αἴτιος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις,
 ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλόνικον καὶ φιλότιμον αὐτῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον 20

15 καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων . . . κατέστησαν *Lex. Vind.* a 112 Nauck s. v. ἄδεια

1 ἔσονται ἄνδρες Hirschig εἶναι post νομίζ. om. **χ** (add. Ob^s)
 3-4 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ **χ** 4-5 τοὺς δὲ [[μισουμένους]] ὑβρίζοντας F
 6 ἐπικουρεῖν] ἐπιχειρεῖν F 9 τοσοῦτον γάρ F 10 μετ' Εὐρ.]
 παρ' Εὐρ. **χ** 10-11 οὐδὲν . . . Εὐρυσθέα om. Ob 10 ἐκόντων g¹X:
 ἀκόντων F¹g²V 11 οὐκ] οὐδ' Thalheim ἄν add. Jacobs: Εὐρυσθέα (ἄν)
 Sluiter 12 ἰκετεύοντα] ἰκετεύοντες Contius τοὺς ἰκέτας X: τοὺς
 ἰκετεύοντας cett. παρ' ἑαυτῶν] αὐτῶν X ἐξελεῖν Ob^sVX: ἐξαιτεῖν **φ** :
 ἐξελαύνειν Markland: ἐξαιρεῖν Halbertsma: ἐξαιτεῖσθαι Avezzù παρα-
 ταξάμενοι δὴ F 14 ἡρακλέους AeOb^sVX^s: ἡρακλέος FGgOb¹X¹
 15 ἀπαλλάξαντας Ae δὲ post ἀπαλλάξαντες om. Af 16-17 διὰ δὲ
 τὴν . . . ἐκείνους F: διὰ τὴν . . . ἐκείνους δὲ VX: διὰ δὲ τὴν . . . ἐκείνους δὴ **χ**
 (e δὲ corr. Ob) 18 δὲ post τοσοῦτον eras. Ob¹V εὐτυχέστεροι om. **χ**
 19 πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν **χ**V πάσιν **χ** 20 φιλόνικον Af (φιλότιμον καὶ
 φιλόνικον): φιλόνικον rell.

τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀδικοῦντας ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυσθέα δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸν
ὄντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα οὐχ οἶδός τε ἦν
τιμωρήσασθαι· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ
εἶδον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν θ' ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν
5 τιμωρίαν.

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις μιᾷ γνώμῃ 17
χρωμένους περὶ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ
βίου δικαία· οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πανταχόθεν
συνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκβαλόντες τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ὥκησαν,
10 ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο μητέρα καὶ
πατρίδα. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ μόνοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ 18
ἐκβαλόντες τὰς παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυναστείας δημοκρατίαν
κατεστήσαντο, ἡγούμενοι τὴν πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν
εἶναι μεγίστην, κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐλπίδας
15 ποιήσαντες ἐλευθέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολιτεύοντο, νόμῳ τοὺς 19
ἀγαθοὺς τιμώντες καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζοντες, ἡγησάμενοι
θηρίων μὲν ἔργον εἶναι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βία κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις
δὲ προσήκειν νόμῳ μὲν ὀρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσαι,
ἔργῳ δὲ τούτοις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευμένους,
20 ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ διδασκομένους.

καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς καὶ γνόντες ὅμοια, πολλὰ μὲν 20
καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ πρόγονοι τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων
ἡργάσαντο, ἀεὶμνηστα δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ πανταχοῦ οἱ ἐξ
ἐκείνων γεγονότες τρόπαια διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον.
25 μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας

1 καὶ post Εὐρυσθέα δὲ om. G ἐχθρὸν] αἰσχροὺς φ (δὲ [2 vel 3 litt.])
αἰσχροὺς g) 3 διὰ om. X add. Ob^s 4 ἐπείδον Cobet τὴν τε
ἑαυτῶν F 7 χρωμένους X : χρωμένοις VX : χρησαμένοις F ἡ μὲν
γὰρ ἀρχὴ Reiske 8-9 πανταχόθεν συνειλεγμένοι om. X 9 τοὺς
ἑτέρους X ἐκβαλόντες ψ : ἐκβάλλοντες FVX : ἐκβαλλόντες g¹
10 τὴν [[2 litt.]] αὐτὴν V 10-11 καὶ μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα F
12 ἐκβάλλοντες V 13 ὁμόνοιαν om. F 15 ἐπολιτεύσαντο X (corr.
Ob^s) 18 προσήκει AeG προσήκον Af ὀρίσαι VX : ὀρίσασθαι φ :
ὀρίσ[[3 litt.]] X¹ 19 βασιλευμένοις X¹ corr. X^s 20 διδασκο-
μένοις X^s 21 φάντες καλῆς ut vid. Ae 23 ἡργάσαντο Herwerden :
εἶργ. codd. καὶ πανταχοῦ] πανταχοῦ καὶ Thalheim : καὶ suspectum habet
Hude 25 μύριοι γὰρ X (cor. Ob^s) πρὸς om. φ add. Ob^s
πολλὰς om. F