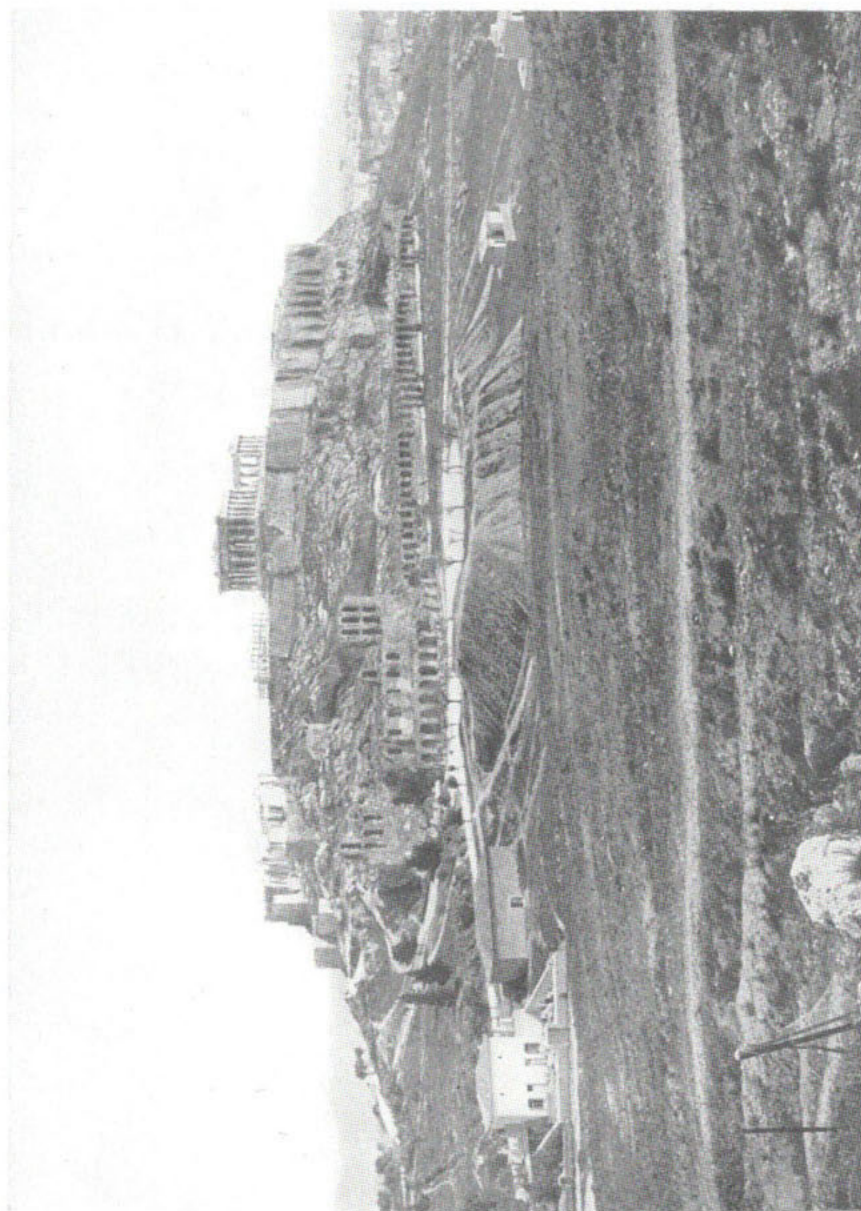


FACTA DUCIS VIVENT, OPEROSAEQUE  
GLORIA RERUM—OVID, IN LIVIAM, 255.  
THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WON  
FAME SHALL LIVE.

# DEMOSTHENES



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

PHOTO BY ALINARI

# DEMOSTHENES

AND THE LAST DAYS OF GREEK FREEDOM

384-322 B.C.

BY

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## PREFATORY NOTE

IN the main body of this book, references have been given throughout to the chief original authorities on which the statements in the text are based. It seemed less necessary, and indeed scarcely possible, to do this in those portions of the work (especially Chapters II, III, and beginning of Chapter IV) which are of the nature of an introductory summary: and readers who wish for fuller information must consult the larger Greek histories and works on the Athenian constitution.

The work has been based on a study of the original authorities throughout, but I have considered carefully the treatment of the period in the leading Greek histories, and have made particular use of the histories of Grote, Holm and Beloch, and of Schäfer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, which, in spite of the corrections which later work on the subject has rendered necessary, can never be superseded. I wish also to express my obligation to Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, Blass' *Attische Beredsamkeit*, and Butcher's *Demosthenes* (in Macmillan's Classical Writers series). Among other works which I have consulted with profit have been Francotte, *Les Finances des Cités*

*Grecques*; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*; Edward Meyer, *Isokrates' zweiter Brief an Philipp*; J. Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozialpolitischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes*; M. P. Foucart, *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonese de Thrace au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*; W. Reichenbächer, *Die Geschichte der athenischen und makedonischen Politik*; A. Cartault, *De causa Harpalica*; A. Motzki, *Eubulos von Probalinthos*; U. Kahrstedt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts*; E. Schwartz, *Demosthenes' erste Philippika* (in the Festschrift für Th. Mommsen); J. Rohrmoser, *Ueber den philokratischen Frieden*; P. Wendland, *Beiträge zur athenischen Politik u. Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts*; E. Radüge, *Zur Zeitbestimmung des Euboischen u. Olynthischen Krieges*; J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*; and other writings to which reference is made in the notes.

It must be admitted that, time after time, the evidence which has come down to us is not sufficient to give certainty to the conclusions based upon it. For the greater part of the period with which this book deals, a historian has to be content with Diodorus, who is notoriously untrustworthy in certain respects, particularly in chronology; with the meagre summary of Justin; with Plutarch, to whom the moral was perhaps as important as the truth of his story; and with the statements of orators about themselves and about one another, made, as a rule, in moments of strong feeling, and

by members of a nation by which strict truthfulness was never felt to be one of the most obligatory virtues. Here and there we receive valuable help from inscriptions, but other contemporary sources, apart from the orators, are almost wanting, and we are obliged to rely upon allusions in writers who lived centuries after the events with which we are concerned. There are many points at which the explanation of Demosthenes' conduct and policy can only be conjectured, and different writers have found it possible on the same evidence to construct diametrically opposite theories of his character and motives. I have attempted to estimate these as impartially as possible, and it is hoped that the account given in this book will be found to be in accordance with the evidence, and that, where gaps have to be filled by conjecture, the conjectures may be thought reasonable and consistent with the more certain conclusions.

As regards the illustrations, I am indebted to Lord Sackville for the permission given by him to photograph the statue of Demosthenes at Knole; to Dr. G. B. Grundy for a photograph of Thermopylæ and a sketch of the hills about Cytinium; to Mr. M. S. Thompson for a photograph of the Lion of Chæroneia; to Mr. A. B. Cook for a photograph of Calauræia; to my wife for a drawing of the view from Thermopylæ; to Messrs. Fradelle and Young for permission to reproduce their photograph of Lamia; to the Committee of the Egyptian Exploration Fund for leave to photograph the

papyrus which appears at p. 317; to Dr. G. F. Hill for casts of the coins which are reproduced in this book; to Herr J. Kromayer and Messrs. Weidmann for leave to reproduce maps of Chæroneia and the neighbourhood; and for other help to Prof. Percy Gardner and Mr. A. J. Toynbee. To all of these my best thanks are offered.

I have also to thank the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for permission to reprint passages from my translation of the Public Speeches of Demosthenes. I could have wished to quote much more freely from the Speeches, which give a far more truthful impression of Demosthenes than can be given by any description; but the limitations of space imposed by the plan of this series did not allow this; and I hope that the translation and the present volume may be treated as companion works, and that each may be allowed in some small degree to atone for the many deficiencies of the other.

*Postscript.*—Since the above was written, it has been found possible to insert some more illustrations. For these I have to thank my wife, Messrs. Alinari, and the English Photographic Company in Athens.



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## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

[The chronology of this period is often uncertain and there are many differences of opinion among historians in regard to it. The order of events in the years 355-348 is especially disputed. The dates here given must therefore be regarded only as those which the author himself regards as probable, and which he has followed in the text. The table only includes events which fall within the scope of the book, and makes no claim to completeness].

B.C.

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 404   | Athens capitulates to Sparta; the Long Walls are destroyed, and the Peiræus dismantled. The "Thirty Tyrants" established.  |
| 403-2 | The "Thirty Tyrants" overthrown and democracy restored.  |
| 400   | The Spartans begin hostilities against Persia in Asia Minor.   |
| 395   | Artaxerxes II. sends Timocrates to rouse the Greek States against Sparta. Sparta sends help to the Phocians against the Thebans and Locrians, but Lysander is slain at Haliartus.                            |
| 394   | Beginning of Corinthian War, in which the Athenians and allies oppose the Spartans. Spartan forces recalled from Asia Minor. Conon defeats the Spartan fleet off Cnidos, and Athens refortifies the Peiræus. |
| 393   | The Long Walls of Athens rebuilt. Iphicrates in the Peloponnese.   |
| 392   | War continues in the Peloponnese, between Sparta and Argos, Corinth etc. (aided by Athens). Iphicrates destroys a Spartan division. Abortive mission from Sparta to Artaxerxes.                              |
| 391   | War in Peloponnese continues. Sparta also sends troops to Asia Minor against the Persian general.  |

B.C.

- 390 War in Asia Minor, etc., continues. Thrasybulus brings Thracian princes and Byzantium into alliance with Athens.
- 389 Sparta supports Æginetans against Athens.
- 388 Antalcidas (of Sparta) interrupts Athenian corn-convoys from the Hellespont.
- 387 Peace of Antalcidas.
- 386 Plataeæ, Thespiæ and Orchomenus become centres of Spartan influence in Bœotia.
- 385 Sparta destroys the walls of Mantinea, and recovers influence in the Peloponnese.
- 384 Birth of Demosthenes.
- 383 Sparta enforces restoration of oligarchical exiles at Phleius, and aids Acanthus and Apollonia against Olynthus. Phœbidas captures the Cadmeia at Thebes.
- Cotys becomes King of the Odrysian Thracians.
- 382 Birth of Philip.
- 380 Sparta besieges Phleius. Isocrates' *Panegyricus*.
- 379 The Spartans take Phleius, and compel Olynthus to join the Spartan alliance. Being driven out of Thebes, they invade Bœotia.
- 378 Attack of Sphodrias on the Peiræus; Athens joins the Bœotians against Sparta, and organises the Second Athenian Confederacy. Second Spartan invasion of Bœotia.
- 378-7 Symmories instituted for collection of war-tax at Athens.
- 377 Third Spartan invasion of Bœotia.
- 376 Fourth Spartan invasion of Bœotia. Chabrias defeats the Spartan fleet off Naxos. Death of Demosthenes' father.
- 375 Operations of Timotheus on the Peloponnesian coast and about Corcyra, and of Chabrias on the Thracian coast.
- Jason of Pheræ acquires ascendancy over Thessaly. Thebes recovers power over Bœotia; Pelopidas defeats the Spartan army sent to help the Phocians.
- Olynthus refounds the Chalcidic league.
- 374 Peace made between Athens and Sparta, but immediately broken by Timotheus. Timotheus operates on the Thracian coast.

## Chronological Table

xiii

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| B.C.  |  |
| 373   | Spartans devastate Corcyra, and are opposed first by Timotheus, then by Iphicrates and Chabrias. Thebes destroys Plataeæ. Isocrates' <i>Plataicus</i> .  |
| 372   | Iphicrates continues to operate against Sparta in the West.  |
| 371   | Athens makes peace with Sparta, and Sparta and Amyntas acknowledge her claim to Amphipolis. Thebes will not join in the Peace. Battle of Leuctra. Theban supremacy established.  |
| 370   | A congress at Athens confirms the Peace of Antalcidas. Mantinea rebuilds its walls, and the Arcadians found Megalopolis. Democratic movements in Argos, Tegea, etc.<br>The Thebans massacre the people of Orchomenus. Jason of Pheræ murdered; Alexander acquires his power.   |
| 369   | The Thebans invade the Peloponnese to help the Arcadians against Sparta. Athens makes alliance with Sparta. The Thebans make the Messenians independent of Sparta, and build Messene.<br>Death of Amyntas III.   |
| 368   | The Thebans (under Pelopidas) unite Thessaly against Alexander of Pheræ, and bring Macedonia into alliance, taking Philip as a hostage to Thebes. Perdiccas III. becomes King of Macedonia.<br>Hostilities in the Peloponnese continue. Philiscus summons a congress at Delphi, but without result.  |
| 367   | The Thebans again in the Peloponnese. Embassies from the Greek States to Persia.   |
| 366   | The Congress of Greek States at Thebes rejects the Peace proposed by Artaxerxes; Timagoras executed at Athens.<br>The Thebans are unsuccessful in Thessaly. Themison of Eretria gives Oropus to Thebes.<br>The Arcadians make peace with Athens, and begin hostilities with Elis. Corinth and Phleius make peace with Thebes.<br>Timotheus helps Ariobarzanes in revolt against Persia, and conquers Samos. Isocrates' <i>Archidamus</i> . |
| 365-4 | Hostilities continue between Thebes and Alexander of Pheræ, and between Arcadia and Elis.  |

B.C.

- 365-4 Athens sends cleruchs to the Chersonese. Timotheus operates there.
- 364 Timotheus conducts hostilities against Cotys, and attempts to take Amphipolis, but fails. Philip returns from Thebes to Macedonia.
- 364-3 Demosthenes' prosecutes Aphobus, and is trierarch. His first collision with Meidias.
- 363 Thebes sends Epameinondas with a fleet to the Thracian region; defeats Alexander of Pheræ at Cynoscephalæ (though Pelopidas is slain); and destroys Orchomenus.
- Hostilities between Arcadians and Elis continue; schism among the Arcadians.
- 362 Battle of Mantinea, death of Epameinondas, and virtual end of Theban supremacy. A Peace made. Alexander of Pheræ commits hostilities against Athens.
- Timotheus recalled from Thrace; his successors are unsuccessful.
- Revolt of Egypt and a large part of Asia Minor against Persia. Charidemus in Asia Minor.
- Trial of Onetor.
- 361 Unsuccessful Athenian expeditions to Thrace. Miltocythes revolts against Cotys, and appeals to Athens. Callistratus banished; Aristophon takes the lead in Athens.
- Corcyra deserts the Athenian confederacy. Athens makes terms with Phleius, Elis, and the Achæans.
- 360 Timotheus again fails to take Amphipolis. Charidemus joins Cotys. Cotys is succeeded by Cersobleptes. Charidemus forces Cephisodotus to make terms, which the Athenians repudiate. Demosthenes co-trierarch with Philippides.
- 359 Miltocythes murdered at Cardia. Partition of Odrysian kingdom between Cersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus; the Chersonese nominally ceded to Athens, but not actually taken over.
- Death of Artaxerxes II., and accession of Artaxerxes III.
- Alexander of Pheræ murdered; Lycophron and Peitholaus succeed to his power.



- B.C.**
- 359** Death of Perdiccas III. Accession of Philip. He acknowledges the title of Athens to Amphipolis, but Athens neglects to garrison it.
- 358** Chares enforces the cession of the Chersonese to Athens. Timotheus liberates Eubœa from Theban control. Demosthenes co-trierarch with Philinus.
- Social War. Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium revolt against Athens; defeat and death of Chabrias at Chios.
- Philip, after a campaign against the Pæonians and Illyrians, attacks Amphipolis, which appeals to Athens. Secret arrangement between Athens and Philip with regard to Amphipolis and Pydna.
- 357** Social War continued. Prosecution of Iphicrates and Timotheus.
- Philip takes Amphipolis. Olynthus, rejected by Athens, makes alliance with Philip. Philip takes Pydna.
- Law of Periander.
- 357-6** Philip takes Poteidæa.
- 356** Birth of Alexander the Great. Philip takes Mt. Pangæus, and founds Philippi. Athenian alliance with Lyppeius, Grabus, and Cetriporis.
- Chares helps Artabazus against Persia; the Persian King helps the allies in their revolt, and Chares is recalled to Athens.
- Androtion's commission to recover arrears of war-tax. Isocrates *On the Peace*.
- 355** Philip conducts campaigns against the Illyrians and Pæonians, and builds a fleet.
- End of Social War. Athens recognises the independence of the allies. Mausolus of Caria establishes oligarchies in Rhodes, Chios, and Cos. Athens makes agreement with the Messenians. Athens sends cleruchs to Samos.
- Sacred War. The Phocians under Philomelus seize Delphi, and the Locrians fail to defeat them. War is declared against the Phocians.
- Demosthenes' Speech against Androtion.
- (*End of year*) Philip attacks Methone. Neapolis applies to Athens for help. Isocrates' *Areopagiticus*.

B.C.

354

Philip takes Methone. Hostilities between Cersobleptes and other Thracian princes.

Philomelus defeated by the Thebans; Onomarchus succeeds him, and makes a free use of the temple-treasures. Chares with a fleet near Neapolis; he receives money from Onomarchus, and defeats Philip's admiral Adæus.

Eubulus becomes Theoric Commissioner. Death of Timotheus. Demosthenes' Speeches against Leptines, and On the Symmories.

353

Athenian colonists established by Chares in Sestos. Cersobleptes and Charidemus make overtures to Athens; Aristocrates proposes a decree in favour of Charidemus. Philip takes Abdera and Maroneia; he is opposed by Amadocus; Pammenes (sent from Thebes to help Artabazus in revolt against Persia) joins Philip at Maroneia. Cersobleptes makes terms with Philip. Philip evades Chares at Neapolis.

Onomarchus makes alliance with Lycophron and Peitholaus of Pheræ, defeats the Locrians, restores Orchomenus, and occupies Thermopylæ. The princes of Larissa invoke Philip against Lycophron and Peitholaus, who summon Onomarchus. Philip defeats Phayllus, but is defeated by Onomarchus.

Sparta proposes restoration of territory to its original owners. Arcadian and Spartan embassies to Athens. Demosthenes' Speech for the Megalopolitans. Athens refuses aid to the Arcadians, who apply to Thebes. Hostilities begin between Sparta and the Arcadians (aided by Thebes).

352

Onomarchus takes Coroneia, but is defeated and slain by Philip in Magnesia, and succeeded by Phayllus. Philip deposes the princes of Pheræ, and takes Pagasæ; but retires on appearance of Athenian force at Thermopylæ. Later, Phayllus is killed in Locri and succeeded by Phalæcus.

Philip returns to Thrace, makes alliance with Amadocus, Byzantium, Perinthus, and Cardia, and defeats Cersobleptes, taking his son as a hostage. He besieges Heræon Teichos; the Athenians resolve to send an expedition, but abandon it on hearing of Philip's illness.

- B.C.**  
**352** Philip returns to Macedonia. Olynthus makes overtures to Athens.  
 Hostilities continue between Sparta and the Arcadians.
- 351-348** Sacred War continues indecisively between the Phocians and the Thebans, Thessalians and Locrians.
- 351** Philip conquers the Bislataë and threatens Olynthus; he afterwards goes to Illyria and Epirus. He intrigues with parties in Eubœa and Olynthus; his ships commit aggressions against Athens.  
 Chares is sent to the Hellespont, inadequately supplied. Artemisia succeeds Mausolus. The exiled Rhodians apply to Athens for aid, but are refused. Demosthenes' Speech for the Rhodians and First Philippic.
- 350** Athens quarrels with Corinth and Megara.  
 Communications between Athens and Orontas (in revolt against Persia); Phocion assists Euagoras of Cyprus against Persia.  
 Peace between Sparta and the Arcadians.  
 Philip's party gain ground in Olynthus. Olynthus again appeals to Athens.  
 Demosthenes' Speech for Phormio.
- 349** Philip requests Olynthus to surrender Arrhidæus. Demosthenes' First and Second Olynthiacs. Athens makes alliance with Olynthus, and sends Chares, but recalls him. Philip invades Olynthian territory, but withdraws in order to reduce Thessaly to order. Athens transfers Charidemus from the Hellespont to Olynthus, but he achieves only slight results. Demosthenes' Third Olynthiac (in autumn). Apollodorus' decree respecting the Theoric money proposed.  
 Trial of Stephanus.
- 348** (*February*) Phocion is sent to help Plutarchus of Eretria against Philip's friends. Battle of Tamynæ. Plutarchus is thought to have played Athens false. (*March*) Demosthenes, when choregus at the Dionysia, is assaulted by Meidias. Phocion drives Plutarchus from Eretria and Callias from Chalcis, but his successor is a failure. The Eubœans obtain their independence of Athens (*about June*). Demosthenes' Speech against Bœotus.

B.C.

348

Philip takes Mecyberna and Torone, and besieges Olynthus. (*July*) Philip expresses desire for peace with Athens. Philocrates proposes to negotiate with him. (*August*) Philip captures Olynthus, and destroys Chalcidic towns. Lycinus prosecutes Philocrates, who is defended by Demosthenes. (*Autumn*) Athens sends embassies to rouse the Greek States against Philip. Æschines in Arcadia.

347

Informal communications between Philip and Athens. Dissensions arise among the Phocians.

(*July*) Demosthenes becomes a Councillor for the year 347-346.

(*Late Summer*) Thebes invokes Philip's aid against the Phocians. The Phocians appeal to Athens, but when Athens sends Proxenus to Thermopylæ, he is insultingly treated by Phalæcus. Demosthenes abandons prosecution of Meidias.

346

Philip sends Parmenio to help Pharsalus against Halus. (*Early Spring*) First Embassy from Athens to Philip. (*April*) Debates upon proposed Peace. Philip takes Thracian strongholds, and takes Cersobleptes prisoner. (*May, June*) Second Embassy; Peace of Philocrates ratified. (*July*) Return of Second Embassy. Third Embassy sets out. Philip occupies Thermopylæ; the Athenians refuse to join him in settling the Sacred War. Phalæcus surrenders Philip, who becomes master of Phocis. Isocrates' *Philippus*. (*Late Summer*) The Phocian towns dismantle<sup>1</sup>. Demosthenes and Timarchus announce their intention of prosecuting Æschines. (*September*) Philip presides at Pythian games. Demosthenes' Speech on the Peace. (*Winter*—probably) Mission of Eucleides to Philip.

Demosthenes' Speeches against Pantænetus and against Nausimachus and Xenopeithes.

345

Timarchus prosecuted by Æschines and condemned. Philip organises the internal government of Macedonia. Communications between Athens and Philip with regard to Thracian towns. Repair of fortifications of Athens and the Periaeus.

- B.C.  
 345 Revision of the list of Athenian citizens. Demosthenes' Speech against Eubulides.
- 344 (*First half*) Philip conducts campaign in Illyria. He also organises Thessaly, and is elected archon of Thessaly for life. (*Second half*) Demosthenes tries, but fails, to rouse Peloponnesian States against Philip. The Argives and Messenians, and Philip himself, send envoys to Athens to protest. Demosthenes' Second Philippic. The Arcadians and Argives pay compliments to Philip. Hypereides substituted for Æschines as envoy to the Amphictyonic Council in regard to Delos.
- 343 Impeachment of Philocrates by Hypereides. He leaves Athens.  
 (*Spring*) Philip sends Python to Athens to offer to amend the Peace, etc. A Persian Embassy is coldly received at Athens; Thebes and Argos send help to Persia against Cyprus.  
 (*Early Summer*) Hegesippus sent as envoy to Macedonia. Disturbances in Elis, owing to growth of Philip's party. Attempted *coup d'état* in Philip's interest at Megara prevented by Phocion.  
 (*Summer*) Cleitarchus, aided by Philip's troops, becomes tyrant of Eretria. Chalcis, under Callias, makes overtures to Athens. Trial and acquittal of Æschines on the charge of corruption on the Embassy. Execution of Antiphanas a spy.  
 (*Later*) Tour of Athenian ambassadors (including Demosthenes) in the Peloponnese and Thessaly. Philip compels Arybbas to surrender the Molossian kingdom to Alexander, and threatens Ambracia; Athens sends troops to aid Ambracia. Philip also garrisons Nicæa and Echinus.
- 342 Philip in Thrace. He conquers the Odrysian kingdom, founds military colonies, makes alliance with the Getæ, and passes the winter of 342-341 in Thrace. Athens sends cleruchs to Cardia, and orders Diopieithes to assist them. Philip sends a garrison to protect Cardia; Diopieithes commits acts of war against Philip. Philistides becomes tyrant of Oreus, assisted by Philip's general, Parmenio.

B.C.

341

(*Spring*) Philip protests to Athens against the conduct of Diopeithes. Demosthenes' Speech on the Chersonese. Philip continues his conquests in Thrace. (*Summer*) The Third Philippic. Demosthenes makes alliance (for Athens) with Byzantium and Abydos, and with Thracian and Illyrian princes: Hypereides renews alliance with Rhodes and Chios. The Persian King sends money to Diopeithes. Athens makes alliance with Callias of Chalcis, and expels Philistides from Oreus and Cleitarchus from Eretria. Demosthenes and Callias organise a league against Philip. Chares stationed at Thasos. (*Late*—or early in 340) Callias and Athenian ships commit acts of hostility against Philip's ships, etc.

340

(*Early*) Demosthenes crowned at the Dionysia. Execution of Anaxinus as a spy. Formation of league continues. The Byzantines refuse to help Philip against the Athenians in the Chersonese. (*Summer*) Philip besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. After his seizure of Athenian merchant ships, Athens formally declares war. Chares in command at Byzantium; then Phocion. Demosthenes reforms the trierarchy. (*Autumn*) At the meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, Æschines accuses the Amphisseans of sacrilege.

339

(*Early*) The Amphictyonic Council declares war on the Amphisseans, but the war is ineffectively conducted. Philip raises the siege of Byzantium, makes an expedition into Scythia, and is defeated by the Triballi on his way back to Macedonia. (*Early Summer*) Philip appointed commander against the Amphisseans. (*September*) Philip occupies Elateia. Demosthenes makes alliance between Athens and Thebes. (*Autumn and Winter*) Demosthenes carries financial reforms; the Theoric money applied to military purposes. Athens and Thebes win some successes against Philip.

338

(*First half*) Demosthenes again crowned at the Dionysia. Philip takes Amphissa and (perhaps) Naupactus; Athens and Thebes reject his proposals

B.C.  
338

for peace. (*Summer*) Lycurgus becomes Theoric Commissioner. (*August*) Battle of Chæroneia. Thebes is garrisoned by Macedonian troops and severely treated. Orchomenus, Thespiæ and Plataeæ restored. Athens prepares for defence; Demosthenes is sent to procure corn and money; in his absence the "Peace of Demades" is made. (*Later*) Repair of fortifications etc., under Demosthenes' supervision. He delivers the Funeral Oration. Philip settles Phocis and Eubœa, and is honourably received at Megara, Cornith, etc.; being rejected by Sparta, he overruns Laconia. At a congress at Corinth, he establishes a synod of the Greeks, and makes arrangements for invasion of Asia. Death of Isocrates, and of Artaxerxes III., who is succeeded by Arsēs.

337 Demosthenes becomes Theoric Commissioner. The two parties in Athens assail one another with prosecutions. Philip marries Cleopatra, and Alexander quarrels with him.

336 Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes at the Dionysia. Æschines announces his intention to prosecute him.

Formal reconciliation between Philip and Alexander. A Macedonian force is sent to Asia under Attalus. Philip is murdered (in July); Alexander is acknowledged King by the Macedonians, Thessalians, and Amphictyonic Council. He marches to Thebes and is acknowledged by Athens. At a congress at Corinth he is appointed leader of the Greeks against Persia; all Greek States are declared autonomous.

Secret overtures of Athens to Persia rejected. Accession of Darius Codomannus as King of Persia.

335 Alexander in Thrace and Illyria. Darius sends money to Athens to be used against the Macedonians. Thebes revolts, encouraged by Athens and other States, and is destroyed by Alexander. Most of the peoples friendly to Thebes submit. Alexander demands surrender of anti-Macedonian orators but is satisfied with banishment of Charidemus. The Council of Arcopagus undertake to investigate the use of Persian gold to help Thebes, but drop the enquiry.

B.C.

- 334 Alexander in Asia Minor. Battle at the Granicus. The Persian fleet received at Samos (under Athenian control).
- 332 Alexander in Syria and Egypt.
- 333 Alexander in Asia Minor. Battle of Issus. Agis of Sparta, assisted by Persian money, conquers Crete.
- 331 Alexander in the East. Battle of Arbela. His fleet recovers control of the Ægæan, etc.
- 330 Alexander in the East. Revolt of the Odrysian King Seuthes crushed by Antipater. Agis leads a revolt in the Peloponnese, defeats Corrhagus, and besieges Megalopolis. Demosthenes at first encourages the revolt, but the Athenians fail to support it. Agis is defeated and slain by Antipater. Prosecution of Leocrates by Lycurgus, and of Euxenippus by Polyeuctus. Trial and acquittal of Ctesiphon; Demosthenes' Speech on the Crown; Æschines leaves Athens.
- 329-324 Alexander in the East.
- 328 (about). Demosthenes is corn-commissioner. He is accused of embezzlement, but acquitted.
- 327 Alexander accorded divine honours in Bactria. He goes to India.
- 326 Lycurgus ceases to be Theoric Commissioner. Athenian expedition to Samos.
- 324 Alexander returns from India to Susa. Flight of Harpalus to Greece, with Alexander's treasure; Athens will not surrender him, but takes the treasure, to keep it for Alexander; Harpalus escapes from Athens. Demosthenes and others are suspected of receiving part of the treasure, and the Council of Areopagus is ordered to enquire, but delays.
- Alexander demands divine honors from the Greeks, and orders restoration of exiles to Greek cities. Demosthenes opposes. He is sent to the Olympian festival, where Nicanor proclaims Alexander's commands; on his return, he moderates his attitude.
- Demosthenes is fined 50 talents for his part in the Harpalus affair, and goes into exile. Death of Lycurgus.
- Athenian expedition against Tyrrhenian pirates.



B.C.

323

(*Early*) Alexander receives embassies from the Greek States at Babylon. (*June*) Death of Alexander. Athens forms a confederacy for the liberation of Greece, and recalls Demosthenes. Leosthenes with the allied army defeats Antipater and shuts him up in Lamia; but after Leosthenes' death, Antipater escapes and joins Craterus. (*Winter*) Funeral Oration of Hypereides.

322

The Athenian fleet is thrice defeated, and finally (in August) the army of the confederacy is defeated at Crannon. Athens submits to Antipater, and receives a Macedonian garrison, and a less Democratic constitution. (*October*) Death of Hypereides and of Demosthenes.



# DEMOSTHENES

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## CHAPTER I

### THE YOUTH AND TRAINING OF DEMOSTHENES

THE subject of this book is the last struggle of the Hellenes for liberty, and the part played in that struggle by Demosthenes. We shall see him confronting, on the one hand, the external enemies of his country's freedom—Philip, Alexander, and Antipater; on the other, the orators who, for whatever reason, viewed the resistance to the Macedonian power with disfavour, and above all Æschines, his lifelong opponent. It will not be maintained that the conduct of Demosthenes was at all points admirable or blameless; but since he represented worthily, throughout a most critical period, the highest traditions and instincts of his fellow-countrymen, and expressed them in a series of orations the eloquence of which was not only worthy of their theme, but at its best has never been surpassed, he is entitled to a distinguished place among those heroes of the nations, the

memory of whom is among the noblest possessions of mankind.

Demosthenes the orator was the son of Demosthenes of Pæania,<sup>1</sup> a town lying at the foot of the eastern slope of Mount Hymettus, about ten miles from Athens. His mother, Cleobule, was the daughter of Gylon of Kerameis. Gylon, according to the story told by Æschines,<sup>2</sup> had been banished from Attica, not having dared to face a trial on the charge of having betrayed Nymphæum—a town dependent upon Athens, and situated on the Tauric Chersonese, a few miles south of Panticapæum,<sup>3</sup> on the western shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. (All around lay the fertile corn-lands whence Athens derived a considerable part of her supply of grain.) After his banishment from Athens, Gylon continued to live in the neighbourhood of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and received from the Spartocidæ (the princes who ruled the league into which the towns on both sides of the strait were united) the place on the eastern side called Kepoi, “the Gardens.” There he married a rich wife who was said to have been of Scythian descent. She bore him two daughters, whom he sent to Athens, where one of them married an Athenian named Demochares; the other married the elder Demosthenes, and became the mother of the orator.

The facts with regard to the alleged treachery

<sup>1</sup> Now Liopesi.

<sup>2</sup> *In Ctes.*, §§ 171, 172.

<sup>3</sup> The modern Kertch.

of Gylon cannot be certainly ascertained; but it is at least probable that Gylon's crime amounted to no more than the transference of Nymphæum, towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians were no longer powerful enough to retain their outlying possessions, into the strong and friendly hands of the Spartocidæ, whose cordial relations with Athens proved to be of great advantage to her during the following century. This wise step may easily have been misrepresented at Athens, and may have led to Gylon's condemnation. The penalty inflicted was probably a fine, with banishment until the fine was paid. But Demosthenes himself tells us<sup>1</sup> that although his grandfather at one time owed money to the State, the debt was wiped off before his death; and Gylon may even have lived his last years in Attica.

Æschines also taunts Demosthenes with his descent from a Scythian mother.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that he is exaggerating, and that Gylon's wife was the daughter of a Greek settler in this "Scythian" district. But if she was in reality of Scythian origin, it would have involved no serious stigma in the eyes of the Athenians. In fact, if Gylon's daughters were born before the archonship of Eucleides (B.C. 403-2) they would have been legally in the same position as the daughters of two Athenian parents<sup>3</sup>; and it is doubtful whether

<sup>1</sup> *In Aphob.* II, §§ 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deinarchus *in Dem.*, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Dem. in Eubulidem*, § 30. Plutarch, *Dem.*, iv., was unable to test the statement as to Demosthenes' Scythian descent.

the status of the children of an Athenian father by a foreign mother was ever actually disputed, even if they were born after the year of Eucleides. As the date of the loss of Nymphæum to Athens cannot be exactly determined, Cleobule's position must remain uncertain; but it is probable that she was not more than about twenty-two years old when her son was born.

Demosthenes the elder was the owner of a large number of slaves, of whom (at the time of his death) thirty-three were engaged in the manufacture of cutlery—whence he was named “the cutler”—and twenty in making couches, and he had considerable sums of money invested in loans at interest. With a property which, as reckoned up by his son, amounted to nearly fourteen talents, he was considered a wealthy man. He had performed his obligatory services to the State not merely punctiliously but generously, and was regarded by his contemporaries with respect.<sup>1</sup>

The year of the orator's birth was probably 384 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In 376, before he had reached his eighth birthday, his father died, leaving him with his mother and his five-year-old sister. The dying man entrusted his affairs to his two nephews—Aphobus, his brother's son, and Demophon, son of his sister and Demon; and with them he joined

<sup>1</sup>Dem. *in Aphob.* I, *passim*; Æsch. *in Ctes.*, § 171; Plut., *Dem.*, iv. See also Note 1 at the end of the Chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Note 2.

a lifelong friend, Therippides of Pæania.<sup>1</sup> Aphobus was to marry his widow, who was still young, and to receive with her a dowry of eighty minæ; he was also granted the use of the house and furniture, until Demosthenes should come of age. The little girl was to be betrothed to Demophon, and he was to receive a legacy of two talents. Therippides was to enjoy the interest on seventy minæ during Demosthenes' minority, and in all other respects the property was to be administered for Demosthenes' benefit. But the trustees mismanaged the property for their own advantage, and neglected the provisions of the will. Had these instructions been followed, Demosthenes might reasonably have expected, after ten years, to receive at least twenty talents, if not more: instead of which, the estate, when handed over to him, was not worth more than seventy minæ, or about one twelfth of its value at the time of his father's death.<sup>2</sup>

While Demosthenes' estate was being treated in this disastrous fashion, how was he himself faring? A boy of poor physique, thin and sickly,<sup>3</sup> he is said to have been forbidden by his mother to take part in the vigorous exercises which were an element in the education of a young Athenian; his delicate appearance exposed him to the ridicule of other boys; and Æschines,<sup>4</sup> when they were both almost

<sup>1</sup> The account of Demosthenes' guardians and their conduct is based on the three Speeches against Aphobus.

<sup>2</sup> Note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Dem.*, iv.

<sup>4</sup> In *Ctes.*, § 255.

old men, upbraided him with his early indifference to his physical condition, and his neglect of the chase. So, we may perhaps infer, he grew up solitary and unsociable; and in the defects of his early upbringing may possibly be found the origin of a certain want of geniality in him, of which his enemies in later days did not fail to make the most,<sup>1</sup> and which perhaps caused him to take an unduly severe and unsympathetic view of the social pleasures in which his contemporaries and colleagues participated. As for his intellectual education, he went, he tells us,<sup>2</sup> to the schools which befitted the son of a man of position, though in another place<sup>3</sup> he accuses Aphobus of depriving his tutors of their fees. Æschines, indeed, several times,<sup>4</sup> taunts him with being uneducated, but the context proves that he is thinking of a want of tact and of taste, rather than of mental equipment. So far as he was really deficient in these qualities, the fault was probably the consequence of his early unsociability; and the deficiency in good taste was shared in no small degree by Æschines himself.

The determination of Demosthenes to become a great political orator was formed, so Plutarch tells us,<sup>5</sup> in his boyhood, and was prompted by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dem., de F. L.*, § 46, *Phil.* II, § 30; and his attitude towards the enjoyments of his colleagues in the Embassy.

<sup>2</sup> *De Cor.*, § 257.

<sup>3</sup> *In Aphob.* I, § 46.

<sup>4</sup> *In Timarch.*, § 166; *de F. L.*, § 113, 153; *in Ctes.*, § 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Plut., Dem.*, v.



admiration of Callistratus, whom he heard speak either in the Assembly,<sup>1</sup> or when making his defence upon a charge of treason in connection with the loss of Oropus.<sup>2</sup> "When he saw Callistratus escorted and congratulated by numbers of persons," Plutarch tells us, "he admired his fame and marvelled even more at his eloquence, as he observed in him the strength of a born master and tamer of men's passions. And so he abandoned all other studies and the pastimes of his boyhood, and trained himself in speaking by hard practice, determined to be some day an orator himself." Whatever be the truth of this story, Demosthenes must often have had the opportunity of hearing Callistratus, before the latter was driven into exile in 361, and may well have felt inspired to emulate his example.

As the boy grew up, he naturally became aware of the mismanagement of his affairs by his guardians; he determined to demand restitution or compensation; and no sooner had he come of age, in the summer of 366, than he instituted proceedings against them for breach of trust, suing each separately and claiming ten talents from each. In preparing his case, he sought the aid of Isæus, the most skilled practitioner of the time in cases

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. X Orat.* 844b.

<sup>2</sup> This is Plutarch's version; but as the trial with regard to Oropus cannot have taken place until 366, the speech which roused Demosthenes' emulation was probably delivered on some earlier occasion.

of disputed inheritance, and unrivalled in the thoroughness and ingenuity with which he applied every argument of which his case admitted.<sup>1</sup>

The suit against Aphobus, of which alone we have any record, came on first, and the case was submitted, in the first instance, to arbitration. Aphobus persuaded Demosthenes to entrust the decision to three acquaintances, nominated, according to custom, one by each party, and one by consent of both. But the law of Athens allowed either party to withdraw the case from arbitration at any time before the verdict was given, and Aphobus, on ascertaining that the verdict would be unfavourable to himself, took advantage of this possibility, and withdrew. The matter then came before one of the public arbitrators, who were annually chosen by lot from among the jurors appointed for the year. Aphobus tried various shifts in vain, and the arbitrator pronounced against him, but instead of giving a final decision himself, referred the case (as he was entitled to do at his discretion) to a law-court.

But four or five days before the trial, which took place late in 364 or early in 363, Aphobus, with the help of his friends, made a clever attempt to evade justice. Under the Athenian naval

<sup>1</sup> Various stories are told of the financial relations of Demosthenes to Isæus, and of a futile application for instruction which he made to Isocrates; but the stories are inconsistent with each other, and rest on bad authority. (*Vit. X Orat.*, 837d, 839e, 844b; Suidas, s. v. 'Ισαῖος.)

system, the duty of equipping and commanding each trireme for service, when need arose, was laid upon one or more citizens of sufficient means: but any citizen who felt that another was more capable than himself of bearing the burden (which was a heavy one) might challenge him either to undertake it or to exchange property with himself. Now a certain Thrasylochus, a friend of Aphobus, had been called upon to share the duties of trierarch with a colleague, and his share of the cost had been estimated at twenty minæ, on payment of which his colleague (or a third party, a contractor) had agreed to discharge the actual duties. Thrasylochus was persuaded without difficulty to challenge Demosthenes to exchange property or to undertake the co-trierarchy. The result of the exchange would have been that all claims connected with Demosthenes' estate, and with them the right to prosecute the trustees, would pass from Demosthenes to Thrasylochus (who of course had an understanding with Aphobus), and that Demosthenes would be left without any chance of obtaining redress from his guardians. At first, as the property which had actually been handed over to him was quite insufficient to bear the burden, Demosthenes was inclined to give a provisional consent to the exchange, intending to appeal afterwards to a tribunal which should decide finally whether the burden of the trierarchy should fall on himself or on Thrasylochus, and expecting to win his appeal by demonstrating the fraudu-

lency of his opponents' proceedings. Upon his consenting to the exchange, Thrasylochus had the right to inspect and value Demosthenes' property; and in the course of the inspection, he and his brother Meidias, of whom more will be heard hereafter, did wilful damage to Demosthenes' house, used indecent language in the presence of his young sister, and uttered all kinds of abuse against himself and his mother. Worst of all, they gave the former trustees of the estate a discharge from all claims. Their proceedings appear to have caused some sensation in Athens, and as time was pressing, and the suit against Aphobus was due for hearing in a few days, Demosthenes broke off the negotiations for the exchange, and paid Thrasylochus the twenty minæ, though he was obliged to mortgage his house and his other property in order to do so. He subsequently prosecuted Meidias for his foul language. Meidias made no appearance, and was condemned; but Demosthenes never succeeded in recovering the damages awarded him.<sup>1</sup>

In the action against Aphobus, Demosthenes conducted his own case. His opening speech was a clear and businesslike exposition of the value of the original estate, of the manner in which the guardians had dealt with it, and of the flagrancy of their neglect of the testator's instructions. In a second speech, he replied briefly, but convincingly, to a plea put in by Aphobus at the last moment,

<sup>1</sup> *In Meid.*, §§ 76-81; *in Aphob.* II, § 17.

when there was no time left for the production of evidence to rebut it, and concluded with a pathetic appeal to the jury in the name of himself and of his sister, who would depend upon him for her marriage-portion.

There can be little doubt of the guilt of Aphobus. Had he been innocent, his case must have been susceptible of proof in a simple and straightforward manner; and his subsequent proceedings afford a strong presumption against his honesty. The jury found him guilty. Onetor, his brother-in-law and a pupil of Isocrates, entreated them to assess the damages at one talent only, and promised himself to guarantee payment of that sum; but the jury awarded Demosthenes ten talents—the whole amount claimed.

Instead, however, of paying the sum, Aphobus departed to Megara, and took up his residence there as a domiciled alien. Demosthenes was of course entitled to seize Aphobus' property, though the State gave no assistance in the first instance in the recovery of damages awarded by a court: but before his departure, Aphobus had taken steps to render it as difficult as possible for Demosthenes to obtain effectual satisfaction. He dismantled his house, tore down the doors, broke up the wine-vat, and removed the slaves. He made a present to his friend Æsius of a block of buildings which he owned, and to Onetor of his land, in order that Demosthenes might be forced to institute proceedings against them if he wished to seize the

property. Besides this, he made an attempt which, if successful, would have secured the virtual reversal of the verdict against him. He prosecuted Phanus, one of Demosthenes' witnesses at the trial, for perjury, and was assisted in the preparation of the case (and also, as Demosthenes asserts, in the procuring of false witnesses) by Onetor. Demosthenes defended Phanus, and had no difficulty in proving his case. But his troubles were not yet at an end; for when he attempted to take possession (as he was entitled to do) of a piece of land belonging to Aphobus, he was driven out of it by Onetor, who professed to have a prior claim to the land; and he was forced to prosecute Onetor for this action. The trial took place in 362: its result is nowhere recorded, but Demosthenes' proofs of collusion between Aphobus and Onetor appear to be unanswerable, and he was doubtless successful.

The five extant speeches delivered by Demosthenes in the course of his attempt to recover his property are strongly reminiscent of Isæus. Some phrases, and even (in the First Speech against Onetor) a whole passage on the value of evidence given under torture, are taken *verbatim* from his teacher. Yet these speeches already show promise of greater work than Isæus ever produced. In his complete mastery of his subject, in the clear exposition of facts, in the skill with which the narrative and the argument are dovetailed one into the other, and in the ability which is shown not

only in formal proofs, but in argument from probabilities and indications (particularly in the Speeches against Onetor), Demosthenes is the follower of his teacher. But in the eloquence of the more pathetic passages he surpasses all his predecessors; and though now and then the expressions of strong indignation which he uses have the appearance of being studied, rather than quite spontaneous, and stand out rather too conspicuously in the somewhat dull and uniform texture of the main part of the speeches, there is even in these some evidence of power, not yet entirely conscious of itself, nor entirely under control, but obviously capable of development. It is said<sup>1</sup> that the fierceness which Demosthenes displayed in his attack upon his guardians earned for him the nickname of Argas—the name of a venomous serpent; and it is not improbable that these early experiences engendered in him a certain bitterness—a quality which was always liable to show itself in him in later days, when he was strongly moved.

We do not know what terms Demosthenes made with Therippides and Demophon, or whether he came to terms with them at all. But it is scarcely likely that, after the verdict which had been given against Aphobus, they did not attempt to make some arrangement with him. We hear, however, of lawsuits against Demophon's father and brother, Demon and Demomeles. The elder Demosthenes had lent money at interest to Demomeles,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Æsch., *de F. L.*, § 99; Plut., *Dem.*, iv.    <sup>2</sup> *In Aphob.* I, § 11.

Demosthenes may have tried to recover from the father what was due from one or both of his sons. Against Demomeles he brought an action before the Council of Areopagus<sup>1</sup> on account of a wound in the head which Demomeles had inflicted upon him—possibly in the course of disputes with regard to the property—but afterwards abandoned the case, and accepted a sum of money in compensation for the injury.<sup>2</sup> Æschines states that Demosthenes inflicted the injury upon himself, and accused Demomeles of causing it, in order to extract money from him. Such a statement from such a source carries no weight; but it is plain that the long series of quarrels with his relations cannot have contributed to the young orator's peace of mind or good temper, and also that he was himself already a dangerous person to quarrel with.

In spite of the verdicts of the courts, it is uncertain how much Demosthenes recovered of his estate. Plutarch says that he failed to get back even the smallest fraction, but this must be an exaggeration: there can be little doubt, for instance, that he took possession of Aphobus' house,<sup>3</sup> and it is unlikely, as we have seen, that he recovered nothing at all from the two other guardians. For some years indeed he followed the profession of a writer of speeches, but we cannot be sure that it

<sup>1</sup> This Council dealt with cases of actual or attempted murder.

<sup>2</sup> *De F. L.*, § 93.

<sup>3</sup> This is implied in the Second Speech against Onetor, § 1.



was poverty that obliged him to do so. Æschines asserts<sup>1</sup> that Demosthenes made money out of rich young men, and particularly out of the half-witted Aristarchus, whom he deluded with the pretence that he could make him a great orator. The story of Demosthenes' relations with Aristarchus is more than doubtful, and no other pupil of Demosthenes is known to us by name. But it is probable that down to the year 345 or thereabouts he was ready to teach young men the art of speaking<sup>2</sup> and to compose speeches for others, though he did not appear in court as an advocate for others in person after he entered political life.<sup>3</sup>

The profession of speech-writer was not one which was in good repute in Athens. This was partly due to the feeling that a good case needed no professional ingenuity to support it; and so not only did Lysias and other<sup>4</sup> orators deprecate the deceitfulness of the "clever speaker" and treat his skill as a proof of his dishonesty, but Isocrates, who in his earlier days wrote speeches for clients, afterwards actually denied having done so, and spoke of the practice with contempt. Besides this, the fact that the professional advocate or speech-writer was paid for his work<sup>5</sup> suggested a certain unscrupulousness to the Athenian mind, which disapproved of the making of money either

<sup>1</sup> In *Timarch.*, §§ 170-2; *de F. L.*, § 148; in *Ctes.*, § 173. See Note 4.

<sup>2</sup> This is implied by Æsch. in *Timarch.*, §§ 117, 173, 175.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Dem. in *Zenothemim*, § 31.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Note 5.

by rhetorical practice or by philosophical teaching. Demosthenes' opponents, Æschines and Deinarchus, make the most of the supposed iniquity of the profession, though Demosthenes returns the charge upon Æschines' own head with some force.<sup>1</sup>

But Demosthenes' real motive for undertaking the composition of speeches for others may have been the desire, not to make money, but to acquire practice in the art for himself, with a view to his intended career. Plutarch<sup>2</sup> tells us that he also profited by the speeches and litigation of others, going over each case again, when he returned from the court,—reflecting upon the arguments used, considering how the matter might have been better treated, and remodelling the expressions which he remembered, until he was perfectly satisfied with them; applying, in fact, the same process of castigation and revision to which in later days he appears to have subjected his own work.

Nor was this all. It was doubtless during the ten or twelve years after he came of age that Demosthenes acquired the knowledge of Greek history which he so often displays. The story of his having copied out Thucydides eight times<sup>3</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. in *Timarch.*, i., §§ 94 (with schol.), 125, 175; *de F. L.*, §§ 99, 165; Isocr., *de Antidosi*, §§ 37-44; *de Sophistis*, §§ 19 ff.; Deinarch. in *Dem.*, § 111; *Dem.*, *de F. L.*, § 246.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον*, § 4. Equally apocryphal is the tale in Zosimus' *Life of Demosthenes* that when the library at Athens was burnt, and the MS. of Thucydides destroyed, Demosthenes wrote out the historian's work from memory.

indeed apocryphal. But that he was thoroughly familiar with the historian, the evidence of his earlier style leaves no doubt; and he also displays the same habit of referring events and past and present conditions to their causes, the same serious view of the moral aspect of political affairs, and the same manner of stating and applying general principles of action and policy, as does Thucydides, both in the speeches included in his history, and in his own reflections upon events. In the history of Thucydides he must have studied the portraits of statesmen of widely different types, and familiarised himself with the better and the worse methods which statesmen could employ. For him, as for modern readers, Thucydides was doubtless a school of political instruction without a rival, as well as a collection of masterpieces in the older style of Athenian eloquence.<sup>1</sup>

The style, however, of Thucydides could not be made suitable, without great modification, to the practical affairs of the middle of the fourth century. His stiffness and compression were ill-fitted for carrying away the jury or the Assembly, and the perpetual use (which was characteristic of him) of the antithetical figures of speech, valuable as these always remained for certain purposes, would have seemed artificial and monotonous

<sup>1</sup> The speeches in Thucydides' history were probably less widely removed than is commonly supposed from the style actually adopted by Pericles; but this is not the place to argue the point.

to the audiences which Demosthenes addressed. In parts of the first extant speech of Demosthenes to the Assembly—the Speech on the Naval Boards, delivered in 354—these Thucydidean characteristics are somewhat conspicuous; but he became more discriminating in his use of them before long.

Since the history of Thucydides had been written, two new styles had sprung up. The one, of which Lysias had been the greatest master, was particularly serviceable for private lawsuits. It consisted in a studied simplicity, an apparent innocence of all artifice, which must have been (as it still is) extremely attractive, especially when so modified in the case of each litigant as just to suit his particular character. Almost every speech of Lysias appears as if it were the absolutely natural and unstudied utterance of the client for whom it was composed. Only in prologue and epilogue, and sometimes in moralising upon the actions or the characters described, the tone is somewhat heightened, and some of those artifices which distinctly separated oratory from conversation reappear, though even so they are not thrust forward. A more artificial style is also to be seen in the four speeches of a public character which Lysias composed. But in general the effect of Lysias' writing is that of conversation in which, without any sign of effort on the speaker's part, every word is just the right one, and is uttered in just the right place. The arrangement of the speech is almost invariably simple—intro-

duction, narrative, argument, and conclusion following one another artlessly and straightforwardly. From many indications<sup>1</sup> it is clear that the mistrust of the "clever speaker," to which allusion has already been made,<sup>2</sup> was strong in the days of Lysias, and there was always a risk that suspicion would be aroused if a private person spoke in an ingenious, elaborate, or artificial manner. In the same spirit, Æschines and others made it a reproach against Demosthenes himself that he elaborated his phrases and arguments like a sophist; and the reason which Plato gives<sup>3</sup> for the fact that the great speakers of the fifth century had not published their speeches was that they were afraid of being thought sophists. In the speeches composed for clients by Demosthenes himself, it is noteworthy in what apologetic tones the speaker is made to introduce arguments which show an acquaintance with law or with precedents beyond the range of the ordinary man's knowledge; and how more than one speaker emphasises his own want of familiarity with the courts and compares it with his litigious opponents' long practice in conducting lawsuits. Even in speeches dealing with matters of public interest, Demosthenes makes his client warn the jury against the "clever speaker."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *e. g.*, Lysias, xii., § 86, xviii., § 16, xxvii., § 5, xxx., § 24. Lysias was already writing speeches before 399, when Socrates was condemned partly for making the worse cause appear the better.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Phædrus*, 257d.

<sup>4</sup> *e. g.* in *Androt.*, §§ 4, 37; in *Aristocr.*, § 5.

Demosthenes' speeches have not, it is true, the absolute and artless simplicity of Lysias. For although in certain cases of a trivial kind the time allowed was so short that only a concise statement of the facts and recital of the laws was possible, in most of his speeches the arrangement is carefully planned so as to emphasise the important points; and the narrative, the proofs, and the reply to the actual or anticipated arguments of the opponent are interlaced (after the example of Isæus) in a manner which is artistic without ceasing to be lucid, and which offers more variety to the hearer than a merely consecutive treatment of the several elements in the speech. The arguments, especially those which are drawn from considerations of general morality or of public interest, are often more like those of a statesman than of a plain man, and the contentions of the speakers on points of law are sometimes subtle and ingenious. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (an admirable critic of the last century B.C., and a very discerning student of the great orators in particular) says that, as compared with Lysias, Demosthenes, like Isæus, aroused suspicion even when he had a good case.<sup>1</sup> But modern readers, more familiar with the ingenuity of lawyers, and more conscious that legal questions can only be settled by the careful sifting of legal arguments, are less likely to feel this; and in fact the private speeches, at least, of Demosthenes display, to a degree only

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal., *de Isæo*, iv.

surpassed in the work of Lysias himself, the art of adapting the language and tone of the oration to the characters of the several speakers, and of giving an impression of innocence and honesty. They show also on occasion, as do the speeches of Lysias, a sense of humour which rarely appears in the political orations.

The other style which influenced Demosthenes (coming into prominence soon after that of Lysias) was the style of Isocrates, itself a development of that of Thrasymachus, of whom as an orator we know little except that it was he who first introduced the deliberate use of rhythms into oratory. While Isocrates employs the antithetical figures, at times to excess, he does not merely arrange antithetical clauses in pairs, but builds up periods of a more elaborate kind out of clauses symmetrically arranged and characterised by dominant and often corresponding rhythms. Such work is pleasing for a while, but its rhythmical character and its studied symmetry are too obtrusive; its obvious artificiality soon cloy; its regularity becomes monotonous. It is not surprising that Isocrates' speeches could not be declaimed in the Assembly or the Law-Courts, and that his influence was achieved through the circulation of his writings in many copies.

But the value of rhythmical effects and of a periodic structure in oratory, and particularly in oratory addressed to an æsthetically sensitive people, such as the Athenians were, did not escape

Demosthenes; and his mastery of all the varieties of oratorical rhythm must have been largely acquired in his early years. He is never the slave of rhythm, and is never bound to a single type of sentence-structure, but uses every type as he requires it, and never allows any to pall. For such complete mastery long practice must have been needed. Some of Isocrates' greatest writings were issued before Demosthenes' first extant public oration was delivered,—the *Panegyricus* in 380, the *Plataicus* in 373, the *Archidamus* in 366, the *Speech on the Peace* probably in 356, and the *Areopagiticus* in 355.<sup>1</sup> There is no need to take literally the story<sup>2</sup> that Demosthenes obtained surreptitiously the technical treatises of Isocrates and other rhetorical teachers of the time and learned them by heart. The principles of Isocrates' art must have been well known, in the days of Demosthenes' youth, to all who were interested in rhetoric, through his pupils, and through his and their works; and it was doubtless by the close study of these works that he was enabled to adapt the principles to the purposes of practical oratory.

With the matter of Isocrates' writings Demosthenes can have been little in sympathy, and it is only in his earliest work that we seem to have any unmistakable echo of Isocrates' sentiments. It is true that Isocrates, like Demosthenes, traced much of the evil of his times, first, to the prevail-

<sup>1</sup> For the dates see Drerup, *Isocratis opera omnia*, I, pp. cliii. ff.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, v.



ing love of pleasure and the unwillingness of the citizens of Athens to undertake personal service for the good of the community; and secondly, to the refusal of the Athenian people even to listen to those wise advisers who would not prophesy smooth things. He was also, like Demosthenes, deeply impressed by the perpetual discord of the Greek States with one another, and by the cruelties and the mischief perpetrated by the mercenary armies which the cities employed to do their work; he expressed, as Demosthenes did (particularly in middle and later life), the strongest Panhellenic feeling, and aspired to bring about a union of all the Hellenes, with Athens as their centre. The two writers had, moreover, many ideas in common in regard to the history and traditions of Athens, and appealed to the same outstanding examples of her action in the past. But nothing could be more alien from Demosthenes than the academic suggestions by which Isocrates sought to remedy the mischiefs of the age—the vague sentiment (not altogether unjustified as a sentiment, but quite unpractical as a policy) in favour of some kind of monarchy, whether it was to be exercised by Jason of Pheræ, or by Dionysius of Syracuse, or by Philip; the fancy that Philip could be converted into a regenerator of Hellas, or a purely unselfish leader of a voluntary Panhellenic coalition; the dream of a return of the city to the form of government which existed in the days when the Council of Areopagus was supreme; the idea of healing the

disunion of the States by causing them to undertake a united campaign against Persia under the leadership of Athens and Sparta, or of Archidamus, or of Philip himself. When Demosthenes himself made a proposal on any subject, every point was worked out in detail, in a practical and business-like manner: the half-thought-out generalities of Isocrates must have been almost repulsive to him; and as for Isocrates' favourite nostrum—a united war against Persia—it must have been perfectly obvious that, so far from it being possible to achieve union by organising a campaign against Persia, no such campaign was possible until some kind of unity was enforced: and when in fact, after Isocrates' death, Philip and Alexander imposed a formal unity, and Alexander led an army drawn from many of the Greek States into Asia, no real or effective union—certainly no union of spirit—between the States at home was after all achieved. Isocrates' attitude both towards Philip and towards Persia was the exact opposite of that which Demosthenes adopted when his policy was fully matured. Isocrates wished to set Philip at the head of the Greeks in order to crush Persia: Demosthenes (at least in 341, as will appear later<sup>1</sup>) desired the alliance of Persia in order to prevent Philip from becoming the head of the Greeks. Moreover, Isocrates' generally anti-imperialistic attitude is just the reverse of the attitude of Demosthenes towards empire, even though many passages in

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 316, 340–343, 409, 417.

Isocrates' writings may express in more fulsome and artificial language the sentiments which Demosthenes himself held with regard to the degeneracy of the People and their behaviour towards the politicians who advised them.

Yet, poles apart as Isocrates and Demosthenes were, the younger man learned much from the elder. Above all, he probably learned from him the possible influence of speeches published as political pamphlets. There can be little doubt that at two very critical times—those of the Social War, and of the peace-negotiations in 346—public opinion was prepared for the measures to which the policy of Eubulus led, by the writings of Isocrates; and there can be even less doubt that the influence of Demosthenes' own speeches was immensely extended by their publication. The view, which some recent scholars have maintained,<sup>1</sup> that the speeches which we have were not delivered at all, but are simply political pamphlets, and that Demosthenes' real speeches in the Assembly were far rougher in form and more violent in language, is based upon very inadequate evidence; and it is probable that, although the speeches were subjected to some revision before publication, the divergence between the spoken and the published form was not great. But it is beyond question that they owed much of their influence on the course of events to their appearance as pamphlets; and although some few political pamphlets<sup>2</sup> seem

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.*, Hahn and Wendland. See Note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Note 7.

to have been issued towards the end of the fifth century, Demosthenes was the first great practical statesman to make use of methods, the effectiveness of which in some degree anticipated the power of the press in modern times; and it was from Isocrates that he must have learned to use them.

Whether or not Demosthenes came at any time under the influence of Plato, who died in 347-6, is doubtful. Cicero, Quintilian, and Tacitus all allege that he was a reader and even a pupil of Plato; but the tradition on which they relied seems to rest on very weak authority,<sup>1</sup> and although it is most improbable that he did not know the philosopher's writings, he can have felt little sympathy with his opinions. Much as Demosthenes lamented the weaknesses of the Athenian people, he was a whole-hearted believer in democracy—the constitution which Plato placed lowest but one in his enumeration of the several types of State; and the fact that the philosophic ideal was, from the point of view of the practical statesman, unpatriotic and selfish, would also render Demosthenes unfriendly to such speculations.

During the years between 365 and 355—the years of preparation for his public career—Demosthenes must not only have familiarised himself with the work of his predecessors and older contemporaries, with Greek history and Athenian law, but must also have written many of those

<sup>1</sup> See Sandys' note on Cicero's *Orator*, iv., §16, and the references there given. See also Note 8 below.

typical passages which formed part of an orator's stock-in-trade. For nearly every speaker, and certainly every rhetorical teacher, formed a collection of prologues and epilogues, and of passages dealing with each of the more frequently recurring topics; these he adapted, as might be convenient, to the purposes of the particular speech upon which he was engaged. Rhetorical teachers appear not only to have imparted such collections to their pupils, but also to have published them, and hence we find not only verbal or almost verbal repetitions in different orations of the same speaker, but also passages which are identical in the speeches of different composers.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the rhetorician or sophist wrote passages both for and against particular views, and was ready to be of service to either side; and the writer of speeches for clients doubtless found such passages useful.<sup>2</sup> Nor could the politician, who had already formed his view and chosen his side, despise the advantage of having his opinions upon certain topics, which were sure to present themselves, reduced to the best form which he was capable of giving to them: and many of the general reflections which abound in Demosthenes' speeches (and particularly those reflections which occur in more than one context<sup>3</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Compare the proœmium of Andocides, *de Mysteriis*, with those of Lysias, *Or.* xix., and Isocr., *Or.* xv.; and Andocides *de Pace*, §§ 3-12, with Æschines, *de F. L.*, §§ 172-6. See also Spengel, *Artium Scriptores*, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Compare (*e. g.*) *Phil.* I, § 2, and III, § 5; *de Chers.*, § 34, and

may owe their origin to his early studies. In his earlier speeches, when one or another of these passages is inserted, we can sometimes detect the joints; but after a few years, though many of the generalisations found in the speeches had probably been worked up beforehand, they are so perfectly fitted into their place, and seem to arise so naturally out of their context, that the artificiality is almost imperceptible.

An orator must learn not only to compose his speeches, but to deliver them. It was here that Demosthenes' greatest difficulties lay. He began his practice weak-voiced, lisping, and short of breath; the letter R was especially troublesome to him; and it has been noticed that, in the statues of him which are known, the lower lip comes much less forward than the upper—a defect which is inimical to clear enunciation. We are told that he overcame these physical disadvantages by practising with pebbles in his mouth, repeating many times the line,

ῥοχθεῖ γὰρ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπίροιο,<sup>1</sup>

trying to shout down the breakers on the shore at Phalerum (where, in Cicero's day, the local guides were able to show the exact spot where the young orator's efforts were made<sup>2</sup>), reciting while running

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*Phil.* III, § 4; in *Aristocr.*, §§ 207, 208, and *Olynth.* iii., §§ 25, 26. See also Note 10.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, v., 402.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Fin.*, V, ii., § 5.

up hill, learning to deliver many lines in one breath, and speaking before a mirror to correct his gestures. More than once he failed, when he rose to address the People. At his first attempt his periods fell into confusion, and he was met with shouts of laughter. As he wandered in depression up and down the Peiræus, an old friend, Eunomus of Thria, met him, and rebuked him because, when he had a speech to deliver that was worthy of Pericles, he sacrificed his opportunity from want of pluck and manliness—from timidity before the crowd and lack of proper physical exercise. On another occasion, when he had failed, the actor Satyrus came to his aid. Demosthenes complained to Satyrus that, although he had sacrificed his health out of devotion to his studies, the People would not listen to him, but preferred the speeches of drunken sailors and fools to his own. Satyrus bade him recite from memory a speech of Euripides or Sophocles. Demosthenes did so, and Satyrus then taught him to speak it in a manner, and with a spirit, that befitted the character. So effective were these lessons that Demosthenes came to regard action, or delivery, as incomparably the most important of all the elements in the art of oratory. He built, we are told, an underground chamber (which was shown for centuries afterwards), where he daily practised his voice and delivery, sometimes for two or three months at a time, shaving one side of his head in order that he might resist the temptation to go out into the

streets. The amount of truth that there is in these tales cannot be estimated; but we need not hesitate to believe that Demosthenes showed a heroic perseverance in his determination to overcome the physical defects with which he began his career, and that he made himself perfect in that "actor's art," which, he told an enquirer, was first, second, and third among the requirements of an orator.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch tells a story which illustrates the importance attached by Demosthenes to the tone of the voice. A man came to him and asked him to plead for him, explaining that he had been assaulted. "Indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have not really suffered any injury at all." The man thereupon raised his voice and cried out, "What? Do you mean to say that I have suffered no injury?" "Ah!" said Demosthenes, "now I hear the voice of an injured man!" Plutarch adds that Demosthenes' own delivery captivated the majority of his hearers, though the more refined of them thought that he carried his action to a point at which it became ignoble and effeminate. The same reproach was brought (so we infer from Aristotle<sup>2</sup>) against the dominant school of contemporary tragic actors.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Brutus*, § 142. Most of these stories are found in Plutarch. He derived some of them from Demetrius of Phalerum who professed to have heard them from Demosthenes himself. Some say that the actor by whom he was assisted was Neoptolemus or Andronicus, and that Demosthenes gave him 10,000 drachmæ for his help. See Note 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetics*, xxvi.





THE STATUE OF DEMOSTHENES IN THE VATICAN

PHOTO BY ALINARI



Nervousness was less easy to overcome than defective utterance: and on one or two important occasions of Demosthenes' life this weakness seems to have recurred.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it was always so far present that he seldom ventured to speak without preparation. Whether he really increased his natural lack of robustness by wearing soft raiment and neglecting bodily exercises, as his enemies affirmed, we do not know; and the question is of no importance. He had at least the courage to pursue his way, undeterred by every obstacle, to the goal which he had set before himself—that of becoming a statesman and an orator worthy of Athens.

#### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

##### *(On the Private Speeches)*

In a study which is particularly devoted to the public career of Demosthenes there is no need for any detailed account of his Private Speeches; and the subject is rendered difficult by the doubts which exist as to the genuineness of many of those which have descended to us under his name, and the uncertainty of the criteria by which their genuineness is tested. But they are sufficiently illustrative of his versatility as an orator to demand a brief notice.

The Private Speeches which there is good reason to consider genuine mainly fall between the years 357 and 345. (The dates of the Speeches against Spudias and against Callicles—both of which may be quite early,—and of the Speech against Conon, are unknown.) The short Speech on the Trierarchic Crown was composed on behalf of Apollodorus, son of Pasion the banker,<sup>2</sup> who seeks to make good his claim to the crown offered by the

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<sup>1</sup> Especially on the First Embassy to Philip (see below, p. 243). Compare Dem., *de F. L.*, § 206, *de Chers.*, § 68.      <sup>2</sup> Note 12.

State to the captain whose ship was first manned and ready for sea, and to disprove the claim of his opponents. The expedition for which the fleet was ordered out was probably that of the year 360, in which Demosthenes himself served, and the trial took place two years later. The interest of the Speech lies in the light which it throws on the Athenian naval system—a subject with which we shall be concerned in a later chapter. The concluding portion is chiefly devoted to a denunciation of paid advocates, which falls oddly from Demosthenes, and is of course one of the tricks of the trade. The trenchant directness of the Speech, and its outspoken criticism of the attitude of the Athenians towards defaulting captains, are entirely in his own style; and we can see already the interest in naval affairs which led him a few years later to propose, and many years later to carry out, a reform of the *Trierarchic* system.

The Speech against *Spudias*, dealing with a quarrel arising out of a family arrangement, which had been broken by *Spudias*, need not detain us. In its tone and style it resembles the Speeches against *Aphobus* and *Onetor*. The case was a comparatively trivial one, and is briefly, but convincingly, treated.

The Speech against *Callicles* is more interesting. It is admirably written in the vein of a good-natured man who only wants a quiet life, but is wantonly attacked by his neighbour, and so has to appear in court. The speaker and *Callicles* occupied adjacent farms, between which ran a road. The speaker's father, finding that the water which was carried down from the hills was making a channel for itself in his land, had built a wall, which diverted the flow. Many years later, a torrent due to a violent storm broke down an old wall on *Callicles*' property and did some mischief. *Callicles* then brought an action for damages, and the reply, composed by Demosthenes, not only gives an interesting picture of Attic country-life, but is also the most graceful and humorous of his speeches, and shows that, given a good case, not of too serious a nature, he could adopt a less solemn tone than was usual with him.

The Speech against *Conon* is also admirably conceived. A respectable and even priggish young man claims damages for a somewhat brutal assault—the culmination of a good deal of “ragging” on the part of a number of men who had formed themselves into a club of a lively and dissolute character; and he