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heroes of the nations

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THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WORK
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 Schafer'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seine Zeit*, which, in spite of the corrections which later work on the subject has rendered necessary, can never be superseded.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 Finance? des Cite"*

Grecques; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*; Edward Meyer, *Isokrates' zweiter Brief an Philipp*; J. Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beitrge zur sozialpolitischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes*; M. P. Foucart, *Les Atheniens dans la Chersonese de Thrace au IV^e siecle*; W. Reichenbacher, *Die Geschichte der athenischen und makedonischen Politik*; A. Cartault, *De causa Harpalica*; A. Motzki, *Eubulos von Probalinthos*; U. Kahrstedt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fnften und des vierten Jahrhunderts*; E. Schwartz, *Demosthenes' erste Philippika* (in the Festschrift fr Th. Mommsen); J. Rohmoser, *Ueber den philokrateischen Frieden*; P. Wendland, *Beitrge zur athenischen Politik u. Publicistik des vierten Jahrhunderts*; E. Raduge, *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 Thermopylae and a sketch of the hills about Cytinium; to Mr. M. S. Thompson for a photograph of the Lion ox Chaeroneia; to Mr. A. B. Cook for a photograph of Calauria; to my wife for a drawing of the view from Thermopylae; 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 Chaeroneia 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 Peirseus 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 I I . 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 Peiraeus. |
| 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 iEginetans against Athens.
- 388 Antalcidas (of Sparta) interrupts Athenian corn-convoys from the Hellespont.
- 387** Peace of Antalcidas.
- 386 Plataese, Thespieae and Orchomenus become centres of Spartan influence in Bceotia.
- 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. Phcebidas captures the Cadmeia at Thebes.
- Cotysjbecomes 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 Bceotia.
- 378** Attack of Sphodrias on the Peiraeus; Athens joins the Boeotians against Sparta, and organises the Second Athenian Confederacy. Second Spartan invasion of Bceotia.
- 378-7** Symmories instituted for collection of war-tax at Athens.
- 377 Third Spartan invasion of Bceotia.
- 376 Fourth Spartan invasion of Bceotia. 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 Pherae acquires ascendancy over Thessaly. Thebes recovers power over Bceotia; 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.

B.C.

- 373 Spartans devastate Corcyra, and are opposed first by Timotheus, then by Iphicrates and Chabrias. Thebes destroys Plataeæ. Isocrates' *Platæicus*.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- The Thebans are unsuccessful in Thessaly. Themison of Eretria gives Oropus to Thebes.
- The Arcadians make peace with Athens, and begin hostilities with Elis. Corinth and Phleius make peace with Thebes.
- Timotheus helps Ariobarzanes in revolt against Persia, and conquers Samos. Isocrates' *Archidamus*.
- 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 Pherae 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 Pherae 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.
- Coreyra 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 cotrierarch 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 Pherae 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 Euboea 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 Paeonians 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 Potidaea.
- 356 Birth of Alexander the Great. Philip takes Mt. Pangaeus, and founds Philippi. Athenian alliance with Lysippus, Gracchus, and Ceterioris.
- 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 Paeonians, and builds a fleet.
- End of Social War. Athens recognises the independence of the allies. Mausolus of Caria establishes oligarchies in Rhodes, Chios^c, 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' *Arcopagiticus*.

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 Adaeus.

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 Pherae, defeats the Locrians, restores Orchomenus, and occupies Thermopylae. 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 Pherae, and takes Pagasse; but retires on appearance of Athenian force at Thermopylae. Later, Phayllus is killed in Locri and succeeded by Phalaecus.

Philip returns to Thrace, makes alliance with Amadocus, Byzantium, Perinthus, and Cardia, and defeats Cersobleptes, taking his son as a hostage. He besieges Heraeon Tei'chos; 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 Bislatae and threatens Olynthus; he afterwards goes to Tllyria and Epirus. He intrigues with parties in Eubcea 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 Arrhidseus. 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 Tamyna?. 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 Eubceans obtain their independence of Athens *(about June)*. Demosthenes' Speech against Bceotus.

Chronological Table

B.C.

- 348 Philip takes Mccybcna 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. iEsehines 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 Thermopylae, he is insultingly treated by Phakecus 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 Thermopylae; the Athenians refuse to join him in settling the Sacred War. Phalaecus surrenders Philip, who becomes master of Phocis. Isocrates' *Philippus*, (*Late Summer*) The Phocian towns dismantle I. 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 Pantasnetus 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 Mcssenians, 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'etat* 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 Nicrra and Echinus.
- 342 Philip in Thrace. He conquers the Odrysian kingd[<] a, founds military colonies, makes alliance with are Getoe, and passes the winter of 342-341 in Thrace. Athens sends cleruchs to Cardia, and orders Diopeithes to assist them. Philip sends a garrison to protect Cardia; Diopeithes commits acts of war against Philip. Philistides becomes tyrant of Oreus, assisted by Philip's general, Parmenio.

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kingdom to Alexander, and threatens Ambracia;
Athens sends troops to aid Ambracia. Philip also
garrisons NicoKi and Echinus.
- 342 Philip in Thrace. He conquers the Odrysian kingdom,
founds military colonies, makes alliance with the
Getre, and passes the winter of 342-341 in Thrace.
Athens sends cleruchs to Cardia, and orders Dio-
peithes to assist them. Philip sends a garrison to
protect Cardia; Diopeithes 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 Diopcithes. 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 Diopcithes. Athens makes cilliance with Callias of Chalcis, and expels Philistides from Oreus and Clcitarchus 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, Æschincs 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 Crucroneia. Thebes is garrisoned by Macedonian troops and severely treated. Orchomenus, Thespieae and Plataea? 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 Euboea, and is honourably received at Megara, Corinth, 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 Arses.
- 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 Areopagus 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 Pcloponnese, 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

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 Pasania,¹ 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,² had been banished from Attica, not having dared to face a trial on the charge of having betrayed Nymphaeum—a town dependent upon Athens, and situated on the Tauric Chersonese, a few miles south of Panticapaeum,³ 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 Spartocidas (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

¹ Now Liopesi.

² In *Ctes.*, §§171, 172.

³ 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 Nymphaeum, 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 Spartocids, 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 us¹ 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.² 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 parents³; and it is doubtful whether

¹ In *Aphob.* II, §§1,2.

² Cf. *Deinarchus in Dem.*, § 15.

³ *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 Nymphasum 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.¹

The year of the orator's birth was probably 384 B.C.² 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

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

³Note 2.

a lifelong friend, Therippides of Pæania.¹ Aphobus was to marry his widow, who was still young, and to receive with her a dowry of eighty minas; 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.²

While Demosthenes' estate was being treated in this disastrous fashion, how was he himself faring? A boy of poor physique, thin and sickly,³ 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,⁴ when they were both almost

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

³ Note 3. ³ Plutarch, *Dem.*, iv. ⁴ 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,¹ 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,² to the schools which befitted the son of a man of position, though in another place³ he accuses Aphobus of depriving his tutors of their fees. Æschines, indeed, several times,⁴ 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,⁵ in his boyhood, and was prompted by

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

² *De Cor.*, § 257.

³ *In Aphob.* I, § 46.

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

⁵ *Plut., Dem.*, v.

admiration of Callistratus, whom he heard speak either in the Assembly,¹ or when making his defence upon a charge of treason in connection with the loss of Oropus.² "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 Isaeus, the most skilled practitioner of the time in cases

¹ *Vit. X Orat.* 844b.

² 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.*

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

¹ Various stories are told of the financial relations of Demosthenes to Iktus, 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. *Ἰκταῖος*.)

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 minae, 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 mime, 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.¹

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,

¹ In *Meid.*, §§ 76-8!7 in *Aphob.* IT, § 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 Isasus. 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 Isaeus 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 said¹ 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,² and

¹ ;Æsch., *de F. L.*, § 99; Plut., *Dem.*, iv. .² In *Aphob.* I, § n.

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 Areopagus¹ 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.² iEschines 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,³ 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

¹ This Council dealt with cases of actual or attempted murder.

²*De F. L.*, §93.

³ This is implied hi, the Second Speech against Onetor, § 1.

was poverty that obliged him to do so. Æschines asserts¹ 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 speaking² 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.³

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 other⁴ 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 work⁵ suggested a certain unscrupulousness to the Athenian mind, which disapproved of the making of money either

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

² This is implied by Æsch. in *Timarch.*, §§ 117, 173, 175.

³ Pseudo-Dem. in *Zcnothonim*, § 31.

⁴ See below, p. 19.

⁵

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.¹

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. Plutarch² 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 times³ is

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

² *Plut., Dem.*, viii.

³ *Lucian, irpbs rbv airaLdevrov*, § 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 *kistorian'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.^x

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

¹ 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 indications¹ it is clear that the mistrust of the "clever speaker/" to which allusion has already been made,² 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 gives³ 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."⁴

¹ 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.

² See above p. 15.

³ *Phadrus*, 257d.

⁴ 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 Isaeus) 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 Isaeus, aroused suspicion even when he had a good case.¹ 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

¹ 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 aesthetically 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 *Platceicus* in 373, the *Archidamus* in 366, the *Speech on the Peace* probably in 356, and the *Areopagiticus* in 355.¹ There is no need to take literally the story² 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-

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

² 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 later¹) 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

¹ See below, pp. 316, 340-313, 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,¹ 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 pamphlets² seem

¹ *E. g.*, Hahn and Wendland. See Note 6. ² 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,¹ 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

¹ 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.¹ 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.² 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 context³)

¹ Compare the procemium 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.

^a Note 9.

³ 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 ἡπίετοιο,¹

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 made²), reciting while running

Phil. 111, §4; in *Aristocr.*, §§207, 208, and *Olynth.* iii., §§25, 26, See also Note 10.

¹ *Odyssey*, v., 402. ••

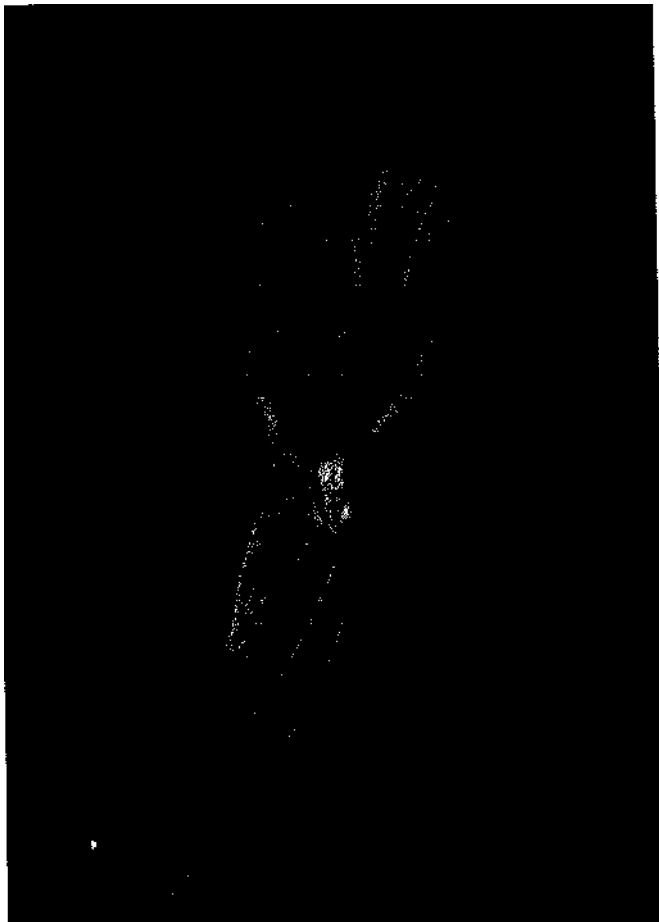
² *Cic.* *de Fin.*, V, ii., §5.

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 Peiraus, 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.¹

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 Aristotle²) against the dominant school of contemporary tragic actors.

¹ 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 drachmae for his help.* See Note 11. ² *Poetics*, xxvi.



THE STATUE OF DEMOSTHENES IN THE VATICAN

PHOTO BY AUNARI

"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.¹ 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,³ who seeks to make good his claim to the crown offered by the

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

State to the captain whose ship was first manned and read 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

expresses himself in a manner, the unconscious **humour of which** must have given a good deal of pleasure to the composer of the Speech and to the jury.¹

The Speeches for Phormio (350 B.C.) and against Stephanus (350 or 349), delivered in the course of litigation mainly concerned with banking, raise a problem which so nearly touches the character of Demosthenes as an advocate and a man, that they must be more fully treated at a later point in the narrative.

The Speech against Bceotus "On his name" was written in **348 for a certain Mantitheus**, who brought an action against his half-brother Bceotus for illegally taking the same name as himself. It is composed in the manner of a blunt and direct speaker, fond of putting pointed questions one after another, and displaying some humour in the pictures which he draws of the inconveniences which must arise from the failure of other people to distinguish between himself and the much less respectable person who has taken his name. We do not know, however, what was to be said on the other side; and, for whatever reason, the speaker lost his suit.

The two Private Speeches which were probably composed in or about the year 346 are (like the Speech for Phormio) instances of a *paragraphs* or plea in bar of action, based principally on the fact that the plaintiff had already given the defendant a release from all claims. In the Speech against Pantacnetus, the claim made by Nicobulus against Pansenetus was the result of a series of complicated transactions in regard to the ownership of a mine; and the case was tried under the special law regulating mines. This law required a speedy decision and imposed certain stringent conditions on the litigants; and it is part of Nicobulus' plea that the case was not one which properly fell under that law, and that a number of causes of action which should have been brought before different courts had been illegally merged in one suit. The Speech is written for a man possessed of a good deal of the "humility that humbly commends itself to notice," and conscious of the prejudice which must have been aroused by Pansenetus' representation of him as a money-lender and a person whose very manner was suspicious; and it combines some

^x The date of the Speech is uncertain; **but it may have been** delivered about 355 B.C.

very able character-drawing with great ingenuity in leg argument.

The other *paragraphs* was pleaded to bar an action broug by Nausimachus and Xenopeithes, who claimed a large sum money from the sons of their former guardian Aristaschmi The speaker pleads that a discharge given to Aristsechmus h covered all matters connected with the trust, and that the plai tiffs' action was barred by the Statute of Limitations. T Speech is short, lucid, and businesslike, except for a piece rhetorical ingenuity at the close, where the speaker replies to t plaintiffs' claim to consideration on account of their large expen ture in the service of the State, by arguing that such a plea brir discredit upon the city, since it implies that the city mal excessive demands upon her citizens.

The last of the Private Speeches which can with any pre ability be ascribed to Demosthenes himself was directed agaii Eubulides, in the year 345. The speaker, Euxitheus, char^ Eubulides with having brought about his exclusion from the 1 of citizens (in a revision which took place in 345) by the use unfair means, and appeals to the jury, as he was entitled to c to restore his name to the list. He speaks as an honest a straightforward man, not ashamed of his poverty—his motr sold ribbons and had served as a nurse—and is confident in t strength of his case, which is clearly and vigorously presented.

These speeches sufficiently illustrate the variety of the aspe< of human nature with which an Athenian advocate had to de and the skill of Demosthenes in dealing with them. Wh adapting himself to the character of the speaker, he yet remaii in most cases, recognisably himself. Even if his more force characteristics are repressed in the main part of the speech—1 irony, his moral indignation, his merciless incisiveness—they z apt to break out in sudden flashes; and he constantly succec in giving the impression that he stands on a higher moral kr than his adversary, and can afford either to treat him with sec or to fall upon him without mercy. But when once he h attained a position of responsibility in public life, we can und stand that he would naturally abandon this lower branch oratory, just as, from the time when he first began to take p; in political debates, he ceased to appear personally in court the interest of his clients,—doubtless from a desire not to prejudi

his political prospects by exposing himself to the ill-favour with which the professional advocate was regarded. It was not until after 345 that he was in a position really to control the policy of Athens, and up to that time, while he was in opposition, his political occupations were probably not so absorbing as to leave him no time to write speeches for clients. But after this date we find no more such speeches from his pen; for the suggestion¹ that after the accession of Alexander the Great he may have found himself cut off from political activities and resumed for a time the profession of advocate (composing among others the Speeches against Phaenippus and against Phormio) rests on no solid foundation.

NOTES

1. It is not easy to give the value of the estate according to modern standards. At the present price of silver, the weight of silver in a talent (about 57 lbs. avoirdupois) would be worth little more than £100 (see Goodwin, *Demosthenes' Meidtas*, § 80, note). But its purchasing power would be much greater. The wages of an unskilled labourer were about 1½ drachmae a day in the 4th century B.C. (see Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, ii., pp. 358, 359); they are now perhaps 3s. a day (all told) in England, and at this rate a talent would buy £600 worth of unskilled labour. Again, if the price of wheat be taken as a standard, wheat in Athens in Demosthenes' time (*in Phorm.* § 39) cost 5 drachmae a medimnus—about 27 dr. a quarter. It now costs (March, 1913) 36s. a quarter in London; and at this rate a talent would be the equivalent of about £400.

2. The date of Demosthenes' birth cannot be exactly determined, as he himself gives two inconsistent accounts of his age. In the first Speech against Onetor, § 15, he says that Aphobus was married in the last month of the archonship of Polyzelus, *i. e.*, about June, 366 B.C.; and that immediately afterwards he himself came of age, *t. e.*, reached his eighteenth birthday. If so, he was born soon after the middle of 384. Again, in the first Speech against Aphobus, §§4, 17, 19, he says that he was seven years old at his father's death, and was ten years under guardianship before coming of age in 366. This also fixes his birth in the archon-year 384-3. Hypereides (*in Dent.*, Col. 22) refers to him in

* Butcher, *Demosthenes*, p. 140.

324-3 as over sixty; and this also points to 384. But in the Speech against Meidias, § 154, he speaks of himself as thirty-two years old. The date of this speech is disputed, but it was probably composed (see below, p. 226) late in the summer of 347; and, if so the orator's birth was assigned to 379. Even if the words *δύο καὶ τριάκοντα* are a corruption of *τέτταρα (δ') καὶ (τριάκοντα* in Thucyd., ii., 2, *τέσσαρας μῆνας* is a generally accepted emendation of *ἑὸν μῆνας*), this only brings us back to 381 B.C.—the date given also by Dion. Hal., *ad Ammceum*, I, iv. If the speech was delivered in 349, as many scholars suppose, the discrepancy is less, but there are strong reasons against this dating. The date of Demosthenes' birth given in *Vit. X Orat.*, p. 845d, is the archonship of Dexitheus, B.C. 385-4.

3. The real value of Demosthenes' estate has been minutely discussed by Beloch, Kahrstedt, and others, but the discussion (which turns upon the interpretation of some difficult passages in the Speeches against Aphobus and against Polycles) is too often vitiated by an obvious desire to prove Demosthenes to have been lying. Demosthenes perhaps exaggerates slightly the original value of the estate, and slightly underrates the amount which he actually received, but there is no reason to suppose that he seriously misstates the facts. The scope of this book does not permit a more detailed examination of the evidence.

4. Æschines states further that when at a later time Aristarchus was forced to go into exile on account of a peculiarly shocking murder of which he was accused, Demosthenes, himself an instigator of the crime, managed to retain three talents which he ought to have given to Aristarchus; and Deinarchus (*in Dem.*, §§ 30, 47) repeats the story with little variation. Demosthenes himself (*in Meid.*, §§ 104-7, 117-20) stated that the whole story was a malicious slander, invented and spread by Meidias; and this is as likely as any other to be the true version of the matter. No ancient orator is to be trusted when he speaks of the private life of his opponents, and if there was among the clients or pupils of Demosthenes a rich young man who afterwards became notorious, it would be quite in accordance with the character of Meidias and the practice of Athenian orators to add the details necessary to involve Demosthenes in the same infamy. The details themselves are very suspicious. According to Æschines (*de F. L.*, § 148) the murdered man, Nicodemus, had accused

Demosthenes of desertion. The occasion referred to was probably the spring of 348, when Demosthenes returned from service in Euboea to perform his duty as choregus at the Dionysia. But from the *Speech against Meidias*, § 103, it appears that the charge was made, not by Nicodemus, but by Euctemon, at the instigation of Meidias; and if so, the reason for Demosthenes' alleged animosity against Nicodemus vanishes. In § 116 Demosthenes accuses Meidias of charging Aristarchus falsely with the murder.

5. We do not know whether the profession of speech-writer was really lucrative. The only indication of the fees charged is found in a fragment of the defence of Antiphon (edited from a papyrus by M. Jules Nicole in 1907) in 411 B.C., in which Antiphon says, "My accusers assert that I wrote court-speeches for others, and got my twenty per cent, for it." But as Antiphon was suspected of avarice, we cannot be sure that all speech-writers demanded twenty per cent, of the sum at issue,—still less that the rate was the same in the time of Demosthenes, half a century later.

6. There can really be little doubt that the extant speeches of Demosthenes were delivered substantially in their present form: and the arguments to the contrary are singularly weak. It is of course clear that they underwent a certain amount of revision and alteration, especially through the insertion of passages here and there to meet the objections of opposing speakers, and possibly through the modification of some phrases in the light of the debate. Perhaps also the formal proposals of resolutions may have been omitted when the speeches were published; such purely formal sentences would have little interest for readers. But they may never have stood in the text of the speech at all. In all probability motions were handed in to the clerk or the president, and read aloud by him. The objection, which has been raised against holding the extant speeches to have been spoken orations, viz., that they contain no definite motions, is to be answered, partly by these considerations, partly by pointing out, first, that some of the speeches obviously did accompany definite motions, and that they do make quite definite proposals, though not in formal shape; secondly, that some of the speeches may well be replies to motions; thirdly, that there is no reason why either Demosthenes or any other speaker should necessarily

have moved a motion in every speech. Other objections that have been raised are:

(1) That the speeches range over too wide a ground to have been made upon definite motions in debate. But we do not know what limits were imposed upon irrelevancy in Athens, and the alleged irrelevancy has been greatly exaggerated; for the objectors (particularly Hahn) have actually treated as irrelevant the arguments which Demosthenes bases on broad grounds of policy and public morality. It is true that the extant debating speeches of Andocides and Hegesippus do not make much use of such arguments; but this is part of the difference between them and Demosthenes, and not a necessary feature of debating speeches.

(2) That the speeches are not such as Plutarch's description of Demosthenes' manner would lead us to expect. This however is a great exaggeration of the truth. It is true that Plutarch and Æschines quote some phrases from Demosthenes more violent than any but a few which are found in the extant orations; but there are close approximations to them, and the fact that they must have occurred in speeches which Demosthenes either spoke *ex tempore*, or else did not think worth publication, does not prove that the speeches which he did think worth publication were never spoken.

The utmost that can be said is that in one or two cases—and particularly in that of the Third Philippic—there were two versions of the speech current, possibly owing to a reissue, with alterations, by Demosthenes himself. But it has now been shown to be highly probable that versions of some of Demosthenes' speeches were made up by Anaximenes for his history, partly by copying passages in genuine published speeches of the orator, partly by invention or by alteration of genuine passages. To this or similar causes we almost certainly owe the Speech on the Constitution (at the time of the Olynthian crisis) and the Reply to Philip's Letter,—possibly also Philip's Letter itself and the Fourth Philippic; and it is possible (though not likely) that one of the versions of the Third Philippic may have arisen in the same way, or may have been influenced by such spurious rhetorical work. For the rest, it is hard to understand how an unprejudiced reader can regard the speeches as they stand as unfit for a debate. Even a feeble imagination should be able to form some concep-

tion of their tremendous power, when spoken with the unique delivery of Demosthenes. But imagination is not always one of the gifts of the scholar.

7. Such pamphlets were the pseudo-Xenophontic *Constitution of Athens* (425-4 B.C.); Andocides' Speech *πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους* (shortly after 415); Antiphon's *περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως* (in 411); and the *περὶ πολιτείας* ascribed to Herodes, but probably the work of a member of Theramenes' circle in 404. (See Drerup's edition, p. no ff.)

8. A story is told by a Scholiast on Galen, de Nat. Fac. II, §172, that Demosthenes was expelled by Plato from his class, because he would only attend to the form and not to the argument of the remarks made; but that he found his way in by the garden-gate, and listened for a long time without being detected. Hence arose the Greek proverb, "to get in by the garden-gate." (See Probst, in *Neue Jahrbticher* xxxi, p. 307.)

9. We find in Antiphon's Speech against the Stepmother strong assertions of the supreme value of evidence given by slaves under torture; and in the same orator's Speech on the Murder of Herodes an equally strong condemnation of this kind of evidence, as likely to be simply the evidence which will enable the slave to escape from the torture most quickly.

10. Whether the repetitions in Demosthenes are as numerous as was supposed by Lord Brougham (in his *Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients*) may be doubted. The question really turns on the view taken of the origin of the Fourth Philippic (see below, pp. 342,356). He accounts for them by supposing that the orator "desires to gratify, to please, as well as to persuade; and that they are come to enjoy a critical repast, as well as to expatiate and discourse their State-affairs. In this case, the repetition would heighten the zest at each time; as they who love music or take pleasure in dramatic representations are never so much gratified with the first enjoyment of any fine melody or splendid piece of acting as with its subsequent exhibition." That Athenian audiences appreciated an oration as a work of art is undoubted; but it is too much to suppose that they were so strongly affected by the particular passages which in fact we find repeated (at considerable intervals of time) as to welcome them in the manner imagined by Lord Brougham.

n. Dr. Johnson was never tired of denouncing the use of

"action " in oratory. "Action can have no effect upon reasonable minds. It may augment noise, but it never can enforce argument. If you speak to a dog, you use action; you hold up your hand thus, because he is a brute; and in proportion as men are removed from brutes, action will have the less influence upon them." *Mrs. Thrale*: "What then, Sir, becomes of Demosthenes' saying, 'Action, action, action'?" *Johnson*: "Demosthenes, madam, spoke to an assembly of brutes—to a barbarous people." (Boswell.)

12. The theory of Blass that Demosthenes composed the speech on his own behalf (after he had served as trierarch in 360), and that Libanius is wrong in saying that Apollodorus was the speaker, seems to rest on insufficient grounds; but there is no real reason to doubt that Demosthenes did write the speech.

CHAPTER II

GREECE FROM 404 TO 359

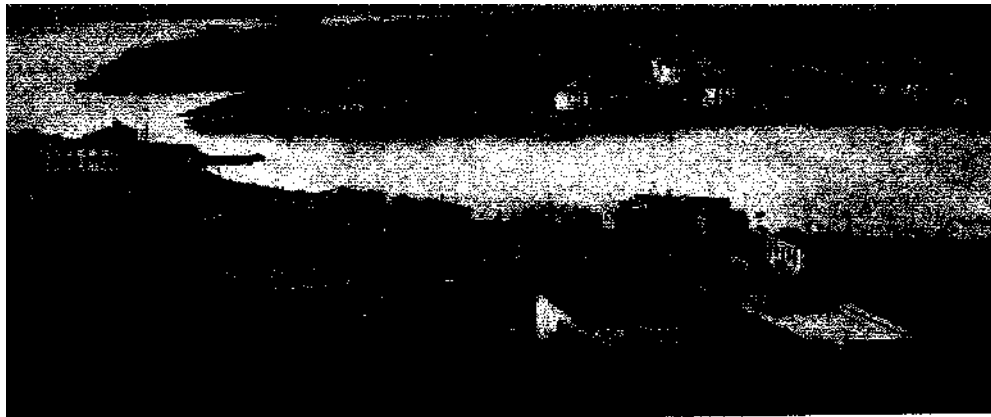
THE condition of the Greek world at the time when Demosthenes began to take an interest in public affairs cannot be satisfactorily explained without a brief review of the course of Greek history since the downfall of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War. To this the present chapter will be devoted.¹

So far as Athens herself was concerned, the calamity, despite the apparent completeness of her overthrow at the moment, proved to be less great than might have been expected. The tyranny of the Thirty, who established themselves in power shortly after the capitulation of the city to Sparta, was soon over; and it had at least one beneficial result, that it brought oligarchy into lasting disrepute. The democratic constitution was restored; and although rival orators might accuse one another of employing oligarchical methods or of sympathising with oligarchical

¹ The summary of events here given only attempts to deal with matters which must be mentioned **in order** to explain the history of the succeeding period.

ideas, and theorists might hanker after a constitution more efficient in its practical working than the Athenian democracy, there was, nevertheless,—at least for eighty years or so—no serious desire for constitutional change, nor any risk of successful revolution. The laws of Athens, which had fallen into some confusion, were revised and brought into harmony with one another; the city's trade revived rapidly; her external splendour and her position as the chief centre both of Hellenic commerce and of Hellenic culture brought strangers to her, as of old, from all countries; and, apart from some temporary relapses, her history for the next thirty years was a history of the gradual recovery of strength and prosperity.

The history of Sparta during the same period presents a different picture. After the capitulation of Athens in 404 she was for the moment the strongest State in Greece. But the governors and "Committees of Ten," which she established wherever she could, ruled tyrannically, and she came to be more and more detested. She failed, moreover, to fulfil the expectations of the principal States which had assisted her to conquer Athens,—Corinth, Argos, and Thebes. Corinth wished for the possession of Corcyra, and for undisputed supremacy in the seas west of the Isthmus, in order that her trade in those seas might be secure. Argos, though not really capable of being more than a second-rate power, at least expected some improvement in her position in the Peloponnese.



PEIRAEUS, HARBOUR OF ZEA, FROM MUNYCHIA
PHOTO BY THE ENGLISH PHOTO CO.

Thebes desired to be acknowledged as the paramount state in Boeotia. Sparta did not gratify any of these desires, and all three States, as well as Athens herself, were ready to turn upon her when the opportunity offered itself in 395.

In that year the Persian King, Artaxerxes II., with whom—nominally in the interest of the Greek cities in Asia Minor—the Spartans had been at war since about 400, sent a Rhodian named Timocrates to the principal Greek States, with large sums of money, to induce the leading statesmen to cause their several cities to declare war upon Sparta. (Whether any statesman at Athens took the bribe is uncertain: in any case Athens needed little persuasion.) The Thebans incited their friends the Locrians of Opus to hostilities against the Phocians; the latter applied for aid to Sparta; and the Spartans under Lysander invaded Bceotia. But Lysander was killed in an attack upon Haliartus, and when an Athenian force joined the Thebans, his successor returned to Sparta. In the next year (394) we find a mixed army composed of troops from Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and Euboea, opposed to the army of Sparta, in which were contingents from the smaller Peloponnesian states. At first Sparta was successful on land: but the re-fortification of the Peiraeus, the port of Athens, was begun in July; on August 10th, the Athenian admiral Conon, at the head of a Persian fleet, won a great naval victory over the Spartans off Cnidos; and in 393 *he* rebuilt the walls

of Athens (which had been destroyed in 404), a large body of Theban workmen assisting in the task. About the same time (probably in consequence of the revival of imperialistic ambitions in Athens) the moderate leaders who had guided Athens for some years gave way to Agyrrhius and other politicians of a more extreme type. The increase of the payment for each attendance in the Assembly to three obols made it better worth while for the masses once more to throw their weight into politics, and as their interests were on the whole best served by war,* a markedly militant tendency began to show itself. The demagogues unhappily resorted, not infrequently, to prosecutions of their opponents and of the wealthier citizens in order to obtain money and to find supplies for the army. The war continued with varying results for some years: on the whole the trend of events was adverse to the domination of Sparta, and she lost to a great extent her hold over the islands and more distant colonies. Brilliant generalship was displayed on both sides: the Athenian Iphicrates in particular distinguished himself by his use of the newly devised force of peltastae—composed largely (though not entirely) of mercenaries, and more lightly armed, though equipped with longer weapons, than the heavy hoplite forces which had been customarily employed—as well as by new tactical methods, which at first were extremely successful. On one

¹ See below, p. 74.

occasion he surprised and destroyed a whole division of the Spartan army near Corinth.

In 392, the Spartans, hard-pressed for money, made an abortive appeal to Persia for the dictation and enforcement of a Peace. A similar appeal conveyed to Susa by their admiral Antalcidas in 387 was more successful; and the position of Athens at the end of the year was seriously threatened both on the Hellespont and at home: her finances were exhausted; and she had really no alternative but to submit to the Peace, which was finally concluded in the winter of 387-6. Any desire on the part of Corinth and Thebes to resist was quelled by the mobilisation of the Spartan army; and when the Great King's letter was read to the assembled representatives of the Greek States, the terms of the Peace were generally accepted. They seemed, indeed, to provide a temporary solution, if not altogether an honourable one, both of the disputes between the Greek States themselves, and of the position of the Greek cities in Asia Minor in relation to the King. These cities, with the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, were now to become part of the King's Empire. All other Greek cities were to be independent, except that the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros were still to belong to Athens. The King declared his intention of making war upon any State which would not accept the peace; and although Thebes made an effort to obtain the recognition of her supremacy in*Boeotia, she was

obliged to give way, and to allow the towns of Orchomenus, Plataeae, and Thespieae to be established as independent centres—centres, that is, at first of Spartan, and before long of Athenian, influence within Boeotia.

The ratification of the Peace of Antalcidas is an event of the highest importance for the history of the next half-century. On the one hand, the Peace provided as it were a charter of liberty to all the smaller States; and it could always be appealed to by a larger State desirous of putting a rival in the wrong by accusing it of menacing the autonomy of weaker cities.¹ But, on the other hand, the final abandonment of the Asiatic Greeks to the Persian Empire, and the acknowledgment of the right of the King of Persia to dictate terms to the Greek States, are very significant of the difference between the spirit of the fourth century and that of the fifth, when any concession to Persia was thought of as treason to the cause of liberty. From this time onwards, the possibility of Persian interference in the internal affairs of Greece was always in the background of men's thoughts, whether they thought of such interference as a means of securing their own ends, or as a danger to be guarded against; and the influence of Persia by means of the "Persian gold," of which we hear so much, became from time to time a real and a very unfortunate element in Greek political life, creating suspicion everywhere, and

¹Comp. Xen., *Hett.*, VI, iii, §7, etc.

affecting for the worse both the course of debate in the councils of Athens and the administration of justice in her courts.

The Peace of Antalcidas, however, did not in fact allay hostilities in Greece itself. It did indeed put an end for the time to direct hostilities between the Greek States and the Persian Empire: for although the rebellious subjects of the Empire—particularly Euagoras in Cyprus, and Tachos and Nectanebos in Egypt—were greatly assisted by Athenian generals and soldiers, these were not acting in the name of Athens, and the Athenians were more than once obliged to recall their generals at the request of the King. But in Greece itself the Peace was not perfectly satisfactory to any one. Athens, though the retention of the three islands was a concession to her dignity and an advantage of the first importance to her trade, was ashamed of the affair, got rid of the statesmen who had influenced her in the matter, and for many years followed the lead of Callistratus in their stead. The antagonism between Thebes and Sparta was not to be lightly healed, and the desire of the Spartans to recover their supremacy over the Peloponnese could not remain at rest for long. They did not indeed formally break the Peace. Their interferences with other States were, it seems, justified technically by the receipt of an invitation from the oligarchic party in the State interfered with, and by the pretence that that party represented the government of the state

so that nominally they merely placed their troops and governors at the service of the local government. But the effect was the same as if they had openly broken the Peace. In 385 or 384 they compelled the people of Mantinea (the largest town in Arcadia, and generally a centre of resistance to Sparta) to destroy their walls and to live in four or five villages, each under a Spartan governor, instead of in a town in which they could fortify themselves, and could also listen more easily to the harangues of the advocates of liberty. In 379 they conquered Phleius after a siege of twenty months, and their influence throughout Greece appears for a time to have recovered rapidly. In the North the town of Olynthus, the head of the Chalcidic League, had taken advantage of the weakness of Macedonia to extend its power over the Chalcidic peninsula and (in spite of a nominal alliance with the Macedonian King, Amyntas III.) even over part of Macedonia itself. Amyntas joined two of the threatened Chalcidic cities, Acanthus and Apollonia, in an appeal to Sparta. The Spartans responded by sending an expedition against Olynthus, which, after a long struggle, was in 379 forced to become a member of the Spartan alliance. The position of Amyntas was, of course, greatly strengthened; but at the time no one could foresee that the power of the Macedonian monarchy would grow so great as to make it very regrettable that Olynthus and the Chalcidic League had not been suffered to remain as a bulwark against it.

In 383 or 382, a Spartan force under Phoebidas, on its way to Olynthus, contrived to seize the Cadmeia, the acropolis of Thebes. (The Thebans were at the time led by democratic statesmen, hostile to Sparta, and had refused to join in the campaign against Olynthus; while Phoebidas was aided by oligarchical conspirators within the walls.) The Spartans remained in possession until 379, when their garrison was expelled by the democrats, who had been living in exile in Athens, and who now formed a successful plot for the recovery of their native city. The attitude of Athens was peculiar. Strongly opposed as she had been to the policy of Sparta, the Spartan occupation of Thebes had been an advantage to her, since she had been enabled thereby to recover from Thebes the frontier town of Oropus, the possession of which was of great consequence; and the Spartans had re-established Plataeae, between which town and herself there had always been friendship: she was also intimidated by the proximity of the Spartan army, and in consequence was not prepared to go to war; she even sentenced to death the generals who of their own accord had helped the Thelpan exiles; and she would probably have come to an arrangement with Sparta immediately, had not the Spartan admiral Sphodrias invaded Attica, and done some damage before he retreated.

The action of Sphodrias had not been ordered by the Spartans, but they refused to punish him on his return. Instead, therefore,, of making peace

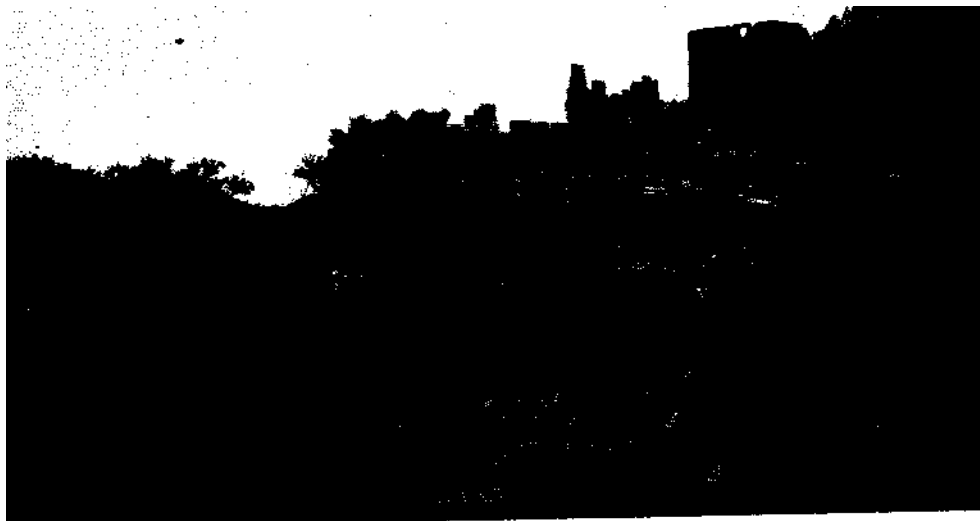
and were left to recover it as they could from their poorer brethren. There can be no doubt that, though the system was liable to abuse, the money was forthcoming under such an arrangement more promptly than it would have been if there had been a less complete organisation, and if State-officials had been obliged to apply directly to a very large number of individual citizens for payment.

The power of the new confederacy and the efficiency of the new method of taxation were soon proved. In 376 Chabrias gained a great victory over the Spartans off Naxos, and in 375 he won over a number of towns on the Thracian coast to the alliance, while Timotheus operated successfully against Sparta around Corcyra and in the seas west of the Isthmus of Corinth.¹ In the same year, the Olynthian league was refounded—so little fear of Sparta remained in that region. But the cost of the war was heavy. Timotheus in particular was greatly embarrassed by want of funds, and the Thebans gave little help. In consequence of this, a Peace was made with Sparta in 374, by which the supremacy of Sparta on land was acknowledged by Athens, and that of Athens at sea by Sparta, and the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas were re-affirmed. But this Peace was immediately broken by acts of war on the part of Timotheus; and in order to get funds for the prosecution of the campaign in the West, he

¹ It was in these operations that Aphobus took part as trierarch.

attempted to raise fresh allies in Thrace and the islands. He seems also to have obtained the support, for a short time, of Jason of Pherae, the most powerful ruler in Thessaly. But both Timotheus and Iphicrates, his successor in the command, found their supplies insufficient; the Thebans were becoming more or less plainly hostile (for the success of the Athenians could not but be regarded as a danger to Thebes) and in 373 they had destroyed Plataeæ. Accordingly peace was again made in 371. In a congress at Sparta, the autonomy of all the Greek cities was once more publicly asserted; but at the same time the right of Athens both to Amphipolis¹ and to the towns in the Thracian Chersonese was conceded. The Persian King and Amyntas, King of Macedonia, were both represented at the congress, and their admission of the title of Athens to the places in question was of some significance. But the Thebans felt themselves strong enough to refuse to join in the Peace, unless they were recognised as having authority over all the Boeotians; and since Sparta declined to acknowledge this, the Thebans were excluded from the treaty, and CleombrDtus, with a Spartan army which had gone to assist the Phocians in their hostilities

¹ Amphipolis had been founded by the Athenians in 437. The Spartans had captured it in 424, and in spite of various attempts, Athens had never recovered it. It was now an important city and virtually independent both of the great Greek cities and of Macedonia; but the Athenians claimed to have a right to it.



THE ARCADIAN GATE, MESSENE
PHOTO BY THE ENGLISH PHOTO CO.

the kaleidoscopic movements of the various States in the Peloponnese during the next few years. But it is significant that two attempts were made to establish a general peace by means of Persian intervention. In 368-7 a congress was summoned to meet at Delphi by Philiscus, who had been sent by Ariobarzanes, one of the King's Asiatic satraps. It proved a failure; for Thebes and Sparta could not agree with regard to the independence of Messenia, and the attempt of Philiscus to enforce his terms by collecting an army came to nothing. In the following year, however, representatives of several of the great Greek powers waited upon King Artaxerxes himself at his court in Susa,—Pelopidas from Thebes, Archidamus from Elis, Antiochus from Arcadia, Leon and Timagoras from Athens. Pelopidas took the lead. The terms he proposed stipulated for the independence of Messenia and of Amphipolis, and the withdrawal of the Athenian war-ships from the sea. To this Leon refused to listen; and on his return home he prosecuted his more compliant colleague Timagoras, who was executed as a traitor.¹ The representatives of the Greek States, who assembled at Thebes, also refused to accept the proposals made in the name of the King; and bath the prestige of Persia and the position of Thebes in the Greek world were distinctly weakened.

In the year in which this congress met (366) the

¹ Comp. Dem., *de F. L.*, §§ 31, 137, 191. Demosthenes states that Timagoras received a large bribe for

Arcadians made peace with Athens. But in the course of the struggle with Elis, in which they were engaged from 365 onwards, dissensions arose among themselves as to the use to be made of the treasures of Olympia, captured from the Eleans; and the hostilities which resulted from these dissensions, and from the interferences of Thebes and Sparta, led in the end to the battle of Mantinea in 362; in which there fought on the one side the Theban army under Epameinondas (including Boeotian, Euboean, and Thessalian troops), the Arcadians of Tegea and of Southern Arcadia generally, the Messenians and the Argives; and on the other, the Spartans, the Arcadians of Mantinea and Northern Arcadia, the Eleans and Achaeans, and an Athenian contingent. The Theban side was victorious, but Epameinondas was killed, and his loss more than neutralised the advantage of the victory.

The policy of Athens had been, since the battle of Leuctra, antagonistic to Thebes and friendly to Sparta, and an incident of the year 366 had increased the hostile feeling of the Athenians towards Thebes. Themison, tyrant of Eretria, had seized Oropus,¹ and had put it into the hands of Thebes, nominally until a proper decision should be given in regard to the claim of Athens to the town. Besides this, the Thebans had further alienated the Athenians, by the destruction, in the course of the last few years, of Orchomenus,

¹ See above, p. 49.

Thespieae, and Plataeae.¹ But the Athenians were tired of the unprofitable war, and not long after the battle of Mantinea a general Peace was made, Sparta alone standing out. Oropus remained in the possession of Thebes.²

Before the battle of Mantinea, the Thebans had been very active in North Greece, as well as in the Peloponnese. In the year 370, Alexander, the son of Jason of Pherae, succeeded to the position of overlordship over the whole of Thessaly, which his father had held for about five years. But Alexander was exposed from the first to hostile invasions from Thebes, led by Pelopidas and Epameinondas. The invaders, though they were not uniformly successful, proved themselves to be on the whole the stronger power, and in 363 Pelopidas won a great victory at Cynoscephalae, though he lost his own life. In one of his earlier expeditions northwards (in 368) Pelopidas had forced the Macedonians into alliance with Thebes, and among the hostages whom he brought to Thebes was Philip, the future conqueror of Greece, then not much more than a boy. But after the death of Pelopidas and Epameinondas the Thebans do not appear to have interfered in Thessaly, or to have established any effective control over Alexander.

During the greater part of the period of Callicratides' ascendancy in Athens, the Athenians had

¹ See above, p. 53.

² Diod., XV, lxxxix.; Plut., *Ages.*, xxxv.'

remained on good terms with the King of Persia; but in time their attitude had become somewhat less guarded. The condemnation of Timagoras and the refusal of the King's proposals in 366 marked a definite change of policy. In the same year, or soon afterwards, Ariobarzanes, satrap of the Hellespont, rose in revolt against the King. At first Ariobarzanes appeared only to be at war with rival satraps, and the Athenians sent Timotheus to his assistance. As soon as his revolt against the King himself was declared, Timotheus was precluded by the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas from assisting him further. But Timotheus consoled himself by besieging and taking Samos, which was being held, in violation of the Peace, by another satrap, Cyprothemis.^x Shortly afterwards there seems to have been a general revolt of the subordinate princes in Asia Minor and Egypt against Artaxerxes II., and not only Chabrias of Athens, but also Agesilaus of Sparta went to the aid of the rebellious Egyptians. Chabrias only returned to Athens in 359. By that time Artaxerxes II. had died, and had been succeeded by Artaxerxes Ochus, who proceeded to take all possible measures for the re-establishment of his authority throughout his dominions.

After the conquest (nominally the liberation) of Samos, Timotheus in 365 transferred his activities to the Thracian Chersonese, where the maintenance of Athenian influence was of the greatest

¹ Dem., *pro. Rhod. lib.* § 9.

importance, since the greater part of the corn-supply of Athens, coming as it did from the shores of the Bosphorus and the Euxine, had to pass through the Hellespont. Athenian settlers were sent both to Samos and to the Chersonese; and Timotheus then engaged in hostilities with Cotys, who had succeeded to the kingdom of the Odrysian Thracians in 383. His predecessor Ebryzelmis had been on good terms with Athens,¹ and before him Medocus and Seuthes, who had divided the kingdom between them, had been brought into friendship with Athens by the diplomacy of Thrasybulus. Cotys, on the other hand, showed himself more anxious to maintain and extend his own power, than to assist Athens to control the Chersonese; and he gave Timotheus and other Athenian generals much trouble. Timotheus also attempted (in succession to Iphicrates, whose efforts had failed) to take possession of Amphipolis, the right of Athens to which had been conceded in the Peace of 371, both by Amyntas and by the Persian King. But though Poteidaea and Torone (two important towns on the Chalcidic peninsula) and, shortly afterwards, Pydna and Methone were brought within the Athenian alliance, Timotheus failed to recover Amphipolis. He also made no headway against Cotys; nor did better success attend any of the generals who were sent to the Hellespont

¹ See Foucart, *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonese de Thrace*, p. 6, where a decree of the Athenians in his honour, of the year 386-5, is quoted.

in 362 and 361, only to be cashiered and prosecuted on their return.¹ It was even worse that Alexander of Pherae (now acting in the interests of Thebes) had built a fleet, occupied the island of Peparethus, defeated the Athenian admiral Leosthenes, and made a profitable raid upon the Peiraeus itself. Moreover Epameinondas had (in 364-3) made a cruise in the northern waters with a Theban fleet, and as the result we find the Byzantines, with the peoples of Cyzicus and Chalcedon, interfering in the following year with the Athenian cornships.

The policy of Callistratus, who had up till now continued to direct the Athenian Assembly, seemed to have failed; he was accused in 361 of not having given the People the best advice, and went into exile; his ill-advised attempt to return to Athens shortly afterwards led to his execution. For the next few years the most influential statesman in Athens was Aristophon, a man of advanced years, who had been powerful early in the century, but whose known friendly inclinations towards Thebes had kept him out of popularity for a long period. The Peace of 362, which has already been mentioned, was probably due to his influence, and was made none too soon.

At first, though Athens was now free from direct

¹ The events of these years, and especially the proceedings of the Athenian admirals and navy, are strikingly illustrated in the (pseudo-Demosthenic) Speech against Polycles, written by an unknown orator for Apollodorus.

hostilities on the part of Thebes, there was little improvement in the conduct of military affairs in the North. Timotheus was again defeated by the Amphipolitans in 360-59. In the same year, Cephisodotus was sent to the Hellespont; but he had more than his match in Charidemus, a captain of mercenaries, who was in the service of Cotys, and, after the assassination of Cotys in the next year, was practically the guardian and first minister, as well as the general, of Cotys' young son, Cersobleptes.

The previous relations of Charidemus with Athens had been chequered. He had served for three years under Iphicrates; and the latter, when he had taken hostages from Amphipolis, had entrusted them to Charidemus, intending to send them to Athens; but when in 364 Timotheus succeeded Iphicrates in the command, Charidemus gave back the hostages to the Amphipolitans, thus removing the strongest inducement to them to surrender the town, and himself went off to Cotys. Soon afterwards he agreed to hire his services to Olynthus, which at this moment controlled Amphipolis; but some Athenian ships captured him on his way thither; he joined the Athenian forces instead, and was rewarded with the citizenship of Athens and other compliments. He then crossed to Asia Minor, and joined in the disputes of the satraps Artabazus and Autophrades. Professing to help the former, he actually took from him (or from his relatives Memnon and

Mentor) the towns of Scepsis, Cebren, and Ilium; but he was hard-pressed by Artabazus and cut off from supplies, and in the hope of obtaining help from Athens he wrote to the newly appointed Athenian admiral, Cephisodotus, before the latter had set sail from Athens, offering to put the Chersonese in his hands. But for some unknown reason, Memnon and Mentor relented towards him, and persuaded Artabazus to let him go unmolested. He joined Cotys at Sestos (in 360), and instead of fulfilling his promise to Cephisodotus, laid siege to the Athenian towns of Crithote and Elaeus in the Chersonese, openly opposed Cephisodotus for several months, and forced him to make a discreditable treaty, for which Cephisodotus was cashiered on his return home and fined five talents, only escaping condemnation to death by three votes. Demosthenes served in this campaign as trierarch¹; Cephisodotus sailed in his ship, and (according to a statement made by Æschines)² Demosthenes himself spoke against Cephisodotus—whether as prosecutor or as witness does not appear—on his return home.

In the next year (359) events took a turn more favourable to Athens. Miltocythes, a Thracian

¹ He was probably co-trierarch for the year with Philippides of Paeania (C. I. A., i. i., 795 f.).

² In *Ctes.*, § 52. Demosthenes (in *Aristocr.*, § 168) speaks of the severe punishment inflicted on Cephisodotus, but makes no reference to any action of his own in the matter. (The expression which he does does not, as some suppose, imply that he thought the sentence unduly harsh.)

prince who had risen against Cotys two years before and had received promises of support from Athens, fell into the hands of Charidemus. He handed him over to the people of Cardia, who were hostile to Athens, and they put Miltocythes and his son to death. This cruel deed was followed by a general outburst of indignation in that part of Thrace against Charidemus and Cersobleptes (the successor of Cotys); and they were forced to consent to a partition of the Thracian kingdom between Cersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus; the two latter being claimants to the kingdom who had entered into friendship with Athens, doubtless for their own purposes, but none the less honestly, since they stipulated in the treaty of partition for the restoration of the Chersonese to Athens. Satisfied with this, the Athenians took no proper steps to fulfil their own obligations; they despatched no funds to Athcnodorus, the commander of Berisades' army, but merely sent Chabrias with one ship; so that Cersobleptes was able to disown the treaty, and to make an arrangement favourable to himself with Chabrias. This arrangement the Athenians repudiated, but it was not until 358 or 357 that Chares, who had taken command of the Athenian forces, could oblige him to make a treaty more in accordance with the original settlement. Even now, Cardia, which commanded the entry to the Chersonese from the Thracian side, was explicitly excluded from the list of places handed over to Athens. With the sequel to these pro-

ceedings in Thrace we shall be concerned in: later chapter.¹

We have now reviewed the course of events down to the year 359, and in some cases for a year or two beyond. It remains to summarise in general terms the position of the leading States in Greece at the point which we have now reached.

Sparta, though still one of the three strong powers, was now the least important of the three. The attainment of independence by the Messenians and Arcadians, with their newly-established centres at Messene and Megalopolis, left her with a reduced territory and resources, though she was ready to make an effort, if opportunity arose, to recover lost ground, especially against the Achaean states. The Arcadians themselves were still engaged in hostilities with the people of Elis, and the possession of the district occupied by the Triphylians was in particular a matter of contention between the two peoples. The Arcadians—at least those whose meeting-place was Megalopolis—relied on the support of Thebes; and at the battle of Mantinea, a Theban force under Pammenes had been sent to help them to maintain their independence; but it appears probable (in the light of subsequent events) that before Ion of Chalkis gained influence which was desirous of obtaining support from Athens rather than from

¹ The chief authority for the narrative of affairs in Thrace is the speech of Demosthenes against Aristocrates. See below Chap. V *ad fin.*



A GENERAL VIEW OF SPARTA

PHOTO BY ENGLISH PHOTO CO.

Thebes, since the aid of Thebes seemed likely to be less effective now that Epameinondas was dead. Of the other Peloponnesian states, Corinth and Phleius had concluded peace with Thebes in 366; and in 361 Athens came to an understanding with Phleius, Elis, and the Achaeans; but neither these, nor Argos, which was unfriendly to Sparta, are of any importance in the period which lies before us. Indeed the Spartans themselves play but a small part in the history of the next thirty years, though they could still show from time to time that their bravery and their national dignity had not entirely left them. The relations between Sparta and Athens continued to be generally friendly.

The Thebans were fine soldiers, but they needed great men to lead them; otherwise they had not the energy or the perseverance to make the most of their opportunities; and after the deaths of Epameinondas and Pelopidas they were far less dangerous than they had previously been. They are a difficult people to characterise. The Thebans proper were a race of aristocrats—self-sufficient and contemptuous of trade and commerce, ruling or intending to rule over the inferior towns of Boeotia, but not attempting to assimilate them or consult their interests; and they were generally destitute of the humaner feelings.^x If they shared with the Boeotians generally the gift for art and literature, they did not develop it, any more than they used their political and military opportunities.

* *dvaladTfTot*, as the Athenians called them.

except when stimulated by men of genius. So long as they could maintain their hold over Boeotia, and could occupy such a position of superiority over their neighbours, the Phocians and Thessalians, as would secure themselves against interference, they were content to live a life of self-indulgence at home; though it was of importance to them, if possible, to protect themselves against Athens by maintaining a firm footing in Euboea, keeping Oropus in their own hands, and suppressing those towns in Boeotia which were actually or traditionally friendly towards Athens. They were entirely devoid of all concern for the interests of the Greeks as a whole. In the Persian wars they had gone over to the enemy; their alliance with Philip of Macedon was dictated by equally selfish motives; and had they not been persuaded by the extraordinary efforts and eloquence of Demosthenes to take a nobler course, they might perhaps have remained lords of Boeotia under the Macedonian domination, with leisure for the enjoyment of the pleasures to which they were so much devoted.

In Thessaly the influence of Thebes appears still to have been felt; but though the Thebans had shown their power even against so powerful a prince as Alexander of Pheræ, they do not seem to have taken steps to maintain their footing in the country, and after the assassination of Alexander in 359, his wife's brothers, Lycophron and Peitholaus, succeeded to the overlordship of Thessaly. At the same time each of the principal

towns appears to have had its own subordinate government, and the supremacy of the tyrants of Phærae was not viewed with favour by rivals in other cities, such as the Aleuadae of Larissa. The cavalry of Thessaly were a very valuable addition to the forces of any power which was able to obtain their assistance.

Farther towards the north lay the Macedonian kingdom, which was now suffering, owing to the death of Amyntas, from disputes as to the succession, and greatly needed a firm hand. Round the coasts of the Thermaic Gulf were the colonies now subject to Athens—Pydna and Methone on one side, Poteidaea on the other—of which more will be heard in the future; and over the Chalcidic peninsula the chief authority was wielded by Olynthus, once more the head of a considerable league. Beyond this peninsula stretched the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, as far as the Chersonese, and beyond the Chersonese, the Thracian kingdom was bounded by the Propontis and the Euxine Sea. Amphipolis, virtually independent, occupied a position of great commercial and military importance near the mouth of the Strymon, and not far to the north-east* rose Mount Pangæus, with its gold-mines, worked at present by the islanders of Thasos, who were colonists from Athens. On the Thracian coast the more important Greek towns were Abdera, Nicaea, and Maroneia, and, between the Chersonese and the Bosphorus, Perinthus and Byzantium, the latter exercising supremacy over

Selymbria and Chalcedon, and in virtue of its situation commanding all the traffic in corn and other commodities which passed backwards and forwards between Greece and the Euxine coasts.

We may now turn to Athens. No longer able to stand alone against a combination of other powers, and no longer generally acknowledged as the leader of the Greek States (as she had been in the great days after the Persian wars in the fifth century), Athens was nevertheless the most powerful single State in the Greek world. No city headed so extensive and important an alliance. Corcyra indeed fell away in 361, and Byzantium, with the neighbouring towns, had for some time been unfriendly; but in 359 the greater number of the members of the Second Athenian Confederacy were still loyal; and in the course of the next two years most of the Euboean States, which had passed from the Athenian to the Theban alliance about twelve years before, were set free from the Theban domination, at their own request, by an Athenian fleet commanded by Timotheus, and became adherents of Athens. (This event made a great impression on Demosthenes, who served as trierarch in the expedition. Timotheus had roused the 'Athenians so effectively by his address to the Assembly, that the expedition had started within three days after it had been resolved upon.¹) The influence of

¹ *De Chers.*, ad fin. The expedition is placed by Diodorus, XVI, vii., in the year 358-7. Kahrstedt (*Forschungen*, pp. 70, 71) decides for the late summer of 357, i.e. the year 357~6-

Athens thus extended over most of Euboea, over the important islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Samos (as well as others), over most of the coast-towns on the Thermaic Gulf, and over the Thracian Chersonese and a number of towns on the south coast of Thrace. No other power had so numerous a fleet; her commercial activity and prosperity were unrivalled; and she was on very friendly terms with the princes who ruled the cornlands about the Cimmerian Bosphorus,^x with which her trade was especially large. She was free from serious internal division, and her democratic constitution stood in no danger of disturbance.

Yet there were elements of weakness in her condition, which were soon to become actively dangerous. The *raison d'être* of the Second Confederacy—mutual protection against Sparta—had long ceased to exist; and her policy was becoming less and less one in which the allies had any interest. Nevertheless their contributions were still exacted, and even collected by Athenian admirals at the head of their fleet, and were used for any campaign in which they were at the moment engaged: while the resumption by the Athenians of the practice of sending out "cleruchs," or colonists who settled and held land in allied States, was contrary to the spirit, if not (in the case of the particular States concerned) to the letter, of the agreement with the allies.

Moreover there were features in the constitution

¹ See above, pp. 2, 59.

and in the financial and military arrangements of Athens which were to be a source of great weakness in the next years; and before we can pass to the events of the first years of Demosthenes' political life, we must consider at some length the political system within which, like other Athenian statesmen, he had to work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Francotte (*Les Finances des Cites Grecques*) points out that the difference between *φóρος* ("tribute") and *σύνταξις* ("contribution") was not merely nominal. The *φóρος* had been practically determined by Athens; the *συντάξεις* were arranged by the *συνέδριον* of the allies, and confirmed by the Athenian Assembly. The *φóρος* was used by the Athenians at their own discretion; the *συντάξεις* were to be employed only for the objects of the Confederacy. Comp. F. W. Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy* (Cambridge, 1905) and Phillipson, *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, vol. ii., pp. 19-24.

2. The details of the system introduced in 378-7 are keenly disputed, and to discuss them here would take too much space. The method of *προεισφορά* (payment by rich men in advance) was certainly in vogue at the time of the Speech against Polycles (§§ 8, 9), *i.e.* in 360. Whether it can be proved to be earlier depends on the interpretation of Dem. *in Aphob.* I, §§ 7, 8, 9; ii., §4; *pro Phano*, §59, etc. I believe that the payments which Demosthenes' guardians are there stated to have made were made by way of *προεισφορά*, and if so, this method of collection was in use in 376, and must have been the original one under the law.

CHAPTER III

THE ATHENIAN STATE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

THE supreme power in Athens rested with the Assembly, of which every adult citizen was a member. It is obvious that in this Assembly the poor must have outnumbered the rich. We have not indeed any direct information as to the distribution of wealth at this period; but we know that in the year 358-7 the number of citizens who possessed an income which made it fair to lay the burden of trierarchy upon them was estimated at 1200 only¹; and that in 322, out of 21,000 adult male citizens, only 9000 possessed an estate even of the low value of twenty minæ.² It follows that if the poor chose to make use of their numbers, they could always outvote the richer members of the Assembly; and the political interests of rich and poor respectively were so far distinct as to constitute them parties, though the word must not

¹ Dem., *de Symm.*, § 16, etc.

² Demosthenes' father, who was counted a rich man, possessed an estate of about 14 talents (= 840 mina?) at his death; and the wealthy banker Pasion, 30 talents. Trierarchy cost (roughly speaking) from 40 minae to a talent.

be taken to imply the rigid organisation or the clearly-cut lines of demarcation which are characteristic of the party-system as it exists to-day.

The richer class included the landowners and the traders. Of these the traders were by far the more important. Indeed there is reason to think that, concurrently with the decline of agriculture in Attica, the most profitable land was bought up by capitalists resident in the town, and worked by means of slaves, and that apart from such estates the holdings were small, and the holders not only personally insignificant, but also unlikely to be regular attendants in the Assembly, since they would not be able to leave their work and come to town for that purpose. But the trading class clearly exercised great influence in the Assembly. In the first place, a very large part of the wealth of the country was in their hands, and wealth inevitably carries weight even in the most democratic nations. In the second place, with the increase of luxury, the rise in the standard of living, the growing variety of demand, and the consequent specialisation of trades in the city and the larger towns, the traders and the financiers, and those whose interests were connected with theirs, became more numerous and their influence ramified more widely. Above all, it was upon the traders that Athens depended for her supply of food; for the amount of home-grown corn was small; and this alone would have sufficed to give them a weight¹ in the Assembly (under normal

conditions) out of proportion to their mere numbers. The interests of the richer classes were generally better served by peace than by war.¹ The passage of merchant-vessels was naturally most secure in time of peace; and the fear of hostile invasion, and of the ravaging of the landed estates of Attica (as they had been ravaged in the Peloponnesian War) was certainly not extinct. Further, it was upon the rich that there inevitably fell the chief burden of the extraordinary taxation necessitated by war; for both the expenses of the trierarchy and the greater part of the war-tax had to be provided by the wealthy minority; and these calls upon them, which were an addition to the very large share which they contributed of the normal expenses of government, were liable to be extremely heavy. No doubt the interests of trade themselves required at times to be protected by war; and all alike were interested in maintaining at any cost the security of the great trade-route to the Bosphorus and the Euxine, by way of the Aegean Sea and the Hellespont, and in taking precautionary measures against threatened invasion. (We shall see in a later chapter how these considerations affected the policy of Eubulus.) But as a rule the well-to-do classes tended to favour a pacific policy, and preferred to render trade secure by diplomacy and the formation of alliances,

^x See Aristoph., *Eccles.*, 197 (392 B.C.):

ναῦς δὲ καθέλκειν τοῖς πένησι μὲν δοκεῖ,
τοῖς πλουσίοις δὲ καὶ γεωργοῖς οὐ δοκεῖ.

and even by making considerable concessions, rather than by war. Whether they had the faults which those whose interest is predominantly connected with money-making are always apt to show—whether they were indifferent to national ideals and generous sentiments, or were liable to be short-sighted, through paying too great a regard to the nearer as opposed to the more distant but greater gain—we have not much direct evidence to show. But Demosthenes at times uses language which suggests that he was conscious of such obstacles in the way of his own policy, even though he admits the patriotism of many rich men and their readiness for sacrifices. *

On the other hand, the masses were, generally speaking, in favour of war and of an imperialistic policy. If not the safest way of securing an abundant food-supply, victorious campaigns were often the way which seemed most obvious; and the fact that war was paid for by the rich made the poor less conscious of its disadvantages. Further, it was only through war that the poorer citizens could avail themselves of one of the chief means of earning a living that was open to them and not (apart from some very exceptional occasions) to slaves—that of service as rowers in the fleet. Besides this, the tendency of the crowd to be carried away by the kind of national conceit or swagger which is ready to go to war recklessly is illustrated by a number of references to the

¹*De Cor.*, § 171.

orators who inflamed the Assembly by passionate appeals to the traditions of the past—to the greatest days of the Athenian Empire—and by the fact that Demosthenes himself, who certainly had no shrinking from war, even when a tamer prudence might have counselled peace, was more than once obliged to deprecate this rash folly.¹

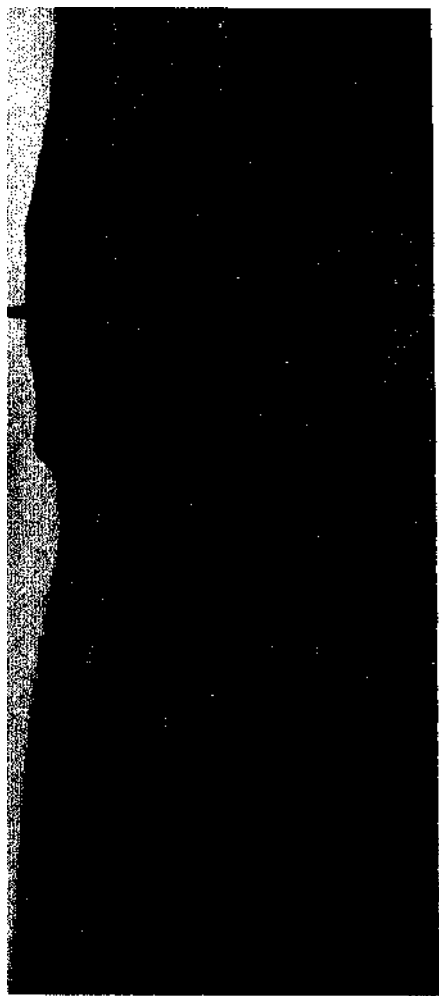
We have then to recognise that in Athens the tendencies of the richer and poorer classes respectively were almost exactly the reverse of those which are shown by the corresponding classes in most modern countries to-day. As a rule, imperialistic ideals, and an inclination towards militarism, are now more commonly found among the better educated and wealthier members of the community, and are supported in the name of patriotism against what are supposed to be the narrower, more domestic, and even more selfish aspirations of the less wealthy. In Athens it was the popular leaders who cried out for war; and it was those who more nearly correspond to the Conservatives of modern countries that strove to make and to maintain peace.

Unfortunately neither party, as a whole, seems to have been animated by any noble ideal. Rich and poor alike would have said that the security of the Empire, or at least the maintenance of the naval supremacy of Athens, was primarily of importance as a means to the satisfaction of the

¹ *E.g.*, *de Symm.*, §§ 4 ff., 41; *de Pace*, § 13 ff.; comp. Isocrates, *de Pace*, §§ 5, 36, 112, etc. •*

hunger of the proletariat. The masses might add to this sentiment an enthusiasm, often somewhat shallow and only artificially stirred up by popular orators, for the traditions of Athens. The richer classes wished to steer such a middle course as would neither involve loss of trade and the interruption of the food-supply through the insecurity of the trade-routes, nor yet necessitate heavy expenditure on the army and navy. But for the masses and the popular orators, the golden age was in the past; and it is doubtful whether the richer classes had any clear ideal at all, except that of playing for safety. Isocrates* attempt to frame a worthy policy for Athens met with little general acceptance. Whether or not the policy was in fact a good and a worthy one, it was not a time when men's practical plans were generally conceived on a large or generous scale; and a close student of this period can hardly fail to be conscious of a kind of spiritual deadness, contrasting strongly with the feeling which the Athenians had displayed through the first two thirds of the fifth century—we may perhaps say, until after the Plague—and defying any attempt which a more inspired individual might make to kindle it into warmth.¹

¹ It would take too long to discuss here the causes of this deadness. But apart from the dispiriting effects of the Plague and of the Peloponnesian War, the principal cause was the rise and the all-pervading influence of Rhetoric, which saps the sincerity both of those who practise it, and of those to whom it is addressed. Plato's criticisms of Rhetoric appear to be entirely justified by history! and the fact that most of them are equally



Demosthenes himself, who was not lacking either in ideals or in inspiration, could not restore its old life to the Athenian People, though at one great moment he fanned the flame into a final blaze of splendour.

The masses had, as has been said, a large majority in the Assembly, and could at any time outvote those who represented the agricultural, commercial, and financial interests. But we have unhappily no means of discovering with any certainty what was the *normal* composition of an ordinary meeting of the Assembly, nor (since the function of the Assembly was, as Aristotle phrases it, that of judgment, or decision upon proposals submitted to them) how far the Assembly, as normally constituted, was capable of forming judgments based upon rational grounds. There can be little doubt that there was a tendency on the part of many of the best-educated men to withdraw entirely from public life and to take no interest in State-affairs, preferring, as they did, the self-satisfied life of the cultured individual to the pursuit of the common good—regarding political power and the possession of Empire as unimportant in comparison with individual virtue, and treating the comparative sordidness of politics in a democracy as beneath the notice of the philosophic mind. Philosophy became markedly individualistic in the fourth century, and alien from the spirit of the city-state.

applicable to modern journalism renders them not uninteresting at the present day

