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DEMOSTHENES

SELECTED  
POLITICAL SPEECHES

EDITED BY  
JUDSON HERRMAN

*Frank T. McClure Professor of Greek and Latin*

*Allegheny College, Pennsylvania*



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*To the memory of  
Albert Henrichs*

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## PREFACE

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Demosthenes, as an emerging political leader between 351 and 341 BC, delivered a series of fiery speeches to the collected citizenry of Athens in its democratic Assembly. In these speeches he attacked the Macedonian king Philip II as an aggressive imperialist bent on destroying Athens and its way of life. The surviving written texts are the only extant examples of actual Athenian Assembly speeches. This volume presents the Greek text of five of these speeches, with introduction and commentary. In them we can see how the foremost politician of the day presented his arguments to the people who made policy decisions in the Assembly, and how he eventually persuaded the voters to support his doomed militaristic position in preference to the more pragmatic stance of accommodation advocated by his political opponents. These speeches are not only invaluable sources for the ideology and political history of this crucial period; they are the best examples of persuasive rhetoric in action from democratic Athens. Demosthenes was an admired master of Greek prose style, and in these speeches he developed a deliberative mode that utilized striking sentence structures and dense metaphorical imagery to build and reinforce his arguments.

The primary audience for this book are advanced students who may have little experience with Demosthenic Greek. The notes are designed to elucidate this difficult text so that they can read and appreciate its distinctive style. Furthermore, since we lack recent commentaries intended for specialists, I have also endeavored to address some of the concerns of scholarly readers; my notes consider political, cultural, and literary history and aim to provide references to key discussions and sources.

The speeches are presented here in the traditional sequence, which places the first *Philippic* of 351 after the *Olynthiacs* of 349/8. I have decided to keep this order because the *Olynthiacs* are shorter, and students may find it more manageable to begin with them before reading the longer *Philippics*. As an accommodation, this volume's notes on the first *Olynthiac* are deliberately simpler and less specialized than the commentaries on the other speeches. Ample cross-references link the notes, and I hope those will forestall any chronological confusion arising from my decision to begin with the *Olynthiacs*.

It has taken me almost as long to write this book as it took Demosthenes to develop the series of speeches. Along the way I have received much help and support, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge friends, colleagues, and benefactors. In 2012 I received support from the Margo Tytus Visiting Scholars Program at the University of Cincinnati, and I wish to thank Getzel Cohen for his hospitality, and the staff of the John Miller Burnam Classics Library, who have welcomed my repeated and ongoing visits to

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Cincinnati. I am also grateful for a 2012 fellowship award from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation. The book was finished in 2017 thanks to a visiting fellowship at University College Oxford, and I am especially grateful to William Allan for welcoming me in Oxford. Along the way I have received continued generous support from Allegheny College: I wish to thank the College's Academic Support Committee; the History Department for grants from the Jonathan E. and Nancy L. Helmreich History Research Fund and the Bruce Harrison Fund; and most of all, the Frank T. McClure endowment for a professorship in Greek and Latin. This support has given me regular time in research libraries, without which I could not have written the book. I am grateful to the staff of Widener Library at Harvard, the Institute of Classical Studies, and the Fondation Hardt.

Colleagues have given vital feedback on work in progress. The 2009 Classical Commentary Writers Workshop came at a formative moment, and I thank especially Douglas Olson, Alex Sens, and William Race. Ariana Traill sent speedy responses to library queries, and invited me in 2012 to present at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where Kirk Sanders welcomed me in his seminar on Greek oratory. More recently, Nigel Wilson helpfully discussed Demosthenes' publication and afterlife; Antonis Kotsonas suggested bibliography; and Mirko Canevaro answered queries and shared work in progress. Edward Harris, too, sent forthcoming work, and gave quick and thorough comments on each section of the book. Thanks to Christopher Pelling for helpful suggestions. Carolin Hahnemann carefully read sections and helped shape my purpose and method. Above all, the series editors have been prompt and constructive critics; I am grateful to Neil Hopkinson and Richard Hunter for detailed comments, and especially to Pat Easterling for welcoming the proposal and support too along the way.

Thanks to all who have helped me improve this book. The remaining weaknesses are my responsibility. I am also responsible for its appearance; I have typeset it with open source software; thanks are due to the creators of X<sub>Y</sub>T<sub>E</sub>X, a unicode version of T<sub>E</sub>X, and of the EDMAC and Eplain extensions. I am also grateful to Michael Sharp and Mary Bongiovi at Cambridge University Press, and to John Jacobs for his careful copyediting.

My greatest personal debts are to Robin Orttung, who gave much to make it possible for me to complete this work, and to Albert Henrichs, with whom I first read these speeches, and who provided feedback and inspiration as the work progressed. We miss him very much.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- 
- APF** J. K. Davies, *Athenian propertied families, 600–300 BC*. Oxford 1971.  
**CAH** D. M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower, and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge ancient history*. Vol. 6: The fourth century BC. 2nd ed. Cambridge 1994.  
**FGrHist** F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 15 vols. Berlin 1923–1958.  
**GHI** P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek historical inscriptions 404–323 BC*. Oxford 2003.  
**GP** J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles*. 2nd ed. Oxford 1954.  
**GPM** K. J. Dover, *Greek popular morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle*. Oxford 1974.  
**GPS** J. D. Denniston, *Greek prose style*. Oxford 1952.  
**Harris** E. M. Harris, *Aeschines and Athenian politics*. New York and Oxford 1995.  
**HM** N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A history of Macedonia*. Vol. 2. Oxford 1979.  
**IG** *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1873–.  
**K–A** R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin 1983–2001.  
**LGNP** M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, *A lexicon of Greek personal names*. Vol. 2: Attica. Oxford 1994.  
**LSJ** H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek–English lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford 1940 and 1996. References are to word entries and their sections.  
**OLD** P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin dictionary*. Oxford 1982.  
**PAA** J. S. Traill, *Persons of ancient Athens*. 21 vols. Toronto 1994–2012.  
**P.Oxy.** *The Oxyrhynchus papyri*. London 1898–. References are to volume and item number. See [www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy](http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy) (accessed August 11, 2017).  
**Ronnet** G. Ronnet, *Étude sur le style de Démosthène dans les discours politiques*. Paris 1951.  
**Sealey** R. Sealey, *Demosthenes and his time: a study in defeat*. New York and Oxford 1993.  
**SEG** *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, Amsterdam 1923–.  
**Smyth** H. W. Smyth, *Greek grammar*. Cambridge, MA. 1920.  
**Wooten** C. Wooten, *A commentary on Demosthenes’ Philippic I: with rhetorical analyses of Philipics II and III*. New York and Oxford 2008.  
**Yunis** H. Yunis, *Demosthenes. On the crown*. Cambridge 2001.

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