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978-1-107-62017-9 - The Olynthiac Speeches of Demosthenes

J. M. Macgregor

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THE  
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DEMOSTHENES

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BY  
J. M. MACGREGOR

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## PREFACE

THE present edition has been prepared at the request of the Syndics of the University Press to whom an apology for its tardy appearance is due.

In the preparation of the text I have used that of Blass as a basis; but I have divided the speeches into paragraphs to accord with my own analysis of their contents, and have everywhere pursued a much closer adherence to the MSS. In particular I have abstained from elisions and transpositions designed solely to remove hiatus or a sequence of short syllables, since in the great majority of instances these are to be found where a natural pause on the part of the speaker would avoid all difficulty in recitation. Nor have I thought it necessary to resort to prodelision (e.g. ἦ 'κεῖ) or crasis (τοῦργου), although it should be understood that in reading the two sounds merge into each other.

For the matter of the *Introduction* I have relied on the writings of Demosthenes and his contemporaries and on Plutarch's *Life*. I have had recourse also to the histories of Grote, Holm and Bury; to Schaefer's *Demosthenes and his time*; to Butcher's monograph, the insight and inspiration of which are scarcely to

be gauged by its modest exterior; and to works of general reference such as Gilbert's *Antiquities*. Mr Pickard-Cambridge's admirably balanced volume on Demosthenes appeared when my own introduction was already written; but I have been able to consult it on some particulars in revising the proof.

In regard to the notes I have had the advantage of consulting numerous editions—in particular those of Weil, Sandys, Heslop, and Abbott and Matheson—as well as the translations of Kennedy and Pickard-Cambridge, the latter of whom has in his *Introduction* (vol. I. pp. 28–9) a brief but illuminating account of Demosthenes' chief oratorical qualities.

To my colleague Mr Caspari I am indebted for his kindness in reading the proofs of the *Introduction* and *Appendices* and sending me some criticisms thereon. My thanks are also due to the Readers of the University Press.

I have aimed at showing these speeches in their due relation to Demosthenes' whole career and at providing the student with the means for an effective understanding of them. In so far as that aim has not been achieved I alone am to blame.

J. M. M.

ST JOHN'S WOOD,  
May 1915.

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Λαμπρὸς μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, σφοδρὸς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, σωφρονέστατος δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν ἰσημάτων τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ποικιλώτατος δ' ἐναλλαγαῖς σχημάτων.

LUCIAN, *Encomium Demosthenis* 14.

Ὡσπερὶ καταβροντᾶ καὶ καταφέγγει τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας, καὶ θᾶπτον ἂν τις κεραυνοῖς φερομένοις ἀντανοῖξαι τὰ ὄμματα δύναιτο ἢ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἐκείνου πάθεισιν.

<LONGINUS>, *de Sublimitate* 34.



## INTRODUCTION

### THE STORY OF DEMOSTHENES

#### (i) *Birth, Education and Early Manhood.*

DEMOSTHENES, the son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, situate to the south of Athens on the eastern slope of Mt Hymettus, was born about the year 384 B.C. His father was a man of good standing and considerable wealth, the owner of two factories, the one for the manufacture of cutlery<sup>1</sup> and the other for that of couches. His mother was Cleobule, daughter of a certain Gylon, who had fled from Athens to escape death for treason and had married a Scythian lady<sup>2</sup>. The elder Demosthenes died when his son was seven years old, leaving him, together with a sister two years younger, in the charge of three guardians, Aphobus, Onetor and Therippides.

A thin and sickly child, the future orator was not, it is said, subjected to the regular physical exercises of the free-born

<sup>1</sup> Hence the orator was nicknamed "the cutler" (ὁ μαχαιροποιός).

<sup>2</sup> This is the account of Aeschines, the opponent of Demosthenes, who does not controvert the statement. The offence of Gylon was the betrayal of Nymphaeum, a colony of Miletus in the Tauric Chersonese, tributary to Athens. The fiery vehemence of Demosthenes has been ascribed to the northern strain in his blood; but others believe Gylon's wife to have been the daughter of a Greek settled in the region of the Crimea, and the sentence passed upon him to have been less severe than one of death. *Vide* Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 171-2; Demosthenes *Against Aphobus* ii. 2-3.

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Greek boy; but he himself assures us that he received the liberal training proper to one in his position<sup>1</sup>. His ambition

to become an orator was, the story runs, fired by a *cause célèbre* of the day at which he contrived to be present. Callistratus, the distinguished statesman, general and orator, was on trial for his life<sup>2</sup>, and Demosthenes heard his paedagogus arranging with others to witness the scene in the court. He succeeded in gaining permission to accompany them, and the servants of the court, who were intimate with the paedagogus and his friends, provided them with a good position. The boy's heart was stirred by the glory attendant upon the accused's successful defence; but still more deeply impressed was he by the power of an eloquence which could thus charm hostility and dominate opposition. Abandoning all other pursuits he devoted himself

to the study of oratory, taking for his teacher Isaeus<sup>3</sup>, a master of cogent reasoning and a vigorous style, whose influence can be clearly traced in the earlier speeches of his pupil<sup>4</sup>.

A pupil of Isaeus<sup>3</sup>, a master of cogent reasoning and a vigorous style, whose influence can be clearly traced in the earlier speeches of his pupil<sup>4</sup>.

At his death the elder Demosthenes had left an estate estimated as worth more than 14 talents. With good manage-

<sup>1</sup> *de Cor.* 312, ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπήρξεν, Αλοχλῆν, παιδί μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεία. But elsewhere (*Against Aphobus*, i. 46) he complains that his guardians' peculations had deprived him of his proper advantages. Cf. *Plut. Vit. Dem.* iv.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch (*Vit. Dem.* v.) states that the trial was "concerned with Oropus." Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 7) mentions an attack by Leodamas upon Callistratus for advice which he had given. It is generally assumed that this "advice" was concerned with the affairs of Oropus; that the prosecution of Leodamas took the form of an impeachment before the people (ἐν τῷ δήμῳ); and that it occurred in 365 B.C. when Demosthenes was 19 years old.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. 301 ff. It is suggested (*Plut. Vit. Dem.* v.) that Demosthenes did not have recourse to Isocrates, the famous teacher of the day, because of inability to pay the high fee, 10 minae; another view was that Demosthenes was attracted by the peculiar virtues of Isaeus' style.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* the speeches *Against Aphobus* and *Against Onetor*.

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ment, the orator urges, its value might have been more than doubled, but owing to the neglect and fraud of the trustees the son received but a fractional part of the amount bequeathed by the father. Smarting under this injustice Demosthenes sought to vindicate his rights at law, and found himself involved by the subtrefuges of his guardians in a series of prosecutions<sup>1</sup>. But his talent for forensic argument found employment not on his own behalf alone. Attic practice required that the plaintiff and defendant in a suit should appear in person. Accordingly one who was himself without ability to plead his cause to the best effect had recourse to another whose inclination and training fitted him for such a task, and procured from him a speech in which to present his case to the jury. This profession of speech-writing (*λογογραφείν*), which Demosthenes pursued throughout his career, not only afforded him a source of income, but provided in his early days an opportunity for the exercise and development of his powers of reasoning and expression. It should be observed that at Athens a political issue was often involved in the trial of an individual, particularly so as the proposer of a measure was held responsible for it throughout the space of one year, and was subject during that period to an indictment for an illegal proposal (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*)<sup>2</sup>. Thus a writer of speeches for the law-courts naturally became interested in the political questions of the day<sup>3</sup>. It was, moreover, the position of a prominent politician, influencing the votes of the citizens and controlling the policy of the city in the Assembly at Athens, which formed the object of Demosthenes' ambition.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the speeches *Against Aphobus* and *Against Onetor*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ol.* iii. 10 *νομοθέτας* n. and the circumstances of the speech *On the Crown*, *infr.* p. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. xiv. n. 3. Similarly at Rome the conflict of opposing parties found expression on occasion in the trial of an individual, e.g. Rabirius, on whose behalf Cicero delivered his speech *pro Rabirio* (Mommsen, iv. 458f.); and political matters were introduced in forensic pleadings, e.g. the defence of the *Optimates* in Cic. *pro Sestio* §§ 96-127.

His early efforts at addressing the sovereign body of the Athenians were however attended with failure. Inexperienced as he was, he was confounded by the clamour of the populace, while certain physical disabilities under which he laboured as a speaker now revealed themselves all too clearly and brought about his discomfiture. His voice was weak, his articulation indistinct<sup>1</sup>; his shortness of breath interfered with the even flow of his speech and rendered his delivery rough and broken. Disheartened by his ill success he is said to have complained on one occasion that, while ignorant and besotted sailors<sup>2</sup> could obtain a hearing from the Athenians, he himself failed to secure their attention in spite of an industry and pains that had come near to ruining his physical health. Yet encouragement was not wholly lacking. A certain Eunomus, who had in his boyhood listened to Pericles, compared the young speaker's oratory to that of the great statesman of the fifth century, and ascribed his failure to his lack of hardihood both of mind and body. The distinguished actor Satyrus exhibited how much a speech can gain or lose through the manner of its delivery, by causing Demosthenes to recite a passage of poetry and then himself repeating it in a tone and manner suitable to the character to whom it belonged and the circumstances in which it was uttered<sup>3</sup>. Demosthenes set himself resolutely to work with a view to remedying his defects. He built, so the story runs, a subterranean chamber,

Early failures  
and physical  
disadvant-  
ages.

Determina-  
tion to suc-  
ceed.

<sup>1</sup> Hence the nickname *Βάρραλος* ("Stammerer") to which his enemies gave a more offensive signification. Cf. Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 126, 131; Dem. *On the Crown*, 180.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion was perhaps to Demades, a very successful public speaker, who had been a sailor and was addicted to drink.

<sup>3</sup> The importance which Demosthenes himself attached to this is shown by a story told in Plutarch's *Life*, c. xi. A man came to seek Demosthenes' advocacy, complaining that he had been assaulted. "Nay," said Demosthenes, "*you* have not suffered anything of what you tell me." Raising his voice the other shouted, "*I* not suffered anything, Demosthenes!" "Ah," replied the orator, "*now* I hear the voice

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wherein he practised speaking for two and three months together, and in order to prevent interruption of his studies, he would shave the half of his head, so that shame should make him unable to appear in public, even if he were to desire to do so. Demetrius of Phalerum<sup>1</sup> heard Demosthenes himself in his later years recounting how he endeavoured to improve his articulation by reciting speeches with pebbles in his mouth; how he sought to strengthen his voice and gain control of his breathing by speaking while running and ascending hills and by delivering passages of poetry and prose without pausing to respire; and how with a view to securing a suitable manner he used to practise the delivery of his orations before a large mirror<sup>2</sup>.

The elaborate care which Demosthenes bestowed upon his speeches was actually made a reproach against him. Like Pericles, perhaps in imitation of the deliberate reserve which that statesman cultivated, he hardly

of one who has been injured and has suffered.” More often quoted is the anecdote related by many authors (e.g. Cicero, *de Or.* iii. 56) that in answer to the question what was most important in oratory Demosthenes replied “Delivery”; and then in response to further questions ascribed to “Delivery” the second and third places in importance also. It was perhaps his own early difficulties that led Demosthenes to set so much store by what Bacon declared to be “that part of an Orator which is but superficial” (*Essays, Of Boldness, ad init.*). Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 1. 3) alludes to its importance and the lack of a scientific treatment of it (ὁ δὲ δόναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, οὕτω δ’ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν).

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished orator, poet, philosopher and statesman, who flourished in the closing years of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly it is said (Ps.-Plut. *Vit. X Orat.* 844 E) that in order to habituate himself to the roar of the Athenian Assembly Demosthenes used to practise beside the breaking waves at Phalerum. To his success as a speaker (κοσμοῦντος ἅπαντα καὶ χρηματίζοντος τῇ πρεπούσῃ ὑποκρίσει ἧς δευτέρου ἀσκητῆς ἐγένετο, Diony. Hal. *περὶ Δημ. δευτέρου* 66) there is abundant testimony; most striking is the story of Demosthenes’ rival Aeschines (Cic. *de Or.* iii. 56) who, when his recital of Demosthenes’ speech *On the Crown* was received by the Rhodians with the liveliest admiration, is said to have exclaimed, “If you had heard it from his own lips!” or, according to Pliny *Ep.* ii. 3, τὶ δέ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου ἤκούσατε;

ever spoke *ex tempore*, but carefully selected the times and the subjects of his harangues. In this he offered a striking contrast to his contemporary, Demades, and it was remarked that while the latter often came on the spur of the moment to the assistance of Demosthenes, when he was assailed by an outcry in the Assembly, similar service was never rendered by Demosthenes to Demades. Yet at times Demosthenes delivered

An *ex tempore* success. an impromptu oration with convincing effect<sup>1</sup>.

One such occasion is recorded by Plutarch<sup>2</sup>. A certain sophist, by name Lamachus, had written, in praise of Philip and Alexander, a composition containing a violent attack upon the Thebans and Olynthians. This he proceeded to read to the Greeks assembled at the Olympian festival, when Demosthenes intervening expounded at length the services to Greece of the peoples attacked by Lamachus, and the evils wrought by those who endeavoured to curry favour for themselves with the Macedonian monarchs. So deeply did he move his hearers and so threatening did their cries become, that the sophist slunk terror-stricken away from the assemblage.

The public career of Demosthenes is said by Plutarch to have begun in the year of the outbreak of the Phocian War (355 B.C.). But it was not until some time later that he became

politically prominent. During the four years  
 Early harangues. 355—352 B.C. he not only composed for the law-courts speeches which had a political bearing<sup>3</sup>, but himself addressed to the Assembly the orations *On the Symmories*

<sup>1</sup> He was, moreover, on occasion responsible for a happy repartee. Pytheas, an opponent of Demosthenes and a notorious evil-liver, declared that Demosthenes' reflections "smelt of the lamp." "The lamp," replied Demosthenes, "sees you and me at different work." When Epicles complained that Demosthenes was "always considering," the other retorted that he would be ashamed to advise so great a people without consideration.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Dem.* ix.

<sup>3</sup> *Against Androtion* (355 B.C.), *Against the proposal of Leptines* (354 B.C.), *Against Timocrates* (353 B.C.), *Against Aristocrates* (352 B.C.). Only the speech *Against the proposal of Leptines* was delivered by Demosthenes himself.

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(354 B.C.), *For the Megalopolitans* (353 B.C.), and *For the Liberty of the Rhodians*<sup>1</sup>. It was, however, as the champion of Athens and Greece against the aggression of Macedon under its able but unscrupulous ruler Philip that “he quickly won reputation, and was lifted by his speeches and outspokenness into notoriety, with the result that he excited the admiration of the Greeks and the attentions of the Great King, while Philip regarded him more seriously than he did any other statesman, and even those who hated him admitted that they had to deal with a man of distinction<sup>2</sup>.” It becomes necessary therefore to direct our attention for a time to that new power which arose in the Greek world towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. For with the history of Macedon the career of Demosthenes is inextricably associated.

(ii) *The Uprising of Macedon.*

Stretched along the northern frontier of Thessaly, from Thrace on the east to Illyria in the west, Macedon had played hitherto but little part in the affairs of Greece. At the time of the Persian invasion the Macedonian king, Alexander I, had openly sided with Xerxes, while at the same time he sought to secure his position with the Greeks by furnishing to them advantageous information<sup>3</sup>. During the Peloponnesian war Perdiccas II, who then occupied the Macedonian throne, had entered into relations with both Athenians and Lacedaemonians, but had lent effective aid to neither<sup>4</sup>. His successor, Archelaus, following the example of the tyrants of an earlier age, such as Hiero of Syracuse and Peisistratus of Athens, had

<sup>1</sup> Traditionally assigned to 351 B.C. but almost certainly earlier. For this and the other speeches mentioned *vide* Demosthenes, *Philippics*, ed. Davies (Pitt Press Series), pp. xx-xxi; Butcher, *Demosthenes*, pp. 32-49.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Vit. Dem.* xii.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 173; viii. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. *Ind.* s.v. Περδικκας.

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gathered to his court a number of men skilled in letters and the fine arts. Among these had been Euripides<sup>1</sup> and Agathon the tragedians, Timotheus, well known to us from the gibes of the comic poets as one of the leaders in a new school of music, and the painter Zeuxis. Archelaus had also erected buildings and constructed roads; but despite his efforts Macedonia still remained without the strict confines of the Greek world. The city-state (*πόλις*), that distinguishing mark of Greek

Character of political organization, was replaced in the case of Macedonia by the tribal association (*ἔθνος*); the people were rude and wild, drinking deep and devoting themselves to hunting and fighting; and although their language, as its remains show, was a form of the Greek speech, and the ruling house had had its Greek birthright acknowledged at Olympia, the Macedonians were regarded by the Greeks in general as *βάρβαροι*<sup>2</sup>. Beset by turbulent neighbours—the Illyrians to the west, the Paeonians to the north, the Thracians to the east—disturbed by frequent faction and by the revolt of the tribes subject to her sway, Macedonia seemed little like to develop within the short space of half a century into the mightiest power, not in Greece alone, but in the world. Such

A feeble power. was her weakness that when the Boeotian Pelopidas, in retaliation for Macedonian interference in Thessaly, invaded the country in 368 B.C., he had little difficulty in bringing the Macedonian regent, Ptolemy, step-father of the king, to terms, and carried away with him to Thebes thirty youths of noble birth as hostages for the future good behaviour of Macedonia. One of their number was Philip, brother to the nominal ruler of the country, Perdiccas III.

Three years later Perdiccas succeeded in ridding himself

The maker of Macedon. of Ptolemy by assassination, and in the following year, 364 B.C., Philip returned to Macedon from

<sup>1</sup> His well-known play *The Bacchantes* was composed in Macedonia, and probably inspired by Dionysiac worship there.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ol.* iii. 16 *οὐ βάρβαρος; n.*



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Thebes. He had lived there for four years during a period when, through the political skill and military genius of Epaminondas, Thebes had become the leading power of Greece. It would seem that Philip did not disregard the opportunity thus afforded him; that he had learned well his lessons in statecraft and the art of war events were soon to prove.

In 359 B.C. Perdiccas III fell in battle against the Illyrians, and Philip, a young man of twenty-four, became guardian to the son of the late king, the child Amyntas, and regent of Macedonia. His position was a difficult one. Early difficulties. On the west he was threatened by the Illyrians, on the north by the Paeonians. On the east the Thracians were ready to advocate in arms the claims of a pretender to the throne, while another aspirant, Argaeus, had the active support of the Athenians, who despatched a fleet to his aid. In this early crisis the conduct of Philip was marked by that energy and shrewdness for which he was afterwards to become famous<sup>1</sup>. Gold, a weapon in which he always reposed great confidence<sup>2</sup>, secured immunity, at least for a time, from Paeonians and Thracians. Argaeus was defeated; but to escape, if possible, Athenian resentment, Philip allowed the Athenians who were captured to depart unharmed, and formally renounced all claim to Amphipolis, a mercantile and strategic position of great importance on the River Strymon and a lost possession of Athens which it was earnestly desired to recover<sup>3</sup>. Relieved from the more insistent perils Philip devoted the winter to reconstituting and training his troops; then turning with reorganized forces, first against the Paeonians,

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* i. 12 *et seq.*; ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plut. *Apophthegm. Reg. (Philip. 14)*; Cic. *ad Attic.* i. 16 *neque auctoritate neque gratia pugnat* (sc. Pompeius), *sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere*; Hor. *Od.* iii. 16, 13–15 *diffidit urbium | portas uir Macedo et subruit aemulos | reges muneribus*.

<sup>3</sup> Amphipolis was founded as a colony by Athens in 436 B.C. In 424 B.C. it fell into the hands of Brasidas and was never regained by Athens. Perdiccas III had occupied it with a garrison.

and then against the Illyrians, he secured in both campaigns a signal success.

The natural direction for the expansion of Macedonian power was southwards and eastwards. The Macedonian possession of Chalcidice and its harbours promised control of the Thermaic Gulf and Northern Aegean; the mountain range of Pangaeus to the east of Macedonia offered bounteous store of gold wherewith to pay troops and to ensure diplomatic successes; while in the Thracian Chersonese, commanding the entrance to the Propontis and the Euxine, was to be found a position of which the strategic value was generally recognized and was, in fact, of no less importance in ancient than in modern times. But there were obstacles in the way. The passage eastward across the Strymon was barred by Amphipolis, to which Philip had abandoned his right. The shores of the Thermaic Gulf and Chalcidice were fringed with cities, either autonomous, like Olynthus and her sister towns, or subject to Athens, like Poteidaea. Amphipolis was first attacked. She appealed for aid to Athens, but in vain<sup>1</sup>. To prevent succour being sent Philip had secretly arranged to hand over the city, when in his possession, to the Athenians, on condition that they in return allowed him to capture without interference the town of Pydna on the Thermaic Gulf<sup>2</sup>. Amphipolis fell; Pydna followed suit; but Philip retained both. Knowing that war with Athens must follow he added to his captures the Athenian dependency of Poteidaea, which he bestowed as a gift upon the people of Olynthus. Alarmed by Philip's aggression the Olynthians had sought an alliance with Athens, but owing to the Athenians' secret arrangement with Philip their overtures had been rejected<sup>3</sup>. By his present action Philip effectively pre-

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol.* ii. 6 τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτ' ἀπέρρητον ἐκείνο.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, δτ' Ὀλυνθίους ἀπ' ἡλαυνόν τινας ἐνθένδε βουλομένους ἡμῖν διαλεχθῆναι.

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cluded them from joining hands with the Athenians against him.

Meanwhile the attention of the Athenians had been turned to Euboea, which had been since the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. under the control of Thebes. The ascendancy of Athens was now re-established in the island in a campaign in which Demosthenes volunteered his services as trierarch<sup>1</sup>. But shortly after Philip's successes in the north the city was distracted by the revolt of Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium, important members of the Athenian Confederacy, which, originating in a maritime league with Byzantium, Chalcedon and Rhodes in 390 B.C., had been considerably extended after 378 B.C. and had come eventually to include some 70 cities. The rebels were abetted by Mausolus of Caria, and after two years of warfare Athens was left with weakened resources and compelled to acknowledge their independence. The memory of the Carian tyrant has been perpetuated only by his magnificent sepulchre and the word "mausoleum"; yet in those days men seem to have looked to the east with at least as much alarm as to the north.

The tone of Demosthenes' references to Philip in his earlier speeches betrays no grave apprehension of that monarch's growing power. In the speech *Against the proposal of Leptines* (354 B.C.) mention is made of the capture of Pydna and Poteidaea<sup>2</sup>; in that *On the Symmories* (354 B.C.) the passages which allude to the enemies with whom Athens is confronted may refer to Philip, although it is far from certain that they do so<sup>3</sup>. In the speech *For the liberty of the Rhodians* there is a passing warning against treating Philip as beneath contempt; but there is no grave

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* i. 8; *de Cor.* 99 σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εἰβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε... ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τριηράρχων τότε πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἰς ἦν ἐγώ.

<sup>2</sup> § 61.

<sup>3</sup> § 11 τί τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἐχθροὺς ἔχοντες ἑτέροις ζητοῦμεν; § 41, παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς κελεύω.

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insistence upon the admonition<sup>1</sup>. In the speech *Against Aristocrates* (352 B.C.) the name of the Macedonian king is mentioned more frequently and with a greater seriousness<sup>2</sup>. This oration was delivered against a proposal made in favour of Charidemus whereby the person of that leader of mercenaries was rendered less liable to attack. Charidemus was brother-in-law to the Thracian Cersobleptes, and the proposal seems to have been designed to secure the support of that chief against Macedonia<sup>3</sup>. Such had been the course of events that it might well suggest to thinking men what a formidable power Philip had by now become.

Under the influence of Thessaly and Thebes the members of the Delphian Amphictyony had condemned the Phocians to pay a heavy fine as indemnity for a sacrilege which, it was alleged, they had committed. The Phocians retaliated by seizing Delphi. By means of the treasure accumulated there they readily gathered to their support a large number of mercenary soldiers, and took the field against their foes under the leadership of Philomelus. After vanquishing the Locrians they suffered a severe defeat from the Thebans at Neon (354 B.C.), where Philomelus perished. His successor Onomarchus, however, by his military skill and free-handed use of the wealth at his command, reduced his adversaries to such straits

The "Sacred"  
or "Phocian"  
War,  
356-46 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> ὁρῶ δ' ὑμῶν ἐνίοις Φιλίππου μὲν ὡς ἄρ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου δλιγροῦντας, βασιλεία δ' ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν οἷς ἂν προέληται φοβουμένους.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 107, 111, 116, 121 (ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν νῦν ἡμῖν ἐχθρὸς εἶναι Φίλιππος οὐτοσί). "It is difficult not to read something of contempt in the words ἵστε δήπου Φίλιππον τουτοσί τὸν Μακεδόνα (§ 111)," Butcher, *Demosthenes*, p. 50. But the contempt is of Philip's nationality, not of his power. Cf. *Phil.* i. 10 γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; The same point barbed the inscription below Demosthenes' statue. *Vide infra*, p. xlv. Cf. i. 9 *Μακεδονίας* π.

<sup>3</sup> There appear to have been two parties at Athens, the one seeking to checkmate Philip by making Cersobleptes supreme in the Chersonese, the other believing that Athens' interest lay rather in maintaining a 'balance of power' there. For some account of Charidemus cf. *Ol.* iii. 5 π.

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that the Thessalians turned for assistance to their northern neighbour Philip. He had been engaged in taking Methone, the last of the possessions of Athens on the Thermaic Gulf, and had lost an eye in the attack<sup>1</sup>. Now he at once availed himself of the opportunity of establishing a foothold in Greece. He drove the Phocians out of Thessaly and seized Pagasae<sup>2</sup>; but when Onomarchus himself appeared at the head of an overwhelming army, Philip was compelled in his turn to retire. In the following year (352 B.C.) he reappeared. He had left a Macedonian garrison in Pagasae, and Onomarchus, aided by an Athenian fleet under Chares, was planning to dislodge it. But Philip obtained a complete victory; Onomarchus, with a large number of his followers, perished; his adherents among the Thessalians were forced to fly from their country, in which the Macedonian power now became supreme. Ever ready to press an advantage home Philip moved southward, intending to strike a decisive blow at his Phocian foes in their own land. But his advance had aroused the fears of the Greeks. Reinforced by allies from Sparta, Achaea and Athens, and supported by an Athenian fleet, the Phocians barred his way at Thermopylae. Philip recognized that the time was not yet ripe for him and withdrew. Six years were to pass before the success now denied him was to be achieved.

(iii) *From the First Philippic to the Peace.*

Meanwhile he turned his attention to Thrace, where he laid siege to Heraeum Teichus<sup>3</sup>, the capital of Cersobleptes, and soon reduced that chieftain to submission. The alarm which Philip's advance to Thermopylae had created at Athens was intensified by the menace of his presence in the neighbourhood of the Chersonese.

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* i. 9. Cf. *de Cor.* 67 ἐώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον... ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol.* i. 9 n.

<sup>3</sup> *Ol.* iii. 4 n.

The situation afforded Demosthenes his opportunity. He had had already a considerable experience of public life and its activities; study and practice had confirmed and established his natural talent for oratory. He now came forward as a political leader, the advocate of a policy the keynote of which was opposition to Philip and the restoration to Athens of her old imperial position<sup>1</sup>. It is easy, with the issue of events

The Demos-  
thenic policy  
and others.

before us, to condemn such a policy as "short-sighted"; to declare it foredoomed to failure by the hopeless degeneracy of the Athenians of the fourth century B.C.; and to observe that "Demosthenes' orations could not change the character of his countrymen." It was, at least, an effort worth making. It was a more inspiring course than that pursued by Eubulus and his friends<sup>2</sup>, who, resigned to the extinction of Athens as a power in the Greek world, devoted their energies to the improvement of the condition of the city and the provision of amusement for its citizens. It was as practicable a course as that advocated by Isocrates, now in his eighty-fifth year, who believed that the Greek states might find a cure for their rivalries, if they should unite to satisfy their several desires for aggrandisement at the expense of the barbarians<sup>3</sup>. As Cicero looked back with admiration and regret to the days of the Scipios<sup>4</sup>, so Demosthenes was animated by the ideal of Athens as she existed in the days of Pericles<sup>5</sup>. He saw, as clearly as we see now, that the attainment of that ideal involved a fundamental change in the character of his con-

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* iii. 36 μὴ παραχωρεῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol.* iii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Isoc. *Phil.* 9 ἠθρισκον οὐδαμῶς ἄν ἄλλως αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν) ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσαν, πλὴν εἰ δόξειε ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς μεγίσταις διαλυσαμένας τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεργεῖν καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἃς νῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦσιν αὐταῖς γίγνεσθαι, ταύτας εἰ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι βουλευθεῖεν.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tyrrell, *Cicero in his Letters*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Ol.* iii. 21-6.

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temporaries<sup>1</sup>. But he had courage enough not to despair of being able to effect such a change.

The speech which marks Demosthenes' advance into the position of a leading politician is known as the *The First First Philippic*<sup>2</sup>. The orator begins with an *Philippic* apology for addressing the Assembly before the recognized leaders of public opinion have expressed their views. His hearers, he declares, may be encouraged, not only by the fact of Athens' inaction in the past, but also by the history<sup>3</sup> of her struggle with Sparta<sup>4</sup>, to hope that when action *is* taken against Philip, success will speedily follow. And surely the time for action has arrived. Even if fortune, "always more solicitous for us than we are for ourselves<sup>5</sup>," were to add to her past favours a fatal termination of Philip's present illness, the Athenians, "with their schemes and preparations far away<sup>6</sup>," would be unable even to accept what opportunity had offered to them. A definite proposition follows. The city should aim at a force of 50 triremes and a sufficient number of transports for half the knights. As a preliminary measure (*πρὸ δὲ τούτων*) Demosthenes urges the provision of a force of 2000 men (1500 mercenaries and 500 citizens, these latter serving in rotation for a short period); 10 swift triremes; and 200 cavalry with a suitable fleet of transports. He adds his reasons for not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (*inter al.*) *Ol.* ii. 13 πολλὴν δὲ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ μεγάλην δεκτέον τὴν μεταβολήν.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic. *ad Atticum*, ii. 1 quod in eis orationibus, quae Philippicae nominantur, enituerat cuius ille tuus (sc. Demosthenes). The speech is usually assigned to 351 B.C., but should perhaps be placed rather in 349 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> A characteristic touch. Demosthenes found inspiration in the past. His favourite reading is said to have been the history of Thucydides, which he is declared by Lucian (*aduersus Indoctum* 4) to have copied out no less than eight times. Cf. *Ol.* iii. 23 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν ἄλλ' οἰκείοις, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is not to the Peloponnesian War (431–04 B.C.) but to conflicts in the fourth century B.C., the so-called "Boeotian" War in 378 B.C., or, possibly, the "Corinthian" War in 395 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, § 12.

<sup>6</sup> ἀπηρημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις, § 12.

embarking upon a more ambitious scheme and for insisting upon the presence of citizens among the troops; as well as a financial statement<sup>1</sup> showing how the expenses involved in his scheme might be discharged. The establishment of a standing force would enable Athens to seize opportunities for striking at Philip; would afford protection to commerce; and would prevent the success of those sudden expeditions which had

**A call to** already brought so much profit to their enemy.  
**action.** The speech concludes with an urgent appeal for organized action and personal service in the field<sup>2</sup> in place of the fault-finding and the tittle-tattle with which the Athenians concerned themselves. Throughout there is a grave enough apprehension of the peril; warning is not neglected; but the spirit of hope predominates and “the effect of the whole is to stimulate, not to benumb<sup>3</sup>.”

The speech however failed. In Thrace Philip had fallen sick<sup>4</sup> and the Athenians perhaps hoped that a recurrence of the disease would rid them of their troublesome foe. But the Macedonian king's recovery had proved permanent, and he had soon engaged in fresh schemes of conquest. Olynthus and her confederate cities still remained to interfere with his complete control of the region of Chalcidice. The Olynthians had made their peace with Athens by recognizing her claim to Amphipolis, and had afforded shelter to Philip's half-brother who aspired to the Macedonian throne. Now Philip's demand that this pretender should be given up to him was met by a refusal. War followed, and Philip advanced against the Chalcidic cities. In most of these he was well served by his adherents and the gates were opened at his approach. Where resistance was offered, as at Aristotle's native city of Stagira, Philip gained an entrance by force.

As the danger of destruction approached nearer and nearer,

<sup>1</sup> This statement was comprised in a separate document, read to the Assembly, but not embodied in the speech.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ol.* i. 2 τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμῶν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστὶν π. Index B, s. vv. αὐτός, ξένοι.

<sup>3</sup> Butcher, *Demosthenes*, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ol.* i. 13.



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the citizens of Olynthus appealed for help to Athens. There was a general disposition to assist, and Demosthenes employed all the force of his eloquence to secure the despatch of a supporting expedition. The three speeches which he delivered in the course of the debates on the question have received the title of the *Olynthiac Orations*<sup>1</sup>. The spirit of the *First Philippic* reveals itself again in these harangues in unabated vigour; encouragement and admonition are adroitly intermingled; and the orator earnestly implores his countrymen not to suffer this heaven-sent opportunity to escape them<sup>2</sup>. It was indeed a favourable moment for striking at Macedon. Cersobleptes had rebelled. Olynthus was a powerful ally. Athens sent to her assistance bodies of mercenary troops under Chares and Charidemus<sup>3</sup>. But Philip's statesmanship was equal to the occasion. Through his agents he had fomented faction in Euboea with the result that in the cities of that island, Eretria, Chalcis and Oreus, civil strife broke out, and those who favoured Athens were expelled<sup>4</sup>. Now at a critical moment Euboean affairs seem to have distracted the thoughts of the Athenians from events in the north. Demosthenes protested in vain. When finally it was decided to send further help to Olynthus and a force of two thousand citizens was despatched, the doom of those whom they came to aid was already sealed. Aided by treachery which delivered into his hands the Olynthian cavalry<sup>5</sup> Philip had captured the city, to which he meted out a severe punishment. Many of its citizens were enslaved; its buildings were destroyed; seven years later, we are assured, it was difficult to recognize even its site<sup>6</sup>.

The  
*Olynthiac*  
*Speeches.*

Faction in  
Euboea.

Olynthus  
destroyed,  
348 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The detailed succession of events is uncertain, as is the precise order in which the three speeches were delivered. *Vide* Appendix A. An analysis of the contents of the speeches is given pp. xlvii-l.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν (ii. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supr.* p. xx.

<sup>4</sup> *Phil.* iii. 57 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Phil.* iii. 56. Cf. *Juv.* xii. 47 callidus emptor Olynthi.

<sup>6</sup> *Phil.* iii. 26 ἀπάσας (sc. τὰς πόλεις) οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρκεεν ὥστε μηδ' εἰ πάποτ' ᾤκήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι βῆδιον εἰπεῖν.

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Demosthenes must have been sorely tried by his inability to arouse the Athenians to effective action. To add to his misfortune he had suffered a personal affront which clearly excited in him strong feelings of anger and resentment. In the theatre, on the occasion of the great festival of Dionysus in 348 B.C., at which Demosthenes was acting as choregus for his tribe, one of his enemies, a wealthy and objectionable man named Meidias, struck the orator a blow. Owing to the position held by Demosthenes, and the time and place at which the blow was dealt him, the act was capable of being construed as impiety (*ἀσεβεία*) rather than simple outrage (*ἕβρις*). It is plain from the language which Demosthenes uses that he was deeply moved by the insult; but Plutarch tells us that in the end he compromised the action for thirty minae<sup>1</sup> owing to the strong position in which wealth and powerful friends had placed his adversary.

The Speech  
*Against*  
*Meidias*,  
347 B.C.

The capture and destruction of Olynthus created, for a time at least, a deep impression on the minds of the Athenians, and in order to consolidate the forces of Greece against Philip overtures were made to the cities of the Peloponnese. A speaker who emerged into prominence in connection with these embassies was Aeschines, Demosthenes' future rival, whose attitude towards Philip at this period was one of pronounced hostility.

Embassies  
to Pelopon-  
nese.

Meanwhile the Sacred War<sup>2</sup> was being waged against Phocis by the Thebans and Thessalians, who unable to bring the conflict to a satisfactory conclusion sought assistance again from Philip as they had done six years before. Now, as then, Philip readily acceded to their request, while the Phocians on their side appealed to Sparta and Athens for help against their enemies. In response to the call addressed to them both Sparta and Athens sent troops to Thermopylae which was in

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. Dem.* xii. The same statement is made by Aeschines (*Against Ctesiphon*, 52) and is not contradicted by Demosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> *Supr.* p. xx.

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the hands of the Phocian leader, Phalaecus. But the situation was complicated by faction amongst the Phocians themselves. Phalaecus was at variance with the party which had sent the appeal to Sparta and Athens; he had perhaps even been intriguing with the enemies of the latter city in Euboea; and he now refused to allow either Athenians or Spartans to enter the pass. A policy of active resistance to Philip thus became fraught with the gravest possible consequences to Athens. If Phalaecus and his mercenaries were to make terms with Philip, the city might be confronted by an overwhelming force within the borders of Attica itself. Philip, on the other hand, was not unready to come to terms. It was to his present interest to reduce, so far as he might, the resistance to his progress into central Greece.

On the proposition of Philocrates, from whom the peace which followed has taken its name, an embassy, including among its members both Demosthenes and Aeschines, was despatched to Philip in 347 B.C. The terms which were arranged amounted to a recognition by both parties of the *status quo* at the time of the final ratification of the peace. Philip however stipulated that he should be allowed to deal as he wished with the Phocians and with Halus in Thessaly. To these proposals the Athenian Assembly agreed. There was some reluctance about accepting an arrangement which did not definitely secure the safety of the Phocians; but Philip through his agents had given vogue to the opinion that he was not in truth ill-disposed toward Phocis, but would rather reduce the power of Thebes, a city towards which the Athenians in general entertained no very friendly feelings. A second embassy now left Athens for Pella for the purpose of securing Philip's sworn adherence to the treaty. This they only succeeded in obtaining after a considerable delay. For Philip had employed himself during the interval in making additions to his Thracian conquests, which under the terms arranged thus remained in his hands.

Phocian  
quarrels;  
Athens' diffi-  
cult position.

1st Embassy  
to Philip,  
347 B.C. (late).

2nd Embassy,  
346 B.C.  
(spring).

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After returning to Pella and taking the oath required from him the Macedonian king advanced southward into Thessaly. A peace was arranged with Halus and he proceeded on his way against Phocis. Phalaecus surrendered the pass of Thermopylae into his hands on condition that he himself and his troops were allowed to depart unmolested. The Athenian Assembly passed a decree summoning the Phocians to place the sanctuary of Delphi in the hands of the Amphictyons, on whose behalf Philip was avowedly acting. Thus betrayed by their military leader and deserted by Athens the Phocians were

**The ruin of Phocis.** left to the mercy of their ancient enemies, the Thessalians and Thebans, who possessed a pre-

dominant influence in the Council of the Amphictyons. That body decided that all the Phocian cities, with the exception of Abae, should be broken up into village communities; the sacred treasure which the Phocians had used was to be repaid at the rate of 60 talents a year; and the place formerly held by Phocis in the Amphictyonic League was assigned to Macedonia. Philip was elected President of the League and in that capacity celebrated the Pythian Games of 346 B.C. Athens marked her

**Anger at Athens.** displeasure by refusing to send representatives to the festival. The fate of the Phocians, whom she had been led to believe Philip would treat with consideration, had filled her with resentment and alarm. There was talk of war; but Demosthenes dissuaded his countrymen from

**The Speech On the Peace.** so rash a project in his speech *On the Peace*. It has been said of Demosthenes that “he was

prone to lose sight of military necessities in his zeal for attaining some cherished political end.” On this occasion, at least, he did not allow the bitterness of his hostility to Philip to blind him to the exigence of the situation<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes recognizes the present weakness of Athens (πολλὰ γὰρ προείμεθα, ὡν ὑπαρχόντων τότε' ἀν ἧ νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥάων ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, § 13) and the combination against her (ὅπως μὴ προαζόμεθ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινῶς πολέμου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, § 14).

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(iv) *From the Peace to Chaeroneia.*

Thus peace was formally maintained, although neither the temper of the Athenians nor the restless energy of Philip<sup>1</sup> was favourable to its long continuance. The Macedonian king employed himself in consolidating his position in Thessaly and in seeking to extend his influence into the Peloponnese. From Sparta, rigid and conservative as she was, he had little to hope. He turned naturally to those states which were jealous of Lacedaemonian power, and concluded arrangements with Messenia, Megalopolis, Argos and Elis. Demosthenes viewed this development with alarm. He saw that his city might be confronted with foes from the south as well as from the north, and induced the Athenians to despatch embassies to the cities of the Peloponnese in order to counteract the efforts of the agents of Macedon. He himself undertook the rôle of ambassador, and so successful was he that Philip was moved to send representatives to Athens asserting his peaceful intentions and protesting against what he declared to be a misconstruction of his actions. It was on the occasion of this Macedonian embassy's arrival and protest that Demosthenes delivered the short harangue known as the *Second Philippic*. In characteristic fashion he invites his audience to consider the fate of other peoples, such as the Olynthians and Thessalians<sup>2</sup>, to whom Philip had come with fair words and gracious benefactions; and he draws from their history the lesson that "the nature of the wise possesses within itself one universal safeguard, which ensures safety and well-being to all, and especially to democracies in their dealings with tyrants." This safeguard is "Mistrust." "Treasure it, cling to it," he adjures the

Philip active  
in the Peloponnese.The *Second Philippic*,  
343 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ἣ χρῆται καὶ συζῆ Φίλιππος, ὃφ' ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. *Ol. i. 14.*

<sup>2</sup> For the Olynthians cf. *supr.* pp. xviii, xxv. For the Thessalians he expelled their tyrants; gave them Magnesia and Nicaea; and restored to them their Amphictyonic Presidency. But he reconstituted the government and appropriated the revenues. Cf. *Ol. i. 22.*

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Athenians; “if you keep it intact, no harm will ever befall you<sup>1</sup>.”

Not only in the Peloponnesus but nearer to Attica Macedoniaian intrigue was busy. An attempt to overthrow the government in Megara failed, with the result that that city took its stand with Athens. In Euboea however oligarchies favourable to Philip were set up in Eretria and Oreus; but in Chalcis the democratic *régime* maintained its position, which was further secured by an Athenian alliance. Unsuccessful on the whole upon the east Philip turned his attention to the west. In Epirus his wife’s brother, Alexander, was disputing the throne with her uncle, Arybbas. Philip now went to his aid, established him in his sovereignty, and extended his dominion to the northern frontiers of Ambracia. Perhaps he meant to penetrate southward to the Corinthian Gulf, where the possession of Naupactus would have afforded him a way of crossing into the Peloponnese. But his presence in those regions alarmed the peoples of the west. Corcyra, Ambracia, Acarnania and Achaëa united themselves with Athens. Philip refrained from advancing further and betook himself to Thrace, where the course of events had made his presence advisable.

At Athens the party hostile to Macedon was now in the ascendancy. The peace of 346 B.C. was more unpopular than ever, and Philocrates, who was regarded as chiefly responsible for it, was impeached for treason. His accuser was Hypereides, a supporter of Demosthenes. So little hope had Philocrates of acquittal that he fled from the city without standing his trial and in his absence was condemned to death. Demosthenes himself revived against Aeschines a charge of misconduct in connection with the second embassy to Philip<sup>2</sup>. This charge he had brought three years before; but his opponent had then countered the attack by assailing Timarchus, a friend of Demosthenes associated with him in the prosecution, for disreputable debauchery. Now however the

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.* ii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Supr.* p. xxvii.