- 1) Aischines 3.49-50: Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι· "καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀναγορεύειν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῷ πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ... ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῷ" .... δικαίως δή που τὴν γραφὴν ἀλώσεται Κτησιφῶν· ἄπαντες γὰρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μηδένα ψευδῆ ἐγγράφειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ψηφίσμασι. (Cf. Dem. 18. 56–9) out-of-pocket, §17: Λέξει γὰρ οὖτος· "τειχοποιός εἰμι ... ἐπιδέδωκα τῆ πόλει μνᾶς ἑκατόν."
- 2) Aischines forced the issue, finally following through with his original suit: G.L. Cawkwell, (1969), "The Crowning of Demosthenes,"  $CQ^2$  19: 163–80; followed, e.g., by Ian Worthington *Demosthenes of Athens and the Fall of Classical Greece* (New York), 294–5.
- Demosthenes will be crowned, if Ktesiphon is acquitted: A. Schaeffer (1887), *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, vol. 3 [Leipzig] 1887: 225–7; cf. H. Wankel (1976), *Demosthenes Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz*, [Heidelberg], 18–25; H. Yunis (2001), *Demosthenes <u>On the Crown</u>* [Cambridge], 7–12.
- 3) Aischines 3.25-6: ... οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι ἦρχον μέν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι, τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφέως ἀρχήν, ἦρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν καὶ νεωρίων ἀρχήν, καὶ σκευοθήκην ἀκοδόμουν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοί, καὶ σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως. ...ὁ μὲν νομοθέτης, ἐάν τις μιᾶς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐλαχίστης ὑπεύθυνος ἦ, τοῦτον οὐκ ἐᾳ, πρὶν ἂν λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας δῷ, στεφανοῦν, ὁ δὲ Κτησιφῶν Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἁπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἄρχοντα οὐκ ἄκνησε γράψαι στεφανῶσαι.

...those elected to manage the Theoric fund, before Hegemon's law was enacted, controlled the comptroller's office and the 'receivers' (apodektai); they oversaw the shipyards and built up the armories, they were road-builders and maintained nearly the whole financial administration of the city. ... The lawgiver prohibited crowning anyone accountable for any one office, (even) the least important, before his accounting. But Ktesiphon did not hesitate to propose crowning Demosthenes when he was in charge of all the offices at Athens altogether.

- 4) Plutarch (Dem. 24.2–3)... the judges so emphatically rejected Aischines' case "that he did not receive one-fifth of the ballots; and so he immediately departed from the city." τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄχετ' ἀπιὼν.
- 5) Theophrastos fr.636C Fortenbaugh (~ Lex. Cant. sv πρόστιμον): ἔκειτο τῷ μὴ μεταλαβόντι τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὡς Θεόφραστος ἐν πέμπτω Περὶ Νόμων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν ἐζημιοῦντο χιλίαις καὶ πρόσεστί τις ἀτιμία, ὅστε μὴ ἐζεῖναι μήτε γράψασθαι παρανόμων μήτε φαίνειν μήτε ἐφηγεῖσθαι [AA is barred from whichever procedure he abused]· ἐὰν δέ τις γραψάμενος μὴ ἐπεξέλθῃ, ὁμοίως· περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, ἐάν τις μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, οἱ δικασταὶ τιμῶσιν. Cf. D.M. MacDowell Demosthenes (1993), 207–8.
- 6) ps.-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* (840 C–D): failing to win one-fifth of the votes, Aischines fled to Rhodes, "refusing to pay the thousand drachmas charged to his defeat." ... "But other sources say, an additional penalty of *atimia* was assessed and he left the city against his will." οἱ δ' ἀτιμίας αὐτῷ προστιμηθῆναι λέγουσιν οὐ θέλοντι ἐξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως.
- 7) Vita Aeschinis 3 (Ἀπολλωνίου): καὶ ὁρίσαντος τὸ πρόστιμον ἐὰν μὴ δείξῃ αὐτὸ παράνομον καὶ ἡττηθέντος καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καταβαλεῖν τὴν καταδίκην, **ἢν αὐτὸς ἄρισε,** φυγῆ χρησαμένου. The biographer cites a work "On the Crown," ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ἔγνωμεν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου.

Photios (cod. 61, p. 20a [Bekker] lines 20–3): καὶ ὁρίσας τὸ πρόστιμον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, ἐὰν μὴ δείξη παράνομον, μὴ δείξας ὡς ὑπέσχετο ἐξέπεσε τῆς πατρίδος.

8) Aischines 3.3-4: γράφουσί τε τινὲς ῥαδίως παρανόμους γνώμας, καὶ ταῦτα ἕτεροί τινες τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐπιψηφίζουσιν, οὐκ έκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου λαγόντες προεδρεύειν, άλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς καθεζόμενοι, ἂν δέ τις τῶν άλλων βουλευτών όντως λάχη κληρούμενος προεδρεύειν, καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χειροτονίας ὀρθῶς ἀναγορεύη, τοῦτον οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκέτι κοινήν, ἀλλ' ήδη ίδίαν αύτῶν ἡγούμενοι, ἀπειλοῦσιν εἰσαγγελεῖν, καταδουλούμενοι τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ δυναστείας έαυτοῖς περιποιούμενοι, (4) καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν έκ τῶν νόμων καταλελύκασι, τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μετ'όργῆς κρίνουσιν, ... [§5] εν ύπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, .., αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας καταλύσετε ἢ τοῖς καταλύουσιν έπιτρέψετε, προλέγω ύμιν ότι λήσετε κατά μικρόν τῆς

... some men readily author unlawful proposals, and these measures are put to a vote by others, as presiders, who were not allotted that office rightfully but whose seating was rigged. And if one among the other councilmen, who was really allotted the presidency, tried to announce the tally of your votes, those who regard the constitution no longer as common property but their own personal mandate, threaten to impeach him. They make slaves of private citizens and make much of their own autocracy; they have dissolved the decisions that laws prescribe and decide in anger cases (set) by decree ... (5) There is one piece left ... and if you dissolve even these remedies—or give license to those who are busily undoing them—then, I tell you, little by little you will forfeit the constitution without even realizing it.

9) Aischines 3. 193: "Ήδη δ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν Δημοσθένους αἰσχρὸν ἔθος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παραδέχεσθε. Μετενήνεκται γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος ἀπολογεῖται, ὁ δὲ φεύγων τὴν γραφὴν κατηγορεῖ, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐνίοτε ὧν μέν εἰσι κριταὶ ἐπιλανθάνονται, ὧν δ' οὐκ εἰσὶ δικασταί, περὶ τούτων ἀναγκάζονται τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν· λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων, ὰν ἄρα ποθ' ἄψηται τοῦ πράγματος, οὐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραφεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν

πολιτείας τισὶ παραγωρήσαντες

(197-8) Εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσίη γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἐγχεῖται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατη γόρῳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῆ δημοκρατία, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῆ πρώτη ψήφῳ \*μὴ λυθῆ τὸ παράνομον, ἤδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῆ τιμήσει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας. (198) Ὅστις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῆ τιμήσει τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ὑμετέραν παραιτεῖται· ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ,

And now, by the artfulness of Demosthenes, you are taking up a shameful practice in court. For the city's justice proceedings are turned around: the prosecutor becomes defendant and the defendant prosecutes; and sometimes the judges forget what they are judges of, compelled to cast their ballot on claims they were not called to decide. So the defendant says—if he ever deigns to deal with the matter—not that his decree is lawful but that, for some time now, another fellow has authored such measures and got away with it. ...

Whenever a suit for unlawful acts comes to court, the day is divided into three parts: first ... for the accuser, for the laws and democracy; second, for the defendant in the case and those who speak for that cause; when the *paranomon* is not undone (?) the third water(jar) is poured for the sentencing (to assess) the magnitude of your anger. Whoever asks for your vote at the sentencing is trying to sway your anger. But one who pleads (in this way) in the first speech is begging (you to forfeit) your oath, your law, and your democracy ....
\* μὴ λυθῆ τὸ παράνομον: μὴ del. Franke (1851)

10) Dem. 18. 13: "one must not be deprived of his right to address the assembly and have his say, not even to do so with calculated malice and resentment [as Aischines does]. No, by the gods, it isn't right .... But for the wrongs he saw me doing to the city [that] he goes on about in tragic style, (he was obliged) to use the remedies provided by law, to bring an impeachment ... or a suit for paranoma." §§82–3 Demosthenes seems to suppose that a serious liablity looms over Aischines: A claims that I [Demosthenes] "keep quiet when I've gotten something and shout (for more) when I've spent it. But not you [Aischines] who shout when you've gotten (paid) and won't ever stop, unless these (judges) stop you today with atimia." παύσει δ' οὐδέποτ' ἐὰν μή σ' οὖτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.