

Demosthenes' *Against Leptines* offers an extraordinary, rhetorically robust *entrée* into the discourses of honor in fourth-century Athens. Despite its remarkable assemblage of honorands and honor vocabulary, this speech has been largely overlooked in recent studies of Athenian honor, a result of their emphasis on the sexual and confrontational aspects of personal honor (e.g., Cohen [1991], [1995]; Herman [2006]). Here, through a close reading of Demosthenes' rhetoric and argumentation, I unpack his rousing defense of Athens' elaborate 'economy of honors' and consider its implications for our understanding both of Athenian honor more broadly, and of contemporary discourses more specifically.

Classical Athens' economic reliance on the *philotimia* of both citizens and non-citizens has been widely acknowledged, especially with regards to liturgical services (e.g., Whitehead [1983], Wilson [2000]). The crisis years of the early 350s, marked by the disastrous Social War and erosion of Athenian resources, sparked vigorous debate about the existent economy of honors and its supposed advantages for the *polis*. Within such a context Leptines' motivations for abolishing *ateleia* become understandable, since, at a time when Athens and her citizens were exhausted financially, the revocation of immunities ensured that every available economic resource could be drawn on by the *polis*. Demosthenes, although faced with the same, dreary economic scenario, argues that, with a proper valuation of honor, it is Leptines' legislation, rather than the state's grants of *ateleia*, that ought to be rescinded.

His arguments, conditioned throughout by Leptines' assertion that the bestowal of honors was fiscally unsound, and by the democratic sympathies of the *dikasterion*, converge from several directions. First, through descriptions of *euergetai* such as Leukon of Bosporus, Demosthenes argues that the rewards (in services, monies, and in kind) received by Athens in exchange for her honors far outweigh any revenues that might be gained otherwise. Second, in a rhetorical turn that is foundational to subsequent argumentation, he insists that the revocation of *ateleia* cannot be isolated, since, through its tarnishing of Athens' honor and credit, it undermines the entire economy of honors. Third, Demosthenes draws out the consequences of this link between civic honor and credit. The maintenance of her honor (and the economy of honors) is ultimately necessary as the means of ensuring that Athens continues to engage with and receive assistance from numerous sources and, moreover, that the more mercenary aspects of these exchanges are concealed beneath the gilt of honor, and thereby rendered honorable, and not shameful, for Athens. As these arguments together suggest, instantiated honors are inextricably tied to honor, both individual and corporate: the bestowal of honors is mediated by the respective honor of each party and, when we consider honor at Athens, each of these diverse registers and types must be integrated.

I conclude by briefly situating the *Against Leptines* and several contemporary texts (Xenophon's *Poroi*, Isocrates' *De Pace* and *Areopagiticus*) within the extended Athenian debate on honors in the mid-350s. The *Against Leptines* should ultimately be read not as a forensic artifact of the Social War's disturbances, but rather as a contribution to broader societal discourses - in the wake of Mantinea, the loss of *archê*, and the rise of Macedon - about the preservation of Athens and her characteristic democracy. Demosthenes, with extraordinary prescience, here anticipates the subsequent, early Hellenistic developments of his lifetime, not least the full-blown euergetism described by Veyne.