

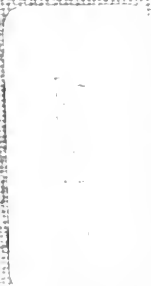
ANDOCIDES

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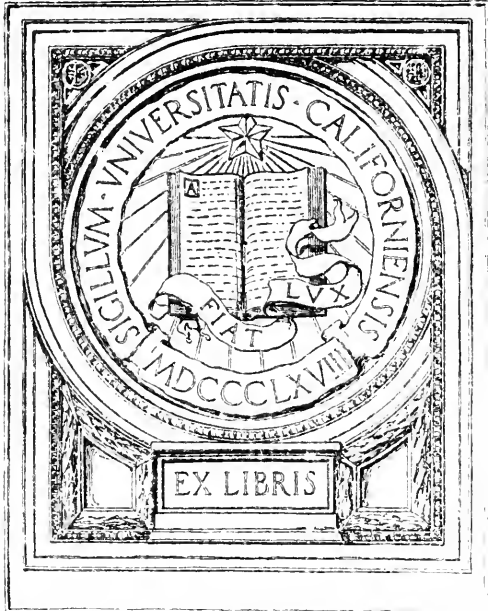


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DE MYSTERIIS



GIFT OF
JANE K. SATHER



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1896

THE ORATION
DE MYSTERIIS
OF
ANDOCIDES

TRANSLATED BY A COMMITTEE

OF THE

PHILOMATHEAN SOCIETY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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1896

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TRANSLATION OF THE "DE MYSTERIIS."

Almost all of you, gentlemen of the jury, know the 1
number of my enemies and their eagerness to do me evil
in every possible manner, ever since I came to this city; so
nothing more need be said in regard to this matter. But,
gentlemen, I intend to request of you favors which are
just and easy for you to grant and which, moreover, are
of the greatest importance for me to obtain from you.
For consider well the fact that I am present in this court 2
without having been forced here by anyone, nor with
bailsmen at my service, nor in chains; but I have come
trusting, first in justice and then in you, that you will
render a fair verdict, and will not allow me to be put to
death by my enemies, but on the contrary that you will
protect me to the fullest extent allowed you by the laws
and the oaths you have taken, when you are debating
how to cast your votes. You will naturally think of 3
those who voluntarily cast themselves into danger the
same that they think of themselves. Likewise your
opinion of the men who were unwilling to remain in the
city after having convicted themselves of crime will agree
with their own estimates of themselves. And even so in

regard to those who are now in the city relying upon their innocence, for your opinion of them should agree with their own and you should not take it for granted at first that they have committed a wrong.

⁴ For example, I learned from the accounts of many that my foes said I would not be likely to stay in the city, but would run away. "Why," said they, "will Andocides await trial and danger here when he can go to Cyprus and there enjoy the wealth and security freely offered to him? Can he be willing to run such risks to his person? What does he expect? Is he not aware of the wretched condition of our State?" But, gentlemen,
⁵ I am of a very different opinion. I would not accept all the wealth in the world upon condition that I should be deprived of my country; and even were the latter in such a plight as my enemies allege, far rather would I be a citizen of it than of any other, prosperous as they seem at present. With this in mind I leave it to you to pass judgment upon me.

⁶ Therefore I beg of you, gentlemen of the jury, to show more favor to me than to my accusers, since I am making my defence; for even if you listen to both sides impartially, it is unavoidable that the defendant is placed at a disadvantage. These men, who have plotted and devised their charges for a long time without placing themselves in the slightest risk, have brought forward their accusation; but I, in the face of fear, danger and the most merciless calumny, must defend myself.

On this account it is proper that you should direct your good-will to me rather than to my prosecutors. The following fact must be well considered by you—that in the past many men have preferred charges of such an outrageous character and have been so clearly convicted of perjury that you would much more willingly have inflicted punishment upon the accusers than upon the accused. In other cases those who have borne false witness and caused men to be put to death unlawfully, have been proved liars to you at a time when it was too late to be of any avail to the sufferers. Since so many cases of this kind have happened, you cannot reasonably give credence to the words of my foes. Whether their accusations are terrible or not you can tell from their statements; but you cannot possibly decide whether or not their charges are well-founded until you shall have heard my defence.

I am considering, gentlemen, where I shall begin; whether I shall open with a discussion of the last words of my accusers, showing that they have laid information against me illegally, or with the decree of Isotimides, proving that it is not in force, or with the oaths which have been sworn, or with a statement of everything that took place from the beginning. But I shall tell you the reason why I am especially at a loss: You are not all equally incensed by the several charges in the indictment, but each of you may have in mind something to which he wishes me to answer first, and I am unable to speak of everything at the same time. Therefore, I think it

best for me to show what happened from the first and to omit nothing; for if you understand clearly what has been done, you will easily perceive how my accusers have lied about me.

⁹ I know that you will recognize what is just and that you will render a fair decision, you in whom I now trust, confident that you consider it of the greatest importance to vote according to your oaths, both in private and in public cases. This sentiment alone binds together our state and makes it homogeneous, notwithstanding the opposition of those who are indisposed to have it so. So this I ask of you—that you will patiently listen to my defence and that you will not become unjustly suspicious of me nor quibble over my words, but that you will hear me to the end, and then—not till then—form a decision which shall seem to you fairest and most consistent with your oaths.

¹⁰ As I have said before, I shall make my defence from the beginning of the affair, first explaining the charge itself, whence the information came on account of which I am brought to trial; secondly, showing that I have neither committed any impiety in regard to the Mysteries, nor given information, nor made a confession; and I do not know whether those who preferred the charges made false revelations or not. These assertions I shall clearly prove.

¹¹ There was held a meeting of the generals, Nicias, Lamachus and Alcibiades, previous to their departure for

Sicily, and the trireme of Lamachus rode at anchor outside the port. When the assembly came to order, Pythonicus, the Athenian, rose and said: "Athenians, you are about to dispatch a large force and to incur great danger at a moment when I am prepared to show you that your general, Alcibiades and others have profaned the Sacred Mysteries in a private house. If you will pass a vote of immunity from punishment for the person whom I shall call, I shall produce before you a slave belonging to a man present at the time, who, although he is not initiated into the Mysteries himself, will tell you what happened. You may deal with me in any manner you please, shall my statements prove false."

Although Alcibiades strenuously denied the charge, ¹² the council thought it best to order the uninitiated to withdraw and to go in person for the slave mentioned by Pythonicus. So they went out and returned with a slave of Polemarchus, named Andromachus. When they had promised him free pardon, he said that the Mysteries were performed in the house of Pultion, that Alcibiades, Nicias and Meletus witnessed the profanation and even took part themselves, and that there were some slaves present, himself, his brother, Icesius, the flute player and a slave of Meletus. This slave was the first to testify ¹³ about the affair and to denounce the criminals, some of whom were captured by Polystratus and put to death, while others took refuge in flight and were condemned by you.

The following men were denounced by Andromachus:—Alcibiades, Nicias, Meletus, Archebiades, Archippus, Diogenes, Polystratus, Aristomenes, Oeonias and Panætius.

14 This, gentlemen, was the first information, laid by Andromachus against these men. Please call Diogenes as a witness.

“Were you a Commissioner of Inquiry, Diogenes, when Pythonicus brought the charge in the assembly against Alcibiades?” “I was.” “Do you know this Andromachus, who told about the performance which took place in Pulition’s house?” “I do.” “Are these the names of the men against whom he informed?” “They are.”

15 But another source of information has arisen. A foreigner, Teucer, who was living here, fled to Megara and from there made the following offer to the Senate:—If they would promise him pardon, he would give an account of the Profanation of the Mysteries, since he himself had been a participant; he would reveal the names of the others who had assisted him, and would tell all he knew about the Mutilation of the Hermae. When the Senate had promised him immunity, for it had full power to do so, a number of the members visited him at Megara. Teucer, having returned in safety, informed against his companions, and they fled as soon as he had made his statement. Please read me their names.

Teucer revealed the following men:—Phædrus, Gniphonides, Isonomus, Hephæstodorus, Cephisodorus, himself, Smindyrides, Philocrates, Antiphon, Tisarchus and Pantacles.

Remember, gentlemen, that the charges against all these men have been proved true by their own confession.

There is a third source of information. The wife of 16 Almæonides, who had formerly been the wife of Damon, —Agariste was her name,—testified that Alcibiades, Axi-ochus and Adimantus had celebrated the Mysteries at the house of Charmides, near the Temple of Zeus. At this charge all of them fled.

And yet there has been other information given. 17 Lydus, a slave of Pherecles of Themacus, swore that the Mysteries had been profaned at the house of his master, Pherecles, in Themacus. He gave the names of many and said that my father was there, but that during the performance he was asleep, wrapped in his cloak. Speusippus, a member of the Senate, handed the accused over to the court. Then my father, having obtained bail, brought action against Speusippus before the Six Thousand and on the ground that he had violated the law, and when the verdict was delivered Speusippus received scarcely two hundred votes from so large a number of jurymen. On this account my father's relations and I urged him to remain in the city. Please summon Callias 18 and Stephanus, also Philippus and Alexippus, who are related to Acumenus and Autocrator, the men who took flight in consequence of the information of Lydus. Of the former (Callias) Autocrator is a nephew, of the latter (Stephanus) Acumenus is an uncle, so it is very natural for them to hate the person who drove their relations

into exile and to find out why the latter fled. Examine these witnesses and see for yourselves whether or not I speak the truth.

(*Examination of Witnesses.*)

19 You have heard, gentlemen of the jury, what took place, and the witnesses have testified before you; now consider what my accusers have dared to say, for justice demands that I should make my defence by calling to your minds the statements of my foes and by confuting them. They said that I made disclosures about the profanation of the Mysteries, and, in addition, that I informed against my own father, a charge which I consider the most unnatural and wicked that could possibly be devised. The man who indicted him was *Lydus, the slave of Pheracles*; I implored him to stay here and not to seek refuge
20 in flight, going even so far as to embrace his knees. For why should I, if I had betrayed my father, as these men assert, beseech him to remain, that he might die at my hands? And would my father likely have been persuaded to face a trial in which he would surely be confronted with one of two calamities:—either to be put to death through my agency, or, if he himself were saved, to be the cause of my death? For the law is as follows:—

If anyone bring forward a true accusation, he need fear nothing; if the charge be false, he shall die.

You all know that neither my father nor I were put to death; so how could it have been that I was the

betrayer of my father, when, if it were so, either he or I must have suffered the death penalty? At all events even ²¹ if my father had desired to stay here, do you think that his friends would permit him to remain in the city or give security for him? Would they not rather dissuade him from such a course of action and beg him to flee to another state where he would be safe himself and would not be a source of danger to me?

When my father charged Speusippus with proposing ²² an unlawful measure, he swore that he had never entered the house of Pherecles at Themacus. He went so far as to offer his own slaves to be tortured for the purpose of eliciting testimony from them, and to recommend that an examination be made of those slaves who had been handed over to the court, and that those who were unwilling to deliver up their slaves be compelled to do so. When he had expressed himself in these terms, how could Speusippus reply but to say, "Leogoras, what do you mean by talking about slaves? Has not your own son informed against you and sworn that you were at Themacus? You (Andocides) must confute your father, or there is no safety for you." Is it not likely that Speusippus spoke in that way, gentlemen? That it is likely, and moreover, that he uttered those very words, I am clearly convinced. Since I came into court there was ²³ surely some charge against me and not a charge of mine against another person; but if anyone has instituted one against me, let him come forward and confront me. To

be frank, I have never heard a more villainous or untrustworthy charge than this of my accusers, who thought that it was alone necessary to have the courage to bring forward their accusation. But they have not considered
24 the possibility of their being convicted of perjury. Therefore, just as you would be enraged at me and would consider me worthy of the severest punishment, were their charges true, so I ask you to look upon these men at once as untrustworthy, since you know that they lie, and to accept this as a logical conclusion—that if they are clearly guilty of perjury concerning the most formidable of their accusations, I may easily prove them the same as regards the lesser ones.

25 In this way the four accusations concerning the Profanation of the Mysteries were made. I have read you the names of those who fled at each indictment and witnesses have given testimony regarding the facts of the case. But in order to convince you more thoroughly, gentlemen of the jury, I shall in addition do as follows. (For of those who took to flight in consequence of the violation of the Mysteries some have died in exile, while others are present in this court, summoned by
26 me.) I shall grant permission to anyone (occupying part of the time allotted to me for my speech) to prove, if he wishes, that any of these men fled through fear of me, or that I brought forward a charge against anyone, or that they all did not take to flight on account of the accusations (made by others) which I have described to

you. If any one is able to prove that I have lied, you, gentlemen, may treat me as you think I deserve. I am willing to stand aside and to keep silent, if anyone wishes to speak against me from the rostrum.

And now let us see what happened after these revelations (about which I have spoken). At the time when they were made there were two rewards open to the informers,—one of a thousand drachmae, by the Decree of Cleonymus, and one of ten thousand, by the Decree of Pisander. The informers and Pythonicus quarreled over these rewards, he, (Pythonicus,) claiming that he had been the first to give information concerning the affair, while Androcles asserted that the rewards should be conferred upon the Senate. To settle this dispute, it was resolved²⁷ at a public meeting that those of the Senate who had been initiated into the Mysteries, after hearing the information which each claimant had given, should pass judgment upon the case. The Senators awarded the larger sum to Andromachus and the other to Teucer; so Andromachus received ten thousand drachmae and Teucer one thousand at the All-Athenians' Festival. Please call the witnesses to testify to these facts.

(Examination of Witnesses.)

I have proved, gentlemen of the jury, that concern-²⁹ ing the profanation of the Mysteries, on account of which this investigation has arisen and you who are initiated have come into court, I have proved, I say, that I have

neither acted in a sacrilegious manner, given information about anyone, made any confession in regard to the Mysteries nor incurred the anger of the two Goddesses to the very slightest degree. And it is of the greatest importance to me that I should have proved it to you. For the speeches of my accusers, who have painted in vivid colors these awful deeds, have plainly shown you what terrible sufferings and punishments were undergone by others who committed offences and acts of impiety toward the Goddesses;—but why should their words or actions
30 concern me? I should much rather accuse them and say that they ought to be put to death on account of their impiety and I myself set free, since I have committed no crime. For it would be a terrible state of affairs indeed, if you should become enraged at me on account of the sins of others, and, with the certain knowledge that I have been misrepresented by my foes, consider their assertions more reliable than the truth. The men who committed such crimes certainly cannot claim that they are not guilty, for investigation is a terrible thing; for those who are conscious of their guilt; on the other hand, inquiry is most welcome to me in a matter where there is not the slightest necessity for me to seek acquittal by beseeching your favor on a charge of this character, but simply by refuting the statements of my accusers and by
31 reminding you of the facts of the case. For you have sworn a solemn oath concerning the verdict you are about to pronounce upon me, and you have bound yourselves

by the weightiest vows both upon yourselves and your children that you will render a just decision, and, in addition to this, you have been initiated into the Mysteries and have looked upon the sacred offerings to the two Goddesses, that you may be enabled to punish the impious and to protect the innocent.

Moreover bear in mind that it is a much greater sin ³² to convict the guiltless of crime than to exonerate the guilty. Wherefore I, with much more justice than my prosecutors, enjoin you in the name of the Goddesses, on behalf of the holy objects you have seen and on behalf of the Greeks who have come here to the festival, that you sentence me to death if you are clearly convinced that I have committed the crime, or made a confession, or unjustly denounced any other man, or if anyone has proved his charge against me. Under those circumstances ³³ I should not protest. But as the case now stands, since I have been party to no sin and have proved this assertion, I ask you to make it plain to all the Greeks that I have been brought to this present trial unlawfully. If this Cephisius, who has entered the indictment against me, does not obtain one-fifth of your votes, he will lose his civil rights and will be forbidden to enter the Temple of the Goddesses under penalty of death. Now, if you are satisfied that I have made a sufficient defence in regard to the charges of which I have spoken, signify the same to me, in order that I may proceed at once to treat of the others.

34 In regard to the Mutilation of the Hermae and the indictment for this crime, I shall do as I promised—inform you of everything which took place from the beginning. When Teucer returned from Megara, having obtained immunity from punishment, he told what he knew about the Mysteries and the Mutilation of the Hermae and handed to the court the names of eighteen men. When the charge was brought against them, some fled, while others were arrested and put to death in consequence of the information of Teucer. Please, read me their names:

35 Teucer denounced the following men, whom he asserted were implicated in the affair of the Hermae: Euctemon, Glaucippus, Eurymachus, Poleuctes, Plato, Antidorus, Charippus, Theodorus, Alcisthenes, Menestratus, Eryximachus, Euphiletus, Eurydimas, Pherecles, Meletus, Timanthes, Archidamus and Telenicus.

Some of these men have returned from exile and are here in the court-room, as are also many relations of those who suffered death, and, if any one of them wishes, let him rise and contradict me even during the course of my speech by attempting to show that a single man was driven into exile or put to death through my agency.

36 When this denunciation took place, Pisander and Charicles, members of the Board of Commissioners to Inquire into State Offences, who were patriotic men and thoroughly loyal to the State at that time, expressed their opinion that this outrage was not the work of a few men, but that it was the result of a conspiracy which aimed at the overthrow of the government, and they recommended

that an investigation be started and vigorously prosecuted. Moreover, the citizens were excited by the crime to such a degree that, when the proclamation was made that it was time for the Senate to assemble and the flag was lowered, the Senate entered their hall, but the populace fled in terror from the market-place, each man fearing lest he might be arrested.

Roused by the misfortunes of the State, Dioclesides³⁷ announced in the Senate that he knew who had mutilated the Hermae, and that the number of those who had done so was about three hundred. He then related how he had by chance seen them. (I ask you, gentlemen, that while you are listening to the account of this affair, you will consider whether or not I am telling the truth and that you will instruct one another in regard to the facts of the case; for these statements [of Dioclesides] were made before you and you are my witnesses in this matter). He said that he owned a slave employed at Laurium, and that he had occasion to go to receive the slave's wages. So, rising early one morning, having made a mistake as to the time, he started on his journey by bright moonlight. When he reached the gate of the Temple of Dionysius, he saw a number of men descending from the odeum into the auditorium. Feeling suspicious of them, he retired into the darkness and sat down between a column and a pedestal upon which stood the bronze statue of a general. From that position he saw that the men were fully three hundred in number, and he noticed that

they were collected in groups of fifteen or twenty each. He recognized the majority of them by the moonlight.

39 (He made use of this affair, gentlemen—a most shameful piece of business in my opinion—that he might assert that any Athenian he pleased was among these men and that anyone whom he did not wish to implicate was not there.) After seeing them, he said that he resumed his journey to Laurium, and on the next day heard that the Hermae had been mutilated. Then he immediately suspected that it was the work of the men whom he had seen.

40 When he returned to the city he found that special commissioners had been appointed to investigate the crime and that a reward of one hundred minæ had been offered for the arrest of the perpetrators. Seeing Euphemus, the brother of Callias and son of Telecles, sitting in a brass-worker's shop, he led him over to the temple of Hephaestus nearby and told him what I have just related to you,—that he had seen us upon the preceding night. He had no desire, he said, to obtain money from the State rather than from us, in fact he would much prefer to adopt the latter method, in order that he might have us as his friends. Euphemus replied that he was greatly obliged for the information and urged him to go at once to the house of Leogoras (my father), “In order,” said he, “that you may meet Andocides and the other

41 persons concerned.” Dioclesides said that he went there the next day and knocked at the door. My father happened to be going out at that time and said to him,

“Is it you they are expecting here? We must not disappoint such friends.” With these words he left him. In this way Diocliides attempted the death of my father, by denouncing him as a participant in the crime.

We said (asserted Diocliides) that we would give him two talents of silver in place of the hundred minæ offered by the State, if we should accomplish what we sought, and upon condition that he should join himself with us and give solemn promises to that effect. He replied that ⁴² he would think over the proposition; upon which we requested him to accompany us to the house of Callias, in order that the latter might be present during the interview. He said that he went to the house of Callias and agreed to give a pledge of good faith by taking an oath in one of the temples, but that we, after promising to pay him the money at the beginning of the ensuing month, disappointed him and failed to do so. Therefore he came to bear witness of what had happened.

Such, gentlemen, was his information. He gave, ⁴³ moreover, a list of those whom he claimed to have recognized, fifty-two in number, and the list was headed by the names of Mantitheus and Apsephion, Senators who were sitting in the chamber. Then Pisander, rising, said that he thought it advisable to revoke the decree passed in the Archonship of Scamander and to put to torture those who had been informed upon, that a single night might not pass before they should discover all the criminals, and the Senators immediately signified their

⁴⁴ approval of the measures he proposed. But Mantitheus and Apsephion, upon hearing this, cast themselves as suppliants at the foot of the altar, beseeching that they should not be put to torture, but that they might be allowed to go on bail and stand their trial in due time. When they had with great difficulty obtained this request, they secured bailsmen, and then, mounting their horses, deserted to the enemy without the slightest regard for those who had entered security for them and who were by law liable to the same penalties as those for whom they had gone bail.

⁴⁵ Thereupon the Senate, having conferred in secret, arrested us and threw us into prison, and, having summoned the generals, ordered the following proclamation made:—That every Athenian living in the city should arm himself and proceed to the Agora; that those who lived within the Long Walls should go to the Thesium and those living in Piræus to the market-place of Hippodamus; that the cavalry should assemble by night at the Temple of the Dioscuri; that the Senate should go to the Acropolis and spend the night there, while the Prytanes should pass the night in the Tholus. The Bœotians, having been informed of the confusion in consequence of the crime, had encamped upon the borders of the country. But Diocliides, the author of all these evils, was honored as if he were the savior of the State by the citizens, who escorted him in a chariot to the Prytaneum, where they ⁴⁶ tendered him a feast. Now, gentlemen, let those of you

who were in Athens at that time call to mind these events and relate them to those who were not present. Please summon the Prytanes who were then in office, Philocrates and the others.

(Examination of Witnesses.)

Now I shall cause to be read to you the names of the ¹⁷ men whom Diocides denounced, in order that you may know against how many of my relations he was plotting death. The list included, first, my father, on the ground that he was an accomplice in the crime, and second, my brother-in-law, in whose house the meeting was alleged to have taken place. You will now hear the names of the rest. Will the clerk please read them?

Charmides, the son of Aristotle.

He is my cousin, for his mother and my father were sister and brother.

Taureas.

He is my father's cousin.

Nisaeus.

He is the son of Taureas.

Callias, the son of Alcmeon.

My father's cousin.

Euphemus.

The brother of Callias and son of Telecles.

Phrynicus, the dancer.

My cousin.

Eucrates, the brother of Nicias.

He was a connexion by marriage of Callias.

Critias.

My father's cousin, for their mothers were sisters.

- 48 We were all thrown into prison, and when night had come on and the jail was closed, there came to one prisoner his mother, to another, his sister, and to another, his wife and children, and there arose a piteous sound of weeping and lamentation for the troubles of the hour. Then Charmides, my cousin, a man of my age (we had been brought up together in the same house) said to me,
49 " Andocides, you see how serious are our present dangers ; so, although I have always shrunk from saying anything to annoy you, I now feel forced by our present misfortunes to speak. All those with whom you have been intimate and have held friendly intercourse, have, with the exception of your relations, either been put to death on the same charges which now threaten us, or else
50 guilty. So come now, if you have heard anything about this affair, speak out and save, in the first place, yourself, then your father, whom you naturally love dearly, and your brother-in-law, the husband of your only sister.

Save, too, your other kinsmen and friends and me also, who in all my life never gave you any cause for offence, but who has been most zealous to help you and to further your interests whenever opportunity arose."

When Charmides had spoken thus and the others had besought and entreated me in a like manner, I thought to myself as follows: "O miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am! Shall I see my kinsfolk put to death unjustly, their property confiscated and their names engraved upon the public tablets as though they had sinned against the Gods,—they who are wholly innocent of crime; shall I see three hundred Athenians hurried to undeserved destruction, the State involved in the most serious calamities and the citizens holding each other in suspicion; or shall I tell the Athenians what I heard from Euphiletus, who is the real culprit?"

I reflected upon this and considered that, furthermore, of those who had committed the offence, some had already been put to death in consequence of the information of Teucer, while others had fled into exile and had been sentenced to death, and that there were still four of the criminals left, against whom Teucer had not informed, Panætius, Chæredemus, Diacritus and Lysistratus. It seemed especially likely that the last named men had been denounced by Diocles, since they were friends of those who had been executed. Moreover, I reflected that some of the prisoners were by no means certain of acquittal, while to my relations destruction was imminent,

unless some one should inform the Athenians of what had happened. Therefore I thought it better to deprive four men of their country,—they are now alive, have returned from exile and are in possession of their former property,—rather than allow my kinsmen to be
54 put to death unjustly. So if any of you, gentlemen of the jury, or of the other citizens thought that I gave information against a single one of my companions, that they might perish and I myself be saved (the story which my enemies have invented in their desire to misrepresent me) judge the case now by the events themselves.

55 I must give a perfectly true and exact account of the way in which I acted, for there are men in the court at this moment who had a share in the crime and then fled. They best know whether I am lying or telling the truth, and it is in their power to prove me false even now as I am speaking. I am willing to give place to them. But, gentlemen, you must hear the facts of the case.
56 For to me the most important issue of this trial is I shall not, if acquitted, be accounted a coward, but that both you and the other citizens shall learn that I have been guilty of no cowardly or disgraceful act, and that this affair has been brought about by reason of a calamity which affected primarily the State, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, ourselves. For I told you what I had heard from Euphiletus out of regard for my relations and for the whole State, and I did so, I feel sure, sincerely and not with a base intention.

Come, now,—for it becomes you, gentlemen, to judge this case with humanity, placing yourselves in my unfortunate position—what would each one of you have done? If there had been a choice of two conditions, a glorious death or a disgraceful acquittal, one might have said that I had acted in a cowardly manner, for there are many who, since they prize life higher than I, would prefer under like circumstances to live rather than to die bravely. But the very opposite of this choice was offered me; if I had kept silent I should have suffered the most disgraceful death, although I had committed no crime, and I should have seen perish before my eyes my father, my brother-in-law and many of my cousins and other relations, for whose death I alone would have been responsible by my refusal to disclose the names of the real offenders. For Diocledes, by giving false information, had caused them to be cast into prison and there was no way by which they could be saved unless the Athenians should learn all that had been done. Thus, had I not told you what I heard, I would have been responsible for their death. In addition to that I would have allowed three hundred of the citizens to be put to death unjustly and the State would have been threatened with the direst misfortunes.

All this would have happened had I not spoken out. So, by my telling the truth, I saved myself, my father and our relations and I freed the city from the fear of the greatest calamities. I admit that in consequence of my

information, four men who had committed the crime became exiles, but of the others whom Teucer had denounced, those who were put to death were not convicted through my efforts, nor did one of those who were
60 driven into exile owe his banishment to me. After a long consideration, gentlemen, I came to the conclusion that the lesser evil would be for me to tell directly what had happened and to prove that Diocliides had lied—Diocliides, who had attempted to have us put to death unjustly, and who had so thoroughly deceived the State, making himself seem its greatest benefactor and obtaining the rewards.

61 I therefore told the Senate that I knew who had committed the crime, and I gave them an account of what had taken place, showing how Euphiletus had proposed the mutilation at a drinking-bout, a plan which would have been immediately put into execution, had I not opposed it. But immediately after that, while attempting to mount one of my colts at Cynosarges, I fell and dislocated my collar-bone, as well as injuring my head,
62 necessitating my removal home upon a couch. When Euphiletus learned of my accident, he told his companions that I had been persuaded to join in the plot, and had promised to do my share of the work by mutilating the statue of Hermes that stood near the Phorbanteum. In saying so he deceived them (for I had promised nothing of the sort). This was the reason why the statue of Hermes, which was dedicated by the Ægean Deme, and which you may all see standing uninjured in front of my

father's house, was the only one of the Hermæ in Athens that was not mutilated; for, you see, the conspirators were under the impression that I would perform part of the work, as Euphiletus had told them. When they perceived the truth, they declared that it would imperil their safety for me to know of the crime without having been a participant, so the next day Euphiletus and Meletus came to me and said: "Andocides, our work has been undertaken and accomplished. Now, if you are willing to keep quiet and say nothing about the affair, you may consider us your friends, as we have always been; but if you disclose the plot, our enmity will injure you far more than the friendship of others (won through their hatred of us) will avail you." I replied that I thought Euphiletus had, by his share in the crime, proved himself a villain, but that there need be no fear of me on account of my knowledge, but rather that the danger lay in the commission of the outrage itself.

To show that all this was true, I handed over one of my slaves to be tortured, who testified that I had been ill and was unable to rise from my couch, and his testimony was confirmed by the female servants of my house, whom the Prytanes had arrested when the conspirators had committed the crime.

After the Senate and the Special Commissioners had inquired into the matter and had found my statements acknowledged true by all, they immediately summoned Diocides. There was little said, for he straightway

confessed his falsehood and begged for pardon, disclosing the names of those who had bribed him to make the false statements, Alcibiades of Phygus and Amiantus of Ægina, who, when they heard of his confession, became
66 frightened and fled from the country. Upon learning this, you handed Diocliides over to the Criminal Court, where he was sentenced to death, and in consequence of my testimony, you set free my relations who were awaiting death in prison. It was also through my efforts that you decided to allow the return of the exiles. Then you took up your arms and returned to your homes, freed from the fear of many evils and dangers.

67 Throughout these events, gentlemen, I might, on the one hand, be justly pitied for the misfortunes I had undergone, but on the other hand, taking into consideration what was brought about through my agency, I might reasonably be regarded as the happiest of men—I, who opposed Euphiletus when he was urging a most dishonorable proposition, and who spoke against him and rebuked him as he deserved; I, who refrained from revealing the perpetrators of the outrage (until necessity compelled me to do so). It was only when Teucer had laid the information against them and some had been executed and others were in exile, when we were in prison and were in danger of being put to death through Diocliides' false statements, it was only then that I denounced the four men as criminals, Panætius, Diacritus,
68 Lysistratus and Chaeredemus. It was through

me, I confess, that these men were forced to take refuge in flight; but, on the other hand, there were saved through my agency, my father, my brother-in-law, three of my cousins and seven of my other relations, all of whom were on the point of being put to death unjustly; and they acknowledge that it was entirely through my agency that they now see the light of day. Furthermore, the man who threw the whole city into violent confusion and menaced it with extreme dangers was defeated in his aims, and you were freed from the greatest fears and suspicions of one another.

Pray consider, gentlemen, whether or not I have ⁶⁰ spoken the truth in regard to these matters, in order that you may best advise one another how to vote.

Please (Mr. Clerk), summon those who were set free through my endeavors, for, since they know what has happened, they can best confirm my statements before the jury. The following will be done, gentlemen of the jury, —the witnesses will ascend the rostrum and will testify as long as you care to listen. I shall afterward make my defence in regard to the other charges.

(Examination of Witnesses.)

You have now heard everything that happened and, ⁷⁰ as I think, I have made a sufficient defence regarding these matters. However, if there is any one of you desirous of something more, or who thinks that I have

not made myself clear or that I have omitted anything of importance, please rise and remind me of it, and I will speak further upon that subject.

Now I shall instruct you in regard to the laws.

71 This man, Cephisius, laid the information against me under the established law, but he bases his accusation upon the Decree of Isotimides which has nothing at all to do with my case. Isotimides proposed that those who had committed impiety and confessed to it be excluded from the Sacred Rites; but neither of these were done by
72 me, for I neither sinned nor made a confession. I shall prove to you that in addition to this the statute has been rescinded and is now null and void. Moreover, I shall fashion my defence in such a manner that, if I fail to convince you, I shall do my own cause harm, but that, if I obtain your approval, I may really be said to have spoken upon behalf of my enemies. For the truth must be told at all hazards.

73 When our ships had been destroyed and the city was besieged, you made proposals for peace and decided to restore the civil status to those who had been disenfranchised. It was then that Patroclides brought forward his decree to that effect. Now who were the disenfranchised and to what extent had these men been deprived of their civil rights? I shall tell you.

One class of the disenfranchised comprised the following:—Those who owed money to the State; those who had been condemned for errors in their accounts when

they were retiring from State offices; those who had been defeated in public suits and had failed to pay the penalty imposed upon them; those who had purchased tax-farming contracts from the government and had failed to pay for them; and those who had unlawfully become sureties to the State. Their day of payment fell upon the Ninth Prytany, and in case of non-payment their obligations were doubled and their possessions sold.

The second kind of disenfranchisement applied to 71 those who had been deprived of their civil status, but who were allowed to keep possession of their property. It affected all who had been convicted of embezzlement or bribery, and they, together with their descendants, fell under the ban of disenfranchisement. This class also included those who had left their ranks in battle or who had been punished for attempting to escape military service, for keeping their ship out of action or for throwing away their shields; and those who had been convicted of bearing false witness three times or of maltreating their parents. All these men were disgraced in respect to their persons, but they still retained their property.

Others, however, were deprived of only a portion of 75 their rights, for instance, the soldiers, who, since they had served in the city under the Thirty Tyrants, were allowed most of the privileges granted to the other citizens, but were forbidden to speak at public meetings and could not become members of the Senate. It was only in these

76 respects that they lost their civil status. Some, moreover, were forbidden to bring forward civil suits, while others could not lawfully inform against anyone. There were those who were forbidden to sail into the Hellespont, others to Ionia, while some, even, were not permitted to enter the market-place.

You decided to declare null and void all former decrees enforcing to these classes of disenfranchisement and to destroy the copies of them, wherever they should be found, and you then agreed to give pledges of faith and concord among one another in the Acropolis. Please have read the Decree of Patroclides, by which this was required.

77 DECREE.—Patroclides made the following motion : Since the Athenians have voted immunity to the public debtors, so that they are allowed both to speak and to make motions in the assemblies, let the state now establish the same conditions which existed at the time of the Persian War and which resulted favorably for the citizens. Let this decree affect the following : Those who were registered as debtors on the lists either of the collectors, of the treasurers for the Goddess Athene or for the other Gods, or of the Archon Basileus ; those who, though debtors, have not had their names registered as such up to the adjournment of the Senate
78 the Archonship of Callias ; those who have lost their rights as citizens because of debt or whose accounts have been condemned by the auditors ; those whose prosecutions for their accounts have not as yet come up in court or whose securities have not yet been accepted ; those of the Four Hundred who are still registered or whose actions under the Oligarchy are anywhere recorded or who did not remain here registered upon the public tablets ; and finally,

those who have been condemned by the Areopagus, the criminal or the other courts, and also those who have been condemned to death for murder or tyranny.

And let the collectors and the Senate destroy, in accordance ⁷⁹ with the above decree, all the other names wherever they may be found; and if there are any duplicate lists, let the Junior Archons and the other magistrates produce and destroy them. Let all this be done within three days after the passage of this decree. And further, not only must all public and private records be destroyed, as provided above, but also the memories of past offences must not be revived; for any one who does so, is liable to the same penalties as those in exile under the verdict of the Areopagus. This is decreed in order that the public faith of the Athenians may be preserved intact both now and in the future.

According to this decree, as you perceive, those who ⁸⁰ had been disfranchised were reinstated to the rights of citizenship; but as to the exiles, however, their return was neither decreed by you nor was it even proposed by Patroclides. But when a treaty had been made with the Lacedemonians, and you had torn down the long walls and had received back the exiles; when the Thirty were in power and Phyle and Munychia had been captured and all those other events had taken place which I wish neither to mention nor to call to memory, since they are ⁸¹ past evils; when you had returned from the Piraeus and it was in your power to wreak your vengeance;—then, I say, you decided to let bygones be bygones, and, considering the preservation of the State of more importance than your private revenge, you concluded to bear no one

malice for anything that had taken place. Having come to this conclusion, you chose twenty citizens to take care of the city until the laws should be decided upon, and in the meantime you decided to enforce the laws of Solon and the decrees of Draco.

82 But when you had chosen a Senate and had appointed the lawmakers, they discovered that if the laws and decrees of Solon and Draco were put into effect, a number of the citizens would be liable to punishment because of past deeds. So an assembly was called and after deliberation upon this matter, you decided that all the laws should be examined and that such as were considered valid should be posted in the Agora. Now please have the decree read.

83 The people passed this motion, made by Tisamenus: Let the Athenians be governed according to their national customs and let them use the laws of Solon and his weights and measures, together with such of the decrees of Draco as were formerly in operation. And let the law-makers, chosen by the Senate, announce which of the laws must be observed, and let them publish the same on the public tablets before the first archonship in order that whosoever wishes to examine them, may do so; and also let the laws be
84 transferred to the magistrates before the end of this month. And let these same laws be examined by the Senate and also, after oaths have been administered, by the five hundred law-makers who were chosen by the people. And let any private citizen be permitted to enter the Senate and to give such advice concerning the adoption of the laws as he sees fit. When the laws have been passed, let the Senate of the Areopagus see that the magistrates enforce them, and let the laws, just as formerly, be publicly posted for any one to examine.

Accordingly, gentlemen, the decrees were examined, ⁸⁵ and those which were adopted were posted upon the stoa. When they had been displayed, we passed a law which is still in force. Please have it read.

LAW.—The magistrates shall in no case enforce an unwritten law.

Truly, does this leave any excuse for a magistrate to order an arrest or to take action against any man, without the authority of the written law? And since it is forbidden to use an unwritten law, it must be also illegal to use an unwritten decree. Moreover, in view of the circumstance that many of the citizens would be inconvenienced by the old laws and many others by the old decrees, the present laws on the subject were passed to preclude the possibility of blackmailing. Please let these laws be read.

LAWS.—The magistrates shall not enforce an unwritten law ⁸⁷ against any man. No decree of the people or of the Senate shall supersede a law. No law shall be passed affecting any man unless it applies to all of the Athenians and has received the secret votes of six thousand citizens.

Here is also another law. Please have it read.

LAW.—All decisions given in private suits and arbitrations in the time of the Democracy shall be valid, also all laws that date from the Archonship of Euclides.

88 Thus, gentlemen, the judgments and rulings given under the Democracy were held valid, in order that neither debts might be canceled nor suits retried, and that the recovery of private bonds might be maintained. In regard to public offences, however, it was decided to enforce those laws which dated from the Archonship of 89 Euclides. Since, therefore, you decided to examine the laws and to announce those which you had approved, namely, that the magistrates should not use an unwritten law, that no decree should supersede a law, whether passed by the Senate or by the people, that no law should affect one man alone and that every law should date from the Archonship of Euclides, does then, anything of great or small importance, remain of the laws passed before the Archonship of Euclides, that should be in force? I think not, gentlemen. However, determine this for yourselves.

90 But let us now see what oaths you have sworn. The common oath throughout the whole State, which you all took after the reconciliation was as follows:—

I will hold no ill-will against any of the citizens for past deeds, except against the Thirty, the Eleven and the Ten, and not even against them if they are willing to hand in the accounts of their magistracies.

Therefore, since you swore that you would bear no ill-will against the Thirty, the authors of the most terrible evils, if they would hand in their accounts, surely

you should hesitate to bear malice against any of the other citizens. But what was the oath that the members of the Senate then took? It was this:—

I will neither receive information nor allow a civil suit on ⁹¹ account of past actions, except in the case of the fugitives.

And what oath did you Athenians take? This:—

I will bear no malice, nor will I be influenced by any man, but I will vote in accordance with the existing laws.

These facts is it necessary to examine, if I seem to you to be right in saying that I speak in defence of you and of the laws. Do you examine therefore, gentlemen, ⁹² both the laws and the accusers, that you may find out what reasons the latter possess to accuse others. In the first place, this Cephisius, having leased a tax from the State and having collected from the farmers the amount of ninety minae, did not deliver the money to the State treasury and fled, for if he had made his appearance he would have been confined in the stocks. For the law ⁹³ authorizes the Senate to confine in the stocks anyone who, having leased a tax from the State for the purpose of farming it, does not pay to the treasury the amount that he has collected. But since you voted to enforce all laws dating from the Archonship of Euclides, this fellow thinks that he is not compelled to pay to you what he has collected, and, according to the existing laws, he has

become a citizen instead of an outlaw, and instead of being disenfranchised, he is considered an informer.

94 Again, Meletus, as you all know, arrested Leon in the time of the Thirty and had him put to death without a trial, despite the fact that the law was then in force as it is now;—that the man who plots another man's death shall be held liable to the same punishment as he who actually commits the deed. So, owing to the fact that we must enforce the laws which date from the Archonship of Euclides, it is impossible for the sons of Leon to prosecute Meletus even though he, in his defence, does not deny that he brought Leon to his death.

95 And this fellow, Epichares, too, who is the most wicked of all men and who desires this reputation, is even now bearing malice against himself;—he who held the office of Senator under the Thirty. But what is the law which is on a tablet in front of the Senate House? It is this:—

Whosoever shall have held any office at the time of the overthrow of the Democracy may be put to death with impunity, and he who puts him to death shall not only be free from guilt, but shall also possess the property of the deceased.

How then, Epichares? Will not he who slays thee, 96 be clean-handed according to the law of Solon? Please have this law read from the tablet.

Law passed by the Senate and the Oeme in the presidency of Aiantis, the clerkship of Cleogenes and the chairmanship of

Boethus, on the motion of Demophantus. It shall date from the Senate of Five Hundred who were chosen by lot during the first clerkship of Cleogenes. If any one shall conspire against Athenian Democracy or shall hold any office during an insurrection, he shall be considered an enemy of the Athenians and may be put to death with impunity; his goods shall be confiscated and one-tenth of them shall go to the Goddess Athene. And he who kills him as well as he who plans his death, shall be justified and shall be considered clean-handed. Let all the Athenians swear by the perfect ⁹⁷ sacrifices, in tribes and in demes, that they will slay the man who has done this evil deed. And the oath shall be as follows: "I swear that I will pursue to death by word or by deed, by my vote and by my own hand, as far as lies in my power, whosoever shall conspire against the Athenian Democracy or whosoever shall hold any office after the Democracy has been overthrown, or whosoever shall, in the future, aim at tyranny or assist in the establishment of a tyrant. And should any one else accomplish his death, I swear that I will hold him to be guiltless before both Gods and men, as having killed an enemy of the Athenians, and I will sell all of his possessions and will pay one-half of the amount so realized to the man who has slain him, and I will see that he gets his full share. And if any one, while slaying or attempting to slay ⁹⁸ such a man, shall be himself slain, I will see to the welfare of his children, as was done in the case of Harmodius and Aristogiton and their descendants. And whatever oaths have been sworn by the Athenians either in the camp or anywhere else in the presence of the deme of the Athenians, I cancel and renounce." Let all the Athenians swear this lawful oath, before the perfect sacrifices at the festival of the great Dionysia, and let them pray that many blessings may come to him who keeps the oath, but that destruction may fall upon him who breaks the oath, and upon his race.

99 Speak, slanderer and accursed knave! Is this law valid or is it not? It is null and void, I suppose, because all laws must date from the Archonship of Euclides. And so you live and walk about the city; you, a man unworthy of such honors; you, who, under the Democracy, lived a pettifogger, but under the Oligarchy, fearing the loss of your fortune, became the political instrument of the Thirty. And do you call back the memory of our friendship and accuse others, you who were never a friend of anyone—for it was so indeed—you who, while making a great fortune, stooped to the basest deeds and were ever a rascal by nature? Nevertheless, gentlemen, such a man endeavors to accuse others, one for whom, according to your laws, there is not even a defence possible.

101 The truth is, gentlemen of the jury, that when I look upon him as he sits there among my prosecutors, I can imagine myself nothing more than a prisoner brought before the Thirty. And yet, if I had been on trial before the Thirty, who would have accused me? Would it not have been this man unless I had bribed him? You see that it is he who is even now accusing me. Who else but Charicles would have submitted me to cross-examination? It would have been something like this. "Tell me, Andocides, did you go to Decelea and occupy a fort against your country?" "No," I should have answered. "How then? Did you ravage the country and plunder your fellow-citizens by sea and by land?" "Certainly

not," would have been my reply. "Did you fight in the naval expedition against the city or help to destroy the long walls or to abolish the Democracy?" "None of these things have I done," would have been my answer. "None? Do you suppose, then, that you will go unpunished or will escape the death that so many have suffered?"

Gentlemen, can you imagine a scene other than this, ¹⁰² if I had been captured by the tyrants? Is it not then scandalous that I, who would have been slain by the Thirty as many others were slain, for having failed to raise my hand against Athens, should not be now spared by you, whom I have not wronged? Surely, if any one ¹⁰³ is spared, it should be me, because, while the information against me has been given according to the existing law, the accusations have been made according to an old decree concerning other matters.

Be not too hasty, then, about convicting me, for if you do, I fear that you will find that many of your enemies, with whom you have become reconciled as well as those exiles whom you have received back into the city and those disenfranchised citizens to whom you have restored civil rights, will be compelled to give a far stricter account of their actions than I have done. It was for their sakes, remember, that you removed the laws from the tablets and invalidated them and also blotted out the decrees, and these very men, trusting in you, still remain in the city. If then, they perceive that you are now ¹⁰⁴

admitting charges against men for former crimes, will they not become apprehensive about their own safety? Or do you think that they are willing to stand trial for their past crimes? If this is so, they have many enemies and false accusers who would soon bring them up to trial.

105 For consider, there are two classes of men who have come to witness this trial, with different ends in view. Some are here to ascertain what trust can be put in the existing laws and the oaths which you have sworn, while others are here to make trial of your dispositions, to see whether it will be possible for them to safely accuse and indict some, to inform against others and to bring still others up to trial.

Gentlemen of the jury, the case stands as follows: This trial principally concerns me, but your vote will publicly decide whether in the future, a man may have faith in your laws, or whether he will be compelled either to buy off his accusers or to flee the city with all haste.

106 And now, gentlemen, I wish to speak a few words to show that those measures which you have taken for the sake of peace have not resulted unfavorably, but that, in these matters, you have acted in a manner proper and expedient for yourselves. When the great misfortunes fell upon the State and the city had been captured by the tyrants and the deme had fled, your fathers, under the leadership of my great-grandfather, Leogoras, and Charias, whose daughter was my great-grandmother, defeated

the tyrants near the temple of Athene, and, returning to their native land, they executed some, banished others, and deprived others of their civil rights. And afterwards, ¹⁰⁷ when the Great King was making an expedition against Greece, they, perceiving the threatening calamity and the strength of the king, resolved to recall the exiles, to restore civil rights to those who had been deprived of them and to let safety or danger be common to all. When they had done this and had interchanged among themselves oaths and pledges, they made themselves the defenders of all Greece, and met the barbarians at Marathon, in the assurance that their valor would be sufficient to overcome the vast numbers of the enemy. So they fought and conquered, thus freeing Greece and saving their fatherland. And having done such a glorious deed, they ¹⁰⁸ did not think it right to bear malice against any one for past offences. Although they returned to find their city desolated, their temples burned and their walls and houses ruined; yet, by preserving unity in their government, they achieved the conquest of Greece and handed down to you the great city in which we live.

And in later times, you too, brave and descended from ¹⁰⁹ brave men, displayed your own courage. For you decided to receive back the exiles and to restore civil rights to the disenfranchised. What then remains for you to do, in view of these ancient acts of generosity? It remains, gentlemen of the jury, that you should not sow seeds of malice for past deeds, remembering that this our own city from

a very small beginning, has grown to be great and prosperous. And it is still in the power of us, her citizens, to continue that prosperity, if we will but work in union and harmony.

110 Furthermore, my enemies have accused me of placing a suppliant branch on the altar of the Temple of Eleusis, saying that the law of the land is, that whosoever shall place a suppliant branch on the altar during the performance of the Mysteries, shall die. For it is not enough for them that their own wicked plans and preparations did not succeed, but they must even accuse me of being the guilty person.

111 When we had returned from Eleusis, and the information had been presented and the King Archon had made his appearance, to deliver, as is a custom of the Prytanes, his report of what had taken place at Eleusis during the Festival, they requested that they might take him before the Senate and asked him to notify both Cephisius and me to be present at the Eleusinium. For the Senate was about to sit there, according to the law of Solon which commands them to sit in the Eleusinium upon the day
112 after the performance of the Mysteries. We were in attendance, as we were commanded. And when a quorum had assembled, Callias, the son of Hipponicus, stood up in his official garments and announced that there was a suppliant branch upon the altar, and he pointed it out to them. The herald then demanded who had placed it there, but no one replied. We were standing near and

he saw us. When no one answered and when Eucles, who had gone out to inquire, was in the Senate-house,—but call him forward, please, and before I proceed, Eucles will testify whether or not I speak the truth.

(Examination of Witness.)

The witness has testified that I have spoken the 113 truth, although this is far from the opinion of my accusers. The latter said, you will remember, that the two Goddesses, desiring my punishment, themselves induced me, in ignorance of the law, to place the suppliant branch upon the altar. But I say, gentlemen, that if my accusers have spoken the truth, then have I indeed been saved by those very Goddesses. For if I had deposited 114 the suppliant branch upon the altar and had not answered when called upon by the herald would I not, of my own accord, have endangered myself by the act, and was I not saved purposely in not having answered the herald,—that is to say saved through the agency of the two Goddesses? For if they had desired my death, they would certainly have compelled me to confess that I had placed the branch, even if I had not done so. I never placed it nor did I confess to the crime. And when Eucles told 115 the Senate that no one had answered, Callias rose and declared that there was a national law requiring that whosoever should place a suppliant branch in the temple at Eleusis should be put to death without a trial. He further said that his father, Hipponicus, had explained

this to the Athenians, and that he had heard that I had
116 committed the offence. Then Cephalus yonder, sprang
to his feet and cried out: "Oh Callias, thou wickedest of
men! In the first place, you, a herald, are expounding
that which is impious in you to interpret. In the second
place you refer to a national law, while the very tablet
at your side commands the payment of one thousand
drachmæ by anyone who deposits a suppliant branch in
the temple at Eleusis! And furthermore, from whom
did you hear that Andocides had acted thus? Summon
him before the Senate, in order that we, too, may hear
his testimony." So when the law was read and he was
unable to tell from whom he had heard the report, it be-
came evident to the Senate that he himself had deposited
the suppliant branch upon the altar.

117 Come now, gentlemen, perhaps you would like to
hear with what intent Callias placed the sacred branch
upon the altar? I shall also tell you why he plotted
against me. Epilycus, the son of Tisander, who was my
uncle on my mother's side, died in Sicily without male
issue and left two daughters, who fell to the charge of
118 Leager and myself. Now his personal affairs were in a
bad condition, for the property which he left was not
worth two talents while his debts amounted to more than
five talents. Nevertheless I called Leager and, in the
presence of friends, said to him that it was the duty of
good men, in such affairs as these, to show their relation-
119 ship to one another. "For," said I, "it is not right for

us to so covet the goods and prosperity of another man that we injure the daughters of Epilycus. If he had lived or had left a large fortune when he died, we would consider it necessary to care for the girls, because we are their nearest relations. In that case we would act on account of Epilycus or his money, but now we should shape our actions by our own honesty. Do you then put in a legal claim for one daughter and I for the other." He agreed to the proposition, gentlemen, and accordingly ¹²⁰ we both entered our claims. The child for whom I put in a claim, having met with a misfortune, fell sick and died, but the other one still lives. Now Callias, by bribery, persuaded Leager to let him take her, but I, perceiving his plan, immediately paid the legal deposit and entered a charge against Leager, saying, "If you wish to claim her in marriage, take her, and may prosperity attend you, but if not, I will marry her myself." Having ¹²¹ become aware of the situation, Callias, on the tenth, entered a claim to the heiress on behalf of his son, in order that he might prevent me from obtaining her. Then, during the last ten days of the month, that is to say, during the performance of the Mysteries, having given Cephisius thousand drachmæ, he informed against me and brought a me up to this trial.

When he saw that I remained for trial, he deposited the suppliant branch upon the altar with the intention of putting me to death or driving me into exile without a trial and of seducing the daughter of Epilycus, for which

purpose he had bribed Leager. Then, learning that even as it was, his plan could not be carried out without incurring a legal trial, he went to Lysistratus, Hegemonus and Epichares, who were friends of mine and on intimate terms with me, and descended to such a degree of shame and villany as to say to them that even at the eleventh hour, if I were willing to give up the daughter of Epilycus, he was ready to stop the case against me, to buy off Cephisius, and to give me compensation according to the judgment of my friends for what he had
123 already done. But I advised him to continue accusing me and to support the other accusations : so, if I escape him, and the Athenians give a just decision in my case, I think that he will, in turn, endanger his own safety. As it will plainly appear to you, gentlemen, in this I will not disappoint him. Therefore, please summon the witnesses to prove what I have said.

(Examination of Witnesses.)

124 And now as regards his son for whom he thought fit to claim the daughter of Epilycus, you shall hear under what circumstances he was born; for it is worth your while, gentlemen, to know this. Callias married the daughter of Ischomachus and, after living with her for scarcely a year, took her mother to wife, and—wretched man—lived with both mother and daughter, acting as their priest and keeping them both in his house ! Truly

he felt no shame, nor did he fear the two Goddesses! ¹²⁵
But the daughter of Ischomachus, realizing the state of affairs and preferring to die rather than to live in this way, attempted to hang herself, but was discovered in the act. On her recovery she was driven from the house by her mother, who, in turn, was driven out by Callias when he became tired of her. Then the mother claimed that she was pregnant by him, but when she had borne a son, he denied that the child was his. Accordingly, ¹²⁶ the relatives of the woman took the child and came to the altar during the feast of Apaturia with a victim and there bade Callias begin the ceremony. When he asked whose child it was, they said: "It is the child of Callias, the son of Hipponicus." "But," said he, "I am that man." They answered, "This is your son." Thereupon he laid his hand upon the altar and swore that he had no son except Hipponicus, by the daughter of Glaucon, and that if it were not as he said, he hoped that his house might be accursed, as will certainly be the case.

After this, gentlemen, having fallen in love with an ¹²⁷ elderly woman of bad repute, he took her into his house, and when his former son was grown, he introduced him among the Ceryces as his son. Callides opposed his admission, so the Ceryces voted, according to their law, that his father might introduce him when he had sworn that he was introducing his own son. Then he placed his hand upon the altar, and swore that the child, whom he had previously denied upon oath, was his own son,

Chrysiyas. Please call the witnesses who will testify the truth of this.

(Examination of Witnesses.)

128 Now, gentlemen, consider if such a deed was ever
committed among the Greeks—that a man, having
already contracted a marriage, should also live with his
wife's mother, so that the mother, in fact, drove away her
daughter. When he had cohabited with her, Callias
desired to take in marriage the daughter of Epilycus so
that the grand-daughter might drive out the grand-
129 mother. But tell me what name should be given to his
son. I do not think that any one is skillful enough to
declare what his name should be, for of the three women
with whom his father lived, he is, according to his father,
the son of one, the brother of another, and the uncle of
the other. Who in the world, therefore, is he? Oedipus
or Aegistheus? Pray tell me what you can call him.

130 Gentlemen, I wish to call briefly to your minds some-
thing about Callias. For, if you remember, when Athens
held the supremacy of Greece, and was at the height of
her power, and Hipponicus was the richest man in Greece,
you all know that at that time there prevailed among the
very small children and old women of the city the report
that Hipponicus was harboring an evil spirit in his house,
which was fated to overthrow his family. You remember
131 this, do you not, gentlemen? How then does the report
which then prevailed seem to have had its explanation?

It has turned out that Hipponicus, in the belief that he was rearing a son, has really nurtured a being who has destroyed his wealth, his character and his happiness. And it is he whom we may consider the evil spirit of Hipponicus.

But why in the world, gentlemen, did I not formerly ¹³² appear guilty of impiety to those who are aiding Callias in his attack upon me, who have assisted in concerting this suit, and who have contributed money against me? For I had lived in the country for three years, having returned from Cyprus, I had brought up Adelpus for initiation into the Sacred Rites, as well as other friends of mine, and I had entered into the temple at Eleusis and sacrificed, a privilege to which I think I have still a right. And in addition these very men chose me to discharge certain public functions, first, as Gymnasiarch at the festival of Hephaestion, then as Chief of the Sacred Embassy to the Isthmian and Olympian games, and again as the Treasurer of the Sacred Moneys of the city—but now they assert that I am impious and a criminal because I have entered the temples.

I will now tell you why they are bringing these ¹³³ accusations against me. Agyrrhius, an unscrupulous wretch, was for two years the collector of the two per cent tax, which he had leased for thirty talents, and those who assembled under the White Poplar shared in the enterprise; their characters you know well. As far as I could judge, their object in assembling there was both to make

money by not bidding against one another and to share in the profits of the tax when it had been leased out at a
134 low price. When they had gained three talents and had discovered that the concern was very profitable, they all combined together and, allotting the others a share of the profits, were on the point of purchasing the same tax for thirty talents; but, as no one offered a higher sum, I myself went to the Senate and bid against them until I obtained it for thirty-six talents. Then, having driven away these men and having provided sureties for myself, I collected the money and paid it to the State; nor was I a loser by the enterprise, for even those who shared in it with me, made a small profit. Thus was I the means of preventing these fellows from dividing among themselves
135 six talents of the public money. When they perceived this fact they said to themselves :

“ This man will neither take the public money himself nor will he permit us to take it, but he will watch us and will prevent us from sharing it ourselves. Moreover, whomsoever of us he discovers in the act, he will seize upon, and he will bring him before the Assembly of the Athenians and will have him put to death. Therefore he must be gotten out of our way by fair means or by foul.”

This, gentlemen of the jury, was their plan, but from you, on the other hand, an opposite course of action is due. For I wish that as many as possible of your citizens should be like me, and that these criminals should be put to death, or if that is impossible, that there

should be men who would prevent them from doing further harm, because these very men may become trustworthy and loyal supporters of your party, and if they wish to, they can benefit you greatly. I, therefore, shall undertake either to stop their unlawful actions, and to make them better, or to bring before you those of them that are guilty, for punishment.

Furthermore, they accused me in regard to my ship-¹³⁷owning and my mercantile pursuits, saying that the Gods saved me from danger in order that, as it seems, I might be put to death by Cephisius on my arrival here. But I, gentlemen of Athens, do not think it likely that the Gods, supposing that they believed that I have wronged them, would allow me to escape punishment if they discovered me in great peril; for what greater danger can men incur than to sail the sea in winter time? And why, although they had my body in the greatest perils and were masters of my life and property, did the Gods save me after all? Was it not possible for them to bring it about that my¹³⁸ body should not be honored with a grave? Moreover, when war was in progress and triremes were upon the sea and pirates were abroad, by whom many men had been captured, and, after having been despoiled of their property had remained for the rest of their lives in slavery; when there were barbarous coasts upon which many before now have been wrecked and have met with the greatest outrages and have died after having their bodies mutilated,—why did the Gods, then, I say, save me from such¹³⁹

dangers, and choose for my avenger, Cephisius, the vilest of the Athenians, with whom he falsely claims to be a fellow-citizen, a man to whom none of you would entrust any of your property because you know his true character? I, gentlemen, think that these dangers are to be considered as under human control, while the dangers by sea are under the control of the Gods. If, therefore, it is necessary to form a conjecture concerning the nature of the Gods, I think that they would be exceedingly indignant if they should see those whom they had saved, destroyed by men.

¹⁴⁰ At present, gentlemen, it is worth your while to consider the fact that you now seem to all the Greeks to be true and honest men, because you have turned your attention, not to vengeance for what is past, but to the present safety of the State and the welfare of the citizens. For calamities of no less magnitude than those which have happened to you, have before this threatened also many others, but the fact that you have peaceably settled with one another the differences that have arisen, naturally seems to denote the actions of good and wise men. Since therefore, this credit is undoubtedly conceded to you by all, whether they be friends or foes, do not change your minds, and do not be willing to deprive the city of this great honor, nor appear to have voted by chance rather than by sound judgment.

¹⁴¹ Therefore, I beg of you all to have the same opinion about me that you have about my ancestors, so that it

may in the first place be possible for me to imitate them, recalling the fact that my ancestors resembled those who have been the authors of the most numerous and greatest blessings that have befallen the State, deserving this character for many reasons, but primarily because of their good-will toward you, and hoping, that if ever any danger or calamity were to befall them or their descendants, they might obtain pardon from you and be saved.

It would be natural for you to remember the services ¹⁴² of my ancestors since the virtue of your ancestors was of the highest value to the whole State. For, gentlemen, when the ships were lost and many were desirous of involving the State in numerous and incurable calamities, the Lacedomonians, although they were our enemies, determined to save our State on account of the bravery of these men who had obtained liberty for all Greece. Since the State was preserved through the valor of *your* ¹⁴³ ancestors, I think it but fair that on account of the virtue of *mine*, protection be accorded to me. For my ancestors contributed no small share of the deeds by which our country was saved, and you owe me part of the security with which you yourselves met at the hands of the Greeks.

Consider also what a citizen you will have if you ¹⁴⁴ acquit me,—a man who, as you know, became poverty-stricken after having been possessed of great wealth, not by his own fault, but on account of calamities which fell

also upon the State; who has since earned his livelihood honestly, by excellent judgment and by hard labor, who appreciates the honor of being a citizen of a State such as ours and who knows what it is to be a stranger in alien
145 lands; who understands the value of discretion and common sense and who has experienced suffering through his own transgressions; and finally, one who has had extensive dealings and much experience with his fellow-men. Yes, I have been bound by ties of hospitality to many kings, nations and private men, thus acquiring friendly relations, in which you will share if you preserve me; and it will be in your power to make use of these privileges whenever you wish.

146 Remember that if you put me to death, there will be none of our family left, but it will be totally destroyed. Moreover the dwelling-house of Andocides and Leogoras was never a reproach to you when it was in our possession; much rather did it shame you during my exile, when Cleophon, the lyre-maker, lived in it. For never yet has one of you, while passing our house, been reminded of a wrong suffered either in private or in public at the hands
147 of its inmates. The latter, having conducted many military and naval campaigns, have brought you home numerous trophies of war from the enemy, and, although they have held many offices under the State and have managed your revenues for a long time, never has there been the slightest evidence of fraud discovered in their accounts. Nor has there been the least strife between you and our

family, which latter,—one of the most ancient in the State,—has ever been first in generosity to the poor. And never before has occasion arisen that one of my ancestors, when a defendant in a suit, has asked from you a return for all these services.

Do not, therefore, even if they are dead, be forgetful ¹⁴⁸ of the work they have done, but recall their deeds and fancy that you see their forms pleading for my life at your hands. For who else am I able to bring forward to beseech you in my behalf? My father? He is dead. My brothers? I have none. My children? They are yet unborn. You, in this case, must stand to me in the ¹⁴⁹ place of father, brothers and children. To your protection I commit myself with entreaty and prayer. After you have decided upon my innocence, vote my acquittal and do not be compelled, through need of men, to invest Thessalians and Andrians with the rights of citizenship, while you put to death those who are real citizens and men of good standing,—men who are able and willing to support you in every way. Do not be guilty of such conduct. Moreover I make this request of you,—that if I do you service, my value be properly recognized. If I persuade you to bring a verdict in my favor, you may expect my help, wherever it is in my power to be of assistance, but if you are led by my enemies, not even if you regret it afterwards, will it be of any avail. Do not, ¹⁵⁰ therefore, deprive yourselves of your expectations from me, nor me of those returns which I shall owe to you.

And now I think it is proper for the men who have given proof of the most signal bravery in behalf of your party to place themselves upon the stand and tell you what they think of me. Come hither, Anytus and Cephalus, also the tribesmen who have been chosen to defend me, Thrasyllus and the others.

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